

The Smith-Kelham-Langdale Nexus: Country Attorneys, Family Connections, and London Business in the Early Nineteenth Century

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Country attorneys engaged in many undertakings besides writing wills and preparing settlements. As workhorses of the profession, they managed properties, collected rents, paid clients' bills, bought and sold property, sifted through land titles, drafted mortgages, drew up leases, facilitated or made loans, counseled clients on investments, clerked for innumerable commissions, and lobbied the House of Commons. Generally, these tasks were performed in their respective catchment areas; but frequently - as with lobbying - business spilled over into other locales, notably London.

Transacting business in the City - that is, financial London - necessitated having diverse legal contacts - a reliable agent for attending legal matters, collecting and paying bills, and expediting investments; a stationer to undertake less complicated kinds of legal work; and brethren in the Inns of Court for providing counsel. In matters of money-lending and investment a country attorney relied on his agent and on bankers and stockbrokers.¹ A provincial attorney's interaction with such a bevy of Londoners was implemented by patronage, friendship, family connections as well as professional contacts and a disposition for hobnobbing.

Much has been written in recent years about the supply of capital in the provinces during the Commercial and Industrial Revolutions and the impact of money-scrivening attorneys in increasing available credit through investment of clients' or their own monies.² Such ventures, while often hazardous, could be lucrative; at the same time, they provided access to the provinces for London brokers.

With credit unpredictable, country banking primitive, and investments always risky, an attorney who had the trust of both client and broker was a rare and valuable commodity.³ When such attorney/broker bonds were cemented by friendship or even kinship, they counted for much more than merely formal business ties.⁴ Such affinity, moreover, sheds light on the City's acquisition of country capital which proved a Godsend in fueling England's then burgeoning economy.

The present case study plays on this attorney/family theme in greater detail than has been done elsewhere. It purports 1) to probe both the professional and personal life of a country attorney, whose life and business is important to Lincolnshire history⁵ and 2) to relate his personal history, particularly his Lincolnshire family and professional connections with those in London. This nexus joined attorney Benjamin Smith Jr of Horbling; Robert Kelham, formerly of Billingborough and a prominent London attorney; and the Marmaduke Langdales, stockbrokers of Angel Court in the City. Their enterprise was one whereby Smith's firm channeled clients' and his own monies to the house of Langdale for assorted stock purchases.⁶

Benjamin Smith Jr (1776-1858; Figs 1-3), a lanky redhead with prominent nose, was the eldest surviving son of Attorney Benjamin Smith Sr (1731-1807) and Elizabeth Fryer Smith (1742-1820).⁷ Antithetical to the stereotype of the pettifogging lawyer, he was, nonetheless, a mass of contradictions: plagued as a young man by illness, real and imaginary, yet possessed of unusual stamina in advanced age; parsimonious and fretful about money problems, yet invariably successful in enterprise and acquisitiveness and generous in philanthropy; often ill-tempered, argumentative, self-righteous, and snobbish yet capable of kindly and loving acts and of great personal sensitivity; religious and humble before his God, yet given to 'vicious thoughts' and haughty in his reluctance to admit mistakes or faults; desirous of quitting business while still in his forties yet disposed to undertake his most arduous tasks when in his seventies; often depressed as a young adult, yet strikingly at peace with himself and his friends in his advanced years. This remarkable mellowness was enhanced by the love bestowed upon him by nieces, nephews, and the children of his late partner, and his affinity for animals.⁸ Ben Smith Jr can be characterized, like his father, as tireless on behalf of his clients; able and responsible, sometimes petulant, sometimes amiable - he had always to be in control.⁹

Although thoroughly a countryman and professionally immersed in country issues, Benjamin Smith Jr moved comfortably in London business and social circles. His doing so marked a contrast between his and his father's generational outlook and professional orientation: Benjamin Smith Sr predicated his lawyering in the 1760s through the 1790s almost exclusively on land and estate matters; the son during the first half of the next century divided his between such country concerns and money market ventures.

In his lifetime he made approximately 150 trips to London to conduct business and, when time permitted, to enjoy himself.¹⁰ Smith's journeys in the 1830s and 1840s were undertaken as much to move bills in Commons as to oversee investments for his clients. He frequently took time to enjoy the arts, music, theatre, the Zoological Gardens, Crystal Palace, join the Statistical Society, listen to his favourite preachers, and call on friends, clients, and associates.¹¹

After Ben Smith ended his formal schooling at fourteen, he clerked in his father's law firm preparatory to taking over upon



Fig. 1. An undated miniature of young Benjamin Smith Jr (Harry Bowden).



Fig. 2. Portrait of Benjamin Smith Jr c.1830 (Benjamin Smith & Co., Horbling).

his father's retirement. In the spring of 1795 his father, who was then sixty-four, took him to London to introduce him to professional colleagues and escort him to the law courts and Parliament. Young Ben returned on his own to London in the winter and spring of 1796 and 1797.¹² He did business on his father's behalf and renewed acquaintance with his father's agents, Christopher Johnson and Alexander Gaskell, the former of whom was especially kind to the boy.¹³ In the meantime, Ben prepared for admission to king's bench and chancery.¹⁴

When Benjamin Smith Sr more or less retired in 1798, he moved from both his residence and office in Red Hall, Horbling (Fig 4), to Folkingham. Benjamin Jr, in turn, eased into the management of both home and firm, replacing his father in the various clerkships and as lord or steward of his copyhold manors. Gradually he imposed his own management style upon the firm, although father kept control of the cash books until January, 1807, the month that he died.

Ben Smith Jr's reputation for honesty and dependability - but even more his sound understanding of both the local mortgage and London money markets and his connections - brought him diverse and numerous investors. His principal London connection was with the stockbrokerage and banking firm of Marmaduke Langdale, with whom he began doing business about 1803.¹⁵ Their mutually beneficial relationship, which lasted for half a century, exemplified how capital was moved from the provinces in order to accommodate entrepreneurs' insatiable appetite for credit no less than the investors' pursuit of earnings.

The intermediary who brought Benjamin Smith Jr and Marmaduke Langdale Sr together assuredly was Robert

Kelham (1717-1808), a London solicitor of Lincolnshire origins.¹⁶ Kelham was only seventeen when he left his native county for Lincoln's Inn; five years later, in 1739, he was admitted and enrolled in the common law courts.¹⁷ He spent his entire life in London - more than half a century as a highly regarded solicitor.

Although Kelham achieved a notable reputation among his contemporaries as a scholar and was hailed by Holdsworth as 'attorney, antiquarian, and student of Domesday Book',¹⁸ he receives recognition here for his lawyering in London, Lincolnshire origins, and, particularly, his entrepreneurial matchmaking related to both.

The exact status of Kelham's business during most of the 1740s and 1750s is unclear; very likely he practised then as in later years as an attorney in king's bench. Apprenticeship records show that when he contracted with a clerk in 1758, he was situated in Hatton Gardens.¹⁹ He was apparently at the same address, 92 Hatton Street, Holborn, when he invited Christopher Johnson into partnership in the late 1770s as well as in the early 1790s when Alexander Forbes-Gaskell joined the firm.²⁰ After Kelham finally retired in the summer of 1795, Johnson and Gaskell continued the partnership. Before his death at Bush Hill, Edmonton in the spring of 1808, Kelham was the oldest living member of the Societies of Lincoln's and Staples Inn.

Kelham's success as a solicitor undoubtedly played on his private life. His wife was Sarah (1721-1774), youngest daughter of Peter and Joanna Gery of Bilston, Leicestershire. His three surviving children were Robert (1755-1811), also a London attorney; an unmarried daughter Avice (1763-1841); and Sarah Augusta (1753-1806). Most notably, Sarah Augusta in 1778 married an ambitious young man of business and good family, Marmaduke Langdale.

Marmaduke Langdale (1756-1832; Fig 5) was descended from Marmaduke Lord Langdale who commanded the left wing of Charles I's army at Naseby.²¹ He was the eldest son of Marmaduke Langdale of Longthorpe, Northamptonshire by Mary, his father's second wife. In his lifetime he was variously



Fig. 3. Photograph of Benjamin Smith Jr some time after his stroke in 1854 (Benjamin Smith & Co., Horbling)



Fig. 4. Red Hall, Horbling, residence of Benjamin Smiths Sr and Jr, before it was razed in the mid-1960s (Harry Bowden).

a banker and stockbroker and evidently a distiller in London as well as possessor of estates in Worcestershire and Yorkshire.

Little is known about Langdale, for neither his business nor personal papers has survived. He was a member of the stock exchange by at least 1805²² and was partner in the banking firm of Dixon, Langdale, Dixon, and Brooks in 1825.²³ More obscure are the instances of his earlier entrepreneurship. He appears to have been in the distillery business with Thomas Langdale, presumably a relative, from at least the early 1790s until 1811.²⁴ In 1810 Marmaduke used 7 Capel Court, Bartholomew Lane for his brokerage address; by 1815 17 New Ormond Street, Queens Square, Bloomsbury was designated for his business as well as residence;²⁵ a dozen years later his brokerage firm had moved to 15 Angel Court, Throgmorton Street, where it remained under both son Marmaduke Robert and grandson Alfred.²⁶ Early in the 1820s the elder Marmaduke had moved his residence to Doughty Street, behind Gray's Inn.

