

CHAPTER 2

DAVID BELLHOUSE, A SELF-MADE MAN



Mary (née Wainwright)
Bellhouse²
(1761 – 1837)



David Bellhouse¹
(1764 – 1840)

Born in relative obscurity into a family of modest means in Leeds, by the time of his death David Bellhouse (1764 – 1840) was a leading citizen of Manchester and a man of considerable wealth. Little is known about his life before his move to Manchester from Leeds in 1786. What is known is that he received little or no formal education. Instead he received training from his father in the joiner's trade. Despite this lack of education, he taught himself to read and write, and to do arithmetic calculations and draughting.³ His signature on a 1790 deed shows a very uneven hand; fifty years later the signature on his will was much improved.⁴

Throughout his career, David Bellhouse was supported by his wife Mary, née Wainwright, whom he married in 1786 at Manchester Cathedral. In fact, she was one of the keys to her husband's success in business. She provided him with six sons, of whom five entered the family businesses that were established by the father. These five were all successful businessmen. Like her husband she came from a modest background. Unlike her husband she has re-

mained in relative obscurity. There is one tantalizing line in her death notice in the *Manchester Guardian*: “an unwearied friend of the poor and distressed.”⁵ Only one source has been found that sheds any light on this quote. Mary’s name appears on an 1811 list for donations to the Ladies Jubilee Female Charity School, a school that trained poorer girls to become domestic servants. She donated one guinea, or the equivalent of £1.05.⁶

After his move to Manchester, David Bellhouse found employment there as a joiner, probably with Thomas Sharp, a joiner and builder who lived in Faulkner Street. Shortly after Sharp’s death in 1803, Bellhouse obtained Sharp’s business after both Sharp’s son and nephew declined to run the business.⁷ The Bellhouse connections to the Sharp family remained for many years. At the funeral of Thomas Sharp III in 1841, two sons of David Bellhouse, John and Wainwright, were in one of the five mourning coaches following the hearse.⁸ Before 1803, David Bellhouse had left Sharp’s employ and was already on his way to making his fortune. What allowed his initial financial success was that Manchester was experiencing a building boom in the 1780s and early 1790s as the Industrial Revolution took hold in Manchester. As industry developed, especially the spinning industry, more people flocked to the town to work there. Between 1780 and 1800, with migration and natural increase, Manchester’s population almost doubled in size.⁹ The additional population needed housing and this is where David Bellhouse began to build his business empire. By the end of the 1780s, he had entered into partnership with a “respectable builder,”¹⁰ possibly Sharp but more likely another Manchester builder, John Port. Bellhouse soon began speculating in land and in the erection of working men’s housing with Port and two others: Thomas Taylor, an architect, and Thomas Bailey, a timber merchant. In 1790 they built at least forty-five houses near the Castlefield area; eleven of them were sold in 1791. The four also bought 742 square yards of land nearby in Bishopsgate and Lombard Street in 1790 and sold it the following year. The deed to these lands shows that David Bellhouse also owned adjacent land in Lombard Street on his own.¹¹

Most of the houses that the four partners erected were back-to-backs, one of the types of working men’s houses of the period. Pairs of houses were built in two rows, the backs joined and the fronts facing a street or lane. Each house in the 1790s development was only four or five yards square and had no private yard. This was smaller than some nearby back-to-backs that measured five by eight yards. This type of inexpensive housing provided two or three rooms per family. Some of the larger back-to-backs had more than one family living in them. In the early

nineteenth century, some back-to-backs were converted to warehouses. Many of the remaining back-to-backs became part of the notorious slums of the nineteenth century condemned by social reformers, including John Roberton, David Bellhouse's son-in-law. The erection of cottages or working men's housing remained a substantial part of David Bellhouse's construction enterprises up to about the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

David Bellhouse was able to engage in speculative enterprises with little initial capital for three probable reasons. The first is that the initial capital may have been provided by Taylor or Bailey, the architect and timber merchant, who were the partners most likely to possess capital. Bellhouse and Port, the builders, provided the technical expertise. The second and third reasons relate to the building boom of the time.¹² During a boom period, profits can be easily obtained to be reinvested into new ventures. Also, during boom periods credit is often easier to obtain than in times of stagnation or contraction.¹³ There is some evidence that David Bellhouse used short-term credit to finance his activities. At the beginning of the next building boom in 1803, his name appeared among a list of lost or stolen bills of exchange. He had drawn a £150 two-month bill payable to Jones, Loyd and Company, a Manchester banking firm.¹⁴

The traditional date for the establishment of John and William Bellhouse Ltd. (Chapter 5) and of James and Wainwright Bellhouse Ltd. (Chapter 6), two businesses that trace their origins to David Bellhouse, is 1792.¹⁵ The choice of this date is probably in reference to the time at which David Bellhouse took up residence and set up his joiner's shop in Faulkner Street. In that year he purchased 863.3 square yards of land in Faulkner, Nicholas and St. James Streets from Charles Stanley, a Manchester merchant.¹⁶ The L-shaped plot may be seen on Laurent's 1793 map of Manchester. The vertical arrow (↓) shows the location of Faulkner Street; follow the arrow down this street to Nicholas Street. Part of the agreement to purchase was that Bellhouse erect a dwelling house or houses of at least three stories on the land within one year of the purchase. From 1794 until his death in 1840, David Bellhouse is listed in the Manchester directories as residing first in Faulkner and then in Nicholas Street. With perhaps only one or two exceptions, the references to his business activities show that he was working on his own from this point on.

While working independently of others, David Bellhouse continued to speculate in both land and housing. In 1802 he was speculating in land, selling off some land in Cayley Bangs near Oxford Road that he held with a person named Stanley, probably Charles Stanley.¹⁷ Bellhouse

continued to hold land in Cayley Bangs as late as 1818.¹⁸ He also speculated in housing for the more well to do. In 1812 he sold a house with stables in Piccadilly Street and two cottages in the back street.¹⁹



Part of Laurent's 1793 Map of Manchester²⁰

Speculation by tradesmen builders was one of four methods by which housing projects were undertaken in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.²¹ The four methods may be conveniently set out as the intersection of two different classifications of activity. First, the initiator of the project was either in the building trades or not. If not, the initiator contracted out the work to building tradesmen. The second classification is by type of investment. Either it was speculative for quick sale and profit, or it was a longer-term investment. In addition to operating

in the category of tradesman speculator, David Bellhouse operated in each of the other three categories. He owned some land, shops and other buildings in Oxford Road at the Medlock River, which he rented to others from 1807 until his death in 1840.²² In 1845, the area included a yard, seven shops and a red liquor factory. It is not certain if he was the builder in this investment. However, from other evidence of his land holdings in the area, it is probably a good assumption. Bellhouse also carried out contract work for others, both speculators and long-term investors. Evidence for contract work for a speculator comes from an 1810 bankruptcy sale for the properties of Joseph Bamford, a Manchester grocer.²³ Several dwellings owned by Bamford, but rented to others, were part of an auction. David Bellhouse was listed in the advertisement as someone who could supply further information about the properties under auction. Most likely he was the builder with money owed to him by Bamford at the time of the bankruptcy. An example, though not typical, of contract work for long-term investors was his involvement with the Hanover Street Tontine.²⁴ Beginning in 1790, this tontine was organized for the purpose of building houses in Hanover Street.²⁵ In a tontine investors pool their capital for some period of time, perhaps drawing on some of the interest earned. At the end of the period the surviving investors split the fund. In some cases the tontine is operational until there is only one survivor. David Bellhouse was probably one of the builders for the Hanover Street Tontine. In 1815 he was involved in the sale of some of the houses for the Tontine.

