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The Age of Independence



WHEATHAMPSTEAD
and
HARPENDEN

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HARPENDEN

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The Age of Independence:
Squires, farmers and tradesmen from
the Civil War to the Industrial Revolution

1978

THE HISTORY PUBLISHING SOCIETY,
Harpenden, Herts.

ISBN: 0 9506119 0 5

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Introduction

This fourth booklet in the series *Wheathampstead and Harpenden* has been called *The Age of Independence* because it deals with a period in which there was less central government control and, therefore, more local independence than at any other time in British history. For that reason it is a particularly interesting period in which to look closely at a local community, to find out how it managed its affairs and who governed it and how well. Local records became more abundant in the eighteenth century; indeed we could have filled a large book. Instead we have tried in this booklet to make the general picture clear while not forgetting that individual people, particular incidents and places are the stuff of history, especially of local history. As in earlier booklets we have indicated the source of quotations in square brackets. Throughout we have relied on certain major sources. Three of them are in the County Record Office, whose staff we should like to thank once again for their assistance. These sources are the Militia Lists, the Land Tax returns, and some of the records of the Church Vestry. Other vestry documents are among the parish records in Harpenden Hall, which has been our second main source of information. Lastly we have been able to use the 'Plans of the Several Freehold and Copyhold Estates Situate in the Manor and Parish of Wheathampstead and Harpenden. Surveyed 1799', which are in the keeping of the Church Commissioners at Milbank, London [Ref. 415.818], to whom we are grateful for giving us access. We also thank the Luton Museum and Art Gallery for permission to photograph and use illustrations from W. H. Pyne's *Microcosm* (1808). Many members of the W.E.A. classes responsible for this project have contributed to this booklet but the main research has been done by Mary Coburn, Daphne Godwin and Eileen Haines. Ron Staines has drawn the picture of Sheepskin Hall (Plate 17), which is based on a painting by Miss E. Salisbury. Eileen Haines, Margaret Holden, Ron Staines and Lionel Munby have edited the final text.

TABLE 2

Estimates of Number of Families at Different Dates

	1673 (Hearth Tax)	1676	1706-21	1788-92	1801 (Census)
Harpenden	118	106	200. c 150. c 120	221	225
Wheathampstead	129	151	94. 100. 160	183	207

All the figures except for 1673 and 1801 are from ecclesiastical returns, see *Hertfordshire Population Statistics 1563-1801* by Lionel Munby.

TABLE 3

Distribution of Property among Taxpayers

Owners of Property Assessed at	1753				1780/3			
	Totals		% of Totals		Totals		% of Totals	
	Nos.	Wealth	Nos.	Wealth	Nos.	Wealth	Nos.	Wealth
Harpenden								
Over £50	10	1487-18-4	12.5	81	10	1481- 8- 4	14	80
£5 to £50	20	254- 8-4	15.0	14	26	308- 7- 6	37	16
Under £5	50	99-15-0	62.5	5	34	64-19- 2	49	4
TOTAL	80	1842- 1-8			70	1854-15- 0		
Wheathampstead								
Over £50	10	1196-13-4	18	72	10	1192-10-10	18	71
£5 to £50	26	433- 1-8	46	26	23	431- 5- 0	40	26
Under £5	20	36- 0-0	36	2	24	44-12-11	42	3
TOTAL	56	1665-15-0			57	1668- 8- 9		

IV

THE AGE OF INDEPENDENCE

The Civil War and the Squires

The outbreak of the Civil War between Charles I and the Long Parliament in 1642 was the culmination of a period of great change in attitudes and life styles. Hertfordshire was ruled by people whose families were recent arrivals, who had merchant relatives and close links with the apparatus of government. Most of these families opposed the King, though a few notable ones joined him when it came to war. The county was firmly committed to the parliamentary side; the local gentry were actively supported by the many prospering yeomen who leaned towards Puritanism. Both of the local squires, Sir John Garrard of Lamer and Sir John Wittewronge of Rothamsted, served on 'the Committee att Hartford' which mobilised the county on parliament's side. Viscount Cranborne, the Lord-Lieutenant and a parliamentary supporter, appointed Wittewronge captain of the militia (the local trained bands) on 25 August 1642. The young Wittewronge had come of age, and become lord of the manor of Rothamsted, only three years earlier; Sir John Garrard, much the same age, had inherited Lamer in 1637.

These young men, who led their communities through the war years and long after, had business connections with the City of London. Their estates had been bought with money earned in trade. Sir John Garrard was Sheriff of Hertfordshire from the end of 1643 until Michaelmas 1645; on occasion he was in command of the County's armed forces and in 1644 commanded the parliamentary garrison at Newport Pagnell. Sir John Wittewronge likewise saw active service, commanding the garrison at Aylesbury from April to August 1643, but soon returned to civilian life. The squires had considerable local support. The owners of Annables were for parliament (p. 69) and yeoman families like the Carpenters and the Neales, of Hammondsend and Pollards, had similar views. Nathan Cotton of Turners Hall, Kinsbourne Green, took office as treasurer of the County Fund for Hospitals and Maimed Soldiers in 1644 and again in 1650-1. It is not surprising that an active Independent (Congregationalist), Nathaniel Eeles, was 'called by the People at Harpenden . . . to be their Pastor' in 1643. When civil registration of marriage was introduced by the republican government, John Squire, a maltster, was appointed as Registrar in Harpenden and kept the registers properly without a gap. Dissent acquired a permanent hold over an important group of local people (pp. 101-4). Harpenden contributed £54.12s.4d by a 'rate made the 5th of March 1650 for the Service of England and Ireland', that is for the invasion of Scotland and the

reconquest of Ireland. The assessors were Godman Jenkin of Blakesleys, Nathan Cotton and Edmond Neale. The list of those who paid, a most useful roll of local property owners, survives in the Wittewronge papers [H.C.R.O. D/ELW Z4].

For most people life went on as usual. There is no local record of mobilisation or drafting, though there must have been local people in the armies. There were often troops in St. Albans but the only occasion on which they assembled in the parish was in 1645. Charles I had been decisively defeated at Naseby but he did not immediately give up. He marched to Huntingdon and Woburn. Hertfordshire seemed to be threatened, so troops were mustered. On 27 August 1645 the parliamentary Committee of Both Kingdoms, at Derby House, wrote to 'the Committee att Hartford': 'Wee have received notice that your Horse are at Welling and your foot att Whethamsted . . . let your forces receive orders from Col. Greaves' [P.R.O. SP/16/510. 151 & 156]. Garrard was Sheriff at the time which may explain the mobilisation at Wheathampstead. Eight months later Charles I was in flight and in disguise. He took refuge in Wheathampstead on the night of 27 April 1646. Michael Hudson, one of the King's two attendants, said that 'His Majestie lodged at Whisthamstede, but he was commanded by his Majestie not to reveal the place where his Majestie lodged . . . the King lay in a grande chamber and Mr. Ashburnham and I lay together' [Peek's *Desiderata Curiosa*, Lib VI quoted in Kingston: *Hertfordshire During the Great Civil War*, p. 197]. The Garrards were said later to have given the King shelter but there is no evidence that they did. We do not know whether they had changed their mind about the Civil War. Sir John Wittewronge certainly did not although he felt it expedient to conform to the Anglican Church after the Restoration.

Sir John Wittewronge seems to have had an eye for the main chance; between 1644 and 1647 he was busy ensuring that the lands, goods and, in particular, pictures belonging to various royalist relatives came into his possession and were saved from the Committee for Seizing and Sequestering the Estates of Delinquents and Papists. Not all of these properties were returned to the original owners when the war was over. Sir John also enlarged his Harpenden estate, buying Lower Topstreet Farm, ninety-one acres of free and copyhold land, for £480.2s.8d in 1648 and Rough Hyde Farm, almost eighty acres of free and copyhold land with the house and orchards, for £900 in 1651 [D/ELW E19]. This was a top price, over £10 an acre. In 1650 Sir John bought Westminster Abbey's local manors for £1,780.3s.9d. Although he had to return these on the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 he had made enough money to buy £1,000 worth of East India Company shares in 1656 and estates in other places. The major rebuilding of Rothamsted House took place soon after the Civil War, as Sir John's accounts clearly show. Among other things with which he adorned his house were some of the royal collection of pictures

which the Commonwealth authorities sold off; 'they cost me near £300'. 'I must confess I was ever a lover of pictures, and when that lamentable dispersion was made of his Majesty's goods I did, in several places, buy several pictures that were his Majesty's', he wrote after the Restoration [Historical Manuscripts Commission *Report on the manuscripts of the Earl of Verulam*, pp. 64 and 71]. Sir John served in various public capacities during the Commonwealth and Protectorate. He was elected to both of Oliver Cromwell's parliaments in 1654 and 1656 where he supported the republican opposition. He was a teller in debates on Cromwell's control of the army in 1655 but was prevented from taking his seat in 1656. His name was linked with that of Sir Arthur Haselrigg, the republican: 'such fiery spirits . . . would make disturbances in the House if they were in' [quoted in Boalch, *The Manor of Rothamsted*, p. 11]. However, Sir John Wittewronge served as Sheriff for Hertfordshire in 1658-9.

The Garrards and Wittewronge conformed at the Restoration. Lady Jane Garrard's declaration of loyalty to Charles II was dated 8 June 1660, 'publicly made . . . before me, Harbottle Grimston, Speaker of the House of Commons'. Sir John Wittewronge's had been made on 28 May. Sir Harbottle Grimston was their near neighbour at Gorhambury [Kingston, pp. 149-50]. Wittewronge bought forgiveness by returning the royal pictures, 'all of which presently (i.e. immediately) after his Majesty's happy return I did voluntarily present to the King at Whitehall (and that before any order came forth for so doing) . . . [H.M.C., *Verulam*]. He was rewarded, like the prodigal son he was pretending to be, with a baronetcy in 1662, but he had not changed his views. His papers show clearly how interested he was in the Whig upsurge of 1678-82.

One change which the Restoration brought to the locality was the appointment of Dr. Henry Killigrew as rector of the parish of Wheathampstead. This was a rich living used to reward the relatives of bishops and the friends of royalty. Killigrew had been the King's Chaplain and, in the true spirit of Restoration England, wrote both sermons and plays. In fact he belonged to a theatrical family; his two brothers were likewise playwrights and one of them built Drury Lane Theatre in 1663. A nephew, Charles, became its owner and royal Master of the Revels. A daughter, Anne, who was both painter and poet, became Maid of Honour to the Duchess of York. Two sons entered the navy and two other daughters, Elizabeth and Mary, married their father's curates at Wheathampstead and Harpenden.

Charles II got back his throne in 1660, but the power of the monarch was not restored. In the long run, it was the squires who benefited from the Civil War: they were no longer controlled by the central government through the Privy Council. Indeed the local gentry soon came to control the government, through their representatives in parliament. They did much as they liked in their own villages. Wittewronges and Garrards, and their descendants, dominated

Harpenden and Wheathampstead from the Civil War until the end of the nineteenth century. James Wittewronge, who inherited Rothamsted from Sir John in 1693, acted as Recorder of St. Albans from 1698 until his death in 1721. He was a J.P. and so was his grandson, Jacob, who succeeded him. The last of the Wittewronges in the direct male line, Jacob's two sons, James and Thomas, were active as local squires, though Rothamsted Manor House was occasionally let. James was concerned that Harpenden should not be neglected by the rector, who lived in Wheathampstead (pp. 114-5). Thomas was High Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1750.

The memorial inscription to Sir Samuel Garrard in Wheathampstead Church admirably conveys the kind of image which squires liked to have of themselves. Sir Samuel, who died in 1761, had been lieutenant-colonel of the Duke of Marlborough's regiment of guards, a very different career from that of his father, also Sir Samuel, who like so many of the family had been Lord Mayor of London. The younger Samuel's memorial explains that 'an ill state of health, which never ruffled the evenness of his temper, obliged him to retire from all public business to his seat at Lamer; where he spent the remainder of his days in acts of hospitality and benevolence among his neighbours, and of charity to the poor'.

Charity to the poor was usual for the gentry. Dame Jane Garrard left £5 to the poor of Wheathampstead when she died in 1692 and Sir John Wittewronge left £10 in 1693 to the poor of Harpenden, but he also left '£100 to be distributed among poor ministers of the Gospel or Widows of such' [Boalch, p. 15]. Of more lasting value to the poor were charities founded by local farmers like William Hunt, who in 1592 left a regular income from Lower Topstreet Farm and other land to be distributed among poor people of Harpenden who had children under ten years old. In 1712 Thomas Kentish left a smaller regular payment from Cross Farm for the poor of Wheathampstead. James Marshall, yeoman, in his will of 30 December 1719, left lands for the benefit of the poor in Harpenden and Wheathampstead. These charities have continued to be paid, and the James Marshall Foundation is still in existence. This is in contrast to the '£20 a year for eight labouring people' which the Charity Commissioners were led to believe had been given by Sir Samuel Garrard. They asked his heirs for help and Charles Benet Drake Garrard's 'solicitor had . . . examined every Will of every possessor of the Lamer estate since the time of Sir William Garrard who purchased the property; and also every deed . . . but no document has been found relating to it. Under these circumstances . . . Mr. Garrard conceives that this gift of £20 a year must be considered as a voluntary donation on the part of the proprietor of Lamer estate, by whom (and not by the parish officers) it had been hitherto regularly distributed in annuities to poor persons of the parish'. [Report of the Charity Commission, 1830, p. 366].

Local Government: the Vestry and the Poor Law

The squires in their capacity as J.P.s supervised the local government of the parish. But the effective running of parish government was in the hands of the Vestry, so-called because it was a meeting of inhabitants in the Church Vestry room. Such meetings may have begun in the fourteenth century to deal with those responsibilities for the upkeep of the parish church and its furnishings which devolved upon the laity. The responsible lay officials were the churchwardens and they levied a church rate which only ceased to be compulsory after 1868. As the manorial system declined its local government functions were taken over by the Vestry. Tudor government found a ready-made local administrative machinery in the Vestry and gave it responsibility for maintaining local roads and control of the complex new machinery for the care of the poor. The Vestry lasted until 1894 when its civil functions were transferred to the new Parish Councils. Its last remaining vestige is the meeting of the parishioners, which precedes the Annual Parochial Church Meeting and which elects the churchwardens.

The minutes of the Vestry were kept by the Parish Clerk, whom it elected. The clerk was paid for his duties and the office was often held by the same person for a great many years. The Harpenden burial register records that Thomas Hawkins, who was buried as a pauper in 1792, had been Vestry Clerk for sixty-four years. The Parish Clerk's office dates back to early Christian times and it remained in existence even during the Cromwellian period. In many villages the office was handed down in families; in Harpenden, Henry Hawkins followed Thomas as Clerk. Vestry minutes survive in Harpenden from 1645, Wheathampstead's earliest are 1867. The Vestry made rules for itself. In 1774 it was agreed that the amount spent on liquid refreshment during a meeting should be limited to 5s and that meetings should begin at 10 a.m. A miscellany of items appears in the minutes revealing the overlap of work of different officers. Mentions of repairs to the church and of a pall for funerals occur next to rate assessments and to the decision to order a pair of leather stays for a poor woman. The J.P.s were so exasperated by this that they threatened in 1828 to reject such accounts in future (p. 117). The annual accounts were endorsed by those present, 'the inhabitants' or 'the undersigned'. The churchwardens' accounts covered payments for many things in addition to those strictly concerning the church (pp. 111-14 and 116-17). One item was 1s.6d for drink at the 'Chosing of the Stonewardens'. The destruction of vermin was paid for: in 1693 John Lines and William Beird were each paid 2s.6d for a fox's head; 1s was paid for polecat heads.