Marmaduke Langdale's marriage to Sarah Augusta Kelham in 1778 produced ten children. Those surviving were Marmaduke Robert (1785-1860; Fig 6), who ultimately succeeded his father as head of the firm; Robert Kelham (Kelham) (1787-1862); George (1791-1844); the Rev. William John (1796-1885); and three daughters, of whom the eldest, Sarah, married the Rev. Edward Smith (1780-1813), youngest son of Benjamin Smith Sr.

The elder Marmaduke Langdale accumulated a considerable fortune judging from his gifts and bequests. When daughter Sarah married a second time after her widowhood, he settled on her a £4,000 trust fund with provisions that at her death it pass to children of her first marriage with Edward Smith.²⁷

Marmaduke Langdale, of good pedigree, successful in business, and generous to his children was evidently regarded favourably by both the Kelhams and Smiths. In his will Kelham declared his 'affection' for his son-in-law; Smith in his journal expressed respect for the elder Marmaduke who was always 'Mr Langdale'. This coterie of Kelham, Langdale, and Smith seemed congenial as well as enterprising for business.²⁸

It was Marmaduke Robert Langdale, the son, who engaged most frequently in business matters with Benjamin Smith.²⁹ He clerked in his father's brokerage firm as early as 1805 and by at least 1815 was in partnership.³⁰ After taking over from his father, young Marmaduke managed the Angel Court office until joined by son Alfred in partnership in 1841. So it remained through the 1850s.³¹ Marmaduke Robert succeeded well in business: he amassed a considerable fortune and, like his uncle Marmaduke Trattle, was something of a connoisseur of the arts.³²

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Evidence for the Smith-Kelham-Langdale business connections falls short of that existing for the social.³³ The

Smith-Kelham nexus originated with Benjamin Smith Sr and Kelham, or perhaps even Kelham's clergyman father. From Benjamin Smith's practising law in Horbling in the early 1760s until Kelham's retirement in 1795, Smith retained Kelham as his London agent.³⁴ The Smith firm, meanwhile, managed Kelham's affairs in Lincolnshire until his death.³⁵

Kelham's account with Smith on the eve of his retirement, 1794-95, is remarkable for the numerous transactions worth hundreds of pounds sterling and a few exceeding even a thousand.³⁶ Of the diverse services which Kelham performed for Smith clients, some clearly reflect stock purchases and other investments. Langdale's name as of this date did not appear in Smith's accounts. While the elder Benjamin Smith did journey to London to attend business in the City and obtain counsel at Lincoln's Inn,³⁷ he worked primarily through his man Kelham.

The nature and extent of Kelham's business association with Marmaduke Langdale is a blank and whether they preceded the marriage of his daughter Sarah to Langdale in 1778 is unknown. Kelham, at the time, was sixty-one with a career behind him; his new son-in-law was only twenty-two. Very likely this diligent young fellow perceived an opportunity in assisting his Thomas kin in extricating the latter's distillery enterprise from the ruin of 1780. His doing so did not preclude availing himself of a father-in-law well connected in legal and financial circles.

The Smith-Langdale business connection took an unusually long time in coming to fruition. In some way or other, Kelham was the catalyst for bringing the two families together. He may simply have delayed promoting the Langdale-Smith connection until after 1800 when Langdale was more engaged as a stockbroker. Considering that Kelham in 1800 was then in his eighties, his successors Johnson and Gaskell may have performed any routine work.

From the Smith perspective, any such expansion of the Horbling firm's business may have had to await the succession of a more venturesome son. Benjamin Jr evidently seized this business opportunity and may have promoted as well the marriage between brother Edward and Sarah Langdale, just two years after his father's death. It is not difficult to imagine dominant personalities like Benjamin Jr and the two Marmadukes' settling these business and matrimonial matters expeditiously.

Another scenario is possible: some of the sums which passed between Kelham and Benjamin Smith Sr may actually have represented Langdale investments, Kelham acting as middleman. Benjamin Jr may have begun doing business with Langdale directly after his father and Kelham had retired. Either way, Benjamin Smith Jr appears to have been a prime mover in engaging the Langdales, while brother Ned's marriage simply made it a family matter.

The Smith-Langdale business ties encompassed the business lifetimes of both Benjamin Smith Jr and Marmaduke Robert Langdale - and even substantial portions of the elder Marmaduke's and grandson Alfred's. This connection provided Smith with an outlet for investing the monies of Lincolnshire clients and friends like old Edward Brown of Horbling and then Stamford; Samuel Barker, who had married a Toller of Billingborough; Thomas Forsyth, once accountant to the Heathcotes and resident of Folkingham; the Widow Douglas also of Folkingham; and General Thomas Birch Reynardson of Holywell.³⁸ For the Langdales Benjamin Smith was a valuable resource, a conduit for tapping an elusive provincial surplus.

The Langdale account appeared for the first time in the Smith ledger in 1803, the year that Smith reorganized the firm's accounts, and remained there as long as Smith was active in the firm.³⁹ Langdale transactions also figured prominently in Smith's separate London account books, which he kept between 1837 and 1853.⁴⁰ The purpose here is not to analyse these accounts but rather to reach some conclusions about their meaning regarding the Smith-Langdale nexus.



Fig. 5. Marmaduke Langdale Sr (Anthony Langdale)

What immediately strikes one about these Langdale accounts is the very considerable amounts of money involved. Single transactions - the sales or purchases of stocks/bonds by Langdale or payments or receipts by Smith - were almost always in the hundreds and frequently thousands of pounds. Most of these transactions involved banking deposits or withdrawals, purchase or sale of India, Dutch, Portuguese, or Spanish bonds, consols, reds, Exchequer bills, and Dutch guilders.⁴¹

Smith's general ledgers, London business accounts, and personal journals show that he knew what he was about when he was in both legal and financial London. While he made good use of the Langdales and they of him, he was not without other resources to bolster this relationship and at the same time improve upon his own fortune. For legal matters he regularly used the services of not only his agent William Took in Russell Square but the law stationers Druce and Crosier in Quality Court, Chancery Lane;⁴² he obtained counsel from Lincoln's and Gray's Inn; and he had dealings with many prominent banking houses.⁴³

Exactly how Smith was recompensed for these endeavours is unclear. Only rarely do the Langdale accounts indicate commissions paid to Smith. While he billed his clients variously for services, how he did so for stock purchases is not delineated.⁴⁴ The rewards would certainly have been substantial had they been in any way related to the transactional sums. That Smith relied on Langdale for his own stock purchases was but another dimension of this profitable relationship.⁴⁵

One final question remains - how did the principals regard their collaboration? We know nothing of Langdale's estimate of Smith, and, naturally, the Smith accounts are silent about this sort of thing. Smith's diaries are, too - virtually. Yet, the diaries suggest that Smith scrutinized the Funds closely, that he was no blind follower of his broker.

At the end of 1825, when the money market was in serious difficulty, he lamented that fact almost daily.⁴⁶ On 25 November he 'fancied' that he was spending too much money in the Funds; on 12 December he observed that 'the fall of the Funds

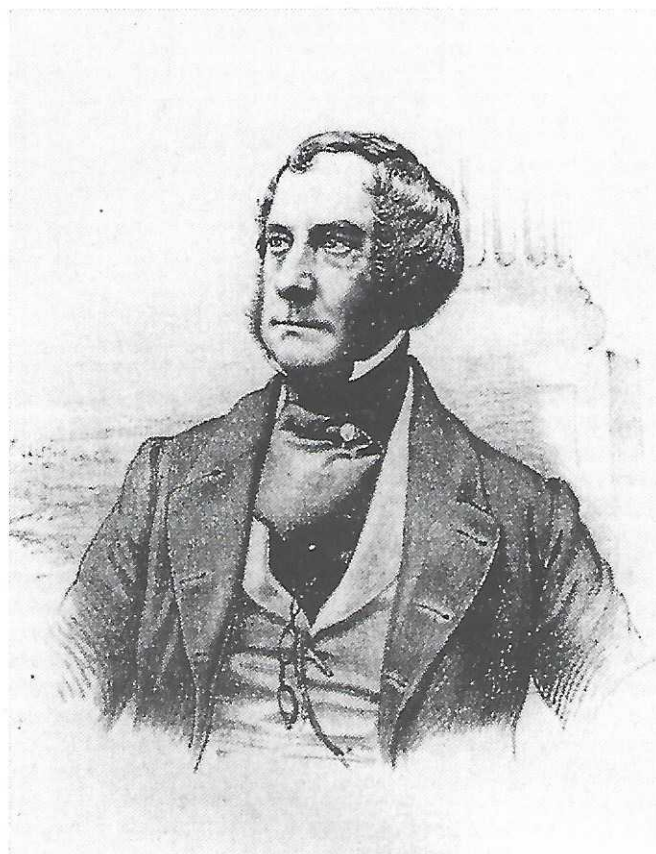


Fig. 6. Marmaduke Robert Langdale (Anthony Langdale)

and break of banks all this morning have made me very uneasy'. At the end of 1825 he concluded that

the abundance of money and every species of speculation were such as to induce one to fancy it would soon be scarcely worth any interest were quite annoying. But though I have remarked upon the plenty of money in the spring, yet the sad and most distressing reverse which occurred in December caused me many severe pangs for though I shall probably not lose bad by the Funds...the fear and dread of other evils and the great consequent difficulty to procure money alarmed me much.

On 3 March of the next year he railed that he was 'out of spirits' and that the bad news from London 'agitates me. I have written to Mr. Langdale to sell my funded property. I now seriously wish I was out of business. O what a weak and frail creature I am!' At the end of 1826 he could only complain that 'the extraordinary stoppage of all public and private credit which took place toward the end of last year cast a sad gloom on the commencement of this...I experienced a heavy loss in the summer by sale of my funded property.'