One significant event for Manchester at the close of the eighteenth century, and as it turns out significant as well for the Bellhouses, was the building of the Rochdale Canal. The Manchester terminus of the series of canals connecting Manchester to the port of Liverpool was built by the Duke of Bridgewater over the 1760s and 70s.²⁶ It terminated in the Castlefield area where there were wharves for timber, among other commodities. The vast majority of timber used for the Manchester building industry was imported through Liverpool and then sent up the Bridgewater Canal to Manchester. Prior to 1808 most of the timber came from Norway so that up to about 1800 David Bellhouse would have obtained Norwegian timber at the Castlefield wharves for his construction projects. In 1794 work was begun to build a canal from the Manchester terminus of the Bridgewater Canal through Rochdale to the town of Sowerby Bridge near Halifax, a total length of 25 miles. Much progress on the work was made from the eastern end of the canal. However, the section of the canal in Manchester between the Castlefield and Piccadilly wharves, the section of interest to the Bellhouses, was not opened until at least 1799 because of water dif-

facilities. The Rochdale Canal was completed and officially opened in 1804.²⁷ In preparation for the construction of their canal, the proprietors of the Rochdale Canal Company had obtained corridors of land through which the canal was to pass. Once the canal was built, some of the excess lands were sold or rented to interested buyers. In 1801 David Bellhouse was one of those interested buyers along the newly opened Castlefield to Piccadilly branch of the canal. He obtained land in Hunt (now Whitworth) Street bordering on the canal between Oxford Road and David Street.²⁸ There he immediately established a timber yard for his building business. The expansion of his business to land by the Rochdale Canal may have been precipitated by space problems in Faulkner Street. A year earlier, he was brought to court for continually leaving quantities of wood in Faulkner Street, which made travel in the street difficult.²⁹ Whether it was foresight or good luck, the move to the Canal turned out to be a good business decision.

In about 1804 David Bellhouse moved his entire business operation to Oxford Road along the Rochdale Canal, thus giving him easy access without a middleman to building materials imported through Liverpool. The Manchester business directories list Bellhouse's business and residence at 38 Faulkner Street until 1804. An 1806 court case placed his business in Oxford Road.³⁰ In 1804 the Oxford Road Wharf, along with a warehouse and cranes, came on the market for rent or sale.³¹ From the description of the wharf in the advertisement, it appears to be the wharf that David Bellhouse eventually operated for his business so that the move to Oxford Road at this time appears likely. A week after the advertisement for the wharf appeared, another advertisement appeared for the sale of some woodworking machinery from 39 Faulkner Street.³² The vendor's name was not given. If David Bellhouse was planning to purchase newer equipment to coincide with his move to Oxford Road, the assumption that Bellhouse was the vendor is a good one especially given the vendor's address. The machinery that was for sale was powered by steam. This is a very early example of mechanization in the building industry, an industry that was very slow to mechanize. David Bellhouse continued to show a fascination with new equipment and gadgetry. In 1811 his home was the Manchester showcase for a new "steam kitchen," patented by John Slater of Birmingham and advertised as the "most compact and best cooking apparatus in the Kingdom."³³

Access to the canal may have led David Bellhouse to acquire a vacation home or at least a second home away from the smoke and congestion of Manchester. Early in the nineteenth century, Bellhouse bought several farmlands, a house and barn in Grappenhall near Warring-

ton.³⁴ His wife Mary probably chose the general location. Her birth is recorded in the parish registers of Farnworth, a village in the Warrington area.³⁵ The final location was one of convenience. The purchased land borders the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal. The family could easily reach their country home from Manchester by canal. The family held the farm into the early 1850s, after the deaths of both Mary and David Bellhouse. Elizabeth Gaskell, the Manchester novelist, wrote to her daughter in 1851 that she was going to buy some dairy equipment from the Bellhouses. The list of equipment was given as "milking stools, cans &c &c &c."³⁶ The farmhouse and barn, situated in Bellhouse Lane in Grappenhall, still exist today as part of a community club for Grappenhall; the farmhouse is called the "Bellhouse Club."

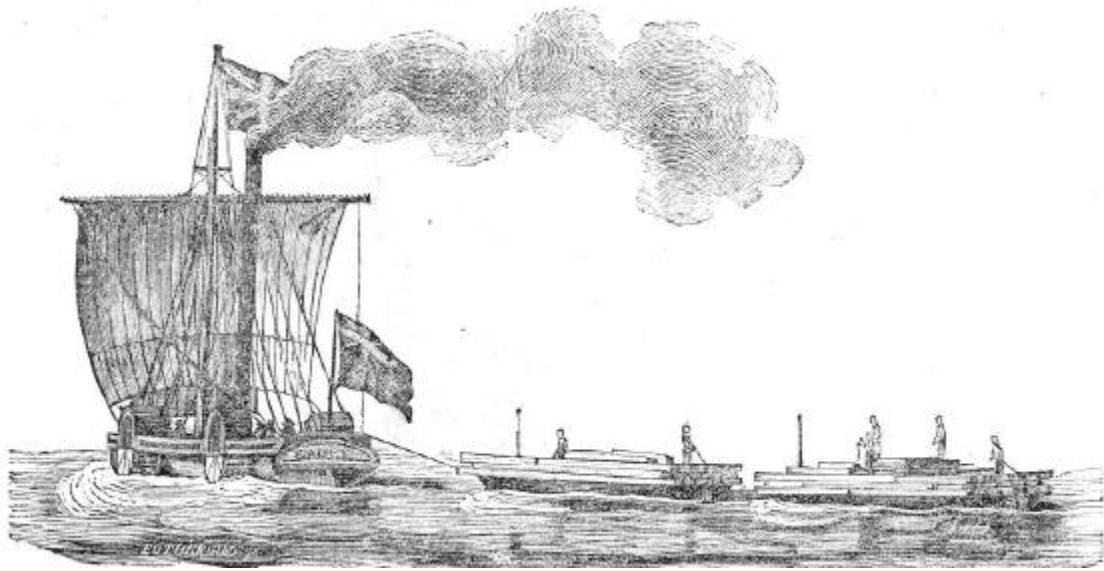


Barn from the Bellhouse farm, now the Grappenhall Community Centre³⁷

The move to the Rochdale Canal and the establishment of his own timber wharf on the canal was David Bellhouse's first move in what is an early example of an attempt to achieve a vertical integration of a business. In a vertically integrated business in the construction industry, the entrepreneur would supply not only the finished product, the building, using his own labour force, but also he would supply the raw building materials. Once the wharf and timber yard were in place by the Canal, a natural evolution of the business was to sell timber in addition to using it himself. This occurred as early as 1811 at which time Bellhouse advertised for sale several kinds of timber at his timber yard in Oxford Road.³⁸ The timber offered consisted of both rough-hewn logs and dried timber. This indicates the possibility that Bellhouse had a sawpit and drying kiln in his timber yard at the time. Trained sawyers would have cut the lumber by hand. However,

