

THE IMPACT OF AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION
AND LAND OWNERSHIP CHANGE ON THE
COUNTY OF HERTFORDSHIRE, c.1870-1914

Julie Patricia Moore

Submitted to the University of Hertfordshire in partial fulfilment of the requirements
of the degree of PhD

September 2010

ABSTRACT

The focus of this research has been on how the county of Hertfordshire negotiated the economic, social and political changes of the late nineteenth century. A rural county sitting within just twenty miles of the nation's capital, Hertfordshire experienced agricultural depression and a falling rural population, whilst at the same time seeing the arrival of growing numbers of wealthy, professional people whose economic focus was on London but who sought their own little patch of the rural experience. The question of just what constituted that rural experience was played out in the local newspapers and these give a valuable insight into how the farmers of the county sought to establish their own claim to be at the heart of the rural, in the face of an alternative interpretation which was grounded in urban assumptions of the social value of the countryside as the stable heart of the nation. The widening of the franchise, increased levels of food imports and fears over the depopulation of the villages reduced the influence of farmers in directing the debate over the future of the countryside. This study is unusual in that it builds a comprehensive picture of how agricultural depression was experienced in one farming community, before considering how farmers' attempts to claim ownership of the 'special' place of the rural were unsuccessful economically, socially and politically.

Hertfordshire had a long tradition of attracting the newly wealthy looking to own a country estate. Historians have suggested that in the late nineteenth century there was a shift in how such men understood ownership of these estates, showing little enthusiasm for the traditional paternalistic responsibilities; in the face of a declining political and social premium attached to landownership, their interest lay purely in the leisure and sporting opportunities of the rural. However, as this research will show, the newly wealthy were not immune to that wider concern with social stability, and they engaged with their local environment in meaningful ways, using their energies and wealth to fund a range of social improvements.

This research extends our understanding of just how the rhetoric of the rural was experienced by the residents of a county which so many saw as incorporating the best of the 'south country'. In so doing, it makes a significant contribution to our knowledge of how this period of agricultural depression was interpreted by the wider nation, and the impact on social and cultural understanding of the place of the countryside within the national identity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work has been guided by the encouragement, support and academic insights of three supervisors, and I would like to thank Professors Nigel Goose and Owen Davies, (University of Hertfordshire), and Professor Matthew Cragoe, (University of Sussex), for all their help, patience and good humour in bringing it to fruition.

I would like to thank the members of the History Department of the University of Hertfordshire and all those who attended the Cumberland Lodge conferences for always lending an ear to the latest struggle and their good conversations which helped to keep the whole thing rolling along.

I would also like to thank the staff of Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies at Hertford, and the British Newspaper Library at Colindale for all their help in locating sources and dealing with recalcitrant microfilm readers.

Many enthusiastic local historians have responded to my queries and I would particularly like to thank Edward Barclay of Brent Pelham, Lieutenant Colonel John Sainsbury of Welwyn Garden City, Steve Warner of Tring and Geoffrey Woollard of Ely for their help.

Finally, to all my family and friends who have shared in the ups and downs, I would like to say thank you for all your support. I could not have done it without you.

CONTENTS

	Page No.
Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
List of Tables	5
List of Appendices	7
List of Maps	8
List of Abbreviations	9
Chapter 1. The Impact of Agricultural Depression and Social Change on the Rural World, c.1870-1914	10
Chapter 2. The Changing Landscapes of the County of Hertfordshire	48
Chapter 3. The Farmers of Hertfordshire	85
Chapter 4. The new wealthy and their understanding of the county	143
Chapter 5. The Political Climate of the County	188
Chapter 6. Conclusion	242
Appendices	256
Bibliography	326

List of Tables

		Page No.
2.1	Population change in Hertfordshire 1851-1901 by Registration District	51
2.2	Population per Rural District, 1901	57
2.3	Size of agricultural holdings in Hertfordshire and England, 1881	64
2.4	Comparison of farm sizes for the Registration Districts of Berkhamsted, Hatfield & Royston as declared in the 1871 census returns	65
2.5	Landownership within the county	71
2.6	Source of family or personal wealth for the High Sheriffs of Hertfordshire, 1870-1900	74
2.7	Pattern of office holding amongst High Sheriffs of Hertfordshire, 1870-1900	75
3.1	Five year averages of corn crops imported into the United Kingdom	88
3.2	Percentage change in average acreage of land under wheat, barley, oats and permanent pasture in England and Hertfordshire, 1870-1910	90
3.3	Arable farms unoccupied as at June 1881	97
3.4	Numbers of farmers recorded as bankrupt in the <i>London Gazette</i> , 1870-1913	99
3.5	Bankruptcies amongst farmers within Hertfordshire by district, 1870-1913	100
3.6	Combined bankruptcies of farmers, millers and corn merchants within Hertfordshire by district, 1870-1913	101
3.7	Agricultural holdings by size in Hertfordshire	105
3.8	Farmers occupying 1,000 acres and more in 1881	106
3.9	Hertfordshire farmers appearing in the census born in Scotland, Devon or Cornwall	110