Smith repeated these money worries of the mid-1820s to a lesser degree more than twenty years later. In October 1847 he commented on the 'distressing account of money and failures in London' and wished that he were free from business. In the midst of this October crisis, on 30 October 1847, Smith queried Langdale's buying strategy: 'Langdale wrote having purchased Consols for me - doubtful as to propriety.' Although a single reservation hardly nullifies a half-century of cooperation and confidence, Smith clearly did not give his broker *carte blanche*. Still, both must have been satisfied or they would not have allowed the relationship, one assuredly based on trust and mutual respect, to continue.

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Three distinct periods characterize Smith-Langdale business and family ties. The first period lasted about a decade, from 1803 to 1813. During these years the connection was established, subsequently cemented by the marriage of Sarah

Langdale and the Reverend Edward Smith, and then shaken, but by no means dissolved by Edward's death in 1813.

The elder Marmaduke Langdale and Benjamin Smith Jr, doubtless, were the principal architects of both the business and familial links. During the second period, however, beginning with Sarah's widowhood, Marmaduke Robert assumed the dominant Langdale role in the relationship. As Edward's designated executors, he and Benjamin Smith Jr looked to the widow Sarah's and her children's well-being for the eleven years that she remained in Folkingham. Her remarriage in 1824 and the resulting diminution of Smith-Langdale family ties, marked the beginning of the third - the most trying and yet resilient - period of the relationship: for the next three decades Benjamin Smith and Marmaduke Robert Langdale would prosper in their business association and continue their cordial ties as well.

Any recount of this social nexus is derived largely from Benjamin Smith's diary; however, the huge gap resulting from lost diaries from 1 May 1799 until 22 June 1817 deprives the reader of such events as the origins of the Smith-Langdale relationship about 1803, the death of Benjamin Sr in 1807, Edward's and Sarah's marriage in 1809, and Edward's death in 1813.⁴⁷ While the resumed diary in 1817 reveals the Smiths under stress and divided among themselves, they joined the Langdales in supporting the widow Sarah and her children. We assess individual roles.

In 1817, Benjamin Smith Jr was lonely, depressed, and ailing physically. He had lost his wife, father, and brother during the previous decade; and his mother was known to be terminally ill. His relations with his sister Elizabeth were stormy, while those with his brother Frank were frayed at best.⁴⁸ If we are to believe Ben Smith's own reporting, he was quarrelsome with clients, friends, and partner, and, indeed, dissolved his partnership with William Worth Jr in 1818.⁴⁹ He sought female companionship, but in the instance of his housekeeper Mary Newbat received little encouragement.⁵⁰

Despite this gloomy picture, there was a bright side for Smith. Business was good; his records show that he realized huge annual profits during the preceding decade.⁵¹ He had opened a new office in the market square in Donington in 1815, a precursor to the one which he would build in Spring Lane, Horbling, a decade later (Figs 7 & 8). There were redeeming aspects of his personal life as well. Despite depression and loneliness, he did have friends - many of them - in Lincolnshire and London, and he saw them often.

Most importantly, he began a courtship of Frances Graves of Martin and Horncastle; in 1821 they were married. The Graves had been long-time friends and clients of the Smiths; Fanny would provide Smith the love and companionship he lacked following the death of his first wife. After their marriage, his ailments and depression diminished, and Red Hall in Horbling exuded hospitality as it had in his parents' time.

Whatever his disposition, Ben Smith energetically served his clients, whose requirements frequently summoned him to London. That business was the principal purpose of his trips there can be no doubt; however, he took great pleasure in calling on friends, strolling, listening to his favourite preachers, and enjoying music and the theatre. While some such activity took the business edge off the trips, other, no doubt, spurred business.

Frequently, he saw old Lincolnshire friends, usually those whose financial affairs he managed and whose monies he actually invested with the Langdales. Major Samuel Barker, who resided at the Portland Club in Stratford Place, was one of these; so was Thomas Forsyth who had retired from Folkingham to Wimpole Street. Not only did Smith commit their funds to Langdale undertakings, but he continued managing their affairs in Lincolnshire.⁵² He also made these trips count for his patron and client Edward Brown on whom he often called in Stamford while *en route*.⁵³



Fig. 7. The Donington office of Benjamin Smith & Co. in the market place, where it has been since 1815 (A. J. Schmidt). Standing in the doorway is Harry Bowden, Esq., who managed the firm from this office during the 1960s.

The Langdales, more than any of these were the focal point of Benjamin Smith's trips to London. He dined and took tea with them, and came to their parties - at the elder Marmaduke's in New Ormond and then Doughty Streets and at Marmaduke Robert's in Gower Street.⁵⁴ When Marmaduke made annual visits to Lincolnshire to see daughter Sarah and grandchildren, Smith naturally joined him at Sarah's and never failed to invite him to Red Hall. On one occasion he escorted Langdale and son William back to London.⁵⁵ Smith saw less of the elder Marmaduke after Sarah's remarriage, but by that time Langdale had largely retired from Angel Court.

The younger Marmaduke even more than his father fostered the business/family alliance. His enlarged role as partner in father's stock brokerage establishment sometime before 1815 appears to have coincided with his and Smith's joint execution of Edward Smith's will. It is tempting to speculate that this family endeavour facilitated their earliest business collaboration.

Marmaduke Robert helped preserve the Langdale-Smith enterprise by resolving those potentially harmful problems arising between his sister Sarah and brother-in-law Benjamin. That business ties survived her remarriage suggests that he (like his brother Robert) was a successful mediator because he was trusted and well-liked by a pragmatic Smith who had no wish, in any case, to abandon a profitable venture.⁵⁶ For his part, Marmaduke Robert found the connection no less attractive, for how else could he tap provincial wealth so gracefully?⁵⁷

Although Marmaduke Robert - and most of the other Langdales for that matter - generally ceased coming to Lincolnshire after Sarah's departure, he was unfailingly hospitable to Smith to the very end - when the latter made his final trip in 1853.⁵⁸ Marmaduke Robert's and Benjamin Smith's interaction over these three decades may be measured by their encounters. During that time Smith journeyed to London exactly 107 times; on forty-six of these trips he paid at least one visit to a Langdale, usually Marmaduke Robert. In reality, these numbers distort the true picture: during the 1840s, when Smith was in London on pressing Black Sluice drainage matters, he rarely had time to call on any one, not even the Langdales; whenever he could maintain his usual twice or thrice yearly schedule, he seldom missed visiting with them.⁵⁹ When Smith called on Marmaduke Robert other family members were present: in several instances Smith encountered even Sarah and her husband Charles Day and more frequently his nephew Edward Smith.

Marmaduke Robert invited Smith, an inveterate church-goer, to use the Langdale pew in St Giles whenever he was about on Sunday mornings.⁶⁰ Smith's social intercourse was not limited to these visits: once he and Marmaduke Langdale took a gig through the parks to see paintings at the British Institution; another time, he and Marmaduke Robert dined at a hotel and went to the theater afterwards. When calls were of a business nature, he saw Marmaduke Robert or his son Alfred in the City, in Angel Court. Although familial encounters diminished after Sarah's remarriage, cordiality prevailed; above all, the business ties held firm.

Edward ('Ned') Smith and his wife Sarah Langdale Smith had no active role in business, but they exemplified the trust and good will which family connections frequently bestowed on business ones. We have no clear picture of Ned other than that of a special affinity - more than either brother had with Frank - which united him with Benjamin. When Ned was at Uppingham in the late 1790s and Cambridge afterwards, Ben visited him often.⁶¹ Edward allowed Ben to manage his finances and, as noted, named him and brother-in-law Marmaduke Robert executors of his will.⁶² If Ben promoted Edward's marriage to Sarah Langdale, he likely did so as much for Ned as for business; it would not have been in character for him to do otherwise. After Edward's death Benjamin transferred this love and affection to his brother's widow and orphans whose finances he scrupulously managed.

Sarah, the eldest daughter of Marmaduke Langdale and sister to Marmaduke Robert and Robert Kelham Kelham, married Edward Smith in 1809. Always of central importance to the Smith/Langdale connection, she became even more so during her widowhood. Her decision to remain in Folkingham in the decade following her husband's death greatly fostered the 'connection' between the Smiths and Langdales; her marriage to the Reverend Charles Day in 1824, nearly destroyed it.

The widow Sarah and her children were the object of countless visits from Benjamin Smith and her Langdale kin: they dined, took tea, walked, and went off on trips together.⁶³ Smith naturally joined in entertaining or being entertained whenever the Langdales were in Lincolnshire. Besides Benjamin, Sarah's sister-in-law Elizabeth, who resided in Folkingham with ailing Mother Smith, watched over her. Fanny, after her marriage to Benjamin, also called on Sarah and included her in parties in Red Hall.

Sarah, in turn, entertained the Smiths and their friends. She and her father toured with the Smiths - through the north country in August-September 1817 and in August 1819, when Smith joined Sarah and children at Bridlington and took his nephew Edward on to visit Scarborough.