The officers of the Vestry — Churchwardens, Overseers of the Poor and Surveyors of the Highways — were chosen in different ways. The churchwardens were controlled by the bishop, all the other

officials by the local J.P.s to whom they were legally responsible, but the Vestry increasingly determined, in practice, who took office. The constables and officials like aletasters and pindars were originally appointed by the manor courts, but gradually became Vestry officials too. By the eighteenth century, responsibilities seem to have gone round in rotation and were associated with certain farms. Separate officials were appointed for Harpenden and Wheathampstead. Although there are no surviving early records for Wheathampstead, Harpenden records which survive from the 1690s show people like the Carpenters, the Catlins, the Grunwins and the Neales acting as churchwardens in the seventeenth century. The same kind of local farmers and tradesmen continued to manage the Harpenden Vestry during much of the eighteenth century. Members of the Freeman, Hawkins and Sibley families filled the positions of Churchwarden, Overseer, and Steward, as the Surveyor of the Highways was called. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century there was a change; William Freeman, a butcher, James Floyd, a baker and tenant of the Rose and Crown, and William Prudden, another baker, were constables. In Wheathampstead in 1772 and in 1785-6, shoemakers were constables.

The church door was the official notice board of the parish. In 1798 it bore a most frightening notice, 'Defence against Foreign Invasion', which survives among the parish papers in Harpenden Hall. Sixty thousand men were to be called to arms, paid 1s a day and their families looked after. Proposals for 'distressing the Enemy by removing the Means of Subsistence from threatened parts of the Country' described a thorough going scorched earth policy: cattle were to be moved, mills and ovens rendered useless by breaking the upper millstones and the crowns of ovens. Pioneers, in bands of twenty-five and equipped with felling axes, pickaxes, billhooks, shovels, spades and wheelbarrows, were to use the side roads. The turnpike roads were to be kept clear of traffic for use by the army and provision was to be made for local supplies of horses, carts and waggons, fuel, and food for men and horses. Detailed arrangements for bread supplies, even a recipe, were given. The wars against revolutionary France and the Emperor Napoleon led the British government to found the Ordnance Survey, take the first Census, and introduce Income Tax. The old order, dominated by the squires and uncontrolled by the central government, would have to change.

Care of the poor became the largest and the most expensive responsibility for the parish. By 1775-6 Harpenden was spending on the poor £208 out of £275.12s collected in local rates, and Wheathampstead £267.10s out of £327.4s. The paupers seem to have been treated humanely, considering the harshness of the times; there was a long tradition behind this. At the very end of Elizabeth I's reign, Mark Stubbing, the rector, wrote to the diocesan authorities asking for power to give absolution to various poor people who had been excommunicated and who were 'by noe meanes able to come to' the

diocesan courts. 'Isabell Adowne . . . a very poore woman, that liveth at the parishe charge, hath (many?) smale children, nowe lieth in Childebed and is unfit (at?) any time to (travel?) soe far'. 'Margaret Jennings alias Dayrye . . . excommunicate more than four yeares being presented for a scoulde (scold: a nagging woman) . . . because she is aged and very poore not able to come' and 'John North . . . a very poore man' [Lincoln Record Office]. A combination of insensitivity and consideration is shown in the earliest surviving Harpenden Overseers' Accounts, which begin in the 1690s. In 1691 and 1694 red cloth was bought for making badges to mark the local paupers. Between 1708 and 1710 there are two entries 'the charges with a great Belled (bellied) woman' 3s and 5s.6d. These were almost certainly discreetly worded payments for dumping a pregnant woman in another parish just before the child was born. (The Act of Settlement in 1662 had made it clear that each parish was responsible for maintaining those born in it.) But in the 1690s regular payments of from 2s to 8s a month were made to about twenty people, mostly widows and old people; by 1708-9 some payments had risen to 10s or 11s. The labourer's weekly wage at this time was about 5s. From time to time poor people were given clothes and bundles of faggots. Some had their rents paid and occasionally medical expenses were covered: 'paid Mr. Lloyd for Docktering of the Widd. Fletcher 3s.1d' and 'paid for Blooding of Edward Smith 6d'. Medicines were provided: William Hill supplied the parish officials in 1714, among other things, with 'surfett Watter 2d, dragon watter 2d, a purge 8d, black cherry watter 1d, and a cordial 1s'.

Begging was illegal, but anyone who had suffered from a natural disaster and who had the support of the local inhabitants could apply to the Privy Council for a 'brief'. This was a document that could be taken round the country; it was read out in church and a collection was taken. Welwyn churchwardens' book records that on 6 March 1659 the sum of 9s. 6d was collected for Thomas Ivory of Wheathampstead who had a brief. James Horton, the curate of Harpenden kept a record of the money collected locally for briefs in one quarter of 1713. They included:

			s	d
Aug. 2	Witheridge and children, loss by fire		5	4
Aug. 9	Mr. Adams, loss by fire	5	3
Sept. 6	Woodham Ferrys Church	6	9
Sept. 20	Southwell Church	4	6
Sept. 27	Warmingham Church	4	0
Oct. 18	Burton on Trent Church	4	0½

Casual unemployment was met by payments from the poor rate, of which there were 111 in Harpenden in 1694-5. The sad end of a

pauper's life is revealed in the following entries from the Harpenden Overseers' accounts:

'Paid for vitels and Drink for Thos. Scant	...	4d
paid for 2 people for stripping and carrying of		
Thos. Scant to Church	4s.
paid to Emmanuell Clark for a coffin for Thos.		
Scant	6s.6d
paid to Parson and Clark for burying Thos. Scant		2s.4d
paid to Stephen Hogan for Burying Cloathes and		
for strong water and victles for Thos. Scant		3s.9d'

There were other similar entries. The years 1694 to 1710 are dominated by the misfortunes of the Tilcocks. James and his wife Elizabeth had at least eight children; Thomas and Ursula had five. Both men received frequent money payments; James had payments in kind as well. Elizabeth was nursed during her last illness and her funeral paid for. Local women were paid to look after the Tilcock children and five of the older ones were apprenticed, the parish paying £39 in fees. Food was bought for the poor out of the rates: Mary Smith seems to have been the chief source of supplies. In 1712, 'in the time of the smale poxs', she was paid £2.10s.4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. The goods which she provided included bacon, biscuits, butter, cheese, sugar and treacle, as well as candles, soap, starch and blue, and thread and pins, while aniseed water and carraway comforts, hops and malt must have given their recipients some pleasure. The poor for whom the parish was willing to accept responsibility were quite well provided for, but not all were welcome. In 1681 Thomas Grey was found in Great Gaddesden, publicly whipped as a wandering rogue, and sent back to Harpenden by 'the next straight way'. He claimed that he had been born there and so had settlement rights, but Harpenden officials refused to allow him to live in the parish or to let him have work to maintain himself and his wife. The magistrates had to make an order that he should remain in Harpenden and be employed in lawful labour, whereby he might get a living [Q.S. Vol. I, p. 314 and Vol. VI, p. 342].

Both Wheathampstead and Harpenden had almshouses managed by the parish officials. The first mention of one in Harpenden is in an account of 1714 when 2s.1d was spent on repairing the windows of 'Harden Town House for the Poor'. In 1774 six cottages each with one room up and one room down were 'new build' on the east side of the Churchyard; the date is still partly visible on a portion of the building that remains. We do not know when Wheathampstead's almshouses were opened nor where they were. 'An account of the Rents and Charitys belonging to the Parish of Wheathampstead . . . September the 12th 1735' opens with 'An Alms House which contains eight or more familys'. In view of the Charity Commission findings in 1830 about the £20 supposedly due from the Garrards, it is interesting that this 'account', which was 'given in at a Sessions held

at Hempsted' almost a century earlier, contains the entry 'Twenty pounds p.a. to be paid out of West End Farm to be distributed according to the direction of the Possessor of Lamer to any Inhabitants residing within the parish of Wheathamsted'.

The General Workhouse Act of 1723 encouraged the transformation of almshouses into workhouses. Both Wheathampstead and Harpenden had workhouses; both were close to their respective churchyards. Wheathampstead's may well have been on the site where the earlier town-house stood. The workhouse in Harpenden is first mentioned in the vestry minutes in 1752, but a new account book opened with the words 'the workhouse began May 30th 1756'. That year had an excessively wet summer, and a poor harvest led to food riots and the prohibition of grain exports. After a new act of parliament in 1834 these local workhouses closed and the buildings were used for other purposes. A ropemaker set up his business in the Harpenden one which was pulled down in the 1860s to build St. Nicholas School. Wheathampstead's workhouse became dwellings for several families until it was demolished to build the Bank Chambers.

There seems to have been a gradual change in poor law policy in Harpenden in the 1750s, of which the development of the workhouse was a part. No doubt something similar happened in Wheathampstead but there are no records. A regular appointment was made, of Dr. Joseph Law of Hitchin, to serve the poor people 'that shall become chargeable to the parishioners', 'in Surgery and Phissick'. He was paid £8 p.a. and served for over twenty-five years, until 1776. In June 1752 the vestry minutes record that 'a Parish Brand (is to be) made for to mark those whome the Parishioners think fit'. An act of 1572 had ordered beggars to be branded on the shoulder. In October 1754 'it is further agreed that for the time to come all boys and girls who shall come chargeable to the Parish, shall be taken by the farmers and maintained by them for the space of one year, beginning with them that rent the greater farms'. Two years later the new workhouse opened, its management let by contract to Thomas Gregory as master. He was paid 6s a week and his maintenance. He was forty-one and continued as master or keeper of the workhouse until at least 1762. In December 1763 the local militia records tell us that he had become a schoolmaster. There is a list of 'persons come in' at the beginning of the new account book; in 1758 the vestry agreed to send to the workhouse everyone in need of regular monthly maintenance. However, not all the poor were forced into the house, for when Gregory's contract was renewed in 1759 it provided that he should 'allow unto the widow Neale four shillings and unto Row Sheader seven shillings to be paid to them monthely for their maintenance and not to be brought into the Workhouse'.

Under the contract of 1759 Gregory received £10 a month. He had to provide for 'all such poor peoples as shall be lawfully intituled

to relief and maintenance . . . good and sufficient holdsome eating, drinking, washing, lodging, firing, clothing, burial charges, and all other necessary provisions'. On the day following the opening of the workhouse two brooms and a brush were bought, and a day or two later 'Bread, Bear and Flower'. Later accounts show that bread, meat and a good deal of cheese were bought, and also cherries, damsons, cucumbers and, in January 1758, one and a half pecks of sprats. The difference between the workhouse and its predecessor, the town house, was that now the inmates were expected to contribute towards the cost of their keep by working. Wool was carded and spun and women did sewing. Two of them earned 1s by 'making 2 shirts, 5 shifts, 2 straw beds and a petty coat' and they were allowed to keep 2d each. Women also 'went a washing' and worked in the harvest fields. Able-bodied men who became dependent on the parish were set to work digging gravel or chalk on the farms and stacking 'tree docks' and 'brown roots' (tree roots used for firing). A contract signed in 1790 with a new workhouse master, Barnett Kilby, a shoemaker, provided that the inmates 'be kept clean and as free from Vermin as posable. (Kilby must) not suffer the young people and children to dominear and hector over the aged poor . . . nor to suffer them to be kept from the fire by the younger'. There was even a provision that 'any six inhabitants (might) at any time inspect the workhouse to see that (the) poor people are justly done by'.

An 1808 inventory of the Wheathampstead workhouse lists the contents of seven bedrooms, including bedding and 'nightpots', and spinning wheels and loom weights. In the store cupboard were twenty sheets and there were twelve trenchers in the kitchen along with the pots and pans. The Governor's room had a table, rush chairs, and a warming pan. Four years later it had a Kidderminster carpet on the floor. There is still extant a copy of the rules of Wheathampstead workhouse, dated November 1824. They were to be read to the inmates on the first Saturday of each month. Church had to be attended twice each Sunday; swearing and profane language was severely punished. From Lady Day (25 March) to Michaelmas (29 September) the working hours were 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., and the inmates could keep 1½d out of every shilling they earned. Rules covered washing and cleaning shoes, and the diet was prescribed. Children were allowed two-thirds of the adult ration. This was as follows: Breakfast—4 oz bread and 1½ pints of milk porridge; Dinner—broth stew with 1½ lbs of potatoes (2 lbs on Fridays) on four days in the week, and on three days 9 oz of flour made into a dumpling with a sauce of treacle, flour, vinegar and spice; Supper was 9 oz of bread with 2 oz of cheese and a half pint of beer—the younger children had milk porridge for supper.

For the first half of the eighteenth century the money spent each year on the Harpenden poor seems to have ranged between £100 and £200 and was usually produced by a 1s in the £ rate. By

1783-5 Harpenden was spending £371.17s.4d and Wheathampstead £320.19s.5d a year on the poor. In 1802-3 the sums were £442.17s.10d and £539.2s.9d, the products respectively of rates of 2s.6d and 3s.6d in the £. In the 1820s Harpenden was having to raise 3s, 4s or 5s in the £ each year, and in 1827 even 6s. When Thomas Gregory first contracted for the workhouse in the late 1750s he was paid only £10 a month; in 1829 Matthew Winch had to be paid £75. Whether the new workhouse system and the method of contracting, by which the workhouse master made his living from the difference between what he was paid and how much he spent on the poor, cost the rates more or less than the older administration by the Overseers would have done is not known. The main reason for the rise in the cost of the poor law administration was quite simply that the population had risen much faster than did employment opportunities. By 1801 there were almost twice as many people living in Harpenden as in the 1670s; in Wheathampstead there was a 50% increase (Table 2 facing p. 145). Most of this growth undoubtedly took place in the last half of the eighteenth century. It was people owning no property who had increased in numbers; the proportion of those too poor to pay taxes rose substantially at this time. In the early 1830s there was considerable feeling in Harpenden about the burden of rates on the poorest members of the community. The village even sent a deputation to their local M.P. to ask him to propose legislation making landlords liable for the poor rate on cottages worth less than £5. In 1833 Harpenden Vestry excused agricultural labourers from paying the poor rate.

Crime and Punishment

Perhaps it is no accident that in the last part of the eighteenth century there was an appreciable increase in cases of larceny, locally as well as in the county as a whole. Some examples of local prosecutions are worth giving; not all of them led to convictions, perhaps sometimes because of the harshness of the penalties. Contemporary law needs explaining: 'By the eighteenth century . . . a conviction for felony . . . normally entailed the death sentence. In cases of felony juries would sometimes be encouraged by the court to return verdicts in defiance of the evidence in order that the necessity of passing the death sentence might be avoided in trivial cases. Thus in cases of larceny it was by no means uncommon for articles of value to be held by the jury to have been less than twelve pence, the sum which marked the boundary line between larceny, which was punishable with death, and petty larceny, which was not'. [*The English Legal System* by G. R. Y. Radcliffe and G. Cross, 1954, p. 201]. On 4 October 1756 Kezia Little, a Wheathampstead spinster, was accused of stealing a linen gown worth 10d from Joseph Alee. Three Wheathampstead labourers were sentenced for theft, one in each of the years 1771-3: Joseph South stole a watch in a silver case worth £1.10s, Thomas Hobbs a cloth riding jacket worth one guinea from Thomas Shadrack, and Thomas Timmins (or Trimmins) a guinea from William Guildford. Both South and Hobbs were burnt in the hand, branded; South was then discharged but Hobbs was imprisoned for a month; presumably the jury found the watch and the jacket were worth less than one shilling each! Timmins tried to 'plead clergy' to escape branding. Radcliffe and Cross explain: 'benefit of clergy became in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries a method by which first offenders could avoid the extreme consequences of a conviction; (the) test, ability to read, became a fiction, so that "clergy" could be claimed by practically any male' (pp. 72-3). Timmins was 'ordered back to (the) gaoler's house, there to be privately whipped and discharged'.

The same kinds of offence were taking place twenty years later and they were receiving the same kinds of punishments. In 1791 Henry (surname unknown), labourer, and Martha Sayers, spinster, both of Wheathampstead, were 'burnt in the hand in open court' for stealing a quantity of lead. In January 1797 Henry Payne of Wheathampstead was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for stealing a 'Foul Weather Jacket' worth 10d from Daniel Elbourne, and Charles Matthews, labourer of Wheathampstead, was accused of stealing a peck of peas worth 6d from Elizabeth Taylor, widow [Q.S. Vol. VIII]. The thieves were mostly labourers or spinsters and most of the thefts were of food or clothes. It is odd that Harpenden had so much less reported larceny than Wheathampstead in these years, for in the early nineteenth century Harpenden had its full share of

petty theft. The forty-two cases from Harpenden, recorded between 1799 and 1840, really bring home the poverty of the poor and the continuing brutality of the law. Twelve of the accused were acquitted, four were transported, thirteen received gaol sentences ranging from a week to a year, mostly combined with solitary confinement and a whipping, two were whipped and discharged, and the remainder fined. The sentences were harsher than in the eighteenth century and apparently with little rhyme or reason. One man was whipped for stealing cheese worth 1s, but another, who had a previous conviction, was transported for ten years for stealing a fowl worth 1s, yet someone else who had been previously convicted was sentenced to only one week in gaol for stealing an iron wedge worth 1s.