List of Tables (continued)

		Page No.
3.10	Combined presence of Scottish farmers and farm bailiffs	112
3.11	Geographical distribution of Hertfordshire farmers born in Scotland, Devon or Cornwall, 1871-1911	113
4.1	Individual public spending initiatives in Hertfordshire, 1870-1914	153
4.2	Individual public spending initiatives in Hertfordshire consolidated by social class and occupation, 1870-1914	161
4.3	Golf clubs established by 1912	182
5.1	Hertfordshire election results, 1880-1900	193
5.2	Registered voters, 1885-1900	194

List of Appendices

		Page No.
2A	Population of Hertfordshire 1851-1901 by Registration County, Registration District and Parish	256
2B	Population change in Hertfordshire 1851-1901	260
2C	Population and acreage of rural Hertfordshire 1901	265
2D	Owners of estates of 1,000 acres or more in Hertfordshire	269
2E	Businessmen buying estates within the county of Hertfordshire	273
2F	References for Hertfordshire census returns 1871-1901	274
2G	Pattern of office holding amongst the High Sheriffs of Hertfordshire, 1870-1900	279
2H	High Sheriffs of Hertfordshire and the source of their wealth, 1870-1900	280
2I	Classes of landownership as defined by Bateman, 1883	282
3A	Quantities returned and average prices per imperial quarter realised of arable crops at returning markets within Hertfordshire, 1880-1913	283
3B	Average price at market for corn crops (per imperial quarter), 1870-1910	286
3C	Livestock returns for Hertfordshire and England, 1870-1914	287
3D	Grain and flour imported into the United Kingdom, 1870-1910	289
3E	Five year averages for acreage of land under wheat, barley, oats and permanent pasture in England and Hertfordshire, 1870-1914	290
3F	Acreage under wheat, barley, oats and permanent pasture in England, 1870-1914	291
3G	Acreage under wheat, barley, oats and permanent pasture in Hertfordshire, 1870-1914	293
3H	Farmers recorded as bankrupt in the <i>London Gazette</i> , 1870-1913	295

List of Appendices (continued)

		Page No.
3I	Millers, corn merchants and dealers recorded as bankrupt in the <i>London Gazette</i> , 1870-1913	300
3J	Farmers born in Scotland, Devon and Cornwall resident in Hertfordshire, 1871-1911	302
3K	Scottish farmers resident in Hertfordshire, 1871-1911	303
3L	Cornish farmers resident in Hertfordshire, 1871-1911	307
3M	Devon farmers resident in Hertfordshire, 1871-1911	310
3N	Farming members of the County War Agricultural Committee, 1916-1918	312
4A	Individual public spending initiatives in Hertfordshire, 1870-1914	313
4B	Individual public spending initiatives in Hertfordshire by social class & occupation, 1870-1914	322

List of Maps

		Between pages
Map 1.	Lines of Communication in Hertfordshire, c.1900	49-50
Map 2.	Houses of peers and commoners with estates greater than 3,000 acres resident in Hertfordshire	73-74

List of Abbreviations

Newspapers and Journals

<i>Baily's Fox-Hunting Directory</i>	<i>Baily's</i>
<i>Country Life Illustrated</i>	CLI
<i>East Herts and West Essex News</i>	EHWEN
<i>Estates Gazette</i>	EG
<i>Hemel Hempstead Gazette</i>	HHG
<i>Hertfordshire Advertiser and St. Albans Times</i>	HASAT
<i>Hertfordshire Almanac</i>	HA
<i>Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire Reporter</i>	HCR
<i>Hertfordshire and Essex Observer</i>	HEO
<i>Hertfordshire Constitutional Magazine</i>	HCM
<i>Hertfordshire Express</i>	HE
<i>Hertfordshire Guardian and Agricultural Journal</i>	HGAJ
<i>Hertfordshire Illustrated Review</i>	HIR
<i>Hertfordshire Mercury</i>	HM
<i>Hertfordshire Standard</i>	HS
<i>Kelly's Trade Directory for Hertfordshire</i>	<i>Kelly's</i>
<i>London Gazette</i>	LG
<i>North Hertfordshire and South Bedfordshire Journal</i>	NHSBJ
<i>Quarterly Review</i>	QR
<i>The Royston Crow</i>	RC
<i>Transactions of the East Herts Archaeological Society</i>	TEHAS
<i>Watford Observer</i>	WO
<i>West Hertfordshire Post</i>	WHP

