

# W H A R P E N D E N

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Ramridge

Little Cuts

Hill Farm

Gr. Cuts

Parsonage House

Bower Heath

Dean Farm

Kimpton Bottom

Coleharbour

Porter's End

the Hill

Raisons Farm

Blackmare End

Kimpton

Peckford Hill

Mackrey End

Rafford Mill

Mrs Gannard

Marshalls Heath

Garited Wood

St Benet Gannard

Laney

Cansewell

Cherry Tree

Ribbion Hall

Peckford's Hall

The Folly

The Grove

Dow Green

Pipers

Wheathamsted Crosses

Hamwell

Snow Hill

Marvard

Airy's End

Necmans Land Common

Eartruelove

Beach Hide

Samuels Farm

WHEATHAMPSTEAD  
and  
HARPENDEN

II

New Men and a New Society:  
the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries

1974

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## Introduction

The story of Harpenden and Wheathampstead people in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which is contained in this second booklet, is told to some extent in the words of contemporaries. In quoting freely from documents of the time we have decided to preserve the original spelling and use of capitals, while inserting modern punctuation. There were no standard spellings at this time. Alternatives were used quite freely, even of names. Thus Robert Kent spelt 'said' and 'rooms' in two different ways in one sentence (p. 83), and his wife Agnes was spelt as 'anesees' and 'annes' in the same will. An e was added to many words; plurals became es. Words were run together: 'the end' became 'thend' (p. 52). People spoke a local dialect and this is reflected both in the phonetic spelling and in the use of dialect words. 'Datter' was daughter (p. 81); and 'beloues' seem to have been bell ewes (p. 48). We hope that our readers will enjoy the process of interpreting their ancestors' spelling and not be too frustrated by it.

Surnames were not always standardised, even by the seventeenth century: 'alias' was a way of linking two alternative surnames (e.g. p. 72), not a way of introducing a disreputable pseudonym. We have printed in italics unfamiliar words which cannot be found in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* and explained their meaning in a glossary in the appendix. We have been in a quandary as how best to deal with the situation produced by metrication. Since there are so many quotations in which the contemporary figure is used, it seemed on balance better to leave all figures in the traditional form, but to provide appropriate conversion tables over the page.

John Carpenter has worked on the Carpenter and Neale families and Margaret Holden on the Catlins. Very many others have contributed to the text which Lionel Munby has edited.

We are grateful to the Keepers of the Public Record Office and of the Muniments at Westminster Abbey, to the County Archivist at Hertford, and to their staffs, for making the original records which we have used available to us. The source of our quotations is indicated in square brackets: P.R.O. stands for Public Record Office, W.A.M. for Westminster Abbey Muniments, H.C.R.O. for Hertfordshire Record Office; the letters and numbers refer to the particular document used. We have not given references to wills and inventories which are in the Hertfordshire Record Office; they can be found from the date and the individual's name, which we have given. We have abbreviated the references to one book of which we have made much use. This is a seventeenth century Rothamsted Court Book in English, which translates the original Latin Court Rolls; we have given only the page references, in the form [ff. 79 & 79v], which means folio 79 and folio 79 verso or over. The pages (folios) are only numbered on the right hand side. The reference number for this book is H.C.R.O. D/ELW M35.

## Conversion Tables

### (A) CURRENCY

Medieval	Before 1971	Since 1971	
	1 penny	1d = $\frac{1}{2}$ new pence	$\frac{1}{2}$ p
1 groat	= 4 pennies	4d	
		5d = 2 new pence	2p
		6d =	$2\frac{1}{2}$ p
	12d = 1 shilling	1s = 5 new pence	5p
	florin	2s = 10 new pence	10p
	half-a-crown =	2s.6d =	$12\frac{1}{2}$ p
$\frac{1}{4}$ mark	=	3s.4d =	$16\frac{1}{2}$ p
	crown =	5s =	25p
$\frac{1}{2}$ mark = $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{florin} \\ \text{noble} \end{array} \right\}$ =		6s.8d =	$33\frac{1}{2}$ p
		10s = 50 new pence	50p
	half-a-guinea =	10s.6d =	$52\frac{1}{2}$ p
1 mark	=	13s.4d =	$66\frac{1}{2}$ p
	240d = 20s. = one pound =	£1 = 100p = one pound =	£1
	one guinea =	£1.1s =	£1.05

### (B) LINEAR MEASUREMENTS

12" inches = 1' foot 3' feet = 1 yard  $5\frac{1}{2}$  yards = 1 rod,  
pole or perch  
22 yards = 1 chain 220 yards = 1 furlong 1,760 yards = 1 mile

cm.	inches	metres	yards	km.	miles
2.540	1	0.394	0.914	1	0.621
5.080	2	0.787	1.829	2	1.243
12.700	5	1.969	4.572	5	3.107
30.480	12	4.724	9.144	10	6.214

The figures in the central columns represent the opposite measurement to whichever column is being referred to. For example 1 inch = 2.540 centimetres and 1 centimetre = 0.394 inches.

### (C) AREA MEASUREMENTS

144 square inches = 1 square foot. 9 square feet = 1 square yard.  
 $30\frac{1}{4}$  square yards = 1 perch. 40 perches = 1 rood. 4 roods (4,840 square yards) = 1 acre. 640 acres = 1 square mile.  
 1 acre = 0.4047 hectares. 1 hectare = 2.47106 acres.

## II

### NEW MEN AND A NEW SOCIETY

Because there is so much continuity in English society, it is often assumed that until quite recently village life was calm and unchanging. We have described, in the first booklet, the evidence for our past history which lurks just below the surface of the local view. In this second booklet we shall see how much society changed during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Money values in particular altered and we must begin by explaining the implications. Two different things get confused in the reader's mind: the money of account used to express the value, and the value of money. By money of account we mean the units used in money calculations. These have changed more than once: in the middle ages marks were used; a mark was 13s. 4d or 66.6p; this is why so many payments were of apparently peculiar amounts, like 13s. 4d or 6s. 8d. Before 1971 pounds (£), shillings (s) and pence (d) were the units of account and since then pounds (£) and (new) pence (p).

Whether the money of account remains the same or is changed, the value of money changes. Some goods become dearer and others cheaper, while new goods become available. Over a period of time there may be a general tendency for goods to get dearer or cheaper. The sixteenth century was one of two main periods of inflation which have not been followed by a deflationary period; we live in the other one. During the sixteenth century money fell in value by five or six times. It is much easier to convey an idea of the changes produced during one of these relatively short periods of rapid inflation than it is to compare changes in the value of money over three or four hundred years. But if we compare 1970 with the early seventeenth century, after the main inflation was over, we find that the poorest paid men in 1970 earned seventy-five to a hundred times as much as the early seventeenth century day-labourers, while a good bed cost only forty to fifty times as much. Butter at 20p per lb. cost eight times as much as butter bought for Gorhambury in 1637-9, while eggs at 40p per dozen cost twenty times as much and lamb at 40p per lb. forty-five times as much.

It is, however, really meaningless to answer the question how much was £1 worth in Elizabethan England. It is only possible to show how much of what was then available could be bought by different groups of people. In looking at the sums of money quoted in this booklet, it is worth bearing in mind the following tables of day wages authorised by Hertfordshire J.P.s in 1592 and 1632. These were legally enforceable rates which it was a crime to exceed or drop below.

	Day Labourer		Mower		Carpenters/Bricklayers	
	With Meat & Drink	Without M & D	With M & D	Without M & D	With M & D	Without M & D
1592	3d-4d	7d-8d	8d	1s.	6d-8d	11d-1s.
1632	4d-5d	8d-10d	10d	1s.2d	8d-1s.	1s.2d-1s.4d

Between 1592 and 1632 it was estimated that a day's food and drink for a working man cost 4d. This should be remembered in judging the value of earnings or small sums of money left in wills.

## Changes in Local Society

By the time civil war broke out in 1642 there were, probably, almost twice as many people living in the area as there had been in 1500, and the standard of living of the better off half of the population had risen substantially; there were many newcomers. These developments produced visible changes in local surroundings, in two ways in particular: there were many new or reconstructed houses, and there were more hedged fields. At the same time attitudes and beliefs changed.

### HOUSES AND BUILDINGS

A growing population, and one which was getting richer, built new houses, improved and enlarged some old ones and divided up others. Wheathampstead and Harpenden are peculiarly rich in late medieval houses and there is considerable evidence for sixteenth and seventeenth century building operations. This can be found not only in the bigger houses which belonged to the landlord families, houses like Annables, Mackerye End, Rothamsted, and Wheathampstead Place, but also in houses like Yew Tree Cottage, which do not look immediately impressive today, but which must have housed the families of prospering yeomen. A study of local buildings, with plans, will be made in a later booklet.

There is also contemporary documentary evidence for the building which was going on. The Rothamsted Court Rolls record in 1587 the admission of Roger and Elizabeth Peverile to 'a house lately . . . built near Harpenden feild gate' [f.4v]. In 1593-4 the lord of the manor of Rothamsted 'of his special Grace Grants one Cottage of new Erection with a Garden and Appurtenances containing on Rood lying at Howletts Beech, to John James and Elizabeth Carpenter. Rent 2 Capons' [This comes from a loose sheet in the Rothamsted Court Book on which is written the question in a seventeenth or eighteenth century hand 'Where is Howletts Beech?']. The only

property paying a rent of two capons to Rothamsted manor was a house on the west side of Hatching Green; so presumably this must have been Howletts Beech. In 1619 there is a reference to a 'Tenement in Harpeden . . . of New Erection' which seems to have been next to Harpenden Green and to which Joan, the widow of Thomas Samon, was admitted [ff. 32 & 32v]. In 1623 'phillip payne holds of the Lord of the manor as of his Demeasne free by Charter One pigtle with the house newly erected thereon' [f. 35v]. And in 1637 the Dean and Chapter of Westminster granted 'a licence to Elizabeth Halsey to build a cottage at Marshalls heath upon the *wast* of the Mannor' [W.A.M. 14030 H]. Provision for a growing population by subdividing existing houses is shown in entries like that of 1591 which refers to 'two Messuages or Tenements which were one Messuage and now held separately' [f.2v].

We must remember that the houses were pre-fabricated, timber-framed buildings, erected with the help of neighbours, and relatively easy to dismantle, re-use or re-erect. On the outside of Raisins farmhouse in Wheathampstead and the Old House in Leyton Road, Harpenden, the places where posts were put to hold the frame in position while the cross-ties were fixed can still be clearly seen. There is a Westminster account of September 1535 which gives the costs of shoring up a house and the materials needed. Thomas Coke, carpenter, was paid for 'Setting upright of An olde howse . . . next the bery grene at Whetchamstede'. Coke was paid 6d a day with meat and drink and the work took him two days. William Tyler, another carpenter, was paid at the higher rate of 10d a day for three days, even though he too got meat and drink provided. He was paid for underpinning the house. Tyler and his son also tiled the house barn, for which they were paid 1s. 2d. It is interesting to find people doing the job from which they got their surname. The tiles, incidentally, cost 5s. 1s. was paid for 'a qarte Lyme to underpyn the saide howse'; and 4d for 'a Lode of Sande'. The whole operation only cost 11s. [W.A.M. 32059].

In Westminster leases the tenants had to repair their own buildings, but they could use estate timber. A bundle of partly illegible Westminster Abbey accounts gives a glimpse into what building was like in the early sixteenth century. The accounts all seem to be of the same period; the only one actually dated is of September 1535. This was for repairs made to the mill at Wheathampstead 'within the howse and withowte'. The total bill was for £4.3s.4d and it was almost all for labour, all of which was carefully itemised. The only things bought were nails: 6s. was spent on three different purchases, one of which was from Nicholas Adeson, the smith. The other materials used, timber and clay, were obtained from the estate. The biggest item, £2.5s.0d., was for forty-five days work by John Green and Robert Jackson, carpenters, who were given their food and drink as well as being paid 6d each a day. In this time they completed



the following: 'hewyng of tymber to (for) the Flodegatis withowte the Millis, new planking of the saide gates, new planking within the Millis betwene the saide 2 Millis, within the howse 2 new beamys and 2 new postis; At the Mill Tayle withowte the mill, drawing (carriage or carting?) of bordis and plankys'. Five labourers, carrying clay for eight days, were fed and paid 4d each a day. Another 6s. 8d was paid, to whom is not specified, 'in diging and cariage of 40 Lode Clay'. William House, labourer, was paid 3s.4d for felling timber and Nicholas Overingham, sawyer, 9s. for sawing it into boards and planks [W.A.M. 32059].

There were bills for repairs to the manor house, its hall, chambers, gatehouse, and to the 'grette barns and the ponde barne', a complex of buildings presumably at Bury Green. Tiles cost 5s. a thousand and laths 1s.3d a hundred [W.A.M. 32261 & 32264]. William Chapman the carpenter was paid 8d a day for 'mete and drynke and charge', as compared with 7d a day for a tiler and 6d for the tiler's labourer [W.A.M. 32260]. Repair to the barn included 'settyng up of (a spur?) att the berne dore' [W.A.M. 32263]. Barns, like houses, could be taken to pieces and used again. In 1632 Jonas Briggs forfeited all his lands to Rothamsted manor court until he paid a penalty for having 'sold, Destroyed and Carryed off' the barn, of which he was tenant, 'without Licence of the Lord' [ff. 53v & 55v-56].

The manor court was concerned that houses should not be allowed to decay. In 1600 John Seabrooke was ordered to 'repair and amend his house', 'well and sufficiently', with a 10s. fine for failure to do so. This fine was levied in 1603 [ff. 16 & 21v]. Houses were in fact falling down through neglect. In 1591 the house in which William Payce lived was forfeited by the owner, John White, into the lord's hands because the 'Curtilage has falen or is falling to the Ground and great part of the said Curtilage is very ruinous'. John Lyons, who bought the property in 1592, was given permission by the lord of Rothamsted Manor 'to pull doune the said ruinous Curtilage without being Impeached of Wast'. This he clearly did, as is shown by a later description of the property as 'One Messuage, One Toft late a Cottage, with a Curtilage' [ff. 3v, 5v, 6, 6v, 8 and 8v].

#### ENCLOSURE AND CHANGES IN THE LANDSCAPE

The appearance of the local landscape must have been changing while the new houses were being built. All the documents which we have been using give the impression that the normal farm holding contained some enclosed crofts or closes and some strips of land scattered in open fields. The proportions of enclosed and unenclosed land cannot be calculated, but the descriptions given when land changed hands, at a time when there were no generally available maps, convey an impression of the landscape. A typical holding,

consisted of thirteen acres, various enclosed crofts, half an acre called Haywick, half an acre 'in a certain little *Comon* feild called little broadfeild', four separate strips in Upper Colman field, two separate strips in Westfield, and a piece of meadow [f.20v].

Many of the crofts and closes which are referred to in the deeds were, no doubt, small irregular shaped fields on the upland plateaus between the valleys, and others were attached to cottages like the 'gardenne plots' which Robert Kent of Wheathampstead left to his wife in 1612. But some must have been newly enclosed fields. The theme of enclosure runs through all the records of the period. The abbots of Westminster were complaining about local enclosers in the fifteenth century: 'the parson of Whethamsted' was 'sued for digging uppon the lorde's soyle there, viz. uppon *Nomanesland*' in 1405-6 [W.A.M. 8967]. Land in the neighbourhood of Marshallsheath wood was being enclosed in the early 1490s by a certain Hayward and in Queen Elizabeth I's reign by Nicholas Brocket: it was said that he 'doth inclose . . . most unjustlye' 'a lane of the Lordes which hathe Marshalles Woode on the Sowthwest Side and on the North Side a *Comen felde*'. [W.A.M. 14030 D]. This was enclosure of common waste, a continuation of a process which had gone on throughout the middle ages. But empty waste was not so freely available by the sixteenth century as it had been earlier, so we find that farmers on the make were encroaching on the edge of roads as well as commons. The roads, then, were neither metalled, nor hedged so they were not too difficult to plough up. In 1593-4 George Neale of Hammondsend, yeoman, was accused at Quarter Sessions because he 'had of late, with great pits and hedges, obstructed and shut off the said highway, to the great detriment of the public'. The 'said highway' was one leading from Green Lane to Ings Wood, Redbourn mill and St. Albans; this was the track which leaves Redbourn Lane just west of Hatching Green for Hammondsend Farm and Redbournbury. In 1636 John Cutt of Harpenden, labourer, was accused of enclosing, with a hedge and ditch, thirty perches of a common highway leading from Batford Mill towards St. Albans. In 1638 John Brocket esq. of Wheathampstead was accused of exactly the same offence, making a ditch eight feet in length in what is now Marquis Lane [*Hertfordshire County Records Sessions Rolls and Books*. Vol. I, pp. 18-19, Vol. V, pp. 233 & 261]. In 1600 William Payce was accused of 'plowing a parcell of land called a *Comon Balke* in Colman feild'; he was fined and ordered 'to remove the Incroachment', but from later entries in the Rothamsted Court Book it seems that he had not done so by 1603 [ff. 16, 18v, & 21v].

There was a new kind of enclosure taking place, the hedging of consolidated strips in the open fields. We even know the cost of hedging in Henry VIII's reign. An undated account of the period gives this for parts of Wheathampstead: 'payed for higgynge . . . abowght the halle grove, the Rode ½d — 6s.½d.' 'payed for 15 Rode

in the sayd grove on the churcheyerd syde, the Rode 1d — 15d'. 'payed for 40 Rod heggyng abowght the north Felde, the Rode 1d — 3s.4d' [W.A.M. 32259]. References to newly enclosed land occur in various documents and at different dates. In 1582 Christopher Carpenter had four acres in 'Sidcottfield', 'all in one pyece beyng newly enclosed' [W.A.M. 14039]. While a Rothamsted court roll of 1598 has the following entry: 'Att this Court comes William Catlyne and acknowledges to hold of the Lord free one Close of land containing 1 acre which Close is now Inclosed out of a feild called fosters feild' [f.14].

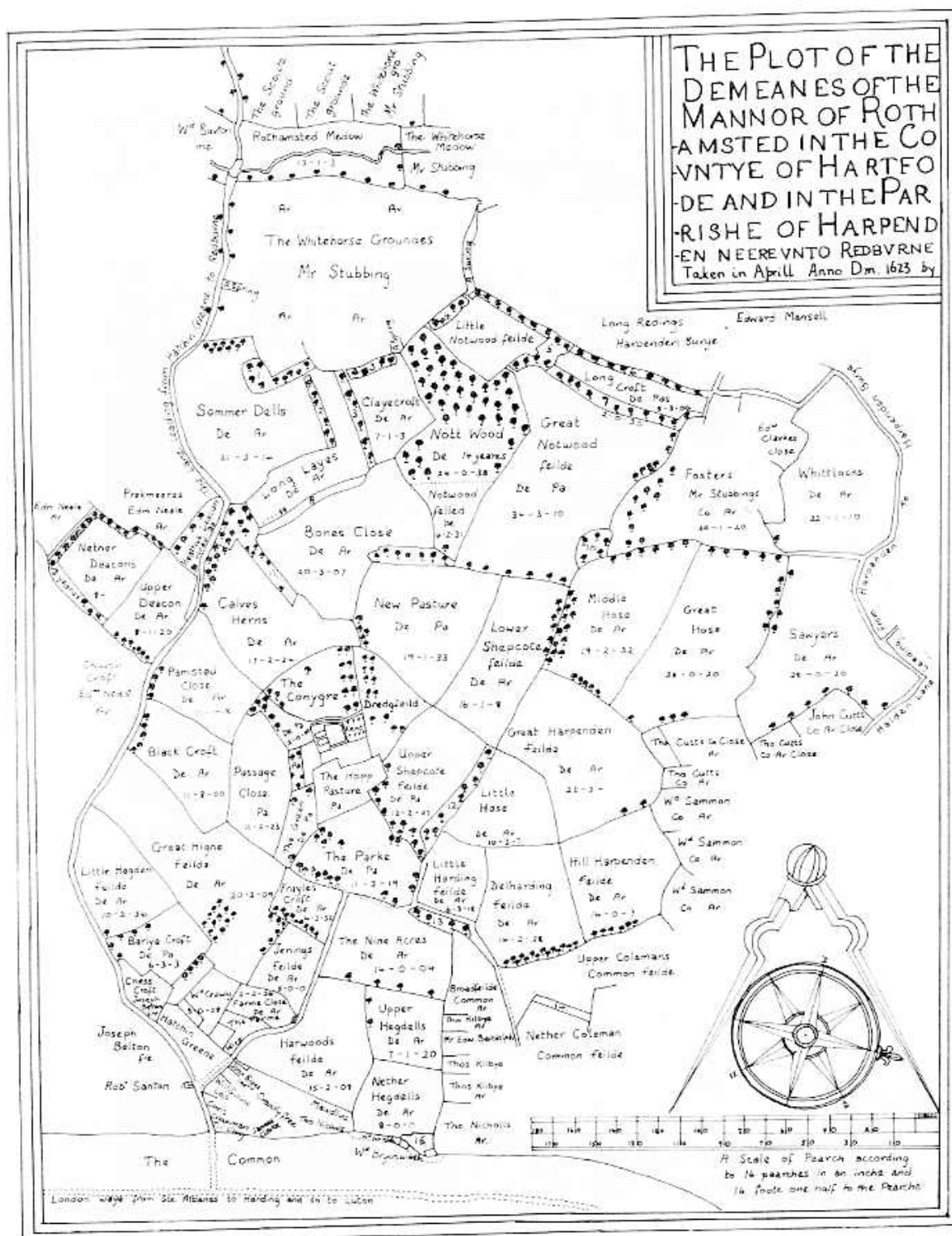
Not everyone welcomed enclosure. In 1620 Thomas Laurence, husbandman, was presented to Quarter Sessions for breaking into the close of Thomas Neale of Kinsbourne Green, a close called Ballards, and taking away two gates and four gatehooks, worth 10s. This was more than simple theft, rather a protest by a smallholder against the enclosing activity of a yeoman farmer, enclosure which cut off the grazing rights of other landowners. During the reigns of Queen Elizabeth I and the first two Stuart kings the rapid growth of London gave Hertfordshire farmers an endlessly expanding market. Grain for bread and beer and wood for fuel, housebuilding, chairs, *treen* and innumerable other household objects were in constant demand. So those, who could, made the most of their assets. Enclosure was one way of farming better and more profitably. Another was selling timber, which meant felling woods.