The Langdales, a closely-knit clan, were supportive of their Sarah. They descended variously upon Lincolnshire during the



Fig. 8. The Horbling office of Benjamin Smith & Co. in Spring Lane, where it has been since 1825 (A. J. Schmidt).

years before she remarried. Old Marmaduke generally made the trip once each year, occasionally dining with Sarah and the children at Smith's in Horbling when he did and even, as noted, joining the Smiths on their holidays.⁶⁴ Sarah's siblings - Marmaduke Robert, Robert Kelham, William, George, and Elizabeth Belt - were all frequent callers. The most constant one was Sarah's aunt, Robert Kelham III's widow, who provided Sarah with much-needed support during these difficult years. She was often present when Benjamin Smith visited with Sarah in Folkingham, called on the Langdales in London, or visited Sarah at Mrs Kelham's own place in Enfield.

While Sarah lived in Folkingham, she accepted Benjamin's oversight and reciprocated his affection; however, she must have found his close supervision and occasional reprimand trying if not exasperating.⁶⁵ She would have found Benjamin especially meddlesome when he objected so strenuously to those who showed romantic interest in her. The first was his Folkingham friend John Cooper, who often was in the company of the Langdales in London.⁶⁶ Smith's unconcealed annoyance prompted brother Marmaduke Robert to come to Folkingham in mid-June 1818 to mediate between Sarah and him.⁶⁷

The real test came, however, in the Reverend Charles Day's courtship of Sarah. Little is known of Day. Like Edward Smith, he had been at St John's, Cambridge. After becoming deacon in 1823 but before his ordination as priest in Lincoln in 1824, served as curate and preached a number of times in the Folkingham parish church where Edward had ministered a decade earlier.⁶⁸ On Sunday 17 August 1823 Benjamin Smith escorted Sarah to hear Day preach what apparently was his first sermon there. In the ensuing months Day frequented Smith and Langdale social gatherings, which Sarah invariably attended. In early February, before going off to London, Smith encountered Day several times; that same month he saw much of the Langdale clan - old Marmaduke, Marmaduke Robert and Louisa, Sarah and her daughter, Elizabeth and William Belt, George Langdale, and Marmaduke Trattle - in both Gower and Doughty Streets. Benjamin Smith's hobnobbing with the family peaked at a time when he had not a clue that a match was in the making.

Not until Smith had returned to Horbling did he first hear reports 'about Day & Mrs Edward Smith'.⁶⁹ On 21 March he received notification - Sarah was still in London - from Marmaduke Robert that Sarah and Day were engaged. Although there is no indication of Smith's immediate reaction to these matters, his receipt of an 'angry letter from Mr Day' on the 22nd suggests that he had provoked it.

When Sarah returned to Folkingham on 12 April, Smith lost no time seeing her: 'She was pleasant.' After mid-June their relations soured. On the 18th Smith had another 'angry letter' from Day and then one from Sarah next day - one which made him 'feel uncomfortable' and precipitated his worst fears: 'I fear those two children will be alienated from me.' Day's letter on the 20th 'shows he begins rather to relax in his mightiness [sic] - I was writing to him but which is not sent.'

Although reason momentarily prevailed, the matter clearly was getting out of hand; evidently, word went out to Marmaduke Robert to come. He had tea with Smith on 22 June; the next day Smith journeyed to Sarah's in Folkingham, where the two guarantors of Edward Smith's will had what must have been a difficult three hour session with the widow Sarah.⁷⁰ On 2 July Smith observed that he 'felt very much reduced in mind & spirits at the quarrel with Mrs E. Smith'. A letter from Sarah on the 5th prompted him to visit her immediately. Day was there, too. Whatever dread Smith might have had for this encounter, it came off reasonably well: 'She behaved very well...felt much pleased.'

In late October when Smith was in London on business, he called on the Langdales - both in Gower and Doughty Streets - and saw the Belts as well. He and Fanny did not, however, attend the November wedding of Sarah and Charles Day; he was devastated 'by thinking of Day & wife of Folkingham'.⁷¹

Recapitulating the events of 1824, he vented his feelings to the fullest:

The connexion of Mrs E. Smith with Day has astonished & disturbed me. Our continued correspondence & the feeling have lead to breaking off my intercourse & which on account of the children I sincerely lament. I fear much for them - her pride, hypocrisy with his ignorance, hypocrisy & meanness are likely to be productive of little good to the children. But God's will be done.⁷²

Although the Days remained in Folkingham for two years after their marriage, their continued proximity no longer merited mention in Smith's diary.⁷³

While Benjamin Smith was both outraged and despondent for having been deprived of Sarah and her children, he did not allow this episode to disrupt business with her father and brother. Marmaduke Robert's intervention in this matter caused no evident ill will between them. After Sarah's eventual departure from Folkingham gave them no reason to come to Lincolnshire, both Marmadukes continued to welcome Smith in their homes and at their business in the City.

Sarah's and Edward's brief union produced two children, Sarah Elizabeth and Edward Langdale Smith. Objects of compassion by both Smiths and Langdales, they emerge from the diaries and business papers with little clarity. Sarah, sickly as a child and young adult, died in 1835. Edward (1812-1895), after schooling at Charterhouse in London, went up to Cambridge and, like his father, became a clergyman.⁷⁴

Edward Langdale Smith is important in this account not because of either a dominant personality or his entrepreneurship; rather he was, after his mother's marriage to Charles Day and his sister's death, the only familial link between the Smiths and Langdales. This is not to suggest that continuance of the business relationship hinged upon him; far from it. Yet Edward may inadvertently have been a facilitator by beckoning Ben Smith to Marmaduke Robert's house in Gower Street because of his frequent presence there. That both Smith and Langdale amicably fulfilled their brother's charge to look to the well-being of this young man bonded their relationship.⁷⁵

The possibility of losing touch with his late brother's children weighed heavily upon Benjamin Smith. When he visited Edward, he was 'disturbed to find him so changed in manner from his Mother's marriage'.⁷⁶ Smith did visit young Edward when he was at Cambridge, but he remained concerned about the young man after graduation. He observed as late as 1835 that 'Poor Edward Smith left us this evening to go by coach to London. A good deal hurt about him.'⁷⁷

Edward regularly called upon both his uncles until the late 1830s, but visits to Lincolnshire, at least, became infrequent after his ordination and marriage. Smith did record on 29 September 1851 that his brother-in-law 'Dr Blomfield brought Edward Smith', who departed the following day. That Smith saw fit to note 'We have been pleased with him' reduces the plausibility of a falling out. In the decade before his death, however, Benjamin Smith relied principally on another nephew, Henry, his brother Frank's son. Ever generous to Edward, Benjamin bequeathed him £6,000 and estates in Quadring and Bicker.⁷⁸

That business between Benjamin Smith and Marmaduke Robert continued unabated into the 1850s suggests that Edward Langdale Smith was of little consideration to either in this regard in later years.

* * *

In the annals of Lincolnshire the Smiths of Horbling were an important country and professional family, but they might have remained virtually unknown had not the firm's papers and its principal partner's diary been preserved almost in their entirety. This happy circumstance allows an assessment of not only the firm's history but the interplay of personal, family, and business matters. In illumining Benjamin Smith's persona and *mentalité*, his diary provides an understanding of those of his attributes

which helped fashion the ethos of the still-existing Benjamin Smith firm in Horbling and Donington.

The significance of the personal and family dimensions extends, however, beyond the county, for Benjamin Smith Jr the professional embodied those qualities of competence, industry, and entrepreneurship which characterized the quintessential solicitor in the England of his day.⁷⁹ His local and London connection with the Kelhams and business and familial ties with the Langdales mark him of more than passing interest in the realm of network and attorney histories.

APPENDIX

A note on the children of Marmaduke Langdale (1756-1832) and Sarah Augusta Kelham (1753-1806).⁸⁰

1. Marmaduke Robert (1785-1860) married Louisa Jourdan (1792-1863) on October 1, 1812. One of four sons of Marmaduke Robert, Alfred (1815-1890) of Beacon Hill, Churt, Surrey, became a partner in the brokerage firm in 1841. On April 11, 1844 he married Charlotte (b. 1825), eldest daughter of William Keene, barrister-at-Law of Gower Street, Bedford Square, London. Alfred inherited his father's fondness for cameos and other *objets d'art*.⁸¹ Alfred and Benjamin Smith had numerous business and social contacts in the 1840s and 1850s.
2. Robert Kelham Langdale or Robert Kelham Langdale Kelham (1787-1862) of Bleasby Hall, Southwell, Nottinghamshire, took the surname and arms of Kelham by royal license, 19 February, 1812. In taking the Kelham name, he preserved it, for his maternal uncle had died childless the year before. In the process he substantially increased his assets.⁸² Kelham married Dortha, only daughter of John Phillips of Holmwood and Wellands, Surrey the same year. Although he had no connection with the Langdale brokerage firm, he was much a part of Langdale social life whether in Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, or London. As noted, the Robert Kelhams had exceptionally durable and cordial ties with the Benjamin Smiths. They frequently exchanged visits - long after the other Langdales had ceased coming to Lincolnshire - and even toured together. When the Kelhams were resident in their London house, Smith occasionally called on them. Business ties between the two also existed: Robert was a client for whom Smith expedited stock transactions through brother Marmaduke Robert.⁸³
3. George (1791-1844) married Cora Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Cooper and leaving issue.
4. Rev. William John (1796-1885) married Mary Ann, co-heiress of Henry H. Jackson and leaving issue.
5. Sarah Elizabeth = 1) Rev. Edward Smith (1780-1813); 2) Rev. Charles Day (1794-1868).
6. Avice = William James May of Southwell, Nottinghamshire.
7. Elizabeth = William Belt of the Crown Office, Temple.