there is also the possibility that the lumber had been cut and dried in Liverpool. The Manchester directory for 1813 and all subsequent directories list David Bellhouse as a timber merchant in addition to joiner and builder. Bellhouse's next acquisition was by 1810, brick land in Oxford Road.³⁹ He then acquired an iron foundry, probably in 1815 from Messrs William and Nicholas Whitworth.⁴⁰ At that time the Whitworths advertised the sale of their foundry, Eagle Foundry, a name later associated with the Bellhouse family.⁴¹ The Bellhouses were definitely casting their own iron beams for building projects by the early 1820s.⁴² The business appears to have rapidly expanded over the years 1815 to 1825, corresponding with the period of peace following the Napoleonic Wars, and coinciding perhaps with the gradual entry of Bellhouse's children into the family business. In the year following the acquisition of the iron foundry, David Bellhouse built a steam-powered sawmill on land near the Rochdale Canal.⁴³ He also increased the amount of land he occupied by renting more land from the Rochdale Canal Company.⁴⁴ In 1818 the operation was expanded to the manufacture of trunks, packing cases and lapboards.⁴⁵ Later in 1824 Bellhouse was manufacturing umbrella sticks in St. James Street, probably on the land he originally bought in 1792.⁴⁶ Individuals might purchase trunks, lapboards and umbrella sticks. Packing cases were definitely for industrial use. For example, in 1822 Bellhouse supplied several packing cases to the lace factory run by John Heathcoat.⁴⁷ At some point Bellhouse added an ironware or hardware manufacturing concern to his list of enterprises. The last move to vertical integration came in 1824 when Bellhouse obtained a steam tug and several barges for transporting timber by canal from Liverpool.⁴⁸ The 1824 advertisement announcing this new service, as well as some of the other services Bellhouse had established such as the sawmill, was the largest advertisement that had appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* to that date and for several years afterward. With direct access to Liverpool, Bellhouse also rented wharf space at Queen's Quay, the timber wharf at Liverpool.⁴⁹

Bellhouse's steam saw was one of the first in the north of England.⁵⁰ The first steam saw in Liverpool dates from 1815 and the earliest ones in the country from 1806 or 1807.⁵¹ This was a radical change from the traditional English method of sawing boards from a log, a method that was used by David Bellhouse's father, James. The method, using a sawpit, had two men working a large saw by hand, one above the log and the other in the pit below. Bellhouse's steam saw was powered by a Boulton and Watt steam engine. It was probably bought secondhand; the Boulton and Watt Archives in Birmingham have no record of purchases by the Bellhouse family.



Advertisement in the *Manchester Guardian*⁵²

The evolution of David Bellhouse's workforce followed a general trend that was evident by the first quarter of the nineteenth century.⁵³ In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there were three types of individuals who were involved in the building industry. The first were master craftsmen who undertook work in their own trade. They employed a small number of journeymen and apprentices. The second type were master craftsmen who undertook construction of all parts of building, but who employed workers only in their own trade. The remainder of the work was contracted out to other master craftsmen. The third type were builders who were not master craftsmen, but architects or merchants such as timber merchants. Over the first quarter of the nineteenth century there emerged a new type, the master builder. He erected complete buildings with his own permanent labour force that comprised the principal building trades. This organization was anticipated somewhat by the London builder and timber merchant, Alexander Copland, and saw its fullest development at this time in Thomas Cubitt, also of London. The usual method of contracting for the erection of buildings had been to award separate contracts for each phase of the construction process. Within the first third of the nineteenth century, a single contract for the erection of the complete building became popular. It was in response to this new method of contracting that Cubitt organized a permanent and diversified labour force in 1815.

Because of the lack of business records it is uncertain if David Bellhouse had a labour force of the type enjoyed by Cubitt. The evidence does suggest that he followed the general trend

set by Copland and Cubitt, and at least maintained a labour force of several types of tradesmen in addition to joiners. In 1802 Bellhouse advertised the availability of “liberal wages and constant employment” for forty or fifty journeymen joiners and carpenters at his business in Faulkner Street.⁵⁴ An 1813 contract shows that he had bricklayers and general labourers in his employ.⁵⁵

Just as he expanded upon his control over the sources of supply of the building materials he needed, and upon the type of labour he employed, David Bellhouse expanded upon the type of product he delivered – the types of buildings he erected. Very early in the nineteenth century David Bellhouse was erecting factories, warehouses and large public buildings. In this activity he was once again both a speculator himself and a building contractor for other investors.

The earliest record of his activity in mill construction is from an 1806 advertisement for the bankruptcy sale of the Albion Mill, a cotton mill in Albion Street near the Rochdale Canal.⁵⁶ The mill had been owned by William Joynson and Richard Lewis. David Bellhouse was listed in the advertisement as an architect who could give further particulars about the mill. Bellhouse was probably the builder for Joynson and Lewis, with money owed to him at the time of the bankruptcy. The mill was built in 1802 and subsequently burnt down in 1816. It was rebuilt, but there is no evidence that Bellhouse was involved in the reconstruction.⁵⁷ David Bellhouse also may have speculated in the construction of cotton mills. In 1819 he was selling a cotton mill containing twenty thousand mule spindles.⁵⁸ Since the advertisement ran for six consecutive weeks in the *Manchester Mercury*, he may have had trouble selling the mill.

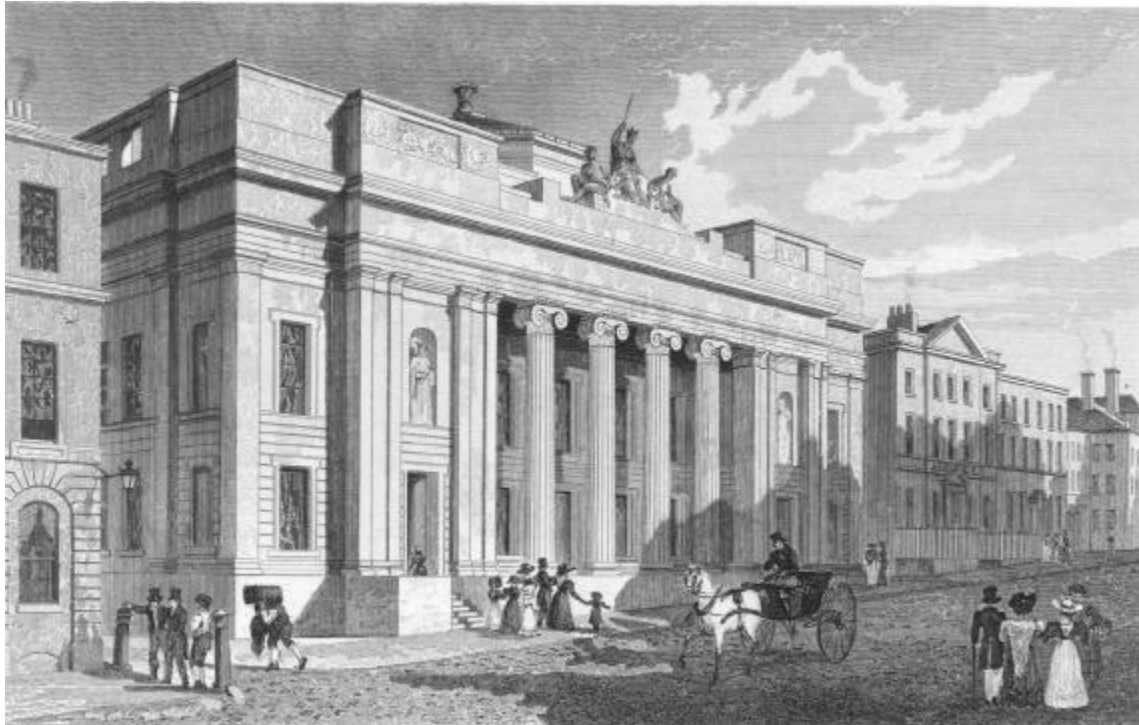
In 1806 David Bellhouse built a cotton mill in Chorlton on Medlock.⁵⁹ The location of the mill may be seen on Laurent’s 1793 map of Manchester. It was situated in the bottom right-hand corner of the map across the Medlock River from the end of the street that lies between Oxford Road and David Streets. Eventually Bellhouse operated the mill on his own and then went into partnership with two of his sons. The spinning business associated with this mill will be described in more detail in Chapter 6.