Woodland management was of overriding importance to landlords. Early in the sixteenth century the abbot of Westminster had turned out the tenant of one of his cottages in Wheathampstead 'for wast don upon the same in fellyng of four grett elmes'. He also claimed that John Brocket had improperly occupied property and 'the wode and underwode upon the same landes growyng consumyd, spoyled and wasted' [W.A.M. 14079]. In 1614 John Catlin petitioned the Lord Chancellor because William Catlin of Bennetts Butts had damaged land which John had leased to William. William had 'cutt upp parte of the quick hedges by the roots and hath felled downe the bodyes of many trees' [H.C.R.O. D/ELW L1]. Gaining control of the woodland was important for the up and coming farmer. In 1567 William Clarke, tenant of Westminster's Wheathampstead manor, bought Marshalls Springs and Butlers Springs (Spring means copse); both had wood of ten or eleven years' growth, but the two acres of Butlers Springs was very 'much manged and spoyled . . . for that it is vary full of busshes' [W.A.M. 14030 E]. In 1587-8 the Smyths of Annables took a twenty-one year lease of various 'springs' of Westminster Abbey woodland: they 'will cut, fell and carry away . . . at such seasonable . . . times that the spring thereof (of the timber) may always renew, come and grow again . . . and will make or cause to be made a good sewer (ditch/drain) and sufficient copehedge and ditch for defence and safeguard of the



PLATE 5 The tomb of Sir John and Margaret Brocket in the south transept of Wheatthampstead Church

*Photo Peter Clarke*



Drawn by Ruth Haines

PLATE 6 'Plot of the Demeanes of the Mannor of Rothamsted' 1623  
 Based on the original map in the Hertford County Record Office (D/ELW P1);  
 the map is undecipherable when photographically reproduced.

spring (and) leave sufficient standards' [W.A.M. 8964]. A 'plot' of the demesne land of Rothamsted Manor (see Plate 6) made in 1623, when the Wittewronges took over the estate from the Bardolphs describes some six acres of Notwood as 'felled'. By 1843 this area was wooded again. Much of the woodland shown on the 'plot' has written against it '14 yeares' or '3 yeares'. This suggests that the same cycle of *coppice and standard husbandry*, which was enforced on the Smyths in their lease, was practised on Rothamsted estate.

#### CHANGE AND LOCAL CUSTOMS

With so many changes in the lay-out of fields and in the personnel of local landlords and farmers, there was a particular need to ensure that the customary routine of the farming year was not disrupted by individual greed. Changes might be necessary but they must be controlled, since the majority of people still had holdings interspersed with those of others. Rules were laid down by the manor court and their enforcement supervised by headboroughs or constables. A document, probably from the sixteenth century, lists the penalties for various breaches of good behaviour: 'For common felde: no man to put in nor taye (tie, tether?) no catayles in to the coven (corn) feld till everyone have rid (removed) his Corne'; the penalty for non-observance was 10s. 'For common brekes (regular ways in): gaytes to be mayd by Lammas (Aug. 1st)'; 12d penalty for failure. 'All hegges to be mayd to (for) manland be (by) Seynt tedwarde's day'; 40d penalty. There were several St. Edwards so what date was meant we cannot tell for sure, although obviously at the time it was well known to local people. 'Gates' and 'hedges' need some explanation. When cattle were put to graze on the stubble in the open field, the whole field had to be temporarily shut in with hurdles so that the grazing animals would not get out on to other fields. The gates and hedges were temporary ones. Indeed a later section in this list of customs, deleted for some reason, concerned 'our common pound', the enclosure in which straying animals were impounded until the owners paid a fine for their release. Harpenden's pound was on the north-west edge of the Common; while Wheat-hampstead's was, presumably, near the pound barn, at Bury Green (see p. 44). Thomas Cressy was the Harpenden *pindar*. In Westminster Abbey's records there is an account of Henry VIII's reign for 'makyng of a newe ponde' [W.A.M. 32259].

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#### KEY TO REFERENCE NUMBERS

- |                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Somerdells Spring.            | 9. Notwood Spring felled.                     |
| 2. Longlayes Spring 7.           | 10. Collye Grove 7 yeares.                    |
| 3. Claycrofts Spring felled (2). | 11. Calves Hens Pightle.                      |
| 4. Notwood Spring 3 yeares.      | 12. Shepcote feilde spring felled.            |
| 5. Little Notwood Sp. 3 yeares.  | 13. W <sup>d</sup> Peverill Cop.              |
| 6. A spring 3 yeares.            | 14. Clothyers Pightle.                        |
| 7. Long Spring 14 yeares.        | 15. W <sup>d</sup> Clothyer for Life. 0-2-30. |
| 8. Long Layes Spring 3 yeares.   |   |

There was a stint in operation on Westminster's manors in the sixteenth century. That is, each farmer was limited in his grazing rights to a number of animals proportional to the acreage of his arable lands. Overlaying (over-stocking) of the commons with sheep was an offence which the headboroughs had to guard against. There were other controls over animal grazing: 'no man (may) put Cattall into the lanes wythout a gate'; 12d fine. Perhaps this meant unhedged lanes. The owners of hogs 'taken in harme (doing damage)' were fined '2d a pecce', if they were 'unyoked beloues'. Both sheep and pigs were called hogs, but a yoked sheep is easier to imagine than a yoked pig! 'Owe', pronounced 'yowe' locally, is a dialect version of ewe. Perhaps 'beloues' were bell ewes on the analogy of bell-wether, the leading sheep of a flock. A yoke might well be a hindrance to a sheep trying to get through a hedge and the leading sheep would be the one to control. 'Yoking' the leading sheep of a flock with three pieces of wood, nailed together to form a rough triangle, so that it could not push through a weak place in the hedge, was quite common in south Warwickshire until twenty years ago. In any case, hedge breaking was a major offence; so the fine for 'large hegges brekes' was 12d a piece, 'yf thay be tayken', as it was cynically put.

While most of this document deals with general offences, some are particular. Indeed we only learn about the over-stocking of the commons because John Kyle had over-stocked Kinsbourne Green with his sheep before Michaelmas. John Hawood was in trouble 'for a blowdeshed upon a strannger'; this was crossed out, so presumably John had paid whatever penalty was exacted. Pickford Bridge was 'to be laid for it is a danger'; this entry was corrected to 'Pickford Bridge to be amendyd 6s. 8d'. 'A pyt called Chalkpyt in top strete' was 'to be fylled be sonday come fornet, in the payne of 10 grotes a pecce, by Allan Clarke & wyllyam (H)umfray & John hunt'. John Coot or Cut's name was deleted. The pit had been used for digging chalk for marling, we presume [W.A.M. 14030 M].

Quite as important as the management of the common fields was security of tenure and rights of inheritance for the tenant; while the landlord did not wish to lose his dues either. So it is not surprising that another undated sixteenth century document describes 'the Customes folowing of our Town of Whethamstead and Harden,' nor that an eighteenth century copy was made for the Wittewronges of Rothamsted [H.C.R.O. D/ELW M 224 & 236]. When *copyhold* property changed hands, the 'surrender' had to be made in front of two other tenants, except 'in Necessity and Danger of Sickenes' when one tenant and two other witnesses would suffice. But such a surrender 'dothe Stand no Longere for a Man in Sickness but untill he recover his Sickness and be able to come to church'. When copyhold property passed to anyone except an heir a 'Herriot, which is the best beast saveing one which best is Chosen for the Heirs', was due to the lord. This beast was valued by four men, two chosen by

the lord of the manor's bailiff and two by the heir, and the new tenant had to pay the lord this price. A late seventeenth or early eighteenth century letter in Westminster's records describes the tenants as copyholders of inheritance but makes no mention of heriots. They would seem, by then, to have been replaced by a 'fine', a kind of tax on admission to the property. The 'fine' was described as at the will of the lord, that is he could fix what sum he wished but it was usual 'to require A yeare and halfe's purchase . . . for every single Admission' of an heir. 'If a wife or child be admitted with the' heir, that is to joint possession, 'then halfe A yeare's purchase more for such additionall life according to the true vallue of the estate' should be added. If the estate passed 'by surrender', that is to anyone not an heir, then only 'A yeare's vallue' was due. 'And wee have used to vallue estates there at this rate: (unles wee doe meet with better information) pasture ground at 13s. 4d. the acre, Meadow at 20s. the acre, & arrable at 7s.' [W.A.M. 14030 P]. Not only had the heriot been replaced by a money payment, and the change seems to have favoured the lord, but provision was now made for a payment by the heir, which had been absent from the sixteenth century provisions.

These, in fact, had favoured the copyholders in several ways. They could sublet their properties for three years and renew the leases for up to nine years, 'withowt licence of the lord'. They were bound to 'maynten and kepe uppe ther houses upon resonable warnynge'; but they had three years in which to do repairs before their property would 'be forfeited into the lorde's handes'. They might 'fell ther woodes and underwoodes and make sayle to ther owne use'. Perhaps the most interesting clause of all, in the light of the changes which we have been describing, was the following: 'wee have had a comen licens of the lord to inclose any of our groundes so that wee stope uppe no comen highway, paythes, nor passages' [H.C.R.O. D/ELW M 224].

#### NEWCOMERS

Why were there so many physical changes occurring in Harpenden and Wheathampstead? There were two main reasons. This was a period of inflation and of social change. Control of the land changed hands and there was a population explosion. The old manorial lords, Westminster Abbey and the rector, lost power in the face of the laymen who had built up large properties in those outlying parts of Westminster's estate which earlier abbots had parcelled out. New men with connections in the City of London or at Court acquired these estates. The contrast is marked between 1500 when the estate was still effectively controlled by the officers of Westminster Abbey and the mid-seventeenth century when two independently organised civil parishes were managed respectively by the new squire of Lamer,



Sir John Garrard whose family produced many Lord Mayors of London, and Sir John Wittewronge of Rothamsted, son of a London brewer and grandson of a Flemish Calvinist refugee. Piggotts which over two centuries was built up into a substantial estate by its owners, the Christians, passed in 1638 to the Stubbings, the late rector's family, but what is more significant is that by then both the families, which were intermarried, were represented by leading London citizens.

As early as 1565 the Brockets, who had been the abbots' chief rivals in Wheathampstead since the mid-fifteenth century, sold their manor of Herons to Thomas North, a courtier. By 1628 they had sold Mackerye End too. In Harpenden the Smyths, who were courtiers, acquired Annables in 1556; early in the seventeenth century the Cottons settled at nearby Turner's Hall; and in 1642 Godman Jenkin, a royal servant, bought Harpenden Hall, then called Blakesleys. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was substantial local pressure to make land ownership profitable. In the process Westminster's influence was reduced to that of an absentee landlord. The dissolution of the monasteries ended the Abbey's existence in 1540; the new Dean and Chapter let their estates to Sir John Brocket in 1543. By 1561 the local tenants were two substantial local yeoman families. By 1616 Sir John Garrard of Lamer was leasing Westminster's Wheathampstead property, while the Harpenden estate was let to a succession of absentee tenants. Who the undertenants and working farmers were, we do not know. In 1697 William Cotton of Turner's Hall took over the lease of Westminster's Harpenden estate. But long before this the Dean and Chapter had suffered the ultimate, if temporary, humiliation of being dissolved by the Commonwealth government. Their manors were sold in February 1650 to Sir John Wittewronge of Rothamsted. He paid £765.14s.10d for the manor and manor house of Harpendenbury and £1,014.8s.11d for the manor of Wheathampstead with its share of fishing rights in the Lea, so becoming Sir John Garrard's landlord for part of Garrard's estate. The Dean and Chapter were reinstated in 1660, on the restoration of Charles II.

While the new landlords took over the estates, the actual farming was being done by families of yeomen, some of whom like the Neales of Hammondsend and Kinsbourne Green aspired to gentry status, and by husbandmen who aimed at becoming yeomen like the Catlin family. They were, as we have seen, the enclosers. The inventories of their possessions, made after their death, show us just how rich some of them had become and what substantial houses they lived in (see Appendix Three). There was, not surprisingly, much conflict over property between these peasant families. We will describe three cases. The Catlin family (see Fig. 8, p. 51) were long divided by a quarrel over farmland. The land in dispute had belonged in succession to three John Catlins and a Robert; it had been Catlin property since

The following symbols are used in this and other family trees:

Names in *italics* are the properties belonging to the people whose names are below

acq. = acquired

fl. = flourished

d. = died

c. = circa (about)

A date above the symbol = (married) is the date of the marriage

Broken lines show inferred relationships

Unbroken lines show documented relationships

1) 2) first, second husband or wife

X No heirs

ch. children      s son(s)      d daughter(s)

A broken line under a name shows evidence for Puritanism

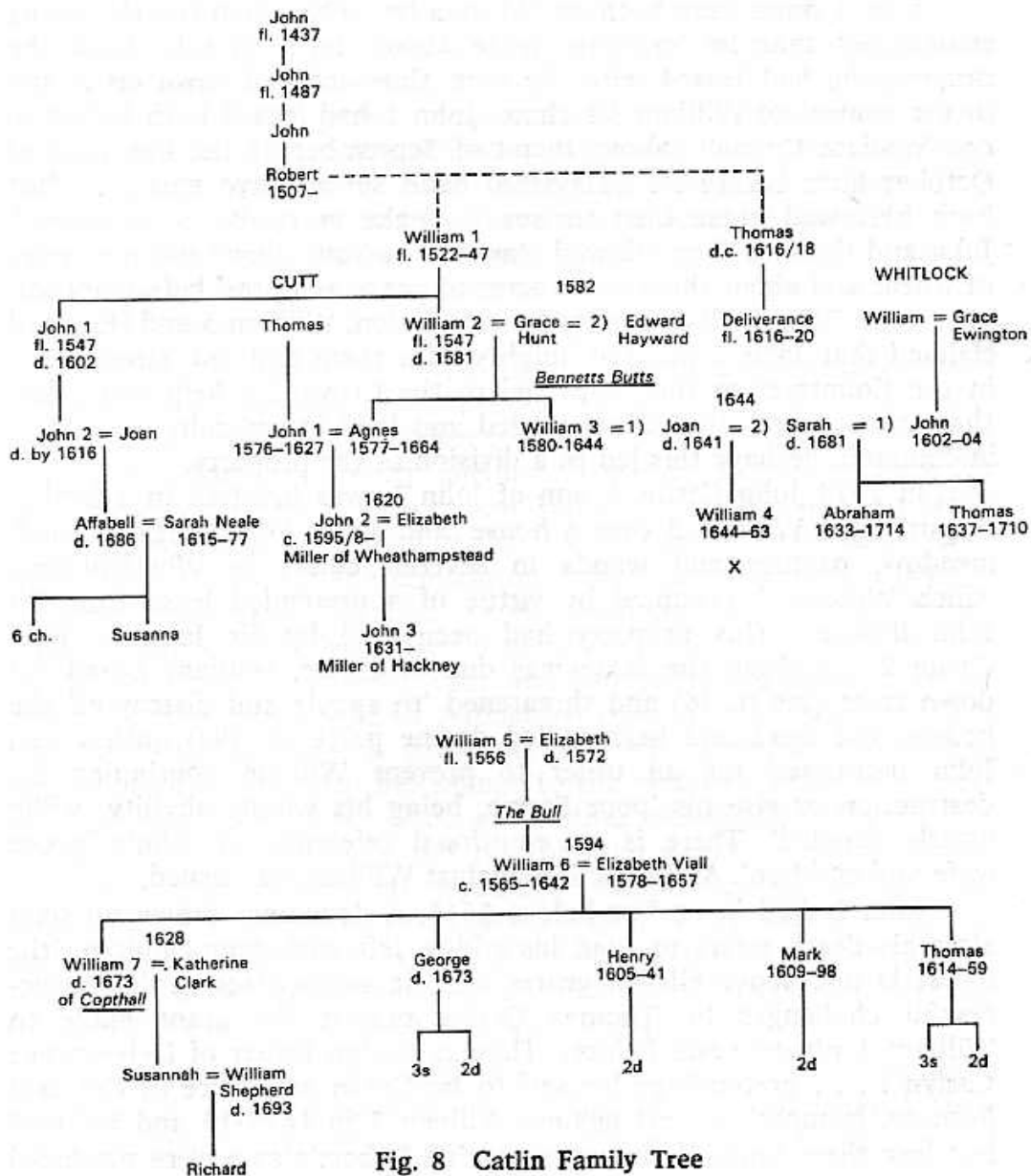


Fig. 8 Catlin Family Tree

1437. In 1522 when Robert was only fifteen, and so under age, he granted the property to William 1, presumably a relative. There was a dispute about it in 1528 when Robert came of age and in 1531 Robert made another grant to William 1. Ninety years passed 'without any clayme made' against this grant. But in 1547 William 1 handed over the property to be held jointly by his two sons William 2 and John 1. In 1562 John 1 made out a bond for £20 pledging himself to accept arbitration in any dispute with William 2, so the joint ownership may not have been harmonious. In 1581 William 2 died and his widow Grace, helped by her new husband Edward Hayward, managed William 2's share for her infant son, William 3; she leased John 1's share for £10 p.a. When William 3 came of age, in 1598, he took over his share; trouble followed over John 1's share.

John 1 must have been an old man by 1599, when the Haywards complained that he 'craftyly wente about' both to take back the property he had leased with the corn Hayward had sown on it and to get control of William 3's share. John 1 had leased both halves to one William Coomes 'about thend of September or the begyning of October laste before . . . Hayward hadd sowen anye part . . . but hath bestowed great Cost theires to make yt ready to be sowen'. John and Coomes then allowed Hayward to sow 'above twentye acres of wheat and about three score acres of pease and otes' before appealing to the Common Law courts for possession, William 3 and Hayward claimed that John 1 was too 'mightye' for them and too 'stronge . . . in the Countrye' so they appealed to the Crown for help and asked that the property should be divided and held in severalty instead of in common. Perhaps this led to a division of the property.

In 1614 John Catlin 2, son of John 1, was involved in a further dispute with William 3 over a house 'and about Fiftie acres of Land, meadow, pasture and woods in severall closes in Whethamsted' which William 3 occupied by virtue of a pretended lease from Sir John Brocket. This property had been sold by Sir John to John Catlin 2. Although the lease was due to expire, William 3 had cut down trees (see p. 46) and threatened 'to spoyle and distroy all the hedges and trees and hath pulled downe parte of (the) outhowes'. John petitioned for an order to prevent William continuing his destruction or else his 'poor Farme, being his wholle abyllity, wilbe utterly spoyled'. There is an emotional reference to John's 'poore wyfe and children'. An injunction against William was issued.

John 2 died in or just before 1616. A document drawn up soon after his death refers to Joan his widow left with four children, 'the oldest is not above elleven yeares old'; it summarises earlier unsuccessful challenges by Thomas Catlin against the grant made to William 1 ninety years before. 'Thomas Catlyn father of Delyverance Catlyn . . . , pretendinge himself to be Cosen and heire of the said Roberte, brought' actions against William 3 in 1612-13 and 1614-15 but lost them both. Documents proving Robert's sale were produced

in evidence and accepted as valid by the court. Thomas used the same approach that Hayward and William 3 had used in their dispute with John 1, attacking through a tenant. This was a common legal device at the time because it made it easier to obtain formal decisions in Chancery. Deliverance appealed to the Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon, in December 1618 and his 'cause' was 'sett down'. We do not know what was the final result of these disputes [H.C.R.O. D/ELW L1, T16 & T39].