Benjamin Smith occasionally socialized with Marmaduke Langdale's sons George and William, who visited their sister Sarah in Folkingham during her widowhood, and whom Smith saw in London. Neither entered his father's business; consequently, Smith had little to do with them beyond these social encounters. Elizabeth, the youngest Langdale, married William Belt of the Crown Office. Although Smith had no business ties with the Belts, he had often seen them when Sarah lived in Folkingham - sometimes in Lincolnshire, most frequently in London. Once they had even once toured together. Although there is no evidence of antagonism, this relationship faded after Sarah's remarriage.⁸⁴

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Walden, Essex; Dr Elizabeth Schmidt of Loyola College, Baltimore, Maryland; Messrs Chris Johnson, Nigel Colley, Neal French, and others of the staff of the Lincolnshire Archives Office; and Christina DeLucia, librarian at Quinnipiac College School of Law in Connecticut, USA, is gratefully acknowledged. I am especially grateful for suggestions by editor Christopher Sturman and those whom he called upon to read this paper.

NOTES

1. I have previously discussed country attorneys as purveyors of credit and cited secondary literature in 'The Smiths of Horbling: country attorneys', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 54 (1991), pp. 143-76.
2. Among recent publications on credit, enterprise, investment, and attorneys in eighteenth-century England the following by B. L. Anderson are important: 'Law, finance and economic growth in England: some long-term influences', in *Britain and Her World, 1750-1914*, edited by B. M. Ratcliffe (Manchester, 1975), pp.99-124; 'Provincial aspects of the financial revolution of the eighteenth century', *Business History*, 11 (1969), pp.11-22; 'The attorney in the early capital market in Lancashire', in *Capital Formation in the Industrial Revolution*, edited by Francois Crouzet (London, 1972), pp.223-55; and 'Money and the structure of credit in the eighteenth century', *Business History*, 12 (1970), pp.85-101.

See also B. A. Holderness, 'Credit in English rural society before the nineteenth century, with special reference to the period 1650-1720', *Agricultural History Review*, 24 (1964), pp.97-109; 'Credit in a rural community 1660-1800: some neglected aspects of probate inventories', *Midland History*, (1975), pp.94-115; and 'Elizabeth Parkin and her investments 1733-66, aspects of the Sheffield money market in the eighteenth century', *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*, n.s., 10, 2 (1973), pp.81-87; Francois Crouzet, 'Editor's introduction' to *Capital Formation in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1972), pp.1-69; the writings of Julian Hoppit among which are 'The use and abuse of credit in eighteenth-century England', in *Business Life and Public Policy*, edited by Neil McKendrick and R. B. Outhwaite (Cambridge, 1986), pp.64-78; and Pat Hudson, *The Genesis of Industrial Capital: A Study of the West Riding Wool Textile Industry c.1750-1850* (Cambridge, 1986).

See also Peter Mathias, 'Capital, credit, and enterprise in the Industrial Revolution', *Journal of European Economic History*, 4 (1973), pp.121-43 and reprinted in his *The Transformation of England* (London, 1979), pp.88-115 and 'The lawyer as business man in eighteenth-century England', in *Enterprise and History*, edited by D. C. Coleman and Peter Mathias (Cambridge, 1984), pp.151-67; Michael Miles, 'The money market in the early Industrial Revolution: the evidence from West Riding attorneys c.1750-1800', *Business History*, 23 (1982), pp.127-46; David Sugarman, 'Simple images and complex realities: English lawyers and their relationship to business and politics, 1750-1950', *Law and History Review*, 11, 2 (1993), pp.257-301; Lorna Weatherill, 'Capital and credit in the pottery industry before 1770', *Business History* 24 (1982), pp.243-58; and Y. Ben-Porath, 'The f-connection: families, friends and firms and the organization of exchange', *Population Development Review*, 6 (1990), pp.1-30.

3. See B. A. Holderness, 'Widows in pre-industrial society', in *Land, Kinship, and Life Cycle*, edited by Richard Smith (Cambridge, 1984), pp.432-42 and Julian Hoppit, 'Attitudes to credit in Britain 1680-1790', *Historical Journal*, 33, 2 (1990), pp.305-22.
4. The importance of kinship and family in professional relationships is brilliantly explored in Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (Chicago, 1987), pp.260-65 and *passim*.
5. This paper is also intended to accentuate the diversity of country lawyering by exploding any notion that country solicitors were insular fellows, reluctant to venture from their cosy local environment of mortgages, settlements, and promissory notes in their quest for investments.

The firm of Benjamin Smith has had a long and impressive history. Founded by Benjamin Smith Sr about 1760, it passed to his son about the turn of the century. In 1807 Benjamin Smith Jr invited clerk William Worth Sr to join him in partnership. When Worth died in 1812, his son William Worth Jr succeeded in the partnership. This arrangement proved incompatible and was dissolved in 1817.

Smith then turned to clerk Benjamin Wilkinson, and in so doing created the durable partnership of Smith and Wilkinson, which lasted for thirty years. After Wilkinson's death in 1848 Smith was joined by his clerk George Wiles. When Smith suffered a stroke in 1854, the firm was sold to Wiles.

The year that Smith died, 1858, Wiles accepted William Emerson Chapman into the partnership, which became Wiles and Chapman.

When Charles Smyth Wiles, a nephew of George, became the third partner, the firm name changed to Wiles, Chapman, and Wiles. Upon the death of both Chapman and George Wiles in 1879, Charles Wiles invited Benjamin Smith III, a son of Benjamin Smith Jr's nephew Henry, into the partnership. When in 1883 Charles Wiles retired, Benjamin Smith III took his brother George Smith into the partnership, and the firm was renamed 'Benjamin Smith & Co.', which it remains to this day. Benjamin Smith III died in 1914, but George lived until 1945; George's son, Francis Gould Smith became a partner in 1925. Since Frank Smith's death in 1959 the firm has been without a Smith.

The firm's living link with its past is Harry Bowden of Spalding, who joined the business in the late 1930s, ran it virtually alone in the 1960s, and in retirement has served as its consultant. In another way, the firm's offices - in the Donington market place since 1814 and in Spring Lane in Horbling since 1825 - recall the past as well as signify a very active present.

6. For a recent perspective of stockbrokers in eighteenth-century London, see H. V. Bowen, "'The pests of human society': stockbrokers, jobbers and speculators in mid-eighteenth-century Britain', *History*, 78 (1993), pp.38-53.
 7. See Schmidt, 'Smiths of Horbling', *passim*.
 8. He was surrogate father to his late partner's, Benjamin Wilkinson's, daughter at her wedding and godfather to his curate's child; more importantly, he was very close to his nephews, especially Henry Smith, Francis's son. That Henry and partner George Wiles were friends also worked to a successful finale for the business in Smith's declining years. Smith's kindness and love of simplicity were evidenced, too, in his love for dog Spot and his enchantment with bird-watching, especially swallows.
 9. Smith's personal attributes have been culled from his diaries - the property of H. A. G. Smith of Quargento, Italy and presently in the possession of Harry Bowden, Esquire, of Spalding. These are cited variously as London Journal and Diary. Mr Smith also possesses Henry Smith's diaries, which provide fascinating vignettes of uncle in his last years.
- Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall discuss the 'masculine persona' of the professional who emerged about 1800 as one 'organized around a man's determination and skill in manipulating the economic environment, always within an abiding belief in a world shaped by religious forces' (*Family Fortunes*, p.228). This is an apt portrait of Benjamin Smith Jr.
10. Smith's diaries indicate that between 1817 and 1854 he made 119 business trips to London. This number is exclusive of those undertaken by his partners and clerks in behalf of the firm. He journeyed to London thirteen times between 1818 and 1824, or sixty times between 1818 and 1843. Although travel was less arduous with the coming of the railway in 1840s, Smith was getting on in years when he greatly increased the number of annual trips. Between 1844 and 1849, during this six year span, he made forty journeys; he made nine trips in each of 1845 and 1849, the latter when he was seventy-three years old! During his early years as head of the firm he seems to have averaged about two trips a year.
 11. Smith alluded to such activity, sometimes in detail, throughout his diaries. His numerous trips to London during the 1840s, especially, were on Black Sluice drainage matters in Parliament. He detailed these in his London journals.
 12. Diary, 1794-99. See Schmidt, 'Smiths of Horbling' for further reference to these early London visits.
 13. Christopher Johnson and Alexander Forbes-Gaskell were Benjamin Smith Sr's agents in London following the retirement of Robert Kelham in the summer of 1795.
 14. These admissions occurred 3 and 30 May 1797 (Diary and Law Society, Chancery Lane, Roll of Solicitors, 1791-1823, vol. 2). He had penned in his diary on 7 January, '[I] began to make my precedent book for wills.' See Schmidt, 'Smiths of Horbling', p.148 for further details of Smith's legal apprenticeship.
 15. Smith conducted business with Marmaduke Langdale on behalf of Edward Brown and Thomas Forsyth in 1803, opened a Langdale account in 1804, and had agents Johnson and Gaskell engaged with Langdale early in 1805. See Lincolnshire Archives Office (hereafter L.A.O.), Smith/11, Ledger A-B (1803) A, *passim*.
 16. There had been Kelhams in Lincolnshire since the early sixteenth century. See L.A.O., B.R.A. 1521 Kelham, 1/15. His father, the Rev. Robert Kelham (1677-1752), had been for more than fifty years vicar of Billingborough, Threckingham, and Walcot. For more on the father, see J. and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Pt. 1: to 1751*, 3 (Cambridge, 1924).

