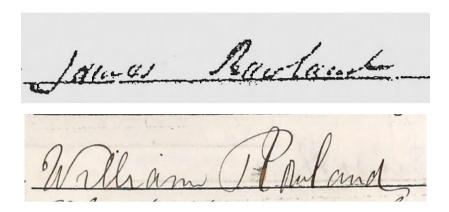
James Rowland and Sons, Ironfounders and Engineers of Salisbury

by Peter WL Filtness



Second Edition, revised and enlarged 2020

Printed by Salisbury Printing

The signatures on this page are (upper) from James Rowland's marriage certificate with Mary Pitts on 15th September 1839; and (lower) William Rowland's marriage certificate with Blanche Thornton Coleman on 2nd December 1867.

Jacket illustrations – Front - the only known photograph of James Rowland, taken in Salisbury in c. 1864, age 61 (from the private collection of NB Cox, by kind permission); extract from an advertisement in *Harrod's Directory for Dorset and Wiltshire*, 1865

Rear – photograph of James Rowland and of Herbert Rowland from the private collection of NB Cox, by kind permission; of Charles Rowland and Adeline Rowland from the private collection of GL Huntley by kind permission; of Peter Filtness, from the author's private collection.

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Descendants of James Rowland 1803-1875 from each marriage

(selected branches only, principal individuals in bold)

1st marriage 1827 Mary Shaw? c.1810-1829

1. Mary Rowland 1827-1827

2nd marriage 1831 Eleanor Walker 1810-1839

- 2. James Rowland c1831-1893
- 3. John Joseph Rowland 1833-1910
- 4. Eleanor Rowland 1836-1899

3rd marriage 1839 Mary Pitts 1816-1853

5. William Rowland 1840-1902

m. 1867 Blanche Thornton Coleman 1840-1907

1. William Edward Rowland 1868-1941

m.1929 Ida Winifred Brooks 1889-1963

- 2. Blanche Gertrude Rowland 1870-1939
- 3. Florence May Rowland 1872-1952
- 4. Jessie Maud Rowland 1874-1973
- 5. Reginald George Rowland 1878-1934

m1912 Muriel Maud Howell 1877-1962

- 1. Dorothy Muriel Rowland 1913-1989
- 2. Barbara Mary Rowland 1915-?
- 3. Reginald Hugh Rowland 1920-1997
- 4. Derek William Rowland 1920-1936

6. Olive Annie Rowland 1879-1909

- 6. Mary Urania Rowland 1841-1920
- 7. Sarah Martha Rowland 1845-1857
- 8. Annie Rowland 1847-1881
- 9. George Pitts Rowland 1849-1918

4th marriage c1856 Urania Lucas nee Pitts 1819-1879

- 10. Flora Harriet Rowland 1858-1943
- 11. Herbert Rowland 1859-1929

m. 1884 Marian Jeanette Haywood 1863-1942

- 1. Reginald Herbert Rowland 1885-1974
- 2. Charles Haywood Rowland 1887-1974

m 1914 Sarah Adeline Langbridge 1886-1966

- 1. Adeline Mary Rowland 1915-2005
- 2. Ena Jeanette Rowland 1917-2008
- 3. Charles Alan Rowland 1923-1944
- 4. Sheila Ann Rowland 1930-2019
- 3. Ernest Arthur Rowland 1889-1967
- 4. Percival Jack Rowland 1891-1962
- 5. Norman James Rowland 1893-1927
- 6. Doris Jeanette Rowland 1901-1979
- 12. Ernest Alfred Rowland 1862-1931

Descendants of William Pitts 1790-1829 from each marriage

1st marriage (-) Mary d. c1818

1. Mary Pitts 1816-1853

m. (1839) James Rowland 1803-1875

Five children

- 2. Martha Pitts 1817-1846
- 3. Sarah Pitts c1818 -1837

2nd marriage c1818 Elizabeth Malsbury 1796-1829

4. Urania Pitts 1819-1879

1st marriage 1842 Bryan Lucas 1813-1855

1. Arthur Lucas 1849-1888

m. 1884 Mary Jane Hibberd

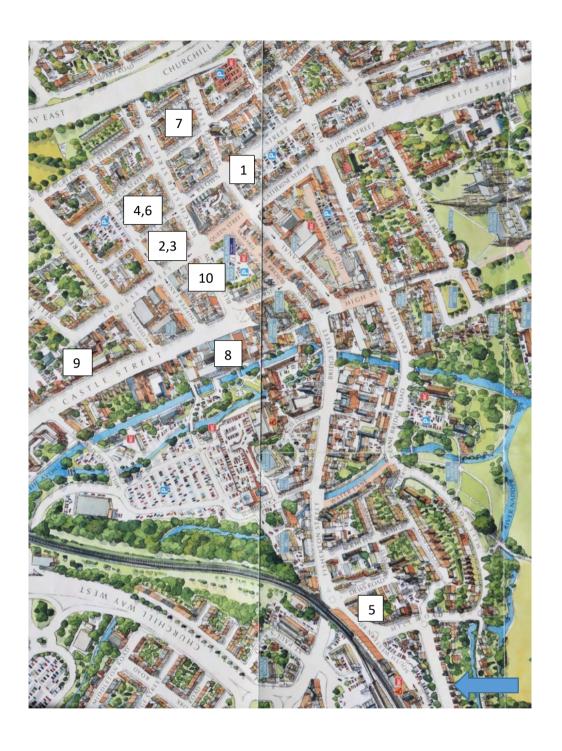
- 1. Flora Urania Lucas 1884-1961
- 2. Gertrude Mary Lucas 1886-1889

2nd marriage c1856 James Rowland 1803-1875

Three children

-Key to map opposite -

- 1. Brown Street
- 2. Rollestone Street Works (supposed)
- 3. Rollestone Street dwelling (supposed)
- 4. 15 Church Street (now St Edmund's Church Street)
- 5. Fisherton Foundry
- 6. No. 1 Albert Terrace, Church Street
- 7. Crystal Fountain PH, Milford Street
- 8. 13 Castle Street
- 9. 88-106 Castle Street
- 10.51 Blue Boar Row



Salisbury City, a modern pictorial map with key Rowland sites

Preface to 2nd edition

This volume is a revised and expanded version of "Some Notes", a typescript document produced in 2017. That in turn had evolved from "Roots and Branches", a long book giving the ancestry of the author's complete family tree, including the Rowland family, from the seventeenth century to the present day¹. Some material has also already been published in a summary article in the 2018 volume of Sarum Chronicle, a respected authority with a wide circulation².

Further research has now revealed more information on James Rowland and his son William Rowland, and the next generation of William Edward Rowland and Reginald George Rowland, and on James's nephew Arthur Lucas. I have included this information in some detail, including an attempt to identify their various sites in Salisbury. I have also reproduced a large number of illustrations and photographs not included in previous versions.

Despite the earlier documentation, the need remained for a comprehensive and fully referenced volume, giving, as far as I can ascertain, the complete known history of James Rowland and his business in Salisbury, and his successors in that business. The present book is designed to meet that need; it gives little information of the *ancestry* of James Rowland, and readers seeking information on this, and also of James's *descendants outside* the family engineering business, should refer to "Roots and Branches".

The author wishes to acknowledge with grateful thanks Mr Norman Barry Cox BEM who pioneered much of the early research into the Rowland family tree and granted generous access to his personal records and documents.

Peter Filtness Old Sarum 2020

1. Introduction

This book tells the story of James Rowland, (1803-1875), a mechanical engineer, iron founder, inventor and businessman, who established in Salisbury a family business which lasted three generations, from roughly 1840 to 1940.

James was the epitome of the Victorian entrepreneur in this the "Age of Iron", a self-made man who rose from humble beginnings in the Stroud area, relocated a number of times, and eventually, probably at just turned 40, settled in Salisbury. There he successfully established himself and his business. After his death in 1875 both the family and the business struggled, but finally the difficulties were overcome, the next generation established itself, and the business, in a refreshed and updated form, was re-founded and prospered for another four decades, eventually coming to an end just before the Second War.

The book is a mixture of the family story of James Rowland – and his nephew Arthur Lucas, his son William Rowland, and William's sons William Edward Rowland and Reginald George Rowland - and the history of their engineering businesses in Salisbury. This duality between the family history and the business history will be unsatisfactory to some readers, and I can only apologise if this approach disturbs. I have attempted to differentiate those passages which deal solely with family matters so that readers seeking the history of the business may know which bits they can safely leave unread, and vice versa. Those whose interest lies solely in the family history should note that the narrative is confined to the individuals mentioned above – the book is *not* a full family genealogy of James Rowland and his descendants.

A person's business life can be never fully divorced from their private life, and James Rowland, with four marriages and 12 children, had a private life every bit as complicated as those in Thomas Hardy's novels. Taken together, the business life and the private life give us a vivid picture of the strengths and weaknesses of the Victorian age in a provincial market town.

The account in this book is primarily a historical record rather than, on the one hand, a personal a biography or, on the other, a strict business history. No Rowland correspondence, diaries or other private papers have survived, and for the business there is no financial or legal information. Although James Rowland, and his "successors" in the family engineering firm, were well known and respected in Victorian and then Edwardian Salisbury, their

influence was purely local, and the number of known facts about James's life is therefore strictly limited to those which found their way into public records. What is known relates to events rather than to the character, personality, motivation, aspirations or values of the individuals concerned, except where the latter can be deduced from the former.

This very restricted availability of information means it is all too easy, once events have passed from direct memory, to misinterpret motives and reasons – to get hold of the wrong end of the stick. I have tried to limit the deductions I have reached to those which can be fairly and reasonably drawn from the facts, and to make it clear where there is uncertainty of interpretation; where I do speculate, I have tried to flag this up so the reader may make his own assessment. All this book seeks to do is to place on record what little is known about James Rowland, his engineering business and life in Salisbury, and that of his successors in the busines, and in doing so, to shine some light into a small corner of local history. Their stories have never been recorded in the history books, and I hope this little study may help to remedy this omission.

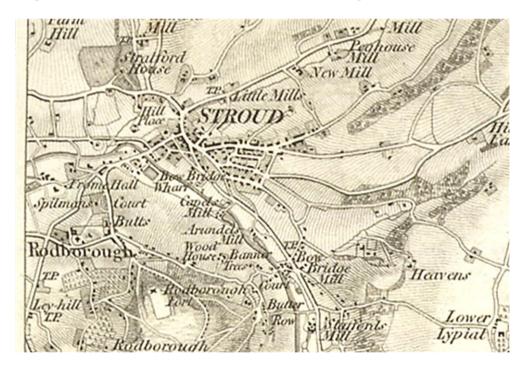
At this point I must admit to a personal element behind this history - James Rowland is the author's great, great grandfather. When I was a teenager Charles Haywood Rowland, my grandfather and James Rowland's grandson, lived with us for a few years, and in his old age Charles had clear memories of his own childhood in late-Victorian Salisbury. Unfortunately, this covered little of the life of his grandfather James, who had died nearly 12 years before Charles was born in 1887.

The reader should note that, as is usual in family histories, married women are referenced by their maiden name and not their married name. Also, the name of an individual is usually given in full – this can be cumbersome, but produces certainty. As was common for the time, the Rowlands repeatedly re-used the same Christian names within the family and it is all too easy to confuse William Rowland with William Edward Rowland, or Reginald George Rowland with Reginald Hugh Rowland or Reginald Herbert Rowland.

Finally, I should explain that this work is more an encyclopaedia than a thriller – the emphasis is on thoroughness and detail, rather than on pace. Those seeking a dramatic account full of swift action will be disappointed, but those who revel in minutiae will be satisfied.

2. The Early Years

The story of James Rowland does not start in Salisbury, for James was born in the village of Rodborough near Stroud, Gloucestershire³, in about 1803. He was therefore 3 years older than Isambard Kingdom Brunel, the most famous of great nineteenth century iron engineers. It seems probable that James's family background was radical Nonconformist, for he was brought up in Stroud's Dissenting Chapel known as the "Old Meeting"⁴. Unfortunately, the Chapel's records were not maintained carefully and have survived only in part, and in this time before the mandatory civil registration of births no formal record of James's birth has survived, nor indeed any records of his early years. Virtually nothing is known of the family he was born to brothers, sisters, even his mother's name is missing, nor do we know anything of his education. However, we do know his father was Samuel Rowland (1755-1838), and we also know the important fact of his father's occupation – Samuel was, it seems, a Stroud millwright⁵.



The OS First Edition map of Stroud and Rodborough, 1828. Note the large number of mills

At the turn of the nineteenth century Stroud was already an established and thriving centre for the cloth industry, using both water and steam power in its many mills. The Industrial Revolution had its origins in the second half of

the seventeenth century in a number of rural locations in England, coming to fruition around the turn of the century, and then spread rapidly through much of the country in the decades of the 1820s, 30s and 40s. Stroud was one of the "early starters" and Samuel Rowland would have been ideally placed to exploit the business opportunities available in Stroud and pass on this knowledge to his son James. James's formative years were almost certainly spent in the Stroud area learning the practical and business skills that were to be essential to his future as an "engineer", a description we first encounter in James's marriage certificate of 1839 - what would now be called a "Mechanical Engineer"



Stroud as seen from nearby Rodborough; a photograph taken perhaps in the 1850s. The tower and spire of the parish church, St Lawrence, is visible in the centre of the view, as are numerous mills

After James's birth in c1803, we find no certain record of him until his marriage in May 1831, and indeed there is a dearth of information about him even after that. Much therefore of the story of his early years is speculation. In 1831, when he married Eleanor Walker in St Matthew's Church, Bethnal Green, Middlesex, the marriage certificate states him to be a widower, so he has been married already. We are therefore immediately faced with a string of inter-related questions - when and why did he leave Stroud? Why did he go to London and what was he doing there? Who did he marry first, when,

and where? And what happened to that marriage?

We know that James's father, Samuel, died in 1838, at the ripe age of 82, but by then it seems certain that James was long gone from Stroud. It seems likely that, at some date, he trained as an apprentice, but if he did, we don't know where, when or under whom, although his father is the obvious candidate for his apprentice master.

Like many other hopefuls before and since, it seems once James reached manhood, or had served his apprenticeship, he made the journey to London, to work as a mechanical engineer or millwright, probably reaching the capital by 1825 or 1826 when he was 22 or 23. The events in James's life between 1825 and 1831, and of his first marriage, are mostly unknown to us, but if we allow ourselves to speculate, we might put forward one possible scenario⁶ - his marriage may possibly be identified in June 1827, to one Mary Shaw. The ceremony was held at St Mary Newington, near the Elephant and Castle, in what is now Southwark Borough⁷, and the marriage entry has survived:

MARRIAGES solemnized in the Parish of January	in the Year 1827
James Bowland	of this Parish
and Mary Thaw Midow	of thu Parish
were married in this	with Consent of 8 Zweedy Gifff Day of
June in the Year One thousand eight h	nundred and Twenty seven
This Marriage was solemnized between us	mus Bowland
No. 256.	•

James Rowland marries Mary Shaw, 25 June 1827, at St Mary Newington, near the Elephant and Castle, in what is now Southwark Borough SE1).

If this James Rowland is the one we seek, then the life of his bride Mary Shaw, was short and tragic as far as can be ascertained⁸. She was born about 1810⁹, and must have met James at least by 1826 when she was aged 16. Her marriage certificate records her as already a widow even by then, so *Shaw* was not her maiden name. She was soon pregnant, and in May 1827 gave birth to a daughter. James and Mary married in June 1827 when the baby was some 4 weeks old, and their new daughter was baptised Mary on 12 September 1827¹⁰ at St Mary Magdalene Bermondsey, just up the road from where the marriage had taken place. However, things did not go well – Mary (and presumably James as well) were poverty-stricken and the baby was unwell. At the tender age of just 4 months little Mary Rowland died, on 28 September 1827, in Bermondsey Workhouse ¹¹.

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The burial record for little Mary Rowland, age 4 months, in Bermondsey Workhouse, September 28th 1827

James's wife Mary Rowland lived only another 16 months after their baby died – dying on 13 January 1829. She was just 18 years old, with an address in Stable Yard Street Greenwich; she was buried at St Alphege Greenwich, a mile or so downriver¹². If this scenario is correct, the first wife, and child, of James Rowland were both short-lived; it was to be the first of many sad events in James's private life.

Mary,	State guid	Jan !	18	G. Mulhow.
No. 886.				40000

The parish burial record for Mary Rowland, James's first wife, age 18. 13th January 1829, Greenwich

3. The second marriage, Eleanor Walker, 1831

Two years after Mary's death, James had crossed the Thames and we find him in Bethnal Green, just north of Whitechapel. Here, metaphorically, we are on much firmer historical ground. Bethnal Green at this time was undergoing rapid urbanisation and would have presented many opportunities to a young engineer, the son of a millwright in the cloth industry. By the end of the nineteenth century it was to become one of the poorest slums in London, with Jack the Ripper operating in its western part and in adjacent Whitechapel, and in the twentieth century it was home to the infamous Kray twins (Ronnie and Reggie), but in the 1830s the old Georgian houses which would be subdivided into multiple occupancy had not yet descended into slum housing.

The local industries included market gardening and, significantly for James, silk weaving. Throughout the previous century silk weaving had been spreading east from Spitalfields, attracting many Huguenot and Irish weavers to the area, and estates of small two-storey cottages had sprung up to accommodate them. Bethnal Green grew largely as a result of these silk weaving families, the population trebling in just 30 years between 1800 and 1830. Some 20,000 cottage looms were operating during these decades ¹³. As control of the import of French silks was relaxed the silk weaving industry would eventually decline, being replaced by boot, furniture, and cloth manufacture, but in 1830 weaving was still the principal industry for Bethnal Green. And where you have weaving, you have looms, which even on a domestic scale generate work for mechanical engineers with a background in the cloth industry. Importantly, silk weaving had been a particular branch of the Stroud cloth industry and would have already been very familiar to James ¹⁴.

In 1831, some four years after the death of his first wife, we find James Rowland marrying for the second time. His new bride was Ann Eleanor Walker, and she had been born in the parish where they married, St Matthew Bethnal Green. She was a local girl, the daughter of John and Amelia Walker¹⁵, and was not quite 21 when she married; James was about 28.



Bethnal Green in 1956. The Victorian weavers' cottages have large first-floor windows, to allow light into the room for weaving

MARRIAGES solemnized in the Parish of	in the Year 1822
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This Marriage was solemnized between us	r II alber
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The marriage certificate of James Rowland and Eleanor Walker, 23rd May 1831, Bethnal Green, Middlesex. James is recorded as a widower

The marriage soon produced children - indeed, it is very likely Eleanor was already pregnant when she married in May 1831, for their son James was born between June 1831 and June 1832¹⁶. What is interesting is that the child was not born in Bethnal Green or even in London – he was born in Worcester. James, with his new wife, had commenced, or rather resumed, his travels. Quite why James migrated around the country in his early years remains a mystery although presumably it was related to his business as a "(mechanical) engineer", but whether this was limited to the cloth industry, or expanded into more general engineering and iron founding, is unclear.

Some 18 months later, in June 1833, their second child was born, John Joseph Rowland, and by this date the young family had moved again, for the birth was not in Worcester but in Manchester, where the cotton mills of Manchester, Oldham and nearby towns were then undergoing a huge expansion¹⁷. In 1836 a daughter was born, again in Manchester, at Clayton, a suburb 3 miles east of the city centre. They called her Eleanor after her mother.

However, at some date between the birth of little Eleanor in 1836 and 1839, a second tragedy befell James Rowland and his young family. James's wife Eleanor died. The circumstances are unknown 18 although the most likely cause is perhaps related to the birth of baby Eleanor, which would put her death in 1836 or 1837; she was then aged just 26 or 27, and almost certainly the family were still living in Manchester. This would have been a very difficult time for James Rowland, then 33 and a widower for the second time, and not only because of the grief of bereavement. He was in a town very distant from any family help, with three young children – James his firstborn son, then aged about 4, John Joseph, 3, and baby Eleanor – and having to support himself and his young family on the income from a career not yet safely established in an unfamiliar town.

4. The third marriage, Mary Pitts, 1839

After the death of Eleanor in c1836, it seems that James took the decision to move back to an area he was more familiar with, for the next information we have is from 1839 and he is back in London. Here he re-married. His bride was Mary Pitts, and they married in Deptford, Kent, just south of the river and near Greenwich, where his first wife Mary Shaw had died. The wedding was on 15 September 1839 in St Matthew's Church, and James was then 36, and his third bride was just 23. On the marriage certificate James states his occupation simply as "engineer" and his father Samuel Rowland a "millwright" 19.

The Pitts family were to play a significant role in the life of James Rowland, so we must look a little at their background and family structure, for they too had suffered their own share of tragedy. Although James and Mary married in London, this was the home city for neither of them. James, as we have seen, was originally from Stroud, but Mary was from Northamptonshire. Presumably the two met in London in perhaps 1837 or 38, but the circumstances are unknown.

Mary Pitts's father was William Pitts, and the family were from Culworth in Northamptonshire, and Mary was born in January 1816²⁰. William Pitts was a stone mason and was married twice; his first wife's name was Mary, and she bore him 3 daughters – "our" Mary in 1816, Martha in 1817, and then Sarah (probably in 1818). When the three girls were very young their mother Mary died, indeed it seems likely she died in childbirth with Sarah. William Pitts quickly re-married, to Elizabeth Malsbury, who was some six years younger than he. This second marriage produced one child, Urania²¹, born 1819. Mary Pitts was therefore the eldest of four daughters, of whom the last born, Urania, was her half-sister but only three years her junior. The four girls were all born within four years, and were brought up together at Culworth²² by William and his second wife, Elizabeth.

Ten years after Urania's birth, disaster struck the Pitts family. On 11 August 1829, the father, William Pitts, died aged 39, followed just 8 weeks later by his wife Elizabeth²³. The four girls were therefore orphaned at the age of 13 for Mary, 12 for Martha, 11 for Sarah, and 10 for Urania; one can only imagine the impact this must have had on the girls' upbringing and character.

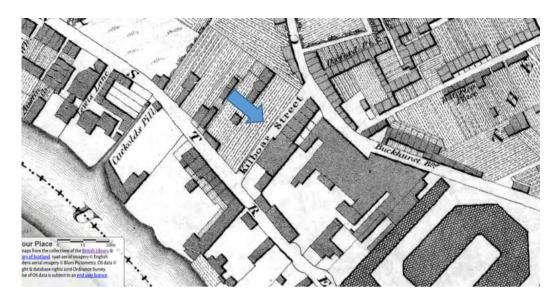
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The third marriage of James Rowland – to Mary Pitts, 15 September 1839

We don't know who took care of the four girls, but they did all remain in Northamptonshire. Sarah died in 1837, but of the three remaining sisters Mary, Martha and Urania, the next we hear is from 1839 when Mary married James Rowland in Deptford. Quite when and how Mary moved to London is a mystery, and we don't know how she supported herself - her marriage certificate gives no entry for her occupation²⁴ - but her sister Martha and half-sister Urania had certainly stayed behind in Northamptonshire and we will meet them, and particularly Urania, again.

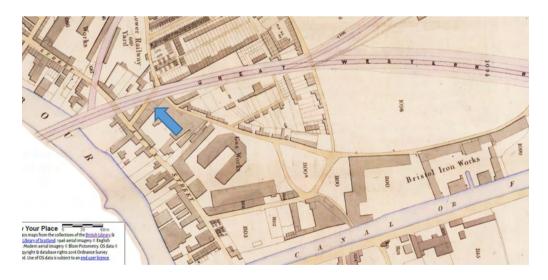
James Rowland and Mary Pitts married in September 1839, and in March 1840 their son William Rowland was born, so Mary would have known she was pregnant when they married. Indeed, it seems likely that all three of James Rowland's wives were with child when he married them. Of more significance for our story, however, is the fact that soon after the wedding James and Mary, with James's three young children, had left London. James and his young family were on the move again, and this time it was to Bristol, another growing industrial city.

The birth of William in March 1840 was in Kilbore Street, St Philip and St Jacob Without, Bristol. "Kilbore Street", no longer exists and has been difficult to track down ²⁵, partly because the street name was repeatedly changed. It is now a used-car lot tucked adjacent to the main London-Bristol railway line into Temple Meads Station, just east of the historic core. The origins of the street date to before much of the industrial growth of Bristol occurred; the map below is from 1828. Temple Meads was then open meadowland and no railways had been constructed; however, some development is underway – the Avon has been transformed into the Floating Harbour and the Gas Works built (in the southeast corner of the extract). The map shows Kilbore Street, then named Kilboap Street, as a terrace of five houses abutting a larger (commercial) building. This map must date from soon after the houses were built.



The 1828 Map of Bristol by George Ashmead, showing Kilbore Street arrowed.

The map below is the 1840s Tithe Map of Bristol, and is thus exactly contemporary with James Rowland's residency there. By now much new industry has occupied the vacant land, with the new Great Western Railway flying over open land to the east as it rises up to cross the Harbour on its approach to the new Temple Meads Station:

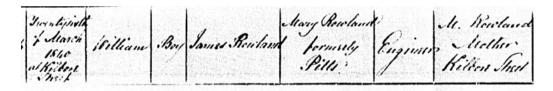


The 1840s Tithe Map of Bristol²⁶, with Kilbore Street arrowed.

The map is enlarged on the next page



On the 1841 census James Rowland described his occupation simply as "engineer", the same terms he used for his third marriage in 1839, and his son William's birth certificate in 1841, rather than "millwright" or "ironfounder".



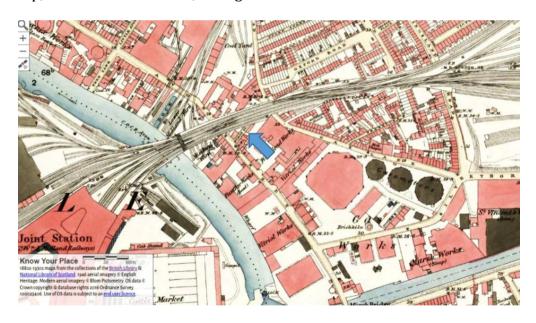
The birth certificate of William Rowland, 26th March, 1840, born Kilbore Street, Bristol. Father: James Rowland, engineer. Mother: Mary Rowland formerly Pitts (extract)

What exactly James was doing in Bristol is frustratingly unclear. The lack of evidence from business directories and advertisements suggests he was employed, rather than running his own business²⁷. Bristol at that time was an exceptionally busy place for a mechanical engineer – there were many schemes for enlarging and improving the extensive docks and shipyards serving the city, the SS Great Western was launched in July 1837, the Great Western Dock was built in 1839 to accommodate the SS Great Britain which was launched in 1843, and in 1836 work had started on the famous Clifton Suspension Bridge across the Avon Gorge at Clifton. Isambard Kingdom

Brunel was the principal civil and mechanical engineer for all these schemes and also for building the Great Western Railway (and the Box Tunnel) at this time. The GWR company had been founded in 1833, its Act of Parliament passed in 1835, and the first train had run in 1838. In Bristol, Temple Meads station opened on 31st August 1840, with through traffic to London the following year²⁸; the railway line which crosses Kilbore Street is the GWR line, then brand new.

The proximity of Kilbore Street to the railway might suggest Rowland was working on the new GWR line, and it would be exciting to think James Rowland had a hand in this work, but there is no evidence other than the coincidence of date and place²⁹. Could he have been working for Mr Brunel? It may also be relevant to note from the 1840s map that a number of Iron Works are in close proximity to the street, notably Bristol Iron Works to the east.

The speed of industrial growth in Bristol at this time can be seen in the next map, the OS 25" 1st Edition, dating from 1844-1888:

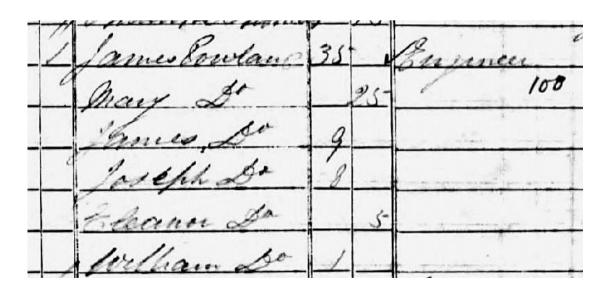


The OS 25" 1st Ed, 1844-1888. This map shows the proximity to Temple Meads Station, and the enlargement (page 23) names Kilbore Street as Kilbon Street

The 1841 Census captures these years in Bristol³⁰. The Rowland family, in Kilbore Street, comprises James (age given as 35, in fact he was about 38), an "engineer", his wife Mary (25), and the children James (9), (John) Joseph (8),



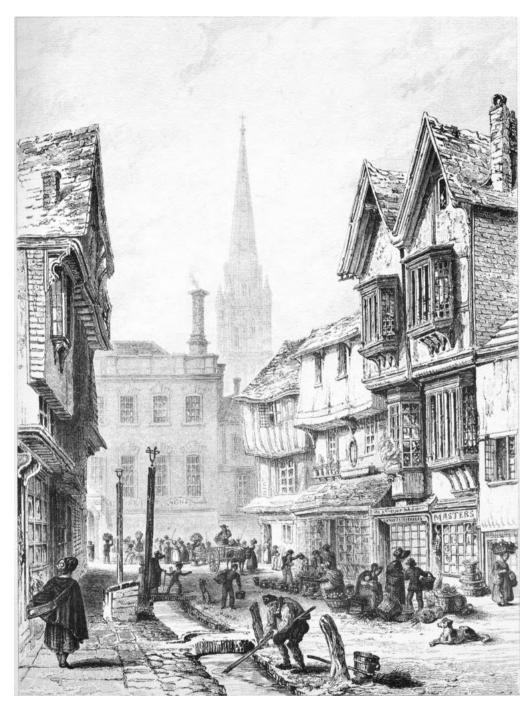
Eleanor (5), all born of Eleanor Walker, and little William (1), born of Mary Pitts. When the census was taken on 6th June 1841 Mary must have been expecting again, for in the third quarter (July-September) of 1841 a daughter was born, at Kilbore Street. James and Mary called her Mary Urania Rowland; the two given names reflecting the child's mother's name and that of her mother's younger sister. Mary Urania Rowland was James's sixth child (five living).



1841 census for Kilbore Street, Bristol

The family remained in Bristol for at least two years, probably four years, but soon they were on the move yet again, this time to Salisbury. The frequency of James Rowland's moves before he finally settled, and the distances involved, are remarkable. The constant moving in his early years - from Stroud to Bethnal Green, then Worcester, Manchester, Deptford, Bristol, and finally Salisbury - may have been driven by a search for opportunities – possibly in the cloth industry, centering on weaving mills and machinery, but by now probably more generally as a mechanical engineer, whether working in railways, bridges and tunnels, steam engines or in ironfounding.

Certainly, all the cities where Rowland lived were undergoing rapid industrialisation at the time, some also featuring the cloth industry (spinning and weaving in Manchester, gloves in Worcester and for Bethnal Green silk), but all these places would have given opportunities to an experienced young engineer, millwright and iron founder. It is easy to imagine James Rowland as an ambitious young entrepreneur, possessing, by the 1840s, a wide range of mechanical, engineering and machine skills, as well as fundamental skills in ironfounding and in engines, trying his luck in various cities then undergoing industrialisation.



Salisbury as James Rowland would have found it. This view of Silver Street, made in 1829, just a few years before Rowland arrived, shows the poor conditions of Georgian times, before gas lighting (from 1830s-40s) or proper sewerage or piped water (mid-1850s), and with most buildings still medieval in both fabric and amenities

5. James Rowland in Salisbury c1844 - the establishment phase

When James Rowland and his family left Bristol, probably in 1844 (and certainly between June 1841 and spring 1845 ³¹), his destination was Salisbury. This was to be the last move – assuming he had been employed in Bristol, this would be somewhere he could finally establish his own business, and where he and his family could take root and settle down.

But why Salisbury?

As far as can be ascertained, James Rowland had no previous connection to the city³², and the choice of this small agricultural market city, far from large centres of industry, might seem strange. The city would, however, have been known to a mechanical engineer experienced in the cloth industry, and perhaps Rowland simply spotted a gap in the market here. Salisbury in the Middle Ages had been probably the most important woollen city in England³³, particularly after 1400 when wool weaving largely overtook raw wool production.

By 1670 Salisbury's position had been superseded by a number of other towns and cities, but the city was still important nationally as a cloth centre. Even in the mid-eighteenth century, Salisbury cloth was still so well regarded that imitation "Salisbury's" were being produced for export at Painswick, Gloucestershire, near where James had come from. Salisbury as a cloth town would have been known to James, if only by reputation.

Furthermore, Salisbury had pioneered the use of machinery in the woollen industry, notably spinning machines where Salisbury was the first of the Wiltshire woollen towns to mechanise³⁴. By the first half of the nineteenth century Salisbury's textile industry was in serious decline and the number of city clothiers, which had been 24 in1798, had fallen to 13 in 1814, and just 3 by 1830. Surely the city would not need another millwright or cloth engineer, and James Rowland would have known this? It seems more likely that, from his position in Bristol, James simply saw an opportunity not as a millwright in the residual cloth industry of Salisbury, but as a general mechanical engineer, inventor and ironfounder in the city, particularly in agricultural engineering.

The 1830s and 40s saw the start of the the great mechanisation of English agriculture, and Salisbury was an important agricultural centre in southern England. The 1839 Robson's Directory for Salisbury lists the all the trades and professions in Salisbury just before James Rowland moved there in

c1844. The city appears not to have had a resident *engineer* or *millwright*, but it did have a *Brassfounder* (JW Edginton in Penny Farthing Street), two *Ironfounders* – Gilbert Francis in Silver Street, and Wolferstan and Smith in Winchester Street – and seven *Ironmongers*, some of whom were probably also small-scale ironfounders³⁵.

A similar situation was listed in the 1842-44 Pigot's Directory for Salisbury – JW Edginton is now listed not just as a brassfounder, but also as *Brass and Cock Founder and Engineer*; of the eight *Ironmongers* three are asterisked as also being *Ironfounders*; and two *Millwrights* are listed – Grant George and Knight George, both in Fisherton Anger ³⁶. As a comment on how the industrial revolution was changing the area, Pigot also tells us "Conveyance by Railway – "The nearest Station [to Salisbury] is the Andover-Road Station, 26 miles distant, on the London and Southampton line. There are regular coaches to the above Station, … particulars of the various Railways are furnished by the Railway Tables".

Whatever drew James Rowland to the city initially, and whether he saw a gap in the market for a resident engineer and ironfounder, Salisbury was where James and his family settled, although it would take him some time to establish a successful business here.

His first enterprise in Salisbury was in Brown Street, where he set up a partnership with Charles Wood carrying on the business of "ironmongers and engineers"³⁷. Their premises in Brown Street remains unidentified, but we will come back to this matter much later in the story.

One suspects that Wood was the ironmonger and Rowland the engineer, but whatever the arrangements the partnership did not last long, and Rowland bought out Wood in March 1848. Other than the announcement of its dissolution, little is known of James Rowland's first venture in Salisbury.

COPARTNERSHIP heretofore subsisting between us, the undersigned CHARLES WOOD and JAMES ROWLAND, carrying on Business in Brownstreet, Salisbury, as Ironmongers and Engineers, was this day DISSOLVED by mutual consent; and that the said Business will henceforth be carried on at the same place, by the said JAMES ROWLAND, on his sole account; and by the like consent all Debts due from or owing by us are to be paid and received by the said JAMES ROWLAND.

As witness our hands, the 3rd day of March, 1848, CHARLES WOOD.

JAMES ROWLAND.

JAMES ROWLAND.

Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 4 March 1848

By 1850 James Rowland had refocussed his business away from the smaller ironmongering role, and had established himself as one of a number of ironfounders and general and agricultural engineers operating in the City, aiming at the commercial rather than retail market. Even here there was competition by 1844 from at least three other ironfounders, two millwrights and at least one other "engineer", as we have noted already. He had also moved from the Brown Street site, which may have been too small and unsuited to iron-working³⁸, and set up a new base at Rollestone Street, still within the historic medieval chequers of Salisbury³⁹. The exact location in Rollestone Street of "The Ironworks, Salisbury", as it was known, will be considered shortly, but we can be sure it would have contained at least an open yard for storage of coal and other materials, and for working on larger machines and engines, a workshop building, and a foundry. These need not have been particularly large buildings – only a handful of men were ever employed.

The photograph below shows the Iron Foundry at Blists Hill in Shropshire, part of the re-created Victorian Town at Ironbridge. That Foundry dates from 1870, only slightly later than Rowland's Rollestone Works. (A few years later, when James Rowland moved his Works to Fisherton, the new Ironworks he built there was purpose-designed and would have been appreciably larger than the Rollestone Works).



The Rowland iron foundry at his Ironworks in Rollestone Street, Salisbury, may have looked much like this foundry at Blists Hill, Shropshire, of 1870

Back in 1850, we have an example of the sort of activity James Rowland was undertaking from his new Ironworks, hiring out "a steam engine and thrashing machine" to local farmers and estate managers⁴⁰.

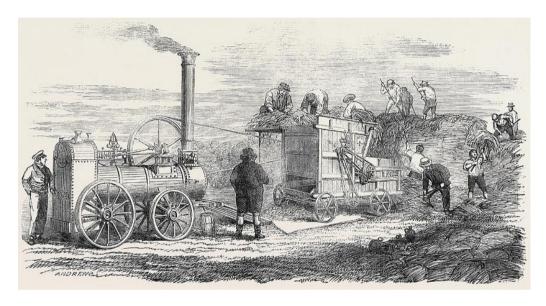
TO FARMERS AND OTHERS.

TO be LET on HIRE,—A STEAM
ENGINE AND THRASHING MACHINE.
Apply to John Snook, Church-street; or, James Rowland, Engineer, Iron Founder, &c., Rollestone street, Salisbury,
[4834]

Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 23 March 1850

The threshing machine was the epitome of farm mechanisation at this time, and James Rowland, after his experiences in the big cities of Bristol and Manchester, must have adapted quickly to agricultural machinery – at this time most iron machinery, mills and steam engines used similar basic components and mechanical principles.

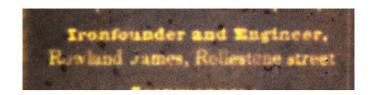
Less than 20 years earlier the new threshing machines had been the target of the violent Swing Riots by unemployed agricultural labourers all over England, but especially in Wiltshire where corn-and-sheep was the principal farming practice. By 1850 they were still controversial but nevertheless were now in common use. Threshing machines could be powered by horses, but by this period usually by steam-engines. These engines were "portable" in the sense that it would be towed to the site by horses – self-propelled engines had not yet been invented.



A "portable" steam-engine and threshing machine" from c1850. Note the timber shafts on the steam engine so it could be pulled by horse

The following year, 1851, we find James Rowland successfully tendering against four local competitors for "Welch (sic) iron rails" for "fixing oak posts and iron rails around the Square fronting the Council House" in Salisbury Market Place⁴¹.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Trade Directories were the equivalent of Yellow Pages or the internet search today, the go-to source for information on services and suppliers available in a town. Many of the competing directories also published background information about the town, such as lists of carriers and railway routes, and often lists of "nobility, gentry and clergy" or "prominent citizens". In 1852 we have the first appearance of James Rowland in these trade directories, in the directory of Hunt and Co. As this is his first known entry in a Directory, it is reproduced below as it now appears on micro-fiche negative:

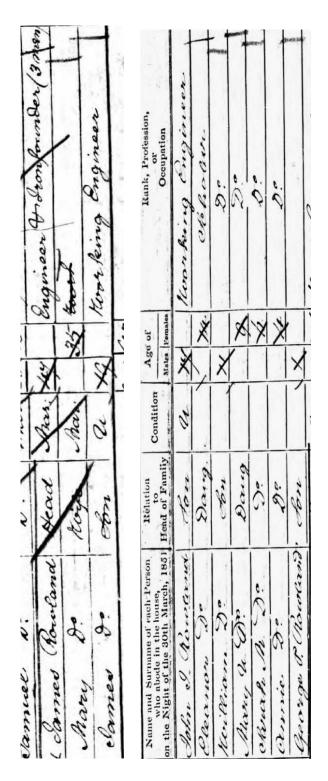


As can be seen, his entry is the only one under the heading "Ironfounder and Engineers" and reads "Rowland, James, Rollestone Street". Interestingly, he is not listed among the six "ironmongers" included, nor under the heading "Brass and Cock Founders" for which only one name was listed. The following year Slater's Directory, 1852-53, lists James Rowland simply as "Ironfounder"⁴², this description being a subtle change of emphasis from "Engineer" the term used earlier and especially later in his career⁴³.

On the domestic side, it was not only, it was not only James Rowland's business that grew after he moved to Salisbury, his family did as well. In 1845 a daughter, Sarah Martha, had been born to James and Mary, their third child and the first in Salisbury. Annie followed in Spring 1847, James's eighth child and fifth daughter (four surviving). In August 1849 a son was born, James's ninth child and fourth son - George Pitts Rowland.