Between 1634 and 1638 a similar dispute in the Carpenter family led to physical violence. In 1634 Thomas Carpenter, gentleman of Wheathampstead, complained to Quarter Sessions that he had been ejected from seven acres of freehold arable land by William Carpenter, yeoman, Elizabeth, William's wife, and Thomas, their son, all of Redbourn, who had been armed with swords, staves and knives. The complaint took two and a half years to get to court. Thomas Carpenter was granted a writ of restitution to the seven acres which he claimed he had quietly possessed for five years as heir to his father. Instead of restoring Thomas' land, the Redbourn Carpenters took away the corn by violence, 'with a multitude' of helpers. They continued to hold the land by force and Thomas claimed, in April 1638, that he was afraid of further violence and loss of his inheritances. The Court referred the matter to some of their members, J.Ps, but what happened we do not know [Vol. V pp.225 & 250].

Perhaps it was the law's delays and ineffectiveness which prompted the Shepherds of Harpenden, in 1653, to seek a better way to settle their family quarrel over property. Possession of a Harpenden farm which had been Henry Shepherd's was in dispute between his two grandsons, John a weaver and William a cordwainer. To settle the 'Actions, suits, quarrells' which had arisen between them, they both agreed to accept the arbitration of four prominent local people: Edmond Smyth esq., Richard Axtell, Nicholas Neale, and Affabell Catlin. Affabell must have been a good choice, since he was the son of the John and Joan Catlin who had had their own family quarrels over land. The award ordered William to yield up peacefully the lands and the farm buildings. It even specified 'all the Muck, dongue and strawe nowe in the yards belonginge to the premises and in the street on the houseside'. But John, on getting possession, was to pay William £10 for this dung and for the land which he had ploughed and sown. In return for his surrender William was to receive, from John, the £4 a year for twenty years which Henry had left him. As security for the future payment of this annuity a complicated cross lease was drawn up. [*Wittewronge Papers: a rough calendar* by Bernard P. Scattergood. Vol. 1, p. 201. 17D].

Contemporaries were well aware of the threat which property disputes like these presented. They tried hard, when making their wills, to avoid quarrelling among their heirs. Richard Christian of

Harpenden in 1559 left to 'John Christian forty sheipe upon condicon that the seid Johne shall not vexe, trowble nor disquyete my wiff'. William Hunt, in 1589, 'provided alwayes . . . that if Edwarde Hunte my brother shall at anye time unlawfullye, uniuistlye and unnaturally moleste, disquite and truble Agnes my wife' he would lose his rights to the reversion of property. John Christian, in 1638, stated in the preamble that he made a will so 'that all discord, controversie, and sute in lawe or equitie maye be prevented and avoyded amoungst my Children'.

#### LOCAL POPULATION GROWTH

The second important change which must have affected everything else was the rapid growth in the number of inhabitants. Modern residents know what it is like to experience this sort of transformation. In the forty years 1563 to 1603 the two villages increased in size by 59%; this was at very much the same rate as the county in general. In the first half of the twentieth century Harpenden grew at about this rate each twenty-five years. Of course the total population was much smaller four hundred years ago, but to have experienced anything like the modern growth rate must have presented all kinds of problems to the community. The figures which we have, for this and for later dates, are only approximate; they are based on estimates made by the local clergy, for their bishops, of communicants or of families, and on the returns made in collecting the Hearth Tax in the 1660s and 1670s. There had, probably, been a steady but slow rise in population in the first part of the sixteenth century. The first dates, for which we have even approximate figures are 1563 and 1603, when the population rose from 660 to 1050. Wheathampstead was the more populous village with 77 families to Harpenden's 62, a ratio of 5:4, in 1563.

Sometime after 1603, if parallels from elsewhere are relevant, this rapid rate of growth stopped and there may even have been a slight fall. Unfortunately we do not have any more figures until the 1660s and 1670s. These agree in giving a total local population very little above that of 1603: between 247 and 257 families, which contained between 1037 and 1082 people. The difficulty which we have is in estimating what proportion of the local population in the 1670s lived in each village. The ecclesiastical return for 1676 divided them in the ratio 7:5; 151 families in Wheathampstead, 106 in Harpenden, or 635:447 people. But the Hearth Tax returns for 1673 give quite a different distribution of a slightly smaller total. In Wheathampstead sixty-one householders paid tax and 'there are sixty-eight persons in this parish haveing seaventy-nine fire hearths discharged by Certificate', i.e. too poor to pay tax. This gives a total of 129 households. An extremely illegible Harpenden return contains sixty-five or sixty-six taxpayers' names and what is almost certainly the entry

'there are three and fifty persons in this parish haveing sixty foure firehearths discharged by Certificate'; which means at least 118 householders. [P.R.O. E 179/375131]. The ratio between the two parishes would then be 10:9. This would imply that while Harpenden was still in the 1670s smaller than Wheathampstead, it had been growing faster, and it had rather more better off residents and substantially fewer poor ones.

#### CHANGES IN PUBLIC OPINION AND PRIVATE BEHAVIOUR

It is hardly likely that so much social change, and physical changes in people's surroundings, would leave their opinions unchanged. Nor were they. The development of the Reformation clearly affected local opinion. The changes produced in the church are a main theme of our next booklet, but we can see that these accompanied changes in their views. The wills which people make can tell us things about their attitudes and about the conventions of the society in which they lived. We have analysed forty-four wills made by Harpenden people and twenty-six made by Wheathampstead people, in the years from 1532 to 1653; only ten of these wills, five from each parish, are of the sixteenth century.

Differences of attitude did not follow class lines. Piety and concern for the poor, determination to keep property in the family, the position of women seem to have been the same among gentlemen and working farmers alike. But there is one clear change of attitude during the period. Almost all the wills have preambles which reveal the testator's religious opinions or at least the opinions which they believed convention demanded of them. These suggest changes in religious beliefs. William Warde, the rector of Wheathampstead, had left his 'soul to God, St. Mary and St. Helen' in his will made in 1428. He left money to the high altar at Lincoln and provided for the sale of property to pay his debts and to provide alms. On 5 September 1532 John Brocket of Brocket Hall made his will. The Brockets were dominant lay figures in sixteenth century Wheathampstead. John Brocket quarrelled with the abbot of Westminster, but in his will he revealed himself as much a pre-Reformation man as Warde. He left his soul 'to almighty god, to his moder saint Mary and to all the holy company of hevyn; my body to be buried in the Church of saint Elyn of Whethampsted, that is to say in the Chapell of our Lady within the said Churche . . . I bequethe to my moder Churche of Lincoln 12d. Also I bequethe to the high awter (altar) of the said Churche of Whethampsted for my tithes and offerings forgotten and necligently paid 6s. 8d. . . . Also I bequethe to the Reparacions of my parishe Churche of Whethampsted 40s. And to the *commen lightes* of the same Churche 6s.8d. And to the *Torche lightes* of the same Churche 6s. 8d.' Only then did John Brocket begin to dispose of his worldly goods, to his worldly heirs [P.R.O. Prob. 11/24].

The only post-Reformation will which contains the phrase 'the holy company of heaven' is Richard Christian's of 1559; however it is linked not with the mother of God, but with Jesus Christ: 'I do geve and bequeth my soull to allmyghtie god my maker and to Jhesus Christ my redemare and to the Holie ghost my comforter and to all the Holie company of heven'. It may be significant that this will was made when the memory of Queen Mary I's restored Roman Church must have been fresh in people's minds and some uncertainty remained as to the future course of religious practice. There are two other references to the Holy Ghost: George Carpenter's in 1571 and Edward Bardolph's in 1622. In the mid-sixteenth century there had been a change. Thomas Christian in 1549 and Edmond Bardolph in 1553 simply leave their souls to Almighty God. But from the end of the century far and away the most common form is either God my maker and redeemer or, more often, God my maker and Jesus Christ my saviour and redeemer. The will of Solomon Sibley, yeoman of Wheathampstead, made on 20 July 1646 is fairly typical: 'First and principallie I Commend my soule into the mercifull handes of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hopeing assuredly that for his infinite mercies sake And therow his all sufficient merritts onely I shalbe made partaker of life everlasting'.

Apart from one or two nuncupative wills, that is wills which are records of a last minute spoken bequest, only one will lacked a religious preamble. It was, significantly, that of John Eeles of 1649. John was, probably, the father of the Nathaniel Eeles, who was curate of Harpenden from 1643 to 1661 and then an *Independent* minister. John expressed his piety, at the end of his will, in a unique way: he desired his executor, Nathaniel, 'to see mee buried in a decent manner att Hearpendine, if any of my Children intend to bee buried there, or elce at Flamstead by your Mother my wife . . . I desire you all my Children in the feare of god to live lovingly togeather allwayes as wee have done allwaies and god give you all the spiritt of Love. Amen. Amen.' [P.R.O. Prob. 11/237].

Most wills made some provision for the burial of the testator; this was usually in the churchyard, sometimes simply in the earth or where the executors decided; in one or two later wills the only request was for 'decent' or for 'Christian Burial'. Grace Johnson, in 1571, was most precise: she was to be buried in the churchyard of St. Nicholas 'by my late or first husband, William Cressie esquier upon whose bodies I will that myne executors shall putt a monument of marble'. In fact they put up a brass, now in the north aisle (see Plate 7a). Only in a very few wills, and usually those of the markedly better off, like John Brocket, was burial in the church itself requested. Edward Bardolph in 1622 specified 'in the Chappell called St. Nicholas in Harpeden aforesaid neere where my sonne Ralph was buried'; Richard his brother, a year later, asked that his 'Bodie shall decently be buried in the Church in Harpeden'. Solomon Sibley of Wheat-

hampstead, in 1646, was even more exact: his body was to be buried 'in the parish Church of Whethamsted aforesaid in the middle alley there against my seat's end'. The Brockets and the Bardolphs were squires and Solomon Sibley was a wealthy sheep farming yeoman who left £122 worth of movables. But Jane Daldarne, who asked simply 'to bee buried in the church of Whethamsted' in 1639, was a widow who died worth only £11.

This concern for the place of burial was due to a genuine belief in the resurrection, as three wills show. Fremence Field, husbandman of Harpenden, in 1627, left his soul to 'the Almighty in sure and certayne hope that my redeemer liveth and that with these eyes I shal see him; and my body to the earth from whence it was taken to be decentlye buried as every Christian should bee in Harpeden Churchyard'. Grace Bardolph, widow, in 1645 left her 'Body to the grave theire to remaine untill the great Day of the Lord Jesus and then to Rise againe to Immortall Glory'. And Roger Holting, the blacksmith of Wheathampstead in 1613, was most specific of all: 'I commit my bodie unto the earth whereof it was made, not doubting but that I shall receyve it againe at the resurrection of the just, not a mortall weake and vile corruptible bodie as it is now, but an uncorruptible, immortall and perfect bodie in all pointes like the glorious bodie of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ'.

Changing views about heaven led to changing views about earth, in the sense that bequests to the church declined while bequests to the poor increased. The few bequests which were made to the church were no longer, like John Brocket's, in lieu of unpaid tithes and for 'lights'. Edmond Bardolph in 1553, rather curtly, gave 'suche somes of money as shalbe due to the churche'. William Cressy in 1559 left 6s. 8d. for 'the mayntennce of the Chappell of Harpden', and similar sums to Lincoln and to 'the poore people in Harpden'. And William Hunt, in 1589, left 'twentye shillinges of lawfull Enlish monye towards buyeing of Bell ropes, mendeing the wheeles and the steeple' of St. Nicholas, and 10s. every Easter to buy bread and wine for Communion. More commonly people began to leave money so that their departure might be made memorable. William Cressy left to those of his godchildren 'that shall beare me to Churche 4d. a pece'. William Hunt left 'to Mark Stubbinge minister at Harpeden for to burye me and to preache a sermon to the instruction of the people 10s.' And Francis Sibley of Wheathampstead, in 1648, explained 'my desire is, that Mr. William Davis the Minister at Whethamsted maye be entreated to preache at my buryall, and I give him for his pains Tenn shillinges'. Edward Bardolph gave 'unto him that shall preach at my funerall sixe shillinges and eight pence'. Robert House of Wheathampstead, in 1606, was less high-minded: 'my will is to have bestoed at my bueriall the some of 10s. in money or otherwies in bread or beer amongst my nightbores (neighbours) as is thought meet'. While John Eeles, the Puritan, in 1649 left his



daughter and son-in-law 'fifteene poundes to buy them mourneinge . . . to my Brother Chiles Five poundes for mourneinge . . . to my Sister Porssey five poundes to buy her mourneinge'. The change from spending money on burning candles to the saints to spending it on preaching sermons for the edification of the public is the clearest consequence of the spread of Protestant and, in particular, *Calvinist* views.

John Brocket left nothing to the poor but twenty-six of those who died after the Reformation left bequests to the poor. The sums ranged from 3s.4d. 'to the poore men's box' of Wheathampstead parish in 1571 and 5s. in 1612, to £6.13s.4d left by Grace Johnson in 1571 'to the poore people that shalbe at my buriall' and £3.6s.8d left by Edward Bardolph 'amongst such of the poorest and neediest people of the Hamlett or parish of Harpeden aforesaid as my Executors . . . shall thinke meetest'. The one endowment which has continued to the present day was made by William Hunt who provided for regular payments from his land, which were 'to be faythfullye employed by (the Churchwardens) godlye discretions to the use and benefit of the poore people of Harpeden'. Immediately at his burial £3 was to be distributed to the poor, and this was the most common moment suggested in wills for distributing the money which was left to the poor. Rather less common than bequests to the poor were bequests to servants, though those who made bequests to their servants usually also left money to the poor. Eleven people made bequests to their servants. Edward Clarke of Harpenden in 1640, a yeoman, left 'unto John Carpenter my servant five poundes', 'unto Ann Lewis my Apprentice five poundes'.

Contemporary wills reveal changes in social customs as well as in religious beliefs. Customarily a widow was entitled to a third of her husband's property, but this custom was no longer generally practised. Several husbands, in making wills, tried to guard against their widows upsetting the will by claiming their 'thirds'. Robert Kent in 1612 asked 'that Richard Keent my sonne shall paye unto annes Keent his mother wekely deweringe the weedowhood of his mother five pence a weke which comes to twenty-one shillings and eightpence by the yeare one this Conditione that the syade annes Kente his mother shall not Chalinge anye therde of his landes'. Three years later, in 1615, William Carpenter of Harpenden left his wife 'in lieu and full recompence of all her thirdes and dower which she might otherwise claime out of all my landes' £3 p.a.; 'my will is that shee . . . doe accept and bee Content with' this sum. Richard Bardolph left Bowers house to his son, Richard, in 1623, but his widow Grace 'in lieu and consideracon of her Thirdes' was left 'all my moveable goodes' with a few exceptions, 'all my Wood nowe lying and being in the yarde', 'all her weareing apparrell', 'all these Roomes and houses . . . which I do nowe use and occupie and have kept and reserved'.

## The New Men

We have outlined the way in which Westminster Abbey's dominant local position was undermined by lay landlords and how new men acquired local estates. We must now look at these new men.

### THE DECLINE IN THE ABBEY'S INFLUENCE

In the early fifteenth century the only effective local challenge to the Abbot of Westminster came from his equal in power, the Abbot of St. Albans. By the early sixteenth century lay owners of other Wheathampstead manors were quarrelling with the Abbot of Westminster. Nomansland had been extraparochial, grazing land common to Wheathampstead and Sandridge parishes. The Abbot of Westminster claimed that 'all the tenants of the Abbot in the town of Wheathampstead have and always had common of pasture'. The Abbot of St. Albans argued that the area which came into dispute was 'soil and freehold of the Abbot of St. Albans as parcel of the manor of Sandridge'. In 1417 Richard White, the Westminster bailiff, put up a gallows at Nomansland. In 1427 the gallows were cut down. When St. Albans was accused, the blame was put on William Wawe, a local robber who had attacked Sopwell nunnery.

Both parties then tried to mark out the disputed boundary. The St. Albans version of what happened is that on 26 May 1427, the Monday in Rogation week, which was the traditional time for perambulating parish boundaries, the Wheathampstead parishioners made a stealthy perambulation, 'in fear of their skins', and left as evidence 'a small piece of wood fashioned as a cross'. Promptly St. Albans retaliated: the abbot 'sent out his own servants to reconnoitre; they returned reporting that they had seen no one except a few fellows lurking behind hedges and had met with no opposition. Upon this the abbot's people together with the vicar and parishioners of Sandridge made a perambulation in their turn with all ceremony, singing hymns and chanting the Gospel of the day "as on these occasions the custom is", and returned in peace.' An attempt to settle the disputed boundary was made on 11 April 1429 when John Fray, a royal representative, arbitrated. However the dispute evidently broke out again in 1437, when 'a shepherd of Wheathampstead died suddenly on the common while tending his sheep. The vicar of Sandridge claimed the body for burial, but the people of Wheathampstead bore it to their church and buried it. [*East Herts. Archaeological Society Transactions*, 1932-3, Vol. VIII.3, pp. 372-4].

Apart from this quarrel between the two powerful abbots, Nomansland was troubled by enclosers (p. 45) and by poachers, 'takers of hares, conyes, partryches and phesantes' [W.A.M. 8967]. By the early sixteenth century these local conflicts had become more serious

and two of the leading local landlords were involved. They were John Heyworth of Mackerye End, great nephew of John Bostock of Wheathampstead, the Abbot of St. Albans who had been active in the earlier dispute, and John Brocket of Brocket Hall, of whose 'grevances, harmez and extortions' in 1522-3 the Abbot of Westminster complained most bitterly. Heyworth broke into the abbot's game preserve and netted partridges and other birds. He interfered with the abbot's hunting and hawking. Brocket treated Gustard Wood in a similar fashion. The abbot claimed pannage and avesage in the wood between the feast of the Holy Cross and the feast of St. Martin (14 September — 10 November). Pannage was grazing rights for pigs who fed on acorns and beechmast and avesage was a money payment made for pannage. But John Brocket and his tenants had taken pannage and avesage at their pleasure and made the 'wode common bi the hole yere'.

The ownership of local land was in dispute between Brocket and Westminster Abbey. To enforce the abbey's claims the abbot's servants impounded sheep which were in 'a close called Wodecrofts'. Brocket and Heyworth's servants and six others broke the abbey's pound 'with forse of Armyes' and 'tooke and drove away' the impounded sheep. John Brocket, and Edward his son, with twelve others interrupted the proceedings of the abbey's manor court in Harpenden when William Couper, the steward, was holding it 'with open mouth'. The intruders 'sayde ther shulde no Courte be kepte ther' that day and urged the tenants, in attendance, to 'come ye away and followe me, and so they dyde with divers other opprobrious wordes'. The abbot's servants were not safe. John Threder was indicted at Hertford Sessions for trespass in impounding the sheep, and Brocket, Heyworth, and John Cutt tried to eject him from his cottage. They entered 'with force' and tried to put in Alice Seabrooke, whose tenancy the abbot had earlier ended for felling timber (p. 46). When they failed they indicted Threder and his wife at the next Sessions for trespass and John Heyworth, the Clerk of the Peace, refused to deliver up Threder's copyhold deeds.

Why did all this happen? We have only the abbot's statement of complaints as evidence, but by the early sixteenth century there was growing pressure on land and on the rights that went with land ownership, and so growing dispute over common rights. Thus Heyworth put up his own pound on waste land which the abbot claimed was the abbey's; while Brocket was in trouble for blocking the water way 'rynnyng from' the mill with 'a wall of stone and cymber . . . so that the seid water canne nott have its right course, but replyth backe to the seid myllys whereby the said myllyes can nott have ther full swepe, to the grete hurte and damage of the seid abbott' [W.A.M. 14079]. For centuries the abbots had encouraged the development of holdings which had become separate manors. Now the owners of these challenged the abbey's rights.