One by-product of David Bellhouse’s partnership in a cotton mill was his involvement in the valuation of several Manchester mills and warehouses in the early nineteenth century. This came about because of a dispute over the assessment of the mills for the Manchester Poor Rate. The main complaint was that the mills were assessed on their replacement costs while warehouses were assessed on their rental earnings. By contesting the valuation of their mills, the master cotton spinners were hoping to reduce their ratable assessment. As part of this dispute, the

spinners commissioned two valuations in 1810 and 1812, both independent of the town valuations.⁶⁰ Bellhouse was involved in the second valuation, along with two others.⁶¹ He was a reasonable choice being at the same time a builder of warehouses and mills, and an owner of a mill. Moreover, there could be little perceived conflict of interest. His mill in Chorlton on Medlock lay outside Manchester proper.

Because of his extensive work as a builder in Manchester, Bellhouse carried out other valuations of buildings. In 1821, he examined two houses, one in Mosley and one in Bond Street, for Messrs. Kay and Darbshire, and gave his opinion as to the yearly rental value of the houses.⁶²

The erection of public buildings was on the contracting side rather than the speculative side of Bellhouse's construction business. It has been previously mentioned that the method of contracting for construction projects was in a state of transition early in the nineteenth century, from separate contracts for each phase of the building process to a single contract for the complete project. Aspects of this process are apparent in Bellhouse's work in public buildings. In 1803 Bellhouse was under contract for the erection of the Portico Library at a cost of £5,780. He was the single contractor for the entire project. In addition to the joinery work and carpentry, the contract included specifications for the brickwork, masonry, plastering and stuccoing, glazing and roofing tiles, among other items.⁶³ Three years later Bellhouse was building the second Theatre Royal, again the only contractor involved in the project.⁶⁴ In 1818 Bellhouse was one of many who took part in the building of the Manchester Gas Works; he was responsible for putting a roof on one of the buildings.⁶⁵ Later in 1822, he was one of only two contractors involved in the construction of the Town Hall designed by Francis Goodwin. Five contracts were offered for the work on the Town Hall: the digging of the foundations, and the bricklayer's, mason's, carpenter's and smith's work. Bellhouse appears to have obtained the majority of the contracts. The other contractor involved, a Mr. Heap, did the mason's work.⁶⁶ Approximately half the Town Hall contract of £8,800 was for the stonework while the remainder covered work on the foundations, brickwork and carpentry.⁶⁷ Typical of government contracts even today, the costs escalated beyond the original estimates during the building of the Town Hall. In 1877 a new Town Hall was erected which stills stands today. All that remains of the original Town Hall is the façade, which was removed from King Street and placed in Heaton Park.⁶⁸



The Town Hall, Manchester⁶⁹



The Portico Library⁷⁰

The Portico Library was and remains a subscription library, i.e. a private library owned and operated through its subscribers or shareholders. David Bellhouse was one of the founding members of the Portico Library.⁷¹ He remained a member until 1814 at which time he passed his share in the library on to his son, David junior. Related to this, Bellhouse senior was also a shareholder in the Manchester Royal Institution, now the Manchester Art Gallery. In 1823, at the

time the Institution was established, Bellhouse subscribed 40 guineas to the Institution, as did several other family members.⁷²

It is likely that David Bellhouse tried to secure local government business through political action. His involvement with politics began with the proposed widening of Market Street early in March of 1821. This was Manchester's first venture into urban redevelopment. It came about following a political realignment in the city government. Tories comprised of landowners, Church of England clergy, and some older manufacturers and merchants had dominated the government to that time. By 1821 this group was forced to share power with the rising middle class, often Nonconformist in religion and generally connected with the cotton industry. This became the liberal faction and was generally connected with the Whigs.⁷³ In the Market Street redevelopment project a number of houses in the street were torn down, the street was widened, and new houses were built. David Bellhouse was one of those invited by the committee in charge of the project to give an estimate of the expense involved in purchasing and demolishing buildings to make way for the widening of the street. At the time of the invitation he was in London and was unable to furnish an estimate. He did come back from London in time to attend a meeting on March 19 at which time he presented his estimates. He claimed that the proposed width of the street was too narrow, and proposed a width of twenty-four yards. A substantial majority voted down his proposal at the meeting.⁷⁴ Bellhouse subsequently did not obtain the contract to demolish the houses in Market Street, but was involved in many valuations for property owners in the street.⁷⁵

What became apparent from the Market Street project was that those in the position of Surveyor of the Highways had a new source of considerable power. They figured prominently on the committee for the widening of Market Street so that they had considerable influence on the decisions for awarding builders' contracts for the projects.⁷⁶ In September of 1823 David Bellhouse was appointed one of the Surveyors of the Highways for Manchester, and the following year was elected to the town government, an office he held for about a decade.⁷⁷ At this time the town government consisted of 240 Police Commissioners. These were the Manchester's civic administrators, not law enforcement officers. Manchester was divided into 14 districts, each of which was run by a group of Police Commissioners. During his decade of political activity, Bellhouse was involved in the disposal of the old Police Office, or the equivalent of the town hall, in King Street (1825 – 26).⁷⁸ The Police Office had accommodated the Police Commissioners and

the Beadles. The new Town Hall for which Bellhouse was one of the contractors replaced these buildings. Earlier in 1807 Bellhouse had supervised the alterations to the buildings that became the Police Office.⁷⁹ While he was a Commissioner, David Bellhouse also sat on several committees,⁸⁰ including the Improvement Committee (1828) that was responsible for projects like the Market Street widening.⁸¹ In 1829 he was on a committee that was involved in negotiations with the Manchester and Liverpool Railway concerning their proposed line into Manchester.⁸² Several people on the committee expressed concern about the building of this railway into Manchester. The major concern was over the nuisance that might be caused by the steam engine. David Bellhouse's particular objection was that the smoke from the engine would be intolerable. The proposed line was eventually completed in 1830 terminating in Manchester at the Liverpool Road Station.⁸³

The beginning of the decline of Bellhouse's political career began in 1830 when he became involved in a public controversy with the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, John Edward Taylor, over the location of a proposed new street between Market and Cannon Streets.⁸⁴ In the public meeting that followed, Taylor's opinion held the day. Bellhouse's proposal lost by a large majority. A full report of the discussion at the meeting was given in the *Guardian* with one exception. It began, "Mr. Bellhouse addressed the meeting at considerable length . . .," and summarized his arguments in three short sentences. David Bellhouse served as Surveyor of the Highways and as a Police Commissioner for another two years, but his interest in the positions seems to have waned. The Police Commissioners' meetings were regularly reported in the press, and Bellhouse does not appear to have taken an active part in the meetings. In 1832 there was a political struggle for the appointment of the surveyors. The usual method had been that the churchwardens presented a list of candidates to the town's magistrates from which the magistrates selected the surveyors. The initial list was approved, usually without question, at a leypayer's meeting. At the 1832 meeting the leypayers rejected the churchwardens' list and substituted for it another list presented by one of the leypayers, a Mr. Wroe.⁸⁵ From this point on David Bellhouse ceased to be a Surveyor of the Highways. The next year he did not appear among those elected to the Police Commission.

During his tenure as a Police Commissioner or civic administrator, David Bellhouse was robbed.⁸⁶ On a January day in 1825, about noon, a man walked in the front door of Bellhouse's residence in Nicholas Street and walked out with two greatcoats. One of the members of the

family saw this occur and gave chase. Some workmen who were returning to work from lunch joined the chase. The man, who turned out to be a repeat offender, was cornered and caught near the Rochdale Canal.