The summer of that year, 1849, must have been a very worrying time for the family, and especially for Mary Pitts and her new-born – in mid-July cholera broke out in the city, and within a week was spreading rapidly. By mid-August 1849 (George was born on the 11th) nearly 150 people had died, of all classes, and as the wealthy fled the city the local economy suffered a downturn⁴⁴. The final death-toll was 192, with the epidemic lasting just 2 months. (For Salisbury, it seems the 1849 outbreak was more serious than that of 1854 which ravaged the whole of Britain). By the time of the census in June 1851 Salisbury had appointed an Inspector from the Board of Health, whose report led to the infilling of the open channels in the chequers, and eventually to new public sewerage.

As for James Rowland, the 1851 census found his young family with 8 living children – his firstborn by Mary Shaw had died - three by Eleanor Walker, and five more by Mary Pitts. The family were settled in Rollestone Street, with James describing his occupation as "Engineer and Iron Founder". Evidently business was prospering, for he was employing 3 men, two of whom were his two eldest sons, James 19, born Worcester, and John Joseph 17, born Manchester ⁴⁵. Both these sons were described as "working engineers" – James's engineering dynasty was underway!



1851 census for James Rowland's household, Rollestone Street, Salisbury

James Rowland, 47, Engineer and Iron Founder (employing 3 men), born Stroud Gloucester;

his wife Mary, 35, born Culworth Northampton;

James, 19, working engineer, born Worcester;

John J, 17, working engineer, born Manchester Lancashire;

Eleanor, 14, born Manchester Lancashire;

William, 11, born Bristol;

Mary U, 9, born Bristol;

Sarah M, 6, born Wilts, Salisbury,

Annie, 4, born Salisbury,

George P, 1, born Salisbury

Rollestone Street in Salisbury is not particularly long, crossing just two chequers, but it has, both now and in Victorian times, a variety of buildings, sites and uses. Is it possible to identify more exactly the Rowland residence and Works?

Where were James Rowland's Works and home in Rollestone Street?⁴⁶

Identification of the precise site of James Rowland's Works in Rollestone Street, and of the family's home in the same street, is not easy, although it is not unreasonable to assume the dwelling was at or near the Works. The 1851 census lists James Rowland as living in Rollestone Street, but this was before any street numbering was introduced, and the census and other sources refer simply to "Rollestone Street" (as for example in the 1852 Hunts' Directory).

The Rollestone Street Works would remain James Rowland's base from c1849 until 1868, when the business moved to Fisherton. The Rowland

family, however, lived only a short time at Rollestone Street; they had lived in Brown Street in 1849 (presumably above the shop operated by James and his ex-partner Woods), then at Rollestone Street in 1851, but by 1857 were in Church Street.

The 1851 census enumerator, a Mr John Sutton, undertook his task not on a street-by-street basis, but chequer by chequer, tackling each one clockwise⁴⁷. For Three Swans Chequer, which formed part of his "Enumeration District No. 2", he started at the Old George Inn, on the corner of Winchester Street and Rollestone Street. From thence he surveyed westwards along Winchester Street, turning north onto the east side of Endless Street. No. 37 on his schedule was for an innkeeper, which we can tentatively identify as the Wool Pack Inn in Endless Street.

For some reason the surveyor did not record along the south side of Hog Lane (now part of Salt Lane), but then turned south down the west side of Rollestone Street. His first entry there was for James Rowland and his family. There are eleven entries for this side of Rollestone Street, including two empty houses, and three for Frenches (?) Buildings and one for "Blakes Cottages No. 1". These smaller dwellings were tenements in courts and alleys off Rollestone Street, and the 1880 1/500 OS Town Map does indeed show possible candidates for these, unfortunately all un-named. Salisbury at this time was infamous for its slum courts. The surveyor completed his work in the chequer by continuing south to Winchester Street.

If this analysis is correct, then in 1851 the Rowland family was living in the northernmost dwelling on the west side of Rollestone street near its crossroads with Salt Lane. The 1860 Board of Health map shows three houses here, of which one survives to this day. It is a large eighteenth century two-storey building with notably tall windows. Although subsequently much altered, the building was once a fine Georgian house, and could easily be where James Rowland was resident in 1851.



The 1860 Board of Health map, with (arrowed) possible locations for the Rowland family home in 1851 (top), and the Rowland Iron Works

The 1880 OS Town Map shows both the three houses and the possible Ironworks buildings in more detail, the interesting annotation "Smithy" only a few yards to the south, partitioned off from other buildings – could this be the remains of Rowland's foundry and associated workshops? At present there is insufficient evidence to support any firm conclusions, which are greatly complicated by the subsequent history of this area – the building on the corner with Hog Lane (now Salt Lane) was rebuilt with a canted corner in 1885 as the Salisbury Cycling and Social Club, the Georgian house was retained but incorporated into the Club, and the whole of the area to the south was cleared and redeveloped first in 1939 for the Omnibus Station, and then again in 2019 as a large block of sheltered housing for Churchill Retirement Living ("Sarum Lodge").



The 1880 OS Town Map 1/500 scale, surveyed 1878, with (arrowed) possible locations for the Rowland family home in 1851, and the Rowland Iron Works

In summary, the tentative suggestion is that James Rowland's ironworks site in Rollestone Street was on the west side, in Three Swans Chequer, a little south of the Salt Lane crossroads, with, in 1851, the family living in the nearby Georgian house. The present appearance of the site is shown below:



Rollestone Street in 2020. The Georgian house, with the 6 tall upper windows, may be James Rowland's residence in 1851, with his "Rollestone Works" site a little south, now "Sarum Lodge" flats. The above view looks SW



Rollestone Street looking NW, and the possible Rowland residence in 1851. The house is much altered, and a wide central window has been inserted to replace the original entry-doorway, but in 1851 would have been a large and prestigious 6-bay house

6. James Rowland's private life in Salisbury - loss and recovery

By 1853 it must have seemed to James Rowland that his business, his family life and his residence had all been finally settled and he and his family could look forward to a few years of peace and contentment and growth. It was not to be - for it was just at this point that another tragedy struck. Mary Pitts, James's third wife, died on 20 January 1853, aged just 36. The cause of death was given as "Phthisis diseased heart. Certified" (ie coronary tuberculosis)⁴⁸. She was buried in the Salisbury London Road Cemetery⁴⁹.

James was left with 8 children at home, some now adult (the eldest sons James, then 21, and John Joseph, 19), but others still young children, including little George the fourth son, aged only 3. Even if we set aside the grief of bereavement, of being widowed for the third time, the desperate family circumstances which James found himself in would have seriously threatened the success of his business in Salisbury. Victorian England provided no safety net, and James had no family nearby to call upon – he urgently needed someone to look after the children and run the home.

As he undoubtedly saw it, he needed another wife.

At this point the story gets a little bit complicated, and I must seek the reader's patience whilst we untangle the Pitts family history, for the Pitts family in Northamptonshire and the Rowland family in Salisbury now become even more intertwined. We will need to go back a few years before the death of Mary Rowland nee Pitts in 1853, to see what had been happening to her other sisters.

The reader will recall that when Mary Pitts married James Rowland at Deptford in 1839, she left her two surviving sisters (Martha and Urania) in Northamptonshire. (Sarah, the third Pitts sister, had died in 1837). At about that time, and probably in c1838, the middle surviving sister, Martha Pitts, married Daniel Dalton, which left just the youngest sister, Urania, unmarried. It is Urania who would eventually take centre-stage in the life of James Rowland.

The 1841 Census shows that Urania was then still resident in Northamptonshire, because we find her aged 20 in the little village of Eydon, only a mile or two from their childhood home at Culworth. At Eydon, Urania was in the household of her half-sister Martha Dalton (nee Pitts) who was then aged 24 (although listed on the census as aged 20) and had two sons William (2) and John (7 months). Urania was apparently a domestic servant,

presumably helping to care for the two children; Daniel Dalton, the boys' father, was not present on the census day but was still alive (aged 20).

Urania did not remain long in the employment of her brother-in-law and her half-sister; the following year, 1842, she married Bryan Lucas who was a local man, born in Kingsthorpe, Northamptonshire in 1813. (Bryan was the son of Robert Lucas, a lime merchant). The marriage took place in Brackley Northamptonshire. (Although it doesn't come into our story, we can note that four years after Urania's marriage, her half-sister Martha died (1846) and three years later (1849) so did Martha's husband Daniel Dalton. This left the two young Dalton boys orphaned at the age of 10 and 9, much as the four Pitts girls had been a generation earlier).

The 1851 census finds Urania Pitts, now Urania Lucas, settled into life with her new family, the Lucas's, and living at 36 Harborough Road, Kingsthorpe Northamptonshire. Bryan Lucas is 38 (although he gave his age as 35) and an innkeeper and Urania is 32. They have a young son Arthur aged 2 (born 1849 Northamptonshire). Also included in the household were Caroline Lucas (Bryan's sister) 17, and two servants. The next-door property, 37 Harborough Road, is also relevant, for it accommodated Bryan Lucas's father William Lucas 77, his son Luke Lucas 27, and his granddaughter, Ann Lucas 19. Both the men were agricultural labourers.

To summarise: at the time of the census in 1851 we find James Rowland in Salisbury with his third wife Mary Pitts, still alive at this date, and his eight surviving children. On that same night Mary's only remaining sister (half-sister) Urania Pitts, now Urania Lucas, was in Northamptonshire with her husband Bryan Lucas and their young son Arthur, age 2. The two sisters and their families evidently kept in close touch and there must have been visits between Salisbury and Northamptonshire. In the light of future events it seems likely that at an early stage an attraction developed between Urania Lucas and her half-brother-in-law James Rowland, although we will never know quite when the relationship became serious.

The death in January 1853 of Mary, James Rowland's wife and Urania's half-sister, left James a widower with 8 children of whom perhaps 5 were still dependant on him (George 3, Annie 6, Sarah 7, Mary 11, and William 12). A little over two years later, in October 1855, Urania's husband, Bryan Lucas, died aged 42, leaving Urania with young Arthur, then aged about 6. Within a short space of time both families had lost a spouse.

The deaths of their respective partners in 1853 and 1855 left both James Rowland and Urania Lucas with children but no partner, and we can imagine that her husband's death may have left Urania in something of a dilemma. By then all her 3 sisters were dead. However she had a number of relatives in various locations which might offer options for her and her son's future – there were her late husband's Lucas relatives in Northamptonshire⁵⁰; from the Pitts line there were the two orphaned sons (aged 16 and 15) of her late sister Martha⁵¹; and in Salisbury was her half-brother-in-law with his eight surviving children including five by her deceased half-sister Mary, aged 15 to 6, her youngest nieces and nephews. Should she and her son Arthur stay in Northamptonshire? Or should she move permanently to Salisbury?

She chose to move, with Arthur, to Salisbury to be with James Rowland, and whenever it had started, their relationship was soon to become much more than just a mutually beneficial arrangement. Urania soon took the Rowland surname, and they lived as man and wife.

Urania's move to Salisbury must have taken place between October 1855 and May 1857⁵². In 1856 James was 53 and Urania 37, and little Arthur 7, and it was probably Urania's arrival in Salisbury that made James decide to move his residence from Rollestone Street to Church Street, although keeping his Iron Works in Rollestone Street. If 1856 was the year of the move, we can imagine James and Urania looking forward to the future, which offered them some stability after the turmoil each of them had suffered.

It was not to be so easy. In the winter of 1856-57 young Sarah Martha Rowland, James's fourth daughter (three surviving), was seriously ill. She was diagnosed with tabes mesenterica⁵³, a form of TB of the lymph nodes. She wasted away all through the spring and summer of 1857 ⁵⁴, and eventually died, aged 12, in July. That summer, in the midst of Sarah's sickness, her new "step-mother" Urania discovered she was pregnant. It was less than two years after Bryan Lucas's death⁵⁵.

In February 1858, seven months after the funeral of Sarah, a daughter was born to Urania and James. They called her Flora Harriet Rowland; the birth certificate gives the father James Rowland as "engineer", and records that the child was born in James and Urania's house in Church Street⁵⁶. She was James's 10th child (of whom two had by then died) and Urania's second.

James and Urania must have lived in constant fear of a scandal if their lack of a legal marriage had become widely known in Victorian Salisbury, although one suspects that such situations were, behind closed doors, not unknown. Under both civil and canon law their union could not have been legally formalised, because before the Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act 1907 it was unlawful for a man to marry his dead wife's sister, and this prohibition extended even to half-sisters. (The reader may recall the same principle was the legal issue in respect of the marriage between Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon which was subsequently used to justify the Royal Divorce). This prohibition dated, in Victorian times, to an Act of 1560, still in force, and indeed recently strengthened by the Marriage Act 1835 ⁵⁷. So outwardly the lack of legal union between James and Urania would have been kept secret, at least outside the immediate family; their subsequent children, including little Flora, were all raised as legitimate Rowland children. Only Arthur Lucas retained his surname, but even he, it seems, was raised almost as a son by James Rowland and would follow James's own career⁵⁸.

An interesting, but unanswerable, question is how the "marriage" of James and Urania was regarded within the family. The children of Mary Pitts (William, Mary, Sarah, Annie and George), would, of course, have known that their late mother was the sister of Urania, and that her children by James (Flora, Herbert, and Ernest) were their half-siblings, and therefore in time would undoubtedly have realised that James and Urania could not be legally married. This has legal implications as well as social implications, for example it raises questions of inheritance and the legality of any Will. One can only presume that the "arrangement" was a family secret, known to the close family members and unknown, or only suspected, outside the family.

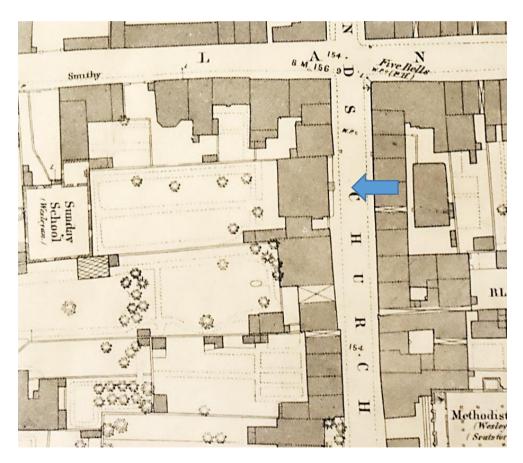
And so it was that Urania Lucas, nee Pitts, established her position as James Rowland's fourth wife, albeit in common law only. In March 1859, little more than a year after Flora's birth, a son was born to Urania and James, and they called him Herbert⁵⁹.

As noted, it was probably Urania's arrival in Salisbury in c1856 that made James decide to move his private residence from Rollestone Street, very near his business premises, to a private house in Church Street, the next street to the east in Three Cups Chequer, and now confusingly renamed St Edmund's Church Street⁶⁰. It was in Church Street that Sarah had died in July 1857, and where Flora had been born in February 1858⁶¹. The family would remain here, in no. 15 Church Street, for many years, being recorded here also in 1859 (Herbert's birth), the 1861 census, Harrold's Directory in 1865, and the 1871 census. James was to die in the house in 1875.

But where exactly was no. 15 Church Street?

Where was 15 Church Street, the Rowland family home?

Street numbers for Church Street were introduced between 1861 and 1871, and the 1871 census tells us that the house was no. 15. Unfortunately, the earliest map that the author has been able to find which identifies house numbers is the 1951 edition of the OS; this map annotates the location of no. 19 and presumably no. 15 was two doors south⁶². This accords with the 1861 census where the enumerator lists the Rowland household as the third house from Salt Lane. The 1880 OS map shows this third house was a large house with front steps to Church Street, and a large rear garden, and so we can tentatively identify this house as the Rowland family home from c1856 until James's death in 1875.



The 1880 OS Town Map 1/500 scale, surveyed 1878, for Church Street (now St Edmund Church Street). The suggestion is that No. 15, the home of the Rowland family from 1857 until 1875, is the large house with the front steps on the west side of Church Street (arrowed)

The building still survives, although it has had a chequered history. Between 1901 and 1925 a large commercial Steam Laundry was built on land to the south and west, including No. 15 which appears to have been absorbed into the new laundry by altering its ground floor fenestration. In its turn the Laundry became a commercial garage (1971) and then the site was largely cleared and replaced by flats (St Edmunds Gate). No. 15, however, was retained through all this redevelopment, and its fenestration is now restored, and probably appears now very similar to its original design.



No 15 Church Street, a fine Georgian house, was probably the home of James Rowland and Urania Lucas from 1857 until James's death in 1875

In their new home, James and Urania established their new family life and here, finally, they prospered, although always with the risk of a public scandal if their lack of formal union were ever revealed outside the family.

And now, after the rather complicated explanation of how Urania Lucas arrived in James Rowland's domestic life, we must return to his engineering business and see how that progressed.

7. James Rowland in Salisbury - the 1860s – success and prosperity

The 1860s were probably the happiest time for both James Rowland and for his family. The engineering business at this time was evidently prospering: trade directories⁶³ list Rowland as "*ironfounder*" in 1852-3 (the first time he used this description) and as "*engineer*" in 1855 and the business evidently covered all aspects of ironworking, general engineering and especially agricultural engineering, both in terms of mechanisation of agricultural processes, and the use of steam power in agriculture.

By the 1860s the industrialisation of agriculture in England was in full swing, with all sorts of machinery becoming common on farms to the point now of indispensability, driven not by water but by horse and increasingly by steam engine. The same was true also for what we would now call the "food processing industry". For Wiltshire, the transition had been particularly difficult – in the first decades of the century there had been the ravages of the Napoleonic Wars, the growing movement for political and social reform, and the mobilisation of the traditionally lethargic agricultural workers culminating in the Swing Riots which swept through southern England in 1830. As we noted, a particular target had been the new threshing machines.

The Salisbury area had been at the very heart of the unrest then⁶⁴ and even by the 1860s mechanisation, rural poverty and unemployment were real issues. Conversely, for an enterprising ironfounder and engineer in a provincial agricultural hub, all this would have served to reinforce the market opportunities offered by agricultural mechanisation. We can see this in James's choice to concentrate on his farm machinery business - inventing, designing and manufacturing agricultural machinery for cultivating and processing those crops, including the growing use of steam power - rather than on millwrighting or simple iron-founding activities, his old "core" interests, although these were far from forgotten.

As the business grew Rowland advertised it extensively, indeed almost weekly by the 1860s. The following advertisement from 1858 announces Rowland's move into Steam Sawing, a business bought from Messrs Keynes and Sons and apparently relocated into the Rollestone site. Here we see Rowland steam-sawing timber from estate owners and milling it, although whether he traded in timber, or simply processed his customer's timber, is unclear.

STEAM SAW MILLS. ROLLESTONE STREET, SALISBURY.

JAMES ROWLAND, in returning his sincere thanks to the numerous Friends and Supporters for favours conferred on him for the last 12 years, begs to inform them that he has now added the above SAW MILLS, lately carried on by Messrs. Keynes & Son, to his Engineering and Iron Foundry Works; and having erected a new powerful Steam Engine, with Vertical and Circular Machinery, is competent to saw Deals and other Timber in a superior manner. The same Steam power also being used for driving the Machinery connected with his Iron Works, will enable him to execute orders very promptly, which, combined with attention and moderate terms, J. R. hopes will ensure him a share of their patronage and support.

Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 21 August 1858

One can imagine that his decision to site a commercial saw mill, an extremely noisy piece of machinery, powered by a "new powerful Steam Engine", a polluting and smelly machine, all within the confines of a cramped and residential historic chequer, probably did not go down too well amongst his neighbours!

The summer of 1861 saw the "Great Britford Sheep Fair", an important local event with a claimed 120,000 sheep penned. The Salisbury and Winchester Journal reported:

There was a very good show of agricultural implements and machinery by Messrs Tasker and Son of Andover; Mr Rowland of Salisbury; Mr J Hunt of Shirley; Mr Kendall and Son of Cashmoor near Blandford; and other manufacturers⁶⁵.

This account neatly lists Rowland's main competitors – certainly Tasker and Kendall would be his competitors for many years – but it is worth noting that no rivals are listed from Salisbury itself. By this date it is also clear that James Rowland was not only selling and hiring out agricultural machines, he was also manufacturing them, and inventing new designs for such machines. He is also manufacturing steam engines and "improving" those by other manufacturers. For example, in June 1862 we read:

We [the newspaper] have had an opportunity of inspecting a new portable eight-horse power steam-engine, constructed on a new principle, by Mr Rowland, of this city, which he intends exhibiting at the forthcoming show of the Royal Agricultural Society, in Battersea Park, London. The principal difference in this engine from those of the other makers, is the introduction of a new and perfectly bright parallel motion to guide the piston, in lieu of the ordinary guide bars, used by other makers, and an equilibrium valve in place of the common slide, both of which improvements greatly diminish the friction, and add considerably to the power and economy of the engine⁶⁶.

As the business grew throughout the 1860s Rowland appears to have slowly increased his workforce, although it was never larger than a handful of men. For example, in August 1862 he advertised:

WANTED – an experienced Workman in the above (i.e. "engine fitters and turners") – Apply to J. Rowland, Iron Works, Rollestone Street⁶⁷

As for James's family life in the 1860s, we have seen how in March 1859, soon after their move to the new house in Church Street and little more than a year after Flora's birth, Urania gave birth to a son. Herbert was James's 11th child (9 surviving) and his fifth son. Herbert was also the first son born to James who would not follow him into an engineering career – Herbert was to become a successful Land Agent in Salisbury⁶⁸.

The social standing of James Rowland at this time can be judged from the fact that in April 1860, the year after Herbert's birth, he was appointed as an Overseer (of the Poor) in the city⁶⁹. As usual for a middle-class family, he was able to afford a servant in the house.

By the date of the Census on 7th April 1861, the family upheavals of the previous few years were finally over. James and Urania were settled in Church Street and James's business was successful. The first page of the enumerator's return for the census is given below, and a transcript (maternal names added):

James Rowland, head of household, 57, Engineer and Iron Founder (employing 3 men), born Rodborough Gloucester

Urania Rowland formerly Lucas nee Pitts, wife, 43, born Culworth Northamptonshire

James Rowland, son, 28, engineer, born Worcester (mother: Eleanor Walker)

Ellen (Eleanor) Rowland, daughter, 24, no occupation stated, born Manchester (mother: Eleanor Walker)

William Rowland, son, 21, engineer, born Bristol (mother: Mary Pitts)

Annie Rowland, daughter, 14, scholar, born Salisbury (mother: Mary Pitts)

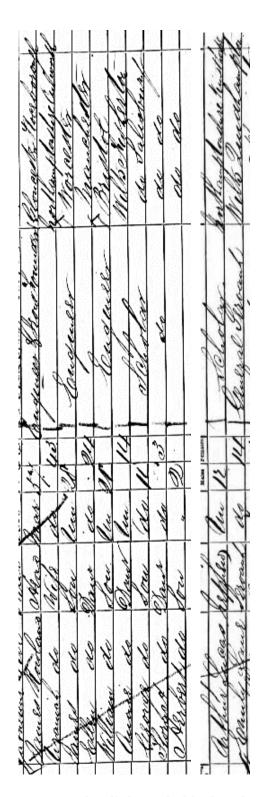
George Rowland, son, 11, scholar, born Salisbury (mother: Mary Pitts)

Flora Rowland, daughter, 3, scholar, born Salisbury (mother: Urania Lucas nee Pitts)

Herbert Rowland, son, 2, born Salisbury (mother: Urania Lucas nee Pitts)

Arthur Lucas, nephew, 12, born Kingsthorpe Northamptonshire (mother: Urania Lucas nee Pitts, father: Bryan Lucas)

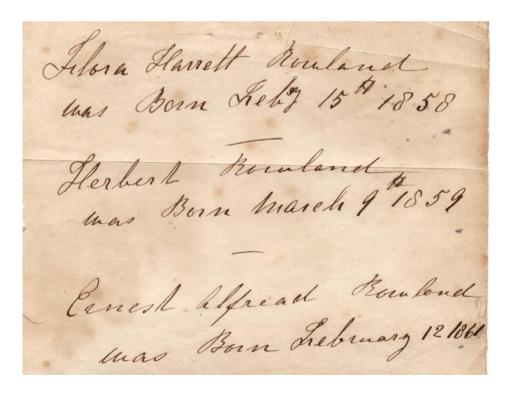
Emily Louis, 14, servant



1861 census for James Rowland's household, Church Street, Salisbury

This census for 1861 enables us to see how James's complicated extended family structure was working out. The household at Church Street on census night comprised 11 people⁷⁰ and we see that, by this date, two of the four sons at home had followed their father into engineering (James and William). Two of James's children are not listed; John Joseph (then 28 and also an engineer) and Mary Urania (19) are absent, presumably because they had left home by then. Urania's son Arthur Lucas is listed as "nephew" and this is how James regarded him, rather than "common-law step-son" or "partner's son" which is how such a relationship would be regarded today. Technically, because James and Urania were not married, and James had previously been married to Urania's sister, Arthur was the "half-nephew of James's third wife deceased". We note also that the census gives no hint that James and Urania were not married and she is listed as his "wife".

The following year, 1862, the last of James's twelve children (ten surviving) was born – Ernest Alfred, the sixth son. It was probably at about this time that James and Urania entered in the family Bible the names of the children born to then:



The Rowland Family Bible, showing the names of the three children of James Rowland and Urania Pitts, his fourth "wife" (source: Author). The handwriting is probably that of Urania



James Rowland, the only known photograph, probably taken between 1861 and 1865 by Charles Witcomb at his studio in Milford Street Salisbury⁷¹. In 1864 James was aged 61



Urania Lucas nee Pitts, the fourth "wife" of James Rowland. This photograph, also from the 1860s, was probably taken in a different studio. In 1864 Urania was aged 45

By the time Ernest Alfred was born in 1862, James Rowland was settled in his new "marriage", most of his children had survived infancy and they were now growing up, if not actually leaving home and establishing their own careers. We can imagine that James would have been particularly pleased that his three adult boys (James, John, and William) had all followed him into the family business. In due course son no. 4, George, would also become an engineer, as would Urania's son Arthur Lucas. (In fact, only his last 2 sons, Herbert and Ernest, would choose other careers).

In summary James Rowland had achieved success in Salisbury as a self-made Victorian industrial entrepreneur – he had used his hard-won skills and his business acumen to establish a family business in iron founding and engineering, and was respected by his peers⁷². His business was the principal engineer and iron founder in the city, serving not just Salisbury but a wide area of surrounding southern Wiltshire.

Now we can examine the Rowland engineering business in a little more detail. The bread-and-butter of the business would have been small-scale ironfounding, making the huge range of iron goods needed in the Victorian age, when cast iron was the main material for fixtures, fittings, devices and appliances, from lamp-posts to door-knockers, window-stays to rainwater goods, railings to paper-weights. The extent to which James Rowland worked iron into wrought iron, used for example in knives, farm implements, nails, horseshoes, pipes, railways, and railings, is unknown, although it would be usual for an ironworks such as Rowland's to produce both cast and wrought iron. For many goods and machines the city needed, wrought iron would have been essential. To date no surviving examples have been identified, in contrast to those of his son William Rowland whose goods have survived in some numbers, and this may simply be because James Rowland did not cast his name into the product. Brass as a material is no longer used extensively, but in the nineteenth century it was essential for a wide range of goods now made in plastics or mild steel.

James Rowland continued to the advertise his business throughout the 1860s incessantly, for there were other engineers in the area in competition with him. What James probably saw as the more interesting side of the business appears to have grown considerably in this decade - the invention, and patenting, of his own new agricultural and brewery machines, as well as acting as agent for the machines invented by others⁷³. In 1865 the range of his business activities is summarised in the entry for Harrod's Directory and in an accompanying advertisement there⁷⁴:

Rowland James, millwright, iron and brass founder and agricultural machine manufacturer, Rolleston street; p.r., Church street, (see advt.)

Harrod's Directory for Dorset and Wiltshire, 1865

Interestingly, James called himself a millwright, but iron founding and agricultural machinery must have been his primary business in Salisbury. By the 1860s the successful cloth industry, and the many large cloth mills of the previous centuries, had long left Salisbury 75. "Millwright" in this context should therefore be taken as a very general term including hand- and horse-powered farm machines for chopping root crops, threshing corn, and a huge range of other essentially small-scale activities for agriculture and food-processing, although he would undoubtedly still work on larger buildings with water- and steam-powered mills for corn, paper, timber, or wool as required. A better term might be "machine-wright" or "machine-smith".

TAMES ROVEAND?

ENGINEER, MILLWRIGHT, & IRON & BRASS FOUNDER, Agricultural Implement and Machine Manufacturer.

Portable and Stationary Steam Engines to any power; also Traction Engines for the common roads.

Prices and particulars on application to the Iron Works, Rolliston St. SALISBURY.

Patent Mashing Machines, Malt Bruisers, &c., &c.

Advertisement in Harrod's Directory for Dorset and Wiltshire, 1865

Rowland seems to have been particularly proud of his patented inventions for the brewing and distilling industries, and especially a "Mashing and Mixing Machine". The following advertisement is typical of many which promoted the product to local famers, estate managers, brewers and distillers:

BY HER MAJESTY'S ROYAL LETTERS PATENT. TO BREWERS, DISTILLERS, and OTHERS. ROWLAND'S PATENT MASHING AND MIXING MACHINE. JAMES ROWLAND, in submitting the above to the notice

of the Public, does so with the greatest confidence of its superiority over any other Machine in use.

It can be recommended as most effective, and for saving Time, Labour, and Expense; also for obtaining the greatest

amount of Extract from the Malt.

Its construction is simple, substantial, and durable. It can be worked by Steam, Horse, or Manual Labour, as one Man may with ease work a large size Machine, and is also applicable to any size Tub.

For Machines and particulars apply to the Patentee and Manufacturer, Iron Works, Rollestone-street, Salisbury, where, at any time, Specimens can be seen.

Prospectus sent by Post, on application.

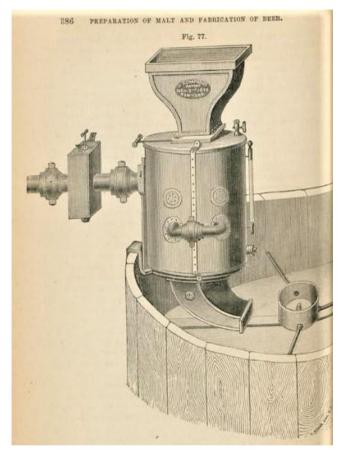
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Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 19 December 1863

It is likely that Rowland invented and patented a number of other machines for the agricultural and food processing industries – other advertisements refer, for example, to a "Malt Bruiser" – but the most successful was clearly the "Patent Mashing and Mixing Machine" for volume brewing of beer from malted grain. Sadly, no surviving specimen of this machine has yet been located. The illustration on page 56 is from a book published in 1882 and shows the type of machine it probably resembled⁷⁶, designed for "Brewers, distillers, and others".

James Rowland also manufactured a range of farm machines for processing crops, especially root crops, in small farm mills and horse-gins. Turnip and other root cutters and slicers, and chaff choppers and the like were essential to animal husbandry and were produced by many local engineers in rural districts, each in competition with rival local manufacturers. The importance of these simple hand-driven machines in, especially, animal husbandry is easy to overlook, but readily appreciated by anyone who has ever attempted to chop turnips or mangel-wurzels into edible slices or chips by hand. These simple root-choppers, chaff-cutters and oat-kibblers formed a key element in the industrialisation of agriculture in the mid-nineteenth century, and James Rowland would undoubtedly have made such simple machines, as well as more complicated mills and engines. The Rowland Iron Works is known

to have produced "Smooth-Roller Oat Bruisers", and the "Bean Kibblers", which could also be fitted with "Vibrating Screens" and were generally known as "mills" ⁷⁷. (As noted above, this may explain why Rowland continued to advertise himself as a *millwright* for many years in a city no longer noted for its cloth mills, *mills* in this sense being simple machines, usually for small and estate farmers).



A machine for mashing malt prior to fermentation in the production of beer

Many small agricultural machines still survive tucked into dusty corners of farms, long abandoned when petrol and then electric machines replaced them. Like the "Patent Mashing and Mixing Machine", one of these Rowland machines may yet be found.

The illustrations below show the type of machine Rowland probably produced for small farms - the left one is known to be for mangel-wurzels. These examples are hand-powered but larger versions for farm-scale horse gins would also have been produced, as well as industrial-scale machines using steam-power.





Two small root-chopper machines from the Victorian era

The 1861 "Great Britford Sheep Fair" provided, as we saw on page 46, opportunity for James to display and demonstrate many of his machines, but it seems he had a special interest in (steam) engines, manufacturing and improving them. In 1856 "The Engineer" was founded, a national journal written by engineers for engineers ⁷⁸, and which publicised all new developments including summaries from The British Association for the Advancement of Science, The Royal Institution of Great Britain, The Patent Journal (which listed all new relevant patents), The Institution of Mechanical Engineers, various specialist associations and societies, and County Shows. In 1862 Rowland received his first mention⁷⁹, and the occasion was the Royal Agricultural Society's Show at Battersea Park which we have already noted (page 47) was reported very favourably in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal for 14th June 1862.

The first show which the Royal Agricultural Society has ever held in London opened in Battersea Park on Monday. ... The Show is the most complete of its kind ever made. The display of machinery and implements is particularly full, the objects under these heading numbering 5,064 in a catalogue of nearly 450 pages.

... Messrs Marshall's (of Gainsborough) portable (steam) engines have a jet of steam or blower in the chimney, and Mr Rowland of Salisbury, sends one with piston valves and a parallel motion. Messrs Allchin's engine ...

Significantly, this mention for Rowland was not of his patented agricultural machinery, but of his improvements to steam engines. It should be noted that the Royal Agricultural Show was a national event in London, and probably the most important of the very many such Shows in the whole country – even a brief mention is praise indeed.

The 1860s was a decade of considerable invention and improvement of machinery using static (i.e. stationary) and portable steam engines, and also of the engines themselves. A particular interest in the 1860s centered on portable steam engines, "portable" in the sense that they needed to be towed to the site (for threshing, usually a field or barn) by horse. There was much experimentation by many engineers attempting to make such "portable" steam engines fully mobile under their own power.

At the start of the decade the intense focus of the country's engineers on this idea of a road-mobile steam engine was finally successful. In 1859 the engineer Thomas Aveling modified a Clayton & Shuttleworth portable engine, which had to be hauled from job to job by horses, into a self-propelled one. Within a few years further experimentation led by 1870 to the evolution of the traction engine in the form recognisable today, and thereafter the design was to change little for the next 100 years⁸⁰.



An Aveling and Porter steam traction engine of 1871. That driven by James Rowland in 1863 must have been very similar

James Rowland must have found these new machines irresistible, and he became among the first pioneers of their use. By 1863 he was driving one of the new traction engines on public roads, and the evidence suggests he manufactured them as well as owning and using them; and he certainly made both static and portable steam engines ⁸¹. His 1865 advertisement in Harrod's Directory, which we noted on page 54, significantly contains the phrase "*Traction Engines for the common roads*" and it was this pioneering use of a traction engine that led James Rowland into conflict with the authorities in Salisbury, an incident which received wide publicity and lived in the folk-memory of the good citizens of Salisbury for many generations⁸².

In April 1863 James Rowland was summoned before the County Petty Sessions under a Bench led by Viscount Folkestone, to face prosecution. The story became locally famous, and still makes a vivid read:

Mr James Rowland, engineer, of Salisbury, appeared charged with having, at Britford, caused to be erected a steam engine within 25 yards of the [turnpike] carriage-road ... [A] witness saw smoke or steam emerging ...

[The Defence] said the engine was a locomotive ... and the [Highways] Act did not apply to locomotives and was made to prohibit the use of the highway by stationary engines ... The Act was passed 28 years ago, when a locomotive without rails was unheard of ... Under common law a man had the right to run a locomotive on the highway provided he injured nobody, and that the weight did not exceed 12 tons or the wheels seven feet.

[The Defence] further read a telegraphic dispatch from Messrs Aveling and Porter, to the effect that they had 50 locomotives in use on the highway and they had never been interfered with ... [The Defence] therefore contended that Mr Rowland had a perfect right to travel on the road with his engine when and where he pleased and that the Highways Act did not apply to locomotives in the slightest degree.

Lord Folkestone said he believed the legislature had made a mistake ... he looked upon a locomotive engine as one of the most dangerous things that could be met by a horse.

The case was adjourned for a fortnight ... as this matter was of so much concern to the public generally [the Bench] would make an application to the Home Secretary for his opinion as to the law⁸³.

The case was returned to the Petty Sessions two weeks later to find that Lord Folkestone had in fact not referred it to the Home Secretary but both parties had agreed to be bound by the Opinion of two learned judges of the Court of Exchequer. In the event the judges opined that "It was perfectly clear that the use of locomotives along the road was legal provided they were so used as not to be a nuisance". Lord Folkestone, having previously agreed to be bound by the Opinion, now had no choice but to dismiss the case. In so doing he expressed, in no uncertain terms, his view of the matter:

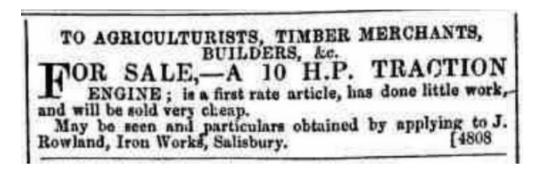
His Lordship mentioned that on the previous day he had met the engine on Harnham Bridge, and although he himself passed without any accident, yet he confessed that he should not have liked a lady to have been alone in the carriage. The Lord Bishop [had] also passed by at the same time and his horse shied and galloped off. Nothing could be more dangerous than the driving of locomotives on the highway and he also called attention to the absurdity of the thing, for only on the previous Tuesday a poor man was summoned for lighting a fire by the side of the road ... and was fined 20s. ...

Lord Folkestone said that last summer a traction engine passed by as his carriage was standing at Lady Sefton's door, and his coachman afterwards told him that it was as much as he could possibly do to prevent the horses going up the steps to the house; they had got upon the pavement.

The case [was] dismissed but [he reminded] Mr Rowland that he was still open to an indictment [if a nuisance were ever to be caused by use of the engine on the road] 84 .

This little cameo of life in Salisbury in the mid-nineteenth century reveals much more than just James Rowland – clearly, not a man to be easily dissuaded - as an early pioneer of the new traction engine technology; or than the failure of legislation to keep abreast of changes in technology, a theme familiar to our twenty-first century lives. More fundamentally, it lays bare the conflict of culture inherent in a society undergoing rapid change – a clash between the refinement and privilege of the "nobility and gentry classes" and the grit, determination and enterprise of the entrepreneurs and inventors; between the refined and polite Georgian values still surviving amidst the now irresistible march of Victorian industrialisation, of "progress".

Undaunted, James Rowland continued manufacturing, as well as driving, these new "traction" engines, and of course, selling them. The following advertisement is from just 3 years later, 1866:



Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 26 May 1866

James Rowland's love for steam engines, and for inventing, and patenting, new ways to improve them, received some important national publicity in 1865, again in *The Engineer* journal. In March an illustrated article ⁸⁵ appeared under a headline only an engineer could have written: "Rowland's Cocks, Taps and Valves".

A flavour of the contents can be gained from the first few sentences:

This invention, patented by Mr James Rowland, engineer, Salisbury, consists in constructing a conical valve seat in the shell or seat for high-pressure water or steam pipes, or in the steam passages to the top or bottom of steam cylinders, for which purpose the invention is particularly applicable. To the before-mentioned conical vale seat is fitted a corresponding conical plug of wood, brass, iron or other equivalent material, which can be elevated from, or lowered into the above-named conical valve seat when it is required to open or shut the valve. The patentee does not confine himself to the conical shape of the valve plug and valve seat, as they may be made in various forms, such as the frustrum of a cone or wedge, or a frustrum of a square or rectangular pyramid. The above-named wood or metal plug can be raised or lowered in its seat by various mechanical appliances, such as in the case of high-pressure water and steam pipes, by means of a lever or screw working through a female screw in the cap or head piece, ...

One can well imagine James Rowland's pride at this large and important article is the leading engineering journal of the day – recognition at last!

ROWLAND'S COCKS, TAPS, AND VALVES.

This invention, patented by Mr. James Rowland, engineer, Salisbury, consists in constructing a conical valve seat in the shell or seat for high-pressure water or steam pipes, or in the steam passages to the top and bottom of steam cylinders, for which purpose the invention is particularly applicable. To the beformentioned conical valve seat is fitted a corresponding conical plug of wood, brass, iron, or other equivalent material, which can be elevated from, or lowered into the above-named conical valve seat when it is required to open or shut the valve. The patentee does not confine himself to the conical shape of the valve plug and valve seat, as they may be made in various forms, such as a frustrum of a cone or wedge, or a frustrum of a cone or wedge, or a frustrum of a square or rectangular pyramid. The above-named wood or metal plug can be raised or lowered in its sent by varions mechanical appliances, such as in the case of high-pressure water and steam pipes, by means of a lever or screw working through a female screw in the case of head piece, or in the case of being used the steams.

female screw in the cap or head piece, or in the case of being used for steam cylinder valves, in which case there would be two steam valves and two eduction valves, and also in some cases an additional valve for working steam expansively; they may be opened and shut by means of levers actuated by cams driven by an eccentric keyed on the main shaft of the engine, or by means of a wedge or wedges, or by other appliances, the valve spindles in all cases working through stuffing-boxes packed with hemp, metallic packing, or other equivalent material.