Robert Kelham never separated himself from his native Lincolnshire. He invested his monies (see L.A.O., Black Sluice, Treasurer's

- Accounts, 1765-1823, 2 vols., I: 1765-1803, *passim*) and owned numerous properties there (see L.A.O., B.R.A. 1521 Kelham, *passim*). There is even a record of his having borrowed Dugdale's *History of the Lincolnshire Fens (The Records of the Honourable Society Lincoln's Inn, III: The Black Books from A.D. 1600-A.D. 1775* [Lincoln's Inn, 1899], p.411) from the Lincoln's Inn library. In his will he was generous to Lincolnshire charities. That he left remembrance rings to Richard Gough of Forty Hill, John Pattison of Billinghamborough, and Benjamin Smith Sr suggests a loyalty to old friends. Besides consigning a similar ring to London partner Christopher Johnson, Kelham singled out John Cragg of Threckingham to receive £50 because of the 'assiduous attention' he had given to his landed property (Public Record Office, hereafter P.R.O., P.C.C. Wills, B11/1477, Robert Kelham). For biographical information on Cragg, known beyond Horbling as an enclosure commissioner, see Lincolnshire Archives Committee, *Archivists' Report 5* (1953-54), pp.24-25 and 9 (1957-58), pp.15-16.
17. See *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, I: Admission from A.D. 1420 to A.D. 1779* (London, 1896), p.409. The Law Society Rolls show that Robert Kelham of Staples Inn, Gent., was admitted and enrolled on 28 November 1739. Guy Holborn, Librarian of Lincoln's Inn Library, was very helpful in my researching Kelham.
 18. W. S. Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, 16 vols. (1922-66), XII: pp. 167, 403. See also 'Kelham' in Lincolnshire Archives Committee, *Archivists' Report*, 18 (1966-67), pp.29-30 and the Langdale genealogical materials sent to me by Messrs Oliver Langdale of Swerford, Oxon., and Anthony Langdale of Godalming, Surrey.
- The *D.N.B.* lists Kelham's publications as follows: *An Alphabetical Index to all the Abridgments of Law and Equity, and to Several Books of the Crown Law, Conveyancing and Practice; Calculated to Facilitate the References to the 'General Abridgement of Law and Equity,' by Charles Viner* (London, 1758); *Britton, Containing the Antient Pleas of the Crown; Translated, and Illustrated with References, Notes, and Antient Records* (London, 1762). Although Kelham translated *Britton* in its entirety, he did not publish the very substantial twenty-fifth chapter which he presented to Lincoln's Inn in manuscript (Lincoln's Inn Misc 4). *The Dissertation of John Selden, Annexed to Fleta, Translated, with Notes* (London, 1771); *A Dictionary of the Norman or Old French Language...the Laws of William the Conqueror* (London, 1779 and reprinted Philadelphia, 1843, and included in Bouvier's *Law Dictionary*); *Domesday Book Illustrated* (London, 1788).
- Kelham's vast knowledge of early English law is evident in his numerous references to Glanvill, Bracton, Fleta, and *The Mirror* in his printed and manuscript versions of *Britton*. F. M. Nicholls relied on both in his own edition of *Britton*: 'I owe much to the industry of Mr Kelham, who illustrated the portion of *Britton* which he published in English with very copious marginal notices of authorities of all dates' (*Britton* [Oxford, 1865] pp.lviii, lx). John Baker has commented less enthusiastically about Kelham's legal scholarship: 'Robert Kelham was more interested in old chronicles and literary works than Yearbooks....' He urged caution using Kelham's Old French dictionary (*Manual of Law French*, 2nd edn Aldershot, 1990, p.8).
19. See P.R.O., Kew, Apprenticeship/Master Records IR1, 20/157. It is tempting to speculate that Kelham was in some way responsible for Benjamin Smith Sr's clerkship (if, indeed, it was Benjamin Smith of Horbling, Lincolnshire) to one Thomas Thoresby of Lincoln's Inn from 1756 to 1760 (P.R.O., Kew, IR1, 20/166). The Smith who clerked for Thoresby may have been from Deale in Kent (P.R.O., Affidavits of Due Execution, King's Bench Articles of Clerkship and P.R.O., Kew, Stamp Office Registers of Apprentices.
 20. *Browne's General Law-list for the Year 1779, 1782, and 1785* places Kelham and Johnson in Hatton Gardens. Christopher Johnson, enrolled and admitted to the courts in 1778, came from the city of Durham; Gaskell of Thornhaugh Street, Bedford Square, was admitted and enrolled in 1791 (Law Society Rolls, London). See also L.A.O. Smith 11/Bills (1790-1803[4]), the designation of Kelham, Johnson, and Gaskell, 1794-1795. By the end of that decade the firm of Johnson and Gaskell had moved to 13 Queen's Square, Bloomsbury. Johnson died about 1814 and Gaskell in 1817.
 21. Most of what follows about the Langdales is derived from Smith, Diary and Langdale genealogical materials. See also Burke's *Landed Gentry* (1939), pp.1325-26.
 22. London, Guildhall Library MSS, Application for Admissions for Membership to Stock Exchange, 17957 (4), 1805.
 23. This bank, which under various names dated to 1788, was succeeded by Dixon, Brooks, Dixon (1836-59), which, in turn, merged with Union Bank of London in 1859. See F. G. Hilton Price, *A Handbook of London Bankers* (London, 1890-91), p.53.
 24. Assumptions about Marmaduke Langdale's involvement in the distillery business are derived from various London directories. The *London Directory of 1780* lists (p.100) Thomas Langdale, distiller, of 26 and 81 Holborn. The same directory for 1791 (p.90) and 1795 (p.36), the *Post Office Directory of 1800* (p.132), and *Ken's Directory for the year 1802* (p.121) lists both Thomas and Marmaduke as distillers of 26 Lower Holborn. The *Post Office Directory of 1811* (p.181) designates Marmaduke as stockbroker while continuing Thomas and Marmaduke as distillers.
- Thomas Langdale is best remembered as a Catholic distiller whose properties were devastated by Gordon rioters during the summer of 1780. The Langdale genealogies cite J. P. de Castro, *The Gordon Riots* (Oxford, 1926) about Thomas Langdale without indicating his kinship to Marmaduke.
25. The Marmaduke Langdales were living at 17 Ormond Street as early as 1792. See P. Boyle, *The Fashionable Court Guide or Town Visiting Directory for the Year 1792*, p.110. *The London Directory* of 1810 lists the Capel Court business address.
 26. See *A List of the Brokers of the City of London at Michaelmas, 1827-1849* (London, n.d., printed for each of these years and bound in a single volume).
 27. Langdale bequeathed to his eldest son, Marmaduke Robert, his estate and to his sons George and William £12,000 each in 3 per cent consolidated bank annuities. See P.R.O., PROB 11/1804, Wills, Marmaduke Langdale. To his second son Robert Kelham he left only £2,000 because Robert had been named heir of his maternal uncle and grandfather.
 28. Marmaduke Langdale was buried at St Michael's Tower Royal, London beside his wife, Sarah Augusta.
 29. Marmaduke Robert's marriage in 1812 to Louisa (1792-1863), the second daughter and co-heiress of George Jourdan of Guilford Street, produced four sons. The Jourdans, of Huguenot descent, had come to London at the end of the seventeenth century. The Marmaduke Robert Langdales resided at 38 Gower Street, Bedford Square, Bloomsbury and Garston House, Godstone, Surrey. Langdale had been an ensign in 9th Regiment of Foot in 1802, enrolled as a member of the Bloomsbury and Inns of Court Volunteers on 30 May 1803 and gazetted coronet in the London and Westminster Light Cavalry, June 1810 (Langdale genealogical materials).
 30. London, Guildhall Library MSS, Applications for Admissions for Membership to Stock Exchange, MS. 17957 (4) 1805: 'My son to act as my clerk. [signed] Marmaduke Langdale,' MS. 17957 (14), List 8, nos. 16, 17; in 1825 (24) he was listed as partner.
 31. See *A List of the Brokers 1827-1849*; Guildhall Library MSS, Applications for admissions for membership to stock exchange, 1845 (44), 1855 (54); and *List of Members of the Stock Exchange 1841* (London, 1840), p.14.
 32. In his will Langdale referred to his 'inlaid cabinet containing cameos and antiquities', which he bequeathed to Alfred. He also designated specific cameos for other sons and mentioned a case of metals of the kings of England 'in damascene work', a collection of snuff boxes, a large cabinet of minerals and shells, plate, and assorted pictures and prints (Probate Principal Registry 25 October 1860, Somerset House, Will of Marmaduke Robert Langdale).
 33. Most of what follows has been extracted from Benjamin Smith's diaries, ledgers, and other business papers. The Kelham papers in the L.A.O. are unhelpful; the Langdale business papers no longer exist. Separate branches of the present Langdale family, while helpful with genealogical materials, had no knowledge of business papers or even of the existence of the brokerage firm. I am grateful to Sharon Quinn-Robinson of the Business Archives Council for her assistance, however unsuccessful, in tracing the Langdale firm.
 34. Cf. L.A.O. Smith 11/Bill & Debt Book, 1761-66, June, 1762 for Smith's earliest reference to 'my agent' Kelham (pp.12-13).
 35. The earliest Lincolnshire transaction for Kelham dates to July, 1762 when Smith paid Kelham part of a note due from one William Cotton, *ibid*, p.18. See also L.A.O. Smith 11/Bill & Debt Book, 1761-66, Toller account, 1765, p.44.
 36. Cf. L.A.O., Smith/Bills (1790-1803[04]), Kelham 1794-1795. Large sums - £150, £600, £500, £500, £400 - were also exchanged in earlier years as on 25 February and 7 April 1790, 16 December 1791, 6 and 29 April 1792, respectively, which also indicate substantial investments (Smith 11/Cash Book, 1789-1794). On a personal level, the Black Sluice Treasurer's Accounts show that at times in the 1780s and 1790s Kelham was the single largest investor in this Lincolnshire drainage undertaking. The elder Ben Smith was Black Sluice treasurer during these years as well (See L.A.O., Black Sluice Internal Drainage Project, Treasurer's Accounts 1765-1803, *passim*).
- Substantial, though not extraordinary, sums passed between Smith and Kelham in earlier years as well. See, typically, L.A.O., Smith 11/Cash Book, 1773-74, the following payments: 10 January 1774 for £48 17s; two drafts for £220 to Kelham on 20 January; for Wyans' draft to