David Bellhouse's last known recorded political act was to vote in the parliamentary election of 1832. As a result of the Reform Act of that year, Manchester was given two members of Parliament, the first since 1656. The election was hotly contested. Three candidates represented the liberal faction of the town: Mark Philips, son of a Manchester manufacturer and Unitarian by religion; Samuel Jones Loyd, scion of the banking family; and Poulett Thomson, vice-president of the Board of Trade. The Tories put forward John Thomas Hope. William Cobbett, the journalist and political reformer, put himself forward to represent the radicals. Bellhouse voted for Philips and Loyd; Philips and Thomson were elected.⁸⁷

David Bellhouse's recorded work in the erection of warehouses shows the entry of one more element into his business dealings – his children. An 1813 contract to rebuild a fire-damaged warehouse in Newmarket for James Wilde shows him still working on his own.⁸⁸ By the end of the Napoleonic Wars, his son David junior had joined in the building and contracting end of the business. Starting in 1816, both father and son appear to be heavily involved in the speculative building of warehouses. At that time they sold a warehouse on the Rochdale Canal near Oxford Road and Mosley Street. Two years later they sold some warehouses in Newmarket Lane and Brown Street.⁸⁹ In 1818 there was a warehouse fire in Pool Fold. Both Bellhouses apparently obtained the land and then advertised their willingness to erect warehouses on the now vacant land.⁹⁰ Not enough investors or merchants may have come forward. Two years later they advertised a warehouse for sale in Pool Fold.⁹¹

Over the years 1816 to 1824, David Bellhouse gradually retired from the building and contracting part of his business, leaving its operation and expansion to his second eldest son, David Bellhouse junior (1792 – 1866), the subject of Chapter 3. Four other sons entered their father's business. James (1796 – 1874) and Wainwright (1800 – 1885) ran the cotton mill from the early 1830s onward. John (1798 – 1863) and William (1803 – 1883) took over the timber business on their father's death. Those who were connected with the timber trade and cotton spinning are followed in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively. None of David Bellhouse's daughters or their spouses had any connection with the family business, although close personal connections were maintained. His eldest child Helen (b. 1787) married Samuel Bradley, a Nonconformist

minister.⁹² His second daughter Hannah married Joseph Midwood, a Manchester fustian manufacturer,⁹³ and his youngest daughter Mary (b. 1794) married John Roberton, a Manchester physician and social reformer.⁹⁴ There was a sixth son, the eldest boy Henry (1789 – 1858), who does not seem to have been involved in the family businesses. He never appears in the Manchester business directories and occasionally is mentioned in the Liverpool directories described as a gentleman.⁹⁵ There may have been some falling out between him and his father. He was excluded from his father's will although his daughter from his first marriage received an inheritance as well as all his siblings. Also, John Roberton made no mention of Henry in his unpublished obituary of David Bellhouse in 1840.



Mary (née Bellhouse) Roberton⁹⁶

Samuel Bradley was the minister of the Mosley Street Chapel from 1801 to 1827. This was the chapel that the Bellhouses attended.⁹⁷ He and his wife Helen lived in a house in Faulkner Street,⁹⁸ probably on the land purchased by his father-in-law in 1792. During at least the 1820s Samuel Bradley and David Bellhouse were active in what might be called missionary work of the Church. In 1825 they were involved in town meetings that recommended the formation of a society for the better observance of the Sabbath.⁹⁹ They next year they signed a petition asking for a public meeting on slavery. The purpose of the meeting was to draw up a petition to Parlia-

ment “in support of the measures of his majesty’s government, for ameliorating the condition of the slave population of the colonies.”¹⁰⁰

David Bellhouse was involved in at least one other petition concerning religious matters. In 1828 England was faced with open rebellion in Ireland. At the time it was illegal for Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament. Resolution of the problem eventually led to the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. There was much unrest in Manchester over this issue. In response to this unrest a petition, which Bellhouse signed, was circulated in Manchester in November of 1828.¹⁰¹ Part of the petition read, “... we the undersigned deem it necessary publicly to express our regret, that the harmony and good feeling prevalent amongst us should be disturbed by the agitation of this subject ... we feel called upon to make known our desire to have had the question left to the calm consideration of Parliament, uninfluenced on either side by intemperance of language, [and] of excited feelings ...” It is impossible to say whether Bellhouse agreed with the Act or whether he sympathized with Catholic aspirations or whether the absence of public disturbance was just good for business.

Although he retired from the building and contracting and the cotton spinning wings of his businesses, David Bellhouse continued to operate as a timber merchant until his death in 1840. One of the highlights of this aspect of his career was his testimony before the House of Commons Select Committee on Foreign Trade in 1821.¹⁰² Prior to the Napoleonic Wars, timber for the construction of naval ships and for the domestic building industry was imported from the Baltic region. Following Napoleon’s victory at Jena in 1806, the continuance of the supply of Baltic timber became increasingly uncertain. The crisis came in 1808-9 when all Baltic ports were officially closed to British shipping. In response to these timber shortages, the government placed duties on European timber, which were raised almost yearly. The duties doubled over the year 1811.¹⁰³ This encouraged the importation of timber from Canada. The threat to the Baltic timber trade ceased in 1813 after Napoleon’s disastrous Russian campaign, but the duties remained in place. The winners in this situation, and the potential losers in the event of a rollback of the duties, were timber merchants like David Bellhouse who had built sawmills. Baltic timber was often precut at the source of supply. Canadian timber initially was milled in England. Moreover, there was an additional duty on deals or precut timber that further encouraged the milling of timber in England. David Bellhouse began importing Canadian timber over the years 1806 to 1809.¹⁰⁴ After the war there was increasing public pressure to remove the duties on European

timber. In 1820 a House of Lords committee heard evidence for the repeal of the duties. Some major objections to Canadian timber, given by Alexander Copland the London timber merchant and contractor, were that the timber was inferior in quality compared to Baltic timber and that it was highly prone to dry rot.¹⁰⁵ He repeated these objections at the Commons Committee hearings on the timber trade in 1821. David Bellhouse appeared before the Commons Committee eleven days after Copland. He spent a considerable part of his testimony refuting the dry rot claims about Canadian timber. He also spent much time discussing the relative merits of various kinds of wood with the committee members. In the end only a minor adjustment to the timber duties was made.¹⁰⁶ The duty on Canadian timber was increased by ten shillings and the duty on Baltic timber was reduced by ten shillings.

The Napoleonic Wars touched David Bellhouse in at least one other way. At each of the major turning points of the war for England, Bellhouse donated money toward the English cause. After each of the Battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo, Bellhouse donated money for the support of the wounded as well as the widows and orphans left behind.¹⁰⁷ The amounts were five and 20 guineas respectively. When Napoleon escaped from Elba and began rallying the French troops, David Bellhouse donated 30 guineas for the defense of England.¹⁰⁸ The sums of 20 and 30 guineas were among the largest donations received during these collections of funds in Manchester.