It seems possible that the rising costs of maintaining the poor in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the increased poverty and misery associated with the long war against France, frightened the better off and many of those in authority into seeking to impose more discipline on the poor. As early as 1778 the rector of Wheathampstead, John Wheeldon, sought to emphasise in verse a warning to illdoers. According to the *Morning Post* his poem was inscribed on a board near a hawthorn bush, between the stocks, the pound and a walnut tree in the churchyard.

Rob not yon Wallnut, dread its bitter peel;
A snake beneath will snap you by the heel;
The rugged thorn o'erhangs with stony haws,
To prick severer than the biting laws.
Here pining evil takes his turn to reign;
See headlong pleasure turn'd to foot short pain.
Read then, and fly from this enchanted ground;
The man or beast that strays may here be found
Pen'd in the stocks, or starv'd within the Pound.

The board was still there in 1818, when J. Hassell published his *Picturesque Rides and Walks . . . thirty miles round the British metropolis*.

The position of the stocks in Harpenden is not known but a bill for £1.4s was paid for the 'building of the stocks'. In 1819 the authorities in Harpenden proposed that a 'cage' should be built to house a treadmill on which the poor could be employed. The normal 'cage' was the parish lock-up. Treadmills were new inventions in 1819, used in prisons: men turned a wheel by walking as the donkey did at Annables (see *A Picture History*, p. 44). In suggesting that the poor might be so employed Harpenden seems to have been stepping outside the law. After a special meeting of Harpenden Vestry at the Bull Inn, to discuss the proposal, it was eventually agreed in 1826 'to erect a building 34' high, 12' wide in the clear . . . and to have a sleeping room over the same for the use of the Poor of the Work-house'. The building was alongside the churchyard. In the interim, in 1823, the Overseers of the Poor had paid for handcuffs. A sign

of the changing times was the decision in 1825 that unemployed labourers who sought help from the parish were 'to work from 6 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock in the evening . . . in case any . . . should be refractory and not comply with the order received from Thomas Evans (the workhouse master) he is to have . . . them before a magistrate'.

Enforcement of the law was the responsibility of the constable. He was a local citizen with his own living to earn so no wonder deputies were often appointed: in 1713 Edward Berry acted as John Barber's deputy in Harpenden. In that year the Harpenden constable's expenses, paid out of a local rate which he had to collect, amounted to £43.18s; this was a normal amount for a year. The constable had an enormous variety of duties: rogues and vagabonds, beggars and vagrants had to be locked up; hedgebreakers, robbers of orchards, takers of game, apprentices who misbehaved or who ran away, all had to be punished. The authority to raise a 'hue and cry', if some miscreant had defaulted, meant that the constable could order the inhabitants to give him assistance in the apprehension of a criminal. Zachery Neal claimed as expenses the 'Charges of a Hue and Cry for the hire of a horse etc. 1s' in 1736. The constable needed to be literate, or to find a literate assistant, because one of his jobs was to make lists of those eligible for jury service, to serve as surveyors, and in the militia. He had to ensure that weights and measures were correct; for 'goeing round with the weights' the Harpenden constable was paid 8s in 1828. There is evidence in plenty of malpractices among shopkeepers, who gave short weight and sold substandard goods. The constable had to help the churchwardens enforce church attendance. He had to attend Quarter Sessions to make his report. For minor neglect of *his* duties he had to go before the Chief Constable of the Hundred; for more serious offences before Quarter Sessions, as happened to John Freeman of Harpenden in 1661.

Constables also had what we would consider welfare responsibilities. They paid small sums, 1d or 2d to people with a pass, that is people, like Thomas Grey (p. 152), being returned to the parish in which they had settlement. Henry Lawrence seems to have been moved to give 1s.6d to 'seven poor Turkey slaves that came with a pass and had suffered much, some having their tongues cut out and some being burnt and so forth'. These were Britons who had been captured and made slaves by Barbary pirates, later freed, and were now on their way to their home parishes. Isaac House had a busy year as constable; in 1752 he paid out more to those 'with a pass' than any of his predecessors had done. One entry was for help to 'a woman, a lame man and nine children'. Henry Morris was not given to long entries when constable, which is a pity because in 1785 he made a small payment to the searchers for 'two men (who) ran away from their wives and families'. There is no record of the success of the search; the wives and children would have to be

supported by the parish until, if ever, the husbands came to light. Searching for army deserters was yet another responsibility. There can be little doubt that at the end of his year of office, the constable handed over his staff with some relief.

Clearly, the constable could not carry out all these duties and do his everyday work; one or the other was neglected. The larger, more mobile population made a paid police force necessary. The County Police Act of 1839 permitted the J.P.s to set up such a force and a questionnaire was sent to parishes asking whether they had used powers under an earlier Watching and Lighting Act. Wheathampstead had done so and their local policeman was paid out of a rate levied by the Vestry; he had received £1.5s a week for the previous six months. Harpenden replied 'that the ratepayers are about to put on a paid constable . . . for the winter months'. The same questionnaire asked about local crime. Harpenden answered that their problems concerned 'poaching, wood, turnip and vegetable stealing, and lately sheep stealing', but that the delinquents were usually discovered. Crime had decreased since the establishment of the New Poor Law and had diminished further in the past year. Joseph Doulton, the curate, answered for Wheathampstead rather more fully: 'under the old system of a parish constable' petty larceny was seldom detected. When asked how easy it was to dispose of stolen goods Doulton answered: 'By the passing of Carts and Waggon's to London'. Upon signing the form the curate added: 'If I may be allowed without giving offence to state my opinion respecting the establishment of a constabulary force through the County I feel assured as it relates to villages and small parishes the residence of a Policeman in each Parish would tend more to prevent drunkenness and the desecration (desecration?) of the Sabbath (which evils require constant vigilance) than the establishment of a constabulary office in numbers at different local stations — From the contiguity (contiguity) of the villages and Parishes a strong force might soon be obtained to act in concert on any emergency'. [H.C.R.O. QSCb 32-33]. The County Police Force was set up in 1841, but it did not lead to a policeman living in every village.

The Middling Ranks: Farmers and Tradesmen

In the last half of the eighteenth century three-quarters of all real property (i.e. land and houses) in Harpenden and Wheathampstead was owned by twenty families, mostly gentry and clergy (Table 3 facing p. 145). They were, however, far less important in the day to day life of the community than the hundred or so farmers and tradesmen who owned property assessed at less than £50. These provided employment for those who had no property or who paid no property tax; they were also the people who administered the local poor law. During the late eighteenth century the ownership of local estates changed; many of the poor were likely to be on the move. Working farmers and tradesmen were the most stable group in the community, and their families stayed longest in the parish. They comprised well over a third of all local families in 1753 and just over a quarter in 1780. More is known about them as individuals at this time than in earlier years, for there survive, for many years after 1750, land tax and militia returns. The former list local property owners, with occupiers as well as owners after 1781, and the tax they paid each year. The militia lists give the occupations of males between the ages of eighteen and fifty (forty-five from 1762). Men with three children or those who had already served in the militia, and those who were deformed were not subjected to the annual ballot which decided who would serve (Plate 18). However, the local constables who made the returns sometimes included such people in their lists, with appropriate comments. Some of the gentry were excused from service by their occupations. It should therefore not be assumed that people not listed were not living and working locally. Nevertheless, the militia lists give a great deal of information about local trades and cast light on family relationships. There is, unfortunately, much less information about women than men, though women property owners appear in the land tax returns.

The most important employers were the working FARMERS and they were most often active as unpaid parish officials. Some of them were well off; in Harpenden alone twelve farmers rented property assessed at over £60; but many farmers leased much smaller farms and only a few were owner occupiers. There were something like thirty distinct farms in Harpenden and over thirty in Wheathampstead. It is not possible to be more precise because most farms were constantly changing, either losing or gaining fields. Sixty-one men and five women in Harpenden and fifty-three men in Wheathampstead can be associated with known farms.

Farmers' families worked for them. Sons are at first described as servants or labourers, gaining status when they inherit or move into their own farms. Thomas Yarrow was described as a servant at Annables in 1758 when he was twenty-six, but as a farmer in 1769. In the 1780s he was the tenant of Old Farm which was assessed at

£46.13s.4d. Two Wheathampstead entries of 1759 are revealing of the social pattern. Mr. Flower was described as 'farmer's son-in-law at the Crosse', not a farmer but too grand to be a servant or labourer. On the other hand, Isaac Welsh was listed as 'farmer's brother — labourer to him'. There were families of farmers: Bassils, Lines and Sibleys had land in both parishes; Freemans and Hawkins in Harpenden; Brutons, Cooks, Gladmans, Seabrookes, Seares and Smiths in Wheathampstead. There were individual farmers like Thomas Lake at the Bury in Wheathampstead; and there were families who lasted for generations at one farm like the Bunns who owned Poplars Farm in Harpenden from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. Appendix 8a and 8b lists the farms and the maps show their approximate locations.

The **Hawkins** were the most important family of farmers in eighteenth century Harpenden; at one time or another members of the family worked eight local farms. Edward, who had three farms, was active as Overseer of the Poor and in other responsible positions in the community. However, not all Hawkins were models of decorum and neighbourly consideration. George, probably the tenant of Upper Top Street, ploughed up 'the ancient Churchway' in Manland Common and ditched it in 1711, probably trying to enclose his patch and keep his neighbours off the land, for he also locked up the gate on the Common. Thomas, a schoolmaster, was hardly a good example to his pupils; he was prosecuted for disobeying two warrants in 1731, and for assaulting a spinster, Margaret Coxe, in 1740. The **Bassil** family were almost as numerous as were the Hawkins. They were tenants of the Smyths at Annables from 1728 or earlier until about 1801. Edward who acted as local assessor in collecting the land tax in 1753 'quitted the Farm and was succeeded by his son William (in 1776) and the rent was raised (from £168) to £224', the estate records tell us. Edward retired, to live off the income from property which he owned in Wheathampstead and from Envy Hall Farm in Harpenden which he had bought. A younger son, Edward, had by 1782 become the tenant of the large Bury Farm at Wheathampstead.

The **Lines** probably came to Harpenden from Gaddesden in the late seventeenth century and soon spread into Wheathampstead; although they worked as shopkeepers, innkeepers, and maltsters, their most important trade was as blacksmiths (pp. 176 and 177). They were important farmers during the eighteenth century, occupying several different farms and smallholdings. There were many **Freemans**, owning or tenancing local farms between 1730 and 1830, but none of them were described in the militia lists as farmers. They were called butchers, so were probably graziers, fattening and selling cattle. Freemans owned Envy Hall before Edward Bassil bought it, and were tenants of at least five other farms or smallholdings. The **Sibleys** followed many occupations, including farming, in both villages. In the late seventeenth century one Sibley family owned the Bell

and Maltings in Wheathampstead High Street, another farmed at Bower Heath, and a third lived at Lower House, Kinsbourne Green. Two other Sibleys owned small properties in Harpenden at this time, and Henry, a son of the last Francis to own the Bell in Wheathampstead (pp. 167 and 168), was the tenant of Falcons Hall. He became a Harpenden churchwarden in 1762 although lame and infirm and two of his sons became tenant farmers in Harpenden. In 1784 the youngest son, Henry, was given the tenancy of the Bell in Wheathampstead.

The **Brutons** and **Gladmans** were related; they farmed Mackerye End Farm and Raisins in Wheathampstead and Tallents in Kimpton. In 1747 James Gladman and Ann Bruton were married by licence in King's Walden church and in the same year James took a twenty-one year lease of Mackerye End Farm from Thomas Garrard. Edward Gladman was the tenant by 1783. William Bruton was at Raisins between 1759 and 1783. According to the militia list he had seven children in 1772, but he may have had more on the side, for Quarter Sessions had made a maintenance order against him in 1762 on behalf of the bastard son of Martha Edwards. Mary Bruton, James Gladman's sister-in-law, married Edward Field, a gardener, in Hitchin in 1736; they were the grandparents of Charles Lamb, the essayist, and his sister Mary who first visited their Bruton and Gladman relatives when they were children in 1779-80. When the Lambs revisited Mackerye End Farm in 1819, Charles wrote about farmer Bruton and the 'glorious woman' he had married. Charles walked from Mackerye End to Wheathampstead village to call on Gladman relatives there who may have included Ann Gladman, the second wife of Henry Sibley of the Maltings.

Much more elusive than the Brutons and Gladmans is a Wheathampstead farming family, if indeed they were one family, whose name is spelt apparently haphazardly as **Cook**, **Cooke**, **Cock**, **Cox**, **Cockell** and even **Cockerell**. People with these names appear in the militia lists as farmers and were associated with several farms in the north and north-west of Wheathampstead. William Cock was churchwarden in 1762 and supplied the Lamer estate office with 'Bran, Rabbets Dung, and Soot' to the value of £14.6s.6d in 1767. The **Seabrooks** owned a small farm at Gustard Wood. There is still a Seabrook farming at Lamer Park Farm.

Aldwick Manor (Piggotts) was farmed by Edward **Nash** between 1753 and 1783. Other Nashs farmed in the Bamville Wood area. **Seares** and **Smiths** were farming near here for much of the century. Unfortunately the eighteenth century history of a whole group of farms in this area, known today as **Cross**, **Piper's**, **Ayre's End** and **Westend**, remains obscure.

There were two important farms with farmsteads in the centre of Wheathampstead: the **Town Farm** and the **Bury**. William **Chennells**, a butcher, was at **Town Farm** (p. 169), **Thomas Lake** at the **Bury**

between 1753 and 1772. The farm and the tithe income which went with the tenancy of the Bury was assessed at no less than £240.10s. Some Westminster accounts of 1772 [W.A.M. 55889 H] give a picture of what the farm was like. There was 'A house, three barns, two stables, pidgone house, pigg sty, cart house, and gardens' of three acres 'a cottage and garden adjoining'. Its total area in 1772 was 437 acres valued at £307. This was a very large farm for the time: even in 1851 only one-tenth of all Hertfordshire farms were over 400 acres.

There are glimpses of local FARMING in inventories (Appendix 8c) and occasionally more substantial information from estate records. Lower Top Street seems to have been a sheep farm: William Hunt left a sheep to each of his younger relatives, godchildren, servants and supervisors of his will. When his son-in-law and heir, Edward Heyward, died in 1634, he left a tod (28 lbs) of wool to his daughter. The Sibley farms at Bower Heath were likewise sheep farms: Salomon left forty-four sheep worth £34 and five tods of wool worth £6.13s.4d in 1647; Robert, whose farm was much smaller, had nine sheep and three lambs worth £3 in 1645.

Sheep were important in local farming in the late seventeenth century as the inventories of six rich gentlemen and yeoman and five poorer yeomen and husbandmen, who died between 1651 and 1695, make clear (see Appendix 8c). Both groups had a substantial amount of their farm wealth in stock (£572.18s.2d out of £1,813.18s.2d and £64.19s out of £166.15s.6d) and sheep were the most important item. The horse was the main power source on the farm and it is interesting that the smaller farmers left astonishingly little farm equipment: they had no carts or ploughs. Even the richer farmers did not have much invested in equipment, £20 was the largest sum. However, barns and wells were important and they appear frequently in both wills and inventories.