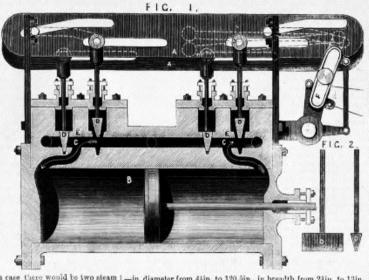
or other equivalent material.

The object of the invention is to construct an equilibrium valve to supersede the common slide now in use, in which arrangement there is enormous loss of power in the engine consequent on the great friction in the working of the slide. This object is attained in the present invention, for, as soon as the conical or wedge-shaped plug is removed from its seat, a space immediately occurs between it and the side of the valve, the steam or water making its secape by this space, and no such friction takes place as occurs during the whole travel of the slide.

whole travel of the slide.

Fig. 1 is a longitudinal section of a steam cylinder with the valves applied to it, and Fig. 2 shows side and end views of the valve plug.

A is the steam cylinder; B', B', B', B', are the improved valves; C, C, C, C, are the steam passages; D, cam for working the valves; E, cam frame, and F, supports for cam.



—in diameter from 4\frac{1}{2}in. to 120 5\text{in., in breadth from 2\frac{1}{2}in. to 13\text{in.,}} and in pitch from 1\frac{1}{2}in. to 3\frac{1}{2}in., with the following results:—

Maximum value of C = 450
Minimum value of C = 374

For wheels over a ton weight only:—

Maximum value of C = 450
Minimum value of C = 450
Minimum value of C = 440

Mean value of C = 400

Similarly for level wheels C was deduced from twenty-four examples, varying from 20\frac{1}{2}\text{ib. to 56 cwt. in weight, and from 1\frac{1}{2}\text{in. or 3\text{in. pitch, with the following results:—

Maximum value of C ... = 0 390
Minimum value of C ... = 0 325

Mean value of C ... = 0 325

The variations are too capricious to be due to any other cause

Mean value of C

The variations are too capricious to be due to any other cause than the varying proportions adopted by different millwrights, and in different cases, and accidental variations in the number of arms and size of boss. The data taken are comprehensive enough, it is believed, for a tolerably reliable average.

William Cawthorne Unwin.

TESTING THE POWER OF STEAM ENGINES.

The Engineer, 31st March 1865

The summer of the following year, 1866, brought the third agricultural show where the Rowland business featured. We have noted on page 46 the Great Britford Sheep Fair of 1861, an important event but essentially a local fair for buying and selling sheep, rather than a Show for the announcement advertisement and display of machinery, inventions as well as animals. Then we noted (page 47) the national Royal Agricultural Society's Show at Battersea in 1862, where Rowland's improvements to engines were demonstrated. Now in 1866 came The Royal Bath and West of England Society's Show, an event almost as important and large as the Royal Society's in London, and that year it was to be held in Salisbury, James's own city.

It is difficult for the modern reader to appreciate the importance of the Agricultural Show for a rural district such as Salisbury. In an age before mass media, when advertising was necessarily limited to a few newspapers read only by those of means, breaking into a new market was difficult for a small engineer and inventor. The number of agricultural shows had grown from just 25 in 1800 to about 600 in the 1870s; they were held at three levels, local (such as the Britford Sheep Fair), regional (such as the Royal Bath and West of England Society, perhaps the largest and most important of the regional shows), and the national (the Smithfield Club and the Royal Agricultural)⁸⁶. When The Royal Bath and West of England Society's Show came to Salisbury in 1866, James Rowland, it seems, was determined to make his mark.

The Show understandably received front page publicity in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal, which contained the proud announcement that "James Rowland will exhibit his Patent Mashing and Mixing Machine", together with "one of his improved Portable Steam Engines, fitted with parallel motion and patent equilibrium valves", and a large range of smaller machines and devices.

BATH AND WEST OF ENGLAND SOCIETY. SALISBURY MEETING, 1866. SHED No. 13, STAND 99. JAMES ROWLAND will exhibit his Patent Mashing and Mixing Machine, also an improved Slotting and Shaping Machine, a Slot Drilling and Boring Machine, Circular Saw Bench, an improved Mangle and Wringing Machine, Patterson's Patent Compound Mills, &c. &c. In the Machinery in Motion Yard, one of his improved Portable Steam Engines, fitted with parallel motion and patent equilibrium valves. Implements and Machines by any maker supplied at their prices and terms. Illustrated price lists on application at the above Stand in the Yard, or to the Iron Works, Salisbury. [480]

Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 9 June 1866

Rowland's other machines to appear in the Show, in addition to his engines and the Patent Mashing and Mixing Machine, are listed as a "slotting and shaping machine", a "slot-drilling and boring machine", a circular-saw bench, and an improved "mangle and wringing machine". We can imagine these items were marketed to farm and estate workshops, carpentry workshops,

and country houses. Rowland also supplied machines invented by other engineers, for example "Patterson's Patent Compound Mills".

In a long report on the Show the Salisbury and Winchester Journal captures the innovative spirit of the times:

All who pass judgement on the Show must admit that, as regards an extensive exhibition of good implements it stands unsurpassed. All the leading manufacturers find a place ... Messrs Tasker and Sons of Andover were by far the largest exhibitors ... but an important feature [of the Show] is the encouragement given to manufacturers in general to bring forward anything they may have worthy of exhibition. The great prize-men have no monopoly over the little men. All are equally cared for, and are certain to have every chance.

Improvements in portable steam engines and threshing machines

There are few of the leading makers who do not profess to have improved in some way or other their steam engines. ... Mr William Andrews will exhibit a portable steam engine with a patented improvement by James Rowland, of Salisbury, to save the immense friction and power required for working the common slide valves. The valves are made either in a cone or wedge shape, only touching the opposite faces, and on the least move they become immersed in steam, consequently, having no rubbing surfaces, they are designed to last many years without repair. 87

However, one suspects that this glowing report was based largely on information and opinion supplied to the newspaper by Rowland himself. The prestigious journal *The Engineer*, which only the year before had given such generous publicity to Rowland's patented steam valves for steam engines, was now far from complementary⁸⁸:

The Salisbury Meeting of the Bath and West of England Society

The last six annual meetings of this society were held at Dorchester, Truro, Wells, Exeter, Bristol and Hereford; and the Bath and West of England, in their choice of Salisbury for this year's meeting have thus honoured the county of Wilts for, we believe, the first time. To-day (Friday) is the last of a most successful show, opened on Monday last. ...

Mr James Rowland, of Salisbury, shows a very strange form of portable (steam) engine. Instead of the crosshead and slide bars for the piston rod, which have everywhere else superseded the parallel motion for direct-acting engines, and even, in many examples, for beam engines, Mr Rowland strives to prove that all the world has been wrong by actually applying a parallel motion to his small portable engine.

With such a dislike to the common simple method of guiding the rod, he has the same feeling for the beautifully simple method of distributing by means of the slide valve. He thus uses four conical steam valves to his horizontal cylinder, which he works by means of tappets, taken up and down by a horizontal bent rod driven by eccentrics in the usual way.

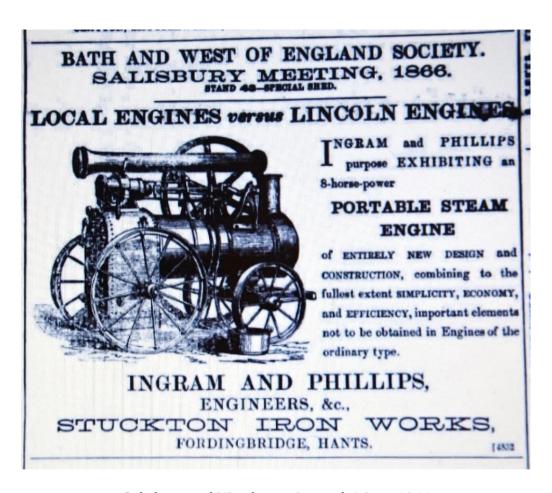
We need scarcely say that all this is progressing backwards with a vengeance; and however much we feel inclined to welcome departures from the beaten track, we cannot praise retrogression.

He also shows a patent mashing machine, and some rather rough engineers' tools. The mashing machine consists of a large tun, fitted with a vertical shaft gearing into another provided with beaters, and revolving on its own axis while being driven round the tub.

On one of Aveling's traction engines ...

The impact of this criticism on James Rowland is not known. Perhaps he was able to brush off the description of his patented conical valves and parallel motion as "retrograde", perhaps he really did think he was right and "all the world has been wrong"; but surely the dismissal of his beloved Patent Mashing and Mixing Machine without even a comment, and especially the put-down about his "rather rough engineers' tools", must have hurt.

There are no further records of James Rowland in The Engineer, nor indeed of any later agricultural show, but it seems very likely that Rowland continued to advertise, display and demonstrate at Shows, for certainly his competitors did. And here the Royal Bath and West of England Society's Show also illustrates this growing problem for James – commercial competition. His proud advertisement in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal ran adjacent to similar announcements from engineers in Banbury, Stowmarket, and particularly nearby Fordingbridge, such as the example below, although none from engineers or ironfounders actually in Salisbury. Andover was, however, only too near Salisbury, and it was in Andover that Tasker and Sons, the largest engineers in the south, had their Works.



Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 9 June 1866

8. James Rowland in Salisbury - the culmination

By the end of the 1860s the Rollestone Street site accommodated the original iron and brass foundries, various portable steam engines and traction engines, a steam saw mill, and machinery for the manufacture of agricultural and other machinery. It was sufficiently well known to be described without reference to the owner's name by the short title "*The Iron Works, Salisbury*"89. We can speculate that by the end of the decade it was probably this congestion that led James Rowland to relocate to a large, greenfield site. After nearly twenty years at Rollestone, he had outgrown his Iron Works there.

His chosen destination was in Fisherton Anger, at the west end of Fisherton Street near the new railway station, and we can imagine this move, the culmination of Rowland's career in Salisbury, had been long planned and was carefully executed. Quite how it was financed remains unclear – presumably using borrowed capital, although James Rowland's career shows him to be a careful businessman as well as an inventive and driven engineer. Unfortunately, almost all the evidence of the financial matters for the business is absent.

The ancient parish of Fisherton Anger had long been a small settlement some half mile west of Salisbury Market Place, but during the nineteenth century it had been absorbed by the growth of Salisbury and in 1835 became legally part of the city. The arrival of the railway in 1847 was, for Salisbury, complicated by the multiplicity of lines, gauges, and standards. The railway routes east, to London via Basingstoke or Andover, were operated by the LSWR company; the routes west, to Warminster, Westbury, Bristol and Exeter, were operated by the GWR company. Each company had built their own station to serve Salisbury⁹⁰.

Eventually, in 1859 the two stations, at Milford to the east and at Fisherton to the west, were linked by a tunnel, finally settling the local issues into a workable system. The result was that Salisbury became an important railway hub for southern England, focussing on the Fisherton station. Indeed, Fisherton became almost a railway boom town, with rapid development of vacant land there from $1860^{\,91}$ onwards, with both new housing and, particularly, industry. And this gave James Rowland the opportunity he was seeking.

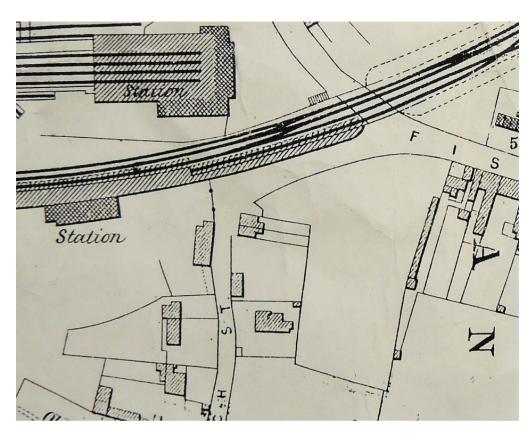
At some date between 1867 and 1869⁹², James Rowland acquired open land behind a newly-developed terrace of houses at Exeter Place, on what is now South Western Road opposite Fisherton (ie Salisbury) Station. On this land he developed buildings, foundries and yards which became known as Fisherton Foundry or Fisherton Iron Works. This new facility provided James Rowland with a new purpose-designed industrial base, and would serve him the rest of his life.

The site was conveniently very close to the railway, essential since all Rowland's iron and coal had to be brought to the site by rail. The coal would have come, almost certainly, from the Somerset coalfield (Cam Brook, Wellow Brook and Nettlebridge Valleys and around Radstock) which was relatively near Salisbury. The iron (pig iron) would have come from, perhaps, South Wales, but again the key was movement by rail. A new Foundry site in the area must therefore have been ideal from Rowland's point of view.

The availability of undeveloped land at Fisherton at this time meant also that a much larger site could be found; the Rollestone Street site was small, cramped, and had, one suspects, neighbours sensitive to the noise, smells, disturbance and the general activity inevitable with a busy Iron Foundry and Works. Furthermore, access to the Rollestone area, with narrow streets in the historic core of the city would have been a constant problem, whereas at Fisherton land could be had with direct access from both South Western Road to the north, and Dews Road, a newly-built road to the east.

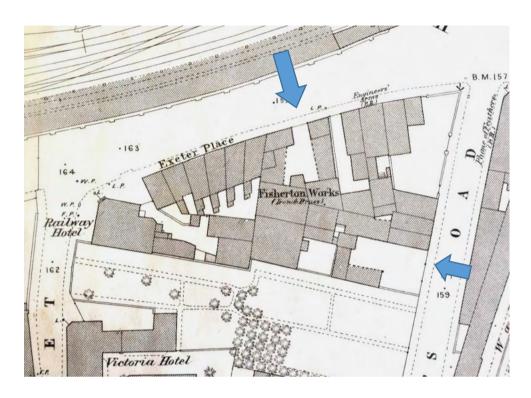
Furthermore, useful services were conveniently nearby, notably an adjoining public house called, significantly, the Engineers' Arms, and also the new Railway Hotel and Victoria Hotel serving the needs of railway passengers⁹³, as well of course as the railway station and its goods yards.

The following sequence of maps shows James Rowland's developments in Fisherton, starting with the Board of Health Map of 1860, showing large areas of undeveloped land south and southeast of the two stations at Fisherton:



The Board of Health Map of 1860

In 1878, ten years after Rowland's development of the Fisherton site had begun, surveying took place at the large scale of 1/500 for the Ordnance Survey's Town Map, published in 1880. The Map (on page 70) shows the site completed, with a new principal access direct from what is now South Western Road. This principal access led to a yard with open-fronted sheds either side, and the main Works and Foundry directly facing the access. This careful layout for the new buildings and yard on a virgin site suggests James Rowland had given detailed thought to making his new Works visually impressive for his clients, as well as functional. Behind the main Works was sited a series of other buildings, presumably each with a different function. These in turn gave onto an eastern yard which had its own secondary access off Dews Road to the east.

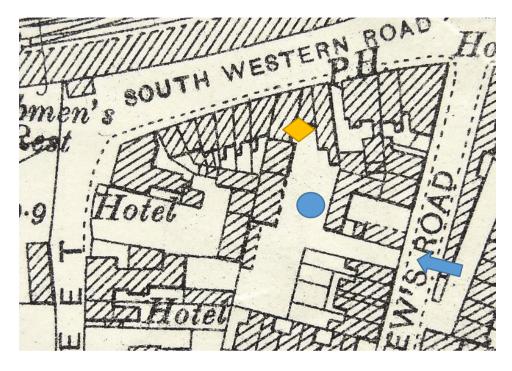


The 1880 OS Town Map. James Rowland's Works are annotated "Fisherton Works, Iron and Brass"; access points are arrowed

In the event James Rowland's occupation of the site was to be short, only six or seven years, and did not survive his death in 1875. Between the mapping surveys in 1878 (above) and 1901 (below), most of the large workshops in James's new Works were demolished, and replaced simply by an open yard, while to the south a terrace of 4 new houses was developed. The valuable frontage to South Western Road was infilled with three houses or, more likely, flats over three shops. This removed the access from South Western Road, leaving just the access from Dews Road, now much altered. One imagines that James would have been greatly saddened if he had known that his grand venture at Fisherton would last scarcely two decades.

The site has, in modern times, been redeveloped again, with the remaining Fisherton Works land now accommodating a terrace of upmarket town houses (Sovereign Court, 2002), but still accessed near Rowland's site access from Dew's Pond Road. Exeter Terrace also survives, albeit now simply numbered into South Western Road. The Engineers' Arms PH is now The Shah Jahan restaurant, but the hotels remain as the Railway Tavern and the Victoria Hotel. All that now remains of James's actual buildings, however, are a few rather mundane single-storey buildings – but still displaying their

construction in high-quality semi-engineering brickwork.



The 1901 OS 2nd Ed. The blue dot is the yard surviving from Rowland's Fisherton Works, and the arrow his access from Dew's Road. However, his principal access from South Western Road is infilled with housing (yellow)

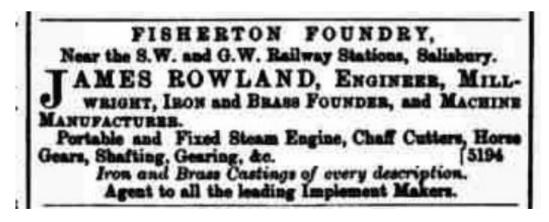


South Western Road in 2020, with the Foundry site behind. The principal access was direct from South Western Road, a gap now infilled (arrowed)



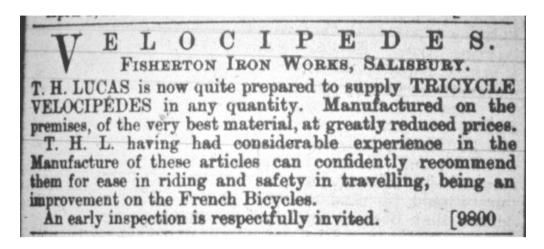
The surviving access to the Fisherton site from Dews Road with the modern buildings of Sovereign Court running across the former Works

The activities undertaken by James Rowland at his new Fisherton Foundry Works were presumably similar to those at his former Rollestone Works, but with more space and up-to-date equipment and facilities. We can safely put on the list: millwrighting, general and mechanical engineering, steam engine manufacturing and repair, iron and brass founding, casting and turning, and manufacture of agricultural and brewing machinery. In 1874 James Rowland was advertising a wide range of engineering activities from his new Works:



Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 30th May 1874

There was also space and scope in the new Works for an experiment or two with new technologies and products. The following advertisement appeared soon after the move to the new site:



Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 17 April 1869

Two things are of special interest here. Firstly, the advertisement is by T H Lucas. Who is he? – surely, he must be related to Arthur Lucas, James's nephew/step-son who would have been working with James his uncle at the Fisherton site? Is he perhaps another Northamptonshire Lucas who had followed Urania Lucas and Arthur down to Salisbury?

Here, our story runs into some uncertainty. "TH Lucas" is Thomas Henry William Lucas (1844-1913), and, significantly, he was not from the Northamptonshire Lucas family, but was a local Salisbury man. He was born to parents William Lucas (1816-1904) and Ann Smith (1813-1878), in March 1844 at Fisherton Anger, and grew up in Fisherton. His father, William Lucas, was a tailor, and he had also been Salisbury born and bred. In the 1861 census lists William Lucas living with his family in Fisherton Street: "tailor employing 3 men, and Fisherton Parish Clerk", so he was a respected local man living near James Rowland's Fisherton Works.

In 1861 young TH Lucas was a 17-year-old apprentice, presumably, although not stated explicitly, an apprentice tailor⁹⁴. Quite how, and if, the Lucas family at Fisherton were related to the Lucas family in Northamptonshire, is unresolved – Endnote 95 on page 212 explores the various possibilities and considers whether Thomas Henry Lucas may have been a distant cousin of Arthur Lucas⁹⁵.

By 1869, when we find TH Lucas advertising velocipedes, he was 25 and has evidently switched careers from tailoring to engineering. Given the known facts we can assume that he was an apprentice for James Rowland, and had been so for a few years already. James appears to have given him the opportunity to manufacture velocipedes from the Fisherton Foundry (now the "Fisherton Iron Works") and to develop this as a new venture. Sadly, his velocipede manufacturing did not last long, nor did he remain long in Salisbury. The 1871 census finds him, still single, sharing a house at 45 Whitfield Street, St Pancras, London, aged 27 and an "engine fitter and turner". His full career is outside the scope of our study but, in brief, he married, had 8 children, worked as an engine fitter, lived in Cambridgeshire and then Buckinghamshire, and died in 1913 aged 69. His story is told in more detail in Endnote 95.

The second item of special interest in the advertisement is, of course, the "velocipedes" themselves, which the advertisement describes as "an improvement on the French Bicycles". Here we must learn a little about how the "bicycle" came into being.

The earliest usable balance bicycle had been invented in Germany in 1817, and gained popularity in England and France, being known as a *vélocipède* or *dandy horse*. It was made entirely of wood. However the term "*velocipede*" did not come into general usage until the1860s with the first pedal-equipped bicycle, developed by Pierre Michaux and others in France. The Michaux company was the first to mass-produce the velocipede, from 1857. This French design was also known as a "boneshaker", since it was at first also made entirely of wood, then later with metal tyres, and in combination with cobbled streets, was an extremely uncomfortable ride. Nevertheless, these velocipedes became a fad, especially in France and England.

During the 1870s advances in metallurgy led to the development of the first all-metal velocipedes. The pedals were still attached directly to the front wheel, which became larger and larger as makers realised that the larger the wheel, the farther you could travel with one rotation of the pedals. Solid rubber tires and the long spokes of the large front drive-wheel provided a much smoother ride than its predecessor (allegedly). When the front wheel became excessively large this type of bicycle became known in England as a penny-farthing. They were to prove very popular by the 1880s, especially with more adventurous young men, as we shall see in due course.



A French velocipede⁹⁶ from 1869/70, with a metal backbone and iron-rimmed wooden wheels - a "boneshaker". It was this type of machine which TH Lucas described in 1869 as inferior to his own designs.



A huge range of velocipede designs was made in the 1870s - this example is a Juemet Tricycle from the 1880s, made in France 97 .

TH Lucas was very quick off the mark in designing and in manufacturing these all-metal machines as early as 1869, although he seems to have preferred "tricycle velocipedes" i.e. with three wheels. These would have been made of iron, rather than wood, but still with cranked pedals - chain drives had not yet been invented. These machines were not imported, they were made on site at Fisherton, and very likely to a design by Lucas himself, perhaps overseen by James Rowland. The rapid response to the rise of new technology was a characteristic of the Rowland family business, as we have already noted in connection with traction engines and will see repeatedly in the years ahead – indeed, the bicycle itself was to become a key product of the business in future years, as we shall see in Chapter 12.

Meanwhile, in his private life, James Rowland continued as a respected citizen of the city. In April 1869, he was again sworn onto the Grand Jury of the Salisbury Quarter Sessions. On that occasion there were no prisoners to be presented, and the Recorder thanked the Jury for "their punctual and numerous attendance" and congratulated all concerned that "the peace of the city was preserved so well" 98. (Rowland's motivation in this service is not obvious - was it because of his personal ideals, because of a sense of civic duty, or as a means of promoting his own standing?).

The census taken on 2 April 1871 was the final one for James Rowland. It lists him and Urania still at the family home at 15 Church Street (now St Edmunds Church Street), but with only 5 children still with them – Eleanor, 34 and unmarried, Flora 13, Herbert 12 and Ernest 9, and Urania's son Arthur Lucas, now 22. There is also Priscilla Dawkins, a servant of just 14. Annie Rowland, then 24 and still dependant, is missing. She may have been simply away that night; we know she remained unmarried, and died in 1881 aged 33. In 1871 her unmarried status would have been a concern for James and Urania, but it would have been her elder unmarried sister, Eleanor, then 34, that was the real concern. The census does not identify any occupation for her, she still lived with her parents, and would in fact remain as an unmarried dependant all her life – she died eventually in 1899 aged 63.

James Rowland's final listing in a trade directory was in Kelly's Directory for 1875, which proudly describes James as "Rowland James, engineer, millwright, iron and brass founder, agricultural machine manufacturer. Fisherton Foundry." ⁹⁹ This description reflects the general nature of the business, for although manufacturing agricultural machines was obviously a speciality, the business was also a general iron and brass foundry producing a wide range of goods. James, we note, still referred to himself as a millwright.

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The 1871 census for the household of James Rowland, 15 Church Street Salisbury

Later that same year, on 21 June 1875, James Rowland died at home in no. 15 Church Street, aged 72. The cause of death is given *as "paralysis 16 days, congestion of the lungs 3 days"*, and his profession as *"engineer"*¹⁰⁰.

His remarkable career had taken James from the woollen mills of Stroud to Bethnal Green in London, then to Worcester, Manchester, London again, and then to Bristol before he finally settled at Salisbury for his last 30 years or so (c1844-1875). He had 4 wives and 12 children, of whom ten survived him. He was buried in Salisbury London Road cemetery in the same grave¹⁰¹ as his third wife, Mary Pitts; one wonders what his widow Urania thought of that!

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Copy of the death certificate of James Rowland, 21 June 1875

There are no surviving examples of ironwork by James Rowland that can be definitively attributed to him. Annex B lists a number of gully gratings by John Armitage who succeeded him at the Fisherton site, and it seems very likely that some at least of the cast ironwork in the city (gratings, grills and plates, railings, bollards, lampposts, nameplates etc) is by James Rowland. It may simply be that his products were not cast with his name on them.

9. After James's death - the succession question

Formal probate on James Rowland's estate was granted on 22 October 1875, the Probate Calendar entry reporting a valuation for the estate of less than £1000:

ROWLAND James.	22 October. The Will of James Rowland late of the City
Effects under £1,000.	of Salisbury Engineer and Ironfounder who died 21 June 1875 at Salisbury was proved at Salisbury by Urania
	Lucas Widow and James Rowland Engineer and Ironfounder the Son both of Salisbury two of the Executors.

The Will itself has not survived, and the loss of this document might be, depending on its contents, a serious frustration. Presumably the estate simply passed to Urania his "widow", but it would be very desirable to have proof of this. Nevertheless, the probate valuation is useful - although a valuation of less than £1000 might seem surprisingly low. Probate figures were rounded up, so about £950 may be roughly correct. Translating historic figures into modern amounts is notoriously difficult, and furthermore, the assumption that the probate figure is a fair reflection of Rowland's financial standing is not necessarily valid - serious under-assessment was quite common 102. If we use the Bank of England Inflation Calculator, a conservative estimate, £950 in 1875 equates to £110,000 at 2019 prices, a very modest sum. On the other hand, the average annual household expenditure in England in 1888 was only £51, making the purchasing power of £950 equivalent to £567,000 (2019 prices). Nevertheless, it is clear that James's personal wealth was not large, even for rural Wiltshire. He and the family may have been "comfortably middle class", but certainly never to the point where they did not have to be careful of their spending.

As regards James Rowland's business assets, which might possibly be excluded from the Probate valuation, it has not proved possible to identify exactly what happened. It seems likely that the comprehensive development of the large Fisherton site only some seven years before his death had incurred a substantial capital debt which James had yet to repay fully; what is very clear, however, is the outcome - the Fisherton site, the culmination of James Rowland's work in Salisbury, was sold, along with the business goodwill. A Notice to this effect, dated 26 October 1876, was published the following January¹⁰³. The Notice refers to the Business of the late James Rowland as the "Old-Established Engineering Works and Iron and Brass Foundry at Fisherton Street, near the Railway Station". The purchaser was one John Armitage.

OLD-ESTABLISHED ENGINEERING WORKS, AND IRON AND BRASS FOUNDRY.

FISHERTON-STREET near the Railway Station, SALASBURY.

THE Executors of the late Mr. James
Rowland respectfully announce that they have this
day transferred the above Business to MR. JOHN
ARMITAGE, whom they confidently recommend to their
Friends and the Public.

JOHN ARMITAGE, in entering upon this Business, solicits a continuance of the favors bestowed upon his predecessor, assuring those who may honor him with their commands, that the utmost promptitude shall be used in the execution of all orders entrusted to his care, together with strictly moderate charges.

J. A. having had nine years' experience in the Engineering Department of Messrs. Clayton and Shuttleworth, of Lincoln, about five years as Erector of all kinds of Engines, and since for two years as Foreman for Messrs. Armitage and Ruston, of Chatteress, where all kinds of repairs are done, and castings made, feels justified in seeking the Repairs of Portable and Fixed Engines, and all kinds of Machinery, including New Fire Boxes, &c., &c.

Cambridge Rollers, Harrows, Drills, Turnip Cutters, and Agricultural Implements supplied to order.

October 26th, 1876.

[9542

Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 20th January 1877

Armitage's business history is listed in the Notice – his career must have been similar to that of James Rowland, moving around the country and finally settling. He started in Lincoln, then set up in a partnership in Chatteress (now Chatteris, in Cambridgeshire), a small agricultural market town in the rich fertile farming country of the Fens, where the manufacture of agricultural machinery would have been important in the mid-nineteenth century. He is not listed in Salisbury until 1879 following his purchase of the Fisherton Foundry ¹⁰⁴, which suggests he moved to Salisbury to take up the business opportunity consequent on Rowland's death. His 1879 listing is for "agricultural engineer and ironfounder" at Fisherton, but by 1885 he has moved his business to St Ann's Foundry, Salisbury, where he is listed under the name John Varley Armitage¹⁰⁵ as "agricultural implement manufacturer, brassfounder and ironfounder". His last entry is again at St Ann's, for 1911.



A cast iron wall tie by John Armitage, in Guilder Street, Salisbury, 2020. John Armitage was quick to fill the shoes left by the death of James Rowland

What we do not know is whether the sale of James Rowland's Fisherton Works and business was necessitated on financial grounds to repay outstanding debts, or simply a choice made for other reasons by James's executors, who we note included not only Urania but also his firstborn son James, himself an "engineer and ironfounder". Given James's proven track record as a businessman it seems unlikely that the site was excessively mortgaged, but on the other hand James had clearly invested heavily in the new Works, both land and numerous buildings, in c1868 which was only six or seven years before he died, not much time for any loan to be paid down. The sale, we note, was a "transfer", i.e. a negotiated sale, complete with the goodwill so important to a new owner. It was not, as far as we can tell, a sale forced by creditors, or, worse still, a creditor's auction of the assets 106. If this interpretation is correct, what might these "other reasons" for the sale have been? In this context we must consider the "succession" question.

James was aged 72 when he died in 1875, but his "widow" Urania was only 56, still a relatively young woman, and he had plenty of sons who might perhaps carry on the business, so carefully built up by their father James. One can imagine Urania giving considerable thought to the question of whether any of the sons could take over the family business. In the event the site (and presumably all the associated plant and other assets) was sold, which not

only removed the possibility of a Rowland succession, but crucially introduced yet another commercial competitor into Salisbury. We note, sadly, that Kelly's (business) Directories for both 1880 and 1885 carry no listing for the Rowland business in Salisbury¹⁰⁷, the first time in many years.

When James died, he had ten surviving children, of whom six were sons. We have already seen how two of these sons, James and John Joseph, were listed in the 1851 Census as being engineers and in the 1861 Census the third son, William, was also so listed. In fact, the first four of the sons of James Rowland all became engineers; surely one of these could carry on or revive the family business? A brief examination of each of James's children is therefore necessary to see what had become of them by 1875 when their father died, but with a special emphasis on the sons who might have taken over their father's business:

By the first wife, Mary Shaw (as we suppose):

1. Mary Rowland, the first daughter – born and died 1827

By the second wife, Eleanor Walker:

2. James Rowland, the first son, born 1831 or 1832. We saw this James still living at home in Salisbury with his parents in 1861 aged 28; he followed his father and became an "engineer", and years later was one of his father's executors. In January 1870 he had married Caroline Horton, a local girl from Downton, a small town just south of Salisbury. They had 4 children between 1871 and 1881, of whom the first died aged 8; the second was named Urania, after her father's aunt (who later became her father's stepmother)¹⁰⁸.

James Rowland jnr and his family remained in Salisbury, and in the 1881 census we find them living at 24 Minster Street, but James is described as "engine fitter at Works"; he is employed, presumably in the family business operated by Arthur Lucas, but evidently is not running it, and to his dying day he remained in Salisbury as an engineer for another's firm. In the 1891 census the family were living at 1 Minster Street, Salisbury, with their children Urania 16, Edward 11 and Annie 10, and James (57, actually 59) still an "engineer turner/fitter". Exactly why James never achieved the position we can imagine his father hoped for, remains a mystery – what was wrong, or went wrong? it is futile to speculate, there are many possibilities. Perhaps he simply inherited his father's ability with his hands but not

his business acumen? His father thought enough of James to make him an Executor of his will, the Probate Calendar entry describing him as "Engineer and Ironfounder". James died in 1893 aged 61 and was buried in Salisbury cemetery.

3. John Joseph Rowland, the second son, born 1833. We saw John in 1851 aged 17 described as a "working engineer" and living at home. In 1861 we see he has made progress – the census that year states "27, unmarried, Engineer. Iron Founder and agricultural implement maker, employing 9 men and 4 boys" and was living at Union Street Melksham Wiltshire, some 30 miles north of Salisbury. The household also included another, older, engineer who was boarding with him, and a servant. It seems likely he was there as a temporary arrangement, perhaps whilst he supervised a job.

In 1865 John Joseph married Mary Alice Chandler, a local girl from Stockbridge nearby in Hampshire and some 12 years his junior, and over the next few years they produced 4 boys and then a girl. By 1871 he describes himself as a Master Engineer employing 2 men. John, it seems, had inherited both his father's business acumen and his engineering skills, so here, surely, was someone who could run the family business in Salisbury? But no – he had set up on his own in nearby Southampton, and there he stayed, in the suburb of Millbrook, near to the docks and industrial area, running a successful engineering business, until he died in 1910 aged 77¹⁰⁹.

4. Eleanor Rowland, the second daughter, born 1836. We saw Eleanor ("Ellen") in 1861 living at home, a single woman with no occupation listed, and ten years later the position was unchanged. She appears to have never married; we see her again in 1871 aged 34, and again in 1881, aged 44, and still unmarried and without any employment. She died in 1899 aged 63.

By the third wife Mary Pitts:

5. William Rowland, the third son, born 1840. In 1861 we saw William was already described as an engineer; he was then 21 and living at home. He was then working for his father, and in what was probably a responsible position – there is reference¹¹⁰ to him making a steam engine which was still running in 1903. This training, which may well have been a formal apprenticeship and at times managing his father's business¹¹¹, would have given William invaluable experience. Six

years later, in 1867, at age 27, he married Blanche Thornton Coleman at St Mary, Dover, Kent, and at about the same time, set up his own engineering and iron-founding business in Sherborne in Dorset, about 35 miles west of Salisbury.

In due course, Blanche would become the mother of the next generation of Rowland engineers in Salisbury, so we should see something of her background¹¹².

Blanche Coleman was not a local girl – she was from Kent, many miles from Wiltshire, and from the extreme eastern part of it at Little Mongeham near Deal. She had been born in January 1840, making her almost exactly the same age as William Rowland. She was the sixth child of eight, born to Benjamin Kingsford Coleman and his wife Eliza. Benjamin was a farmer and grocer, the two occupations overlapping successfully it seems; perhaps he was a top- or soft-fruit grower?

The family appears to have been relatively wealthy for the time – in the 1841 census we see Benjamin, then 50 with Eliza his wife, then 30, with three young children at home, Eliza's brother, a servant, and no less than eight men all agricultural labourers. (This is an example of a medieval tradition, still then surviving, for a farmer to accommodate his labourers in the attic of his own farmhouse). It was not to last long - in 1846, when Blanche was only just 6, her mother died, leaving her father a widower with eight children, six girls and two boys, ranging from 1 to 15 years.

Unusually for the time, Benjamin did not re-marry – presumably his means were sufficient to provide adequately for the family, perhaps partly because his brother-in-law, a single man, was living with them. However, in 1854, when Blanche was 14, Benjamin died and the children were orphaned, the youngest still only 9.

Benjamin's brother-in-law stepped into the breach, and the children were raised by their uncle. One rather feels for the poor man, having to raise 8 children none of them his own. The following year, 1855, Blanche's elder brother died aged 16. By the census of 1861 we find the uncle aged 58 and still unmarried, earning a living as a grocer (apparently not also as a farmer), living in Deal with three of his nieces aged 20 (Blanche), 18, and 16, and a servant. Significantly, none of the young women gave an occupation, implying some level of private means.

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The marriage certificate of William Rowland and Blanche Thornton Coleman, 1867

Quite how the farmer's daughter from rural east Kent came to meet William Rowland, the young engineer from Salisbury, remains unknown – had William travelled to Kent on some engineering business in the 1860s, perhaps for his father who turned 60 in 1863, past his prime for long journeys? However it came about, William Rowland married Blanche Coleman on December 2nd 1867, at St Edmund's Church, Salisbury. Children followed rapidly – William Edward in October 1868, Blanche Gertrude in 1870, Florence May in 1872, Jessie Maud in 1874, Reginald George in 1878, and Olive Annie in 1879.

When William Rowland had moved out to Sherborne in 1867, he took over the iron foundry in Cheap Street recently vacated by William Read, whose iron business had failed that year. An advertisement in The Western Gazette 11 Oct 1867 announced William's arrival in Sherborne, describing his business as "Engineer, Millwright, Iron and Brass Founder, and Agricultural Machinist" 113. He was soon exhibiting his produce in Sherborne's Pack Monday Fair, including such items as a "chaff cutter" and "an improved meat chopper", and in 1868, still very soon after his arrival in Sherborne, we find him submitting a tender for the supply and erection of the waterwheel and pumps at Castleton 114.

By the date of the census in April 1871, William describes himself as "Iron founder and Engineer" and both he and Blanche were aged 31, although Blanche gave her age as 30. They were living in Cheap Street Sherborne (above his Iron Works), with the two children then born-William Edward Rowland (2 years) and Blanche Gertrude Rowland (5 months). The family could employ a 19-year old unmarried girl as their domestic servant.

By whom the Ceremony
was performed.
9 Rsmn

The baptismal entry for William Edward Rowland, Sherborne, 17th November (born 19th October) 1868

Their second son, Reginald George Rowland, was born in July 1878, making nearly ten years between him and his elder brother William Edward. The two brothers would appear to have been close – certainly in later years they would run the family business in partnership, in effect if not in law.

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The baptismal of Reginald George Rowland, Sherborne, 17th July 1878

William Rowland's business in Sherborne was clearly successful, at least for a few years, and his activities were evidently very similar to those of his father James in Salisbury; indeed, he appears to have used James's business model to great effect. In 1875 Kelly's Directory for Sherborne¹¹⁵ lists "Rowland William, engineer, iron and brass founder, Cheap Street, Sherborne", and his business would soon include, amongst other activities, millwrighting and the manufacture of agricultural machinery.

He regularly advertised his products and services, and for new staff, and was clearly confident of his abilities. He also acted as agent for several other manufacturers – for example he advertised sale of "*The Canadian Washing Machine*". A number of his gully gratings can still be seen in Sherborne, such as one in Hound Street and two in George Street.



George Street, Sherborne. A cast gully grating, reading "W ROWLAND IRONFOUNDER SHERBORNE".



The child seen here with another of William's Rowland's gratings in George Street Sherborne is the great x4 grandson of James Rowland, and therefore the half- great (x3) great-nephew of William Rowland

So, William Rowland was evidently at this time a successful engineer. He would have been quite capable of taking over the Rowland family business at Salisbury in 1875 when his father died, but was not able to do so because the opportunity came too late for him - he was already running his own established business in Sherborne, much as his brother John Joseph Rowland was doing in Southampton¹¹⁶.

- 6. Mary Urania Rowland, the third daughter, born 1841. In 1872 she married had John Howard. He was a draper from Macclesfield in Cheshire, and within a few years they moved away. They went first to Ryde on the Isle of Wight, where their first two children were born, but by 1877 the family was in Manchester, where two more children were born, and thereafter to Gorton in Lancashire. She died in 1920.
- 7. Sarah Martha Rowland, the fourth daughter, born 1845. Died 1857 aged 12.
- 8. Annie Rowland the fifth daughter, born 1847. As we have noted, Annie remained unmarried and died in 1881.
- 9. George Pitts Rowland, the fourth son, born 1849. George was 11 in the 1861 census, and living at home. He followed his father and his elder brothers by becoming an engineer, but his speciality was marine engines. By 1871 we see him aged 22, unmarried, an engine turner, boarding at 21 Luther Close, Toxteth Park, Everton, Liverpool. The household comprised Henry Owen 30, engine pattern maker, his wife and two young children; and two other engine turners aged 34 and 23, born Lancashire and Scotland. The composition of the household gives us a clue as to what he was doing there he was waiting for a ship.