David Bellhouse made at least two other trips to London, one in 1829 and the other in 1835. The 1829 trip was strictly business. He and a Mr. Sergeant attended a House of Commons committee meeting to watch the progress of the railway bill that allowed the Manchester and Liverpool Railway to build in Manchester.¹⁰⁹ The 1835 trip was a holiday taken primarily for his son-in-law John Roberton who was suffering from exhaustion due to overwork at the Manchester Lying-in Hospital. The time in London is described in a series of letters from Roberton to his wife Mary. They traveled by coach from Manchester to London, arriving in London late at night. They went to stay at a lodging house in Covent Garden where the father-in-law had stayed six years before. Upon finding that the lodging house no longer served food, they went out to eat about midnight. The dining was not ideal and they were very late to bed. The next day in London, and on some other days later, they went sightseeing. The excursion on the second day is best described by Roberton himself:¹¹⁰

“After breakfast, your father and I set off, he as lively as a lark, evidently not in the least fatigued, and nothing could be more amusing than his attitudes in the streets, pointing out how

this place used to be formerly and *that* place ought to be; wheeling round, pointing with outstretched arms and language of the fingers at which you know he excels; especially when he is pointing out his improvements at the sawmill. I saw a number of people staring at us, as we were thus examining the improvements at Charing Cross. They took us I dare say for noblemen (!) whose rank entitled them to use liberties in public. Soon we were fatigued; very soon, and as your father was wheeling me round by the shoulder to look at this and that (in doing which he hurt me excessively my flesh being sore as a boil) I determined we should get a cab, which we engaged by the hour. In it we visited Hyde Park, drove round St James Park, and then round Regents Park. But a new difficulty arose. Your father would have it that he knew the names of streets and grand buildings better than the cab driver (although it is quite clear he knows St Pauls and a few other places and for the rest knows *just* as little of London as I). In consequence of this he was ever and anon darting his head out of the cab (it is very narrow for two sitters) and as near as possible squeezed and crushed me to death. The truth is your father, except that his limbs are not quite as strong for walking, is quite active as he was when he and I were at Matlock seven years ago. If he does not live to be ninety I shall be astonished.”

Of course, there is always a darker side to a story. Anyone who rises rapidly in the business world seems to make enemies along the way. David Bellhouse was no exception. He was a clever businessman, but at the same time a tough one. As an example of his toughness, he was brought to court in 1806, 1807, 1810 and 1821 for having inadequate fencing for his property in Oxford Road. Apparently the road dropped off sharply into his property and the court ruled that the steep descent was hazardous to passersby. He also went to court in 1813 for keeping a wooden bridge over the Rochdale Canal in poor repair.¹¹¹ Some of his enemies found an extreme outlet for their unhappiness with him. In January of 1822 they set fire to his sawmill.¹¹² There was a large quantity of timber lying about and the fire spread rapidly. The firemen arrived about half an hour after the fire was discovered, but by that time the entire operation was ablaze. Only a large shed used for storing timber and the counting house were saved. One of the firemen was seriously injured when a wall collapsed. Fortunately for Bellhouse, the property was insured through the Sun Fire Office and the Royal Exchange Assurance Office. Following the fire Bellhouse made a £1,500 claim to the Sun Fire Office.¹¹³ Two months later another fire broke out in the remaining shed and destroyed it.¹¹⁴ The fire started to spread to the buildings that were under

construction to replace the previously burned ones, but was soon checked so that only the shed was lost. On the day of the second fire David Bellhouse received a letter threatening his life and the destruction by fire of his house, his sawmill and his cotton mill. The next day a 200-guinea reward was offered for information leading to the arrest of the arsonist. No arrest, apparently, was ever made. This leaves the unanswered question of who set the fires. The most likely candidate was a pit sawyer whose livelihood was threatened by the steam sawmill that Bellhouse had introduced to Manchester. England was very conservative in the acceptance of sawmills in general, and pit sawyers operated well into the nineteenth century. Very few sawmills had been built in England by the first quarter of the nineteenth century. There are a few recorded instances in which the introduction of a sawmill, steam-powered or otherwise, met with violent resistance.¹¹⁵ An American visitor to Manchester in 1825, Zarariah Allen, noted that the steam sawmills, such as the one he viewed in Manchester (possibly Bellhouse's), were subject to violence and incendiary attacks. He attributed the attacks to "Luddism."¹¹⁶ Since the first fire at Bellhouse's timber yard was set in his sawmill, it is reasonable to look at a disadvantaged sawyer as the first suspect.

David Bellhouse rose from a simple tradesman in the working class to a position of some prominence in Manchester. It seems appropriate to finish the description of his life and work by discussing his relationship with his own workers and with the working class of Manchester in general. On one side of this relationship, he was typical of his time and typical of any employer. He resisted the unions and their activities, and at the same time provided his own workers with fringe benefits such as medical assistance. On the other side, although no philanthropist, he was relatively generous in his donations to charity and in providing some support for the education of the working classes.

In 1829 there was much labour unrest in the Lancashire textile industries.¹¹⁷ Early in May of that year some weavers in Ardwick rioted, demanding money from the inhabitants of the town as they went from house to house through the streets. They proceeded to Chorlton Row and on into Manchester. They collected in the Royal Oak public house in Nicholas Street, the street where Bellhouse resided. There they demanded more money and continued into Faulkner Street. When they demanded more money from one Faulkner Street resident, he refused. In response the rioters tried to pelt the house with missiles collected from the street. Unfortunately for the rioters, but fortunately for the resident, the street was too deep in mud to obtain anything that would cause damage. The end result was that very quickly the resident's house front was covered in

mud. Although the rioters were physically close to his home, David Bellhouse does not appear to have come into direct contact with the riot.¹¹⁸ Later that month, however, Bellhouse was directly affected by labour unrest in his own spinning mill. The operative fine spinners, i.e. those that spun fine cotton thread, Bellhouse's workers among them, struck for higher wages. As the strike dragged on into August, the masters with Bellhouse among them advertised for workers willing to replace the strikers.¹¹⁹ This, of course, led to demonstrations outside the mills. The strike was eventually unsuccessful. It did lead to the formation of a short-lived cotton spinners union in Manchester. David Bellhouse appears to have played a relatively minor role in this strike. He was never mentioned in the newspaper reports, unlike some other mill owners who were the prime targets of the strikers' dissatisfaction.

Bellhouse provided some medical support for his workers through subscriptions and donations to Manchester hospitals. These medical donations were similar to an employer today buying medical insurance for his employees. A nineteenth century subscriber to a hospital received what might be called medical assistance credits for his donations. These credits could be passed on to anyone of his choice. The earliest recorded donation by David Bellhouse to Manchester hospitals is in 1802. At that time he gave ten guineas and an annual donation of one guinea for the establishment and support of a House of Recovery.¹²⁰ He made yearly donations to the Manchester Infirmary, beginning as early as 1805 when he was one of the canvassers. His subscription rose from two to three guineas in 1809 and to four guineas in 1814.¹²¹ Beginning in 1833 he subscribed one guinea a year to the Manchester Lying-in Hospital.¹²² In 1826 he made a lump-sum donation of ten guineas to the Chorlton Row Medical Dispensary and an annual donation of one guinea.¹²³

Bellhouse's donations to charity went beyond that which would help only his own workers. In the late eighteenth century in Manchester, committees were formed in years of particular distress of the poor in order to raise money for poor relief. The earliest record that has been found relating to David Bellhouse's activities in this area is in 1809 when he pledged a yearly amount of two guineas to the poor relief fund. He raised this yearly pledge to five guineas in 1812, to 15 guineas in 1816 and to 20 guineas in 1820.¹²⁴ These latter sums were quite large for the time. He was also a canvasser for the poor relief committee in 1812, 1816, 1817 and 1820.¹²⁵ In addition, some of his donations were made through his business. An 1822 list of donations for relief of the poor in Ireland includes an amount of five guineas from the firm of David Bellhouse

and Son.¹²⁶ In 1816 the firm also began annual subscriptions of five guineas for relief of the poor in Manchester, and in 1834 the firm donated £60 toward the purchase of land and the erection of a Blind Asylum.¹²⁷