The sheep were used in the crop rotation. Wheat was by far the most important crop grown by both groups of farmers, barley and oats much less so. Peas were very important too but hay was only a small item. Some of the richer farmers grew rye. There is no evidence of new crops such as turnips or sainfoin being grown. Two eighteenth century inventories do not suggest change. William Weathered, yeoman of Wheathampstead, who died in 1706, left sheep and wool worth £80, six horses worth £40, and wheat and barley worth £130. Edward Poulter, yeoman of the Old Farm, Harpenden, who died in 1742, left £126.15s worth of stock compared with £268.10s worth of grain. He had 113 sheep and lambs worth £71.13s and four horses worth £28, £140 worth of wheat in his barns, £36 worth of barley, £30 of peas and £28 of oats. His farm equipment was nothing special, though rather better than his predecessors': he had three dung carts worth £10.2s.6d and one waggon worth £8.

Surveys made thirty years later show the same basic farming pattern, but new crops had arrived. The Bury Farm survey of 1772

shows an altered rotation of crops. Wheat, barley and oats totalled 161 acres with wheat accounting for just over half. Turnips, clover and peas covered 150 acres, 90 acres were fallow, 23 meadow and pasture, and 9 woodland. Just as in the Middle Ages meadow was valued much more highly (25s to 30s per acre) than enclosed arable land (12s to 14s). The estate was concerned with the condition of the woodland: 'the timber and copiced wood suffers very much . . . There is above twenty oak trees besides other timber cut down within the two last years'. [W.A.M. 55889 H]. Woods were protected in leases: when Thomas Garrard let Mackerye End Farm to James Gladman in 1747, he kept the rights over timber for himself except 'the Fruit Trees for the fruit only and Pollard Trees for their Lopps and Topps'. [H.C.R.O. 27120]. Woodland investment was long term.

The small Seabrook farm at Gustard Wood was surveyed in 1773 [W.A.M. 55905]; it seems to have had a similar rotation to the Bury. The farm consisted of seventeen acres valued at £20.10s. Corn crops including barley and oats covered nine and a half acres, three acres were fallow, and three-and-a-half under peas or turnips. The garden and orchard covered one acre. There was no meadow or pasture. Even on this small farm turnips were in the rotation.

Some documents among the Church Commissioners' records, which seem to have been prepared for assessing tithe income, suggest that barley and oats had become more important in the years between 1772 and 1829 than they had been a century earlier. Two slightly different lists from 1772 give much the same acreages: wheat 500, barley 450/400, oats 350, beans and peas 300/250. An 'actual survey made of every parcel of land in this parish' in 1829 gives 784 acres under wheat, 593 barley, 397 oats, and 175 beans and peas. A long list of every farmer's acreages in 1772 divides the crops differently: 1,103 acres under wheat and barley, 836 under peas (which probably includes beans) and oats. In 1815 it was claimed that the 'usual method of cultivation' was to sow one-third annually with wheat, one-third with barley and spring corn, while the remainder would be left fallow or under a green crop.

The Wheathampstead area had been marked on Thomas Kitchin's map of 1749: 'these parts produce plenty of excellent wheat'. It was doubtless the 'golden hoof' of the sheep which contributed to the yield of grain—sheep and corn husbandry continued to flourish. Twelve shepherds and forty-seven ploughmen were listed in the Wheathampstead militia lists and three shepherds in Harpenden, two of whom worked at Rothamsted Farm. The largest group of farm workers whose specific occupations were given were the taskers, or pieceworkers. Some of these were so transient that their names were unknown to the constable making the return, and they are merely listed as 'Annables tasker', for instance. Fifty-nine taskers were listed in Wheathampstead, but only two in Harpenden. This is only because Harpenden constables preferred to classify people simply as labourers

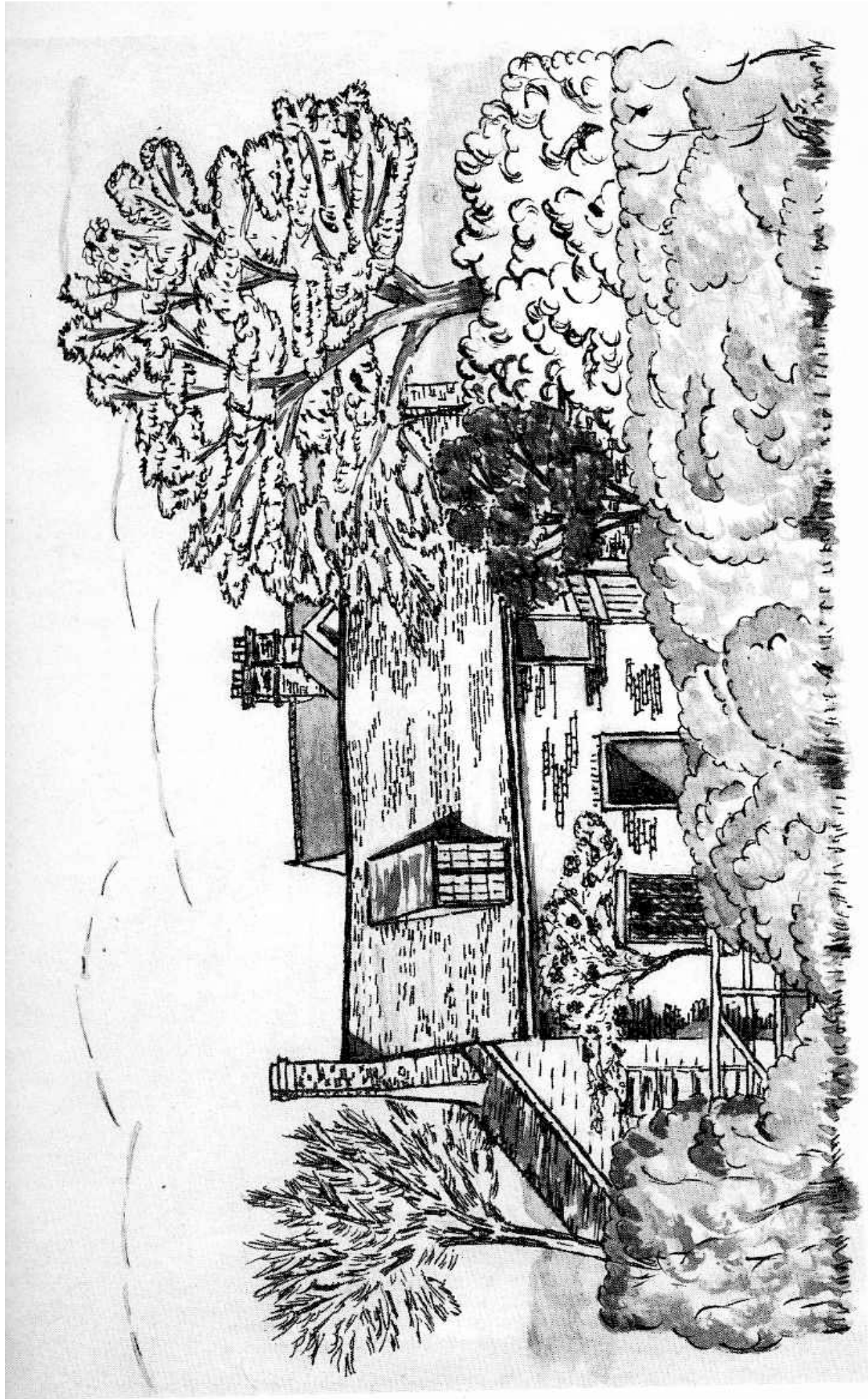


PLATE 17. SHEEPSKIN HALL. Drawn by Ron Staines from a painting by Miss E. Salisbury (about 1900). The house was on the Common on the site of the windmill, where the Golf Club house now stands (see p. 176).



PLATE 18. HERTFORDSHIRE MILITIAMAN, from a series of engravings 'The Militia Man'.
Photo: The National Army Museum, London, and reproduced with permission

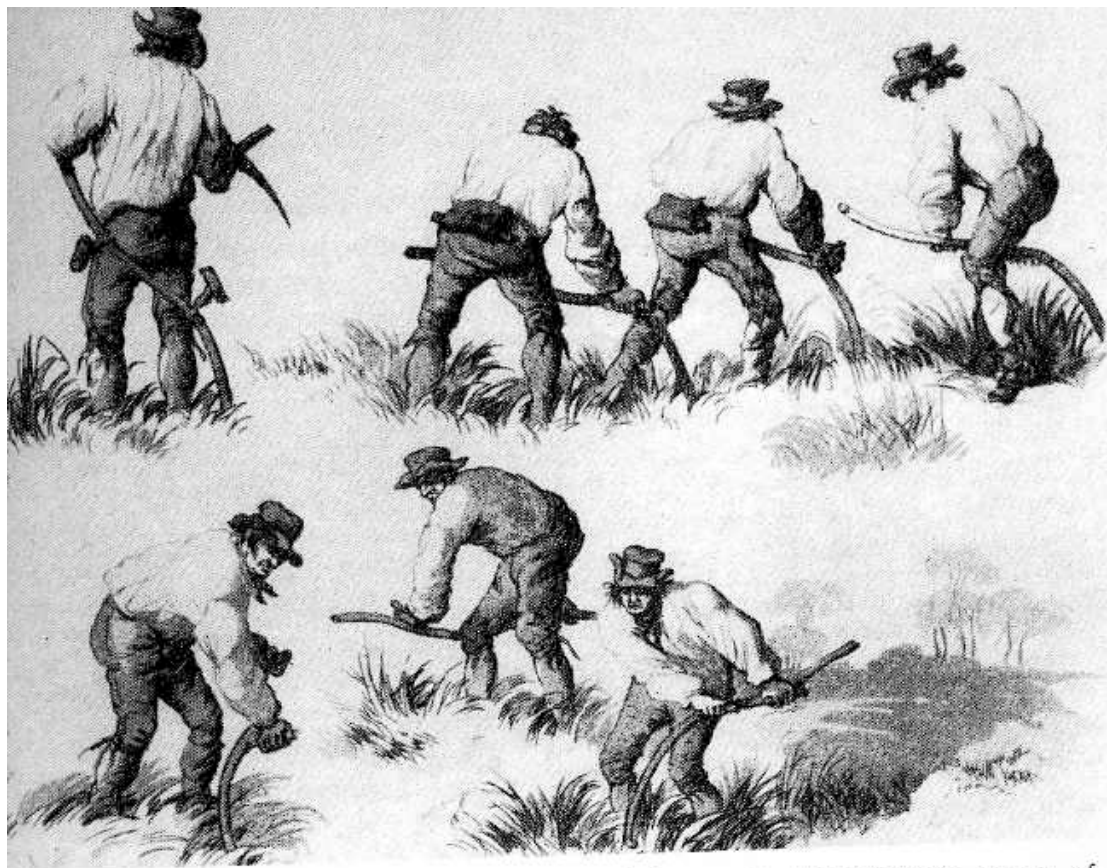


PLATE 19a. MOWERS. 'These peasants commonly follow each other in close groups of three. They all make a sweep at the same time. The second cuts what is left by the first, and the third what is left by the second, and they come so near each other, while their dangerous weapons are hid by the grass, clover or corn, that the beholder is apt to be in a state of continual alarm for their safety'.



PLATE 19b. BRICKMAKING

Plates 19a and 19b details from plates in W. H. Pyne's 'Microcosm' by courtesy of Luton Museum and Art Gallery. Photos: Eric G. Meadows



PLATE 20a. BREWING AND GRINDING MALT ON A SMALL PRIVATE SCALE

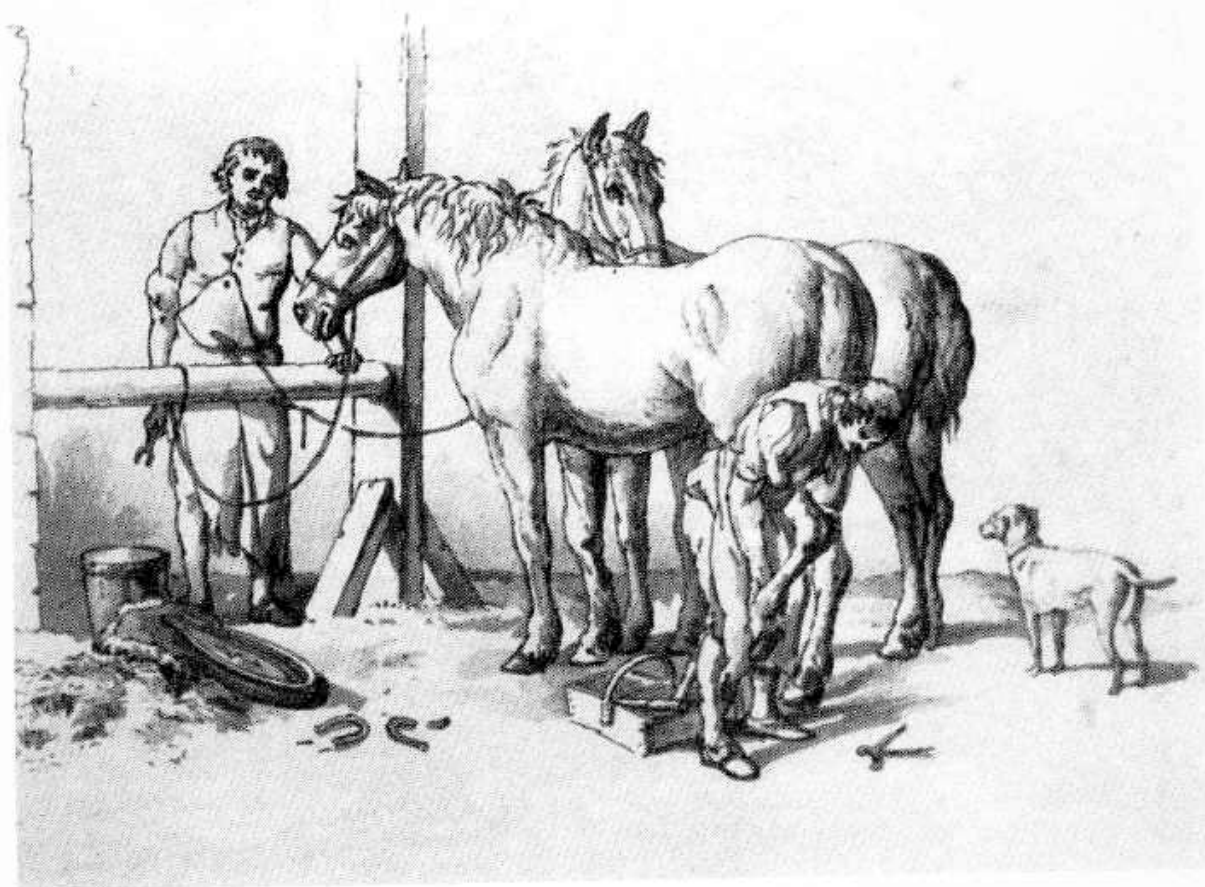


PLATE 20b. FARRIER

Plates 20a and 20b details from plates in W. H. Pyne's 'Microcosm' by courtesy of Luton Museum and Art Gallery. Photos: Eric G. Meadows

or servants. Taskers might do any kind of work and often contracted in a gang for hedging, ditching, sheep shearing, or harvesting (Plate 19a). The sort of 'task' a gang might undertake is clearly suggested in an indenture, made in 1754 between Thomas Garrard of Mackerye End and a group of other landlords, to hedge and ditch some of the arable land in Batford Common Field. The agreed enclosure would have given more hedges to the landscape and improved the land. The arable common field was described as 'very poor Land (which) is more Expence in Tilling and Sowing than profit'. So the enclosed land was, in future, to be sown with sainfoin and 'to continue in Grass for twelve years and (then with) ploughing and sowing the same with Corn for two seasons and then seeding the same with Grass and using the said pieces for ever hereafter in this manner (which) will render the said several pieces of Arable Land very profitable to the Owners'. Further they agreed that 'when the same is in Grass (they would not) turn any Cattle into the same'. [H.C.R.O. 27124 A].