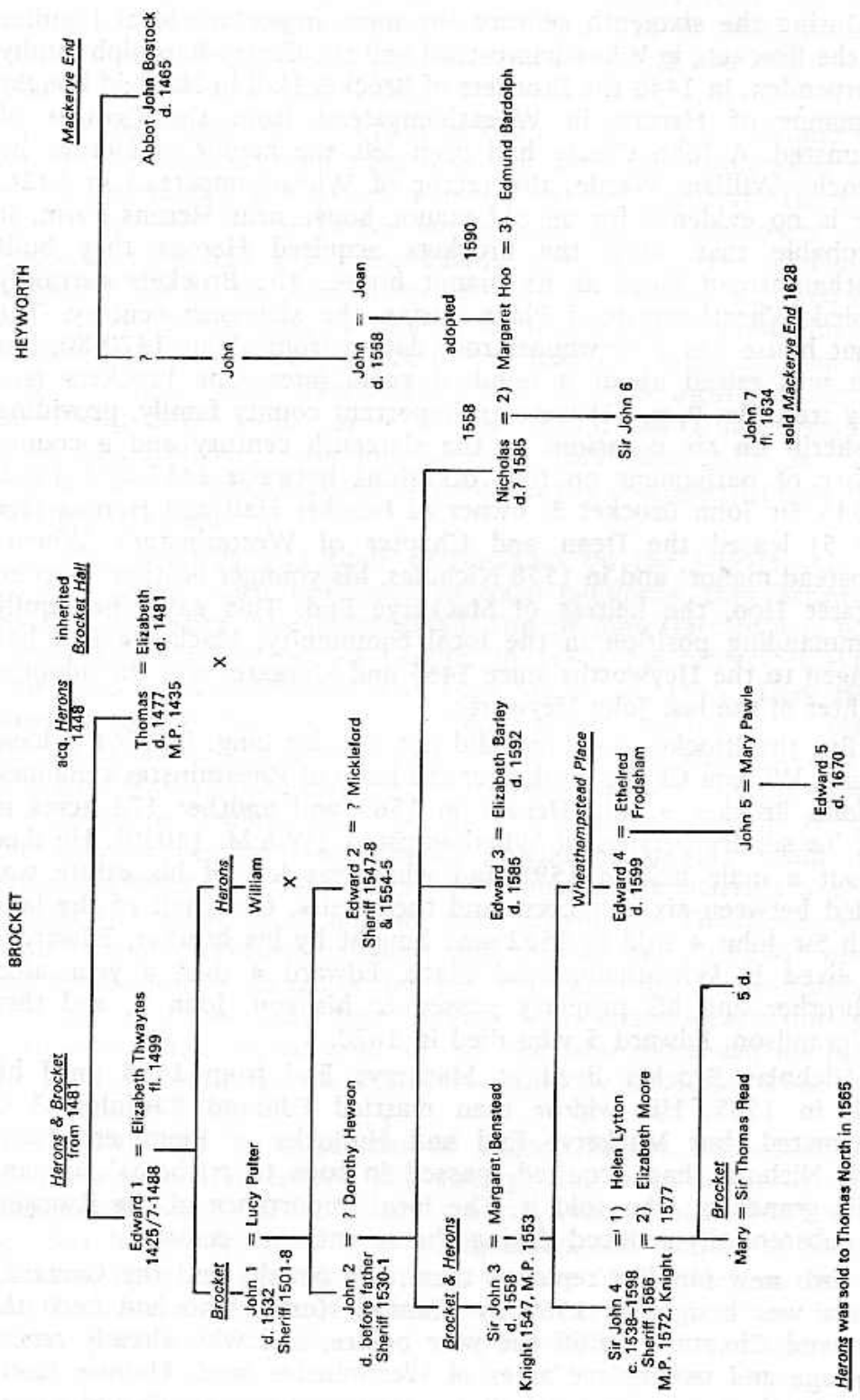


Fig. 9 Brocket-Heyworth Family Tree

Herons was sold to Thomas North in 1565

## LANDLORDS OLD AND NEW

During the sixteenth century the most important local families were the Brockets in Wheathampstead and the Cressy-Bardolph family in Harpenden. In 1448 the Brockets of Brocket Hall in Hatfield bought the manor of Herons in Wheathampstead from the Cressys of Rothamsted. A John Cressy had been left the manor of Herons by his uncle, William Warde, the rector of Wheathampstead in 1428. There is no evidence for an old manor house near Herons Farm. It is probable that when the Brockets acquired Herons they built Wheathampstead Place as its manor house. The Brockets certainly occupied Wheathampstead Place during the sixteenth century. The present house has a crownpost roof dating from about 1470-80, but which was raised about a hundred years later. The Brockets (see family tree, Fig. 9, p. 61) were an important county family, providing the sheriff on six occasions in the sixteenth century and a county member of parliament on four occasions between 1435 and 1572. In 1543 Sir John Brocket 3, owner of Brocket Hall and Herons (see Plate 5) leased the Dean and Chapter of Westminster's Wheathampstead manor; and in 1558 Nicholas, his younger brother, married Margaret Hoo, the heiress of Mackerye End. This gave the family a commanding position in the local community. Mackerye End had belonged to the Heyworths since 1465 and Margaret was the adopted daughter of the last John Heyworth.

But the Brocket dominion did not last for long. In 1561 a local yeoman, William Clarke, took over the lease of Westminster's manors. Sir John Brocket 4 sold Herons in 1565 and another 174 acres in 1582 'to sundry persons of Whethampsted' [W.A.M. 14039]. He died without a male heir in 1598 and what was left of his estate was divided between six daughters and their heirs. Over half of the land which Sir John 4 sold in 1582 was bought by his brother, Edward 4 who lived in Wheathampstead Place. Edward 4 died a year after his brother and his property passed to his son, John 5, and then to a grandson, Edward 5 who died in 1670.

Nicholas Brocket lived at Mackerye End from 1558 until his death in 1585. His widow then married Edmund Bardolph 2 of Rothamsted, but Mackerye End and Hullocks or Plommers Farm, which Nicholas had acquired, passed in turn to Nicholas' son and to his grandson, who sold it. The local importance of the Brockets was substantially reduced during the seventeenth century.

Two new families replaced them, the Norths and the Garrards. Herons was bought in 1565 by Thomas North, who had been the Dean and Chapter's bailiff the year before, and who already rented a cottage and twenty-one acres of Westminster land. Thomas North began to play a part in local affairs. He was a witness to and named as a *supervisor* or *overseer* in the wills of important yeomen, one of whom, William Carter, described him as 'my godfather . . . one of

the yeomen of her Majesties honourable Chamber'. In 1582 he bought a piece of Sir John Brocket's land. By 1586 Thomas North had become a big landowner, paying Westminster £1.14s.1d in rent, more than the widowed Mrs. Brocket paid for Mackerye End and Hullocks. The Norths held Herons until 1660.

While Lamer, in the north of the parish, was to become in the seventeenth century and thereafter the most important local estate, it did not occupy this position in the sixteenth century. The Carews sold it in 1499 to the Lawdy family, who were Westminster tenants between 1492 and 1515. The Lawdys may have acted on behalf of Elizabeth Roche. Sir John Butler of Watton Woodhall acquired Lamer in 1543 with his wife, Griselle, who was Elizabeth's daughter. The Roches and the Butlers did not live at Lamer, though Sir John Butler was in conflict with Westminster, in 1560, over local land. In 1597 Sir Philip Butler sold Lamer to his cousin, Sir George Peryent of Ayot Mountfitchet. Sometime between 1608 and 1621 Sir George and his son, Philip, disposed of their heavily mortgaged properties to Sir John Garrard.

The Garrards and their descendants on the female side were to own Lamer until 1947 and, as local landlords, they became the leading squires of Wheathampstead. The Sir John Garrard who bought Lamer was Lord Mayor of London in 1601; his father Sir William had been 'an Haberdasher and Lord Mayor' in 1555. They were a Kentish family. Sir John 2 'created Baronet 1621/2 . . . married Elizabeth one of the Daughters of Sir Edward Barkham, Knight who was Lord Mayor'. [Chauncy, 1826 ed. p. 427 and edit. Duncan Warrand *Hertfordshire Families* 1907, pp. 10-11]. Elizabeth died in 1632 and the City connection was proudly proclaimed on her tomb in St. Helen's Church. Sir John Garrard 2 immediately married a widow, herself the daughter of another Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Lowe. Sir John 3, who succeeded to Lamer and the baronetcy in 1637 married his step-mother's daughter by her first marriage, Jane Lambarde. This Sir John and Lady Jane Garrard were active locally during the Civil War. Their second son, Sir Samuel, who succeeded his brother Sir John 4, continued the family tradition by becoming Lord Mayor of London in 1709.

Exactly the same process of change in the local squirearchy took place in Harpenden. The Cressys had been in possession of Rothamsted since the fourteenth century. When Matthew Cressy died in 1501 he owned, as well as Rothamsted, the manors of Saunceys Claviles, Hills and Thamys. This estate was left to his son, Edmund, and Blakesleys (Harpenden Hall) to another son, William. Edmund Cressy died in 1525, the last male Cressy to inherit Rothamsted. William of Blakesleys survived until 1559; he was farmer, bailiff and rent collector of Westminster's local manors at various times. A Thomas Cressy was a juror of Rothamsted's manorial courts in 1583 and 1591 and pindar, 'to keep the common look (out) for our

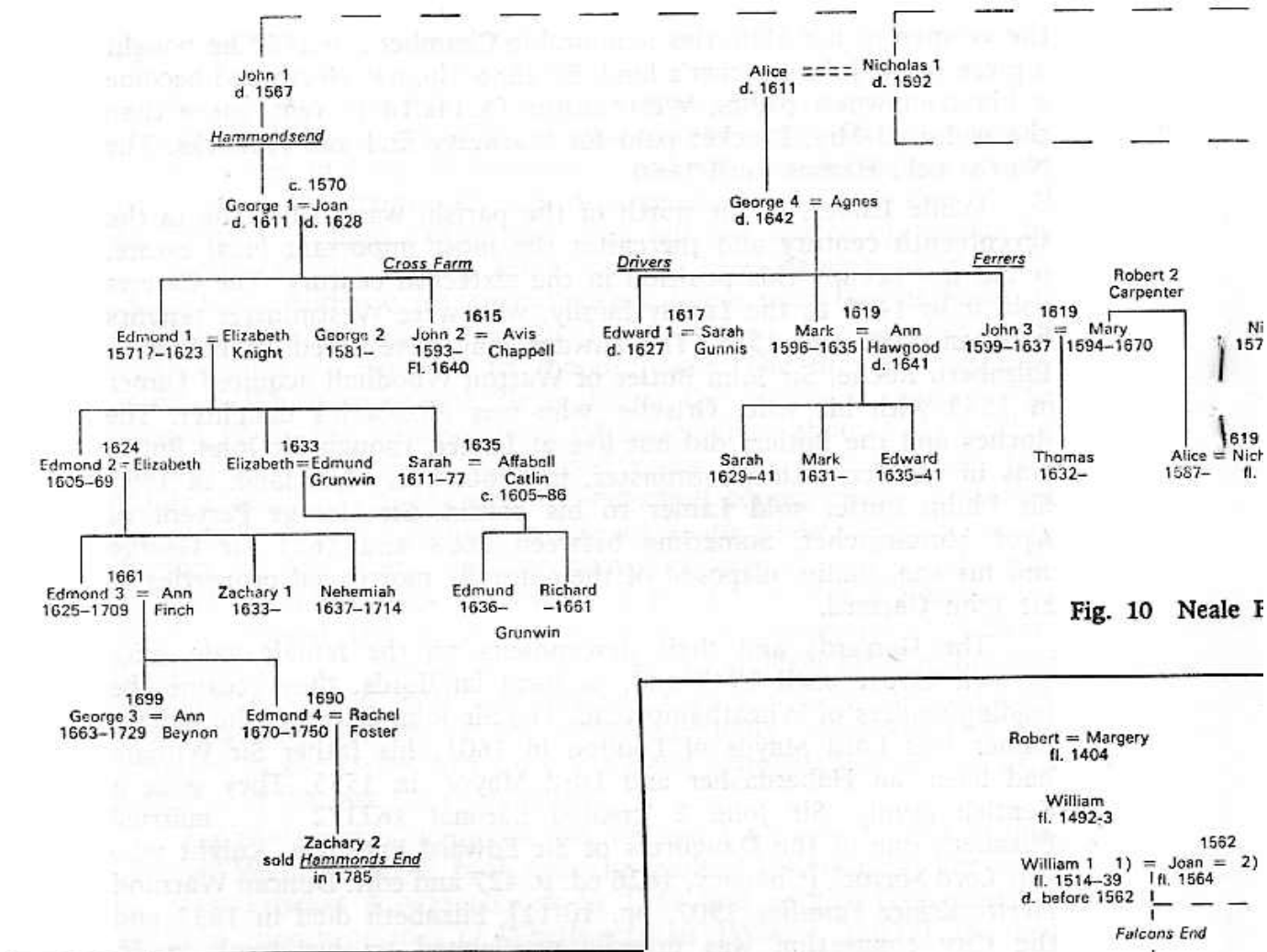


Fig. 10 Neale I

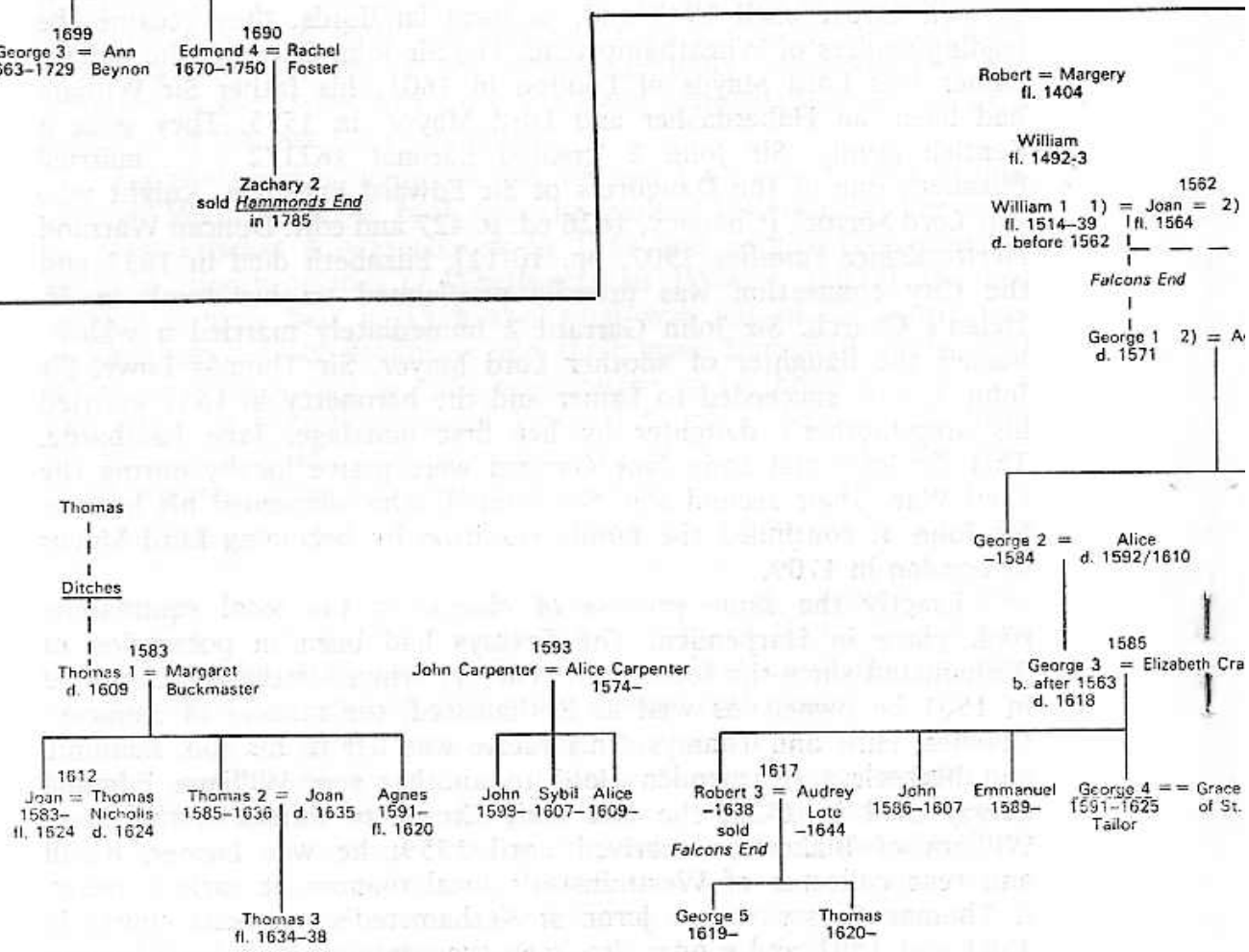
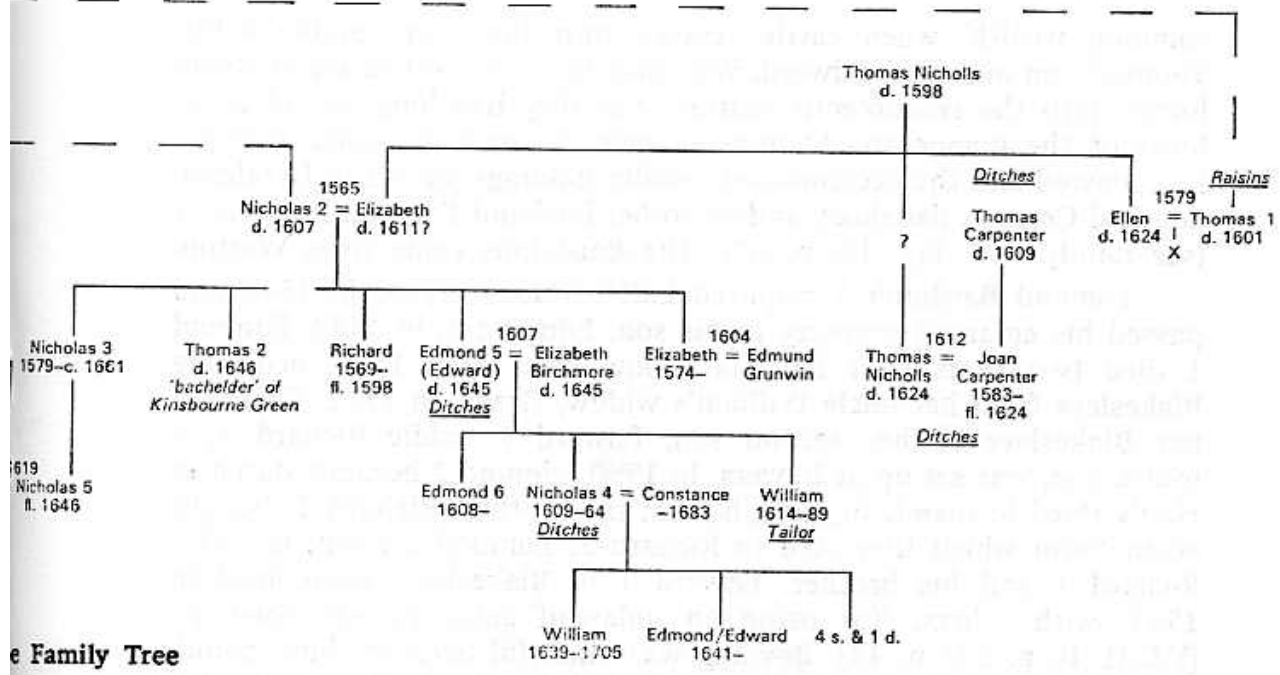
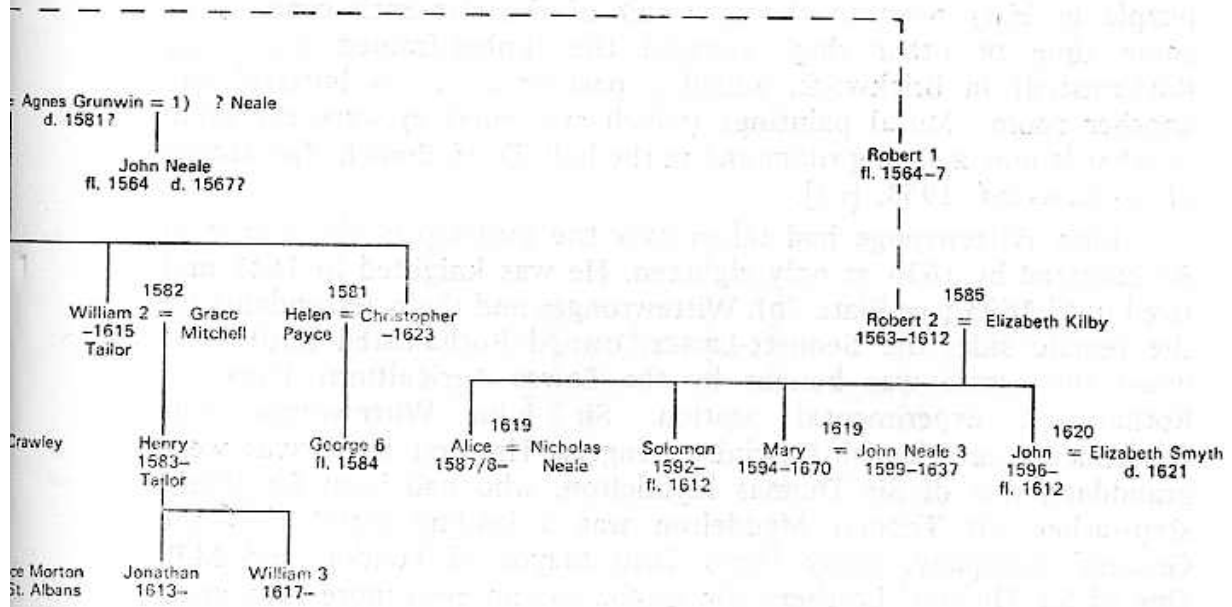