Record Offices

Hertfordshire County Record Office	HCRO
London Metropolitan Archives	LMA

Chapter 1. The Impact of Agricultural Depression and Social Change on the Rural World, 1870-1914

Introduction

This chapter will set a context for the thesis, exploring some of the different historiographical threads of relevance to the county of Hertfordshire in the latter decades of the nineteenth century and into the early years of the twentieth. The following sections will consider the particular economic problems experienced by arable farmers in the period 1880-1914, setting them within a wider picture of change to the understanding of the traditional rural partnership of the agricultural interest, and moving beyond the immediate rural world to show how increasingly it was the urban imagination which became the dominant influence on the development of the countryside. If the arrival of Scots and Cornish farmers had implications for local economies, then equally the arrival of those from the towns who brought their own perceptions of rural life, 'seeing it as a picturesque and peaceful backwater from the hurly-burly of the urban world,'¹ would introduce potential sources of conflict, as they sought to impose their own as the dominant view of the 'real' countryside. However, it was not just those who relocated to the towns and villages of rural England who were influential, but also those who saw the countryside increasingly as a national resource, timeless and unchanging, fulfilling a function which went beyond its economic role, in part 'an urban amenity,'² but also as something solid which stood at the heart of a nation in flux, a source of national strength, both spiritual and physical, which the major political parties sought to appropriate for their own purposes.

The Farmers and Agricultural Depression

In 1892 a contributor to the *Hertfordshire Illustrated Review*, William H. Aylen, called for special measures to restore the fortunes of the nation's farming industry with the following plea:

¹ P. Horn, *Rural Life in England in the First World War* (Dublin, 1984), p.21.

² A. Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England: A Social History 1850-1925* (London, 1992), p.117.

Since 1875 every kind of farm produce has fallen in value, and in several years has very greatly fallen. So widespread and profound is the calamity now that owners and occupiers of land are overwhelmed with astonishment and dismay. The whole head of the agricultural interest is sick, and the whole heart faint. Landlords, tenants, and labourers, are face to face with absolute collapse, wreck, and ruin.³

He was in no doubt that there was a depression in agriculture which was universal in scope, an understanding which his contemporaries and the generations of historians which followed largely shared, but which was challenged from the 1960s onwards and explained as the result of successful special pleading on the part of a few influential arable landowners. T.W. Fletcher began the debate when he showed how the livestock producers of Lancashire benefited from the reduced cost of animal feed, and went on to challenge the reality of a universal depression in agriculture which followed the poor harvests of the late 1870s, posing the question:

to what extent was the period really as tragic as the orthodox picture claims? Have the agonised cries of corn-growers and the simple symbolism of the wheat prices continued to hypnotize twentieth-century observers as they did nineteenth century participants?⁴

Much of the work which followed sought to test the 'Fletcher effect' in counties beyond his original study of Lancashire; even in arable-dependent areas such as Essex and Hertfordshire there were farmers who were able to respond to market signals and make a profit in the face of falling prices and overseas competition. However, as F.M.L. Thompson has written:

³ W.H. Ayles, 'The Poor and Protection', *Hertfordshire Illustrated Review*, Vol.1, (January 1893), pp.27-30, p. 27.

⁴ T.W. Fletcher, 'The Great Depression of English Agriculture 1873-96', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series Vol.13, (1960), pp.417-432, T.W. Fletcher, 'Lancashire Livestock Farming during the Great Depression', *Agricultural History Review*, Vol.9, No.1 (1961), pp.17-42, reprinted in P.J. Perry, (ed.), *British Agriculture 1875-1914* (London, 1973), p.103.

the vocabulary of depression, and the despondent flavour of ill-fortune and failure, have never disappeared from accounts of agriculture after the mid-1870s, despite the work of the revisionists,⁵

and P.J. Perry has argued that historians have, 'in rejecting the general idea of depression, also disregarded the reality of agricultural distress.'⁶

Alun Howkins has written that, in terms of questions asked and answers given, 'the dominant orthodoxy of academic rural history, certainly since the 1950s, has been shaped by economic history.' While this brings a rigour to rural studies it has a limiting effect, 'creating a language derived from economic theory which excludes or devalues other ways of looking at the materials of rural and agricultural history.'⁷ The research of Hunt and Pam demonstrated the value of understanding the economic pressures suffered by and the subsequent responses of a farming community under pressure.⁸ Their work sought to challenge the perception of British farmers as inadequate in their response to depression by focussing on groups of parishes in Essex, a county which, for contemporaries, was synonymous with depression. Their conclusion was that farm managers throughout the county showed an awareness of signals from the market and a willingness to adapt, contingent upon local knowledge and conditions. Thus, where rail transport was easily accessed, shifting into liquid milk production made sense, while in other areas the switch was to livestock, or costs were cut to make arable pay, albeit often at a very low rate of return. However, while seeing the choices on land use as reflecting an understanding of market forces, Hunt and Pam gave no details of the men and women who oversaw these changes, and it is in addressing this aspect that we are able to observe the wider, social impact of the depression at a local level, which had implications beyond just the farmers concerned. A study by E.J.T. Collins of the Orsett estate in southern Essex concluded that by the end of the depression only one of the tenants of an