Farming provided employment for more men than all other trades put together. Servants and labourers fill the militia lists. There were a few personal servants to gentlemen and some who worked for craftsmen, but most servants and labourers were agricultural workers. The difference between servants and labourers emerges clearly from analysis of the militia lists. Servants were normally single men living in, while labourers were usually married men living in cottages. The servant was hired for a year minus a day, so that he got no settlement under the Poor Law. At the 'statute fair' in a neighbouring town he bargained with a new master for his next year's hire. St. Albans held fairs on 'Mar. 25, June 17, Sep. 29, for servants, horses, cows, and sheep'. Only 113 out of 371 different individuals described as servants in the Harpenden lists appeared in more than two consecutive lists; in Wheathampstead it was only 96 out of 350. Of the servants who stayed in the parish for more than two years, 97 are later described as labourers. They had, presumably, married local girls and settled down, moving into a cottage. While no servant was ever described as having children, many labourers were. William Baskerfield of Harpenden exemplifies what happened: he was described as a servant in 1759 and 1762, a labourer in 1763 and 1764, and as having four children in 1775. A few labourers even appeared in the land tax returns owning or tenancing small properties. But labourers were sometimes transients, more so in Wheathampstead than in Harpenden incidentally. Of 287 people who were described as labourer, and who had not appeared earlier as a servant, only 143 appeared for more than two years. Poorer people were more rootless than those better off and, in spite of the restrictions imposed by the Poor Law, they managed to keep moving.

The working lives of most local men were passed in farming. Homes were crowded and uncomfortable and there was little opportunity for relaxation. There were few societies and almost no public

entertainment except on occasional festivals, but there were many INNS and ALEHOUSES. Both men and women were involved in running them. The alehouse was kept by a poor man and often run by his wife while he did other work. The inn provided meals and overnight accommodation and was a meeting place for public bodies.

In 1670 Thomas Grunwin of Wheathampstead petitioned Quarter Sessions as 'being sickly and not able to worke, and take paines, as formerly, to maintain himself, wife and family, through which they are brought into a low condition. And they, being civill honest persons, and situated by the roade-side at a fitting place for the relief of passengers, and formerly an ale-house (asked for a licence) to draw and utter beere'. [Q.S. Vol. I, p. 246]. The inn was different, as described by Dr. Thomas Wilson, son of the Bishop of Sodor and Man and prebendary of Westminster Abbey, who visited Harpenden in 1750 on abbey business: 'June 7 Set out for Harpenden . . . Kept Court at The Red Lyon and dined at The Bull on the Common. Treated by Whitearmiger (Wittewronge) Esq. who lives at Rothamstead'. [*The Diaries of Thomas Wilson D.D. 1731-50*, edit. by C. L. S. Linnell]. A friendly society met at the Red Lion in 1799 and the manor court was still meeting there in 1805. Such inns left more substantial evidence of their existence than did alehouses. We know, for example, which inns there were in Wheathampstead in 1756 from a list of the beds and stabling which they each provided: most of them had room for only one or two travellers; the Tin Pot had no beds but stabling for two horses.

Wheathampstead inns are easier to trace than Harpenden's: they did not change their names and sites so often. The oldest buildings which we know to have been continuously used as inns are the Bell and the Bull; both were inns in 1617. The Crown was added to the Bell's name in the mid-nineteenth century. The Tin Pot at Gustard Wood and the Swan were in existence in 1665. The Cross Keys at Gustard Wood was first recorded as an inn in 1756, though there was a house on the site in 1617. The Ephgraves were landlords from 1756 until 1834 at least, when the following record was made: 'Buried at Wheathampstead William Ephgrave, aged 96 years, and had taken out 67 licenses for the public-house called the Cross Keys, Gustard Wood, and could see to read the newspaper without spectacles'. The first record of the Elephant and Castle at Amwell as an inn is in 1812 when Charles Humphreys paid rates for the Castle. The dated bricks probably give the real date of the original building, 1764.

Some inns had their own maltings: the Swan in 1743 included 'a Malthouse, barn, stables, and malt lofts, yard, garden, orchard, and outhouses' together with some twelve acres of land scattered in closes and open field strips, and 'another messuage and little orchard'. John House of the Grove had acquired the Swan by 1753. The House family extended the business: by 1756 the other 'messuage'

was 'now a Malthouse'. The Sibleys, who owned the Bell, had their own maltings at the back of the White Cottage. Mary's inventory of 1710 mentioned 'the Millhouse, one horse Mill and two pairs of stones' as well as the 'plate upon the Kiln'. Her stepson, Francis, who inherited, died in 1765. His daughter Elizabeth managed the business from the 1770s. The tenancy of the Bell was surrendered to her nephew Henry (pp. 161 and 162). The Parrott Brewery as it was called in 1781, on Brewhouse Hill, belonged to two James Wilkins in succession. The tomb of the elder who died about 1787 is in the churchyard. He rented the brewhouse and a farm from Lamer. The younger Wilkins rose in the world to become an esquire.

The Messers who were landlords of the Swan in the eighteenth century were blacksmiths; one suffered from deafness, an occupational hazard of their trade. There were some surprising trades associated with inns in the early nineteenth century. The woman licensee of the Bell was the 'letter carrier to St. Albans daily', while the Bull was the 'receiving-house' for the post office. A later woman licensee of the Bull ran a girls' school!

The oldest recorded Harpenden inn is the George which was mentioned in the will of John Lawdy of Lamer in 1507, but whether this inn was on the site of the present George is not known. There was a George Farm, not always farmed by the licensee, and its lands were near the church with the farmstead by Church Green. In 1790 one inn was described as the 'White Hart lately known by the Sign of the George, and now by the Sign of the Cock'. A Cock inn was mentioned in 1639 but where it was is uncertain. The Old Bell, Cock, Cross Keys, George, Sun and White Hart exchanged names and possibly sites with bewildering frequency. The Cock was let to Edward Royston in 1643 when glass windows and window shutters, benches and settles in the hall and parlour, the rope belonging to the well and 'kerbe standes' for casks of beer were listed. There was an Old Bell in existence in 1735 and a Sun in 1753. A different Sun, in Sun Lane, belonged to the Hawkins family (p. 161) in the 1780s; it was let to Harry, and later Peter Crouch, and was closed in 1800. A White Hart was bought by William Wethered in 1731. The Wethereds had been landlords of the Swan in Wheathampstead for some seventy years and had just been replaced by the Messers. By 1760 a St. Albans brewer, Thomas Kinder, owned the inn, Thomas Edwards was the landlord, and its name had been changed from White Hart to Cross Keys.

The Old House in Leyton Road, formerly the Sycamores, is the oldest inn building in Harpenden; it was the Bull. A brewer lived here in 1586; it was called the Bull in 1596, 'Woodwards, otherwise the Angell' in 1613, and 'anciently . . . the Angell and now the Black Bull' in 1639. By 1620 William Catlin 6 (pp. 51 and 75), brewer and inn landlord, lived at the Bull. His widow was left 'the upper Chamber over the Halle duringe the terme of her naturall life, with

free ingresse, egressse and regresse to and from the same without the molestacon or contradicon of anie one'. The building temporarily ceased to be an inn about 1693 when it was described as 'heretofore . . . the Black Bull, now . . . the School House'. Before 1719, when William Edwards died, it had become an inn again. He left his wife 'the lease of the Signe of the Bull in Harpingdine'. His inventory listed not only 'A Carthouse sett up upon the Wast' but also 'The Signe and Signepost Standing upon the Wast' (the Common). There was a 'Brewhouse, a Furnice and Meshing Fatt Coolers, Working Fatt, 3 Tubbs'; the 'Fatts' were vats and mashing was stirring the mixture of malt and boiling water. The Bull had a cellar with beer in it and 'wine and sider in bottles' and there was 'A Clock standing upon the Starecase'. By 1753 James Cheworth was landlord; John Young and Samuel Ashby followed in the 1780s. The Wittewronges had owned the inn since 1651; it became a private house in the 1860s.

The Dolphin owned by John Large, with William Lines as landlord in the 1780s and 1790s, is the only other local inn recorded with its own maltings. Another important inn was the Red Lion where the manor court met. It belonged to the Hatfield and St. Albans brewers, the Searanckes, in the late eighteenth century. Their name was consistently misspelt in Harpenden as Searnacke. The Rose and Crown was owned by Jennings Cox of Sandridge in 1728 and by Benjamin Manfield in the late eighteenth century when James Floyd, the baker, was the tenant and landlord. The Fox at Kinsbourne Green may have lost its old name, the Smyths Arms mentioned in 1710, when the Smyths stopped living at Annables. It is not known when the White Horse at Hatching Green acquired its name and became an inn. It is a seventeenth century building, at one time John Seabrook's 'mansion house'.

No doubt a great deal of brewing was done by the innkeepers, as well as by many local families, but there was one important brewery, founded by William Catlin of the Bull (p. 75) who already owned 'tied houses' in the seventeenth century (Plate 20a). It was in the High Street and Woolworths is now on the site. Malting must have been undertaken by people who also followed other trades. The young Henry Sibley, who took over the Bell in Wheathampstead in 1784, had been a malt and mealman before he left Harpenden, and there were other mealmen and maltsters. Edward Lines who farmed Yew Tree Farm (15 Leyton Road) was described as a maltster in the 1758 and 1762 militia lists. John Large appeared with a fine mixture of descriptions: servant in 1769, yeoman in 1771, maltman or maltster in 1775-82, and yeoman, maltster alternatively in 1783-85.

Many inns had farms attached: in Wheathampstead the Bull had 119 acres in 1617; the owner of the Bell left £289.5s.10d worth of farm goods in 1648; the landlord of the Swan £392 worth in 1706. The Ephgraves, landlords of the Cross Keys at Gustard Wood, farmed Herons and rented Lamer farm land. Farms attached to inns

carried less stock and cultivated more barley than did other farms. Mary Sibley of the Bell at Wheathampstead, who died in 1710, and William Edwards of the Bull at Harpenden, who died in 1719, left between them only £32.13s worth of stock compared with £401.1s.6d worth of grain, almost all of which was malt, barley and 'dry corn'. They had, respectively, 'wood and hame (haulm-stalks of peas, etc.) for drying of malts' and 'stockwood, hay and faggotts'.

Alehouses are poorly recorded. The landlords of disorderly or unlicensed alehouses, but not the actual alehouses, are named in Quarter Sessions records. The misbehaviour of Harpenden and Wheathampstead alehousekeepers in the early seventeenth century has been described in Booklet Two (pp. 75 and 88). There were more cases later in the century in Wheathampstead, involving Richard Ivory, a maimed soldier in 1641, John House in 1655, George Holley, a chapman or pedlar in 1678, John Whitlock in 1696, and John Godman in 1702. Godman's alehouse at Gustard Wood had been opened on a Sunday. Whitlock had his alehouse closed and his sign pulled down. John House's alehouse was on Nomansland Common. The only information available about alehouses comes from the names of people described in the militia lists as alehousekeepers, or victuallers, who have no known connection with an inn. James Johnson (1778-81) and Joseph Boff (1775-85) were, or became, lame; disablement from manual work was a good reason for opening an alehouse. A few named public houses in Harpenden were probably alehouses rather than inns. Thomas Nash kept the Crown and Anchor opposite Pickford Mill in 1756. It moved in about 1900 and was renamed the Malta. John Nash owned the Three Horseshoes, first recorded in the 1799 survey. The Gibraltar Castle, owned by the Wheathampstead brewer, John Wilkins, was likewise first recorded in 1799. John Good-year of Batford Mill (p. 178) had an inn called the Swan by the River Lea in 1789; by 1799 this was known as the Marquis of Granby.

The old nursery rhyme 'butcher, baker, candlestick maker' covered the main FOOD SHOPS in the village; the grocer was often called a chandler because candles were such an important part of the dry goods which he sold. **Butchers** in the eighteenth century needed grazing grounds, just as their successors today need deep freeze chambers; so butchers were usually also farmers and graziers. In 1767 William Chennels, described as a butcher in the militia lists, paid the Lamer estate £10 p.a. for 'a farm at Wheathampstead', almost certainly Town Farm. The Chennels family were still at the farm with a butchery business in the High Street in the mid-nineteenth century. There was another butcher's shop in the village proper, Wheathampstead Town as it was called; this belonged to the Nash family. The Walbeys or Wabys were a family of butchers who spread through Hertfordshire into London [see H. W. Gray, *Hatfield and its People*. Book 11a. *Family and Trades*, pp. 30-3]. One of the family was indicted in 1671 for selling 'onholsome Victualls'

in Wheathampstead. Thomas rented Cherry Tree House in 1705; a Mr. Waby was farming at Bamville Wood in 1759; and William was described as a butcher in the 1781 and 1782 militia lists.

The Freemans were the only Harpenden family of butchers. Four of them were farmer-butchers: John at Falcon's End, William and his son, William, at Envy Hall, and Joseph. William Turpin is the only other butcher known to have been resident in Harpenden for any length of time. Other people described as butchers do not belong to local families and were listed for only one or two years. They were probably employees, moving on as William Jennings seems to have done: he was listed in Harpenden in 1758 and 1759 and in Wheathampstead in 1762 but then vanished. Wheathampstead, or rather Amwell, had two residents in 1765 with a more unusual occupation, Charles and Nebuchadnezzar Tristram, fishermen. They may have been travelling pedlars, fish merchants.

There were two bakers in Wheathampstead and three in Harpenden. Charles (Charlie) Higby had a bakery in the centre of Wheathampstead village for at least twenty years. Four members of the Gregory family ran the other bakery. The three Harpenden bakeries were combined with maltings or public houses. William Waraker was described as a baker and victualler. William Prudden, baker and maltster, and James Floyd, baker and landlord of the Rose and Crown, served together as parish constables in 1781. There were other Floyds and Warakers who were bakers. The bakeries employed a substantial number of itinerant workers: one such, Thomas Evans, was described as a journeyman baker when he was listed in Wheathampstead in 1778. Journeymen were so called because they were paid by the day (*journée*). They were skilled workers of higher status than apprentices or servants and moved on from one employer to another. Certain occupations had many such workers, though it was no longer universal for them, literally, to be paid by the day. A number of people in Harpenden seem to have alternated between working for bakers and other employers, in rather surprising combinations. William Streder was successively described as a bricklayer, a labourer, and a baker; William Dorrington as a baker, a labourer, and then as 'one armed'; William Poynter had an even more remarkable transformation, from a baker, to a seafaring man, to workhouse keeper!

There had been local **grocers** from the beginning of the seventeenth century. William Ansell who lived in Harpenden High Street was prosecuted in 1632 and again in 1638 for practising the art or mystery of a grocer, a trade to which he had not been apprenticed. James Greene of Wheathampstead issued his own token money for farthings in 1659. It bore his initials and the Grocers' Arms. By the eighteenth century the feudal controls which had restricted people to one trade had gone. The local shopkeeper might sell groceries, flour or meal, candles, and almost anything else. There

were four such shopkeepers in Wheathampstead and five in Harpenden; some only appeared in the militia lists in a single year. Some were described as shopkeeper in one year and grocer in another. Thomas Irons of Harpenden was a grocer and baker in 1778 and in 1782. There was a grocer and maltster, Edward Glincofer or Glenister, and a grocer and mealman, James Wilcox, in the 1760s and both of Wheathampstead. Wilcox's shop was in the village centre. Two Harpenden people changed their occupations rather strangely. George Hawkins, son of the tenant of Rothamsted, appeared in the 1780s as grocer, labourer, farmer and shopkeeper. The name Joseph Cheworth appeared regularly between 1759 and 1781, successively as servant, shopkeeper, Chandler, shopkeeper, schoolmaster, Chandler, shopkeeper.

The English climate being what it is, shelter and clothing are almost as important as food and drink. The people who built houses and those who worked with leather and cloth held an important place in village society. The BUILDING TRADES still used local materials such as wood and clay, employed local residents, and met the demand for houses and farm buildings to cater for the rapidly growing population. The builder, as a contractor, did not yet exist, although a particular tradesman might act as the customer's agent in dealing with other tradesmen. The most important local building material was wood; the wood trades were far more numerous than brickmakers or bricklayers. Altogether sixty different people were described in the militia lists as carpenters, seventeen as sawyers, and two as latherers, while there were only two brickmakers and eleven bricklayers. Fewer than half the carpenters and an even smaller proportion of the sawyers and bricklayers were transients; in both villages there were resident families of carpenters, sawyers and bricklayers. Trades were interchangeable, within limits: carpenters, sawyers and wheelwrights belonged to the same group of families and brickmakers and bricklayers to another group. Bricklayers were often described as labourers and one of them actually became a baker. Woodworking could be dangerous. Daniel Gosbill, a carpenter, was described as 'deformed of his hands'.