Fig. 11 Carpenter



Family Tree

2) William Robartes



Family Trees



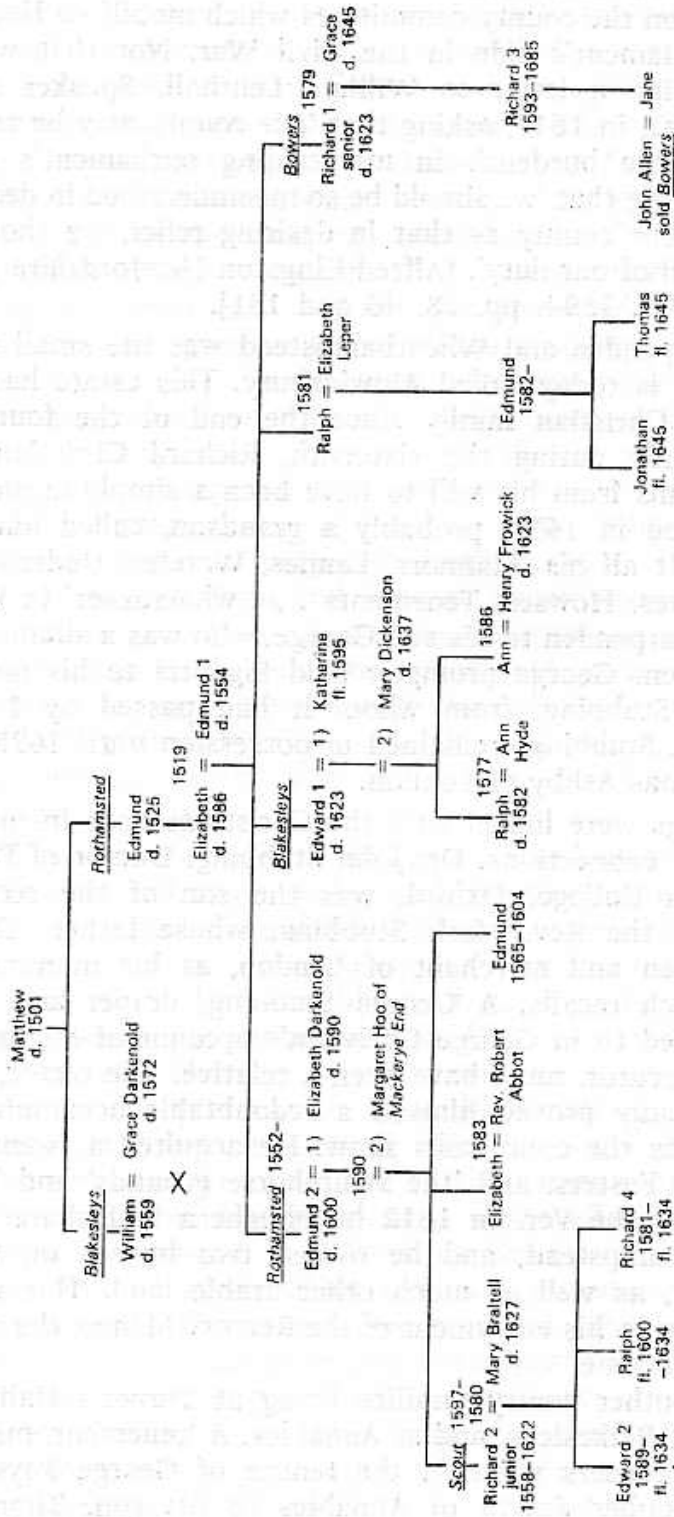
common wealth' when cattle strayed into the open, arable fields. Thomas' son and heir, Edward, was alive in 1639. So Cressys survived locally into the seventeenth century, but they had long ceased to be lords of the manor and were no longer of any importance socially. Rothamsted and the accumulated smaller holdings passed to Elizabeth, Edmund Cressy's daughter, and so to her husband Edmund Bardolph 1 (see family tree, Fig. 12, p. 67). The Bardolphs came from Watton.

Edmund **Bardolph** 1 acquired half of Hoos manor in 1540 and passed his enlarged property to his son, Edmund 2, in 1552. Edmund 1 died two years later but his widow lived until 1586, acquiring Blakesleys from her uncle William's widow, Grace, in 1572. Elizabeth left Blakesleys to her second son, Edward 1; while Richard 1, a fourth son, was set up at Bowers. In 1590 Edmund 2 became Margaret Hoo's third husband. In 1586 he and his brother, Richard 1, bought Scout Farm which they sold to Richard 2, Edmund 2's son, in 1597. Richard 1 and his brother, Edward 1 of Blakesleys, were fined in 1581, with others, 'for using an unlawful game to wit bowling'. [V.C.H. II, p. 297 n. 12]. Bowling was unlawful because they should, by statute, have been practising archery at the Butts. Two Harpenden place-names commemorate these sports — Bowling Alley and Bennetts Butts. Rothamsted and its associated manors passed to Richard 2 in 1600 and by 1611 belonged to his son, Edward 2, who mortgaged the estate to Jacob Wittewronge. The Bardolphs had outlived their means and in 1623 Anne Wittewronge, the widow of a London brewer, was able to purchase the estate outright for her infant son, John. The Bardolphs must have been far and away the most important people in Harpenden in the last half of the sixteenth century. At some time or other they 'encased the timber-framed house (at Rothamsted) in brickwork, added a parlour . . . , a buttery' and another room. 'Mural paintings (which still survive) were executed' in what is now a sitting room and in the hall [D. H. Boalch, *The Manor of Rothamsted*. 1953. p.2].

John Wittewronge had taken over the lordship of the manor of Rothamsted by 1636 at only eighteen. He was knighted in 1641 and lived until 1693 (see Plate 7b). Wittewronges and their descendants on the female side, the Bennett-Lawes, owned Rothamsted until 1934 when the estate was bought by the Lawes Agricultural Trust for Rothamsted Experimental Station. Sir John Wittewronge was descended from Flemish Calvinist refugees. His first two wives were granddaughters of Sir Thomas Myddelton, who had been Sir John's step-father. Sir Thomas Myddelton was a leading member of the Grocers' Company, many times Lord Mayor of London and M.P. One of Sir Thomas' brothers, Sir Hugh, was an even more prominent entrepreneur and engineer, creator of the New River which first gave London an outside water supply. Sir John's third wife, Katherine Thomson, was the daughter of a London merchant whom Sir John married 'at her father's house in Stepney parish'. So Rothamsted, like

BARDOLPH

CRESSY



*Rothamsted* was mortgaged to Jacob Wittewronge in 1611 by Edward 2 who had acquired it earlier, and sold outright to Anne (Jacob's widow) in 1623.

*Blakesleys* was sold to Robert Rudston.

Fig. 12 Bardolph Family Tree

Lamer in Wheathampstead, had come into the hands of a 'City' merchant's family. It is no accident that we find these two new rich, neighbouring squires, Sir John Wittewronge and Sir John Garrard, working together on the county committees which mobilised Hertfordshire on the Parliament's side in the Civil War. Nor that we find them jointly signing a letter to William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, in 1644, asking that 'our county may be relieved of its unsupportable burdens', in maintaining parliament's armed forces, but protesting that 'we should be so misunderstood in declaring the pressures of our county as that in desiring relief, we should be rendered neglectful of our duty'. [Alfred Kingston *Hertfordshire during the Great Civil War*. 1894. pp. 28, 40 and 181].

Between Harpenden and Wheathampstead was the small manor of Piggotts, which is today called Aldwickbury. This estate had been built up by the Christian family since the end of the fourteenth century, but mainly during the sixteenth. Richard Christian, who died in 1559, seems from his will to have been a simple farmer. But the John who died in 1638, probably a grandson, called himself a gentleman. He left all his 'Mannors, Landes, Woodes, Underwoodes, Pastures, Meadowes, Howses, Tenements . . . whatsoever' in Wheathampstead and Harpenden to his son George, who was a silkmerchant and London citizen. George promptly sold Piggotts to his maternal uncle, Dr. John Stubbing, from whom it had passed by 1633 to William Stubbing. Stubbings remained in possession until 1698 when they sold to Thomas Ashby of London.

The Stubbings were linked with the Christians both in marriage and by their City connections. Dr. John Stubbing, Doctor of Divinity of Christ Church College, Oxford, was the son of the rector of Wheathampstead, the Rev. Mark Stubbing, whose father, Thomas, had been a citizen and merchant of London, as his monument in St. Helen's Church recalls. A George Stubbing, draper and citizen of London, referred to in George Christian's account of his expenses as his father's executor, must have been a relative. The rector, Mark, during his long stay proved himself a redoubtable accumulator of landed property as the court rolls show. He acquired a twenty acre Rothamsted field, Fosters, and 'the Whitehorse grounds' and 'Whitehorse meadow' by the Ver. In 1612 he bought a half share in Hill Farm, in Wheathampstead, and he owned two houses on Wheathampstead street, as well as much other arable land. This was, of course, in addition to his enjoyment of the Rectory Manor, the rector's tithes and other income.

There were other gentry families living at Turner's Hall (Kinsbourne Green), at Blakesleys, and at Annables. A 'tenement, messuage or ferme called Turners nowe in the tenure of George Payse' was leased by Christopher Smyth of Annables to his son, Thomas, in 1587 [H.C.R.C. 41551]. In 1620 Sir George Smyth sold the farm called Turner's Hall to Nathan Cotton, second son of Daniel Cotton

of Little Gaddesden, gent. Blakesleys was sold to Robert Rudston in 1623. A monument extolling Rudston's 'many virtues' is in St. Nicholas church. James, his brother, sold Blakesleys to Godman Jenkin of St. Albans, who was in the royal service. Godman died in 1670 and his monument is in St. Nicholas too. Godman's eldest daughter married William Cotton, son of Nathaniel. William, like his father-in-law, was employed in the royal service.

Christopher Smyth, of a Lincolnshire family, who acquired Annables in the mid-sixteenth century, was also in Royal service. He was Clerk of the Pipe, the great roll of the Exchequer, and so an important government official. The Smyth family lived at Annables until the mid-eighteenth century and remained in possession until 1914. In 1587 Christopher leased all his property to his son, Thomas, except for his own 'Dwellinge and Roomes within the saide Scite of the saide mannor of Annables' which he reserved for his own use [H.C.R.O. 41551]. In 1589 he died, asking in his will to be buried 'in the quier of Harpeden near unto my beloved wife'. Thomas only lived for five more years. His widow, Joan, married Sir John Luke and lived at Annables until her death in 1610. She was buried at Harpenden. George, Joan and Thomas Smyth's son and heir, married Judith Lytton of Knebworth; he was knighted in 1616. George made his will in July 1620, 'being to travell into partes Beyond the seas, and callinge to my remembraunce that all fleshe is naturallie borne to die' [P.R.O. Prob. 11/137]. Die he did; Dame Judith Smyth was granted probate of the will in February 1621, the heir Rowland being under age.

Judith had been left 'during her widdowhood the use and occupation of all my goodes and housholdes remaininge in my Mansion house called Annables' and given wardship of her son with an allowance for his upbringing. She too married again, and it is likely that she lived at Annables with her new husband, Sir Thomas Barrington, since the puritan vicar of Flamstead dedicated his volume of sermons, *The Marriage of the Lamb*, to them. Sir Thomas was a member of the Westminster Assembly, which reformed the church during the civil war. In 1640-1, after her son's death, Judith sold what remaining interest she had in the estate to Edmund Smyth, a grandson of Christopher Smyth who may well have had a claim on the reversion. Edmund was Clerk to the Privy Council in Ireland. He came to live at Annables and was joined by his mother and father-in-law, Sir Philip and Lady Percival. They were all refugees from the Catholic rising in Ireland but opposed to Charles I's policies. As such they were in congenial surroundings: whatever their background, whether the City or the Court, the gentry of Wheathampstead and Harpenden seem generally to have been opposed to Charles I.

The contract which Judith, Lady Barrington made in December 1640, is worth quoting. For £1,400 Judith sold Edmund all the timber, quitrents, 'all the brewing vessells, and the Copper in the

Brewhouse and the Clocke and the bell of the Clockhouse', and listed furniture in various rooms. The 'Lady is to pass him all her estate into all or any of the Lands belonging to Annables with all writeing concerneing the same'. 'My Lady to have the use of parte of the house sufficient to lay her household stufte till May Day 1641, and fyer wood for the necessary ayreing of the house and said stufte, but the Orchard and Garden is to be freed by my Lady and her Tenant' [H.C.R.O. 41594 & 41597].

### THE MIDDLE RANKS

So far we have been describing the changes which occurred among a tiny proportion of local people. True they were the people who had most power in a society in which landownership and social status carried so much weight. But the majority of people in the two villages were not squires. Below the gentry families in the social scale but reaching towards them in their social aspirations were yeomen who made their wealth out of local farming. We can see from the inventories made of their possessions after death (see Appendix Three) that there were many rich yeomen leaving over £100 worth of goods. They lived in houses with six or seven rooms. The richest of them in Wheathampstead, John Howe yeoman, left £768.16s.0d; while in Harpenden George Neale yeoman left £664.0s.2d. These were substantial farmers and tradesmen, the backbone of local society who ran local affairs under the watchful eyes of the squires and J.Ps. Carpenters, Grunwines, Catlins and Neales were constantly employed as churchwardens and constables.

We have only space to mention a few of the local families of yeomen and husbandmen whose history is worth disentangling from the records. Carpenters flourished in St. Albans and its neighbourhood. One branch seem to have settled in Redbourn, another in Wheathampstead and Harpenden. From the early fifteenth century Carpenters held land at Kinsbourne Green and by the early sixteenth century land in Wheathampstead too. They were tenants of Westminster and on occasions between 1514 and 1539 William Carpenter undertook official duties on the abbey's estate (see Family Tree, Fig. 11 pp. 64-5). In 1561 George Carpenter 1, yeoman, leased the watermills at Wheathampstead from Westminster for twenty-one years, paying each year twelve and a half quarters of 'good, sweete, seasonable wheete'. The fishing in the river and half 'the ealles (eels) taken in the said Myll' were reserved to the Dean and Chapter [W.A.M. 14124]. George and his relatives leased many pieces of Westminster land.

George 1 died in 1571 leaving the lease of Falcons End, his Kinsbourne Green farm, and 'My mylles in Whethamsted' to his son George 2. George 1's inventory mentions a hall, a chamber next the hall, a buttery, and a larder, which were clearly on the ground floor,

and three other rooms which may have been upstairs: a new chamber, where George 1 died, another chamber, and a chamber over the larder. The surviving remains of Falcons End suggest that the building could have contained these rooms. George 1 was a rich man, as his inventory reveals: he left £425.10s.0d worth of movable goods, £362.9s.4d of which was farm goods, and £49.10s.8d household goods. The lease of the mill was worth £10. In the year of his father's death George 2 became undertenant of the tithes of Harpenden and of the tithe barn and close in Harpenden called 'Chapple halwitte' [W.A.M. 36769 & 36841]. He gave up this tenancy in 1576 and perhaps the other family holdings in Wheathampstead at the same time; he died in 1584. George 3 was a witness to Christopher Smyth of Annables' will in 1585. He died in 1618, leaving money bequests of over £200 as well as much property; in his will he described himself as yeoman of Bowers. 'Bowers at Culter send' was acquired from the Bardolphs in 1611; it may have been Cootersend farmhouse, which dates from the sixteenth century. This was quite distinct from Bowers or Bowers Hall farms. Robert 3, George 3's eldest son, had moved into Falcons End before his father's death; he was selling off land as early as 1608. Falcons End was sold in 1621, and Robert 3 died in 1638 worth only £19.8s.0d; some of his goods were in pawn.

George 2 had two brothers: Christopher the youngest moved to Hatfield and died there in 1623. William, the middle brother, became a tailor. He died in 1615 in Harpenden leaving £52.4s.2d worth of movables, £38.19s.8d of which was in farm goods and £5 in desperate debts! His son Henry carried on the tailoring business which may have attracted other relatives, for a George Carpenter of Harpenden, tailor, was married in 1625; this was probably George 4, who appeared before Quarter Sessions on six occasions between 1619 and 1621 for absenting himself from divine service for three months. He may have lived at Leasybridge; a George Carpenter yeoman of Leasybridge held property at Hatching Green between 1623 and 1630.

Another branch of the Carpenter family lived in the late sixteenth century at Ditches Farm, next door to Annables. Thomas 1 and Margaret Buckmaster married in 1583; their first child, Joan, was born exactly nine months later, and baptised as 'Joanne of dytches'. Thomas was a substantial landowner in Wheathampstead as well as Harpenden, and was buying land at the end of the sixteenth century. In 1586 he paid the Dean and Chapter of Westminster 4d rent for 'howsis in the streate' of Wheathampstead [W.A.M. 8978]. In 1620 Sir George Smyth of Annables left Thomas 1's daughter, Annis of Ditches, £20; he left another £80 to 'my Nourse Carpenter' who may have been Thomas 2's wife, Joan. This suggests the relationship which existed between the squire's family and their tenant neighbours. In 1620 or just after Thomas Nicholls, who had married Thomas 2 and Agnes' sister, Joan, took over the tenancy of Ditches.

In the early part of the seventeenth century a Thomas Carpenter was the tenant of 'Hardingbury', while another Thomas Carpenter was at Wood End, Redbourn from 1599. Distinguishing between these Thomases and establishing their relationships is difficult. It was the son and grandson of Thomas of Wood End who attacked Thomas 3 of Wheathampstead (see p. 53). The same Thomas and his three sons were involved in property deals with the Neales in 1623-5. Another family of Carpenters intermarried with the Neales (see Figs. 10 and 11). But the Carpenters who were so important locally in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century seem to have had little local importance by the late seventeenth century: no Carpenter is listed in the Hearth Tax returns of the 1660s.

When George Carpenter 1 had leased the mills from Westminster in 1561 a William Clarke and his son, Thomas, had taken over the rest of Sir John Brocket's lease. Half Clarke's rent was for the manor home farm, and half for the tithes [W.A.M. 36769, 14125 and 8034]. The Clarks installed furnaces and a 'cistern' of lead brewing vessels in Wheathampsteadbury; Sir John Garrard got permission to remove these when he took over the lease of the home farm and the mills in 1616, if not earlier [W.A.M. 14127 and 14128]. Clarks continued to live locally for a while. John Clarke the elder of Wheathampsteadbury, John the younger of the Bury, Gabriel, Abraham and Thomas Clarke are all referred to in the will of Thomas Chapman alias Brewer in 1613. And Josias Clarke, labourer, of Wheathampstead made a will in 1626, in which his sons, William, John, Edward and Thomas are mentioned. But, as with the Carpenters, no Clarks are listed in the Hearth Tax returns.

The Grunwins or Grundwins, on the other hand, long survived the changes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Their name is prominent in any list of wealthy local farmers of this time. An Adam was Westminster 'bedell' in 1388-9 and in 1393-4. A rental of 1492-3 contains the names of four Grunwins, another of 1564 eight, including those of William a minor and Joan his mother and guardian; they lived in a 'cottage with a garden adioyning . . . upon the backe sid of the church yard'. Agnes Grunwin had married the eldest George Carpenter. Three Grunwins appear in a 1586 rental and the name is widespread in seventeenth century local records. There are several Grunwin wills in the County Record Office. By the end of the seventeenth century Grunwins proliferated in the parish.

It is only possible to fix the relationships of a very few of these Grunwins. Their favourite Christian names, John, Thomas and William, were the most popular at that time. The Grunwins had substantial farm holdings: Claviles belonged to William in 1492-3, Essens to a Richard in 1564 when other members of the family rented Hullocks and other farm land. By the middle sixteenth century the Grunwins were connected with other similar, prospering families: the Cutts, Carpenters and Neales. By the early seventeenth century there was

an Edward Grunwin gent. at Bamville Wood, a juryman at the 1612-13 Quarter Sessions and a high constable of Dacorum Hundred in 1639-41. Two different Thomas are linked with Bamville Wood property, in 1601 and 1622.