When British Passports were introduced as standardised documents, we find an application for one made by, or on behalf of, our George Rowland at the age of only 7 years. A passport was duly issued, so perhaps his wanderlust came to him early. By the 1880s we find him engaged year after year as Ship's Engineer, repeatedly on the Steamship Garrick, a Liverpool registered vessel. Garrick was built in 1837, so was not a new ship; it was owned by the Dramatic Line Company and was a fast packet ship used on the Liverpool-New York route, where speed was everything, so the steam engines were crucial. The ship's crew lists have survived:

3	Robert William	164	Brt Denousie!	-10	P. Preton	+	-do-	CiB
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Crew List for the Steamship Garrick, 1888

The Crew List specifies George P Rowland as First Engineer, born '49, Salisbury, that he has two further Engineers under him, and the List also records that he is paid £15 pcm. In fact, the crew totalled 20 under Capt John Cowan, and, other than the Captain, George received the highest wage by far – even the First Mate only received £11 pcm, the same as George's Second Engineer. We can also see George's Certificate Number (13583) showing he was qualified and certified – being First Engineer on a fast steam ship was, after the Captain, the most important job. Similar Crew Lists have survived for George for 1885 to 1890, covering the years when George was aged 36-41, all of them on the Garrick.

The last we see of George is from the 1911 census, aged 61. He describes himself as a marine engineer. His wife, Julie Constance Lodge, 56, was born in Salisbury but they didn't marry until 1878 when George was nearly 30. In 1911 they were living at 22 Moscow Drive Stoneycroft Liverpool with their children Helen Marie (26) and Bessie May (15), both typists. Both the children were born in Walton, Lancashire. George's wife Julie stated she had been married for 33 years, and they had had 3 children but only 2 were still alive 117. George Pitts Rowland died in 1918 aged 69. So in 1875 when his father James died, George was a successful engineer, but like his elder brothers, was not available to take over the family business in Salisbury.

By the fourth "wife" Urania Lucas nee Pitts:

10. Flora Harriet Rowland, the sixth daughter, born 1858. The 1871 census saw Flora aged 13 and living at home. She never married and as we shall see was still living, without occupation, at home as a

dependant unmarried daughter in 1881. Eventually, she went into service – the 1901 census finds her aged 43 employed as a domestic servant in the household of George Carter, a 60-year-old widowed farmer and his 3 unmarried children aged 26, 23, and 18, at Upper Clatford, Andover, Hampshire, some 16 miles northeast of Salisbury. Presumably her role was as housekeeper. She was to be known to the Rowland family descendants as "Aunt Kit", the proverbial maiden aunt, and died in 1943 aged 85.

- 11. Herbert Rowland, the fifth son, born 1859. As we have noted¹¹⁸ he, unlike his four elder brothers chose a career other than engineering. Instead, he became a Land Agent's Clerk and Accountant.
- 12. Ernest Alfred Rowland, the sixth son, born 1862. The last child was Ernest, who was only 12 when his father died. By 1881 he was a Land Agent's Clerk, like his elder brother Herbert, but he soon had a change of direction. At the census of 1891 he was an Insurance Clerk aged 29, married to Lilian Eliza 27, and living at 2 Horley Road Lewisham London. He evidently moved around within the London area, for their first child, Mabel, was born in Islington London, and their second, Dorothy, at Catford, Kent (now London). A third daughter, Elsie, was to follow, and Ernest was to live out his suburban life in southeast London in the insurance industry. He died in 1931.

In summary, of James Rowland's twelve children, six sons and six daughters, ten were alive in 1875 at James's death. And of the six sons, the first four were all engineers. The sale of the business to John Armitage might simply have been necessary to repay debts, as we have suggested; but it might also have been the result, at least in part, of the fact that none of the four Rowland engineers in the next generation were willing or able to take over the family business. Indeed, three of the four engineers had by then settled permanently away from Salisbury.

This lack of an obvious successor for James's business would, under these circumstances, have been a great worry to his widow Urania. We do not know what she did in the years immediately after James's death and the sale of the Fisherton Foundry Works, although with numerous other sons running their own businesses, she would presumably not have lacked financial support. Nevertheless, the strain took its toll, and it was not long before the family were again overtaken by events – only four years after the death of James Rowland, Urania herself died, on 30th May 1879, aged 60¹¹⁹.

Urania died at the family home at 15 Church Street, and the cause is given as "Obstruction of intestines. Exhaustion". Interestingly, the surname she adopted rather than married was to come back to haunt the family – the death certificate, written primarily for medical reasons, says "Urania Rowland widow of James Rowland". The Probate valuation, written for legal and financial reasons, says "Urania Lucas, widow" 120. Her lack of a legal marriage to James, which may or may not have been kept secret until that point, was now at last revealed for all to see.

With Urania's death in 1879 it must have seemed that the family business started and run for many years by James Rowland really had reached the end of its course. The Fisherton Works were now gone, whether by design or by necessity, and no Rowland sons were available or able to re-build his dream. But this would not have been the pressing issue then facing James and Urania's children – the real problem was what would happen to their remaining dependent children now?

10. Arthur Lucas

Urania had died before all her children were independent, a situation that every parent hopes to avoid, and a situation that, we can imagine, Urania, herself orphaned at the age of ten, must have been especially anxious to avoid. Most of the children by Eleanor Walker and Mary Pitts were adult – the youngest, George, was almost 30 – but Eleanor Rowland, James's second daughter, was unmarried at 43, as was Annie, the fifth daughter at 32. Of her own children, Arthur was 30, but Flora was 21 and unmarried, Herbert was only just 20, and Ernest still a minor at 17.

Perhaps surprisingly, the solution both to the question of who would care for the remaining family members, and how James's business legacy in Salisbury could be revived, lay not with any of James Rowland's children, but with Urania's own son, Arthur Lucas. It was Arthur Lucas, the one engineer in the family not to carry the Rowland surname, who carried on the family business in Salisbury¹²¹. We must now look at Arthur in a bit more detail.

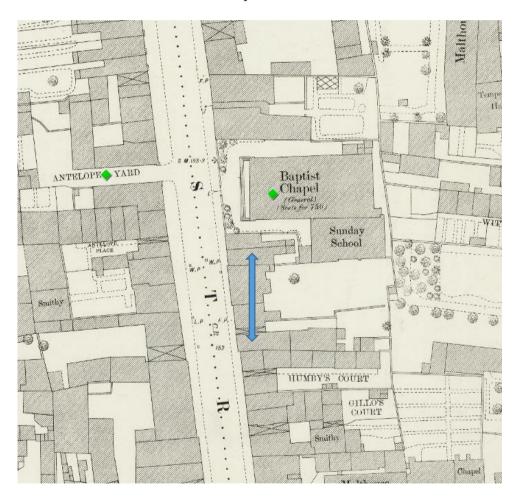
The reader will recall that Arthur Lucas was born in 1849 from Urania Pitts's first marriage to Bryan Lucas, and had moved, aged about 7, with his mother to Salisbury in 1856 and had been raised as part of the family by James Rowland, his uncle, and Urania his mother. James clearly regarded him as his nephew. In the census on 2 April 1871, we saw him aged 22, living with the family at Church Street, and he is described then as an engineer's clerk, perhaps doing the paperwork for the business.

At James's death in 1875 Arthur was aged about 26. It was probably in the months following James's death and the sale of his Fisherton Foundry that Arthur took the decision to set up his own business (although it may have been a little before). Certainly by 1879 he was operating as an engineer in Brown Street, and presumably taking with him much of his uncle's established business and goodwill. Not everything, it seems, had been sold to John Armitage.

By 1879, the year his mother died, Arthur described himself as an "engineer, founder and implement agent", and listed his activities as "iron and brass casting of every description, agricultural implements by all the leading makers, leather and India-rubber driving bands, cotton waste, steam fittings, and every other article required in the working of machinery". 122 His entry in Kelly's Directory for 1880 was succinct: "Arthur Lucas, engineer, Brown Street" 123.

The site of Arthur's premises in Brown Street was no. 47. It is quite possible that these are the same premises that were used by James Rowland when he first moved to Salisbury in c1844, where he had his brief commercial partnership with Charles Woods, but since we don't know their exact site in 1844 this question remains open.

The location of 47 Brown Street was just south of the Baptist Church in that street. The church is a substantial building, rebuilt in 1860¹²⁴, with to its south a Sunday School block set back from the road. Along the road frontage by the church is a terrace of houses and no. 47 appears to have been one of these houses, as arrowed on the map below:



1880 OS 1/500 Town Map of Salisbury.

No. 47 Brown Street was one of the houses arrowed. Here Arthur Lucas ran his own agricultural engineering business until his death in 1888.

The terraced housing may have included one of the large rear workshop buildings near the south end of the arrow, for a workshop would have been essential to his activities. Although the premises included residential accommodation, it seems that Arthur did not live there until 1884¹²⁵.

In the first years of the twentieth century the Brown Street frontage, including probably no. 47, was partially redeveloped with an "Institute" block, presumably an adjunct to the church, and in recent years the whole area south of the church and Sunday school has been cleared again, this time for car parking.



The site of No. 47 Brown Street in 2020. The Baptist Church and attached Sunday School block are left/centre; no. 47 stood in what is now the car park

The census taken on 3rd April 1881 shows how the children of James Rowland, those not yet independent, had formed a new household grouped around Arthur¹²⁶. This group had now left the family home at 15 Church Street, a house they had occupied since c1857, and were living very nearby at no. 1 Albert Terrace in Church Street. [In July 1879, when probate on his mother's estate was granted, Arthur was living at 50 St Edmund's Church Street, a property almost opposite no. 15, but this must have been a temporary residence following the sale of the family home at Church Street]¹²⁷.



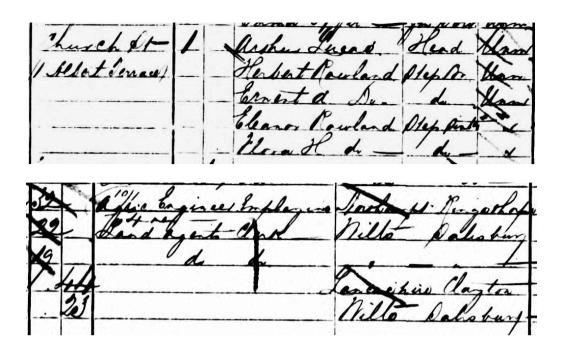
Albert Terrace, in (St Edmund) Church Street in 2020

Albert Terrace was newly-built at that time – on the 1860 Board of Health Map of Salisbury it is vacant garden land, apparently still an undeveloped medieval site. The name "Albert" was much in fashion after Victoria's marriage to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg & Gotha in 1840, and all the more so after his death in 1861, so was an obvious choice for a terrace erected c1870. Surprisingly, two of the original four terraced houses still survives, albeit now marooned between modern development. It must have seemed a poor choice after the large family house at no. 15, just up the street, where the family had grown up.



The 1880 OS Town Map 1/500 scale, surveyed 1878, for Church Street, Albert Terrace is arrowed yellow, 15 Church Street, blue

An extract from the 1881 census entry for No. 1 Albert Terrace is given below. Significantly, everyone in the household was single, with Arthur Lucas the eldest male at age 32, then Herbert Rowland (22), Ernest (19), Eleanor (44) and Flora (23)¹²⁸. The census records Arthur as Head of the household, and he was described as an "Agricultural Engineer employing 4 men"¹²⁹.



The census taken on 3rd April 1881 for 1 Albert Terrace, Church Street, Salisbury

Arthur Lucas, head, 32, engineer employing 4 men, (born) King Thorpe Northampton

Herbert Rowland, step-son, 22 Land Agent's Clerk, (born) Salisbury

Ernest (Alfred) Rowland, step-son, 19 Land Agent's Clerk, (born) Salisbury

Eleanor Rowland step-daughter, 44, (no occupation stated) born Lancashire, Clayton

Flora H Rowland, step-daughter, 23, (no occupation stated) (born) Salisbury

(Everyone in the household is unmarried)

It is interesting to note that Arthur describes the others in his household as his "step-son" or "step-daughter", even Eleanor Rowland who was twelve years his senior. In fact, the legal relationships between Arthur Lucas and the children of James Rowland were complex: the children of James Rowland by Eleanor Walker (i.e. James, John Joseph, and Eleanor) were no direct relation to Arthur; the children by Mary Pitts (i.e. William, Mary Urania, Sarah Martha, Annie, and George Pitts) were half-cousins to Arthur; the children by Urania Lucas (i.e. Flora Harriet, Herbert, and Ernest Alfred) were half-siblings to Arthur. To none was he their step-father¹³⁰.

By the date of this census it must have seemed that things were getting back to an even keel, with Arthur's business established. However, as often is the case, events overtook Arthur. And what rocked the boat is a very familiar story in the Rowland's family history – an expected pregnancy.

Arthur evidently had a girl in the city one Mary Jane Hibberd, and in March 1884 or thereabouts found she was expecting Arthur's child. The couple married on 17th April 1884, and Flora Urania Lucas was born on 1st October. By then the newly-weds had moved out of Albert Terrace and were living at Brown Street, Salisbury, very probably above Arthur's business premises at no. 47. So who exactly was Mary Jane Hibberd?

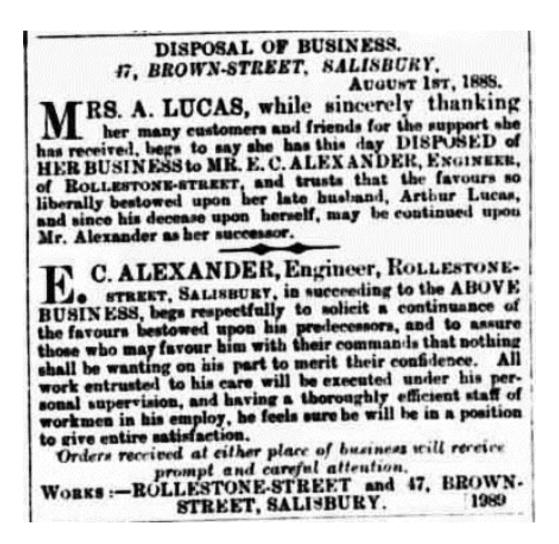
Mary Hibberd led an interesting life¹³¹, revealing both the good and bad in Victorian society. She had been born in Salisbury in January 1858, so was 26 when she and Arthur married; he was 35. Her 1858 baptism record is interesting in that the father's name is absent, with the priest simply noting that the mother, Sarah Hibberd, was a "singlewoman". In a society where children born out of wedlock were regarded, both socially and legally, very unfavourably, this was a courageous action by Sarah; presumably the father was either already married or unwilling or unable for another reason to marry her. By the time young Mary was 13 she was in domestic service, living and working in the household of Stephen Prior, a baker at Shrewton, one of the three villages high on Salisbury Plain.

By the time she was 23 we find her a servant in the household of George Wilkes, 53, at 4 Queen Street, St Edmunds Parish, Salisbury. Wilkes was an important ironmonger in Salisbury, employing 19 men, and Mary was a "pastry cook's assistant" in the household. Wilkes's occupation suggests a route by which she and Arthur Lucas might have met. When she fell pregnant it must have seemed to her that her own mother's story was repeating itself, with the prospect of becoming a single mother. Once Arthur had married her, she would have felt much more secure – a husband with a career and income, a house and a family. Two children were born to Mary Hibberd and Arthur Lucas – Flora Urania Lucas in October 1884 and Gertrude Mary Lucas in December 1886.

But life in Victorian England was fragile, with TB a terrible scourge. In the winter of 1887/8 Arthur Lucas was ill, and in March 1888 he died¹³², aged just 39. He died in their family home in Brown Street. The certificate records his occupation as simply "engineer"; and the informant was Herbert Rowland, his "step-brother". Arthur was buried in the same grave in

Salisbury Cemetery as his mother, Urania, who had predeceased him by only 9 years 133.

What would become of his widow, Mary Jane Hibberd, who faced, once again, the prospect of her life collapsing? Sadly, for her it only got worse. Five months after Arthur's death, we find the sad but inevitable announcement that the business Arthur had built up had been sold, presumably to pay debts:



Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 11th August 1888

(Interestingly, we see that E. C. Alexander already occupied the site at Rollestone Street, which we last saw as James Rowland's Iron Works in 1868 before he moved to Fisherton).

Mary was not left destitute – far from it. The value Arthur's business achieved on sale to Alexander is not known, but his personal estate was valued for probate at £575 16s 4d, equivalent to some £76,000 at 2019 prices using the bank of England's Inflation Calculator¹³⁴. Using the average yearly household expenditure in England in 1888 as a comparator produces a 2019 figure of £344,000, probably a more realistic figure¹³⁵.

But that year, poor Mary Hibberd had more serious worries than money. First, the sale of the Brown Street premises resulted in an immediate need for alternative accommodation for herself, a widow at 30, and for her two young children (when their father died Flora was 3 years 5 months and Gertrude 16 months). The evidence suggests that Mary with her two small children moved into rented accommodation in High Street. However, it was not long before little Gertrude was also ill, almost certainly with TB like her father. She finally succumbed the following summer, only a little more than a year after her father had died:

Deaths

LUCAS – July 20^{th} , [1889] at 28 High Street, Salisbury, after a lingering illness, Gertrude Mary, youngest daughter of the late Arthur Lucas, aged 2 years and 8 months 136

Mary must have feared that Flora would be next – or herself. In the event they both lived, and as Mary grieved for the loss of her husband and daughter, she would have had to consider what to do next. She may have had options available to her from the distant Lucas families in the area (assuming they were indeed related), and presumably also from the Rowlands still present in some numbers in the city, but none of these were blood family, and neither herself as a Hibberd nor Arthur as a Lucas had come from a large immediate family like the Rowlands, so immediate family were few. As a widow with a young child she was not easily employable, and would have had no references available, so finding an income could have been difficult.

This book is primarily concerned with the Rowlands in Salisbury, but we can't leave poor Mary Hibberd and her one surviving daughter dangling.

Quite soon after her losses, Mary decided to leave the city, and took work at Woodford in Essex. In the census of 1891, less than two years after Gertrude died, Mary is aged 32, single, and a cook and domestic servant in the household of John R Roberts, 56, at Salway House, Salway Hill, Woodford, Essex. In this decision to move across the country Mary was taking a huge risk, but for once it worked. John Reynolds Roberts was an important

person¹³⁷, and Mary had landed a good job – Roberts was an important shopkeeper, draper and philanthropist, eventually owning a large department store, at Broadway Stratford, Essex, the so-called "Harrods in East London". Also in the household were Elizabeth Roberts, his widowed mother, 80, a parlour maid, a housemaid, and a garden help¹³⁸. Mary's daughter Flora (then 6) was not recorded in the house on census night; she was nearby at Great Tew in Essex, a visitor in the household of John Wills, 40, a teacher.

The record is silent for Mary Jane Lucas nee Hibberd after that 139 , but we know her daughter Flora Urania Lucas married in 1914. Interestingly she returned to Wiltshire, and married a tanner at Downton, near Salisbury, and here also her own daughter was born in 1916^{140} .

* * *

Arthur Lucas's start in life had been difficult, losing his father when only 6, and then the move with his mother Urania from Northamptonshire to Salisbury so she could be with his uncle James Rowland. His upbringing by James had, however, given him a good basis for a career in engineering. By 1879 his business was established in 47 Brown Street although he was still living with the unmarried and younger Rowland children at Albert Terrace. His rushed marriage to Mary Hibberd proved successful, as far as we can tell, with two daughters born, and the family living at Brown Street. Then his untimely death in 1888 cast his little family into serious difficulties, and brought to an end his engineering business in Salisbury.

Arthur's life had been eventful and his brief engineering business in Brown Street would have kept alive the memory of James Rowland's engineering career in Salisbury, and probably also the business goodwill, for a while. But with Arthur's death it must therefore have seemed to the remaining Rowland children that any hopes for the rebuilding of their father's engineering and ironfounding business were now, finally, over.

11. The next generation - the return of William Rowland

Just when it must have seemed that the Rowland engineering business in Salisbury had finally reached the end of its road, events took another surprising turn. During the 1880s, when the business and remaining family members had been re-grouping around Arthur Lucas, the fortunes of James Rowland's third son, William Rowland, in Sherborne, had been rather mixed.

We have seen how William Rowland had left home in 1867 and set himself up as an iron founder in Sherborne, where he ran a successful company for some years. However, the business took a turn for the worse, and in 1886 it failed, with William declared bankrupt. His equipment was advertised for sale in November of that year¹⁴¹. When William left Salisbury in 1867, he was an experienced engineer having learned his trade from his father James, and we can imagine him enthusiastic about putting this experience to work as his own master; by 1886 he was a bankrupt with a large dependant family.

This was because the family life of William Rowland had changed completely whilst he was in Sherborne. As we have seen, he had married Blanche Thornton Coleman in December 1867, just as he was leaving Salisbury to set up in Sherborne, and in the subsequent twelve years they had produced two sons and four daughters. The 1881 census found the family living at Newell Hill Sherborne, still prosperous, or at least still able to afford a servant. The household comprised William aged 41, *Civil Engineer*, (the first time this term had been used of anyone in the family), Blanche, also 41 but giving her age as 39, William Edward (12), Blanche Gertrude (10), Florence Mary (8), Jessie Maud (6), Reginald George (2) and Olive Ann (1). All the children had been born in Sherborne. The household included Elizabeth Blake, the 15-year-old general domestic servant.

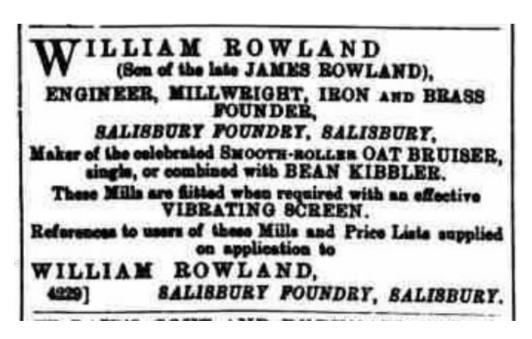
In 1886, the year of the bankruptcy, the children were still young – from 6 to 17 years, and the situation must have been dire for William and Blanche, with so many dependants and no income. However, 1886 was the low point, and from then on their fortunes improved.

The year after the creditor's auction of 1886, William Rowland was discharged from bankruptcy and was legally able to return to business. Arthur Lucas died in March the next year, 1888, and it must have been that same year that William Rowland, newly discharged from his bankruptcy, took the opportunity of stepping into the gap in the Salisbury market consequent on Arthur Lucas's death. William, with his family, returned to

Salisbury, to set himself up as an engineer and iron founder. He was by then aged 48 and had been married to Blanche Coleman for 21 years.

In terms of his business model and plans, we can presume that William Rowland on his return to Salisbury in 1888, sought to gather up the remnants of the engineering business his father had established. It had been 13 years since his father's death in 1875 and the sale of his Fisherton Works to John Armitage. There was also the engineering business of Arthur Lucas, then in process of being sold to E C Alexander.

In the, Kelly's Directory for Sherborne in 1889, there is no listing for William Rowland but the Directory for Salisbury reads: "Rowland William, engineer, Milford Street Salisbury"¹⁴². Two years later, Mundy's Directory for 1891 is similar - under the heading "Engineers and General Smiths" is the entry ""Rowland William, Crystal Fountain Yard, Milford Street Salisbury" ¹⁴³. William clearly targeted his business at the market familiar to him from Sherborne, which had been very similar to that of his father James in Salisbury. It included all his father's core activities of general mechanical engineering, millwrighting, iron and brass founding and casting.



Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 30 November 1895

The advertisement above is from November 1895, over 20 years since the death of James Rowland, yet William proudly states "Son of the late James

Rowland" in the heading – the memory, and reputation, of his father was clearly still very much alive in Salisbury even after 20 years, and William evidently saw himself as James's successor¹⁴⁴.

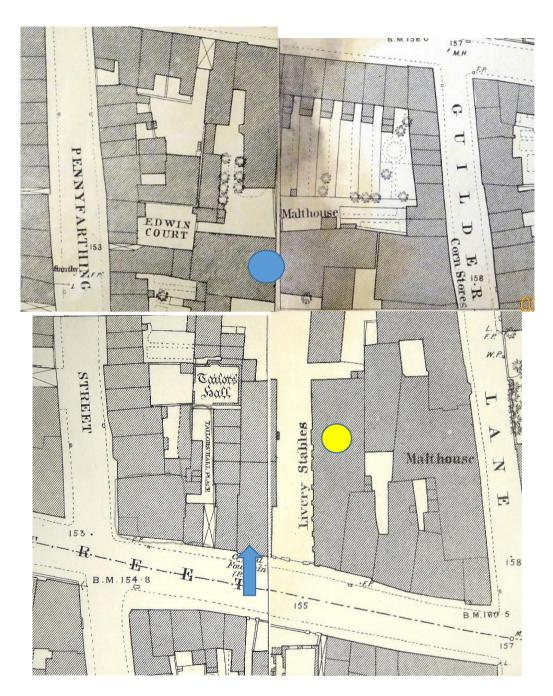
The emphasis in this advertisement is, notwithstanding the general engineering and founding activities, nevertheless clearly on the agricultural machinery side of his father's former business, with mention of the "celebrated Smooth-Roller Oat Bruiser", and the "Bean Kibbler", with, we note, "effective vibrating screens". Here is a man who knows his market, and what will sell.

Frustratingly, the address for William's Works is given simply as "Salisbury Foundry". This cannot be the Fisherton Works site, long sold to Armitage. Instead, it refers to a new site, and William Rowland's first challenge in returning to Salisbury would have been to find some affordable premises that were of sufficient size for a foundry and iron works.

The solution William found was a large yard at the Crystal Fountain Public House in Milford Street ¹⁴⁵. This public house was located between the junctions with Pennyfarthing Street and Guilder lane; the pub survived until 1969 when it was redeveloped for offices (now "Milford House").

Within the pub yard, there are two possible sites for William's Foundry, as shown on the map on page 106. The 1880 1/500 OS Town Map shows very large livery stables on the east side of the pub's yard (yellow dot), in footprint appreciably larger than that of the public house itself. If this was the building which William took, then it would have enabled a substantial business to operate there.

A later map, from 1901, shows this stable complex had been extended or rebuilt by that date into an even larger building. The site would remain in Rowland hands until 1906 ¹⁴⁶ so this extension or rebuild presumably reflects the growth of his business at the premises.



The 1880 OS 1/500 Town Map showing The Crystal Fountain PH in Milford Street, with its large yard to the rear and side, respectively the Malthouse and the Livery Stables. William Rowland established his Foundry here on his return to Salisbury from Sherborne in 1888. (The arrow shows the PH, the blue circle the Malthouse and the yellow is the Livery Stables)



The Crystal Fountain PH^{147} . This photograph dates from its closure in 1969. The pub yard was to the right, behind the fence/gate.



Milford Street in 1910, looking towards the city centre, four years after the Rowlands gave up their Foundry at the Crystal Fountain yard. The entrance to the Foundry was adjacent to the (arrowed) Crystal Fountain, with its distinctive bay window¹⁴⁸



The same view in 2020, with the Crystal Fountain redeveloped as Milford House offices. The site of the Crystal Fountain is arrowed

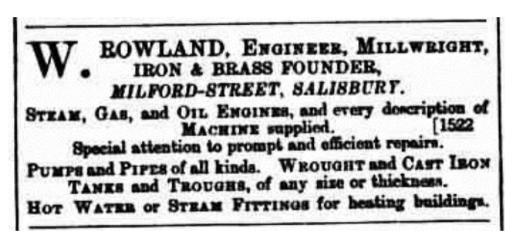




The former Crystal Fountain yard survives as a car park, albeit without buildings, but using the original access now as an archway, as can be clearly seen in the first photograph

An alternative possible building for William Rowland's Foundry at the pub yard is the large malthouse building shown on the 1880 map with a blue dot, to the rear of the pub's yard – again, this is a large and substantial building, and would have provided an equally suitable premises for him. The Milford Street Foundry would remain a base for William Rowland's activities throughout his life, and then would be retained by his sons William Edward Rowland and Reginald George Rowland until c. 1906 and used for casting and general engineering.

The advertisement below is from 1899 and explicitly identifies Milford Street as the address. The emphasis here has moved from the agricultural machinery side to general engineering and casting (pumps, pipes, tanks troughs and steam fittings) and especially to engines, and not just steam engines – the new gas and oil engines are now included:



Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 2nd September 1899

Many of the traditional cast iron goods produced at the Milford Street Foundry by William Rowland are still visible today around the city in the same way as those in Sherborne already noted, and Annex B contains a complete list known to the author. Some examples of the wall anchor plates and highway gully gratings from Salisbury are given in the photographs below; at least 56 Rowland gully gratings are known. There are a number of different wordings, but 46 of the 56 read "W ROWLAND – SALISBURY FOUNDRY"; a single example is known reading "ROWLAND & SON – SALISBURY FOUNDRY", and four read "ROWLAND & SONS – SALISBURY".

Searching them out is a rewarding if somewhat esoteric pastime, and teaches the searcher to see road gullies in a whole new way!





Two examples of iron wall anchor plates from the many at Fowler's Hill, Salisbury, made by William Rowland at Milford Street in Salisbury



Bishopstone



George Street South, Salisbury

(above) Two examples of cast iron gully gratings by William Rowland



Rectory Road (above) another example by William Rowland; and (below) three examples by "Rowland & Son(s)"



Milford Street



Marlborough Road



Bishop's Walk

As these castings show, at some date¹⁴⁹ before his death in 1902, William Rowland changed the name of his firm from "William Rowland" to "Rowland and Son" and then to "Rowland and Sons" to reflect, presumably, the fact that his two sons now played a significant part in the business. It seems likely that William instituted these changes in, firstly, 1889, when his eldest son, William Edward Rowland, turned 21, and secondly in 1899 when the second son, Reginald George Rowland, reached this age ¹⁵⁰. Confusingly, his sons continued this name for the company after their father's death in 1902 and indeed the name "Rowland and Sons" would remain for as long as the firm endured.

In addition to the casting of these simple iron goods, William Rowland also continued his father's business of general engineering and the manufacture of machinery, especially agricultural machinery, and the manufacture of steam engines. The Salisbury and Winchester Journal for 3rd January 1903 tells us that:

"The (steam) engine which has been running continuously at the [Salisbury and Winchester] Journal offices for over 30 years was made by him [William Rowland], whilst working for his father [James Rowland]."151

This reference indicates a manufacturing date for the engine of c1873, just before James Rowland's death in 1875. Since William had left his father's employment in Salisbury in 1867 to set up on his own in Sherborne, if the engine was made by William under James's supervision it must have been at least 36 years old. William, like his father, was evidently an expert in steam engines.

Three years after William's return to Salisbury in 1888, we find him in the census of 5 April 1891 at Wilton Road, Fisherton Anger, although he evidently moved around in the city frequently ¹⁵². William is listed as aged 50 and described as an "Engineer - agricultural engineer and machine maker". His eldest son, William Edward Rowland, born 1868, is now 22 and has also followed the family tradition – he is described as an "Engineer and engine fitter" ¹⁵³. Presumably he was learning engineering under his father's direction, just as his father had done under his father James, but whether or not young William Edward ever served a formal apprenticeship is unknown. No occupation is listed for the three girls, Blanche Gertrude (20), Florence (18), or Jessie (16) although they would have all left school by now. Reginald George Rowland, the second son (12) and Olive, the fourth daughter (11) are still scholars.

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The 1891 census for Wilton Road, Fisherton

Our story will now continue with William Rowland, but the curious reader may be wondering what had happened to the other Rowland children we saw living in the household of Arthur Lucas at Albert Terrace in 1881. The younger Rowland boys in Albert Terrace, Herbert and Ernest, both went on to careers outside engineering, as we have seen. Herbert stayed in Salisbury and became a successful and respected Land Agent; Ernest Alfred moved to London and worked in the insurance industry. Both married and had children. But neither of the women in Albert Terrace, Eleanor or Flora, married – Eleanor eventually died aged 63 and is buried in Salisbury Cemetery, and Flora died aged 85 and is buried in Strangers Cemetery at Fortuneswell, Portland.



Salisbury as William Rowland would have known it, c1899. This is Bridge Street, with its new Clock Tower (unveiled 1893), but as yet no "motors". Note the school boy in his Knickerbockers

12. New directions for William Rowland

When William Rowland re-established the family ironfounding and engineering business in Salisbury, he had evidently learnt from his experiences in Sherborne, and proved astute at reading the changing market. Salisbury towards the close of the nineteenth century was very different from the Salisbury of the 1850s, when James Rowland had established his iron founding and metal working business and set up his business model. The country, even provincial Salisbury, was modernising, and engineering in the new century would need a new approach. There would be new opportunities quite different from the heavy iron-and-steam emphasis of the old industries, whose time surely was now passing. So William Rowland, with his new business opportunity in Salisbury, maintained the older sides to the business, but also decided to move his engineering into new directions, aimed at new markets. And the ideal market was bicycles.

From the 1880s, bicycling had become increasingly popular, particularly for women. Salisbury became a centre for cycling, both for workers in the rural hinterland to come into the city, but particularly for affluent city classes to explore the surrounding countryside. The entrepreneurial activities of Thomas Henry Lucas in the manufacture of velocipede tricycles at the Fisherton Foundry site as early as 1869 have already been noted, giving the family business a head start in this new and rapidly growing market.

In 1892, just four years after William Rowland's return from Sherborne we find him advertising as: "Rowland William, Engineer, Milford Street, & cycle engineer; maker of Leo cycles and repairer to the CTC. 13 Castle Street"¹⁵⁴.

We can see from this advertisement that William, after establishing his foundry at the Crystal Fountain yard in Milford Street, had by now acquired a second premises, at 13 Castle Street. It would be at Castle Street that the bicycle operations would be based. William had clearly seen the business opportunity that the craze for cycling presented, but he was not the only one. By 1895 there were 17 businesses in the city involved in bicycles, whether as dealers, agents, repairers or manufacturers ¹⁵⁵, and from now on commercial competition would challenge the Rowland firm far more seriously than it had that even for his father James's firm.

For Wiltshire as a whole, the Kelly's Directory for 1895 lists seven *cycle agents* (two of whom were in Salisbury); two *cycle dealers* (one in Salisbury); seven *cycle manufacturers* (one in Salisbury); and one *cycle repairer* (not in Salisbury). This list was an under estimate – William Rowland had not paid

to be listed in the Cycle category, nor in the Ironfounder or Brassfounder categories, although interestingly he is listed under *Engineers* – *Mechanical*¹⁵⁶.

William, and his two sons William Edward Rowland and Reginald George Rowland, not only sold, serviced and repaired bicycles, they also manufactured them. This gave them an advantage over others in the city, and it was to them that the Cycle Touring Club gave their coveted award of "Recommended Repairer" 157. In these early days of recreational bicycling the CTC was a major national player, much as the RAC would become in the early days of motor cars.

We have seen how the "penny-farthing", the first machine to be called a "bicycle", had been invented in 1869 and was extremely popular in the 1870s and 1880s, effectively replacing the slower velocipede designs. Its large front wheel offered much high speeds and (allegedly) comfort. The cycling craze took off in the 1880s, with large numbers of machines being manufactured.

In turn, penny-farthings were to become obsolete from the late 1880s with the development of modern bicycles, which used chain-driven gear trains to provide speed without the need for large front wheels, and also increased comfort through pneumatic tyres, while offering much greater ease of balance. For these reasons they were marketed especially for women as "safety bicycles" in contrast to the penny-farthing which, however, retained its popularity with men for a number of years because of its speed ¹⁵⁸. Bicycling was now accessible to all, not just those brave enough to ride penny-farthings, and women were empowered in a way perhaps never before seen. Soon, the cycling craze was being described as a "cycling mania".

William Rowland and his two sons evidently took full commercial advantage of this cycling mania, and especially William's youngest son, Reginald George Rowland. By 1901 Reginald was aged 21 and describing himself as a "bicycle maker"; by then his product would have been primarily "safety" bicycles. Information about the Rowland's speciality, the Leo Cycle, is scarce, but it is clear they were custom-made safety bicycles ie tailor-made to fit each purchaser, and produced in Salisbury to the Rowlands' own design under the brand-name "Leo". They evidently proved popular for the Rowlands manufactured them for a number of years. The following advertisement is from 1901^{159} :

TEO CYCLES.

The Increasing Demand for ROWLAND'S LEO CYCLES is a Proof of the Therough Satisfaction a Good Local Made Cycle is giving.

LEO CYCLES are made of the Best Material by Competent Mechanics with the aid of the Newest and Best Machine

Tools.

LEO CYCLES are built to height and requirements of the rider.

REPAIRS PROMPTLY AND EFFICIENTLY EXECUTED.

ACCESSORIES OF ALL KINDS.

BOWLAND'S LEO CYCLES are built throughout at the Works, 13, CASTLE-STREET, SALISBURY. [4336 OFFICIAL REPAIRER TO THE C.T.C.

Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 5th January 1901



The penny-farthing, popular in the 1870s and 1880s, but obsolete by the $1890s^{160}$

"Ormonde" Safety, No. 2.



A "safety" bicycle of 1888. Cranked pedals driving a geared chain made large wheels unnecessary, and with levered brakes and pneumatic tyres, these machines were far more comfortable and safer that the penny-farthings

In his private life, Reginald Rowland's love was not for the Leo safety bicycles that he made, but for the old penny-farthings which he raced. The speeds that could be achieved on these machines were both surprising and dangerous, much faster than their forerunner designs or indeed their successors the safety bicycles. Brakes, it should be noted, were not at first fitted on penny-farthings (Annex A suggests how Reginald once had reason to regret their absence).

Reginald was heavily involved in national cycle racing at a senior level. Indeed, we will find that "In his youth [Reginald Rowland] took part with considerable success in cycle racing, not only in Salisbury but in other parts of the south of England "161. Reginald had been born in 1878 so was 20 in 1898, perhaps the very height of the cycling craze. Unfortunately, cycling in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras was an entirely amateur activity, so Reginald had to earn his living the hard way, but if he were alive today, he would probably be a professional sports cyclist.



Penny-farthings racing at Crystal Palace, 1889. This photograph does not name any of the competitors, but Reginald Rowland could perhaps be one

Bicycles were not, however, the only new innovation of the age. In the previous chapter, we saw an advertisement of September 1899 which had promoted William Rowland's use of the new oil and gas engines, in addition to steam engines. These new engines were internal combustion designs, fuelled not by coal but by the new fuels - kerosene (paraffin), gasoline (petroleum) and diesel (oil). These fuels, as William and many other engineers appreciated, offered considerable advantages over steam in terms of efficiency, size, and mobility. We can see from the 1899 advertisement that William Rowland was a pioneer, or at least an early adopter, of this new technology, just as his father had been before him in steam engines¹⁶².

At first these new engines were static, and used for driving fixed machinery or pumps, in exactly the same way as the first steam engines had been static machines. But just as his father James Rowland had been quick to use steam power to enable steam engines to become road-mobile as traction engines, so William Rowland was also quick to adapt the new oil and gas engines to bicycles and tricycles.

As experts in both engines and in bicycles, William and his sons were well placed to exploit the motorised form of bicycles, the motor cycle. From this, it would be but a short step to motorised vehicles of all forms, and especially

the motor car. This was the future direction for the Rowland firm which William would have identified before the end of the century. But his untimely death in 1902 would mean that this future would belong not to William Rowland, but to his two sons.

Nevertheless, William could not have fully appreciated the revolutionary impact that motorised vehicles would have on society and the economy – indeed to him these new "motors" might be just a passing fad, much as the craze for bicycling would greatly diminish in the decades to come. Therefore, it is apparent that William, whilst exploring the new technologies now opening up, took care to ensure his established business activities were maintained.

These new technologies would in due course be adopted eagerly by William Rowland's two sons, but as yet they were not to the exclusion of the older ironfounding, and general mechanical engineering activities which still provided a diversity of activity for the firm, and probably its main sources of revenue ¹⁶³. The oldest of his activities continued at the Milford Street (Crystal Fountain), his oldest site.

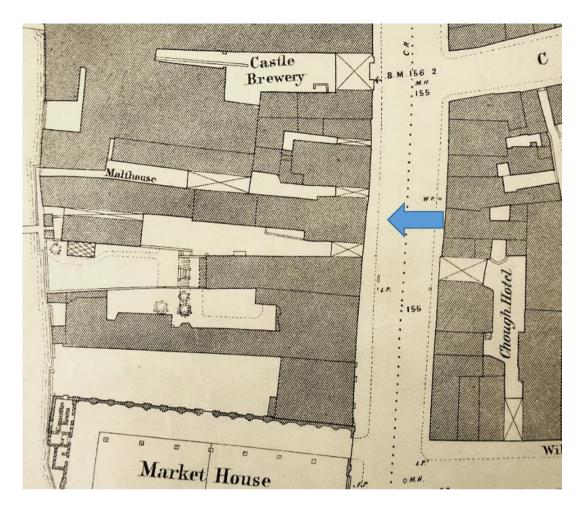
Kelly's Directory for 1899 shows the duality of the business into the old and new:

"Rowland William, engineer, Milford Street; & cycle engineer; Cycle manufacturer, maker of Leo Cycles and repairer to the CTC, 13 Castle Street" 164

We have seen how William Rowland had by 1892 expanded onto a new site at 13 Castle Street and how this became the base for his cycle engineering; we are now in a position to identify exactly where this was located.