At any one time there seem to have been five families of carpenters working in Wheathampstead and five or six in Harpenden. In the 1780s the number of working carpenters in each village grew, particularly in Harpenden. The Wright family is the one we have managed to trace over the longest span of time. They lived at Owen's Corner, lower Gustard Wood, and were already there in 1635. Jeremy Hart, carpenter, left his house 'scituate at gusterwood' to his brother-in-law William Wright, carpenter, in 1690. In 1692 Dame Jane Garrard of Lamer insisted that 'William Write' should make her coffin. Garrard coffins were still being made at Owen's Corner until the twentieth century. Five Wrights appeared in the militia lists described as carpenters. There were two Kilby carpenters, William and Richard; Richard was listed in 1782 and 1786 and in 1813 he

occupied the carpenter's premises at Owen's Corner. The house of a William Kilby was the first recorded as a Nonconformist meeting house in Harpenden, in 1711.

The Tidds were another long lasting family of Wheathampstead carpenters and they, too, had a Nonconformist background, for Tidds from Wheathampstead had attended the illegal Baptist church at Kensworth in the 1670s (pp. 106-8). Eight Tidds appeared in the militia lists described as carpenters: Daniel and George in the early years and a second Daniel and George in the 1780s, a William and a John in the 1760s and John's two sons, John and Charles. The Tidds were employed in 1767-8 in rebuilding or repairing Lamer park fences: George was paid for nails; Daniel earned £71.18s.5½d over eighteen months in carpentering, 'for felling Wood and hedging and looking after the Woods' and for 'valuing and selling wood etc.' Presumably he was the contractor; the younger Daniel was paid £43.2s.10d in 1767 for park paling [H.R.C.O. 27424/1].

There were six Carters and two Nashs who were carpenters or carpenters and sawyers in Wheathampstead. The four Olneys or Oneys of Harpenden were both carpenters and lathrenders. Two Gosbills (or Gosbells) and two Jacob Lattimores between them spanned the whole period of the militia lists. Apart from William Nash who owned property assessed at £6 in 1783, no member of any of these families owned or tenanted property valued at more than £3. Other resident carpenters were two Johnsons who moved from Wheathampstead to Harpenden, John Haydon and Jonas Freeman. Perhaps Freeman was a member of the farming family; he was a person of some local standing, being church clerk in 1778. The resident Harpenden sawyers were the Attwoods; in Wheathampstead there were two Darys, a Lewis and an Ansell.

As for building in brick, we know that bricks were being made in Harpenden in 1724. In that year Henry Staker, **brickmaker**, was encroaching on the common at Bamville Wood, enclosing his ground so that adjoining owners could not cross the common, and digging chalk and clay pits which were left unfenced. Bricks were made in several places in and around Harpenden; a brickfield near Annables produced heather-coloured bricks and those from Stewart Road were yellowish. They were fired in clamp kilns, using wood for fuel (Plate 19b). Since brickmaking was seasonal, it is not surprising that only three brickmakers were mentioned in the militia lists.

Only eight **bricklayers** were named in Wheathampstead and three in Harpenden in all the militia lists. Two families provided most of these names: the Stredors (or Streders) in Harpenden and the Peacocks in Wheathampstead.

There were two other building trades in Harpenden. The Ellards were **plumbers** and **glaziers** and the Parratts were **thatchers**, in the local dialect 'theckers'. George, the elder of the two Ellards, was employed at Lamer House in 1767-8, earning £19.7s.5d for 'Glazing

and Painting' and 'Plumbers Work done at Lamer House', and for 'Glaziers Work done at Lamer Farm House and the Chancel at Wheathampstead'.

At first sight the CLOTHING TRADES seem unbalanced: there were many more shoemakers and cordwainers (as shoemakers were still sometimes called) than tailors or drapers. But it should be remembered that men made footwear for both sexes, while many women's clothes were made by women. The villages certainly contained dressmakers, seamstresses, milliners, and female drapers who, naturally, do not appear in the male militia lists. Shoes and boots are less likely to be handed on than clothes. The poor needed their own boots to work in; of the few clothes they had many were second-hand garments, brought home by daughters in service and cut down and patched. Although women in the workhouse were set to work making clothes, not so many clothes were made at home, at least in south-east England, as people often imagine. One reason for there being few local tailors is probably because the wealthy bought their clothes in London or St. Albans, and many of the farmers and tradesmen may have likewise bought clothes in nearby towns.

From the 1750s to the 1770s the Catlins had a shoemaker's business in the centre of Wheathampstead; John Catlin was parish constable in 1772 and in 1774 took possession of a cordwainer's shop belonging to the rectory manor. Joseph Sibley was the Catlins' employee for many years. By the 1780s two shoemakers were at work, William Dunham and Halsey Robards; the latter was constable in 1785-6. In Harpenden two families were working as shoemakers throughout the last half of the eighteenth century, and there were almost certainly some other independent ones. James Fletcher succeeded John Fletcher, and Barnett Kilby followed Thomas Kilby. Barnett was described as a farmer and cordwainer; he employed a journeyman, and was the tenant of property assessed at £6.13s.4d. John Giddings probably had his own business in Harpenden: he was described as a cordwainer from 1758 to 1762, then as a farmer, and was tenant of property assessed at just over £12. He served as Overseer of the Poor in 1771. John Element and Zachariah Lines were other independent shoemakers. The leather used by the shoemakers probably came from Redbourn where fellmongers (sellers of animal skins or hides) appear in the militia lists. Neither fellmongers nor tanners appear in the Harpenden and Wheathampstead lists.

One glover and two tailors were listed in Wheathampstead but none are mentioned after 1764. By the late eighteenth century Wheathampstead may have lacked any man making clothes. One of the 'tailors' was actually described as a barber in another year. In Harpenden Richard and William Crouch were working as tailors for a much longer period. When their names disappeared from the militia lists, Thomas David's appeared. Jeremiah Downs was a tailor and draper; an older Jeremiah, perhaps his father, was alternately des-

cribed as a gardener and woolcomber. There were a number of travelling tailors whose names appear only in one or two years.

From the Poor Law accounts we can obtain a good idea of the basic clothing worn by working men and women. Shirts, breeches and waistcoats were bought for men. Some of the waistcoats were of swanskin, a 'kind of fine twilled flannel' [*Concise Oxford Dictionary*]. Roundfrocks, or 'frocks', were smocks; they were bought for men and boys. Shoes and nails and pairs of hose, probably stockings rather than breeches, were frequent purchases. Women and children were bought shifts (long unshaped dresses or undergarments which could show at the bottom), aprons, petticoats and stockings. There were less frequent purchases of bodices, caps, gowns and stays. 'Pockatts' and buttons were bought, as were handkerchiefs, possibly for neckwear, and shoes, though less often than for men. It is interesting that sheets and sheeting were bought for the poor which seems to imply that they were no longer regarded as luxuries for the well-off only.

Until the 1770s, tailors and housewives could have obtained locally produced cloth. Cloth makers were working in the seventeenth century. John Mardall of Wheathampstead, who was born about 1678, was a weaver; his third son, William, followed his trade. The militia lists provide evidence for several kinds of clothworkers. Two Wheathampstead families, both tenants of John Seabrook, seem to have been involved. Mr. Wilson employed woolcombers and weavers in the late 1760s and various Wilsons were described as woolstaplers or woolsorters. Thomas Johnson was the only other person described as a woolstapler. There were seven weavers, three woolcombers and one woolsorter who probably worked for Johnson or Wilson. Only two of these clothworkers lived in Harpenden, one at Bowers Hall and one at Pimlico. However, twelve out of nineteen of the clothworkers were travelling journeymen whose names only appeared in the militia lists in a single year. The industry was centred in a mill or mills on the Lea and the eighteenth century saw its disappearance. After 1772 only two clothworkers are listed.

The decline of clothmaking and the arrival of papermaking coincide, which suggests that a fulling mill may have been taken over as a paper mill. It was easy to transform one into the other. The great wooden hammers raised by the waterwheel, to beat dirt out of the cloth, could equally well beat rags into pulp for papermaking. Pickford was in use as a papermill in 1775 and PAPERMAKERS appeared in the militia lists in 1778, but John Seller's map has located the fulling mill opposite Leasy Bridge. It is true that too much reliance cannot be put on the detail in small county maps, but the Mardalls who were weavers and wheelwrights farmed Leasybridge Farm in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and when Francis Owen insured Pickford in 1775 it was as corn and paper mills. Corn mills too were transformed into papermills as Dolittle

Mill in Redbourn was in 1753. Papermaking came and went in different parts of Hertfordshire in response to demands from an outside market, and provided that a suitable local mill was available at the right moment. The industry did not take root in the county until the Dickinsons came to the Gade valley, though the paper works remained at Pickford Mill for about seventy-five years. The mill was bought in 1796 by Thomas Vallance who had been making paper at Hatfield since 1788. His daughter, Catherine, married an outstanding papermaker, William Balston, in 1805. By 1813 Vallance and his eldest son, Edmund, had limited their business to the selling of paper made at Pickford. In 1816 the mill [No. 404 in the Uxbridge Collection on the Excise list] was owned by Edmund, whose brother William succeeded him from 1824. Edward Jones, a wholesale stationer of Budge Row, London, bought the mill in 1833. The last papermaker there was Shadrack Clark who, after two years, became bankrupt in 1849. Twelve different papermakers appeared in the militia lists, but most were listed for only one year, so they were probably journeymen.

Life in the eighteenth century would have been much poorer without a whole range of supporting supply and service industries. Movement of people and goods, and the productivity of farming, depended on the support of craftsmen with traditional skills. WHEELWRIGHTS or wheelers, BLACKSMITHS and COOPERS were outstanding. The Mardalls, relatives of the weavers, had a **wheelwright's** business in Wheathampstead High Street until the nineteenth century. The elder Daniel was employed by Lamer estate in 1767-8 not only as a wheelwright but also to entertain the tenants of the estate at the Bull, for which he was paid £14.13s. He was constable from 1781 to 1784. Daniel, his son, became Lord Salisbury's land agent and moved to Hatfield. The family acquired several houses and two farms. Two members of the third generation were set up in London as wine and spirit merchants. The Mardalls employed a number of wheelers, one of whom, Jacob Lattamer, may well have belonged to the Harpenden family of carpenters. There is no evidence in Harpenden for any business quite as successful as this, but there must have been at least one wheelwright's shop there for William and Thomas Lawrence were listed as wheelwrights in the 1760s, John Halsey between 1775 and 1781 and Gilbert Surrey between 1775 and 1785. Harpenden had the only local collarmaker, Thomas Cato, who made horsecollars and yokes.

There seem to have been four **blacksmiths** at work in Harpenden and four in Wheathampstead. The smithies in Harpenden were at Kinsbourne Green, on the St. Albans Road near Beesonend Lane, and on the Common where the golf clubhouse now stands; the fourth was on the large island site in the High Street. There were smithies in Wheathampstead at the back of the Swan Inn, at Gustard Wood, and at Bower Heath; the fourth has not been located with certainty.

The most prominent Harpenden family of blacksmiths were the Adams of Kinsbourne Green. In 1753 John Adams occupied one of Samuel Nicholls' farms which was assessed at £21. The family employed journeymen; and Joshua Mead, who lived at Kinsbourne Green and was described as a blacksmith in militia lists between 1758 and 1768, may have worked for the Adams. In 1768 he was in serious trouble; he was sentenced to be whipped for abandoning his family. A year later he was convicted of the same offence, detained for six months and publicly whipped twice. The annual income from his property, £7, was confiscated and paid to Edward Hawkins, Harpenden's Overseer of the Poor, to support his wife and family.

The smithy near Beeson End was certainly in existence in the nineteenth century when it was occupied by James Roe. In the last two militia lists, for 1784 and 1785, Thomas Row was listed as a blacksmith. The Roe property, which can be located from the Tithe Award of 1839-43, consisted of a blacksmith's shop and orchard. In 1694 Joseph Lines had left to his wife Phoebe and on her death to his son, Samuel: 'all that my messuage or tennement at Bamwell wood neare three Mile Lane End . . . with the orchard'. Samuel Lines, who appears in the Harpenden eighteenth century Land Tax Returns, was a blacksmith. It would seem probable that a smithy was created by Samuel Lines which later passed to the Roes. The smithy on Harpenden Common was built about 1715. Sir John Wittewronge had put up a windmill about 1660 and when James Wittewronge removed it to Rothamsted he allowed a blacksmith, John Waller, to build on the site. John Waller left his property divided between two sons with a provision for the elder son, John, to have a right of way through Edward's orchard to collect water. John sold his cottage and workshop to Edward Anderson in 1775. Samuel Wells, Anderson's tenant, took over the blacksmith's business. Wells' uncle, also Samuel, had been a blacksmith in Wheathampstead. The Wells' property was known as Sheepskin Hall [H.C.R.O. D/ELW E16 and M237, Plate 17].

The Tomalins, John and Robert, were the fourth family of blacksmiths in Harpenden. Robert was deaf as were other blacksmiths because of their work. In 1799 and 1803 John had a blacksmith's shop in Harpenden town, renting a property from Gilbert Surrey (8 Leyton Road). He was described as a whitesmith in later years. A whitesmith made or repaired household objects of white metals — pewter and tin — while a blacksmith worked only in iron. The two trades were not strictly demarcated: Edward Crouch was described as whitesmith in three lists and as blacksmith in a fourth. No Tomalins appeared in the Wheathampstead militia lists, although a Thomas Tomalin of Wheathampstead did a substantial amount of blacksmith's work at Lamer House in 1767-8. The Tomalins were the first Methodists in Harpenden (p. 109).

In Wheathampstead the Messers had a blacksmith's shop at the Swan; James Messer was the landlord in 1756 and John the black-

smith. In 1778 John was described as a journeyman, suggesting that he was employed by James. In 1781 a James Messer, perhaps the landlord's son, began work as a blacksmith. William Floyd lived at Gustardwood and was described as a blacksmith between 1762 and 1785. By 1778 he had three children and in that year only he was described as a journeyman blacksmith. Possibly he did not work for himself but as an employee of Thomas Tom(a)lin, or the Chapmans. Henry and Thomas Chapman span the whole period covered by the militia lists, but the site of their smithy is not known.

The smithy at Bower Heath belonged to the Lines; four or five different Lines appear in the Wheathampstead militia lists described as blacksmiths. The Lines are one of the most interesting of Harpenden and Wheathampstead families (cp. pp. 161 and 176). Their relationships have only been partly disentangled but it seems probable that they all descend from three brothers, John, Joseph and Samuel, mentioned in the 1678 will of a fourth brother, Timothy, who was a bachelor. Most of the Lines who were prominent eighteenth century farmers descended from John. His great-great-grandson was the Joseph Lines who worked from 1826 as a blacksmith, farrier and wheelwright at the forge which was, until the late 1950s, near the site which became Anvil House in Harpenden High Street. The elder Joseph, a blacksmith himself, was the ancestor of the Wheathampstead smiths and of the Samuel who worked in Harpenden. Samuel, the third brother, left offspring who seem to have been servants and labourers in Harpenden.

There were four **coopers** in Wheathampstead, none in Harpenden. George Dimsdale was listed regularly from 1759 to 1782; he lived in the centre of the village and in 1764 was described as a publican. Spelling his name caused the local constables trouble; it appeared as Dinsdale, Dimsdall, Dimsdell, Dimsdal, Dimsdel, and even as Dimsil! There were two Pilgrims (Pilgrem or Philgrim), Richard who was constable in 1769 and Thomas. Richard was paid 14s.1d for 'cooper's work' at Lamer in 1768; Thomas Philgrim and William Catlin, the shoemaker, were tried by Quarter Sessions in 1771 for indecent assaults, but discharged. The fourth Wheathampstead cooper was Samuel Sibley who lived near the churchyard.