In view of the fact that he was self-taught, it is interesting to note that David Bellhouse gave his support to the education of the working classes. Even though he was Nonconformist by religion, he was an early supporter, to the amount of half a guinea, of the Sunday Schools begun in Manchester early in the nineteenth century by the Church of England.¹²⁸ This support continued, although in an unusual way. At an anniversary celebration of the establishment of the Manchester Sunday Schools held at St Ann's Church, Bellhouse and some others provided planks to make benches for the children to sit on during the service of celebration.¹²⁹ David Bellhouse also provided support for other Manchester schools that were instituted to educate the poor free of charge. The initial amount of the yearly donation is unknown, but in 1809 Bellhouse increased his yearly donation to the Lancastrian Free School by one guinea.¹³⁰ In 1815 he gave a lump-sum donation of twenty guineas to the National Schools, of which there were two in Manchester.¹³¹ Finally, in 1824 David Bellhouse was a member of the original committee that was struck to establish a Mechanics' Institution in Manchester. Mechanics' Institutions were set up in England in the nineteenth century to "instruct the working classes in the principles of the arts they practise, and in other branches of useful knowledge, excluding party politics and controversial theology."¹³² The firm of David Bellhouse and Sons annually subscribed two guineas to the Manchester Mechanics' Institution beginning in 1824. Early the next year David Bellhouse donated several books to the Institution's library on subjects including mathematics, geography, history, travel and French grammar.¹³³

David Bellhouse died in 1840 leaving a fortune in excess of £60,000. His will is a very complicated document running to 32 parchment pages.¹³⁴ He set up trust funds of varying amounts from £5,000 to £7,500 for each of his daughters. He also set up trusts for all the children of his son Henry, but only his granddaughter Frances (Fanny) Ann by Henry's first marriage is named. Henry received nothing himself. The remainder of the estate was divided equally among the five other sons: David, James, John, Wainwright and William. The will is very carefully constructed. Several pages of the will are devoted to a number of legalistic if – thens. For example, his son David as a builder and contractor was in a high-risk business. The will provided that if David junior were to become bankrupt, a trust was to be set up for each of his daughters. None of

the sons went bankrupt. In fact, the five that entered the family business were all very successful. The businesses grew and expanded with the next generation.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ Photograph in the possession of the author. His birth date of February 8, 1764, is given in the Speight Pedigree, *op. cit.* What can be confirmed only is that his death notice in the *Manchester Guardian* on October 14, 1840, states that he died in his 77th year.
- ² Photograph courtesy of Anne Carver, Duntisbourne Leer.
- ³ John Robertson's notebook, *op. cit.*
- ⁴ Manchester Deed Room, British Rail MC6(c), MC43, MC86; Lancashire Record Office, will of David Bellhouse, probate granted 1840.
- ⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, July 22, 1837.
- ⁶ *Manchester Mercury*, November 19, 1811.
- ⁷ T. Swindells, *Manchester Streets and Manchester Men*, First Series, Manchester, Morton, pp. 215 – 216; *Manchester City News*, March 28, 1903.
- ⁸ Information supplied by Mr. Michael Sharp of Southport.
- ⁹ G.S. Messinger, *Manchester in the Victorian Age: The half-known city*, Manchester U.P., 1985, p. 8.
- ¹⁰ John Robertson's notebook, *op. cit.*
- ¹¹ Manchester Deed Room, British Rail MC6(c), MC43, MC86; C.W. Chalkin, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's U.P., 1974, pp. 207 – 208.
- ¹² The boom period is suggested by the brick production index, H.A. Shannon, "Bricks – a trade index, 1785 – 1849," *Economics N.S.* **1**, 1934, pp. 300 – 318.
- ¹³ Dyos, for example, has outlined several possible sources of financing for builders, many of which apply to Bellhouse's situation; H.J. Dyos, "The speculative builder and developers of Victorian London," *Victorian Studies* **11**, 1967, pp. 660 – 673.
- ¹⁴ *Manchester Mercury*, February 15, 1803.
- ¹⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, July 11, 1920; *The Fine Cotton Spinner's and Doubler's Association Limited*, Manchester, 1909, p. 19.
- ¹⁶ Manchester Central Library M/C 580.
- ¹⁷ *Manchester Mercury*, December 7, 1802.
- ¹⁸ *Manchester Mercury*, August 25, 1818.
- ¹⁹ *Manchester Mercury*, September 1, 1812.
- ²⁰ C. Laurent, *A Topographical Plan of Manchester and Salford with the Adjacent Parts*, 1793, reproduced by the Manchester Central Library.
- ²¹ Chalkin, *op. cit.* pp. 157 – 187.
- ²² Manchester Deed Room, British Rail, SJ 71; House of Lords Record Office, sheet 4 of the plans deposited under the South Junction and Altrincham Railway Act, 1845, 8 and 9 Victoria c.cxi.
- ²³ *Manchester Mercury*, November 27, 1810.
- ²⁴ *Manchester Mercury*, May 9, 1815.
- ²⁵ Chalkin, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
- ²⁶ C. Hadfield and G. Biddle, *The Canals of North West England, Vols. I and II*, Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1970.
- ²⁷ *ibid.*
- ²⁸ Manchester Central Library M/9/40/2/80 Manchester Poor Ley for 1801; Maps of lands bordering the Rochdale Canal, Greater Manchester Record Office, B2/PLANS, Rochdale Canal Company.
- ²⁹ *Proceedings of the Court Leet, Manor of Manchester*, April 21, 1800.
- ³⁰ *Proceedings of the Court Leet, Manor of Manchester*, April 10, 1806.
- ³¹ *Manchester Mercury*, August 14, 1804.
- ³² *Manchester Mercury*, August 21, 1804.
- ³³ *Manchester Mercury*, June 11, 1811.
- ³⁴ Warrington Library, Grappenhall Estate Sale Catalogue, 1827.
- ³⁵ See International Genealogical Index (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints) for Lancashire under

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- Mary Wainwright, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth Wainwright.
- ³⁶ Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Letters of Mrs. Gaskell*, J.A.V. Chapple and A. Pollard (eds.), Manchester U.P., 1966, p. 170.
- ³⁷ Photograph taken by the author.
- ³⁸ *Manchester Mercury*, December 3, 1811.
- ³⁹ Manchester Central Library M/9/40/2/80, Manchester Poor Ley for 1811.
- ⁴⁰ *Manchester Mercury*, May 2, 1815; the foundry is called “Eagle Foundry” in the Court Leet Records for May 14, 1810.
- ⁴¹ David Bellhouse’s grandson, Edward Taylor Bellhouse, ran an Eagle Foundry in Hunt Street next to the timber yard from the 1840s on. Upon examining two detailed maps of the area, one from early in the century and the other near the end of the century, the two family foundries appear to be in the same location. Edward’s obituary in 1881 in the *Manchester Guardian* states that it was the grandfather who established Eagle Foundry.
- ⁴² *Parliamentary Papers* 1845 [628] xvi.539.
- ⁴³ *Manchester Mercury*, February 20, 1816.
- ⁴⁴ Rochdale Canal Company maps, *op. cit.*
- ⁴⁵ *Manchester Mercury*, January 6, 1818.
- ⁴⁶ Manchester Directory, 1824.
- ⁴⁷ Exeter Record Office, John Heathcoat papers 4302/B A1 Account Book, p. 26.
- ⁴⁸ *Manchester Guardian*, January 24, 1824.
- ⁴⁹ *ibid.*; Liverpool Directory, 1825.
- ⁵⁰ In his obituary of David Bellhouse John Robertson claimed that it was the first in the country, but this is not true.
- ⁵¹ E.W. Cooney, “The building industry,” in Roy Church (ed.), *The Dynamics of Victorian Business*, London, George Allen, 1980, pp. 142 – 160; F.A. Latham, *Timber Town*, Liverpool, Institute of Wood Science, p. 5.
- ⁵² *Manchester Guardian*, January 24, 1824.
- ⁵³ E.W. Cooney, “The origins of the Victorian master builders,” *Economic History Review* **8**, 1955, pp. 167 – 176.
- ⁵⁴ *Manchester Mercury*, June 1, 1802.
- ⁵⁵ Manchester Central Library M483.
- ⁵⁶ *Manchester Mercury*, June 10, 1810.
- ⁵⁷ R.S. Fitzgerald, an unpublished report on the industrial archaeology of Albion Mills, n.d., seen courtesy of the author.
- ⁵⁸ *Manchester Mercury*, April 17, 1810.
- ⁵⁹ *Manchester Guardian*, April 7, 1857.
- ⁶⁰ R. Lloyd-Jones and M.J. Lewis, *Manchester and the Age of the Factory*, London, Croom Helm, 1988, pp. 25 – 26.
- ⁶¹ Manchester Central Library M9/40/1/20. A Comparative Statement Relating to the Assessment of Factories, Houses and Shops, Warehouses and Other Property in the Township of Manchester made by Messrs. Bellhouse, Wallis and Johnson, July 1812.
- ⁶² Letter from David Bellhouse to Messrs. Kay and Darbishire, September 25, 1821, Harris Manchester College Library, Oxford.
- ⁶³ Articles of Agreement, July 29, 1803, held by the Portico Library, Manchester; The Portico Library Account Book, entries for November 25, 1804 and December, 1806 show that David Bellhouse was paid a total of £6,884 for his work on the Library.
- ⁶⁴ *Manchester Mercury*, April 1, 1806; J.L. Hodgkinson and R. Pogson, *The Early Manchester Theatre*, London, Anthony Blond, 1960, p. 173.
- ⁶⁵ T.M. Mitchell, *What Manchester Did Yesterday (A history of the establishment of the Gas Industry in Manchester)*, Altrincham, Manchester District Junior Gas Association, 1987, Appendix I.
- ⁶⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, March 16, 1822 and August 24, 1822.
- ⁶⁷ T.M. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
- ⁶⁸ C. Stewart, *The Architecture of Manchester: An Index of the Principal Buildings and Their Architects, 1800 – 1900*, Manchester, Richard Bates Ltd., 1956, p. 8.
- ⁶⁹ T. Allen, *Lancashire Illustrated, from original drawings, by S. Austin, J. Harwood, and G. & C. Pine*,