Where were William Rowland's bicycle premises at 13 Castle Street?

Trade Directories enable us to track down William's premises at 13 Castle Street in some detail. The business first expanded into 13 Castle Street in 1892. These premises would remain in use by the business family until between 1911 and 1915 (probably 1914), although William himself would die in 1902. The premises – a retail shop with rear yard and workshop evidently included residential accommodation because in 1901 William and Blanche, with three of their six children were living there¹⁶⁵.

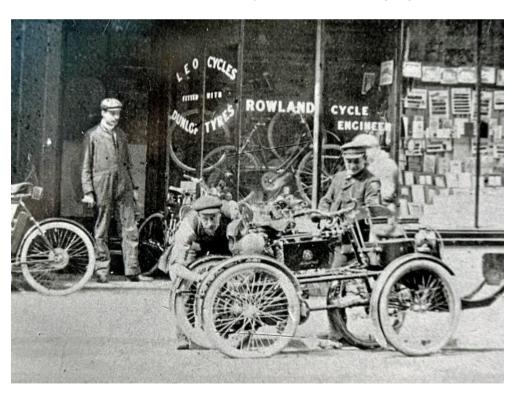


The 1880 OS Town Map 1/500 scale, surveyed 1878. No. 13 Castle Street is arrowed; it has an archway either side leading to yards behind

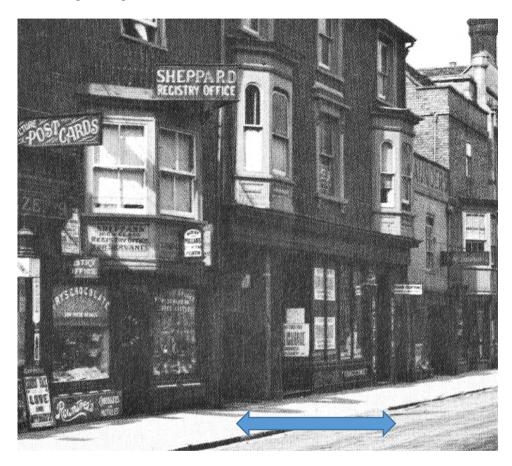
Fortunately, the family have preserved a photograph which shows the 13 Castle Street premises, complete with a very early car, and a conspicuous window advertisement for Leo Cycles. This remarkable photograph also provides much other information – could the tall man¹⁶⁶ emerging from the shop door be William Edward Rowland, aged 32 in 1900? And the man bending over the machine be his younger brother Reginald George Rowland, then aged 22?



The 13 Castle Street (the "Leo Works") premises c1900¹⁶⁷. The enlargement below shows more detail of the machines and people:



The photograph also provides sufficient information for the building to be identified. Just a few years later, in 1914, the same building can clearly be seen in the photo-postcard below:



No. 13 Castle Street in c1914, the premises of William Rowland and his sons William Edward Rowland and Reginald George Rowland.

In the photgraph No. 13 has the symmetrical elevation with two matching first-floor bay windows with panelled fronts. The lower bay window near the camera is to No. 11 (Sheppard Registry office). The lack of activity in the photograph, and of external advertising at the premises, and the presence of two large internal window posters crossing the glazing bars (For Sale signs?) all suggest the building is no longer occupied. The word "garage" can be seen in the angled doorway recess¹⁶⁸.

In later life the building became the Army Careers office. The photograph below dates from the 1960s and shows, from the other direction, no. 13 now

divided into two units, respectively painted white and rendered, with the white part occupied by the Army Career offices. Note the initial "T" of Tesco to the right (north) in the adjacent building. The final photograph in the sequence is from 2020; Tesco has now expanded into no. 13 which has been rebuilt (arrowed) into the enlarged building. The prominent projecting bay window is a rebuild of that previously on no. 11.



No. 13 Castle Street in the 1960s (by kind permission of Salisbury Museum)



The same view in 2020

William Rowland's domestic life just before his death is revealed in the census taken on 31 March 1901. It shows William Rowland, 61, with his wife Blanche ("Bessie"), 60, and three dependent children living at 13 Castle Street, presumably above the shop premises there. Their eldest son, William Edward Rowland, was then aged 32 and used the more general term "Mechanical engineer", as did their father William (59) 169. We can also see that now William's second son, Reginald George Rowland, 22, is following his elder brother into the family business, describing himself as a "Bicycle maker". Presumably he was learning engineering under his father's direction, just as his elder brother had done before him, and also as father William had done under his father James. Like his elder brother William Edward, it is not known whether young Reginald George ever served a formal apprenticeship.

William Rowland	Head	M	59	
Bessie & do	Nije	M		59
William & do	Sou	5	30	
Frances 12 do	Daur.	.5		24
Reginald G. do	Son	5	21	
amy Newberry	Serv.	5	,	17

prechanicas Engineer	Employer	26.5	Gloucesters here Bristol		
		-		Ewell Sherborne	
mechanical Engineer		1-1	do	do	
Bokycle Maker Goveral Sergant Domeshie	Employer	at home		de	
Goveral Sergant Domestic			Wilto	Hindon	

The 1901 census for 13 Castle Street, living over the shop. As usual, there are a number of exaggerations about age: William is 61 not 59 Blanche ("Bessie") is 60 not 59 William E is 32 not 30

Florence ("Frances") is 28 not 24 Reginald is 22 not 21

Amy Newbery, general and domestic servant, 17 Other children are missing, presumably now left home – Blanche Gertrude 30, Jessie Maud 26, and Olive Annie 21

Then, in the early morning of the very last day of 1902, 31st December, a wednesday, William Rowland suddenly died of "a rupture of a blood vessel on the brain"¹⁷⁰. He was just 62. It was quite unexpected and must have been a terrible shock for the family, with even his obituary noting their "sudden bereavement".

His obituary noted that, although born in Bristol, he:

"had been connected with Salisbury for practically his whole life. He was the son of the late Mr James Rowland, who for many years carried on the business of an engineer in Salisbury, and for some years he managed his father's business, to which he eventually succeeded. He [James] was a practical engineer of considerable experience, and the first traction engine in Salisbury was made by him, and he was summoned by the 4th Earl of Radnor for driving it in the streets. The engine which has been running continuously at the Journal offices for over 30 years was made by him [William], whilst working for his father. He was much respected in Salisbury, and great sympathy is felt for his family ..."¹⁷¹

Born in Bristol, but leaving there as a small child, William Rowland's career and his business model had followed closely that of his father James. After his (presumed) apprenticeship and training under his father, and then at age 27 William's move to Sherborne to set up his own business which had lasted 19 years (1867-1886) until it failed, came the return to his family home in Salisbury, and the successful re-establishment of his father's old business for the next 14 years. When he died at the young age of 62, he left behind him a prospering business in cycles (and the emergent motor car trade) as well as more general mechanical engineering and engines, not forgetting the family's older iron and brass founding activities which he continued.

Probate for William Rowland's estate was granted in January 1903¹⁷²:

Rowland William of 13 Castle-street Salisbury engineer and cycle-maker died 31 December 1902 Probate Salisbury 30 January to Blanche Thornton Rowland widow. Effects £658 9s 10d.

Effects of £658 at 1902 prices equates to £81,000 at 2019 prices using the conservative Bank of England Inflation Calculator; not a fortune but it was more than left by Arthur Lucas and it probably did not include the value of the business. (A better comparator is the price of a new 3-bed detached "cottage" in Letchworth Garden City in 1905 for £150, which gives a value for William's estate of £1.02m at 2020 prices¹⁷³). Whether the business passed to William's widow Blanche, or passed to their two sons or to just the elder, is not known, but in practice the responsibility for the firm now lay with the two sons - William Edward Rowland, 34, and Reginald George Rowland, 24.

Before we look at how the family fared under the new ownership, what happened to William's widow, Blanche? She had been 62 when William died (they were both born in 1840), so was still relatively young. In fact, she did not live long – she died just five years later, in October 1907. She had been living at "St Mawes" in Castle Road, but died in Norfolk¹⁷⁴. Probate¹⁷⁵ on her estate, in marked contrast to that of her late husband William, was valued at £1444, equivalent to £175,000 at 2019 prices (Bank of England's Inflation Calculator) or £2.23m using house-price comparison¹⁷⁶. This might possibly suggest residual inherited capital from her family, the farmers and grocers in Kent.

Like William, Blanche was buried in Salisbury cemetery; they lie side by side in the same grave¹⁷⁷. Interestingly, the probate description of William had been "engineer and cycle-maker", but at Blanche's death her sons William Edward and Reginald George were described as "motor-engineers". There could now be no doubt about it, the future for the next generation was in motors.

13. The third generation - William Edward Rowland and Reginald George Rowland

After William Rowland's death in 1902 the business was continued by his two sons William Edward Rowland and Reginald George Rowland, trading as "Rowland and Sons" or "Rowland and Son"178, the trade names William had created before his death. (This title appears to be a contraction from the legal name "W. Rowland & Sons" – the 1907 Kelly's Directory, for example, lists the firm under this title but in the same volume carries an advertisement reading "Rowland & Sons" – without the "W.")179. Despite the use of the plural "Sons" there is some conflict of evidence as to whether the firm was run as a partnership between the two brothers 180, who were after all separated by exactly 10 years in age, or whether it was owned by the elder brother, William Edward Rowland, as sole proprietor 181, with his younger brother Reginald simply an employee. This difference may be academic, however, as in practice the business decisions may well have been shared, operating possibly as an unequal partnership.

They continued their father's specialisation in bicycles, including the manufacture of the Leo cycles, but by now the new motor cycles and motor cars were beginning to make up much of the trade, and it is this market that the brothers, even more than their father, would focus on in future. In the decade or so after they inherited the business from their father, many other engineering and iron-working activities which their grandfather James Rowland had operated were slowly whittled away, to concentrate first on bicycles and motor cycles, but soon primarily just on motor cars and larger motor vehicles. Their father's and grandfather's diversity of engineering activities would gradually be replaced by a specialisation on what became known as "the motor trade" – hiring out, buying, selling, servicing and repair.

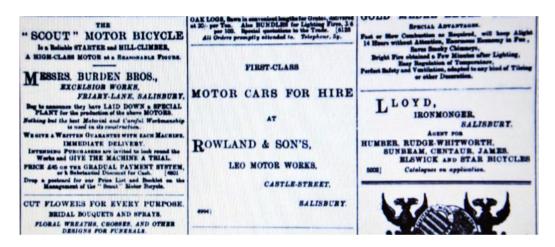
Following the invention of a workable internal combustion engine in c1885, by the mid-1890s several companies were making these "motor vehicles" in Germany, Britain, France, the United States and a few other countries. Within a few years, a huge assortment of technologies was being used by hundreds of producers all over the western world¹⁸². By the 1900s the cyclomania of the previous decades had faded; the new craze among the wealthier classes, was motoring ¹⁸³. The speed of adoption of the new technology was staggering, every bit as fast as the mobile phone revolution of the 1995-2005 decade or the explosion in internet usage in c1997-2005. In 1895 there were

just 14 or 15 individual motor cars in the UK – each expensive, cumbersome and unreliable. By 1900 there were 700-800; in 1904 23,000, and by 1910 over 100,000¹⁸⁴. Henry Ford began production of his Model T in Chicago in 1908, and in Manchester in 1911. Far from being a passing fad, as the craze for cycling was in part, the new machines were here to stay. The rest, as they say, is history.

In Salisbury the Rowland brothers took full advantage of the opportunities offered by the new technology. We have already commented on the advertisement of September 1899 which had promoted William Rowland's use of the new oil and gas internal combustion engines, in addition to steam engines. Salisbury, surprising as it may seem to us now, was in the forefront of the new technology. In 1902 Albert and William Burden starting making motor vehicles in Salisbury; the company was successful 185, producing "Scout" cars and larger, commercial, vehicles and buses for a number of years, first at The Friary in Salisbury, and later at Churchfields. In those early years Salisbury was one of the first towns to realise the potential of the motor industry, and might have rivalled cities such as Oxford or Coventry as one of the great centres of British motor manufacturing had the Great War not intervened. In the event, Scout cars ceased production in 1921, and manufacturers such as Morris established themselves elsewhere. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that in the first part of the century the Salisbury area had available a great wealth of engineering skills, a resource which later proved itself in the Second World War.

The Rowland brothers were quick off the mark to move into the new market for the retailing, servicing, and hiring out of motor cars 186, although unlike the Burden brothers they apparently did not manufacture their own designs. The scale of motoring in the area at this early age can be judged from registration statistics. Compulsory registration of motor cars was introduced in January 1904, and by April there were nearly 500 drivers in Wiltshire, running between them 168 motor cars and 229 motor cycles. The implication here is that those registered who did not own their vehicle, at least 100 people, were hiring cars as needed, a substantial business opportunity. In Salisbury itself, private citizens owned 21 motor cars, with a further 25 cars and 21 motor cycles elsewhere in south Wiltshire, Salisbury's hinterland. The owners included doctors (5 cars) and tradesmen (7), but most of the remainder, a large number, were registered to motor engineers and dealers for private hire¹⁸⁷ to all and sundry. As Chandler has commented, these motorists "let loose on an unprepared Wiltshire countryside, [making] a thorough nuisance of themselves" 188.

The advertisement below, from the Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 23 April 1903, illustrates both the opportunity and the problem. The advertisement, which is central on the front page of the newspaper, shows how Rowland and Son(s) went for the simple and direct approach - "First Class Motor Cars for Hire". But on the left, is an advertisement for "Scout Motor Bicycles", then an important brand made in Salisbury itself, so anyone wishing to purchase rather than hire is perhaps less likely to use Rowland and Sons as a first choice. And on the right is an advertisement from Lloyd, who although a general ironmonger, was also aiming at the motor car and motor-cycle market. He was an agent for Humber and Sunbeam, both major brands which would become leaders in the UK market.

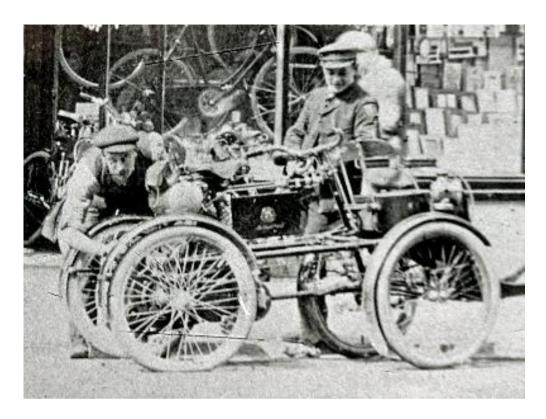


Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 23 April 1903

This advertisement also demonstrates that the Rowland premises at 13 Castle Street, where bicycles had been made and traded, was now doubling as their base for motor cars, and had changed its name from "Leo Works" to "Leo Motor Works" to reflect the shift in emphasis.

By 1904 at least three motor engineers were operating in Salisbury, including Rowland and Sons. The others were Arthur Edwards and Lowther and Sons. By 1912 the number had risen to 6 firms, and by 1925 to 21. From 1906 onwards the advertising by Rowland and Sons was firmly directed to their new business of hiring out, and selling, motor cars, in addition to cycles¹⁸⁹.

Returning to the photograph of the Rowland shop at 13 Castle Street in c1900, the vehicle that is proudly displayed out front can now be identified:



The machine is an "Orient Autogo", made by The Waltham Manufacturing Company of Waltham, Massachusetts, USA, one of America's largest bicycle makers at the time. They started to make powered vehicles under the Orient brand in 1898-1900 and continued until c1909¹⁹⁰. The model acquired by Rowland, presumably for hire, was originally designed as a tricycle, but here uses the optional Forecar Kit to replace the front wheel resulting in a quadricycle that accommodated a passenger (ie it carried two people, one behind the other).

An Orient Autogo when first produced cost \$600 (\$18,500 or £15,000 at 2020 prices). Some tricycle models were human-powered (one person), but others, including the Rowland quadricycle one, used either an Aster or a De Dion Bouton 2.25 horsepower 1899 motor engine. The Waltham business was sold to the C.H. Metz Company in 1908 and the Orient brand ended. (In the photograph the vehicle faces to the right, with the engine at the rear).

The photograph below is one of only two surviving Orient Autogo quadricycles left, and the only extant one with the passenger forecar¹⁹¹. It is powered by a motor, and appears identical to the Rowland model.

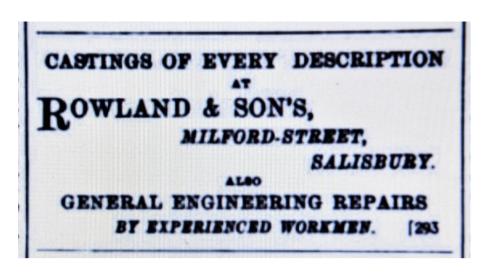




FIG. 147.—THE ORIENT QUADRICYCLE.

The Orient Autogo quadricycle – a surviving example, and a contemporary illustration from "Horseless Vehicles, Automobiles, Motor Cycles", 1900

Nevertheless, the emphasis on the new motor trade did not mean abandonment of the traditional iron- and brass-founding elements of the Rowland business, nor of their more general and mechanical engineering activities. From around 1900 until 1906, Rowland and Sons still advertised these activities almost every week; the following was a very common advertisement:



Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 23 April 1903 (note use of singular "Son")

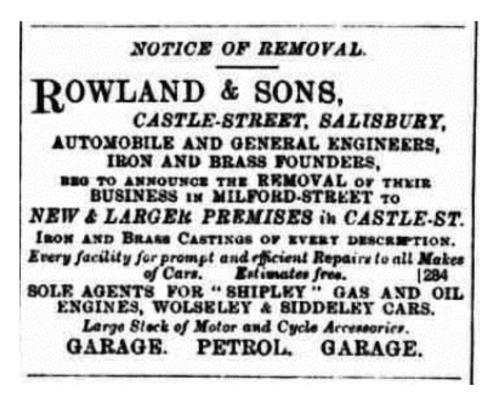
Chapter 11 included a number of examples of this cast iron work which we see advertised here, produced by the Rowland firm at this period, and especially wall anchor plates and highway gully gratings. The advertisement also confirms the division of the various parts of the business between the Rowland sites – the casting and general engineering side remained at Milford Street (the old Crystal Fountain yard), leaving 13 Castle Street (the "Leo Motor Works") for bicycle manufacturing and sales, motor-cycles and motor cars.

The 1900 photograph of Rowland's Waltham "Orient Autogo" shows, significantly, the vehicle being worked on in the street, not in the workshop. This might be due simply to the difficulty of photography within the workshop, but it reflects also the difficulty of accommodating and manoeuvring the larger "motors" within a workshop designed for smaller bicycles and tricycles. By now, the "Leo Motor Works" was becoming cramped for the new motor trade; larger premises with space on-site to manoeuvre vehicles and work on them under cover were required if the business was to grow and remain competitive. There was also the question of the old Milford Street premises (the Crystal Fountain yard) which still accommodated the older-style casting and general engineering side of the business.

In about 1905 Rowland and Sons decided to move the motor trade – hiring out, sales and servicing of motor cars – to a new larger site on the east side of Castle Street. The new site would also accommodate the older mechanical

engineering and iron-working activities which had been based at the Crystal Fountain site in Milford Street, a site relinquished in 1906 immediately the new premises in Castle Street became operational. For now, the Rowland brothers retained the bicycle sales and manufacturing side at 13 Castle Street (the "Leo Works") on the west side of the street, but this was only for a few years; that too was given up between 1911 and 1915, and very probably in 1914.

The formal announcement of acquisition of the new premises was in January 1906:



Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 20th January 1906 (note use of plural "Sons")

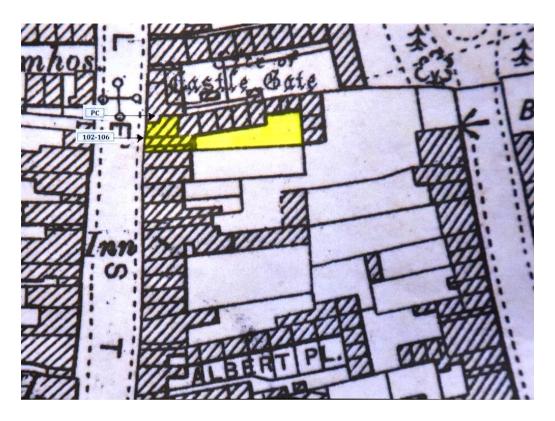
The new site was 102-106 Castle Street, on the opposite, east, side of the street from No. 13 and further from the Market Place, approximately opposite Hussey's Almshouses. Here there was much more room for expansion than at the Leo Motor Works at no 13. Since this site became the Rowland's principal, and then sole, site in Salisbury, and by far the largest, it is worth examining in more detail.

Where were the new premises at 102-106¹⁹² Castle Street?

The exact date that the Rowland brothers first acquired property on the east side of Castle Street is confused by the fact that ownership did not imply use by the Rowland business. The evidence suggests the brothers had been buying individual properties over a number of years, presumably as and when they became available, in order to assemble a large site, with individual shop units rented out until that was achieved. Consequently, the street numbering has varied over the years as buildings have been altered, subdivided, or demolished.

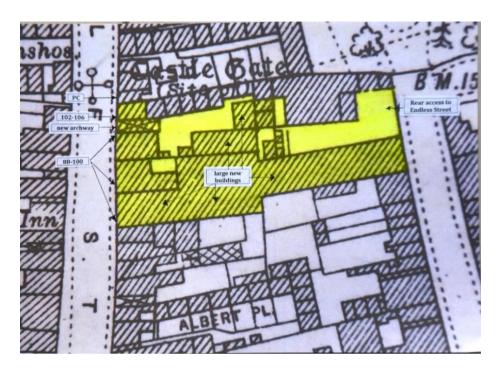
It seems that premises on the east side of Castle Street were first acquired at No. 102-106 after 1903, in anticipation of the move there in 1906. One advantage of the site was exploited almost immediately – the opportunity to expand. In c1908 the adjoining properties at nos. 94-100 to the south, nearer the city centre, were acquired, and in c1910 the next block, nos. 88-92. By c1910 this site assembly process had produced a total frontage from 88 to 106, enabling the Leo Works at 13 Castle Street to be given up by c1914. Thereafter the business would remain at 88-106¹⁹³ until the business ceased in 1936-37.

The following sequence of maps shows how this operated on the ground. The 1901 map below is annotated to show the first Rowland premises, in c1906, at nos. 102-106. The frontage is not large, perhaps similar to that of the Leo Motor Works, and the rear yard is also quite small. The annotation "PC" identifies the public conveniences which marked the northern limit of the Rowlands' holding.



The 1901 OS map showing coloured yellow the likely first part of the premises occupied by the Rowland brothers from 1906, nos. 102-106

The 1925 OS map (below) shows the expansion to no. 88. In addition to the greatly enlarged frontage to Castle Street which comprised substantial 2- and 3-storey buildings, there were now large rear workshops, which were probably erected by the Rowlands since they were not present on the 1901 map. Furthermore, the site now had rear access from Endless Street, a valuable asset for a car garage.



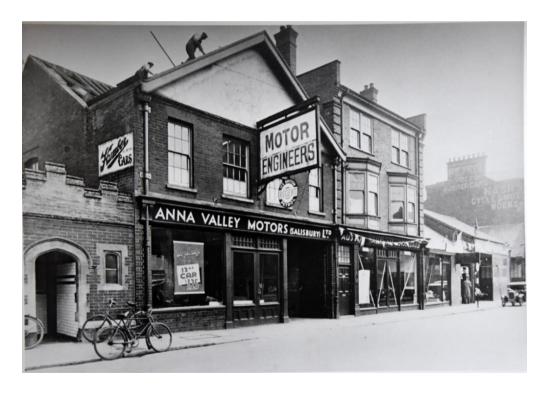
(above) The 1925 OS map showing the site after the incorporation of adjacent buildings in c1910, to give a frontage of nos. 88-106 (below) The OS resurvey of 1936, showing the Rowland premises just a few months before they were sold and Rowland and Sons ceased trading



The OS resurvey in 1936 shows how the Rowlands used their enlarged holding subsequent to the 1925 survey, consolidating buildings and erecting a new building off Endless Street to the east. The shape and siting of the latter suggest this was a dwelling house, sited to preserve the important rear access whilst providing an infill residential unit – in other words the Rowlands were realising the full potential of their assets.

Finally, the photograph below was taken in, probably, 1937, immediately after the sale to Anna Valley Motors and the end of the Rowland business. The public conveniences can be seen on the extreme left, with no. 106 the large gable-roofed building here occupied by Anna Valley Motors. We will briefly look at what happened to Anna Valley in Chapter 15, but for now it is sufficient to say that after the sale by the Rowlands in c1937, the next 100 years would see the site completely re-developed three times.

The most recent redevelopment of the site, in 2020, was for a block of sheltered housing by McCarthy & Stone ("Castle Gate") and was only completed after a considerable delay due to the coronavirus pandemic and lockdown.

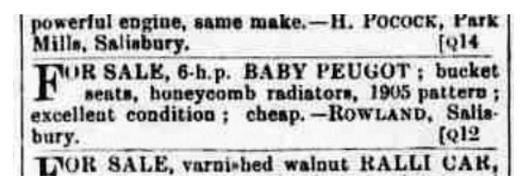


Castle Street in c1937, and below, the same view in 2020



The 1906 move by the Rowland brothers to the new premises was an ambitious commercial risk, but if the motor business was to succeed in the long term a larger site with large workshops was essential.

The following advertisements illustrate the main branches to the retail motor trade the Rowlands were now focussed on – prestigious advertisements for sale of new vehicles and hire of the most luxurious limousines, small-ads for sale of used ones, and all whilst retaining bicycle manufacture and sale.



Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 27th April 1906

AFTER SEASON SALE.

MONDAY, OCT. 29th, to SATURDAY, NOV. 3rd

CYCLES, MOTORS. ACCESSORIES.

ROWLAND & SONS,

CASTLE-STREET, SALISBURY,

BEG TO ANNOUNCE THAT THEIR ENTIRE STOCK OF NEW & SECOND-HAND

CYCLES AND MOTORS

STARTLING REDUCTIONS
TO EFFECT A CLEARANCE.

THE FAMOUS LEO CYCLE.

Ordinary Price 10 Guineas—REDUCED TO £7 10s.

These are not Old Stock, but Absolutely New. GENUINE 1906 MODELS (Fully Guaranteed).

DUNLOF COVERS, 9s.; CLINCHER COVERS, 9s. 7d.;
INNER TUBES, 3s. 8d. and Upwards;
BELLS from 6d.;
LAMPS FROM 1s.

SECOND-HAND LADIES' & GENTS'
CYCLES,

Fron 15s.

[1605

(above) Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 28th October 1906 (below) Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 17th August 1907

LUXURIOUS FOUR-CYLINDER MOTOR CARS FOR HIRE. SPECIAL LOW BATES

ROWLAND & SONS, CASTLE-STREET, SALISBURY.

STOCKISTS FOR MICHELIN TYRES.

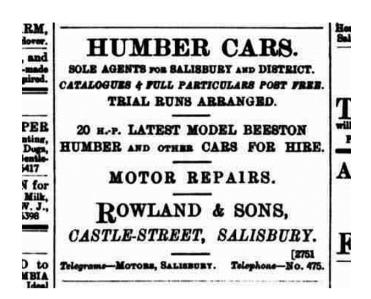
PETROL, OILS, GREASES, &c.

AGENTS FOR

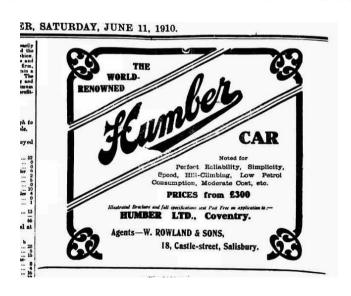
SIDDELEY & ROVER CARS.

[2751

Telegrams-Motors, Salisbury. Telephone-No. 0475.



2 H.P. HUMBER MOTOR BICYCLE, 1909
pattern, only ridden about 300 miles, good as new.
Owner abroad. £35; cost £45.—Apply by letter F. P.,
Eastmount, Salisbury; or to Rowland and Son, Salisbury.



Advertisements from the Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 21st December 1907, 23rd April 1910, and 11th June 1910

The 1907 Kelly's Directory gives a long entry describing both the new and the older parts of the business, proudly advertising the new address:

"Rowland W & Sons. Cycle, motor and general engineers, iron and brass founders; motor tyres & accessories, garage etc. 102 to 106, & cycle makers. 13 Castle Street" 194.

Their advertisement in the Directory ¹⁹⁵ that year illustrates their growing business:



The 1907 advertisement from Kelly's Directory. "Rowland and Sons" (plural) refers to William Edward Rowland and his brother Reginald George Rowland

These years between the death of William Rowland in 1902 and the start of the Great War in 1914 saw intense advertising by Rowland & Sons, a policy also of their father and grandfather. Advertising was necessary in the motor trade because competition was so intense – as we have seen, the number of motor engineers in the city doubled from 3 in 1904 to 6 in 1912^{196}

One incident from the times speaks a little about how Rowland & Sons operated and also gives us an insight into some contemporary societal values. It concerns an issue then very much in the spotlight - the right to vote. Franchise regulations were then extremely complex, and a right to vote was not yet universal for all adult males, let alone for women. The issue involved a complex ownership qualification which men had to meet¹⁹⁷. The inevitable result was numerous cases brought before the relevant adjudicating court, which for Salisbury was the "South West Revision Court", meeting in the Salisbury Council Chamber. Both the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party were legally represented to argue their respective cases.

On 28th September 1910 the Court adjudicated a joint case brought by William Edward Rowland (then 42) and by Reginald George Rowland (32). The essence of the joint claim related to nos. 88, 90 and 92 Castle Street, which the brothers had purchased as joint owners in a single purchase. However, for the purpose of the ownership qualification giving entitlement to a vote, William was claiming ownership of no. 88, and Reginald nos. 90 and 92. The legal niceties need not concern us – in the event the Court accepted Reginald's claim but rejected William's - but the case does shed light on how the brothers operated together, even though it was probably William who owned the business of "Rowland & Sons", with Reginald being an employee. Given this it is perhaps surprising that the property purchase was made jointly, on a single deed of conveyance, rather than just by William. (At this date neither brother was married). The legal arguments presented in court brought forth the fact the two brothers were "in partnership", each with shares, in respect of their property ownership (although not necessarily in the commercial motor business). We note also that at the time, 1910, no. 88 was let as a confectioner's shop, but nos. 90 and 92 "let to a business" (i.e. Rowland & Sons).

The court also recalled that "some time ago the same gentlemen claimed jointly for nos. 94, 96, 98 and 100 Castle Street", a claim which had failed. We can learn from this that the brothers had purchased 94-100 perhaps as early as 1908, adding 88-92 in 1910. At the time each of these properties had been let separately for retail and other purposes pending eventual incorporation

into the new premises of Rowland and Sons. Even though William Edward Rowland was the owner of the business it nevertheless suggests the brothers were working together in partnership, and planning long-term for the future growth of their motor business. It also demonstrates that they had access to capital sufficient for a substantial land purchase in advance of their occupation.

Throughout the period before the Great War the brothers' business continued to grow at their new premises on the east side of Castle Street. A growing business needed good employees:



Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 1st July 1911

The person specification "driving experience preferred" is important – the UK Driving Test would not be introduced until 1935, but motor cars in the 1910s could be both fast and dangerous and accidents, and fatalities, were not infrequent¹⁹⁸.

The motor trade, even after the Milford Street Works were given up, still did not constitute the only side to the business. The old casting and general mechanical engineering elements were still operative, albeit of reduced importance. In February 1912 a meeting of the Wilton Rural District Council received a report concerning a problem at the Bemerton (Sewage) Pumping Station, a new suburb between Wilton and Salisbury. The pumps there had required attention for some time, and finally the Council decided to accept "the tender of Messrs Rowland of Salisbury for £21. 15s. 6d for (the repair of No. 1 pump)" 199. One interesting thing from this report is that the tender was from "Messrs Rowland" rather than "Rowland & Sons", suggesting that the two sides of the business were perhaps legally separate firms. Whatever the legal arrangements, this is an example of how Rowland & Sons continued to have a number of different irons in the fire.

On the domestic side, the census taken on 2 April 1911 appears to have caught the elder brother, William Edward Rowland, away from home – we find him a single man, boarding in a house in Torquay, Devon, with 11 other boarders and a waiter. He describes himself simply as "engineer", and gives

his age as 38 although in fact he was 42. Exactly what he was doing in "Mrs Bakers Boarding House" at 1 Beacon Terrace Torquay in 1911 remains a mystery – April would not have been a time for holidays, so it must presumably have been for business, unlikely as it seems in Torquay.

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William Edward Rowland, one of 12 boarders at Mrs Bakers Boarding House in Torquay on census night, 1911

The 1911 census also revealed that his brother, Reginald George Rowland, did not live at 13 Castle Street where the family had been living at the time of the previous census in 1901. Instead we find him a single man living at 100 Castle Street, part of the recently-acquired premises for the business²⁰⁰,

presumably in a flat or other accommodation to which the Revision Court had referred in their judgement the year before. The intervening decade had seen him prosper; the earlier 22-year-old "bicycle maker" is now 32 and still single, but describes himself as a "General Engineer employed at home", and is Head of a small household containing a house keeper (52) and a domestic servant, (19).

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The 1911 census for Reginald George Rowland, 100 Castle Street, a dwelling unit within the larger motor premises of the Rowland brothers

These domestic arrangement for Reginald would not last long. The year after the census, in October 1912, Reginald George Rowland married Muriel Maud Howell. Reginald was then aged 35, and Muriel 34; sadly, by then both Reginald George's parents were dead, as was Muriel's mother.

Muriel Maud Howell had been born in 1877 in Little Walsingham near the north Norfolk coast, the eldest of four children to Frederick E Howell and his wife Muriel Elizabeth Stone. Frederick was a farmer, the census for 1888 proclaiming "Frederick Howell, 30, married, Farmer of 270 acres employing 7 labourers and 2 boys, born Great Walsingham". From this acreage it seems very likely he was a wheat farmer, and although the "golden age of English agriculture" had ended by the early 1860s, it seems that the efficiency and scientific nature of English agriculture, especially of wheat in innovative Norfolk, was still producing good profits even into the Great Depression of agriculture in the 1880s²⁰².

In 1883 Muriel's mother died, aged only about 34, leaving her father with four children aged 6 (Muriel) to new-born. Indeed, it seems likely she died in childbirth. Frederick did not re-marry; instead the children were cared for by a family servant, Jane Penny, who had been born, interestingly, not locally but in St Pancras, Middlesex (now central London), the same parish as

Muriel's mother. We first meet Penny as the children's nurse in 1881, aged 40, and she was to remain with the Howell family, an unmarried servant, until at least 1911, by which time she was the housekeeper and reportedly aged 80 (although in fact aged 70).

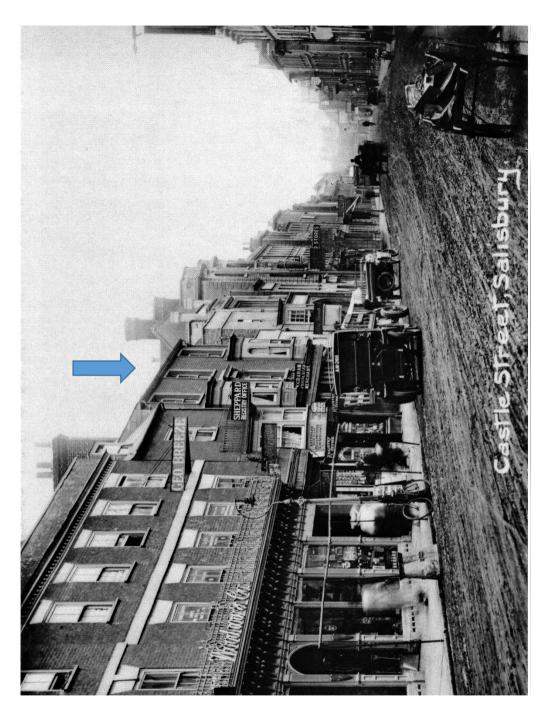
Muriel had a privileged upbringing. The 1891 census, when she was aged 14 and her sister Mary aged 10, found both girls in a girls' boarding school in Norwich – the establishment comprising 2 teachers, 4 governors, the owner and his family, 14 boarders, and 4 servants. With the exception of the owner, every person was female. Ten years later, in 1901, we see Muriel Maud a single woman of 24 of "No Occupation" (ie of private means), staying in a large hotel off The Strand, London, with an older married woman who presumably was her chaperone. Another ten years sees Muriel Maud, again with her sister Mary, aged 34 and 32, back at home in Little Walsingham with their father and two servants, including their old nurse Penny. Both the sisters are of "private means" 203.

How did Muriel Maud Howell, the privileged, educated young woman from rural Norfolk, meet Reginald George Rowland, the engineer and cycle-maker from Salisbury? Such a meeting seems unlikely, but it must have taken place somehow, for on 9th October 1912 they married, in Norwich. The certificate has not survived but there was a marriage announcement in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal for 12th October²⁰⁴, and the Salisbury register entry for their banns has survived:

Ranne of A	rriage between
Reginald Leonae Rousa	
Parish Backetor and Muriel	Mand
Howell of the Varish of I. veters ! Were published, as follows: Nove	haneroft
1st, on Sunday Sept & by IN sine	ten (e) are
2d, on Sunday Sept 15 by EEDug	
3d, on Sunday Jep/22 by E & Duy	nose

The banns of marriage between Reginald George Rowland and Muriel Maud Howell, St Edmund's, Salisbury, 1912

The marriage soon produced issue: first a girl (Dorothy Muriel, born August 1913), then another (Barbara Mary in 1915), then in February 1920 twin boys, Reginald Hugh Rowland and Derek William Rowland.



Salisbury as William Edward Rowland and his brother Reginald George would have known it, c1920. Arrowed on the left is No. 13 Castle Street, the former Leo Works, recently vacated by the brothers. William Graham, a Corn and Seed Merchant²⁰⁵, now occupies the site - his projecting sign is visible. Note the earthen carriageway, the bicycle (a "Leo"?), and the milk churns

14. After the Great War

There is little direct evidence to show what impact the Great War of 1914-1918 had on either the Rowlands' business or their personal lives. No records have been located to indicate military service during the Great War for either William Edward Rowland (aged 45 when war broke out) or for Reginald George Rowland (36). They appear not to have volunteered as many men at first did, possibly because of their age (William Edward) or marital status (Reginald). The conscription regulations were complex²⁰⁶, but Reginald would have been liable from June 1916 onwards. William Edward would only have been liable from October 1918, less than four weeks before the war ended. It is possible they were exempt for some reason, although the motor trade did not qualify as a reserved occupation. In terms of the wider impact of the war economy, Salisbury as a provincial city moved quickly to a war footing,²⁰⁷ and the proximity to Salisbury Plain, the main base for the British Army, provided the town with some economic benefit.

In 1915 Kelly's Directory still lists the Rowland firm much as before: "Rowland W & Sons, motor engineers, 88 to 106 Castle Street". This entry demonstrates also that the Castle Street premises had by now expanded to include the entire frontage of buildings nos. 88-106²⁰⁸. It also confirms that the premises at no. 13 Castle Street were not in use (nor the Milford Street works, now long gone) and the business was now concentrated just on the east side of Castle Street. The description "motor engineers" used here makes clear the business emphasis on just motor cars and motor cycles – there is no mention of "general engineers, iron and brass founders" used as recently as 1907²⁰⁹, nor of millwrighting (a term last used in 1899)²¹⁰. One effect of the Great War was to advance the use of motor transport, especially the lorry. By the end of the Great War the horse as an important means of commercial transport had been completely superseded, and indeed most of the animals themselves had been requisitioned for military use and then died in France and Belgium.

After the Great War Salisbury suffered, along with the rest of the country, from a period of high unemployment resulting from the demobilisation of huge numbers of men, followed in 1926 by the General Strike and then the Great Depression of 1929-1933. These must have been difficult times for the Rowland brothers, no longer young men and in a fiercely-competitive market.