Perhaps it is not surprising that the Vestry had appointed a Hitchin surgeon to care for the poor 'in Surgery and Phissick' (p. 153), because the only local 'DOCTORS' in the mid-century were FARRIERS (Plate 20b). A farrier could be a vet or a shoeing smith or both. Thomas Chapman of Wheathampstead was described as a doctor, with one eye, in 1784 and as a blacksmith in 1785 and 1786. The Kingston family of Harpenden certainly doctored both horses and men. Francis, who was thirty-one in 1757, was regularly described as a farrier. William first appeared described as a doctor's son, then successively as a farrier, a surgeon and as a farrier again, though between 1786 and 1796, when he held a licence to kill game,

he was described as a surgeon. Francis junior was described as a surgeon in 1778 but never listed again; perhaps he was better qualified than his relatives and so freed from the obligation to serve in the militia. Oddly enough the land tax returns do not reveal the Kingstons as property owners: Francis was the tenant of a property rated at £1 in 1780. In the nineteenth century the Kingstons lived in a house on the site of what became Kingston House stores (6 High Street). There is a family vault in the churchyard (p. 117).

SCHOOLTEACHERS were even less professionally qualified than doctors. Two people in Wheathampstead and eight in Harpenden were described as schoolmasters or ushers in the militia lists; only four of the Harpenden schoolmasters may have stayed long and only one of them, John Grover, may have had a permanent school (see pp. 233-4). One other, Thomas Gregory, was the workhousekeeper, and another, Joseph Cheworth, a shopkeeper.

All the MILLS along the Lea were in Wheathampstead and the windmill in Harpenden had been taken down; it is therefore hardly surprising that the only MILLERS to appear in militia lists were from Wheathampstead. Twenty-five people were described as millers, or millers' servants, or as waggoners working for a miller. Three master millers can be identified, but it is not always known for certain which miller was at which mill. John Goodyear, Mr. Goodger as he was described in 1759, was working in 'The Bottom', probably at Batford Mill. Three people were described as his waggoners, one as his servant, one as his miller, and three more were listed as millers at The Bottom. There is no evidence, however, that more than five people worked for him in any one year. Some of his employees were migrants but many of them stayed for several years.

Richard Robards, or Roberts, was the miller of Wheathampstead Mill. A survey taken by James Hartley on 4 September 1772 reads: 'The Mill House, Mills, Barns, stabling etc. with 4 pairs of grinding stones, $\frac{1}{4}$ acre, value £85. The buildings appear to me to be in tolerably good repair. Should not renew the lease with Mr. Carpenter (see p. 70) until he produces the map. In occupation of Mr. Roberts'. [Church Commissioners 145795]. Richard Robards was the land tax collector in 1767-8 and two Robert Robards worked for him. John Johnson, who was described as a miller between 1759 and 1765 and who lived in the 'Town', may likewise have worked for the Robards. The third master miller was Henry Sharp, who may have been at Hyde Mill. He was only listed in 1759, followed in the return by Henry Cumberland, miller's servant. In 1769, however, John Manning was described as miller to Mr. Sharp and Abraham Gauthurst as Mr. Sharp's waggoner. Most of the other people described as miller and who cannot be associated with a particular mill were short-stay journeymen. Flour ground in the mills was sold by mealmen; a John Robards was described as a mealman in 1778 in Wheathampstead and John Whitley in the 1770s in Harpenden.

Christian Names

In describing the occupations of local people in the eighteenth century many local surnames have been mentioned. Christian names are also given in the militia lists, as in many other records, and are revealing. The most popular Christian names in the eighteenth century were John, Thomas and William; they had been used since Norman times and well over half the people named in the militia lists in both villages had one or other of these three names. The next two most popular names locally, James and Joseph, had only become widely used in the seventeenth century. James became popular after James I's accession (1603) as did George after George I's (1714). George was the sixth most popular name in Wheathampstead and the seventh in Harpenden. There were other royal names: Edward was commoner in Wheathampstead than in Harpenden, and very popular among servants and labourers, while in Harpenden it seems to have been a farmer's name. Richard was used more in Harpenden than Wheathampstead, Henry was nearly as common but Charles rare.

The other new name, Joseph, was biblical. It was the commonest of many such names which religious enthusiasm popularised. Others were Benjamin, Daniel, Ezekiel, Isaac, Jonas and Jonathan, Nathaniel, Solomon and Timothy, all of which were fairly popular. More exotic, and rarer, Puritan names were Abednego, Meshack, Mathusalem, Mordica, Nebuchadnezzar, Obadiah and Zachariah. Other biblical names had been in use since the middle ages: Abraham, Andrew, David, Jacob, Matthew, Michael, Philip and Stephen and all of these were still used. The old English name, Robert, was quite popular, while Francis seems to have been confined to one or two families, such as the Sibleys and the Kingstons, who used it frequently.

Names such as Kimpton and Oney (Olney) appear to be taken from places, but they are really surnames used as Christian names. Halsey, Sibley, Element and Pedder are further examples. In some parts of the country, the father's surname was given as a Christian name to his illegitimate children. A careful check through the registers might reveal whether the practice applied in this parish. Foundlings were often given surnames related to the place where they were found. Thus Mary Peartree of Gustard Wood who was privately baptised on 12 April 1712 'was actually a lost child hung on a tree and so took its name and became a parishioner . . . soon dy'd — and eas'd the parish — tho' search after it was made, nothing was found'.

Two curious names are Shimus and Eignon. It is likely that Shimus Afraye, a Wheathampstead tasker, was an immigrant worker from Ireland; Shamus or Seumus is the Irish form of James. Ignun or Eignon Lines' Welsh Christian name may indicate a family connection with the Beynons of Beaumont Hall in Redbourn who used the name. Onion is a form of this name and means stability or fortitude.

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The Changing Scene

By 1801 Harpenden contained slightly more people than Wheathampstead though there were rather fewer people in each household. The population increase in both villages was met by new building and by dividing existing cottages and small houses into tenements. A substantial sample from the Westminster survey of 1799 shows that the proportion of tenements compared with cottages was far higher in Harpenden than in Wheathampstead; so Wheathampstead homes may have been larger. To judge from their respective rateable values in 1802 (£4,620.18s.8d : £3,314.10s) Harpenden had become the richer place. Two important changes had occurred by 1799. There had been substantial infilling along both High Streets and these had been extended and some hamlets had enlarged. This growth was a steady continuation of changes which can be traced back to the sixteenth century. During the last half of the eighteenth century there were major changes among the local land-owning families and some rebuilding of the larger houses.

WHEATHAMPSTEAD in the seventeenth century had not grown outwards much from its medieval core. Bury Green, west of the church and then including Church Street, was the centre of Westminster Abbey's estate, but there were few, if any, buildings west of Bury House where the abbey's steward lived; the house was burned down in the 1960s. There was no building east of Town Farm (tragically destroyed in 1971) and there were only a few houses on Wheathampstead Hill to its south. One of these belonged to John Lawrence who had a house 'by the lane side leading from wheathampstead to Nomansland, lying between the premises of Emanuel Grunwin and George Renalds' in 1722.

By the end of the eighteenth century there had been some more building up Wheathampstead Hill and along Brewhouse Hill; the Parrott brewery was built in 1781 (pp. 167). There may have been some infilling along the west side of the High Street between the mill and the churchyard where the workhouse was, and also at the back of the buildings on the corner of the High Street and East Lane. William Peacock, a bricklayer, built a house in the High Street in 1742, on waste ground measuring twenty feet by sixty feet, near the mills and with John Mardall's cottage to the north. The manor court admitted William as tenant at a yearly rent of 1s. It is possible to trace the successive occupants up to 1909 when the Waters Brothers let the premises to the National Telephone Company at a rent of £20 p.a. In 1799 there were two small workshops by the churchyard (32 and 36 High Street) and a sack manufactory across the Lea (Sunny Bank cottages).

By 1799 houses had begun to appear well spaced out along the Lower Luton Road from the crossroads north of Wheathampstead Mill to Pickford Mill area. Royal Oak Cottage was in 1799 the parish

Pest House in which people with smallpox and serious infectious diseases were isolated. There were two Cherry Tree Houses, a quarter of a mile apart along Marshalls Heath Lane. Halfway between Batford and Pickford Mills, on the other side of the road, there was a new inn, the Gibraltar; the strip of open field arable land on which it was built was part of what came to be known as Gibraltar Shott. Amwell and Gustard Wood which were already hamlets by the seventeenth century had both been enlarged by 1799, when Samuel Wilson had a cotton manufactory on the west side of Gustard Wood Common. There may have been a few more cottages at Bower Heath and there were the two brickgrounds, of Richard Dunham and John Whitbread, on Nomansland near Amwell. Some farms and cottages were altered or enlarged. Herons, Delaport and Lattimores were all altered externally or cased in brick. Down Green House was enlarged from a two-room cottage soon after 1800.

HARPENDEN, unlike Wheathampstead, seems to have had no pre-Conquest nucleus, but in the early thirteenth century a church stood by the roadside at the northern end of the Common. The area between the church and Leyton Green made a convenient meeting place and market centre for farmers from outlying farms. Building along the sides of the Common created streets. As the central area was built upon, Church Green and Leyton Green were divided from Harpenden Green, as the Common was called, and the High Street and Leyton Road were separated. This kind of infilling is typical of many Hertfordshire towns. By the middle of the seventeenth century there were houses along the east side of the High Street from Southdown Road to beyond Sun Lane, though there were probably open spaces between some of them. There were houses on the west side from 72 High Street, south round Church Green and Leyton Green and along Leyton Road as far as Coach Lane Cottage. The old road to St. Albans took this line. The description of a house at the bottom of Amenbury Lane as next Harpenden Green in 1619 implies a continuous open space to the east and the south. The island site, between Leyton Road and the High Street, may still have been open in the seventeenth century. It is unlikely that the George, which existed as an inn (p. 167) was on its present site.

The centre of Harpenden in 1799 had taken on a much more built up appearance. The two main island sites were occupied by cottages, houses and gardens and a few business premises. The George, owned by Mrs. Jane Boff, was the southernmost building with a garden on its south side. North of it were John Basil's cottage, garden and orchard, and Mrs. Samuel Basil's grocer's shop. On the larger island, which covered much the same ground as today, were Gilbert Surrey's house and blacksmith's shop, Thomas Yarrow's house and bakers' shop and another house and cottage. There were two island sites in 1799 which have since disappeared. Jacob Lattimore's 'Sawpitt and Shop on the Green' were south-east of the present war

memorial; and Charles Tidd's 'Carpenters Shop (was) on Harpenden Green near Yew Tree Farm'. This kind of expansion continued: the Tithe map of 1843 shows an isolated site consisting of 'five tenements on the waste', which was shown in 1799 as a garden; it is now a hotel (Harpenden Arms, formerly The Railway Hotel). Such changes became common in the nineteenth century.

There was a considerable group of new buildings around Church Green in 1799: the Workhouse (p. 153), almshouses (p. 152), three cottages and a property of Mr. William Simmons comprising two dwelling houses and a maltings. This latter, known more recently as Bachelors' Row, had a long frontage on the west of the Green. After demolition in the early 1960s, these were replaced by shops and flats. Mrs. Mary Lee's mansion house between Church Green and Leyton Green remains in the twentieth century as the private house that is part of Anscombe's site. Between this house and Simmons' property, there were several smaller dwellings, 'in the Dell Hole'. There are still a few eighteenth century buildings in the centre of Harpenden. The Cross Keys and its neighbour, 41 High Street, are examples, as is Rivers Lodge further south. Older houses were changed substantially: new fronts were added to Church Green Cottage on Leyton Green, and to an originally timber-framed house which, with further alterations through the years, has become the Moat House Hotel.

Outlying parts of Harpenden were also growing: Whip Cottage, Kinsbourne Green, and one or two of its neighbours were built about this time. Typical of what was happening is the admission of Samuel Lines as 'tenant to all that new erected cottage or Tenement lately built on Harpenden Common . . . near Coach Lane End', at the court baron of Thomas Wittewronge in 1753. On the east side of the Common at Bowling Alley there were new small properties; and there had been some infilling and subdividing of existing buildings at Hatching Green.

In the 1660s five families in each village had lived in large houses with eight or more fireplaces (p. 84); in the 1750s and 1780s there were ten rich taxpayers in each village (see Table 3 facing p. 145). However, during these thirty years, the estates of Lamer, Rothamsted and Harpenden Hall passed to distant relatives, and Turners Hall was sold. The Smyths stopped living at Annables and let it as a farm house to the Bassils. It is reputed to have been burnt down and rebuilt more modestly. Two other important local families disappeared from the area in the 1780s. The Neales, who had been at Hammondsend since the sixteenth century, sold up in 1785, and the Ashbys, who had acquired Aldwick Manor (Piggotts) at the end of the seventeenth century, left it between 1783 and 1792. In the last decades of the eighteenth century the owners or occupiers of all the gentlemen's estates in both parishes had new names although most of them were descendants, through the female line, of the old families. At the same time new families were pushing their way

upwards. In 1744 the Grove came into the possession of the House family whose origins may have been very humble, but who became steadily richer and more prominent in local society until the third quarter of the nineteenth century. They combined land ownership with malting, brewing and the ownership of 'tied houses'.

It was in the 1760s that the male line of both Garrards and Wittewronges came to an end. In the absence of Wittewronge heirs, Rothamsted passed in 1763 to John Bennet, great-grandson of the elder James Wittewronge and first cousin of Thomas, the last Wittewronge. Thomas Wittewronge's mother, Anne Bennet, was the daughter of Thomas Bennet, a London publisher of note who had married the elder James Wittewronge's daughter, Elizabeth. John Bennet and his sister Mary, who married Thomas Lawes, were the only surviving Wittewronge heirs, great-great-grandchildren of Sir John Wittewronge. John Bennet had no children and the estate passed in 1783 to his nephew, John Bennet Lawes, though the widow, Sarah Bennet, had possession of Rothamsted until her death in 1801. Thomas Lawes bought Bennetts in 1785 for his seventeen year old son. Sir Benet Garrard died in 1767 without male heirs. Charles Drake, a remote cousin, inherited and took the Garrard surname. When Charles Drake Garrard grew up, he made his home at Lamer, where he and his descendants lived until after the Second World War. The biggest change among the local gentry concerned the Jenkins of Harpenden Hall. The considerable property belonging to this family was merged and redivided in different ways several times during the eighteenth century. By 1780 it was divided between Jenkin Reading and his cousin, William Pym. It was finally sold in the late nineteenth century, as the Packe and Pym estate. The St. Nicholas estate (The Avenues) was built on part of it.