Kelham on 1 February, £157; on 19 February bills sent to Kelham by I. Birkitt for £984 7s; 1 March two bills sent to Kelham for £197 10s; Mr Clark money paid to Kelham £85 18s 6d; 30 March two bills sent to Kelham 28 inst. for £209 11s; on 21 April received from Kelham Bank Post Bills for £800 but disbursed to Kelham on 12 May £72 5s for two bills; in Cash Book 1777-78 other disbursements to Kelham - Mr Hubbard's draft for £50 on 17 July 1777; another payment to Kelham a bill for £104 11s 4d; in November one from Upton for £100; in December 1777 another from Upton for £80 and Pilgrim's and Markins' draft to Kelham for £150, and so it went.

Modest sums for the kinds of legal tasks - journeys here and there perusing title deeds, attendances, etc. - which Smith performed for Kelham in Lincolnshire are also evident in the latter's account, L.A.O., Smith 11/Bills, 1790-1803/[04], p.338. In contrast to the large sums involving Kelham when he was active, his account with Smith after retirement listed small transactions for minor services which Smith continued to perform for him in Lincolnshire (L.A.O., Smith/Accounts 1797-1807, Kelham, p.543).

37. For examples of the elder Ben Smith's London encounters see the following: L.A.O., Smith 11/Bill & Debt Book, 1761-66, p.47 in which he mentions 'going to two of the London printers twice' and 'attending' a Mr. Richards and Mr. Parke in London in March 1767. Cash book entries indicate that he sold sheep in London from time to time (e.g. 3 October 1773); on 2 April 1774 he paid two guineas for London newspapers; on 6 May he listed expenses of a guinea 'towards my journey to London'; and in August additional references to his journey to London (L.A.O., Smith 11/Cash Book, 1773-1774). Of course, some of these entries may have alluded to the same trip. On 23 February 1777 Smith noted under receipts that he was taking 'cash exclusive of the light money I take to London £1,453 8s 5d' (Cash Book, 1777-78); in May he recorded expenses of £114 11s 10d for a London journey. Possibly, this was the same as mentioned in February. He may have called at Lincoln's Inn for counsel. William Worth's 1780s precedent books - Worth later became clerk and partner in the Smith firm - contained opinions from Lincoln's Inn counsel whom Smith had hired (cf. L.A.O., Smith/William Worth Precedent Books, *passim*).
38. Brown's 1803 account, shows Langdale's sale of Red annuities for £2,004 11s 2d (L.A.O., Smith/Ledger A-B (1803) A, p.14). Besides his many clients who invested with Langdale, Benjamin Smith himself and other Smith family members did as well. Robert Kelham Kelham and Mrs Robert Kelham also appear as occasional Smith clients in these matters. The volume of clients greatly increased over time.

Another option apparently pursued was to use Langdale for essentially banking purposes, as old Edward Brown evidently did. Cf. Smith, Diary, for 15 January 1823: 'Mr Brown in my office all morning settling his will & he gave me an order on Mr Langdale for £5,000 which has gratified me & I hope to use it beneficially & as I ought.' And then the following day: 'I sent to Mr Langdale his [Brown's] order to pay me £5,000.'

39. See L.A.O., Smith 11/Ledgers A-B, 1803, *passim*. While these ledgers document a brisk and continuing Smith-Langdale business relationship, Smith's London journals confirm it: 'Went to Langdales and Mastermans about 8,000 to have been paid by Walker' (30 June 1845); 'went in City to see Langdales & arrange for tomorrow to complete Mr Brown's purchase' (August, 1846); 'went in City several times receiving & paying monies on Langdale' (June 1847); 'went to Langdales to execute power of attorney' (June 1851).
40. See L.A.O. Smith 11/London Accounts 1837-1853, *passim*.
41. L.A.O., Smith/Ledger A-B (Q) 1836, Langdale Account, 1837 (p.124) illustrates the magnitude of his transactions: receipts -£4,000, £2,555, £2,300, £5,000, £1,057, £1,025, £1,000, £1,026, £1,850, and £5,763.; payments - £1,000, £3,000, £2,355, £4,125, £1,000, £1,000, £1,050, £2,000, £1,837, £5,000, and £3,064. Many others in both categories were in the hundreds of pounds. The following individual bonds sales were recorded on the payment side of Smith's Langdale ledger during the first half of 1842: £5,244, £9,300, £1,044, and £6,182 5s. (L.A.O., Smith/Ledger A-B (S) 1841, Langdale Account).

Smith's London accounts 1837-1853 show a few transactions each year with Langdale, usually payments for considerable sums. On 20 February 1837 he paid Langdale £415; on 4 March 1839, £520; on 29 May 1840, £208 11s 8d; on 2 November 1840, £225; 18 May 1841, £2,442; 14 June 1842, £1,600; 12 November 1841, £1,000; 15 February 1842, £1,039-13; 22 February 1842, £2,100; 8 May 1849, £2,430 2s 6d; 11 June 1851, £200 and £400. Nominal charges, i.e. four or six shillings, were occasionally made for transference of stock (e.g. 30 May 1848 and 5 October 1848).

42. After the deaths of Johnson and Gaskell Smith turned to Took. Smith recorded agent Took's address as 12 Russell Square and the office as 39 Bedford Row: *The Daily Journal or Gentleman's Merchant's and*

Tradesman's Complete Annual Account Book (London, 1851 and 1854). *Boyle's Court Guide* (1821) lists Took and J. Carr at 3 Holborn Court, Gray's Inn. Took was variously in partnership with his son Arthur and William Hallows as well as Carr (*ibid* [1821 and 1843]); *London Post-Office Directory* (1848); and *Watkins London Directory* (1853).

Stationers Druce and Crosier listed in the 1848 and subsequent *London Post-Office Directories* at the Quality Court address, were variously represented in earlier London directories. In *Lowndes's London Directory for the Year 1799*, Thomas Druce, stationer, was at 23 Chancery Lane and Holborn Bars; in *Kent's Directory of London* (1811) he was Staples Inn Gate, Holborn. Crosiers appear as solicitors and barristers as well as stationers in *Watkins London Directory* (1853) and the *London Post-Office Directory* (1848).

43. Dixon, Brooks, and Dixon; Cocks, Biddulph, and Biddulph; Drummond's, Barclay, Bevan, Tritton and Company; Henry Hoare; London Joint Stock Bank; London and Westminster Bank; Richard Twining; Child and Company; and, especially, Masterman and Company were the most prominent.
44. Smith was salaried by those of his clients - Edward Brown, Major Barker, Henry Lee Warner, for instance - whose finances he managed and for whom he purchased stocks through Langdale. For, say, 1814 Smith received an annual salary of ten guineas each from Brown and Barker (L.A.O., Smith/Ledger A-B [E] 1814); on the other hand, Henry Lee Warner paid him £50 annually in 1807 (*ibid*, [B] 1806). Over and above such stipends, clients were billed for specific services.
45. Cf. L.A.O., Smith/Ledger A-B, *passim*, Langdale Account, for instances of Smith stock transactions in his own behalf.
46. The dates which follow correspond to Smith's diary entries.
47. The absence of diaries for these years also leaves uninformed about Benjamin Smith Jr's marriage to Harriet Martin in 1806 and her death at twenty-five in 1808.
48. The family squabbles are detailed by Smith in Diary, *passim*, immediately before and after Mother Smith's death in 1820.
49. This partnership was dissolved in 1817 by Smith who charged Worth with drunkenness (Diary, 5 and 7 October 1817).
50. To Smith's chagrin, she displayed a far greater interest in his new partner, Benjamin Wilkinson (Diary, 1817 and 1818, *passim*). On 4 October 1817 he recorded:
Newbat asked me to go to Grantham on Thursday with Wilkinson. I strongly suspect she is up to something with him. Her manner does not please me. I wish most earnestly what I have long done to be married.
51. See Albert J. Schmidt, 'The country attorney in late eighteenth-century England: Benjamin Smith of Horbling', *Law and History Review*, 8 (Fall, 1990), pp.237-71, esp. p.269.
52. Thomas Forsyth had long been a friend, client, and colleague in enterprise. In the late 1790s Forsyth and the Smiths had turned a neat profit victualling Heathcote's troop, raised as a precaution to a French invasion and with whom young Ben had exercised his mount (Diary, 1794-99, *passim*).
53. Since Brown, too, was an early and heavy investor with the Langdales, it is possible that Smith received instructions on these stopovers in Stamford. The Browns had really launched the Smiths in the 1750s; Brown's gift of £5,000 to Benjamin Jr in 1823 exemplified the trust which he placed in Smith.
54. Smith dined frequently at both Marmaduke's between 1818 and 1824 and occasionally at the Belts. In several instances Smith's clients were brought together with Langdales. On 16 February 1818, for example, a party hosted at Will's Coffee House by Smith included such Lincolnshire client names as Holway, Cracroft, Rawsley, and Cooper along with William Langdale. On 13 February 1820 Smith dined at the elder Marmaduke's with Cooper and Trattle and next evening at Marmaduke Robert's with Lincolnshire clients Cooper and Cracroft.
55. Diary, 7 October 1818.
56. It was actually Robert Kelham Kelham, Marmaduke's brother, who effected a reconciliation between Benjamin Smith and Sarah and Charles Day (Diary, 23 November 1826).
57. The Langdale-Smith connection included another crucial Lincolnshire link, the Boston banker Garfit. Long a Smith business associate, William Garfit IV was occasionally a guest in Gower Street (e.g. Diary, 1 November, 1818).
58. Smith did mention that Marmaduke Robert once came to Lincolnshire with Robert Kelham to settle a business matter, 'the Pointon sales' (Diary, 14 November 1848).
59. In 1844 Smith called on Langdale twice in six trips; in 1845, three in nine; in 1846, twice in ten; in 1848, none in five; and in 1849, none in nine. In 1848 Smith was especially hard-pressed: his partner Benjamin Wilkinsons had died, and he was overwhelmed with Black Sluice matters. By the early 1850s, relieved of these drainage problems and with a new partner, he called regularly on the Langdales again.
60. The church is on St Giles High Street, southeast of the intersection of what is now Tottenham Court Road and Oxford/New Oxford Streets.