Edmund was another common Grunwin name: one was churchwarden in 1640; an Edmund, yeoman, made his will in 1647; and an Edmund Grunwin, junior, married Elizabeth Neale in 1633; they had a son Edmund in 1636. Their second son, Richard, when he died in 1661 was described as of Gustard Wood.

The early seventeenth century Grunwin, to whom we can come closest, is the John who died in 1614, having made his will on 20 May 1605, describing himself as a yeoman. John left £95.13s.4d worth of movables according to his inventory: £2 worth of 'Apperrell', £25.11s.8d of household goods and furnishings, and £68.1s.8d of farm property. He lived in a substantial house: there was a hall, the main eating and cooking room; a kitchen, really a scullery; a ground chamber with very little in it; a loft over the hall which seems to have been the best bedroom; a milkhouse and loft over it with two beds; and a loft over the kitchen with old chests and lumber; there was a larder, and a buttery, nine rooms in all. John left his son Thomas 'soe much houshold stufte, as Elizabeth my wife can best spare to the value of' £5; his sons John and Francis each got £13.6s.8d and 'one bedsteed with all the furniture thereunto belonging'. The Grunwin family relationships are full of loose ends, which need tying up. The family flourished in the late seventeenth century: five different Grunwins appear in the 1663 Hearth Tax returns.

The Catlins were as prominent and as prolific as the Grunwins and like them bestrode the two communities. John, Robert and William appear frequently as Catlin Christian names in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But they went in for other, charming names, Deliverance and Affabell. At first sight Affabell appears to be a name like Deliverance, but in fact it was a local corruption of Amphibalus, the phoney saint whom the monks of St. Albans created during the middle ages. He became so popular locally that his name was widely used, but by the seventeenth century it evidently surprised some 'educated' people, for a copyist of the Rothamsted Court Rolls transcribed Affabell as Assabell and changed his sex, making him Isabella! There was, in fact, an 'Esabell' Catlin who married Thomas Simons on 10 November 1566.

Squabbles over land troubled the Catlin family (see pp. 50-3) who were mostly husbandmen with an occasional yeoman member. There were two Catlin families (see Fig. 8, p. 51). In 1564 William 2 and John 1, brothers held jointly land in Wheathampstead, for which they paid £1.16s.8d rent. John held further land in Harpenden; he was the farmer of Rough Hyde. William had a little freehold land in Harpenden and a house and *farthingate* of copyhold land at Bamville Wood; his son, William 3, had his home at Bennetts Butts. When



William 2 died in 1581 his widow, Grace, left with three young children, married Edward Hayward. Widows and widowers with young children were commonplace at the time and remarriage, to protect the young children, was taken for granted.

William 3 was admitted to his inheritance when he came of age in 1601, taking his place as a juror, one of the *homage*, at the meetings of Rothamsted manorial court. He died in 1644, soon after his second marriage to the widow Sarah Whitlock, leaving his wife pregnant. William 2 had been a yeoman but William 3 was only a husbandman: £11.1s.2d worth of his £27.1s.2d estate was in the furnishings of his house, and £6 the value of furniture in the best room: two beds with their coverings, two chests, one little box, the household linen, and a warming pan. William 3 left a table and two forms in The Bull, along the road, where William Catlin 6, from another branch of the Catlin family lived. William 3 of Bennetts Butts was a farmer in a small way: he left £7 worth of growing corn and £6.10s.0d worth of stock.

All this, and Bennetts Butts, was left to the child that Sarah was carrying, whether son or daughter, with remainder to Sarah if the child should die, and he did, in 1663. Sarah lived until 1681; she bequeathed the land, which William 3 had left to her in 1644, to Thomas Whitlock, her younger son by her first marriage. One piece only, two and three quarter acres in Manland, had passed to John Cutt 3, William 4's first cousin once removed (see Fig. 8), on William 4's death. Sarah in her widowhood was not among the poor. She paid tax on two fireplaces in 1663.

Sarah Catlin's will was witnessed by Affabell Catlin and his daughter, Susanna, a rare role for a woman to play. Affabell was one of the appraisers who valued Sarah's possessions for her inventory as he had those of her husband thirty-seven years earlier. He and William 4 were second cousins. Affabell, in all probability a grandson of John Catlin 1, was described both as a husbandman and as a yeoman; he was a substantial Harpenden citizen, farming Rough Hyde and, in 1639, leasing fifty acres which were attached to The Bull. In 1650 Affabell paid one of the largest rents to Rothamsted Manor, £2.2s.8d, and in the same year he paid £1.3s.8d towards the army tax, as compared with Sarah Catlin's 2s. One of the six fireplaces in Rough Hyde must have been demolished before midsummer 1663 and Affabell's tax was correspondingly reduced; there were twelve local people of whom this was reported, so it would seem to have been a common local economy. Affabell married into a branch of the Neales and had at least six children. He was churchwarden in 1654 and 1667 and overseer of the poor in 1662 and 1678. He was a regular member of the homage, arbitrator in disputes and made guardian in several wills. Perhaps he was more literate than most of his contemporaries; he was certainly frequently employed making death-bed (nuncupative) wills, witnessing wills and taking inventories.

The second Catlin family, whose history we have unearthed, has been confused with one branch of the other family because the central figure was also William and he lived extremely close to his namesake of Bennetts Butts, being the landlord of The Bull (see Fig. 8 p. 51). Probably the two families had a common sixteenth century ancestor. William 6 may have been born about 1565 and his parents were probably William 5 and Elizabeth Catlin who owned a house and land in Harpenden in 1566. William 6 built up a substantial brewery business. He had several alehouses or inns and was in trouble over them. He was presented to Quarter Sessions for his misbehaviour: in 1621 for having an unlicensed and disorderly house; he was then called an alehousekeeper; in 1627, as a brewer, for keeping alehouses without licences; in 1633-4, as an innholder, for the 'evill rule and misdeameanours' in his house. Perhaps the description innholder was given him as tenant of a rather superior new inn, The Bull. But these prosecutions do not seem to have damaged William's status in the community for he was chosen as churchwarden in 1639-40. He died in 1642 and was described as a yeoman in his will. His eldest son, William 7 was his heir.

George, the second son of William 6, was left a half share in one year's profit from the brewery and £5. He died in 1673 leaving two copyhold cottages to his heirs; these may have been created by a division of Ferrers, his home next to Bowers House. He was described as a husbandman and left £37.10s.8d worth of goods, including 'one paire of Brewers' slings'. Henry, the third son, died in 1641 before his father, leaving a widow, Mary, and two daughters. He was a fairly rich man, leaving £69.18s.8d in goods, of which £8.4s.0d was household goods; there were four rooms in his house, a buttery, hall, chamber, and chamber over the hall. £43.1s.8d was farm goods and £17.13s.0d was for debts owed to him. These were for shares in horses in which he had been trading with his younger brothers, Mark and Thomas. The bulk of his farm wealth, £25.10s.0d was in grain; he had £16.11s.8d worth of stock. Henry may have died in a local epidemic: one of his daughters died just after her father, and Mark Neale's wife, Ann, and two of their children died in the same month (see Fig. 10). Mark, the fourth son, is rather a shadowy figure. He lived to the great age of eighty-nine; there is a suggestion that his wealth was in stock rather than in land or houses, which fits in with his horse dealing enterprise. In 1663 he was taxed for two fireplaces, but in 1670 he acquired a house in Harpenden Street, which had three acres attached to it. Thomas, the youngest son, was born in 1614. William 6 left him The Bull, 'the house whearin I now do live, with all the land theirunto belonginge (except one Springg caled dell grove)'. Thomas was made his father's residuary legatee and executor; he died in 1659.

The Catlins in the seventeenth century were prolific and long-lived. In 1650 there were at least thirty people of that name living

in Harpenden. William 6 and his family, like Affabell, were wealthy too. But by 1705 no Catlins were tenants of Rothamsted nor of Westminster, though there were still Catlins living in Harpenden and Wheathampstead in the eighteenth century. This kind of rapid change is quite common; society was much less static than used to be believed.

The Neales were the most outstandingly successful yeomen family in the neighbourhood. They intermarried with the Carpenters, Grunwins and Catlins, and marked their success by buying the old manor of Ing's and submerging it in the farm which they had built up at Hammondsend. They seem to have preferred the homely name of their own farm to the feudal trappings of the manor which had been called after its early thirteenth century owner, William Inge, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. The George Neale who bought the manor in 1599 was a yeoman; by 1650 his grandson was described as Mr. Edmond Neale and was the third wealthiest ratepayer in Harpenden. Neales proliferate through the registers of baptisms, marriages and burials as through all the local records of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Whitlocks must once have been the same family; strange though it seems, in the late fifteenth century there were several people for whom Whitlock and Neale were alternative surnames. Because of gaps in the registers, errors like the confusion of Edward with Edmond, and the frequent use of the same Christian names, relationships are not easy to disentangle. Although the family trees (Figs. 10 & 13, pp. 64-5, 79) are the product of hard work and thought, there has been some guesswork.

In 1479 a William Neale left 'Hammyngsende' to his second son, Nicholas; but the first owner we know much about was George 1 who had a large family, nine of whom were alive when he made his will in 1610. George 1 built up the Hammondsend property. In 1602 he set up his son, Edmond 1, with a grant of land and a house at Hatching Green which he had bought in 1593. Until his father's death Edmond was described as 'of Hatching Green'. George died worth £664.0s.2d; he was the richest Harpenden inhabitant whose inventory we have seen.

Edmond 1 inherited Hammondsend but George 2, the second son, was made sole executor of his father's will and left 'all the residue of my goodes and Chattells'; he seems to have left the area. The third son, John 2, was left George's share of lands at Kinsbourne Green which had been bought jointly in 1596 by George 1 and Nicholas 2, who may have been George's cousin; in 1597 they divided their purchase; in a codicil made in June 1611 John was left a further bequest of £300. This John seems to have been the John Neale 'of the Cross', presumably Cross Farm, mentioned in 1625 and 1640. Joan, George 1's widow, was left £40, 'my best bedd with the furniture, my best Cowe, sixe ewes, twoe *teggas* and half my bees', and many other household goods.

Edmond 1, the heir to Hammondsend married about 1600 and at least seven of his children were alive when he made his will in 1623. Hammondsend went to Edmond 2 who was not yet eighteen. An older daughter had just married, but five younger daughters were left in their brother's care. Land, 'late purchased and had of my Brother George', was left to Edmond 2 to meet the 'costes and charges' of bringing up these sisters. Edmond 1's widow was left 'the use of one of the Chambers within my nowe dwelling house . . . and one bed and furniture fitting for her . . . untill either my said wife, or my said sonne shall happen to marry'. Edmond 2 did not wait long to marry; he had a widowed mother and grandmother. His sisters married too: Sarah in 1635, to Affabell Catlin.

Edmond 2 played a prominent part in local affairs. He was churchwarden in 1630 and again in the year of his death, 1669. He was constable on several occasions and chief constable of Dacorum Hundred in 1646-9 and in 1664. In 1650 Mr. Edmond Neale paid £3.3s.9d rate 'for the service of England and Ireland for 3 months', that is for Cromwell's invasion of Ireland. Edmond 2, Nathan Cotton and Godman Jenkin were the assessors for this rate. We do not know whether Edmond 2 was an active Puritan, as were other Neales, but he gave two of his sons the Old Testament names of Zachariah and Nehemiah and his descendants were Quakers. Hammondsend stayed in the family until 1785 when a Zachary Neale sold it.

In 1567 three Neales had paid substantial sums in tax: Nicholas 1 'of Hamminges' had paid £5.5s.0d, as had a Thomas, perhaps Thomas 1 of Raisins; while another Nicholas, perhaps Nicholas 2 had paid £3.3s.0d. Nicholas 1 died in 1592. We have assumed that Nicholas 2 was his son and that Nicholas 1 left a widow, Alice, perhaps his second wife. An Alice Neale, widow of Kinsbourne Green, made her will in 1608 and died in 1611. She left bequests to her son George 4 and his children, to two married daughters and to the children of one of them. George 4 had a mercer's business in Wheathampstead, as emerged from a Quarter Sessions record, in which he stood security for his son-in-law John Camfield, licensee of 'a common alehouse or tippling house, called the sign of the Rose' at Markyate [Vol. I p. 66]. Edward 1, George 4's son, became a wheelwright in Barnet and died before his father. He left, among other properties, a house in Harpenden called Drivers, which his father George and mother Agnes had given him [William Brigg. *The Herts. Genealogist and Antiquary* Vol. III, p. 210].

Nicholas 2 married Elizabeth, the daughter of Thomas Nicholls, yeoman, perhaps the Thomas Nicholls who paid £10.10s.0d in tax in 1567 and who died, in 1598, in possession of The George farm and a house called Joices. In 1579 another daughter, Ellen, married Thomas Neale 1, of Raisins in Wheathampstead, who died in 1601 [Brigg op.cit. p. 357]. Thomas Nicholls may have had a grandson with

the same name. In 1624 a Thomas Nicholls of Ditches Farm, in his will, entreated his 'kind and loveing cozen Edmund Neale of Kinsbourne greene to afford his friendly advice and Counsell unto' Joan, Thomas' wife, to whom Ditches had come from her Carpenter parents. (See Figs. 10 and 11 and pp. 71-2). This Edmund 5 was the son of Elizabeth Nicholls, Thomas' aunt we assume, and of Nicholas 2. In 1606 Nicholas 2, described as the elder and a yeoman, left 'to Edmund my son my messuage or farm where I dwell lately erected in a close or croft called Pollins Croft in Kynnesbourne, with the rest of my lands purchased with George Neale of Sir Henry Butler' [H.C.R.O. D/EX 98 Z15].

Edmond Neale 5 was also known as Edward! In 1620 an agreement between Sir George Smyth and Edward Neale was not only signed Edmond Neale but endorsed Edmond too! The agreement was for 'Edward' to 'enter uppon one message or farme house, now in the tenior and occupation of one Thomas Carpenter, called by the name of Duches' [H.C.R.O. 41574]. So in 1624 Thomas and Joan Nicholls must have been Edmond's tenants. The farm certainly passed to Nicholas 4, Edmond 5's son. An entry in Annables' Court Roll, for 1 April 1662, describes Nicholas Neale 4, confusingly, as the 'sonne and heire of Edward Neale brother of' Nicholas Neale 3 who was then dead. Nicholas 4 mortgaged Ditches in 1656 for £400 to Affabell Catlin, his close contemporary, who had married a distant relative. Nicholas 4 repaid the mortgage and, in his will of 1664, left his widow Constance, 'dueringe her natuerall life', 'my house called by the name of Dutches'.

Nicholas 4 seems to have acquired his property from various relatives. For Thomas 2 'bachelder' of Kinsbourne Green, probably his uncle, left him all his considerable wealth, £76.4s.2d, in a deathbed will, made 22 April 1646. When asked by Affabell Catlin, who drew up and witnessed the will, 'to doe somewhat for his brother Nicholas Neale and his children, he the saide Thomas replied that he would not give them anie thinge, but wished his saide cosen Nicholas Neale then also present to be good to his saide brother Nicholas when he came'. The brother was Nicholas 3; cousin was used of many relationships; in the 'obligation' produced in proving the will Nicholas, the heir, is described as nephew. Thomas 2, the 'bachelder', from the will quoted above sounds a cantankerous character; he was certainly an encloser and the owner of a close called Ballards which had been broken open in 1620 (see p. 46).

Another family of Neales lived at Pollards (Kinsbourne Green). In 1567 William I installed his son, Thomas 3, in 'my messuage called Pollards'; it was left him outright on William's death in 1589. Thomas died in 1600 leaving movables, valued £70.3s.8d to his wife. William 2, his heir, died in 1626. Six years earlier William 2 had sold his son Thomas 4 all his movables except his 'howsehold stuffe', for £300. Payment was due on William's death and the

money was left to be divided between six daughters, Timothy, William's son, and Timothy's two children. Joan, the widow, was left all the 'howsehole stuffe as bedds & beddinge, chestes & cofers, linnen & wollen, brasse & pewter, & all other howsehole stuffe & poultre'. Thomas 4 was made residuary legatee and executor; he may well have taken over Pollards, the family farm, in 1620.

A Thomas and Timothy Neale, who would seem to be William's two sons, were arraigned for not going to church in 1616-17; and in 1632 Marion Neale was arraigned 'for not receiving the Communion', while Maria Smyth pleaded 'that Thomas Neale, her master, would not let her go to Communion' [quoted in William Urwick. *Nonconformity in Herts.* 1884, pp. 417-18]. So we have clear evidence for early Puritanism in this branch of the Neales. Timothy lived to 1661. Thomas 4, his elder brother, had died in 1641. He was a very wealthy yeoman, leaving £548.13s.4d in movable goods, £378.13s.4d of which was the value of his farm goods and no less than £142 of his furniture. In fact he left more valuable household goods than any other of the Harpenden people whose inventories we have studied. His house had twelve rooms as well as a brewhouse, a wellhouse, a barn, and a cart 'hovel'. He had substantial brewing equipment, £10.3s.4d worth, including a 'furnes', in the brewhouse, and more in his cellar and other rooms, as well as cheesemaking equipment. There was a wool loft and a malt loft. His five cows, forty-five sheep,

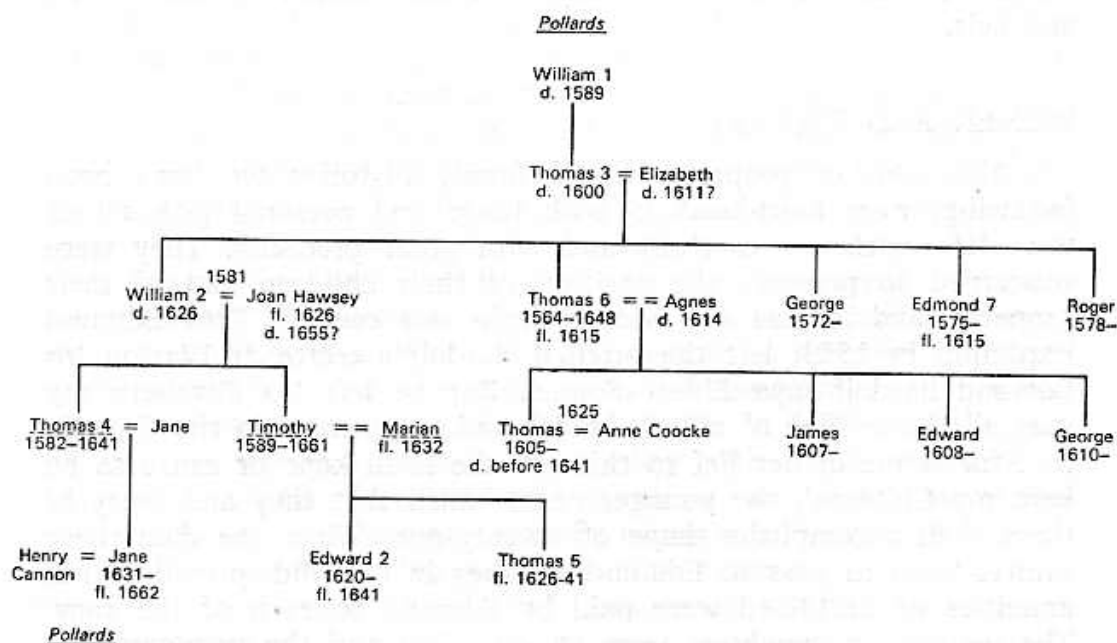


Fig. 13 Neales of Pollards Family Tree

and £23 worth of barley land, no doubt provided the raw materials. Thomas 4's own 'lodging Chamber' has a sumptuous bed which with its furnishings and five Chests was valued at £13.6s.8d. The linen, kept in the chests presumably, was worth £30 and the quantity was considerable for the time: twenty pairs of sheets, six pairs of pillowcases, pillow 'beeres' they were called, three dozen and six napkins, and other small linen! Thomas' own clothes, the money in his purse and his books were valued at £28. The mention of books is not common and the whole inventory gives a vivid picture of a prosperous Puritan farmer. Almost certainly this inventory referred to Pollards Farm. Thomas left all his lands in Harpenden and Luton to his daughter Jane and the remainder if she died without issue to his brother Timothy's son, Thomas. An entry in Annables Court Rolls for 1662 records that 'Jane . . . daughter and heir of Thomas Neale deceased' held 'one messuage called Pollards'.

The importance of the Neales is that they were a yeoman family striving successfully towards gentry status and challenging the status quo with their religious views, as had George Carpenter, early in the seventeenth century (see p. 71). Three Neales appear in the Hearth Tax returns for 1663: Edmond 3 of Hammondsend with six firehearths, one of which was demolished between Lady Day and midsummer; Nicholas 4 of Ditches with six firehearths, and John, perhaps John 2 of Cross Farm or his son, who had only two, and one of those had gone by midsummer. In the extremely illegible return of 1673 only William Neale's name can be read and he paid for eight hearths. This may well have been Nicholas 4's son and heir.