- &c. &c. with descriptions, by Thomas Allen, London, Fisher and Jackson, facing p. 9.
- ⁷⁰ B. Love, *The Handbook of Manchester*, Manchester, Love and Barton, 1842, facing p. 233.
- ⁷¹ The Portico Library, Manchester, Share Transfer Book, Vol. I, 1812 – 1834, p. 34. The share went to David junior's brother Wainwright in 1822 and was subsequently transferred out of the family in 1833.
- ⁷² *Manchester Guardian*, November 8, 1823; February 7, 1824; February 21, 1824; January 8, 1825; March 26, 1825.
- ⁷³ L.S. Marshall, "The first parliamentary election in Manchester," *The American Historical Review* **47**, 1942, 518 – 538.
- ⁷⁴ *Manchester Mercury*, March 27, 1821.
- ⁷⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, May 18, 1822.
- ⁷⁶ *Manchester Mercury*, March 6, 1821.
- ⁷⁷ *Manchester Guardian*, September 27, 1823 and June 23, 1824.
- ⁷⁸ *Manchester Guardian*, November 5, 1825 and June 17, 1826.
- ⁷⁹ T.M. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 – 18.
- ⁸⁰ The *Manchester Guardian* mentions: Committee to make application to Parliament for an Amended Police and Improvement Act, November 17, 1827; Provisional Committee to examine new by-laws that may be needed under the new Police Act, September 20, 1828; Improvement Committee, September 20, 1828; Lamp, Scavenging, Fire-Engine and Main Sewer Committee, November 1, 1828.
- ⁸¹ *Manchester Guardian*, September 20, 1828.
- ⁸² *Manchester Guardian*, February 14, 1829; February 28, 1829; and April 4, 1829.
- ⁸³ R.H.G. Thomas, *The Liverpool & Manchester Railway*, London, Batsford, 1980.
- ⁸⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, June 5, 1830; June 12, 1830; June 19, 1830; and June 26, 1830.
- ⁸⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, September 29, 1832 and November 12, 1832.
- ⁸⁶ *Manchester Guardian*, January 22, 1825.
- ⁸⁷ *The Elector's Guide Containing a list of the names of those electors of the Borough of Manchester who voted ... 1832*, Manchester, George Cave, 1833.
- ⁸⁸ Manchester Central Library M483.
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- ⁹⁰ *Manchester Mercury*, June 2, 1818.
- ⁹¹ *Manchester Mercury*, September 26, 1820.
- ⁹² Manchester Central Library, biographical clippings file; Speight Pedigree, *op. cit.*
- ⁹³ Speight Pedigree, *op. cit.*; Edward Baines, *Baine's Lancashire: a new printing of the two volumes of 'History, directory and gazetteer of the County Palatine of Lancaster,'* Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1968, original published 1824.
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- ⁹⁵ Liverpool Directories, 1848 and 1849.
- ⁹⁶ Photograph courtesy of Anne Carver of Duntisbourne Leer.
- ⁹⁷ Manchester Central Library, biographical clippings file; some of the children of David and Mary Bellhouse were baptized as the Mosley Street Chapel.
- ⁹⁸ E. Baines, *op. cit.*
- ⁹⁹ *Manchester Guardian*, September 10, 1825.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Manchester Guardian*, February 4, 1826.
- ¹⁰¹ *Manchester Guardian*, November 22, 1828.
- ¹⁰² *Parliamentary Papers* 1821 [186] vi. 1.
- ¹⁰³ J.R. McCulloch, *A Dictionary, Practical Theoretical and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation, Vol. II, Philadelphia*, Thomas Wardle, 1841, pp. 633 – 641.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Parliamentary Papers* 1821 [186] vi. 1.
- ¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁶ McCulloch, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁰⁷ *Manchester Mercury*, March 25, 1806 and October 3, 1815.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Manchester Mercury*, January 10, 1815.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Manchester Guardian*, April 4, 1829.
- ¹¹⁰ Letters of John Roberton in the possession of Mrs. Anne Carver; microfiche copies, made by Mrs. Joan Mottram, are in the possession of University of Manchester Library.
- ¹¹¹ *Proceedings of the Court Leet, Manor of Manchester*, April 10, 1806; October 19, 1807; May 14, 1810;

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- May 12, 1813; and October 15, 1821.
- ¹¹² *Manchester Guardian*, January 12, 1822.
- ¹¹³ Guildhall Library, Records of the Sun Fire Office, Ms. 11,936A/1. February 21, 1822.
- ¹¹⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, March 2, 1822.
- ¹¹⁵ P.d' A. Jones and E.N. Simons, *Story of the Saw*, Newman Neame, 1961, pp. 23 – 24; G. Tweedale, *Sheffield Steel and America; a Century of Commercial and Technological Interdependence, 1830 – 1930*, Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 144 – 157.
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- ¹¹⁷ R.G. Kirby and A.E. Musson, *The Voice of the People: John Doherty, 1798- 1854, Trade unionist, radical and factory reformer*, Manchester U.P.
- ¹¹⁸ *Manchester Guardian*, May 9, 1829.
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- ¹²⁰ *Manchester Mercury*, April 27, 1802.
- ¹²¹ *Manchester Mercury*, August 6, 1805; December 19, 1809; and January 18, 1814.
- ¹²² *Manchester Guardian*, October 26, 1833.
- ¹²³ *Manchester Guardian*, January 14, 1826.
- ¹²⁴ *Manchester Mercury*, January 10, 1809; June 16, 1812; November 26, 1816; and January 11, 1820.
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- ¹³² Love, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
- ¹³³ *Manchester Guardian*, May 22, 1824 and May 14, 1825.
- ¹³⁴ Lancashire Record Office, will of David Bellhouse, probate granted 1840.