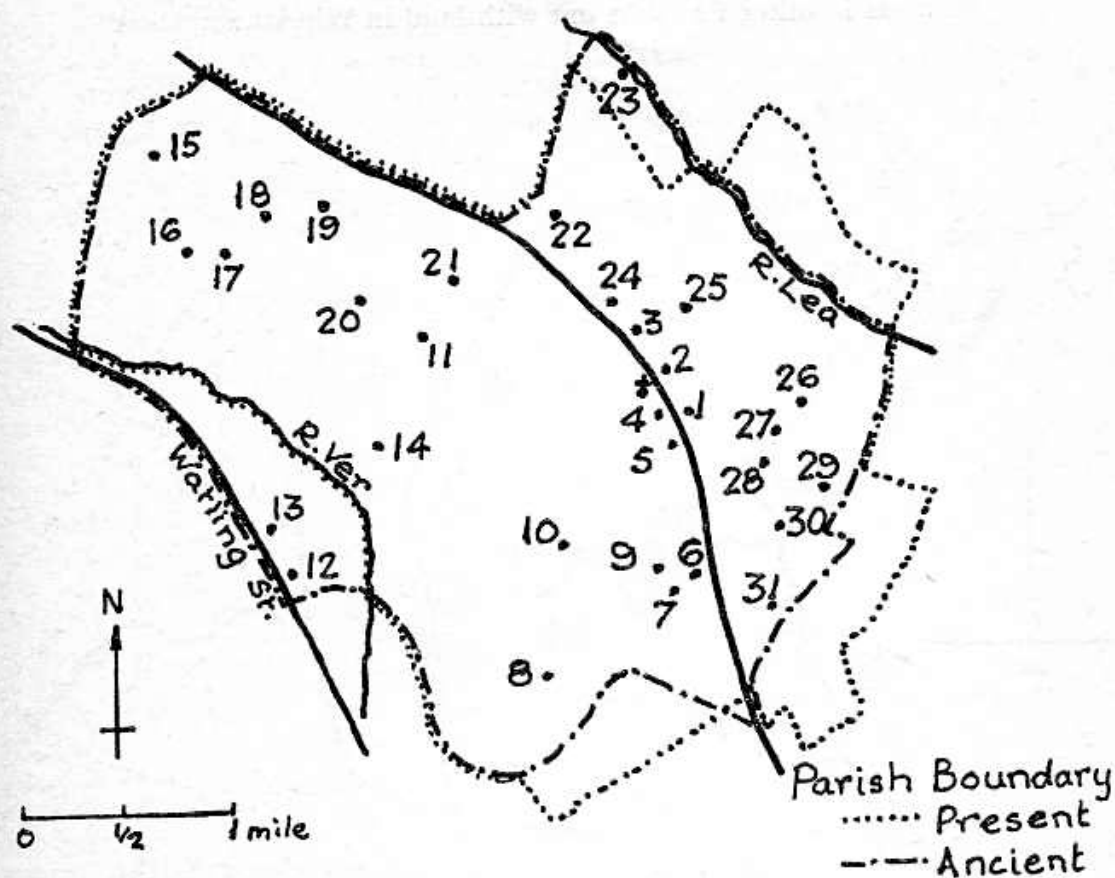
There were not only many changes of ownership; there was also much leasing. Rothamsted was let on several occasions to peers and in 1767, because Charles Drake was only twelve, Lamer was let to Lord Mount Stuart. The house and grounds had to be put in order first. Mrs. Jane Royston was paid £14.13s.9½d in 1767 'for looking after Lamer House'; carpenters' and glaziers' work was paid for and nails bought. In 1767-8 there were similar bills as well as others for bricks, tiles, lime, painting, iron casements, and 'for Morocco Leather' [H.C.R.O. 27424/1]. Lord Mount Stuart paid his first half year's rent in 1768, £113, for 'Lamer House, Garden and Pleasure Grounds' and for 'Two Closes of pasture Land called the Warren and Bibshall Park'. His style of living must have been beyond that of his neighbours. The militia lists between 1767 and 1772 give some of his servants: two coachmen, a groom, two riders, a postilion, a butler and many footmen. In contrast, at Rothamsted, John Bennet had only a coachman and a footman, and the Reynolds, who were renting Mackerye End, had only a footman and a groom. There may well have been other, older servants, not listed in the militia returns.

Some of the larger houses in both villages were enlarged or altered. Part of the Grove was rebuilt in 1712 and Aldwick Manor (Piggotts) was completely encased in brick, and a dovecote built early in the eighteenth century; it was altered again in 1815. In the same year, the new rectory was built behind Wheathampstead church (p. 118). Lamer was greatly enlarged by the last Sir Samuel Garrard in 1760-1 (p. 148) but its handsome frontage was removed in the late 1940s. John Bennet had ambitious plans for his new property: a plan of about 1770 survives which shows how totally different Rothamsted might have been if he had gone ahead. It is reputed that the stables at Bennetts were built in preparation for a visit of the Prince Regent. Bowers House was given its beautiful brick facade. The house which the Neales had built at Hammondsend in about 1690 was left untouched by its new owner, Frederick Vandermeulen, but he revived the medieval name Inges.

Although the local power of the squires, Garrards and Lawes, lasted through the nineteenth century, they and people like them lived in a changing England as industrialisation and its effects spread. Some like Sir John Bennet Lawes adapted to the new society, while new families prospered and others came to live in the district.

Appendix EIGHT (a)

Farms in Harpenden



1. Harpenden Hall
2. Bowers House
3. George
4. Yew Tree
5. Bull Inn
6. Hatching Green
7. Plovers
8. Hammonds End
9. Old
10. Rothamsted Manor
11. Whitlocks End
12. Scout
13. Bylands
14. Harpendenbury
15. Poplars

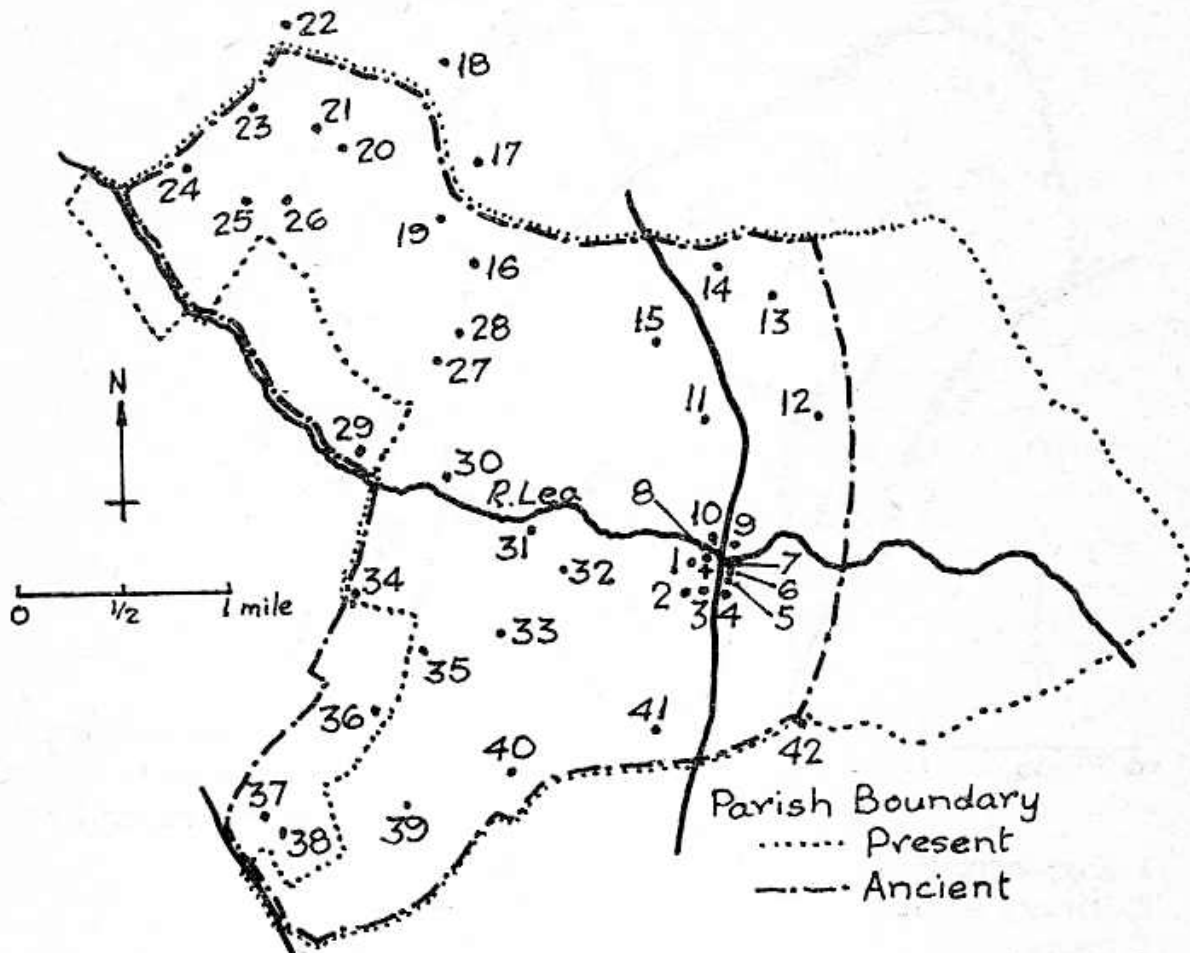
16. Turners Hall
17. Annables
18. Dove House
19. Pollards
20. Faulkners End
21. Wood End
22. Cooters End
23. Ashwell Bridge
24. Envy Hall
25. Bowers Hall
26. Upper Top Street
27. Top Street
28. Lower Top Street
29. Rough Hyde
30. Bowling Alley
31. Limbrick

N.B.: 3 is shown on the wrong side of the road; it should be to the north-west of 4.

Appendix EIGHT (b)

Farms in Wheathampstead

* Farms in other Parishes but with land in Wheathampstead



- | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Bury | 15. Herons | 29. Bonny Boys |
| 2. Brewery | 16. Turners Hall | 30. Castle |
| 3. Swan Inn | 17. Porters End* | 31. Leasy Bridge |
| 4. Town | 18. Tallents* | 32. Down Green |
| 5. Maltings | 19. Raisins | 33. Pipers |
| 6. Bell Inn | 20. Dane | 34. Aldwick |
| 7. Bull Inn | 21. Hill | 35. The Grove |
| 8. Old Rectory | 22. Great Plummers* | 36. Cross |
| 9. Wheat'stead Place | 23. Little Cutts | 37. Bamville Wood |
| 10. Wheat'stead Mill | 24. Great Cutts | 38. Bamville |
| 11. Delaport | 25. Barpightle | 39. Ayres End |
| 12. Lamer Home | 26. Bower Heath | 40. West End |
| 13. Lamer House | 27. Mackerye House | 41. Nomansland |
| 14. Astridge | 28. Mackerye End | 42. Lower Beech Hyde* |

Appendix EIGHT (c)

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, 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
WM DEARMORE		H		1651	315/11/ 8	269/11/ 2	40/ 5/ 6	
WM WHITLOCK	T	H	1652	1652	29/11/ 8	3/13/ 4	10/ 8/ 4	10/ 0/ 0
JOHN BROCKET	E	W	1656	1659				
EDW CHRISTMAS	I	W	1657	1658				
WM SEABROOKE	B	W	1658	1659				
NATHAN COTTON	G	H	1658	1661				
JOS BELDON	Y	H	1658	1661				
WM NORTH	G	W	1660	1662				
THO SIBLEY	Y	H	1661					
ANNE NICHOLLS	W	H	1662	1663	11/17/ 4			
NIC KILBY	H	H	1662	1662	25/11/ 0	18/ 5/ 0	6/ 0/ 0	
THO GRUNWIN	Y	W	1662	1662	443/ 7/ 2	369/10/ 0	59/ 0/ 0	8/10/ 6
RICH GRUNWIN	Y	H	1663	1663	557/ 0/ 0	401/ 0/ 0	72/ 0/ 0	55/ 0/ 0
GEO EAST	H	H	1663	1666	17/ 4/ 4	9/ 1/ 0	7/ 3/ 4	
AGNES CUTT	W	H	1663					
ANNIE NICHOLLS	W	H	1665					
ROB DEVENISH	G	W	1666	1667	294/10/ 0	156/10/ 0	118/ 0/ 0	
EDM NEALE	Y	H	1670	1677				
GODMAN JENKIN	G	H	1670	1670				
GEO CATLIN	H	H	1671	1673	37/10/ 8	1/ 0/ 0	17/10/ 8	17/ 0/ 0
WM SHIPPARD	Co	H		1671	31/12/ 6 ¹	9/ 0/ 0	22/12/ 6	
MARY NICHOLLS	W	H	1673	1673	42/ 0/ 0 ²	1/ 0/ 0	16/ 0/ 0	
WM BROCKET	G	W	1675	1676				
WM SIBLEY	Y	H	1676	1676				
SAM SMITH	Me	W	1678	1678	89/19/ 2	70/16/ 0	15/16/ 6	
WM KILBY	H	H	1678	1678				
NATH EELES		H	1678	1679				
SARAH CATLIN	W	H	1678	1681	7/ 6/ 6		6/ 6/ 6	
TIM LINES	H	H	1678	1680	11/ 5/ 0			
MAT HARDING	Y	W	1678	1678	514/14/ 6	433/ 7/ 0	47/ 7/ 6	24/ 0/ 0
EDW HAYWARD	H	H	1679					
GEO HOLLEY	Ch	W	1679	1679	5/19/ 7			
WM COTTON	E	H	1679	1679				
FRAN WELLS	We	W	1679	1681	17/16/ 0	2/15/ 0	5/ 8/ 6	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
EDM SMYTH	E	H	1683	1684				
WM LAWRENCE	Y	W	1685	1694	77/ 6/ 4	68/13/ 6	3/12/10	
JOS LINES	B	H	1686	1694				
THO WHITLOCK	Y	H	1687					
JONAS BRAY	Y	H	1689	1690	186/ 0/ 0	184/ 0/ 0		
JEREMIAH HART	Ca	W	1690					
THO NICHOLS	Y	H	1691	1691				
ANNE SMYTH	W	H	1693	1694	700/15/ 7 ³	259/15/ 7	16/ 0/ 0	
MARIA MARSHALL	W	H	1694	1694	28/ 8/ 0		28/ 8/ 0	
JOS HOUSE	H	W	1694	1695	16/ 7/ 0	9/ 1/ 0	6/ 6/ 0	
FRAN SIBLEY	Y	W	1694	1694	7/12/ 6		6/ 2/ 6	
GEO EAST	H	H	1695	1695	12/ 5/ 6	4/11/ 0	6/ 4/ 6	
MARY MARSHALL	S	H	1697	1698				
ABR WHITLOCK	Y	H	1699	1715				
HEN NICHOLLS	Bk	H	1703					
WM WEATHERED	Y	W	1706	1706	418/10/ 0	392/ 0/ 0	21/10/ 0	
WM EDWARDS	I	H	1707	1719	151/10/ 0 ⁴	70/11/ 6	33/ 2/ 6	
STEPHEN HAWKINS	T	W	1709	1709	12/19/ 0	1/ 9/ 0	2/17/ 0	
SARAH NICHOLLS	W	H	1710	1716				
MARY SIBLEY	W	W	1710	1710	717/18/ 8	391/18/ 6	32/12/10	289/17/ 4
ROB KING	Bu	W	1712	1713	24/ 5/10		11/15/ 1	8/ 0/ 0
DANIEL TIDD	Ca	W	1712	1714	19/18/10	7/17/ 4	9/15/ 6	
JOHN KING	Bu	W	1715	1715	44/ 8/ 6	4/15/ 0	10/ 3/ 6	25/10/ 0
THO ADAMS	Y	W	1716	1716	102/ 0/ 0	23/10/ 0	29/10/ 0	40/ 0/ 0
JOHN LAWRENCE	Y	W	1721	1722	13/10/ 0		3/ 0/ 0	10/10/ 0 ⁵
EDW POULTER	Y	H		1742	475/ 5/ 0	433/ 8/ 6	34/16/ 6	

1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
JAS MARSHALL	Y	H	1719	1722	WM SMITH	Br	H	1754	1764
WM SIBLEY	Y	H	1721	1722	JOHN HOUSE	G	W	1755	1755
JOHN MALEING	Y	H	1722		EDW SIBLEY	Y	H	1759	1759
GEO EAST	Y	H	1728	1729	JOHN LINES	F	H	1768	1769
SOLOMON SMITH	Y	H	1732		AND NICHOLLS	Y	H	1771	1775
ISAAC NICHOLLS	H	H	1739		ANN POWELL	S	H	1771	1775
ELIZ NICHOLLS	S	H	1739		JOHN ANDREW	Y	H	1779	1787
ALICE NICHOLLS	W	H	1741		ISAAC HOUSE	G	W	1794	1794
WM SIBLEY	Y	H	1745		WM SMITH	Br	H	1796	
DEBORAH SMITH	W	H	1749						

Symbols used in column 2 B, blacksmith; Bk, baker; Bu, butcher; Br, brickmaker; Ca, carpenter; Ch, chapman; Co, cordwainer; E, esquire; F, farmer; G, gentleman; H, husbandman; I, innkeeper; Me, mealman; P/C, parish clerk; S, spinster; W, widow; Y, yeoman.

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

Numbers in columns 6 and 9 1, he left debts owing of £31/14/8; 2, includes £20+ in money; 3, £420 lease of 6 closes and 30 acres; 4, £42/6/6 of inn equipment; 5, including apparel.