## WOMEN AND PROPERTY

The men of property, whose family histories we have been following, were hard-headed: both lands and personal possessions were left extremely carefully and with great precision. They were concerned to preserve the position of their children and of their property, and in this the widow's role was central. Thus Edmund Bardolph, in 1553, left the original Bardolph estate at Watton 'to Edmond Bardolf myn Eldest Sonne'. But he left 'to Elizabeth my wief all the residue of all my landes and tenementes in the Countie . . . for terme of her lief to thintent she shall kepe or cause to be kept my Children', the younger ones, 'untill that they and every of them shall accomlishe thage of' twenty-one. When she died these estates were to pass to Edmund, as they in fact did, provided that annuities of £6.13s.4d were paid by Edmund to each of the sons. The two eldest daughters were to get £100 and the youngest £50 'at their marriage so that they be rulyd by myn Executors', that was their mother. Daughters were left sums of money as dowries; it was taken for granted that they would marry as the family

wished! One will, that of William Catlin of Bennetts Butts, Harpenden, in 1644, contained a most unusual provision: 'I give and bequeu unto my childe that Sara my wife is now with child with all, wheather it bee sonne or datter, my hous' and all possessions 'to the us of my childe for Ever; that ef my childe dooe dye then my wille is that Sara my wife shall have' everything.

Central to the whole thinking of squire and yeoman alike was the inheritance of land. Thus Sir George Smyth was quite clear that Rowland Smyth his eldest son was 'his heire apparent', even though his 'moste deare and lovinge wife Dame Judith' was left the use of Annables during her widowhood and a second son, George, was left substantial sums of money. The role of the male heir to the 'estate' is brought out in many wills. Richard Bardolph in 1623 left his son Richard, 'my House in Harpeden aforesaid (commonly called Bowers) together with all my Lands'. George East, in 1635, left his son, George 'my howse caled Toppstreet together with all the howses and all my landes Free and Copie unbequeathed'. Richard Sibley of Wheathampstead, in 1640, left his son, John. 'my House at Bower heath . . . with all my landes . . . except my two upper Closes caled by the name of Ley Croft, lying one the west parte of my Ground under the hedge of the lande of Salomon Sibley my Kinsman caled Aldwicke'. These closes were left to a younger son, Francis, but only as a security to guarantee John's payment of £30 to Francis. Clearly the father expected his real property to pass undivided to his eldest son, while guaranteeing a money payment to the younger son. Something like this might have been behind Edmond Neale's purchase of land from his brother, George (see p. 77). Richard Sibley's will has a further interest. It hints at the possible existence of an earlier consolidated Sibley holding at Bower Heath, which had been subdivided: Solomon, a kinsman, had land abutting on Richard's; furthermore this land was already enclosed: there was a hedge.

It is only in this context that the position of women in the society of the time can be understood. It is remarkable that in thirty-one of the seventy wills which we have examined a woman was the main or residuary legatee, while in exactly half a woman was the executor, usually the wife and usually on her own, although it was common practice in such cases to nominate one or more men as 'overseers'. For example Josias Clarke, in 1626, made Agnes his wife 'my sole executore of this my last will and testament. And I Apoynte Nicholas Marchalle of Whetamsted and Henrey Marshalle of North Mims . . . which are brethren to my wife to be my overseers of this my last will'. The wife was the most usual heiress and executrix. Most frequently this was because the children were under age. Ten wives were left property in trust for their children in one or other way, and six more wives were left property for their 'natural lives' with the reversion to named heirs, sons or daughters. It is surely significant that in these cases a wife was trusted more than

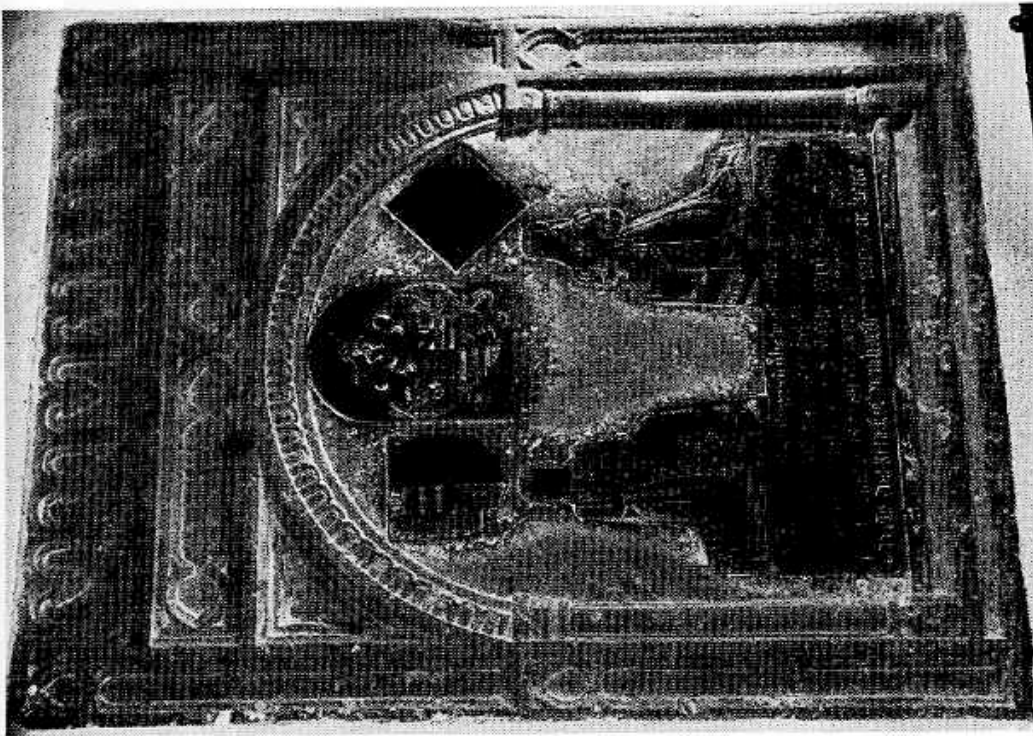


a brother or other male relative. John Ellis, a Harpenden labourer who made his will in 1612, left forty shillings to each of his four children which his 'Loveing friend Edward Clarke of Hatchingreen' was asked 'to take soe much paines for mee' as to look after until the children in turn reached the age of twenty-one. 'All the rest of my goodes and Chattelles ungiven . . . I give and bequeath to Agnes my loveinge wife to thintent that shee may bee the better able to bringe up my said foure children'. She was made executrix and requested 'to bee advised and directed by my friend Edward Clarke aforesaid both in placeing my children and putting foorth their porcons, in whome I repose speciall trust and confidence'. Incidentally this 'labourer' left £45.4s.6d worth of 'movables', £13.5s. of which was in debts owed to him and £17 in wheat in his barn; he had a horse worth £3 and a one year old calf worth 10s.

The same care, with more attention to detail, can be seen in the 1587 will of William Carter, yeoman of Wheathampstead who left property worth £149.16s.8d. He left all his real property to Elizabeth his wife 'untyll such tyme as William my sonne do . . . come to the full age of one and twentie yeares. And for the use of the same howses and landes she to se my Children well and vertuslye brought up; my will and true meanyge is that she shall sell no timber excepte it be necessarie reparacons'. The precise instruction that the asset with a capital growth element was not to be treated as ordinary income, following immediately on the general direction about virtuous upbringing by way of explanation, is typical of the time. Thomas Christian, in 1549, insisted that 'my wiff shall make no sale of woodes excepte one grove or wood callide pikettes wood or grove which she shall sell within 3 yers aftere my deathe, levinge sufficient tymbere, wood and store trees in the ground'.

The women who are left as executors and main beneficiaries were put in this position for good reasons. Edward Clarke was, it seems from his will, unmarried and his father was dead. His only brother was, presumably, adequately provided for. So his mother, logically, was left the bulk of his possessions and made his executor. In three cases wives were made heirs, understandably because there were apparently no children, but in four cases the wife was made heir even when there were adult children. The nuncupative will of George Hartford of Wheathampstead made in 1617 puts it succinctly: 'I give all my goodes to Margarett my Wife towardses the payment of my debtes and her own mayntenance'.

Five widows made their daughters their heiresses and executors; these seem to have been unmarried daughters, probably still living with mothers, for whom a simple provision was made, while small bequests were made to sons, married daughters and grandchildren. It is, surely, significant that the only people to leave daughters as heirs were widows. They had experience of the needs of a woman living on her own. But it is interesting that when Alice Kilbye, a



*Photo John Carpenter*  
PLATE 7a Brass of William and Grace Cressy in the  
north transept of Harpenden Church



*Photo Eric G. Meadows*  
PLATE 7b Portrait of Sir John Wittewronge in  
Rothamsted

An Inventory of the Goods and Chattels  
of Richard Sibley late of the County  
of Northampton in the County of Northampton  
Yeoman Cricketer, made April the 12<sup>th</sup> 1645  
And Dated 12<sup>th</sup> 1645.

3 carpets in the hall, a Table and a chair, 4 iron stools, a wainscot a silver Cupper & Chalice, silver small Bells, silver powder tiffes,	11 5
4 two small vessels for Beers, a glass celler, a walter wheel, a limon wheel, 3 Baskets, a tray, some articles of husbandrie with diverse other small things	3-0-6
In the Chamber in the hall, two Bedssteads, one Cupper and 6 bedding belonginge to the two Beds	2-10-0
In the Barn a Bussell a Ham, and some other stuffe	0-4-0
The land about the Yard	0-10-0
The Dunge and Schearke	0-10-0
Two yeares of a work	0-2-6
Two Hoggs, one Cystroffe,	0-17-0
One Ox and a Calf	2-0-0
Five geese & two lambs	3-0-0
Two arres of Wheate 2 bush Exchange upon the ground	2-0-0
One arres of Pease 2 bush not yett redemied upon the ground	2-0-0
Two Arthes of Barre	1-0-0
His wastage Apperall together with his wife's wastage apperall	2-0-0

18-14-0

Richard Sibley  
Deceased  
Edward Sibley  
his wife  
Edward Sibley  
his wife

*[Small handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, likely a reference or signature.]*

By courtesy of the Hertfordshire Record Office  
PLATE 8 Inventory of Richard Sibley, 1645

Harpenden widow, died without making a will, her two spinster daughters, Alice and Agnes, were granted powers of administration. There were six other widows and it is instructive to see how they left their possessions. One of them left her property to be equally divided between a son and an unmarried daughter and made 'my Loveinge and most especiall friend', John Christian, executor. One made a named relative heir and executor and one a grandson. Only three widows made their sons heirs and executors. One poor woman, Ann Sibley, had so many children she hardly knew what to do! Five sons got bequests two of whom, the residuary legatees, were made executors, and the four apparently unmarried daughters were left sixpence each. Alice Neale of Kinsbourne Green, whose will was made in 1608, made her son George executor and residuary legatee but she seems to have had no unmarried daughters and to have provided carefully for her married daughters and grandchildren.

Even where the widow was not the main beneficiary husbands clearly cared for their wives and wished widowhood to be as free from practical worries as they could make it without sacrificing their sons' interests. The will of Robert Kent of Wheathampstead, made in 1612, shows how this was done: 'I give and bequethe to anees Kente my wife the halle and chambere and a leantowe a joyninge to the southe ende of the howese and a gardenne plote, one appell tree called a piping tree and to quietly injoye and have the same dewring the thyme of her wedowhood and no longer . . . and yf the sayd annes Kente doe think good to gooe owte of the sayde rommes gevene her, shee shall not let the sayd rommes withowte the Conesentes of here sonne Richarde Keente. Item I give unto annes Kente my wife all my moveable goodes unbequethed, whome I make my full executor'. William Carpenter of Harpenden's wife, in 1615, was left 'her dwelling in the house where wee now dwell during her life in as large and ample manner as wee now have it, except the barne onely, (and) the use of all such household stuffe, ymplementes and goodes as are in our handes'. Thomas Christian of Wheathampstead was quite specific, in 1549: if his widow remarried 'than I will that she shall avoide upon a warnynge geven be my executorys'. Widows were given security against neglect by children, but the son and heir was protected from a step-father.

Wives were not always well looked after. Richard Sibley's wife, Friswith, was only left 'our Bedstead with all the Beddinge therunto belonginge' in 1640, although his sons were left substantial wealth. Perhaps they could be trusted to look after their mother. But Edward Bardolph of Blakesleys, in 1622, was clearly going to make his wife pay for her fondness for her relatives. In a long and involved passage about debts due to him, Edward left Mary, his second wife, £40 worth of goods 'and likewise ten bushells of good wheate or one acre of wheat growinge in my ground', if she paid forty shillings towards his funeral and discharged any claims by her daughter and

TABLE 1

NUMBERS AND NAMES OF PERSONS ASSESSED OR TAXED AT STATED DATES ON STATED NUMBER OF FIREHEARTHES

Nos. of Firehearths	WHEATHAMPSTEAD		HARPENDEN	
	Taxed Michaelmas 1663	Assessed Lady Day 1673	Taxed Lady Day 1663	Taxed Mid-summer? 1663
26	SIR JOHN GARRARD	—	—	—
24	—	—	—	SIR JOHN WITTEWRONGE
23	—	JOHN GARRARD	SIR JOHN WITTEWRONGE	—
14	MR. WILLIAM STUBBING	—	—	—
13	—	MR. THOMAS HUNSDON	—	—
12	MR. THOMAS HUNSDON	—	EDMUND SMYTH, Esq.	EDMUND SMYTH, Esq.
11	—	MRS. MARY BROCKET	NATHANIEL EELES, Clerk	—
10	—	MR. WILLIAM STUBBING	GODMAN JENKIN, gent.	GODMAN JENKIN, gent.
9	DR. HENRY KILLEGREW	DR. KILLEGREW	WILLIAM COTTON, Esq.	WILLIAM COTTON, Esq.
8	MR. EDWARD BROCKET	—	—	NATHANIEL EELES, gent.
7	3	RICHARD MICHALL	3	2
6	3	2	5	5
5	4	5	4	5
4	3	6	3	2
3	12	13	10	5
2	13	17	20	18
1	20	12	9	14

---

'Discharged by Certificate'	2	11	'68 persons having	'53 persons having	11
	1	57	79 firehearths'	64 firehearths'	42
				+ 65/6 illegible taxpayers' names	

son-in-law, John Cutt. Her inheritance was further 'abated' by the outstanding part of a debt of £20, the final repayment of which Mary Bardolph had given to her 'deceased' brother, Dr. Dickenson, without Edward's 'consent'.

But these were exceptions. Solomon Sibley of Wheathampstead, in 1646, followed the more common pattern, that of Robert Kent. 'I give and bequeath unto Rose my loveing wife all my household stufte whatsoever, both att my dwelling house, and at Bower heath house . . . All my stockes of Bees which stand at Bower heath: And that shee have her dwelling during her life at Bower heath: And the keeping of a Cow to her owne use, both winter and sommer at my sonne Salomon's charge in his Cowe pasture . . . my said sonne Salomon doe (shall) yearly and everie yeare at Harvest time lay in at Bower heath house in the Barnes there to his mother's use, One acer of good wheate and one Acer of good Oates'.

## THE POOR

We have given so much attention to the local landlords and the middling ranks in society, for two reasons: they were the people whose actions were most effective in changing local ways of life and we know most about them. Because they were property owners they produced records, and their families and the authorities preserved the records. But the result is that we have conveyed a false picture of life, for there were many poor and their way of life was frequently miserable. Just under half of the local householders in 1673 (121 out of 247) were so poor that they were freed from paying the tax on fireplaces (see Table 1 facing), rather more than half in Wheathampstead and less than half in Harpenden. These people might be poor cottagers, perhaps relatives of better off husbandmen and yeomen, retired old people, the 'aged and impotent'; or simply those who had no visible means of support but owned the cottage in which they lived. Not all of them can have been in complete poverty. Some of them lived in substantial houses, for the Hearth Tax returns make it clear that something like twenty people, relieved from paying tax, lived in houses with two or more fireplaces. For Harpenden we can arrive at a more precise picture: a rate on land levied in 1642-4 lists ninety-one occupiers or owners of one acre or more. The population changed very little in the middle of the seventeenth century (see p. 54), so we may reckon that there were no more than 120 families in Harpenden at that time. One quarter of the population were excluded from this rate. Since Wheathampstead had more poor than Harpenden, we will not be far wrong if we assume that one quarter of local families were almost propertyless and another quarter too poor to pay all their taxes. It should be remembered that the legal enforceable wage for a day labourer in the early seventeenth century in Hertfordshire was 4d

if the employer fed him. A day's food and drink for a working man was reckoned to cost 4d, so no one could keep a family on this wage alone!

The parish ratepayers had been made responsible for their own poor at the end of the seventeenth century and we shall describe the working of the system which lasted until 1834 in a later booklet; there are no local records surviving for the first half of the seventeenth century. Probably there was care and consideration for many established local families in need, and there could be additional assistance from the charity of the better-off. We have seen examples of this in their wills. Sir John Wittewronge kept 'a Noate of the poore of Harpenden', to whom he made money gifts on 9 February 1651 [H.C.R.O. D/ELW Z 5]. There are twenty-eight names on the list and three more are crossed out. Eleven were widows, and there were four more women: two were probably single and two married. There were thirteen men: one was 'Ould Wiltshire' and two had their occupations described. The names include two Neales and a Cressy! We cannot judge how these recipients of the squire's charity were selected. Four of them (Kilby the weaver, Nicholls the clerk, William Moore and Mrs. Bird) received 2s.0d and the remainder 1s.0d.

The respectable poor, the aged and orphans belonging to the local community, were looked after. But where the burden of responsibility could be put on relatives it was. The Calendar of the Quarter Sessions Book for July 1633 summarises one local case, as follows: 'Whereas John Sheppard, late of Ampthill, co. Beds, did a good while past, absent himself from the said town, leaving his wife behind in great poverty, and shortly after his departure she died, leaving behind her six small children, who have ever since been a great charge to the inhabitants who are much overburdened with poor people, it is ordered by the Court, with the consent of Henry Sheppard, of Harpenden, yeoman, father of the said John and grandfather "to all the said children," a man of good ability, that he, the said Henry, shall take and provide for the five eldest children forthwith, and the youngest of the said children at Michaelmas 1634, till which time the inhabitants of Ampthill are to take care of and provide for the same.' [Vol. V pp. 172-3]. 'Of good ability' meant that Henry was a man of means. He was taxed on ninety-two acres in 1642-4. Society's attitude to the poor was not uniformly hostile. There was, for example, a county fund, to which the ratepayers contributed and from which a limited number of 'maimed soldiers' received a pension. John Daye of Harpenden had a £4 p.a. pension from 1631-67.

The worst off poor were those who were not householders. After a generation and more of rapid population growth there was a housing shortage. This was made worse by the enforcement of an Elizabethan Act of Parliament which made it an offence to build

a new cottage without four acres of land being attached to it. So squatters' cottages were destroyed and squatters prosecuted. There were many local offenders; George Gynne, a Wheathampstead labourer, was one in 1619. These cottages were nothing like the substantial timber-frame houses so often, wrongly, called cottages today. They were probably the crudest one-room hovels built of rough timber. What could happen to those who were dispossessed of their squatters' cottages is revealed in the case of George Gynne. He reappeared before Quarter Sessions, in 1633, in the House of Correction at Hertford, a kind of prison for law breaking paupers, and the J.P.s discharged him in April as he had, 'condescended' to live in whatever house the J.P.s and Wheathampstead parishioners would provide for him. He was back in gaol in July, however, until he found sureties for his 'inlargement'. We do not know whether he had not been given a house and so became a vagrant again or had refused to live where he was put. In January 1636 we find that Quarter Sessions ordered the overseers of the poor and the churchwardens of Wheathampstead, the responsible local officials, to provide a temporary home for William Marryott, a poor man who had lived there for many years but no longer had a dwelling place.

George Gynne and William Marryott were lucky they had a 'settlement'. The community did not want newcomers settling down and, perhaps, becoming a burden on the rates when they fell sick or were unemployed. Hence the normal servant's contract was for a day less than a year, which prevented the employee getting a legal settlement, as it was called. George Gynne and William Marryott could not be ejected from their community, though their squatters' cottages could be pulled down; something had to be done for them. But travellers looking for work were harassed by the community which did not want them. Local people were forbidden to take lodgers; it was called receiving inmates. The regular prosecutions for this offence suggest the need which existed: the offenders were Christopher Chapman a Harpenden bricklayer (1629), Jane Ellis a widow (1630), Robert Wright (1632) and George Plomer (1641), both labourers, and all three of Wheathampstead. In Wright's case the prosecution was quite specific: he had given lodging to one John Turner who sought work in Wheathampstead and was denied a 'settlement'. Turner might have been a 'servant in husbandry'; these were single men or women living with their masters who found difficulty in settling down because of their contracts and the housing shortage. They do not appear in the tax lists and we cannot tell how many of them there were in the community at this time. Eighteenth century documents suggest that, a century later, there were a great many. In fact there was an 'underground', vagrants looking for work as well as tramps avoiding work. We learn about them, for the most part, when they were in trouble with the law, in Quarter Sessions records, for example.