We see one example of the problems then being experienced in the auction

particulars in 1919 when Ushers Brewery in Trowbridge decided to cut their losses in Salisbury by closing their brewery there. The sale was of the entire brewing plant and equipment of the "old-established business" at The Old George Brewery in Rollestone Street, Salisbury²¹¹. The equipment comprised Brewing Coppers, including oat crushers and mash tuns (the particulars do not mention whether these were James Rowland's famous "Patented Mashing and Mixing Machines"), seven Fermenting Tuns, hoists, barrels, refrigerators, etc etc, and interestingly, a "8 H.P. Horizontal Steam Engine by Rowland, Salisbury". This engine, almost certainly by James Rowland and still going strong after some 60+ years, was used in association with machinery by other manufacturers - a boiler by Oxley of Frome, a feed pump by Pearn of Manchester, a steam pump by Tangye of Birmingham, and various cisterns etc. It seems the practice of linking together the cheapest equipment by different manufacturers rather than using just one manufacturer to a supply purpose-designed assembly is nothing new.

One response of William and Reginald to these economic uncertainties will be familiar to all businessmen and entrepreneurs - to stop less profitable work, and concentrated on core markets. It seems likely that the casting of iron (and probably also brass) had ceased with the relinquishing²¹² of the Milford Street site in 1906, and in 1923 it is probable that a line was drawn under another side of their grandfather James Rowland's old business activities - the steam sawing of timber.

An advertisement on 23rd February 1923 offers for sale: "New Sagon Bandsaw, with 30in wheels, complete, with two saws; 8in Monarch Lathe, 8ft bed, sliding, surfacing, screw cutting, new condition – Rowland, Salisbury"²¹³. This machinery was not something small; a bandsaw with 30inch wheels was used for sawing large tree trunks, and a lathe with an 8ft bed was also substantial. The site where the Rowlands had been undertaking the sawing is unclear – surely it wasn't the Castle Street motor site? More likely the equipment was mobile, being towed to the customer's site when required, much as James Rowland had offered threshing machines for hire in the 1850s.

The concentration on core markets continued through the 1920s (and 30s) under the direction of William Edward, and his brother Reginald, still trading under the name "*W Rowland & Sons*". There are entries in Kelly's Directories for 1903, 1907, 1911, 1915, 1920, 1923, 1929/30, and 1935/6, with the emphasis very firmly on the motor trade, neatly summarised in the term "motor engineers" ²¹⁴:

(Kelly's 1920) Rowland W & Sons, motor engineers, 88-106 Castle Street

(Kelly's 1923) Rowland W & Sons, motor engineers, 88-106 Castle Street

One wonders how much actual *engineering* went on, and how much was simply sales.

The motor vehicles the firm handled were not just private cars - they included larger trucks as well. These "commercial" vehicles had come into their own alongside cars, especially during the long war years. Rowland and Sons advertised for a share in this essential market:



Western Gazette, 12th April 1927

The other response of the Rowland brothers to the uncertainties of the 1920s is also familiar, and perversely is almost the converse of the first response to diversify into new, unsatisfied, markets. Partly, one suspects, this was a reaction to the intense competition from other motor firms in Salisbury, but we must also give the brothers credit for spotting a new opportunity.

From an early date, and certainly by 1903²¹⁵, the business had included the hire of motor-cars to individuals, and indeed at first cars would be hired rather than purchased outright by these wishing to indulge in the new craze. During the 1920s the brothers extended the principle of hiring out vehicles "as and when needed" by making available for hire, with driver, the new motor charabanc vehicles to small groups and local associations²¹⁶. This new venture was marketed under the name of Rowland's Motor Coaches. Fortunately for us, these special days out often resulted in a photograph:



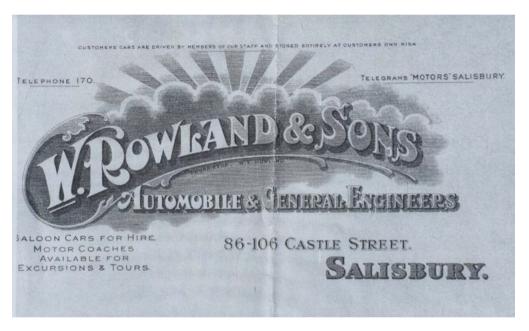
Above and next page - Examples of private charabanc hire by Rowland's Motor Coaches, by the Barford St Martin Football Club for their Annual Outing in 1923. It must have been a popular club – they hired both coach No. 5 and Coach No. 7. The photographs show, respectively, 40 and 16 passengers.





Another example of the private hire of a charabanc by Rowland's Motor Coaches; the date is unknown, but the vehicle appears more advanced than the 1923 ones²¹⁷

A rare survival from the Rowland firm in, probably, the 1920s, is the letterhead reproduced below, unfortunately now only a low-resolution black-and-white photocopy. The letterhead is undated but refers to the full frontage premises at 86-106²¹⁸ Castle Street, so the date is post-1910 when the site accumulation process on this side of Castle Street had been completed. In very small print the letterhead states, under the W. Rowland & Sons title, "Proprietor: W. E. Rowland". This may date it to after the death of Reginald George Rowland in 1934, or it may simply reflect the fact that the legal owner was William Edward Rowland. It is unfortunate the letterhead is no longer in colour, but we can still admire the rich Art Deco typeface, and the iconic sunburst motif, even in black-and-white.



A letterhead by the firm W Rowland & Sons, probably from the 1920s²¹⁹

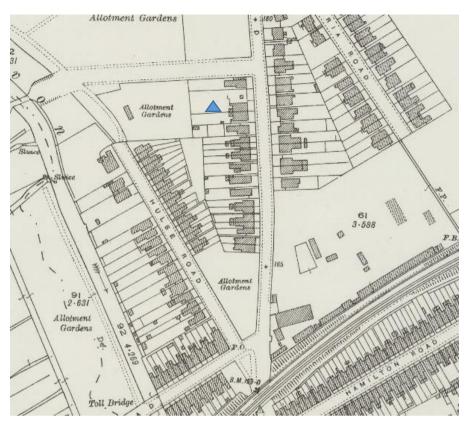
Turning to the family and domestic life of the two Rowland brothers in the 1920s, there is surprisingly less information available than can be found for the previous generations. Partly this is due to the fact that the detailed 1921 and 1931 census material ²²⁰ is not available for study, and partly because the main newspaper for Salisbury, the Salisbury Journal ²²¹ has not been machine-scanned and is available only in micro-fiche form.

We have seen that in the 1911 census, Reginald George Rowland, the younger brother was living at 100 Castle Street with a housekeeper and a servant and that in the following year he married Muriel Maud Howell in Norwich. It was

probably following Reginald's wedding in 1912 that he and his bride moved into a new house on the northern edge of the city – 46 Castle Road²²². This large three-storey Edwardian semi-detached house was newly built on a double-plot; the purchase was through Reginald's cousin, Herbert Rowland, then managing clerk and cashier at the Salisbury office of Messrs Rawlence and Squarey (later Humberts, Flint, Rawlence and Squarey) the principal Land and Estate Agents in Salisbury. In this house, as we have seen, Reginald and Muriel produced four children by 1920 – two girls then twin boys. No. 46 remained their home as the family grew and was listed in Kelly's Directory as their private address for subsequent years – 1915, 1920, 1923, 1929-30. It was in this house that, eventually, Reginald and then much later Muriel would die.



Such was the growth of Salisbury in the first decades of the twentieth century that no sooner had the OS completed their 2nd Edition 25" Map in 1901 (above) that they had to embark on a 3rd Edition in 1925 (next page). No. 46 Castle Road is marked with the blue triangle.





46 Castle Road in 2020. Here Reginald George Rowland and his bride Muriel Maud Howell lived from their marriage in 1912 until 1934 when Reginald died, and 1962 when Muriel died.

The house now has an unusually large detached garage within its northern curtilage. This garage, visible in the photograph, post-dates the 1925 OS mapping, but it is of an early design and probably dates from the late 1920s. Interestingly, in addition to a large first-floor room, it contains a strongly-built basement with a large vehicle-inspection pit from the ground floor above. This arrangement is more substantial than a normal domestic inspection pit and must be Reginald's doing – perhaps an example of, literally, Reginald taking his work home with him?

Meanwhile, what of Reginald's elder brother, William Edward Rowland? While Reginald and Muriel were producing Rowland heirs, what was his elder brother doing?

William Edward had remained a bachelor for many years, but then in 1929, at the age of 60, he "took the plunge" and married. His bride was Ida Winifred Brooks and they married in Salisbury. Ida's family came from West Devon, the River Plym estuary in the Tamar valley known then as Laira, but now part of Plymouth-Plympton. Ida had been born in 1889, which made her some 21 years younger than William Edward.

Ida was the eldest of three girls born to Andrew Brooks and his wife Annie; Andrew Brooks was a carpenter (1891), builder and carpenter on his own account (1901), builder and undertaker (1911). It appears to have been a close, local, family – the census for 1891 found the household of Andrew Brooks, then 30, including not only his wife and the three young girls, but also his mother-in-law, and living next door to his parents (Andrew's father was also called Andrew Brooks - he was a stone wall mason). By 1911 Ida Winifred Brooks had dropped her first name and appeared on the census simply as "Winnie Brooks". She was by then 21, single, and employed, like one of her younger sisters, as a typist.

How Ida Winifred Brooks met William Edward Rowland is a mystery, with an evidential gap between her as a 21-year-old typist in Laira, Devon in 1911 and her wedding aged 39 to William, aged 60, in Salisbury in 1929. One suspects there is a story here, perhaps even another marriage for Ida, and there might be a clue in the census for 1911 when we found William Edward Rowland in a boarding house in Torquay, for purposes unknown. Torquay is less than 30 miles from Plymouth – perhaps this was the time William met Ida, perhaps even this was an assignation, caught for posterity by the census?

Not surprisingly given their ages, the marriage did not have issue.

15. The 1930s - the final years

For the firm of W Rowland & Sons, the 1930s saw a continuation both of the core activities of motor engineering and motor trading, plus charabanc hire, and then some ventures into new avenues. As far as can be judged in the absence of any financial data, the prosperity of the firm continued in perhaps an unspectacular fashion. Certainly, the core motor business continued, with sales of new and second-hand vehicles, both cars and commercial vehicles, motor cycles, and their servicing and repair. The advertising which is so necessary to the motor trade, reflects this core activity of the business:

POR SALE, 1932 Model ROVER PILOT, six-cylinder Coach-built SALOON, with sunshine roof, colour maroon, as listed at £245. This car is new, unregistered and unscratched. Open to offers. Good price for Second-hand Cars in part exchange.—W. ROWLAND & SONS, Salisbury. 'Phone 170. [51371]

POVER SALOON CAR, 10 h.p., 1930, for Sale, licensed to end of year.—ROWLAND & SONS, Salisbury.

BUICK TAXI, excellent condition taxed to December 31st.—ROWLAND & SONS, Salisbury. [53061

The Western Gazette for 2nd September 1932, 19th October 1934, and 25th October 1935

It is noticeable that the level of advertising was nevertheless much reduced from its level in previous decades – for the specimen years 1923, 1925 and 1930 advertisements by the Rowland firm in the Salisbury Journal are largely absent, but those of competitors, and for trips out especially Southern Railway, are still present 223 . The commercial competition that the Rowland firm faced in the motor trade in Salisbury continued unabated - by 1925 the number of motor firms operating in the city had risen to 21 (from just 6 in 1912) and by 1939 it would be 30^{224} . In 1939 there were also operating in the city three coachbuilders, 14 motor car garages, six car hire firms and four tyre dealers.

As a further response to this competition, the Rowland brothers in 1929 again expanded into new markets – this time as booking agents for motor

coach tours by, it would appear, other operators in addition to themselves. Day tours, trips and excursions by motor coach became a popular and relatively inexpensive recreation in the 1930s and as this market opened, the Rowlands stepped in. Doubtless they saw it as a natural expansion from the private hire of charabancs of the previous decade, although not without risk. Owning and operating coaches was capital expensive, and the booking and administration of excursions required manpower. Nevertheless, this direction clearly had promise, and in the 1930s nationally it boomed. Significantly, their entries in Kelly's Directories now included reference to "motor coach bookings":

1929-30 Rowland W & Sons, motor engineers, 88-106 Castle Street & motor coach booking office, 51 Blue Boar Row.

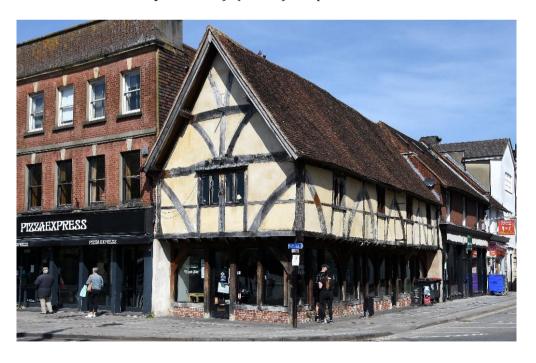
1935-36 Rowland W & Sons, motor engineers, 88-106 Castle Street & motor coach booking office, 51 Blue Boar Row

Some new investment in premises was necessary for this venture – a motor coach booking agency required premises more visually prominent in the city for customers to make their bookings than the commercial motor garage in Castle Street, so it had to be somewhere central. In, probably, 1929 the ideal site was identified at 51 Blue Boar Row, a prime corner pitch on the Market Place and Endless Street²²⁵. This building became known as "Rowland's Corner", but to modern readers it will be will be more familiar as Nuggs café (photo page 164).

In terms of the brothers' domestic and family life, it must be remembered that both during these years and for previous decades, the Rowland family in Salisbury - the descendants of James Rowland - had been numerous, although the Rowland women who married gave up the surname. This book is not a detailed family history of the Rowland family, but the point to note is that by the generation of the brothers William Edward Rowland and Reginald George Rowland the number of Rowland descendants still in Salisbury would have given a rich local family life and a social and economic support network. For instance, Kelly's Directories for the years 1903 to 1923 list a small private school run by "Miss Urania Rowland" operating first at 11a Endless Street, and then at 13, then 125 Endless Street 226. "Miss Urania Rowland" was probably Urania Rowland (1874-1957), the unmarried daughter of James Rowland jnr (b. 1831/2, James Rowland 1803's first son) - one of James Rowland's grandchildren. She was six years younger than William Edward, and four years older than his brother Reginald, and was their half-cousin.



(above) Rowland's Corner in the 1930s. The shop fascia reads "Rowland and Sons" and the advertisements include "Motor Coach Tours" and "Humber Cars. BSA". Photograph from the Lovibond Collection (by kind permission of Salisbury Museum). (Below) the premises in 2020



Mention should be made of James Rowland's fifth son, Herbert, who had been steadily building a career as a senior and respected Land Agent in Salisbury and much of southern England. He and his family lived nearby in Swayne's Close, and his children²²⁷ were only slightly younger than Reginald George and also half-cousins. Herbert died in 1929.

In the early 1930s Reginald George Rowland, although the younger of the two brothers by some ten years and still only in his early fifties, was in declining health. He was suffering from tuberculosis, and his health steadily deteriorated as the months passed. On 4th April 1934 he died, at home in 46 Castle Road. He was aged 55. The death certificate neatly summarised his occupation as "Motor Engineer (Master)"²²⁸.

His widow, Muriel, was still a relatively young woman at 57, and his two daughters, and the twin boys Reginald Hugh Rowland ("Mike"), and Derek William Rowland, were respectively 20, 18, and 14, technically all still minors.

Reginald's obituary in 1934 stated:

Mr Rowland ...[was] the partner with his brother, Mr W. Rowland, in the firm of Messrs W. Rowland and Sons, motor engineers since 1902. Mr Rowland, who was 55 years of age, was one of the third generation of the family associated in the firm, which was begun nearly a hundred years ago by his grandfather, Mr James Rowland, who made and drove the first steam engine in Salisbury about the year 1860. ... Mr R G Rowland, though of a retiring disposition, was well known in Salisbury... In his youth [Reginald] took part with considerable success in cycle racing, not only in Salisbury but in other parts of the south of England. He had been in failing health for a number of years, and had been confined to bed for several weeks. He leaves a widow, two daughters and two sons...²²⁹.

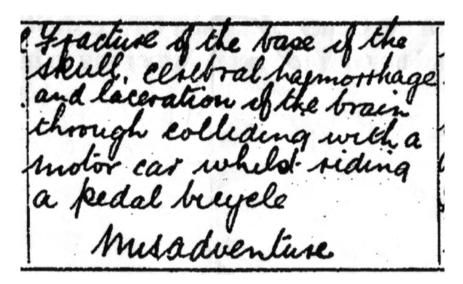
Probate on Reginald's estate was granted²³⁰ in August 1934:

ROWLAND Reginald George of 46 Castle-road Salisbury died 4
April 1934 Probate London 24 August to Muriel Maud Rowland widow George Albert Berry turf accountant and Herbert Philip Gowen accountant. Effects £13868 3s. 4d.

An estate of £13,868 is equivalent to £999,988 at 2019 prices using the Bank of England Inflation Calculator²³¹, making Reginald virtually a millionaire in

today's terms, but even this is probably an under-estimate 232 . In 1934 the UK average price of a house was £515, and even a modern new semi-detached 3-bed house in London Metroland in the inter-war period was typically £800-£1200. Using these comparators, Reginald's estate was worth some £6.2m at 2019 prices 233 . Reginald and Muriel would have been able to buy, literally, every house in their street! Some of this fortune might have come from Muriel's Howell inheritance, but nevertheless the size of the sum must also reflect the motor trade of Reginald (and his brother William Edward) 234 .

Reginald had died at the family home at 46 Castle Street, and here Muriel continued to live throughout her widowhood which was to last 28 years; she died there in 1962 aged 85 ²³⁵. Less than two years after Reginald died, tragedy struck the family again, this time suddenly and quite without warning. Muriel had sent her twin boys, Reginald Hugh and Derek William to boarding school in Wellington, Somerset. One Monday in February 1936, just two weeks after his 16th birthday, young Derek was out riding his bicycle when he was involved in a collision with a motor car. His injuries were catastrophic – he was rushed to Wellington Cottage Hospital but died there. The death certificate describes his injuries in stark detail:



He died on the 24th of February – an Inquest was held in the Coroner's Court the following day, the Certificate issued the same day, and on the 26th the death was formally Registered²³⁶. The sad irony is that his father, although described on his son's death certificate as a *Motor Engineer (deceased)*, had in his youth been an enthusiastic cyclist and had manufactured the family's Leo Cycles, as we have seen.

The effect on Muriel his mother and on his surviving twin brother, Reginald Hugh Rowland, and his sisters, can only be imagined.

The family line through Reginald George Rowland would play no further part in the few years left of Rowland family business in Salisbury, but to complete the picture we can catch a final glimpse of Muriel and her children just as the country slid into war again.

On 29th September 1939, just days after war was declared, a Register was taken initially for the purpose of producing National Identity Cards, although the register later came to be multi-functional and included the production of ration books. The Register²³⁷ entry for 46 Castle Road, Salisbury found the family of four still in the same house - Muriel M Rowland, born Feb 1877, occupation "unpaid domestic duties"; the elder daughter Dorothy M Lewington (her maiden name of Rowland is crossed through), born August 1913, single, occupation Shorthand Typist. She was also "A.R.P." i.e. Air Raid Precaution warden, a responsible, tiring and demanding job even in Salisbury - who knew when the Blitz would reach Salisbury?

Interestingly, the Register notes that Dorothy was employed by Anna Valley Motors, the company who had bought the Rowland motor business. The Register also includes the younger daughter, Barbara M Page (her maiden name Rowland is also crossed through), born Oct 1915, single, occupation Civil Servant (typist); and also the surviving twin, Reginald Hugh Rowland, born February 1920, Occupation: Admin Traffic Clerk (Road Trans). Ominously, the register also notes that he is: "Territorial Army 2074207 (OL)", but no military records for him are available. After the war Reginald Hugh went on to become a deputy Travel Manager (1962), perhaps a reflection of father's years in the coach business. In 1971, at the age of 50 and still in Salisbury, he married. He died in 1997.

Muriel herself died in 1962 aged 85, still at 46 Castle Road. Probate²³⁸ for her estate was granted for just £433, equivalent to £9,300 at 2019 prices; the fortune she and Reginald had previously enjoyed had been reduced almost to nothing by the inflation of the war years and by 28 years of widowhood, not to mention four children. By now, however, we are well beyond the scope of this book.

The death in 1934 of Reginald George Rowland, after years of ill health, left his elder brother William Edward Rowland as sole proprietor of the business, a legal position he may have held since the death of his father

William in 1902. Quite where he and his wife Ida Winifred Brooks were living in Salisbury is not clear – Kelly's Directory for 1935-6 has an entry "Rowland Wm Edwrd. 100 Castle St". This address refers to the firm's business premises; perhaps William and Ida wished to retain their privacy by not divulging their home address; or less likely, that they lived in the flat or other accommodation included at the motor garage premises, where we noted Reginald George residing in 1911 and to which reference had been made by the Revision Court in their judgement of 1910.

* * *

William Edward Rowland was 65 when his brother Reginald died in 1934, a good age to retire and close down the firm. Unsurprisingly, his late marriage to Ida Brooks in 1929 produced no issue, so he was without children to pass the business to. It was time to wind up the family firm. The entry in Kelly's Directory for 1935-36 was the last entry for the Rowland business:

1935-36 Rowland W & Sons, motor engineers, 88-106 Castle Street & motor coach booking office, 51 Blue Boar Row

There was to be no entry for 1937-38 and subsequent years, although the Rowland name can still be found in directories listing the private addresses of various cousins and other relatives. By 1936, and despite the entry in Kelly's, the business appears to have been in decline for a number of years – the once-ubiquitous advertisements in the Salisbury Journal weekly had effectively ceased by 1935, and the final proof can be seen from the feature in the Journal for 9th October 1936 under the banner "Olympia Motor Show – Models for 1937".

Prominent in the article are large advertisements from the main car dealers then competing in Salisbury, viz Sarum Motor Co at Rampart Garage, Wessex Motors at New Street (who had in May of that year announced the opening of a new commercial department "Wessex Commercials" to secure the commercial vehicle trade), Ed J Naish at New Street, W Goddard & Co Ltd at St Edmunds Church Street, Edwards Bros also at New Street, and Turner's garage in Winchester Street. In addition, there were smaller advertisements from five other motor dealers in the city and also some in nearby towns, a total of eleven car dealers in Salisbury alone all advertising in the same Journal feature. What was absent was any advertisement from Rowland and Sons.

The 1930s was the heyday of bus operators, and for scheduled route services

the Road Traffic Act 1930, controlled the licensing of operators. The legislation had the effect of favouring larger established companies and to discourage competition. The result was amalgamation of smaller operators and the emergence of single companies having near monopolies in a locality, and in south Wiltshire the clear winner was the Wilts and Dorset Bus Company. They had a policy of taking over their competitors one by one – Tidworth Motor Services in 1927, Andover and District in 1930 – and in 1936, they acquired the bus and coach side of Rowland and Sons²³⁹, although the Coach Booking Office at "Rowland's Corner" in Blue Boar Row (Market Place) was not acquired by them – presumably they had their own Booking Offices – and would in due course be sold part-and-parcel with the Castle Street site.

It was probably later that year or early in 1937 that William Edward Rowland finally sold the remaining physical assets, plant and sites of Rowland and Sons - the motor shop premises, workshops and garages at Castle Street and the Booking Office at 51 Blue Boar Row. The buyer for the whole was Anna Valley Motors²⁴⁰, a company which appears to have been newly-established – they certainly were not advertising in 1935 or 1936. Rowland and Sons as a business ceased²⁴¹, and the Kelly's Directory entry for 1937-38, silent for Rowland, contains instead the listing: "Anna Valley Motors (Salisbury) Ltd, motor engineers, 84 to 106 Castle Street & 51 Blue Boar Row".

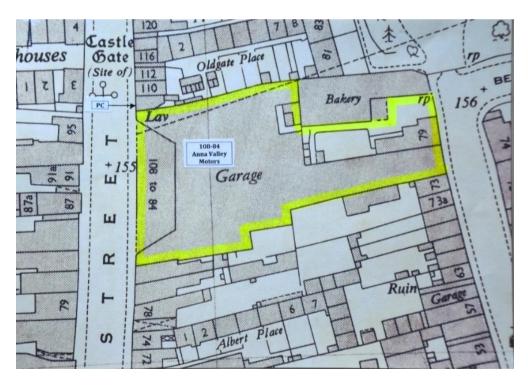
* * *

The September 1939 Register reveals that William (then 70) and Ida (50), after retiring and selling the business, had left Salisbury and were living in Perranporth, on the north Cornish $coast^{242}$. Ida, it will be recalled, came originally from West Devon, but her mother was Cornish, coming from Lelant, less than 10 miles from Perranporth. Their retirement was short – they soon left Perranporth to move up the coast to Pentire, just outside Newquay with its better facilities, and there on 8th February 1941 William Edward Rowland died, aged 72^{243} . The cause of death was a stroke brought on by high blood pressure, and his occupation was given as "Motor Engineer (retired)".

Probate²⁴⁴ for the estate of William Edward Rowland was granted in June for the sum of £16,812 6s 2d, a large sum (the UK average house price²⁴⁵ in 1938 was £545, in 1946 £1,459). Its equivalent at 2019 prices is £855,000 (Bank of England) or £3.9m (using house price data)²⁴⁶, approaching the fortune that Reginald his brother had left in 1934, and suggesting that the profits

from the business had been spilt equally between them or nearly so, allowing for wartime inflation. As for Ida, it appears that she moved to Taunton in Somerset, dying there in 1963 aged 74^{247} .

As a tailpiece, the reader might wonder what Anna Valley Motors made of their 1937 purchase at Castle Street. In summary they invested heavily, but were overtaken by the war before their investment could yield much fruit. although the site would play an unexpected role in the war effort to the benefit of the whole country. One of the photographs considered earlier (page 142) showed Anna Valley Motors in occupation of the Rowland site and buildings in c1937. Close examination of the photograph suggests that the buildings were in fact being demolished (the roofs are being stripped to salvage the slates) and this accords with the subsequent use of the site by Anna Valley Motors. They had ambitious plans and comprehensively redeveloped the site into a purpose-designed modern garage, workshops and petrol-filling installation. The 1953 OS edition shows their Works, which were completed just before war broke out in 1939.



1953 OS map of Castle Street. The new Anna Valley Motors building comprised a complete redevelopment of the whole Rowland site, plus a small southern extension to include 84-88

In September 1940 enemy bombing destroyed the country's main production plant for Spitfires in Woolston in Southampton, and a search began for new sites in the south of England where Spitfires could be manufactured in secret, split between a number of small and inconspicuous buildings to avoid detection. Salisbury became a major centre for these "Secret Spitfires", and the recently-completed modern engineering workshops which Anna Valley had built in Castle Street were ideal and were requisitioned. Final assembly for the aircraft was at High Post, just north of the city which had an airstrip allowing the aircraft to be flown out immediately.

After the war the site returned to Anna Valley, and they continued trading until c1962.



Castle Street in the 1960s just before Anna Valley Motors ceased trading. This is the same view as the 1937 and 2020 photos (pages 142-3).

(Photograph by kind permission of Salisbury Museum)

In 1962 the Castle Street site was again redeveloped, but this time the connection with the motor industry was finally broken. The new owner of the site was the Friends Provident, a large national financial and insurance business, and they built their new National Headquarters office building on the cleared site. In due course Friends Provident became Aviva Insurance. They lasted until 2019, when the site was again cleared, and redeveloped afresh for McCarthy & Stone, a specialist housing company who have built sheltered residential flats for the elderly.

The last vestiges of the motor firm W. Rowland and Sons, and the predecessor businesses of William Rowland, Arthur Lucas, and James Rowland, have now therefore completely gone from all their sites and premises in Salisbury. All that remains are various bits of named ironwork scattered throughout the city, plus an unknown amount of un-named ironwork.

16. Some Conclusions

The sale of the business and premises in 1936 and 1937, followed by the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 and then the death of William Edward Rowland in 1941, marked the end of the Salisbury engineering dynasty originally founded by James Rowland in the 1840s. Other descendants of James Rowland had established small businesses in other fields at various dates, notably Urania's Rowland private girl's school at Endless Street²⁴⁸ but these were essentially one-person enterprises on a small scale and did not survive long. It was the ironfounding and mechanical engineering business which had lasted, surviving both commercial difficulties and family tragedies which would have swamped many other small family businesses.

Can any lessons be learned about how to run a successful and enduring business?

As noted already, knowledge of how the Rowland business operated is limited to just a few facts – there is virtually no information about the business finances, models, or profitability, and no information as to its legal structure, and deductions can only be drawn from the outcomes observed. In short, we know what happened, the events and their sequence, but can only speculate about why they happened, the causes of those events.

Just how financially successfully was the business? Here the absence of financial data causes serious problems, and all we can fall back on are the probate figures for the individuals concerned, notwithstanding the difficulties as to the assumptions made, whether or not the business valuation is included and the accuracy of the accounting. Also, we have seen how producing a modern equivalent valuation is fraught with difficulties. Nevertheless, the following table gives some indication at least – the highlighted figures are those which probably give the best modern equivalent:

	Year	Probate valuation	Equivalent value 2019/20, £, using:			using:
			BoE Inflation Calc	1888 household expenditure	house price - 1905 Letchworth	house price – UK average
James Rowland	1875	< 1000 assume 950	110,000	567,000	-	-
Urania Lucas	1879	< 200 "Personal Estate" assume 180	22,500	107,000	278,000	-
Arthur Lucas	1888	575	76,000	344,000	888,777	-
William Rowland	1902	658	81,000	-	1.02m	-
Blanche Rowland	1907	1444	175,000	-	2.23m	-
Reginald Rowland	1934	13,868	999,988	-	-	6.24m
Muriel Rowland	1962	433	9,300	-	-	34,000
William Edward Rowland	1941	16,812	855,000	-	-	3.89m
Ida Rowland	1963	30,877	651,000	-	-	2.27m

Despite the many ups and downs experienced, these figures suggest that the family business produced a very decent living at the least, with the accumulated wealth increasing for each successive generation – by the third generation the Rowlands were very wealthy.

A few pointers can be adduced as to the business principles behind this success:

Firstly, the business showed a considerable degree of flexibility in its "product" range. The scope included millwrighting, iron-founding and iron-casting, brass-founding and brass-casting, agricultural and general machinery, steam engines (whether stationary, portable or traction engines), and in later times engines powered by gas, petrol, and other fuels. A huge range of mechanical engineering skills and goods were offered, for sale, rent or hire, with products both of the Rowlands' own manufacture – and

sometime their own invention too – together with those of other manufacturers and suppliers. This gave great flexibility, and we have seen the Rowland business sometimes emphasised one side of its activities, sometimes another, as markets changed and new markets opened up.

Secondly, the business was an "early adopter" of new technology. James Rowland was operating the new traction engines within not much more than a few months of their invention, and we saw the same with TH Lucas and William Rowland moving quickly into bicycles, at first velocipedes, then penny-farthings, then safety cycles, and he was already manufacturing the new oil and gas engines in 1899. His sons William Edward Rowland and Reginald George Rowland were amongst the first to adopt the new idea of fitting these engines to bicycles, to produce motor cycles, then motor cars and then heavier commercial vehicles, all well established by 1906. Hiring out these first motor cars was quickly followed by their retail sales, repairs, and maintenance. Then after the Great War the business expanded into charabanc hire, and then motor coach hire. The Rowland family, it seems, were good at identifying quickly which of the many new technologies and inventions of the age would be successful, and then exploiting those inventions commercially.

Thirdly, the family were able to alter their fixed assets as needed – they were able to relocate their workshops and premises to meet the requirements of the new markets, unlike so many family firms which get stuck providing the same service from the same site in the same way. Physical relocation and expansion of the business is a notable feature in their story:

date of occupation	site	lead occupier
c1844 - 1849?	Brown Street, Salisbury	James Rowland
c1849 - c1868	Rollestone Street "The Iron Works, Salisbury"	и
1868 - 1876	Fisherton Foundry "Fisherton Foundry" or "Fisherton Iron Works"	и
c1876 - 1888	47 Brown Street	Arthur Lucas
c1888 - 1906	Crystal Fountain, Milford St "Salisbury Foundry"	William Rowland

1892 - c1914	13 Castle Street	William Rowland
	<i>"Leo Works"</i> then	to 1903, then
	"Leo Motor Works"	William E Rowland
c1906 - 1937	88-106 Castle Street 102-106 from 1906 94-100 from 1908; 88-92 from 1910 ²⁴⁹	William E Rowland
c1929 -1937	51 Blue Boar Row	а

This gives a total of eight sites in around 90 years – flexibility, it seems, is one key to success in business, even if in some cases it was forced on the family by sale of sites following a death.

Turning to consideration of family structures and societal values during the period, can we draw any conclusions from the Rowland story? Well, again, "conclusions" is too grand a description, but we can list some features from their story which illustrate long-known issues in the Victorian age: the prevalence of intimacy before marriage and the consequent rushed wedding; the inability to limit family size (or the fashion for large families); the urgent need for both bereaved widows and widowers to re-marry quickly; the lack of opportunity for young women unable to find a husband; and the complicated relationships between the children of the numerous remarriages which resulted; the lack of any financial safety-net for families when tragedy struck, especially if a wider family network was not present locally; the legal restrictions on who one could re-marry; and finally, the way families were well aware of their distant relatives and were able to maintain contact with them.

We have also seen, sadly, how in the midst of plenty, disease and death could strike a family, especially the scourge of Tuberculosis. Many of the children featured were raised by step-mothers, and we have seen too many cases of orphaned children (thankfully now rare in our own age). The list of orphans includes the children of Benjamin and Eliza Coleman (8 children including Blanche); the four children (including Mary and Urania) of William Pitt and his first wife Mary and then second wife Elizabeth Malsbury; the two children of Martha Pitts and Daniel Dalton; and three children (still minors) of James Rowland and Urania Lucas nee Pitts.

In the immediate family, TB struck down Mary Pitts (James's third wife) in 1853 aged 36, her own daughter Sarah Martha Rowland in 1857 aged 12, and in 1888 both Arthur Lucas at 39 and his daughter Gertrude (aged 2 years 8

months). In the next generations it took Reginald George Rowland in 1934 aged 55. One suspects it was also TB that took the parents of the Pitts girls, with both William Pitts and his wife Elizabeth Malsbury dying within 8 weeks in 1829 to leave three young girls orphaned; and also TB which took off Martha Dalton nee Pitts in 1846 aged 29 and Bryan Lucas in 1855 aged 42. Perhaps surprisingly, there appear to have been no deaths from cholera in the families considered.

The generation after James Rowland had familial structures that were more settled, and this was even more so for the next generation, by which time family size and relationships were much more like those of the present day. Society in 1930 had become very different from that of 1850, and much more recognisable to us today.

In 1929, when James Rowland's fifth son Herbert Rowland (the Land Agent) died, the newspaper funeral report reported:

"He was a member of an old Salisbury family, his late father having been the proprietor of the Salisbury Iron Foundry" 250.

The latter was correct, but the reference to "an old Salisbury family" is rather an exaggeration. James Rowland had arrived in Salisbury in, probably, 1844, and he was, it seems, the first person to bear the Rowland surname in the city 251. By 1891 the Rowland family in the city had grown to 29 people carrying the surname, but this marked the high point, and thereafter Rowland sons mostly moved away, the daughters married, and the number of those with the surname dwindled. By 1911, the number of individuals with the Rowland name in Salisbury had fallen to 11, and in the subsequent decades the numbers declined further. By the time of the register in 1939 there were only 9 Rowlands in Salisbury, and, of these, only two were male and able to carry the surname down to the next generation 252.

Elsewhere in England some descendants of James Rowland still carry his surname, and there are many more descendants, including some still in Salisbury, that through marriage no longer carry his surname.

The family business, and the family surname, which James had planted in Salisbury had lasted almost one hundred years – from 1844 to 1937 - but now, some 80 years later, all that physically remains is a collection of ironwork which proudly bears the Rowland name, silent witness to a past age.

Some memories still linger on. Mr Norman Barry Cox, James Rowland's great grandson, who did much pioneering early research into the Rowland family history, is currently alive and well, aged 88. Barry was born in 1932, son of Doris Jeanette Rowland, daughter of Herbert Rowland, the son of James Rowland. As Barry says, "I find it incredible, and perhaps worth a letter to the Times, that my great grandfather was born in 1803, and here I am only three generations later. Not many families can spread over more than two centuries in such few generations" - to date, 217 years ²⁵³.

There remains much still to be discovered about James Rowland and his legacy, and as digitisation of records proceeds, doubtless more could be found by those who seek a fuller explanation of the histories told in this book, both for the business and for the family. What was the background to James Rowland's childhood and upbringing? How did a (presumed) poor and uneducated son of a local millwright become an innovative and successful engineer? When and where was he educated? – a skilled engineer such as James required a knowledge of applied physics, of mechanics, statics, dynamics, of pressures and forces, and above all, of mathematics. Some could be self-taught, or learned "on the job", but surely not everything needed?

We are also ignorant of what James was doing in his formative years in Manchester, Worcester and Bristol. Did he really work for the Brunels? How were his business ventures funded? And how did the various marriages come about, how indeed did the individuals concerned even meet? – William Rowland in Wiltshire and Blanche Coleman, the farmer's daughter from eastern Kent, and, in the next generation, William Edward Rowland in Salisbury and Ida Brooks from western Devon, beyond the Moor; and Reginald George Rowland in Salisbury, and Muriel Howell from north Norfolk, another wealthy' farmer's daughter. Above all, how did James Rowland meet the Pitt sisters in distant Northamptonshire, daughters of a simple stone mason and labourer? Many of these histories are now lost, and will probably never be uncovered, but we may yet find other, unsuspected connections and explanations.

Despite these many gaps, enough information survives to show that James Rowland and his sons and grandsons were a respected family of engineers, locally well-known in Victorian and Edwardian Salisbury. James Rowland was never an important player in this age of "heroic engineering", but he ran a successful, innovative and enterprising local business in ironfounding and mechanical engineering, and for subsequent generations, in bicycles and then motor-engineering, such that the family firm business was able to ride

the market for the best part of a century. Taken together, their activities covered the whole range of millwrighting, iron and brass founding, agricultural machinery, steam engines, and mechanical engineering, bicycles and motor vehicles. Notable features of the family's business were James Rowland's invention of specialist machinery, and their early adoption of new technologies; his legacy lasted long into the century beyond the Age of Iron into which he had been born. The story of James Rowland and his descendants may have escaped the history books, but it is still a story of interest if we want to know how Victorian and Edwardian business and society operated – how like us they were, yet different in so many ways.

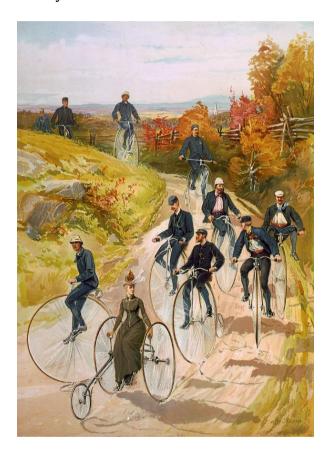
Annex A - Two family stories

Readers may be interested in two stories which have been passed down from generation to generation within the family. Both were told to the author in the late-1960s, by Charles Haywood Rowland (1887-1974), one of the grandsons of James Rowland²⁵⁴. Charles had been raised in Salisbury but had married and left the city during the Great War. Charles was elderly when he told these tales, but his recollection was quite clear, even though his grandfather James had died before he was born.

The first story concerns an unspecified Rowland relative of Charles, possibly an uncle, and took place when this relative was a teenager or young man. The story is that he was an enthusiastic cyclist, riding penny-farthings. These machines had a fixed wheel (the rider could not "free wheel") and the early ones had no brakes, therefore slowing down when descending a steep hill was difficult, and impossible if the rider should once take his feet off the pedals. Consequently, accidents were frequent. The story is that one quiet Sunday morning Charles's relative was cycling in the hilly countryside around Salisbury. Having reached the top of a steep hill, he enthusiastically launched himself on a speedy descent down the other side. Down and down he sped, faster and faster, but the road was quiet and even with feet off the pedals no danger was feared, as there was no other traffic at all. Unfortunately, near the bottom of the hill was a steep bend which he could not see around, and by now travelling at a very fast speed, it was much too late that he heard the sound of a marching band coming around the bend, up the hill towards him. A collision was unavoidable, and the bandsmen fell like skittles, with Charles's relative ending up wedged into the big bass drum.

I had always taken this story with a large pinch of salt, despite Charles's evident commitment to it, but, now the history of the family and its cycling activities has been discovered, its fundamental truth becomes more likely. The countryside around Salisbury is certainly hilly and marching bands were common in the 1880s and 1890s, particularly on Sunday mornings. Indeed, as a child your author can remember running fascinatedly behind such a band as it proudly marched along the Broadway of Cheam village in Surrey, a frequent occurrence in the late 1950s and early 1960s. A number of locations for Charles's story are possible, for example Milford Hill or Devizes Road, both with suitable topography. Your author favours Phillips Lane in Stratford-sub-Castle, which has a very steep hill, a bend at the bottom, and then a flat area of land just outside Stratford where a marching band could be easily assembled.