61. Edward was admitted to St John's College, Cambridge in 1797 and matriculated the following year. He graduated B.A. in 1802 and M.A. in 1805. Ordained deacon at Lincoln in 1802 and priest in 1804, he served from 1802 to 1804 as curate of Walcot and in 1804 Newton, Lincolnshire. From 1804 until his death in 1813 he was rector of Folkingham. See J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Pt. II: 1752-1900*, 5 (Cambridge, 1955), p.546.
62. L.A.O., L.C.C. Wills 1813/235, Edward Smith.
63. The account of the Smith-Langdale relationship as it related to Sarah is exclusively from Benjamin Smith's diaries.
64. Between 1817 and 1824 Marmaduke Langdale visited Sarah in December, 1817; March, 1818; September, 1819; October, 1820; September-October, 1822; and August-October, 1823.
65. Once he reprimanded her for gossiping about his housekeeper Mary Newbat (23 September 1819). Another time he expressed concern about her servants (3 February 1820). He further observed that she 'was in trouble about her father's declining to come to her' (16 November 1820). Shortly after this remark he noted that she 'is a good deal disconcerted at her Father's changing plans & I fancy she won't long remain at Falkingham' (8 December 1820). Another time he observed that she was 'cold and distant' (7 May 1821). In November (4th) of that year Smith noted that 'we are uneasy at Sarah giving notice to leave on account of my having spoken to [?] S.B.' She actually did speak of leaving Folkingham on 11 July 1822.
66. Throughout the spring of 1818 Smith penned his annoyance about the rumoured romance between Sarah and Cooper. His information of this episode came largely from sister Elizabeth (e.g. Diary, 19 May 1818).
67. Langdale and Cooper called on Smith on the 16th, but Smith was out; the next day Smith invited Langdale, Cooper, [and Sarah?] to Horbling. This invitation was repeated on the 18th at Sarah's in Folkingham. Langdale's intervention lessened the tension, although Cooper may not immediately have backed off. Smith observed three years later that Sarah had 'expressed herself much depressed in spirit. I fancy some feeling respecting Cooper produces this' (Diary, 19 July 1821).
- In summarizing 1821 Smith indicated that the Cooper matter still festered: 'The letter from Mrs. Edward Smith to me respecting her connection with Cooper were interruptions to comfort immediately after our [his and Frances Graves's] marriage & on our arrival at Horbling.'
- The Cooper situation left Sarah upset and anxious to leave Folkingham. At the end of July she decided to go to Paris from where she did not return until mid-October (Diary, 31 July and 17 October 1821). Even after her return Smith saw fit to write to her about Cooper, for he appeared unwilling to let the matter die. When he visited with the senior Langdales in Doughty Street 'Cooper was much with us' (Diary, 23 April and 18 May 1822).
68. Entries in the Folkingham parish registers (L.A.O.) are signed 'C. Day Curate' for baptisms 12 July 1823 - 29 October 1826; marriages 25 August 1823 - 23 November 1826; burials 1 July 1823 - 12 December 1826. I am indebted to Christopher Sturman for these citations.
69. Diary, 8 March 1824.
70. Diary, 22 and 23 June 1824.
71. Diary, 28 November 1824.
72. Diary, end of year summary for 1824.
73. As noted above (note 56) Smith did reconcile his differences with the Days before their departure from Folkingham in late 1826. He visited them once in Suffolk and saw Sarah occasionally at Marmaduke Robert's in Gower Street. The rarity of these encounters suggests that their relationship remained strained.
- After his marriage to Sarah, Charles Day served as vicar of Rushmere St Andrew, Suffolk (1826-36), for a time as minister of Trinity chapel, St George, East London, and from 1842 until his death at age 74 in 1868 as vicar of Mucking in Essex (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses Pt. II: 1752-1900*, 2 [Cambridge, 1944], p.258).
74. Edward, eighteen years of age when he was admitted to St John's, Cambridge, on 16 December 1829, matriculated the following year, and graduated B.A. in 1835 and M.A. in 1838. He was ordained deacon at Lincoln on 17 December 1837 and priest a year later. He served as vicar of Barton Hartshorn with Chetwode, Buckinghamshire from 1839 to 1895. In 1839 he married Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev Henry Gauntlett, vicar of Olney, and died at age 83 on 10 March 1895 at Chetwode vicarage (Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Pt. II: 1752-1900*, 5 [Cambridge, 1953], p.547).
75. Old Marmaduke was equally caring about his grandson. While in Folkingham in the autumn of 1819, he took Edward back to school ([Smith] Diary, 7 October).
76. Diary, 2 February 1825. Smith spared no effort to give his niece and nephew guidance. In the spring of 1818 he was frequently in consultation with his sister-in-law about Edward's education (6 and 12 May) and indicated that the Rev. Waters offered to take Edward to his house. It was decided otherwise, for Sarah and the children left for London on 28 December 1818 to enter Edward in Charterhouse school. Smith could only sigh: 'May God bless & protect him.'
- Smith was determined to monitor his nephew's progress. On 16 February 1819, while in London, Smith visited Edward at his new school 'which appeared satisfactory'. On 11 November of that year Smith went with Cooper to Hammersmith to see Edward; on 12 February he visited Edward again.
77. Diary, 19 August 1835.
78. L.A.O., L.C.C. Wills 1858, pp.33-40, Benjamin Smith Jr. Smith clearly watched over his nephew to the end, maintaining an account for him and keeping Edward's Chetwode address handy in his 1854 business diary.
79. The question arises as to when solicitors really began thinking of themselves as professionals. Most recent literature has focused on the eighteenth century, e.g. G. S. Holmes, *Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680-1730* (London, 1983); Robert Robson, *The Attorney in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1959); and Michael Miles, 'Eminent practitioners: the new visage of country attorneys', in G. R. Rubin and David Sugarman, eds., *Law, Economy & Society* (Abingdon, 1984), pp.470-503 + i-xii, to name but a few. A recent exception is J. Stuart Anderson, *Lawyers and the Making of English Land Law 1832-1940* (Oxford, 1992) who suggests that the perception of solicitors as professionals came after 1832.
- See especially Philip Aylett, 'Attorneys and clients in eighteenth-century Cheshire: a study in relationships, 1740-1785,' *Bulletin John Rylands Library*, 69, 2 (1987), pp.326-58 as it relates to this article: 'It is certain that the eighteenth-century attorney already contained elements of several other later professional men - land agents, stockbrokers, the company secretary, and others' (p.358).
80. Of the senior Langdale's generation was his first cousin Marmaduke Trattle (1751-1831) of the Rectory House of All Hallows, Broad Street, London Wall. A wealthy retired West India merchant, he was known for his urbane manners and hospitality. His natural history library and especially his magnificent collection of ancient and modern coins and gems - which he bequeathed to his nephew Marmaduke Robert - made his residence a meeting place for serious numismatists of his day. Although Benjamin Smith had no business dealings with Trattle, the two were often brought together socially through the Langdales, and he likely exposed the impressionable country solicitor to a broad spectrum of cultural interests.
81. Somerset House, Probate Principal Registry 25 October 1860, Marmaduke Robert Langdale.
82. Cf. P.R.O., P.C.C. PROB 11/1477, Robert Kelham, 1808 and P.C.C. PROB 11/1804, Marmaduke Langdale, 1832. Both wills refer to special arrangements whereby Robert Kelham received a sizeable inheritance from Kelham and consequently a reduced one from his father.
83. L.A.O., Smith/Ledger A-B (Q) 1836, p.235.
84. Smith noted in his diary 6 February 1842 of his having 'seen the Belts for the first time in years'.