Alehouses were licensed and controlled among other reasons because they became the only places where the unwelcome unemployed could find refuge. The J.P.s tried to close unlicensed houses and to maintain order in the licensed ones, but it was not easy. Harpenden seems to have had more offenders than Wheathampstead. The following cases of prosecutions of unlicensed alehouses came before Quarter Sessions: John Smith, fuller of Wheathampstead (1620); John Dearmer, husbandman (1637), and Ann North, widow (1643), both of Harpenden. We have already referred to the misdeeds, or misfortunes, of William Catlin of The Bull (see p. 75). In 1644 George and Thomas Catlin, brewers, were prosecuted for supplying Ann North with six barrels of beer. And in the same year George Lowe, innkeeper of Harpenden was prosecuted for keeping a disorderly house. Some of the trouble was simply due to drunkenness, the solace of the poor, but not only of the poor. Early in the seventeenth century William Portt, 'dwelling in Whethamsted', was prosecuted 'for the misordering of his gesse (guests) in the waye of drunckenesse'. While in 1620 Edward Cutt, yeoman of Wheathampstead, was prosecuted for being drunk in the house of Katherine Leaper.

Moral offences, especially those which might cost the ratepayers money, were punished. In 1647 the J.P.s ordered that Joan Jarsey and her male bastard child were to be sent from Wheathampstead to Totteridge where she was to be provided for. In October 1659 Ann Wilsheire, a Harpenden widow and mother of a bastard child, was sent to the House of Correction for a year. The man responsible, on the other hand, was only expected to pay up. In 1654 John Cutt the younger of Harpenden was ordered by the J.P.s to pay the overseers of the poor 2s.0d a week towards the keep of Ellen Peverell's bastard child, of whom he was the reputed father. One wonders what lay behind the entry in the burial register for 24 March 1648 'Widow Kilbye sinner was buried'. It was a hard world, for children particularly. The burial registers of Harpenden, between 1584 and 1637, are filled monotonously with entries like this for 2 March 1629: 'Leddia Colquit A Nurss Child from London' and sometimes quite anonymously, 'a nurse Child from London nursed by William Carpenter's wife'. Nearly all these children came from London but occasionally they came from other places once for example from St. Albans.

When looking at the changes made in the local landscape by our ancestors in Tudor and Stuart times and at the buildings which they have left for us, we must not forget that their lives were full of uncertainty. Churchyard memorials and burial registers bring home to us how unexpectedly death could come, how many children died young and how many mothers died in childbirth. The story we have been telling had its victims, Cressys and Bardolphs who came down in the world and the many poor families for whom there was no possibility of improving their lot.

## Appendix TWO: Glossary

- BALK.** An unploughed piece of land separating off, and providing access to, the ploughed areas of an open or common field (see below).
- CALVINIST.** One who accepts the theological teaching of John Calvin (1509-64), especially with regard to predestination, the belief that God has ordained some of mankind, the elect, to salvation.
- COMMON FIELDS** or open fields. Unhedged arable in which individuals have cultivation rights over particular, scattered strips of ploughed land and common rights, shared with other individuals, of grazing over the whole area, once the crops are harvested. Common fields contrast with waste (see below).
- COMMON LIGHTS.** Lights are the candles kept burning in a Roman Catholic church. Common lights were the ordinary candles (see Torch below).
- COPPICE** and **STANDARD.** Woods in which trees are regularly 'harvested', some being cut at frequent intervals to provide stakes (coppice), others left to grow tall for beams and planks (standards).
- COPYHOLD.** Land held by virtue of a copy of an entry in a manor court roll. Every time such land, once serf farmed, changed hands the manor court supervised the change of ownership and the lord of the manor was entitled to a payment, in cash or kind.
- FARTHINGATE.** A quarter of an acre (1,000 sq. metres).
- HOMAGE.** The tenants owing duty, the jury, at a manor court.
- INDEPENDENT.** The early Congregationalists, Calvinist Puritans who believed in organising their church in self-governing congregations.
- OVERSEER.** Someone appointed to supervise the carrying out of the terms of a will, to help the executor.
- PINDAR.** Official elected in a manor court and responsible for rounding up all straying cattle, especially those that had broken out of common fields (see above). When caught the cattle were kept in a pound (see p. 47) until the owner was identified and had paid a fine.
- PLOT.** A plan or map; only the verb, to plot, is in modern use.
- SUPERVISOR** (see Overseer).
- TEG.** A young sheep of either sex, before shearing, especially in its second year.
- TORCH.** A large candle for carrying in church (see common lights above).
- TREEN.** Objects for eating and drinking from, e.g. mugs and plates, made of wood.
- WASTE.** Uncultivated land over which the manorial tenants had grazing rights and rights to gather bracken, furze and wood for fuel and house repairs. Many modern commons were once manorial waste land.

## Appendix THREE

### A LIST OF LOCAL INHABITANTS WITH INFORMATION ABOUT THEIR WILLS AND INVENTORIES

Column 1, name; 2, social status; 3, habitation; 4, date of will; 5, date of probate of will (P), otherwise date on which inventory made; 6, total value of wealth in inventory; 7, value of farm goods, grain and stock; 8, value of household goods; 9, debts owed to deceased.

The spelling of surnames in column 1 has been standardised. Some christian names have been abbreviated to save space.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
JOHN BROCKET	E	W	1532*	1532P				
THO CHRISTIAN		W	1549†	1551	45/ 0/ 0			
EDM BARDOLPH	E	H	1553*	1554P				
WM CRESSY	G	H	1559					
RIC CHRISTIAN		H	1559†	1564P	41/ 6/ 8			
GEO CARPENTER	Y	W	1571‡	1571‡	425/10/ 0	362/ 9/ 4	49/10/ 8	
GRACE JOHNSON	W	H	1571					
NIC CUTT	Y	H		1577‡	104/ 9/ 8	88/ 3/ 4	16/ 6/ 4	
GEO CARPENTER	Y	W	1584§	1584P				
NIC BROCKET	E	W	1585*	1585P				
WM CARTER	Y	W	1587	1587	149/16/ 8	126/ 0/ 0	21/16/ 8	
ANNE WYSTOWE	W	W		1588‡	10/17/ 2	4/16/ 4	4/ 0/10	
WM HUNT		H	1589	1593	135/ 0/ 6	106/ 6/ 8	18/ 6/ 8	2/ 6/10
VRYAN MYLES		W		1590‡	8/18/ 8	6/ 8	9/ 0	
RIC WHITLOCK		W		1591‡	32/15/ 8	24/18/ 0	6/13/ 8	
WM MICHEL		H		1591‡	21/10/ 6	15/ 9/ 2	6/ 1/ 4	
THO NEALE	Y	W	1601§	1601P				
JOHN GRUNWIN	Y	W	1605	1614	95/13/ 4	68/ 1/ 8	25/11/ 8	
ROBERT HOUSE	Lo	W	1606	1606	8/ 9/ 8	—	—	6/ 2/ 0
ALICE NEALE	W	H	1608‡	1611‡	52/15/ 4	—	13/ 4/ 4	30/ 0/ 0
GEO KILBY		H		1610	14/ 5/10 <sup>1</sup>	8/19/ 0	4/13/ 6	
GEO NEALE	Y	H	1610*	1611	664/ 0/ 2	381/15/ 0	28/ 7/11	235/ 0/ 0
HELEN HUNT	W	W	1612	1612	14/ 5/ 8	1/ 0/ 0	2/13/ 8	10/ 0/ 0
ROBERT KENT		W	1612	1612	15/10/10	1/15/10	4/16/ 4	8/12/ 0
JOHN NICHOLLS	H	H	1612	1612	43/ 0/ 4	24/16/ 8	14/ 3/ 8	
JOHN ELLIS	L	H	1612	1612	45/ 4/ 6	25/12/ 6	5/ 6/ 0	13/ 5/ 0
JOHN HOUSE	L	W	1613	1613	11/ 9/ 6	4/ 6/ 0	6/ 6/ 0	
THO CHAPMAN								
OF BREWER	L	W	1613	1613	26/10/10	8/13/ 4	5/11/ 1	11/10/ 0
ROGER HOLTING	B	W	1613	1613	34/ 7/ 2	<i>manuscript torn</i>		17/ 5/ 2
WM CARPENTER	T	H	1615	1615	52/ 4/ 2	33/12/ 8	12/ 4/ 2	5/ 0/ 0
THO SAMON	H	H	1615	1616	70/11/ 8	59/18/ 0	9/ 0/ 8	13/ 0
THO NICHOLLS	Y	H	1616	1616P	356/ 0/ 4			

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
GEO HARTFORD	J	W	1617	1617P	49/ 2/ 0				
GEO SMYTH	K	H	1620*	1621P					
JOHN HOWE	Y	W	1622	1622	768/16/ 0	662/17/ 8	102/11/ 8		
EDW BARDOLPH	G	H	1622*	1630P					
ELIZ NICHOLLS	S	H	1623	1623P					
EDM NEALE	Y	H	1623	1623P					
RIC BARDOLPH	G	H	1623	1623	50/ 0/ 0	3/18/ 0	36/ 2/ 0		
WM SIBLEY	H	H	1623	1623P					
ELLEN NEALE	W	W	1624	1624	64/ 3/ 8	36/ 3/ 8	17/10/ 0		
THO NICHOLLS	Y/H	H	1624	1624	38/17/ 4	27/ 0/ 0	9/17/ 4		
ALICE KILBY	W	H	1624	1637	4/15/ 0	3/ 2/ 4	1/12/ 8		
NIC NICHOLLS	Y	H	1625	1625P					
FRAN NICHOLLS	W	H	1625	1626P					
JOHN CUTT	H	H	1626	1626P					
EDW COOPER	L	W	1626	1626P					
JOSIAS CLARKE	L	W	1626	1630	4/10/ 6	12/ 6	2/13/10		
WM NEALE		H	1626	1627P					
EDW NEALE	Wh	B	1627§	1627P					
FREMENCE FIELD	H	H	1627	1627	12/ 6/ 8	3/10/ 0	7/18/ 8		
RIC BREWER	L	H	1629	1630	22/ 3/ 0	7/15/ 0	4/ 3/ 0	12/18/0 <sup>2</sup>	
EDW HAYWARD	Y	H	1630	1634P					
ROBERT KILBY	H	H	1630	1630	23/12/ 7 <sup>3</sup>	16/ 3/ 7	4/18/ 0		
JOHN IVORY	H	W	1631	1631	126/ 3/ 2	—	3/15/ 4	119/18/ 0	
KATH BEECH	W	H	1632	1633	3/13/ 4	—	3/ 3/ 4		
MARK STUBBING	C	W	1633	1637P					
ELLEN COOPER	S	W		1634	4/ 3/ 4	—	—	3/ 4	
EDW HALSEY									
OF CHAMBERS	L	H		1635	8/15/ 8	2/19/ 0	5/10/ 0		
GEO EAST	Y	H	1635	1636P					
THO WETHERED	L	W	1635	1636	22/ 6/ 8	—	10/ 3/ 8	2/ 0/ 0	
ANNIE NICHOLLS	W	H	1635	1640P	5/11/ 4	—	4/16/ 4		
JOAN SAMON		H	1636	1636	41/ 7/ 4	31/ 5/ 8	8/15/ 0		
GEO HAYWARD			1636	1638	4/19/ 6	1/ 9/ 8	2/ 2/10		
JOHN THRALE	Y	W		1637	4/13/ 6	—	2/ 3/ 6		
MARY BARDOLPH	W	H		1637	11/ 4/ 8	—	4/ 4/ 8		
GEO POND	L	W		1638	3/15/ 0	4/ 0	3/ 5/ 0		
THO NICHOLLS	Y	H		1638	28/ 3/ 0	5/12/ 0	12/ 5/ 0		
ANNE SIBLEY	W	H	1638	1638P					
JOHN CHRISTIAN	G	W	1638	1638P					
JOHN REAMENTS		W		1638	10/ 9/ 2	9/ 2	7/ 0/ 0	1/10/ 0	
THO WHITLOCK		W		1639	3/ 4/ 9	—	2/ 5/ 8		
WM NASHE		H		1639	9/ 2/ 0	—	5/10/ 0	1/12/0 <sup>4</sup>	
ALICE SEABROOK		H		1639	16/ 7	—	16/ 7		
JANE DALDARN	W	W	1639	1640	11/ 0/ 0	—	8/10/ 0		
SAMUEL ANSELL		H		1639	20/10/ 0	3/ 4/ 2	15/ 6/ 8		
RIC SIBLEY	Y	W	1640	1645	18/14/ 0	10/ 3/ 6	6/10/ 6		

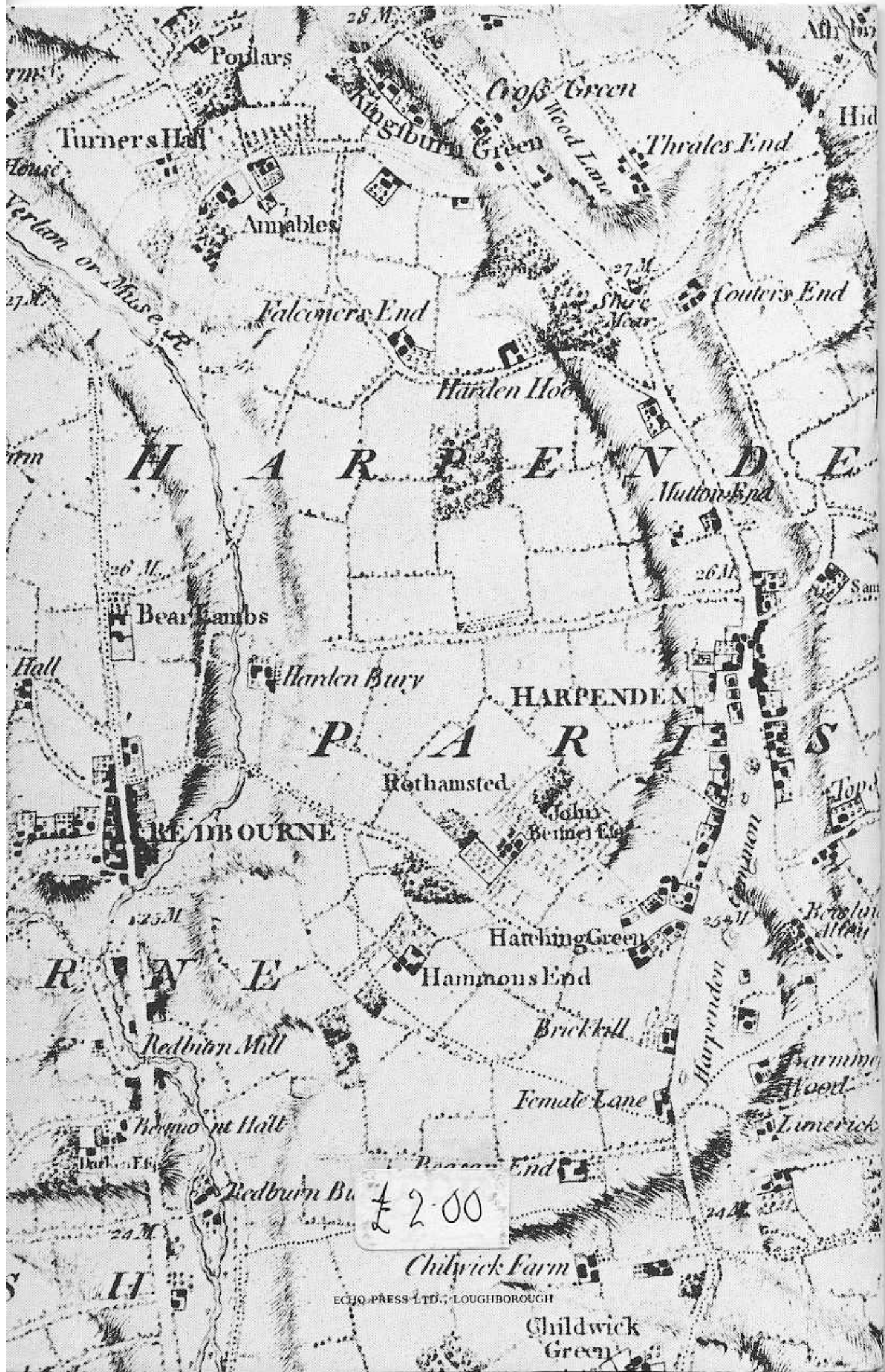
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
JOHN WHITLOCK		H	1640	1640	34/ 2/ 8	6/ 9/ 4	7/18/ 4	18/10/ 0
EDW CLARK	Y	H	1640	1641P	598/ 0/ 0	505/ 0/ 0	83/ 8/ 0	
THO NEALE	Y	H	1641	1641	548/13/ 4	378/13/ 4	142/ 0/ 0	
HENRY CATLIN		H		1641	69/18/ 8	43/ 1/ 8	8/ 4/ 0	17/13/ 0
EDW SEABROOK		H		1641	42/16/ 8	29/ 6/ 8	12/ 0/ 0 <sup>5</sup>	
ANN NEALE	W	H		1641	10/ 6/10	—	7/ 3/10	
WM CATLIN	Y	H	1642	1643P				
THO LUCY		W		1643	27/ 6/ 8	16/ 6/10	5/18/ 6	2/11/ 8
JOHN WHITLOCK	Y	W	1643	1643	28/ 6/ 4	17/13/ 4	9/ 3/ 0	
WM CATLIN	H	H	1644	1644	27/ 1/ 2	13/15/ 0	11/ 1/ 2	
GRACE BARDOLPH	W	H	1645	1645	23/ 7/ 4	—	16/ 2/ 4	4/ 0/ 0
ANNE LUCY	W	W		1645	8/15/ 8	6/ 8	2/ 5/ 0	5/ 4/ 0
ANN GRUNWIN	M	W		1646P	31/15/ 0	—	5/ 0	25/ 0/0 <sup>6</sup>
THO NEALE	Ba	H	1646	1646	76/ 4/ 2	—	5/ 0	73/12/ 0
SALOMON SIBLEY	Y	W	1646	1647	122/ 1/ 8	43/18/ 8	33/ 4/ 0	30/ 0/ 0
FRAN SIBLEY	Y	W	1648	1648	432/17/ 7	289/ 5/10	78/11/ 0	41/17/ 4
RIC HAYWARD	G	W	1649	1649	305/ 1/ 2 <sup>7</sup>	—	70/11/ 2	67/ 0/ 0
JOHN EELES		H	1649*	1655P				
NATH EELES	H	H	1653*	1654P				

**Symbols used in column 2** B, blacksmith; Ba, bachelor; C, clerk, i.e. clergyman; E, esquire; G, gentleman; H, husbandman; J, joiner; K, knight; L, labourer; Lo, 'loder'; M, maiden; S, single woman/spinster; T, tailor; W, widow; Wh, wheelwright; Y, yeoman.

**Symbols used in column 3** B, Barnet; H, Harpenden; W, Wheathampstead.

**Columns 4 and 5** The will and inventory should be in the Hertford County Record Office unless one of the following symbols appears after the date: \* in the Public Record Office; † in the Huntingdon Record Office; ‡ in the Lincoln Record Office; § printed in *The Herts. Genealogist and Antiquary* edited by William Brigg.

**Numbers in columns 6, 8 and 9** 1, he left debts owing of £8; 2, includes some money; 3, left debts owing of £32/15/9 and there was 14s. to pay for his funeral and making the inventory; 4, not clear whether this is owed or owing; 5, £4/2/0 of this was 'goodes of his last wifes'; 6, legacies which had not been paid to her when she died; 7, includes £150 money in his possession when he died.



Turners Hall

Poullars

28 M.

Mugburn Green  
Cross Green  
Wood Lane

Thrales End

Amables

Falconers End

27 M.

Shore Moor

Couters End

Harden Hob

H A R P E N D E N

Mutton End

26 M.

Bear Lambs

26 M.

HARPENDEN

P A R I S H

Rothamsted

Harden Bury

John Bennet Esq

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD

Hatching Green

R E D B O U R N

Hammons End

Redburn Mill

Brickhill

25 M.

Nequo nt Hall

Female Lane

Darke Esq

Rogers End

Redburn Bury

£ 2.00

Chilwick Farm

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Childwick Green