As we have seen, the penny-farthing bicycle was invented in 1869 and became immensely popular in the 1870s and 1880s, until largely replaced by the safety bicycle in the late 1890s. If the story took place around 1890, the individual might well have been either of the two sons of William Rowland, recently returned from Sherborne. The eldest son William Edward Rowland (1868-1941), would have been aged 21 in 1889. Perhaps a more likely candidate is his younger brother Reginald George Rowland (1878-1934). We have seen that Reginald was well known as a serious racing cyclist in his youth – in the summer of 1894 he would have been aged 16, and his half-cousin Charles seven, living close by in Salisbury. A seven-year-old could well remember such a story all his life.



The descent of a hill on penny-farthings in 1887. The man on the right has his legs over the handlebars so that, should the front wheel hit a rut, he would be thrown off feet first, as opposed to head first if seated with his feet on the pedals. This painting also illustrates how cycling was by then a socially acceptable activity for women if riding a tricycle ²⁵⁵

The second story has already been reported in the book, *Roots and Branches*, and is more complicated. Charles Haywood Rowland was very certain of his memory that one of his ancestors, possible his grandfather James Rowland, helped build, or at least worked on the building of, the Severn Railway Tunnel. (The author is uncertain in his own memory whether or not the story featured reference to I K Brunel).

The Severn Tunnel²⁵⁶ was one of the great Victorian engineering schemes of the second half of the nineteenth century, to connect England and Wales by a tunnel under the Severn estuary, for use by the Great Western Railway. After its eventual successful completion, it remained for over 100 years the longest mainline railway tunnel within the UK. The question for us is how a small provincial engineering firm in Salisbury could possibly have been involved in such a massive project?

The tunnel was designed not by Brunel, who died in 1859, but by the chief GWR engineer Sir John Hawkshaw and was built by the contracting engineer Thomas Walker. Work began in March 1873 and was continued steadily through the 1870s. However, the project ran into serious problems when the Great Spring, as it became known, was encountered in 1879, flooding the works with an unstoppable flow, and necessitating huge pumping works which are still required to this day. The tunnel was not finally completed until 1885. These dates are interesting because in, say 1872 or 3, when subcontractors would have been appointed, James Rowland was still alive, together with his 4 engineering sons, plus Arthur, and could in theory have tendered for work. If any such contract was taken over by Arthur Lucas after James died in 1875, we can even speculate that the problems encountered might have aggravated Arthur's sickness and eventual death in 1888 at the age of 39.

Unfortunately, and despite Charles Rowland's very clear recollection and indeed insistence that the story was true, I have been unable to identify any evidence at all for Rowland involvement in the Tunnel project. Since James Rowland died in 1875 aged 72, and work on the tunnel started only in 1873, it seems most unlikely to have been James Rowland, and no other Rowland from the family appears a suitable alternative candidate.

None of this means the story is necessarily untrue, merely that it cannot be substantiated at present.

Pity, it made a good story ...

Interestingly, there is a possible explanation as to how this family story might have come about. The Severn Tunnel was a project only just within the capabilities of the day. Progress of construction was slow, despite the determination, ambition and bravery of all involved. Work had commenced in 1873, but in 1877 the GWR sought a fresh round of tenders, and two contracts were let. The main contractor appointed was Thomas Walker of London, but another contract was to "Rowland Brotherhood". One might imagine that the Rowland Brotherhood was perhaps a title for a co-operative of James's four engineer sons, possibly in conjunction with Arthur Lucas. Did they form a partnership to bid for the work, calling themselves The Rowland Brotherhood?

The answer, sadly, is no. "Rowland Brotherhood" is not the name of a firm of brothers surnamed Rowland; it is the name of an individual - Mr Rowland (or Roland, the spelling varied) Brotherhood was a Victorian engineer. He was born in Middlesex in 1812 and died in Bristol in 1883. He was a significant railway engineer, at one point employing upwards of 600 men at his Chippenham Railway Works. He carried out many contracts for the GWR including the Severn Tunnel work from 1877 to 1879 from his Works then in Bristol. Here he sunk the shafts, for which contract Rowland Brotherhood (snr) was assisting his son, confusingly also named Rowland Brotherhood (jnr, born 1842), and also a railway engineer. Unfortunately, despite the coincidence of forename, and his residence in Wiltshire at Chippenham (the Works there were established in 1842, closed in 1868), there is no evidence that the Brotherhoods were related to the Rowland family of Salisbury in any way²⁵⁷. But the coincidence might explain how the story came about, a bit of wishful thinking, or misunderstood association, by a Rowland from a later generation.

Some speculation

We are left with Charles Rowland's insistence as to the veracity of the story, so perhaps it is time finally to indulge in some speculation:

What if the story is correct in referring to a large and important engineering project, something famous and worth noting to future generations, but that project was not the Severn Tunnel? Here a number of possibilities open up, and James Rowland, rather than one of his sons or relatives, comes centre-stage back into the picture. Charles's recollection was clear that the individual was one of his (and your author's) direct ancestors, rather than a mere relative, and this means it very likely is James Rowland himself. Our

knowledge of James Rowland's early career, before he reached Salisbury, is scant, and furthermore these years, especially the 1830s and early 1840s, are a time when many prestigious projects were underway, notably many designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel or his father Marc Isambard Brunel and based around London and Bristol, both cities where James Rowland lived before his move to Salisbury.

The first speculation concerns exactly what James was doing in London after he left Stroud. The most likely activity would seem to be something related to millwrighting, a skill we can safely assume he had learnt from his father. As we have seen, this neatly accounts for his presence in Bethnal Green in 1831 because of the silk weaving industry there at the time (and hence needs for engineers to build and service the mills) and also suggests a route for him to have met Eleanor Walker, a silk weaver's daughter. However, the few early descriptions available for James's profession do not use the term *millwright*, but use the more general term *engineer*²⁵⁸, so it is quite possible he had by then widened his skills into more general engineering.

The known facts about James Rowland's time(s) in London are:

- James Rowland probably arrived around 1825, aged 22 (although it could have been a year or two earlier)
- He was present there in 1831 (marriage to Eleanor Walker)
- In 1832 he was in Worcester (birth of son James)
- By 1839 he was back in London (marriage to Mary Pitts)
- He moved to Bristol between September 1839 and March 1840.

In summary, and bearing in mind that his length of residency in Worcester is unknown, James Rowland was possibly in London for two periods, c1825-1831, and c1834-1839, making a total of some eleven years. What sort of engineering was he doing?

Here our speculations point clearly in one direction. *The* engineer in the capital from the 1810s onwards was Marc Isambard Brunel, a very talented mechanical engineer with many inventions and machines to his name. In 1825 he persuaded sufficient persons of wealth and influence to establish the Thames Tunnel Company and the following year work began on digging the tunnel, a hugely ambitious project and one where Marc's son Isambard Kingdom Brunel (then aged 18) metaphorically cut his engineering teeth.

The project ran into serious problems, and was stopped in 1828, recommencing in 1834. The tunnel²⁵⁹ was eventually completed in 1842 and opened in 1843.

In summary, the Thames Tunnel was built 1825-1828, and 1834-1842. These dates make an interesting comparison with those for James Rowland's time in London, so if James worked for Brunel on the Thames Tunnel, possibly this is the project which gave rise to the Rowland family story? It is, after all, a famous tunnel under water.

The second speculation concerns James in Bristol, and has already been alluded to in Chapter 4. Perhaps he was working on an engineering project sufficiently important to be passed down the family memory, but in so doing the identity of that project was corrupted?

The known facts for James Rowland in Bristol are that:

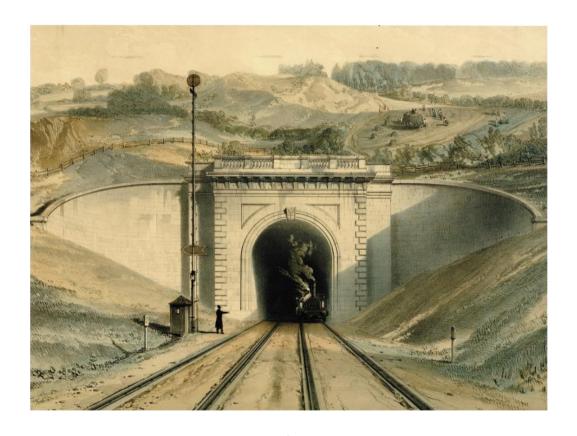
- James Rowland arrived in Bristol between September 1839 and March 1840. He was then aged 36.
- He and his family lived in Kilbore Street, very near a number of Iron Works and particularly Brunel's GWR line and Temple Meads Station.
- He and his family left Bristol between June 1841 and Spring 1845, probably 1844.

The principal candidates for large engineering projects then underway at Bristol, and all designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel²⁶⁰, are:

- the Clifton Suspension Bridge ²⁶¹, begun and halted 1831, resumed 1836 and underway until 1843, then halted and not finally completed until 1863-64.
- the Great Western Railway, (built 1835 from London to Maidenhead 1838, Reading 1840, Swindon and Chippenham 1841, Bristol June 1841).
- the Box Tunnel on the GWR between Bath and Chippenham (constructed December 1838 to June 1841)²⁶².
- Bristol Temple Meads Station, (opened August 1840, with GWR lines into it completed 1841).
- the Great Western Dock (built 1839).
- the SS Great Britain (built in the GW Dock, launched 1843).

The coincidences of dates, with James in Bristol 1840-c1844, and the various schemes of IK Brunel underway exactly then, is indeed remarkable. The reader can judge for himself the likely probabilities for a Rowland association with any of these projects²⁶³, but given that the family story relates to a tunnel, then the obvious choice is the Box Tunnel, the longest tunnel in the world when completed and justifiably famous. Somewhere along the line the family confused the two tunnels, and the Severn Tunnel was substituted for the Box Tunnel. Both, after all, were railway tunnels, and built for the GWR.

The search for conclusive evidence goes on ...



JC Bourne's illustration of the Western Portal of the Box Tunnel in 1848.
Circumstantial evidence suggests a possibility that James Rowland might have worked for Isambard Kingdom Brunel on the Great Western Railway, helping to build this famous tunnel which, when completed in 1841, was the longest in the world

Annex B - A list of surviving Rowland ironware

The list below includes all Rowland ironwork known to the author. All the sites are in Salisbury unless otherwise indicated, and a summary table for gully gratings is included should the reader wish to search some out:

1. Wall anchor plates: -

- a. Fowler's Hill, Salisbury there are ten wall anchor plates in a retaining wall along Fowler's Hill. Four read "W ROWLAND SALISBURY". One reads "ROWLAND SARUM". The other five are blank (no lettering at all) but in style match closely the five with lettering and are also likely to be by the Rowland firm.
- b. There are also many un-named wall anchor plates in the city, identical to the un-named pattern at Fowler's Hill. These are therefore also likely to be by the Rowland firm. Examples are in Pennyfarthing Street (west side), New Canal (north side), and Salt lane (north side).

2. Highway gully gratings: -

- a. One in Bishopstone village, layby south of church. Reads "W ROWLAND ENGINEER SALISBURY FOUNDRY".
- b. One in Bishop's Walk in The Close, Salisbury. Reads "ROWLAND & SONS SALISBURY FOUNDRY"
- c. In the Wyndham Park area of Salisbury (total 13 of them):
 - Four in Marlborough Road, Salisbury. Three read (one almost illegible) "W ROWLAND – SALISBURY FOUNDRY". One reads "ROWLAND & SONS – SALISBURY FOUNDRY".
 - Five in Kings Road. All read "W ROWLAND SALISBURY FOUNDRY".
 - iii. One in Hamilton Road. (Almost illegible).
 - iv. Three in Belle Vue Road. Reads "W ROWLAND SALISBURY FOUNDRY". [It should be noted that the Wyndham Park estate in the Marlborough Road/Kings Road area was completed before 1901,

as was the Belle Vue Road/Swaynes Close area, so the ironwork here was installed before William Rowland died in 1902. Herbert Rowland, William's half-brother, was living in Kings Road (Melita Villa) in 1901, and at 11 Swaynes Close in 1911 and 1929].

- d. In the York Road area, developed mostly in the decade 1890-1900 (all reading "W ROWLAND – SALISBURY FOUNDRY" or "SALISBURY – W ROWLAND" except for those in Meadow Road) (total 28 of them):
 - i. Four in York Road
 - ii. Two in George Street
 - iii. Four in Meadow Road (reading "ROWLAND & SONS SALISBURY")
 - iv. Three in Coldharbour Lane
 - v. Four in James Street
 - vi. One in Sidney Street
 - vii. Two in Gas Lane
 - viii. One in Hartington Road
 - ix. One in Clifton Road
 - x. One in Avon Terrace
 - xi. Five in Ashlev Road
 - xii. One in St Paul's road
 - xiii. Two in George Street South
 - xiv. One in Meadow Road South

e. Others:

- i. Three in Wilton Road (near the Law Courts) reading "W ROWLAND SALISBURY FOUNDRY"
- ii. Two in Rectory Road, one of them reading "W ROWLAND – SALISBURY FOUNDRY" and the other reading "W ROWLAND – SALISBURY"
- iii. Two in Milford Street. One reads "ROWLAND & SON SALISBURY FOUNDRY" (NB "son" is singular) and the other reads "W ROWLAND SALISBURY FOUNDRY".
- iv. Two in Castle Road (northern end towards the bridge), reading "W ROWLAND – SALISBURY FOUNDRY".

f. There are many plain cast iron gully gratings in the quiet older streets of Salisbury, of the correct materials and style for the period 1890-1910, and similar to those known to be by the Rowland firm, but being unlettered these remain unattributable at present. Examples are in High Street near the Cathedral Gate, St Ann Street, the junction of Rollestone Street and Salt Lane, Wyndham Road and Hamilton Road.

The Salisbury examples with Rowland lettering, assuming they are all by William or his sons William Edward and Reginald George, must all date from after 1888 (William's return from Sherborne) but before 1906 (the relinquishing of the Milford Street works). There is no evidence that WER and RGR had the facilities for ironcasting other than at Milford Street, although they undoubtedly had facilities for some general mechanical engineering unrelated to vehicles.

- 3. Salisbury contains a large quantity of miscellaneous cast- and wrought-ironwork, and especially as street furniture. Most of this carries no maker's name but much can be dated stylistically to the mid- and late-Victorian or the Edwardian periods. It seems reasonable that at least some of this will be the produce of James Rowland's Works, or more likely that of William Rowland, but in the absence of the maker's name, or documentation, cannot be firmly attributed. Notable examples include the gas-lamp standards in the Close; the large cast-iron street name signs in the Wyndham Park estate and elsewhere eg Ashley Road; various plates, gratings and grills, railings and gates; and cast-iron structural columns inserted into earlier timber-framed buildings
- 4. No surviving examples of ironwork carrying the name "James Rowland" have been found anywhere.
- 5. In Sherborne there are three known gully gratings by William Rowland:
 - a. One in Hound Street
 - b. Two in George Street

All three Sherborne gratings read "W ROWLAND – IRONFOUNDER – SHERBORNE".

The Sherborne examples with Rowland lettering must all date from 1867-1888.

- 6. Ironwork by Armitage can be found:
 - a. A wall tie in Guilder Lane
 - b. Two gully gratings in Middleton Road (reading "Armitage Maker Salisbury" and "Armitage Engineer Salisbury")
 - c. One gully grating in York Road (reading "Armitage Engineer Salisbury")
 - d. One gully grating in Ashfield Road (reading "Armitage Maker Salisbury")
 - e. One gully grating in Bedwin Street (reading "Armitage Engineer Salisbury")
 - f. One gully grating in Winchester Street (reading "Armitage Salisbury")
 - g. One gully grating in Meadow Road South (reading "Armitage Salisbury")

A summary table of gully gratings is given on the next page.

List of gully gratings by lettering in Salisbury			
lettering	location	number	possible date range
W ROWLAND SALISBURY	1 in Rectory Road	1	bef 1902
W ROWLAND SALISBURY FOUNDRY	3 in Marlborough Road 5 in Kings Road 3 at Belle Vue Road 4 in York Road 2 in George Street 3 in Coldharbour Lane 4 in James Street 1 in Sidney Street 2 in Gas Lane 1 in Hartington Road 1 in Clifton Road 1 in Avon Terrace 5 in Ashley Road 3 in Wilton Road 1 in Rectory Road 1 in Rectory Road 1 in Milford Street 2 in Castle Street 1 in St Paul's Road 2 in George Street South 1 in Meadow Road South	46	bef 1902
W ROWLAND ENGINEER SALISBURY FOUNDRY	1 at Bishopstone	1	bef 1902
ROWLAND & SON SALISBURY FOUNDRY	1 in Milford Street	1	1889-1902
ROWLAND & SONS SALISBURY FOUNDRY	1 in Bishop's Walk 1 in Marlborough Road	2	aft 1899
ROWLAND & SONS SALISBURY	4 in Meadow Road	4	aft 1899
illegible	1 in Hamilton Road	1	
total number		56	

Endnotes

¹ "Roots and Branches: A Personal Family History" by PWL Filtness. Privately published, 2016

- ³ Year of birth calculated from later censuses: 1851 says 47; 1861 says 57; 1871 says 68; and age on death certificate (1875) 72. Place of birth is given on census returns for 1851, 1861 and 1871. No formal record of his birth has survived (mandatory civil registration was not introduced until 1837), and it seems likely he was brought up in a Dissenting Chapel ("Old Meeting") whose records were not carefully kept and have only survived in part.
- ⁴ The evidence for this dissenting background come from the burial record for James's grandmother, Hannah Rowland. Hannah died in 1788, and she must have then been around 70. Her burial record is held by an Independent Chapel in Stroud known as the Old Meeting. The Old Meeting were a Dissenting chapel, originally Presbyterian, and were the oldest dissenting group in Stroud formed originally around 1687, a very early date for such a group; their meeting place was built in 1704 in Chapel Street. Throughout the C19th the chapel grew and grew, providing schooling for, in total, thousands of children and was used also by other dissenting groups in the town. Unfortunately, although Chapel Street in Stroud survives to the present day, and still contains a number of non-conformist chapels or at least their buildings now in a different use, The Old Meeting (which later became the Old Congregational Chapel) was demolished, along with its graveyard, in 1977. As a Dissenting chapel, The Old Meeting maintained records in a much more informal manner than the Anglican registers and there is no record for James's birth.
- ⁵ Samuel Rowland born 1755 did not follow in his father's footsteps and become a weaver, although his craft was still with his hands. We have two invaluable documents which tell us his occupation his death certificate in 1838 describes him as a "carpenter"; and the marriage certificate of his son James Rowland and Mary Pitts, St Paul's, Deptford, Kent, 15 September 1839 which describes him as a "millwright". It seems very likely the term "carpenter" was a general description and represented his original training, whereas "millwright" was his specialism and what earned his living in Stroud, a booming mill town at the time.
- ⁶ There are other, less likely possibilities. See "Roots and Branches: A Personal Family History" by PWL Filtness, 2016.

² Sarum Chronicle, Issue 18:2018, ISBN 978-0-9571692-9-6

⁷ Parish register of marriages, St Mary, Newington, Surrey. 25 June 1827.

- ⁸ The identification of Mary Shaw as James Rowland's first wife is, I would emphasise, very far from certain, and could easily be simply erroneous, particularly as the marriage certificate states that Mary Shaw was already a widow at what we calculate was the age of just 16. This may well mean I have mis-identified James Rowland's first wife; the records of the time are far from complete and Rowland is not a rare surname. If the identification is correct, then we can imagine a short first marriage for Mary, perhaps of only a few months. *Shaw* would have been the name of her first husband; Mary's maiden name remains unknown. She may even have already had a child, hence the need to "come clean" about her first relationship. The association I have made relies on elimination of all other possible candidates (a notoriously unsound practice), a significant amount of circumstantial evidence, and on a comparison of James's signatures on his 1827 marriage certificate with that on his 1831 marriage certificate with Eleanor Walker in Bethnal Green. The full story of the search for James's first wife is told in "Roots and Branches", chap 5.
- ⁹ Birth between 14 Jan 1810 and 14 Jan 1822, as calculated from her age of 18 at death on 13 Jan 1829. No birth entry has been found, probably because her surname at birth remains unknown (*Shaw* being the name of her first husband).
- ¹⁰ The baby was then over 3 months old, so her baptism was later than the usual 1-day. If one were to speculate further, this might perhaps have been due to the baby's illegitimacy, to mother Mary's poverty, or perhaps most likely, to the baby's ailing health.
- ¹¹ Parish register of deaths, Bermondsey workhouse, Surrey. 28 September 1827
- ¹² Parish register of deaths, Greenwich, Kent. 13 January 1829.
- ¹³ Bethnal Green, Wikipedia, accessed 19.11.2015.
- ¹⁴ AP Baggs, ARJ Jurica and WJ Shells, *Rodborough: Economic History*, in *A History of the County of Gloucestershire: Volume 11*, Victoria County History, London, 1976, pages 224-230. Accessed 12.11.2015 from British History Online.
- ¹⁵ John Walker was a silk weaver. The author has attempted to trace Eleanor Walker's family by using the 1841 census, on the grounds that there is a good chance her parents would still be alive then. Details of this quest are in *Roots and Branches*, chapter 5, footnote 8. In summary her ancestry is not certain; there are 3 candidate families. Her mother appears to have died by 1841, and all 3 of the candidates to be Eleanor's father appear to have remarried. There is no way of telling which of these 3 is the correct identification. The most likely candidate father is John Walker, a silk weaver, born 1776 therefore aged 34 when Eleanor was born.

 16 His exact age is uncertain. A calculation from age 61 at death (unlikely to be incorrect) on 5 June 1893 gives a dob range of 6/6/1832 - 4/6/1833. But at the 1841 census on 6 June 1841 when his age given as 9 (also unlikely to be incorrect), gives a range of 7/6/1831 - 5/6/1832. The text uses the latter range, as the following census recorded him as 19 in March 1851 (but 28 in April 1861).

¹⁷ There was certainly one James Rowland in Oldham, and he had a young son called John. He was a mill owner and leading light in the "spinners and manufacturers of Oldham". However, it seems unlikely that he was "our" James Rowland. Sources: Manchester Courier 25 February 1837; Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser 7 April 1838; Manchester Times 22 September 1838.

¹⁸ I have been unable to find a death certificate, whether under name the of Ann Rowland or Eleanor Rowland.

¹⁹ Marriage certificate of James Rowland and Mary Pitts, 15 September 1839, op. cit.

²⁰ Parish Register of baptisms, Culworth, Northamptonshire, 9 January 1816. Her father William Pitts 1790-1829 was the son of Edmund Pitts 1766-1815 and his wife Sarah.

²¹ The Christian name Urania is now little used, and even in the nineteenth century was never common. It was not on the list of top 200 girl's names for 1840 or 1850 available) England and Wales only in www.britishbabynames.com accessed 15.5.2020). The name appears to have become known following the discovery of the planet Uranus by William Herschel in 1781, which led to a prolonged discussion about what to call it, the choice eventually settling on Uranus, (meaning "heavenly") the Latinised version of the Greek god of the sky, Ouranos, the muse of astronomy. Urania is often associated with Universal Love and the Holy Spirit. Sometimes identified as the eldest of the divine sisters, Urania inherited Zeus' majesty and power and the beauty and grace of her mother Mnemosyne. (Sources: Wikipedia, articles on Uranus and Urania, accessed 16.5.2020). The name may have rapidly fallen out of fashion, for it became associated with less-popular attributes, viz. "Urania Cottage", a refuge for fallen women established by the writer Charles Dickens in Lime Grove, Shepherd's Bush, London in the late 1840s.

²² Culworth was also where Urania was born, in March 1819. Parish register of baptisms, Culworth, Northamptonshire; 21 March 1819.

²³ Parish register of burials, Culworth, Northamptonshire: 11 August 1829 (William Pitts age 39); 10 October 1829 (Elizabeth Pitts).

²⁴ Marriage certificate of James Rowland and Mary Pitts, 15 September 1839, op. cit.

²⁵ The handwriting is poor on both documents, but investigation reveals that the street on William Rowland's birth certificate of 1840 and also on the 1841 census is Kilbore Street, in St Philip and St Jacob Parish (without). Identifying the street is not easy, and not helped by the alteration in spelling twice. The key lies in the 1841 census enumerator's description of the Enumeration District "All that part of the Parish of St Philip and St Jacob Without, bounded on the north by the roadway through Oxford Road and its continuation through Kilbore Street; on the west bounded by Avon Street (from Kilbore Street to the Marsh Bridges) on the south by the Feeder; thence as far as the path between Harding and Co's and Aoraman and Co's works; and on the east by the said path and the wall at the back of North Lane".

²⁶ Source for the Bristol maps (accessed 11.6.2020) is the "Know Your Place" website at https://maps.bristol.gov.uk/kyp/?edition=

²⁷ The relevant Commercial and County Directory for Bristol at this time is Pigot's Directory of 1842-44. This contains no entry for James Rowland in the "private individuals" section, and none in the Profession/trade section whether under Engineer, Iron Founder, Iron Manufacturer, Iron Merchant, Iron Monger, Millwright, Machine Maker, Brass Founder or Agricultural. Since we know from the 1841 census and the birth records for his children William and Mary that James Rowland was in Bristol at the time, this suggests he was working for someone else and not running his own business, although the author acknowledges this is absence of evidence and not evidence for absence. Also, there is no mention of James Rowland in business under his own name in any of the newspapers circulating in the Bristol area for any year from 1840 to 1845 (source: British Newspaper Archive).

²⁸ Source: The History of Temple Meads Station, a Network Rail website, (accessed 12.6.2020) at https://www.networkrail.co.uk/who-we-are/our-history/iconic-infrastructure/the-history-of-bristol-temple-meads-station/

²⁹ This idea is explored in Annex A.

³⁰ 1841 Census for Kilbore Street, Parish of St Philip and St Jacob (Without), Barton Regis Hundred, registration district Clifton, Bristol, Gloucestershire. See also note 25 above. In this census John Joseph Rowland is referred to simply as "Joseph".

³¹ The census in June 1841 has James and his family in Bristol. In Q2 1845 James Rowland's daughter Sarah Martha was born in Salisbury, so the move to Salisbury was between these two dates. In an advertisement dated August 1858 James thanks his "numerous friends and supporters for favours conferred on him for the last 12 years", which, allowing a little time to set up his new business when he reached Salisbury, suggests the move was towards the end of this period, probably 1844.

³² Robson's Directory for Wiltshire (Salisbury) for 1839 lists private individuals but there is no Rowland listed.

The census on 6th June 1841 identified no Rowlands in Salisbury or its immediate villages or anywhere near. In the whole of Wiltshire only 25 Rowland individuals were listed but all 25 were in the north or east of the county (the Chippenham, Malmesbury, Swindon and Ramsbury areas), well removed from Salisbury, and none appears to have been familial to James Rowland. In earlier centuries, the published lists of Salisbury occupants in c. 1400 and in 1667 had also shown no Rowlands present.

However, see the detailed note to Endnote 95, which considers the possibility, albeit remote, that Salisbury was known, because of a family connection, to the family of Bryan Lucas in Culworth, Northamptonshire. In 1839 James Rowland married Mary Pitts; in 1842 Bryan Lucas married Mary's sister, Urania Pitts. So by 1842 it is likely James and Bryan would have met and a mention of Salisbury becomes possible if the Lucas's of Culworth were related to and aware of, the Lucas's in Salisbury

- ³³ This paragraph is based on Chandler, John, *Endless Street, A History of Salisbury and Its People*, Hobnob Press, 1983, pages 84-92, reprinted 2010.
- ³⁴ A Spinning Jenny had been installed in Salisbury in 1777, only 13 years after its invention. In the long term, however, mechanisation could not save Salisbury's textile industry, for the city had no coal and no canal; steam-powered cloth mills, although technically possible, proved to be uncompetitive. Source: John Chandler op cit 1983.
- ³⁵ Robson's Directory for Wiltshire (Salisbury) 1839 (available on Ancestry).
- ³⁶ Pigot's Directory for Wiltshire (Salisbury) 1842-44 (available on Ancestry).
- ³⁷ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 4 March 1848 announced the dissolution of the partnership.
- ³⁸ See the comments on 47 Brown Street in chapter 10 below.
- 39 The chequers in Salisbury are roughly rectangular grids of streets, each originally 7 x 3 perches (38.5 x 16.5m). They date from the laying out of the new city in the 1220s. Each has a name although the names used today date from the map by Naish of 1751.
- ⁴⁰ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 23rd March 1850
- ⁴¹ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 29th March 1851

- ⁴² Hunt & Co.'s Directory, 1852 (available on microfiche only, from Salisbury Library). Slater's Directory 1852-53 (available only from the History centre in Chippenham).
- ⁴³ See for example the 1841 census, the third marriage in 1839 to Mary Pitts, and his son William's birth certificate in 1841. For all these documents James Rowland described his occupation as "engineer".
- ⁴⁴ Sources for the cholera section: Salisbury Journal article 14 May 2020; Newman and Howells "Salisbury Past" page 84-5
- ⁴⁵ 1851 Census for Rollestone Street Salisbury. TNA/HO107/1847/214/page 14.
- ⁴⁶ The reader should note that the locations of both James Rowland's Works and his residence in Rollestone Street differ from those in "Roots and Branches" and earlier versions of the present book. This reflects further research by the author.
- ⁴⁷ The census contains a "Description of Enumeration District" completed by John Sutton, the enumerator. For District No. 2 he writes "Blue Boar Row Chequer continued: Blue Boar Row from Mr William Targett's to Mr Seach's inclusive; Part of the western side of Endless Street, to the corner of Chipper lane inclusive; the whole of the Three Swans Chequer; the whole of The Three Lions or The Cross Keys Chequer and the whole of The Black Horse Chequer". At the end of his list he states "The End of The Three Swan's Chequer The Cross Keys Chequer and the Black Horse Chequer, being the End of District No. 2. John Sutton April7th 1851"
- ⁴⁸ Death certificate of Mary Rowland, wife of James Rowland, 20th January 1853. She died at "Rollestone Street".
- ⁴⁹ Her grave in Salisbury London Road Cemetery was listed by the Wiltshire Family History Society, Monumental Inscriptions Index in private communication to Mr NB Cox, 22 Oct 1992: "Mary Rowland died 20 January 1853 aged 36". The author has not been able to locate the actual grave.
- ⁵⁰ One option for Urania might have been to stay in Northamptonshire, and live with her aunt, Rebecca Pitts, who was unmarried and in 1841 was living at nearby Eydon village and described as of independent means. (Source: Private communication from Norman Barry Cox but presumably the 1841 census). Rebecca had been born 1795/6 and was the sister of William Pitts, Urania's father. Unfortunately, Rebecca had died in 1853, two years before Urania's husband Bryan Lucas, so that option was no longer available to Urania. What it does indicate, however, is that there was some wealth in the wider Pitts family.

- ⁵¹ Assuming the two boys had survived they cannot be found in the 1851 Census for Northamptonshire under the surname Dalton.
- ⁵² October 1855 was the date of Bryan Lucas's death in Northamptonshire. May 1857 was the date of Flora's conception, which presumably took place in Salisbury. The separation between these dates is 19 months.
- ⁵³ Death certificate of Sarah Martha Rowland, died 11 July 1857. Tabes mesenterica is the old name for tuberculosis of the mesenteric glands around the intestines in children, usually associated with the deaths of infants given infected cow's milk to drink in the absence of mother's milk.
- ⁵⁴ The Death Certificate says "Tabes mesenterica, 6 months, certified".
- 55 Flora Rowland born 16 Feb 1858, conceived May 1857. Bryan Lucas died $1^{\rm st}$ October 1855
- ⁵⁶ Birth certificate Flora Harriet Rowland born 15 March 1858; father James Rowland engineer, mother Urania Rowland nee Lucas formerly Pitts. Born Church Street St Edmund, Salisbury. Registered 17 March 1858 by Urania Rowland, mother.
- ⁵⁷ Act of 1560 "wherein whosoever are related are forbidden in scripture and our laws to marry together". The list with the Act includes as no. 17 "A man may not marry his wife's sister". It was apparently held to be implicit that half-sisters are included in the term "sister". I have however been unable to track down the 1560 Act itself, although the prohibition was included in the Table of Kindred and Affinity in the Book of Common Prayer. Sources: www.genetic-genealogy.co.uk article on Forbidden Marriage Laws (accessed 22.10.2015); Wikipedia article: *Deceased Wife's Sister Act 1907*, accessed 9.6.2020.
- ⁵⁸ Indeed, Arthur was to play such a major part in the future of James's business, that it would be easy to speculate about Arthur's own paternity. One suspects, although there is no evidence to prove, that the relationship between Urania Lucas and James Rowland had started before Bryan Lucas's death in 1855, that his death might even have been to some extent consequent upon it. The relationship may possibly have started even before the death of Mary Pitts in 1853. If this relationship was known to the Lucas family, it would explain why Urania chose to leave Northamptonshire so quickly after Bryan's death. To be fair, it is possible, if unlikely, that their relationship was quite innocent until Urania had moved to Salisbury, a decision she could have taken simply for the mutual convenience of raising James's children and her own son Arthur, and only became intimate after her arrival in Salisbury.

⁵⁹ Source: Birth Certificate of Herbert Rowland born 9 March 1858 Church Street, St Edmund, Salisbury; father James Rowland engineer, mother Urania Rowland nee Lucas formerly Pitts. It was through Herbert that the author's line would descend.

⁶⁰ "Church Street" in St Edmund's parish is known today as "St Edmund's Church Street"; the change in name took place between the 1860 Plan of the Borough of Salisbury ("Church Street") and the 1880 Town Map 1/500 OS ("St Edmund's Church Street"). The 1860 Plan also marks a "Church Street" in Fisherton Anger, now known as "Mill Road", and this repetition of names in adjacent parishes might explain the changes in name. To complicate matters further, immediately north of St Paul's Road in Fisherton was "Church Road", so named by the later 1870s, which became "Meadow Road" by 1891 (Jeremy B Moody and Bruce S Purvis, If *I Did It, I Don't Remember*, 2008, page 8). It should also be noted that "Rollestone Street" was earlier spelt "Rolleston Street".

⁶¹ See endnotes 53 and 55 above.

⁶² The 1953 OS map annotates the Laundry as No. 14 but this appears anomalous – even numbers are on the eastern side of the street, and in fact no. 14 Church Street is clearly marked elsewhere. The analysis given here presumes that the street has not been renumbered between 1871 and 1953, a reasonable but not certain assumption.

63 Slater's Directory 1852-3; Kelly's Directory 1855.

64 In 1830 a combination of a poor harvest, low wages, high food prices, and the introduction of threshing machines which threatened the labourers' winter work, led to many unskilled agricultural labourers becoming desperate. They took to destroying the new agrarian machinery, and especially the threshing machines. The riots spread rapidly across southern England and reached Salisbury by 22 November 1830, by which date a ring of fires was reported surrounding the city. By the next day, 23 November, all the threshing machines in the neighbourhood had been destroyed and the mob had targeted, significantly, Figes's iron foundry as the origin of the hated machines. Special constables were enrolled, the Riot Act was read, and in the very centre of the city, at the Greencroft and outside the Guildhall, the Wiltshire Yeomanry were called out to resist the rioters with armed force. Eventually some 339 Wiltshire rioters would be put on trial in Salisbury the following year, a huge number for a small city. Two were condemned to death, though later reprieved, and 150 were transported to the colonies. (Source: Newman Ruth, and Howells, Jane, *Salisbury Past*, Phillimore and Co., 2001, page 81).

⁶⁵ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 17th August 1861.

⁶⁶ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 14th June 1862.

- ⁶⁷ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 9th August 1862.
- 68 Herbert's obituary would note that he died "from heart trouble at his house of 11 Swayne's Close, Salisbury ... 69 years of age ... (he was) for 42 years managing clerk and cashier at the Salisbury office of Messrs Rawlence and Squarey, in whose employ he had been for 56 years. He was a member of an old Salisbury family; his late father having been the proprietor of the Salisbury Iron Foundry in Church Street (should read "Rollestone Street"). About 40 years ago (he) was a member of 1st Wilts VRC, of which he was afterwards an honorary member. In both capacities he took a keen interest in prize shooting and secured many trophies. He was a past Master of the Elias de Derham Lodge of Freemasons, and a past Provincial Grand Registrar of Wiltshire. He was also a member of Salisbury Bowling Club. In 1884 he married Miss Marianne Jeanette Haywood, of Birmingham, who survives him." Source: newspaper cutting dated 1929, passed down through the family into the author's collection. His story is told in "Roots and Branches".
- ⁶⁹ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 7 April 1860.
- ⁷⁰ 1861 Census, Church Street Salisbury.
- ⁷¹ The photographs om page 51 and 52 are from the private collection of NB Cox, by kind permission. The dating of the photographs is from *The Origins of Photography in Salisbury 1839-1880*, Anthony Hamber, 2019, page 115; the key to the dating is the carpet which identifies the studio as that of Witcomb.
- ⁷² The fact that he was respected by his peers is judged from his position as Overseer (endnote 69 above), his presence on the Grand Jury of the Quarter Sessions (endnote 98) and the obituaries of his son William and grandson Reginald, both of which refer to James Rowland in respectful terms.
- 73 James Rowland is listed as an agent for agricultural machinery in Kelly's Directory 1875.
- ⁷⁴ Harrod's Directory 1865.
- ⁷⁵ By the 1860s Salisbury had the usual mills for corn and, perhaps, paper and probably a few remaining fulling mills, all powered by the five rivers for which the city is famous, but nothing like the number found in previous centuries, or still present at the time in the Cotswolds. The cloth mills in the Salisbury area, where the woollen trade had once been very important, had largely declined to the point of extinction by 1830, despite the revival of 1780 1810. For example, the number of clothiers in Salisbury in 1805 had been 18, smaller than the 27 in Trowbridge or Bradford-on-Avon but still significant; by 1814 it had dropped to 13 and by 1830 there were only 3 left. Rural southern Wiltshire simply did not have the rivers to

support a significant number or size of water-powered cloth mills, and coal was unobtainable in large quantities (at least until the railway arrived in 1856, and by then the industry had long gone). Source: John Chandler op cit 1983, page 91-92.

- ⁷⁶ The Theory and Practice of the Preparation of Malt and Fabrication of Beer by Julius E. Thausing 1882
- ⁷⁷ Both these machines may have been the invention of William Rowland see advertisement 30 November 1895 in Chapter 11.
- ⁷⁸ According to the website of "The Engineer", the journal was "founded in 1856 by Edward Charles Healey, an entrepreneur and engineering enthusiast with financial interests in the railways and whose friends included Robert Stephenson and Isambard Kingdom Brunel". www.theengineer.co.uk
- ⁷⁹ The Engineer, 27th June 1862
- ⁸⁰ Wikipedia article *Aveling and Porter*, accessed 28.02.2020. The photograph is from The Science Museum
- ⁸¹ For example, see (1) Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 14th June 1862, quoted in this book. (2) James Rowland's advertisement for the 1866 Royal Bath and West of England Society's Show in Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 9th June 1866 which refers to Rowland demonstrating "one of his improved Portable Steam Engines". This suggests he either manufactured such engines or "improved" them (3) Salisbury and Winchester Journal 3 Jan 1903 (the obituary of William Rowland, also quoted in this book). My interpretation of this obituary is that James Rowland (father) manufactured the traction engine for which he was prosecuted; and that his son William Rowland manufactured the stationary engine used by the newspaper office. (4) Western Gazette, 31 Oct 1919 (the Ushers Brewery auction, also quoted in this book).
- 82 Being referred to, for example, in Salisbury and Winchester Journal 3 Jan 1903
- 83 Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 18 April 1863.
- 84 Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 2 May 1863.
- 85 The Engineer, 31st March 1865
- ⁸⁶ Source: *The Story of the 'Bath and West'*, the Bath Royal Literary & Scientific Institution Millennium Lecture 2000 by Philip Bryant et al, page 12, at www.bathandwestsociety.com accessed 14.6.2020

- ⁸⁹ For example, *Iron Works, Rollestone Street* Advertisement in Salisbury and Winchester Journal 19 December 1863; or *Iron Works, Salisbury*, advertisement in Salisbury and Winchester Journal 2 June 1866.
- 90 Chandler, op cit, 1983 page 141. See also Anthony Hamber, op cit, 2019, page 1.
- ⁹¹ See Board of Health Map 1860 which reveals the quantity of vacant land in the area.
- ⁹² Kelly's Directory 1867 lists Rowland at Rollestone Street, but the 1875 edition lists the business at Fisherton Foundry. An advertisement in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal for 17 April 1869 refers to Fisherton Iron Works being in use by TH Lucas for the manufacture and sale of velocipedes, indicating the Fisherton Iron Works was in use by then.
- ⁹³ The PH would presumably have served employees both of the foundry and the railway. The Railway Hotel and the Victoria Hotel would have served the needs of railway passengers, carefully segregated by social class.
- ⁹⁴ 1861 census, Fisherton Street, Fisherton Anger parish: William Lucas, 46, head, Parish Clerk and tailor employing 3 men; Ann Lucas, 48, wife, no occupation; Thomas Henry William Lucas, 17, son, ap(prentice); Emma Ann Smith Lucas, 15, dau(ghter), shop assistant; Ann Elisabeth Lucas, 12, scholar; Walter Henry Smith Lucas, 9, son, scholar; Eliza(beth) Maria Lucas, 6, dau(ghter), scholar.
- ⁹⁵ I include here some notes on TH Lucas. These are detailed because this research post-dates *"Roots and Branches"* and is not otherwise available.

The story of TH Lucas: TH Lucas (1844-1913) was a local Salisbury man. He was born to parents William Lucas (1816-1904) and Ann Smith (1813-1878), was baptised 29 March 1844 at Fisherton Anger (now St Pauls), and grew up in Fisherton.

In the 1851 census we can see the Lucas family at Fisherton Street. William is 36 and a "tailor employing 2 men". Ann is 38, and their children are Thomas Henry William Lucas ("our" TH Lucas), 7, and siblings Emma Ann Smith Lucas 5, Ann Elizabeth Lucas 2, Walter Henry Smith Lucas, 2 months, and a domestic servant.

⁸⁷ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 9th June 1866

⁸⁸ The Engineer, 8 June 1866

By the 1861 census (Endnote 94 above) William Lucas is 46 and "Parish Clerk and tailor employing 3 men", and TH Lucas is 17 and an apprentice. Presumably this means apprentice tailor, although the census only states "ap". Emma is then 15 and a shop assistant, while Ann is still a scholar. Walter is not listed (but still alive – he would die in 1900), and there is a new child, Eliza Maria Lucas 6.

By 1869 when we find TH Lucas advertising velocipedes, THL was 25 and has evidently switched careers from tailoring to engineering. He did not remain long in Salisbury. The 1871 census finds him single and sharing a house at 45 Whitfield Street, St Pancras, Marylebone, London, aged 27 and an "engine fitter and turner". He married shortly after, in c. 1874, to Annie Maria (surname unknown), 2 years his junior, and by 1881 they had moved out to Sawston in Cambridgeshire. THL was still an "engine fitter", and by then the family comprised THL, his wife Annie, and 3 children (Annie Louisa Lucas 7, George W Lucas 3, and William T Lucas 1). Bessie would follow in 1882, Fanny S in 1884, Alfred E in 1885, Herbert T in 1888 and Ethel V in 1890. In 1901 the family was living in Slough, Buckinghamshire, and TH Lucas died in 1913 at Eton, Buckinghamshire, aged 69.

Was TH Lucas related to the Bryan Lucas who married Urania Pitts, and the wider Lucas families in Northamptonshire?

The short answer is we don't know. There are two possible explanations as to how TH Lucas was in 1869 manufacturing velocipedes in the Fisherton Foundry owned by James Rowland, whose "wife" Urania was the widow of Bryan Lucas of Kingsthorpe, Northants, and mother to Arthur Lucas.

Theory 1 – no relationship. Lucas was not an uncommon surname in nineteenth century England – in 1851 Wiltshire had 338 people with the name, and Northamptonshire 271. (Source: Search of 1851 census AncestryCo database 28.3.2020). The young TH Lucas grew up in Fisherton, where he would certainly have heard of the local Salisbury engineer and ironfounder James Rowland, and may have met him – Salisbury was a small city, albeit growing. The surname Lucas was of course very familiar to James Rowland and we can imagine friendship between THL, 25 in 1869, and young Arthur Lucas, then 20 and living as part of James Rowland's family. It's then a small step to James offering THL an apprenticeship in his workshop at Fisherton, and support when THL tried the new venture of velocipede manufacture. After completing his apprenticeship TH Lucas then moved away to try his luck in London. This seems quite a plausible scenario, but impossible to prove.

Theory 2 – family relationship. It is possible that the Lucas family of THL and his father William Lucas, was related to Bryan Lucas and his family in Northamptonshire. There are two components to this theory:

Firstly, how were they related?

THL's father William was born in August 1816, baptised 18th August at Fisherton, and lived in the parish his whole life, as recounted above.

THL's grandfather (i.e. father of William Lucas) was Thomas Lucas, who married Martha West in November 1808 at Handley, Dorset (now Sixpenny Handley, 12 miles SW of Salisbury). Handley was within a day's round journey of Salisbury by cart.

THL's great-grandfather cannot be established with any degree of certainty, as attempts to find Thomas's birthplace have not been fruitful. However, if Thomas Lucas can be identified with Thomas Lillington Lucas, we can go a generation further, because we know Thomas Lillington Lucas was baptised on 6 March 1785 at Milton Abbas, Dorset, the son of William Lucas and Anne Lucas. This identification of Thomas with Thomas Lillington is however risky, and also does not help us in finding the Lucas generation who, we presume, migrated from Northamptonshire to north Dorset/south Wiltshire (or vice versa).

It therefore remains at present an open question as to whether the Lucas families in Salisbury (Fisherton) and Northamptonshire (Kingsthorpe) were related – perhaps Thomas Lucas himself, or a Lucas of the generation before Thomas, had migrated from Kingsthorpe in Northamptonshire to Salisbury for work, making the THL and Arthur Lucas second or lower-order cousins.

Secondly, how would the families know of each other?

Here we are on safer grounds. There is considerable evidence both generally and from the author's own researches, that in the nineteenth century (and before) distant families both knew of their familiar relationships and managed to keep in touch – in times before any social security system operated, a family relationship, however distant, was something to be relied on and valued. (See for example in Roots and Branches (page 394) in 1908 Eva Annie Eldridge went to Canada to have her illegitimate child because almost certainly she was aware of her distant relatives who had emigrated there many generations earlier and with whom she had kept in touch. Or on page 135, William Filtness's decision to move to the Isle of Wight in 1910 was, it appears, strongly influenced by his awareness of Henry Filtness, his third cousin once removed, already on the island).

Urania Pitts, when she married Bryan Lucas in March 1842, would have known the family of her new husband, just as she knew of James Rowland, the man her sister Mary Pitts had married in September 1839 (and whom she was to "marry" in c.1856). Indeed, given the evidently close links between the Rowland and the Pitts family, James Rowland might have known Bryan Lucas, the husband of his wife's

sister, quite well, and it is perfectly possible that Bryan told James directly that there were Lucas relatives in Salisbury – we can even imagine Bryan advising James as to the merits of Salisbury as a possible base for business, a recommendation which may, in part, have led to James 's decision to move there after he left Bristol in c1845.

The conclusion is therefore that both theories are feasible, but neither proven.

- 96 Photo source: onlinebicyclemuseum.co.uk accessed 10.4.2020
- 97 Photo source: onlinebicyclemuseum.co.uk accessed 10.4.2020
- 98 Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 10 April 1869.
- 99 Kelly's Directory 1875.
- ¹⁰⁰ Death Certificate, James Rowland, engineer, died 21 June 1875, Salisbury.
- ¹⁰¹ The grave also contains his daughter Sarah Martha Rowland (1845-1857) who had died of TB. (Source: Wiltshire Family History Society, Monumental Inscriptions Index in private communication to Mr NB Cox, 22 Oct 1992). The author has not been able to identify the grave, which may no longer exist.

 102 It should be noted that on the very same page of the Probate Calendar as James's probate is one for a John Rowland (no relation), which was sworn at "effects under £1500" in September 1875 but then resworn. for "effects under £3000" the following February – in other words, when challenged, the executors saw fit to double their original figure. Given that the first-named Executor for James's Will is Urania, the presumed principal beneficiary, it is not wholly unimaginable that a similar substantial under-estimate might apply in James's case.

The history of the generation below James Rowland certainly suggests the level of wealth passed down from James is greater than £950, although this is complicated by wealth which might have been introduced by the later marriages in this generation and indeed the next. James's son William was able to establish his business successfully, and had capital for expansion and new ventures, and certainly Herbert was educated and led a solid affluent middle-class career. As we will see, by the third generation, William Edward and Reginald George, the wealth accrued was considerable – Reginald's widow, for example, was able to send her twin boys to a good private boy's boarding school in Somerset.

Sources for the value comparisons are: (1) Bank of England Inflation Calculator (2) The website www.victorianweb.org/economics/wages (accessed 9 July 2020) reports a1888 expenditure figure from R Patterson, "Life on a guinea a week" in The Nineteenth Century (1888) p 464. (Total expenditure £51 pa; average rents being 6s a week) (3) ONS for the Average annual UK household spending in 2018-19 of £30,451 (4) Average UK house price in March 2020 was £231,855. (5) The figures for John Rowland are from page 256 of the National Probate Calendar for 1875.

- ¹⁰³ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 13 January 1877.
- ¹⁰⁴ Lesley Marshman, *Directory of Agricultural Engineers, Iron founders etc. in Wiltshire.* Typescript document, Salisbury Library, ref. AAA.916
- ¹⁰⁵ It is equally possible that John Varley Armitage was John Armitage's son.
- ¹⁰⁶ But Urania herself had only a small personal estate when she died, less than £200. The money, such as it was, had been in the business. (Source: Grant of Probate for Will of Urania Rowland, 19th July 1879).
- ¹⁰⁷ Kelly's Directories for 1880 and 1885.
- ¹⁰⁸ Urania Rowland was born 1874. Her father James Rowland jnr (born 1832/33) would have known Urania Pitts since his father James Rowland snr had married Mary Pitts her sister in 1839 and he became the nephew of both sisters. When James Rowland snr later "married" Urania Lucas nee Pitts in c1856, James Rowland jnr became Urania's step-son, but by then he was adult (aged about 24).
- ¹⁰⁹ Sources: 1861 Census Union Street, Melksham, TNA/RG9/1294/78/page 30; 1871 Census Millbrook Road, Southampton, Hampshire, TNA/RG10/1200/8/page 7; 1881 Census Millbrook Road, Freemantle, South Hampshire, TNA/RG11/1222/117/page 12; 1891 Census Millbrook Road, Southampton, TNA/RG12/929/68/page 2.
- ¹¹⁰ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 3 January 1903 [William's obituary, quoted at the end of Chapter 12].
- ¹¹¹ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 3 January 1903 [William's obituary]
- ¹¹² Sources for the following paras about Blanche Thornton Coleman are: Selected Births in England 1538-1975; 1841 census for Little Mongeham; 1851 census for Deal; 1861 census for Deal; marriage registers for St Edmunds Salisbury.
- 113 Advertisement in The Western Gazette 11 October 1867

114 Source: website of Somerset and Dorset Family History Society https://sdfhs.wordpress.com (article on William Rowland – iron founder of Sherborne, by Graham Bendell, to whom the author is grateful for the information given. Article posted 23.11.2014, accessed 10.2.2017).

¹¹⁵ Kelly's Directory, Sherborne, 1875

116 Sources: for these paragraphs: 1861 Census Church Street Salisbury, TNA/RG9/1317/5/page 6: 1871 Census Cheap Sherborne. Street. Census TNA/RG10/2019/42/page 15: 1881 Newell Hill. Sherborne. TNA/RG11/2117/56/page 46. Kelly's Directories for Sherborne for 1875, 1880, and 1885, which list William Rowland in Cheap Street, Sherborne as, respectively: engineer iron and brass founder; engineer; and smith. Open website of Somerset and Dorset Family History Society, as endnote 114.

¹¹⁷ Sources: 1871 Census Luther Street, Everton, Liverpool, TNA/RG10/3815/46/page 38; 1911 Census Moscow Drive, Stoneycroft, Liverpool, TNA/RG14/22650. Crew Lists for Liverpool 1861-1919 (Liverpool Record Office). Garrick Crew Lists 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890. George died in 1918.

¹¹⁸ His story is summarised in Chapter 14; see also Endnote 68 and 232.

¹¹⁹ Source: - Death certificate for Urania Rowland, aged 60, widow of James Rowland, engineer. Died 1879, 30th May at Church Street, St Edmund. Cause of death "Obstruction of intestines. Exhaustion". The source for her grave in Salisbury Cemetery is a list by Wiltshire Family History Soc, Monumental Inscriptions Index in private communication to Mr NB Cox, 22 Oct 1992. Despite the death certificate, her full name should be "Urania Rowland late Lucas formerly Pitts".

120 National Probate Calendar 1879: "19 July. The Will of Urania Lucas late of St Edmund Church-street in the City of Salisbury Widow who died 30 May 1879 at Salisbury was proved at Salisbury by Arthur Lucas of 50 St Edmund Church-street Engineer the Son of one of the Executors. Personal Estate under £200". [Arthur, it should be noted, was the "son" of one of the executors. In fact, both his parents were now dead, so presumably Arthur was acting for his late uncle James Rowland - Urania it seems had not updated her will following James's death].

¹²¹ Technically, the relation between James Rowland and Arthur Lucas was complex. Because James Rowland and Urania Lucas nee Pitts were not legally married, the legal relationship between James and Arthur was via James's second wife Mary Pitts, who was Urania's half-sister and Arthur's half-aunt. Arthur was therefore the half-

nephew of Urania the partner ("wife") of James Rowland, and James was the partner of his half aunt. In today's society Arthur would simply be regarded as James's stepson, but both the 1861 and the 1871 census lists him as "nephew", and this is clearly how James regarded him, as noted on page 50. Until his mother's move to Salisbury in 1856, when Arthur was 7, Arthur would presumably have called James Rowland "uncle". To continue the speculation of endnote 58: given the circumstances around the relationship between James Rowland and Urania Lucas, it would be easy, but pointless, to speculate that James might have been Arthur's father, rather than Bryan Lucas.

- ¹²² Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 14 June 1879.
- ¹²³ Kelly's Directory, 1880. The entry in the commercial section reads "Arthur Lucas, engineer, Brown Street". There is no entry under the Private Resident's section.
- ¹²⁴ This is the date given in Morriss & Hoverd, *The Buildings of Salisbury*, page 73. Pevsner however gives a date of 1829. The Baptists had used the site since 1719 (Chandler, John, *Endless Street, A History of Salisbury and Its People*, Hobnob Press, 1983 page 207).
- ¹²⁵ Arthur Lucas was living in Albert terrace for the 1881 census, but was resident in Brown Street when his daughter Flora was baptised in October 1884. It seems reasonable to assume he moved on his marriage in April 1884.
- ¹²⁶ Source: 1881 Census, Church Street, Civil parish of St Edmund, Salisbury, TNA/RG11/2072/5/page 3.
- ¹²⁷ National Probate Calendar for Urania Rowland, 19th July 1879.
- 128 Annie Rowland, the fifth daughter, is missing, and the author has been unable to find her in anywhere in the 1881 census. She was also missing from the 1871 census. However, she was still alive at the time of the 1881 census on 3rd April, as we know she died on 12th July 1881, some 4 months later, aged 34, unmarried (source: Grave in Salisbury Cemetery listed by Wiltshire Family History Soc, Monumental Inscriptions Index). Perhaps she was out of the country?
- ¹²⁹ Source: 1881 Census, Church Street, Civil parish of St Edmund, Salisbury, TNA/RG11/2072/5/page 3.
- ¹³⁰ Arthur's death certificate from 1888 was informed by Herbert Rowland, who then, more correctly, describes his relationship with Arthur as "step-brother". So why did Arthur tell the 1881 census enumerator Herbert and the others were his "step-sons and -daughters"?

- ¹³¹ Sources for Mary Hibberd: Baptism record 8 Jan 1858, St Martins, Salisbury. 1871 census, Shrewton, Wiltshire. 1881 census Queen Street Salisbury. Marriage record 17th April 1884, Salisbury. 1891 census, Woodford, Essex. No trace of her can be found after 1891 did she die, or remarry? see also endnote 139.
- ¹³² Death certificate for Arthur Lucas, 39, engineer, died 1888 8th March, Brown Street, St Martins (Salisbury). Cause of death Phthisis pulmonalis. Informant: Herbert Rowland, step-brother, of 45 Wilton Road Salisbury.
- ¹³³ Source for date of death and burial is a list of gravestones made by the Wiltshire Family History Society, Monumental Inscriptions Index in private communication to Mr NB Cox, 22 Oct 1992: "Arthur Lucas died 8 March 1888 aged 39". The author has not been able to locate the actual grave.
- National Probate Calendar for 1888 "16th May. The Will of Arthur Lucas late of 47 Brown-street Salisbury in the County of Wilts Engineer who died 8 March 1888 at Salisbury was proved at Salisbury by Mary Jane Lucas of 47 Brown-street Widow the Relict the sole Executrix. Personal Estate £575 16s 4d". The 2019 value is from the Bank of England Inflation Calculator. The 1888 expenditure figure is from R Patterson, "Life on a guinea a week" in The Nineteenth Century (1888) p 464, reported on www.victorianweb.org/economics/wages accessed 9 July 2020.
- ¹³⁵ See endnote 102 above. The UK Average Household Spending in 2018-19 was £30,451.
- ¹³⁶ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 27 July 1889
- ¹³⁷ His story is told at https://www.londonremembers.com/subjects/john-reynolds-roberts accessed 9.4.2020
- ¹³⁸ 1891 census Salway House, Woodford. No later source can be found for the life of Mary Jane Lucas (Hibberd).
- ¹³⁹ She cannot be found in the 1901 census and might have died by then; however, no death certificate can be found either. In 1909 the Roberts household was in the news, and not in a good way, when the Essex Newsman Sat 13 Nov 1909 reported that Samuel Willingale, head gardener, was found lying dead in a tank of water in a greenhouse at Salway House. However, it appears, from her absence in the 1901 census for the house, that Mary Jane Hibberd had left by then.
- 140 Sources for Flora Urania Lucas: 1891 census Moor Mead, Great Tew, Essex; 1914, 30 May, marriage record of Flora Urania Lucas dau of Arthur Lucas, and Arthur Lewis Hatton at Downton, Wiltshire; 1916, 26th May, baptism at St Lawrence, Downton, of Dorothy May Hatton, born 26 Jan 1916, to Arthur Lewis Hatton, tanner,

- of Downton, and Flora Urania; death record for Flora U Hatton, 1961, Christchurch Hampshire.
- ¹⁴¹ Advertisement in The Abbot of Sherborne newspaper for 25 November 1886, quoted in he website of Somerset and Dorset Family History Society (article on William Rowland iron founder of Sherborne, posted 23.11.2014, accessed 10.2.2017).
- ¹⁴² The return of William Rowland to Salisbury must have taken place between 1885 and 1889, although presumably after his discharge from bankruptcy in 1887. Sources: 1881 census Newell Hill, Sherborne, TNA/RG11/2117/56/page 46. Kelly's Directory for Sherborne 1885 (present) and 1889 (absent) and for Salisbury 1885 (absent) and 1889 (present). Mundy's Directory for Salisbury 1891.
- ¹⁴³ Mundy's Directory 1891: *Rowland William, Crystal Fountain Yard, Milford Street Salisbury.*
- ¹⁴⁴ Note also the statement in William Rowland's obituary "...He was the son of the late Mr James Rowland, ... and for some years he managed his father's business, to which he eventually succeeded".
- ¹⁴⁵ Mundy's Directory 1891.
- ¹⁴⁶ Kelly's Directory for 1903 lists William's premises as still including Milford Street.
- ¹⁴⁷ Older photographs of the Crystal Fountain site in Milford Street show a building quite unlike that in the photograph. Source for photo: open website of the Milford Street Bridge Project www.milfordstreetnridgeproject.org.uk visited February 2017.
- ¹⁴⁸ Photo source for Milford Street in 1910: published in the Salisbury Journal 13 October 2013.
- 149 The existence of the gully grating in Marlborough Road reading "Rowland & Sons" shows that this trading name was in use before 1901, the date of the OS map which includes this road as built. The name "Rowland & Sons" therefore predates William's death in 1902 by an unknown number of years.
- ¹⁵⁰ However, these dates for the change of the firm's name are not certain William may have made the changes when his sons first started work in the business, for example and therefore they don't help with dating the examples of Rowland hardware as much as might be hoped.
- 151 Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 3 January 1903.

- ¹⁵² For example, William was resident at 19 Rollestone Street in the 1895 Kelly's Directory, and at 32 St Mark's Road in the 1899 Kelly's.
- ¹⁵³ 1891 Census Wilton Road, Fisherton Anger, Salisbury.
- ¹⁵⁴ Kelly's Directory Salisbury 1892.
- ¹⁵⁵ Kelly's Directory Salisbury 1895.
- ¹⁵⁶ Kelly's Directory Salisbury 1895.
- ¹⁵⁷ See for example Kelly's Directory Salisbury 1892.
- ¹⁵⁸ Wikipedia, article on *Penny-farthing*, accessed 21.12.2019
- ¹⁵⁹ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 5th January 1901
- ¹⁶⁰ Photo source: Wikipedia, article on *Penny-farthing*, accessed 10.4.2020
- ¹⁶¹ Obituary in Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 6 April 1934, quoted later in this book.
- ¹⁶² See comments earlier about James being an early adopter of traction engines.
- ¹⁶³ Kelly's Directory for 1895 lists him under the more general heading of Mechanical Engineer.
- ¹⁶⁴ Kelly's Directory Salisbury 1899.
- 165 1901 census 13 Castle Street, St Thomas, Salisbury, TNA/RG13/1954/6/page 3.
- 166 As a family trait, the Rowlands are tall and lanky; James Rowland's grandson Charles was 6'4", Charles's three daughters were all tall and his son Alan was 6'6" (too tall for the cockpit of a Spitfire or Hurricane, hence he flew Typhoons), the author 6'0", and my son Timothy 6'4".
- ¹⁶⁷ Photo source: Private collection Norman Barry Cox
- ¹⁶⁸ Source: Then & Now Salisbury by Peter Daniels and Tim Garraway Jones, 2003, p. 28
- ¹⁶⁹ 1901 Census 13 Castle Street, St Thomas, Salisbury, TNA/RG13/1954/6/page 3.
- ¹⁷⁰ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 3 January 1903.

- ¹⁷¹ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 3 January 1903. Note the convenient omission of the transfer of James's business to John Armitage, and also of William's ventures in Sherborne.
- ¹⁷² National Probate Calendar for 1903 William Rowland. The 2019 value is from the Bank of England Inflation Calculator.
- 173 The Letchworth figure of £150 is from contemporary advertisements. The calculation is :

£658 \div £150 = 4.387.

 $4.387 \times £231,855$ (the average UK house price in 2020) = £1,017,000

¹⁷⁴ We can only speculate about what she was doing in Norfolk. A holiday perhaps? Or is it somehow related to her daughter-in-law, Muriel Maud Howell, who came from Norfolk – probably unlikely, as Blanche died in (Potter) Heigham in the Broads, whereas Muriel's family were from Walsingham, over 30 miles to the west.

¹⁷⁵ National Probate Calendar for 1907 – Blanche Thornton Rowland. The 2019 value is from the Bank of England Inflation Calculator.

 176 £1444 ÷ £150 = 9.627. £231,855 (the average UK house price in 2020) x 9.627 = £2,232,000

¹⁷⁷ Source: letter 22 Oct 1992 Wiltshire Family History Society Monumental Inscriptions Index, to Norman Barry Cox. The author has not been able to locate the actual grave.

¹⁷⁸ Kelly's Directory Salisbury 1903.

¹⁷⁹ Kelly's Directory Salisbury 1907.

¹⁸⁰ See for example (1) the obituary in 1934 to Reginald, quoted later in this book, or (2) the Revision Court case of 28th September 1910 which heard that "They [WER and RGR] ought not to lose their votes because the property was conveyed under one deed, and they happened to be in [a commercial] partnership".

¹⁸¹ See for example (1) the 1911 census which lists Reginald as "employed", or (2) the Letterhead, reproduced later in this book, which in small print says "*Proprietor W. E. Rowland*" (although Reginald died in 1934 so, if the letterhead post-dates his death, WER would have been the only one of the three Rowlands still alive), or (3) the 1923 photographs for Rowland's [not Rowlands'] Motor Coaches.

¹⁸² Source: Wikipedia article on *History of the Automobile*, accessed 29.3.2020.

- ¹⁸³ Newman Ruth, and Howells, Jane, *Salisbury Past*, Phillimore and Co., 2001, page 115.
- ¹⁸⁴ Source; nationalmotormuseum.org.uk
- ¹⁸⁵ For Scout cars see Newman and Howells, op cit. page 115.
- ¹⁸⁶ Newman and Howells, op. cit. page 115.
- ¹⁸⁷ Chandler, John, *Endless Street, A History of Salisbury and Its People*, Hobnob Press, 1983, page 149-150.
- ¹⁸⁸ Chandler, John, op.cit. page 149.
- ¹⁸⁹ Newman and Howells, op. cit. page 115.
- ¹⁹⁰ Source: Wikipedia, articles on *Orient Quadricycles* and *Waltham Manufacturing* accessed 29.3.2020.
- ¹⁹¹ Source: Wikipedia, articles on *Orient Quadricycles* and *Waltham Manufacturing* accessed 29.3.2020. See also www.conceptcarz.com
- 192 The street numbering on the 1953 OS Map implies the frontage went to what was then numbered no. 108 not 106, (unless no. 108 was acquired by Anna Valley subsequent to the sale of the site to them by Rowland).
- ¹⁹³ The street numbering has varied, and what the later maps show as 88-106 appears to have then been referred to as 86-106.
- ¹⁹⁴ Kelly's Directory Salisbury 1907.
- ¹⁹⁵ Kelly's Directory, Salisbury, 1907
- ¹⁹⁶ John Chandler op cit. 1983, page 150.
- 197 After the Great War the Representation of the People Act 1918 extended the franchise to all men over 21 whether they owned property or not. However, in 1910 the franchise for men was still regulated by the Representation of the People Act 1884 (the "Third Reform Act"), which, in counties such as Wiltshire, gave the vote to men only when they met an ownership qualification: in summary men paying an annual rent of £10 or those holding land valued at £10. Source: Wikipedia accessed 3.4.2020

- ¹⁹⁸ Statistics for UK road traffic accidents were not compiled before 1926; for that year the number killed was 4,886. This may be compared to 1,870 for 2019.
- ¹⁹⁹ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 10th Feb 1912
- ²⁰⁰ There is thus no evidence that at this time either of the Rowland brothers used 13 Castle Street as their residence. It is possible that the premises there had been completely vacated by this date, rather than the 1914 date, both for commercial and residential uses, following the move to the new shop and workshop at No. 102-106 in c1906.
- ²⁰¹ The quotation is from Lord Ernle the golden age was c1853-1862, despite the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846.
- ²⁰² Wikipedia articles on *Corn Laws* and *Great Depression of British Agriculture*, accessed 13.7.2020.
- ²⁰³ A persistent family story in the Filtness family tells of an ancestral branch of wealthy Norfolk wheat farmers. As retold to the author this story came from the Mealham line who married into the Filtnesses, but research proved this to be incorrect see *Roots and Branches* pages 176,196 and 518. It is now clear that the story does have a basis in fact, but originates from the Howell family, who married into the Rowland family via Muriel Maud Howell and Reginald George Rowland close relatives, but not direct ancestors, of the author.
- ²⁰⁴ Salisbury and Winchester Journal and General Advertiser 12th October 1912: "ROWLAND HOWELL on the 9th inst., at St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, by the Rev EJ Merrick, Reginald George, second son of the late Mr and Mrs WILLIAM ROWLAND, of Salisbury, to Muriel Maud, eldest daughter of Mr FREDERICK HOWELL, of Walsingham, Norfolk".
- ²⁰⁵ Kelly's Directory for 1915 lists "Graham William corn merchant, 13 Castle Street. There are similar entries in the 1920 and 1927 Kelly's, but not the 1939 one.
- ²⁰⁶ The regulations about conscription were complex. The Military Service Act 1916 introduced mandatory conscription for single men aged 18-41, with certain limited exemptions. Men were called up from January 1916. In January 1916 William Edward Rowland was 47 so well beyond the age limit, but his brother Reginald George Rowland was 37 and would have been liable were it not the fact that he had married Muriel Maud Howell in 1912. The two were therefore not eligible.

However, in June 1916 the regulations were extended to include married men and by then RGR was still within the age range so would have been liable for call-up. No records have been found to suggest that in fact he did serve.

In April 1918 the upper age limit was raised to 50. WER was 50 in October 1918, so would just have been liable, but again there is no record that he did actually serve. The war ended in November 1918. Conscription lapsed in 1920.

- ²⁰⁷ Newman and Howells, op cit. pages 111-113
- ²⁰⁸ Kelly's Directory, Salisbury 1915.
- ²⁰⁹ Kelly's Directory, Salisbury 1907
- ²¹⁰ Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 2nd September 1899
- ²¹¹ Western Gazette, 31 Oct 1919
- ²¹² Although as late as 1912 "Messrs Rowlands" were still tendering for general mechanical engineering, such as the pumps repairs at Wilton see page 148 and Endnote 199.
- ²¹³ Western Gazette, 23 Feb 1923
- ²¹⁴ Kelly's Directories for the years specified; these are only samples, not every year has been searched.
- ²¹⁵ Eg advertisement in Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 23 April 1903, on page 134.
- ²¹⁶ There is no evidence that the Rowlands ran regular routes, the pre-cursors to scheduled bus routes. For example, the list of "Motor Services" in the 1927 Kelly's Directory includes services to many surrounding villages, extending to places such as Amesbury, Fordingbridge, Downton, and Shaftesbury, but none of these services are by Rowlands. Their speciality seems to have been "one-off" hire for local events.
- ²¹⁷ Sources: (top) from a commercial postcard in the author's collection; (middle and bottom) from the private collection of Norman Barry Cox.
- 218 See Endnotes 192 and 193 The street numbering in use in the 1930s differed slightly from that at present. No. 86 was part of the Rowland site but appears on maps to be no. 88.
- ²¹⁹ Source: author's private collection, by courtesy of Mr Norman Barry Cox.
- ²²⁰ The returns from the 1931 census were destroyed by enemy action in 1942, which for historians will leave a huge gap between the 1921 census and the 1951 census, only partly remedied by the 1939 Register. The 1921 data is not yet

available for study, which means that 1911 is the last year with fully detailed coverage now available.

- ²²¹ The Salisbury Journal was entitled "Salisbury and Winchester Journal" until some date after 1927 (Kelly's Directory for 1927 lists it as "Salisbury and Winchester"). For a temporary period (eg in 1912) it was known as "Salisbury and Winchester Journal and General Advertiser".
- ²²² The author is grateful for information in summer 2020 from the current owners of the house that after the death of Muriel Howell in July 1962 the house was purchased by a local GP (one of the first women GPs) and then sold again in c2016 to the current owners just 3 owners in 108 years.
- ²²³ The microfiches for these three years have been briefly searched and no advertisements for Rowland were found, yet the firm was certainly active then and indeed was advertising in other newspapers. Perhaps they had a serious falling out with the Salisbury and Winchester Journal?
- ²²⁴ John Chandler op cit. 1983, page 150.
- ²²⁵ The first entry in Kelly's Directories for 51 Blue Boar Row is 1929/30.
- ²²⁶ Kelly's Directory for 1903, 1907, 1911, 1915, 1923.
- ²²⁷ Herbert Rowland's children comprised 5 sons and a daughter; the first son was "Reginald Herbert Rowland", a really confusing name for those attempting to unravel the family history. The author's ancestry was through Herbert.
- ²²⁸ 1934 4th April. Death certificate for "Reginald George Rowland, died at 46 Castle Road, age 55, Motor Engineer (Master). Cause of death: Phthisis No PM. Informant: B M Rowland, daughter. Registered 4th April".
- ²²⁹ Salisbury Journal, 6 April 1934.
- ²³⁰ National Probate Calendar entry for Reginald George Rowland's probate, 1934
- ²³¹ Bank of England Inflation Calculator
- ²³² Average UK house prices from ONS Table 502, Housing Market House Prices from 1930. An inheritance of £23,394 was headline news in the Western Morning News in 1937: "Fortune left to great-niece". Metroland information from advertisements of the period, not always dated examples: Manor Estate, Wembley Park, 3-bed semi £850-1200, 4-bed semi £1200-1400; Ruislip Station Estate 3-bed

terraced £695; Sudbury Court Estate North Wembley 3-bed semi £875 or £1050 (in 1932).

Another way of assessing the value of Reginald's estate is from Herbert Rowland, his cousin (technically, his half 1st cousin once-removed), the Land Agent. Herbert is known from correspondence and from his son, Charles Haywood Rowland, to

have been solidly "middle class", or as he might have put it "comfortably off". He lived in Swaynes Close, a large semi-detached Edwardian house. Herbert had died in 1929, five years before Reginald, and Herbert's estate was £4,265; so Reginald's £13,868 in 1934 was considerably larger.

²³³ Average UK house price in March 2020 was £231,855.

²³⁴ As will be seen, when William Edward Rowland, Reginald's brother, died nearly seven years later, he left a sum not dissimilar in size to Reginald's, suggesting that in fact the money came from the motor business and had been divided equally, with not so much of Reginald's estate from the Howell line.

²³⁵ She is listed there in Kelly's Directories for 1935-36 and 1939-40, and died there.

²³⁶ 1936 24th February. Death certificate for "Derek William Rowland, died at The Wellington Cottage Hospital, Wellington, age 16. Occupation; of Wellington School, Wellington. Son of Reginald George Rowland (deceased), motor engineer. Cause of death: Fracture of the base of the skull, cerebral haemorrhage and laceration of the brain though colliding with a motor car whilst riding a pedal cycle. Misadventure. Informant: Certificate received from Geoffrey P Clarke Coroner for Western District of Somerset. Inquest held 25th February 1936. Registered 26th February". Should the reader wish to seek the Coroner's Inquest Report, the records for 1936 are held by Somerset Heritage Centre (South West Heritage Trust) under reference C/CR/W/12.

²³⁷ 1939 Register for 46 Castle Road Salisbury

²³⁸ National Probate Calendar 1962: "Rowland Muriel Maud of 46 Castle Road Salisbury widow died 11 July 1962 Probate Winchester 30 July to Reginald Hugh Rowland deputy travel manager and Dorothy Muriel Lewington single woman. Effects £433 17s".

²³⁹ The reference to Wilts and Dorset Motor Service is from John Chandler op cit. 1983, page 148. It is unclear whether or not Rowland and Sons ever operated scheduled "bus routes" as the term is used today – in the 1930s it would be hard to distinguish the difference between such a service and, say, a regular weekly coach into Salisbury on market day from surrounding villages, which the Rowlands probably did operate.

²⁴⁰ Email dated 6th Dec 2018 from Peter Parrish to Peter Filtness, reading "... my cousin [is] Bryan Parrish. Bryan's father Ronald Parrish worked for William (Edward) Rowland and then moved on when he sold the business to Anna Valley Motors of which Bryan and myself worked in the Castle Street premises. Ronald acquired a lot of the Rowland artefacts when AVM took over in 1937 ..."

 241 Kelly's Directory for 1937-38 has no listing for Rowland, but does have an entry for Anna Valley.

²⁴² 1939 Register. Bodrean, Perranporth, Truro, Cornwall. The register contains two entries. The first is for William E Rowland, male, born 19 Oct (18)68, (marital status obscured), occupation engineer retired. The second entry is redacted but it is reasonable to assume this was for Ida, who being younger may have qualified for redaction when the Register was digitised.

²⁴³ 1941 8th February. Death certificate for "William Edward Rowland, died at Compass North, Pentire, Newquay, age 72, Motor Engineer (retired). Cause of death: (a) cerebral haemorrhage (b) hyperpiesis. Informant: I W Rowland, widow of deceased, present at the death, Compass North, Pentire, Newquay. Registered 11th February". His grave is not in Salisbury Road Cemetery, where the rest of the Rowland family were buried; (source: letter 22 Oct 1992 Wiltshire Family History Society Monumental Inscriptions Index, to Norman Barry Cox).

²⁴⁴ Probate (from National Probate Calendar). "Rowland William Edward of Compass North Pentire-road Newquay Cornwall died 8 February 1941 Probate Winchester 3 June to Ida Winifred Rowland widow. Effects £15,309 3s 8d. Resworn £16,812 6s 2d"

²⁴⁵ ONS - Table 502, Housing Market House Prices from 1930.

 246 Bank of England Inflation Calculator; Average UK house price in March 2020 was £231,855; the price of an average house in 1941 taken as £1002.

²⁴⁷ Probate (from National Probate Calendar): "Rowland Ida Winifred of 30 Parkfield Drive Taunton widow died 20 December 1963 at Taunton and Somerset Hospital Taunton Probate Bodmin 19 February to Thomas Wingate Saul solicitor Frederick James Littlejohns building supervisor. £30,877". This sum is equivalent to £651,000 at 2019 prices (BoE).

The difference between the size of the estates left by the two brothers' widows is notable, both of whom died at roughly the same time (Muriel in 1962 and Ida in 1963). At 2019 prices, William Edward had left £855K in 1941, and his widow Ida left £651K in 1963. Reginald left even more (£999K in 1934), but his widow Muriel

left only £9K in 1962. Why was the remaining capital of the two widows, both of whom lived through the inflation of the war years and long widowhoods, so different? Where had Muriel's fortune gone?

²⁴⁸ The girls' school was at 11a Endless Street (1903), then 13 Endless Street (1907), 125 Castle Street (1911, 1915 and 1923). Source: Kelly's Directories for these years.

As mentioned earlier, Urania Rowland (1874-1957) was probably the unmarried daughter of James Rowland jnr (b. 1831/2, James Rowland 1803's first son) – one of James Rowland's grandchildren. Other Rowland family members owned various residential properties in the city for rental.

²⁴⁹ See the case of franchise quoted earlier. Salisbury and Winchester Journal 1 Oct 1910

²⁵⁰ Newspaper cutting of Herbert Rowland's newspaper funeral report, 1929. Author's private collection, newspaper not stated.

²⁵¹ See endnote 32 above.

²⁵² Source: 1939 Register as listed on Ancestry (from National Archives), accessed 12 July 2020. The Register was taken on 29th September 1939 and has been redacted annually by National Archives and by Ancestry to remove those still alive (where no death notification has reached National Archives) and those with birth dates less than 100 years old.

The two male Rowlands are (1) Reginald Hugh Rowland born 11 Feb 1920, the son of Reginald George Rowland and Muriel Maud Howell (2) Leslie Peter Rowland born 28th April 1920, single; he was living at 85 Macklin Road in the same household as Blanche L Rowland born 25 January 1889, married, and presumably his mother. Neither Leslie nor his mother are currently accommodated on the author's tree of the Rowland family but would appear from the forename "Blanche" to be related.

²⁵³ Personal communication 2 Sept 2016

²⁵⁴ Charles was the second of the five sons of Herbert Rowland, who himself was the fifth of James Rowland's six sons. Charles was the author's grandfather.

²⁵⁵ Source: Wikipedia: United States Library of Congress: Public domain.

²⁵⁶ Sources: (1) *Mike's Railway History, The Severn Tunnel,* accessed 31.10.2011 on http://mikes.railhistory.railfan.net/r086.html (2) Wikipedia article " *Severn Tunnel*" accessed 31.11.2011. (3) *The Making of the Severn Tunnel,* by Roger Cowles, 1989.

²⁵⁷ Sources for Rowland Brotherhood: (1) Grace's Guide to British Industrial History (summary biography, and copy of obituary in Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette 8th March 1883) accessed 12.6.2020 (2) Wikipedia article "Rowland Brotherhood" accessed 27.11.2015.

²⁵⁸ James describes himself as *engineer* in his 1839 Marriage Certificate with Mary Pitts; 1840, birth certificate for William Rowland, and in the 1841 census. Before then we have no description of his occupation. A description of James as a millwright does not appear until Harrod's Directory for Dorset and Wiltshire, 1865, which includes the terms amongst a list of his other activities.

²⁵⁹ Sources: Wikipedia article on *Marc Isambard Brunel*, accessed 26.6.2020; *Brunel, The Man Who Built the World*, by Steven Brindle, 2005;

²⁶⁰ Sources: *Brunel, The Man Who Built the World*, by Steven Brindle, 2005; and *Brunel in Bristol*, by John Christopher, 2013

²⁶¹ For the bridge, it is known that:

- 1. Isambard Kingdom Brunel had begun work on the proposed bridge in June 1831, but then work stopped in September 1831 because of riots.
- 2. Work resumed in 1836, primarily on the Leigh Woods Abutment but work progressed only slowly and the main contractor went bankrupt in 1837.
- 3. Work resumed, and the abutment was finally completed in 1840, but further work again progressed slowly.
- 4. By 1843 funds were exhausted and work stopped until 1862 by which time Brunel had died.
- 5. The bridge was finally completed in 1864.

²⁶² Source: wikipedia article https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Box_Tunnel, accessed 12.6.2020.

²⁶³ The probabilities, in the author's opinion, are:

- The family story has a basis of fact 95%. If so:
- The individual was James Rowland 95%, another Rowland relative (eg James's son John Joseph Rowland in Southampton) 5%
- The project was the Thames Tunnel 15%
- The project was the Clifton Suspension Bridge 10%
- The project was the Box Tunnel 65%
- The project was another scheme by IK Brunel 10%