⁵ F.M.L. Thompson, 'An Anatomy of English Agriculture 1870-1914' in B.A. Holderness and M. Turner, (eds.), *Land, Labour and Agriculture, 1700-1920. Essays for Gordon Mingay* (London, 1991), pp.211-240, p.211.

⁶ Perry, *British Agriculture*, p.xli.

⁷ A. Howkins, 'Deserters from the Plough', *History Today*, Vol.43, (February 1993), pp.32-38, p.36.

⁸ E.H. Hunt and S.J. Pam, 'Managerial Failure in Late Victorian Britain?: Land Use and English Agriculture', *Economic History Review*, Vol.54, No.2 (2001), pp.240-266.

estate comprising more than thirty farms, could claim to have been in occupation prior to 1860, and in Essex, as in Hertfordshire, the newer arrivals were very likely of Scots or Cornish origin, bringing new cropping and farming patterns with them.⁹

Did this really matter? Was it not the survival of the farm rather than the farmer which was crucial? Barry Reay has highlighted the central role that farmers took within their locality:

the farmers were the 'little kings' of village life, a kind of pseudo-gentry in many nineteenth-century rural parishes. They were the power brokers of local society with whom the labouring population had most contact. They were the major employers.¹⁰

Thus, while the farm might survive, the introduction of new personnel with new ways of doing things could create a dynamic within the local economy which had repercussions beyond the formal working day. Subsistence practices such as informal charity, petty thieving or 'perks', and customs such as gleaning were all an important part of the survival strategies of labouring families, and the attitude of farmers towards such practices was crucial for those for whom they were a lifeline;¹¹ one Hertfordshire labourer recalled that the local farmer was well aware the men were lifting turnips from the fields, but so long as they did not take liberties he would turn a blind eye.¹² Yet that atmosphere of depression which influenced the understanding of men such as William Aylen was built out of such things as the changing faces they encountered in the farmhouse and at the market, and the new cropping patterns they passed in the fields, and the disappearing labourer in the cottage.

As historians since Fletcher have shown, while the overall contribution of the farming industry to national wealth was falling, 'a declining or contracting agriculture was not

⁹ E.J.T. Collins, *The Orsett Estate, 1743-1914* (Grays, 1978), p.71.

¹⁰ B. Reay, *Microhistories. Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge, 1996), p.18.

¹¹ Reay, *Microhistories*, p.119.

¹² J. Wilkerson, *Two Ears of Barley. Chronicle of an English Village* (Royston, 1969), p.59. Jack Wilkerson was born in 1868 and this reminiscence he dated c.1870s.

necessarily a depressed agriculture.¹³ The contribution of agricultural income (that is wages plus profits) to the net national income fell from 20 per cent in 1855-59, to 13 per cent in 1870-74, to 6 per cent in 1895-99.¹⁴ These figures reflected the fact that the role of agriculture within the national economy had been declining in importance from mid-century as the manufacturing and service sectors expanded. However, as Richard Perren has concluded, this shift in the place of agriculture within the wider economy had gone unnoticed by farmers in the years leading up to the depression as agricultural output had been expanding in line with wider economic growth, thus masking an overall trend of which they only became truly aware following the onset of the rains in 1875.¹⁵ Thus, as Perry has written, the agricultural depression was 'a phenomenon as much of change as of decay,'¹⁶ a continuation of that adaptive process which F.M.L. Thompson highlighted as key to the Second Agricultural Revolution, namely the move towards identifying and catering for profitable markets, making 'the operations of the farmer much more like those of the factory owner.'¹⁷

If then the farming industry was not dying, but in the process of realigning itself in the face of changes within the world economy, why were commentators so convinced that they were seeing the demise of agriculture in this country? In part this was due to the success of the arable lobby in setting the agenda. The Royal Commission on the Depressed State of the Agricultural Interests whose report was published in 1882, was led by landowners who were prominent in the south and midlands, and of the 35 farmers who gave evidence, 26 came from the 'corn' counties.¹⁸ They brought to the proceedings an assumption of depression which coloured their examination of the different regions, and it is not surprising that they were able to find what they assumed was there to be found.

Yet if the arable districts were able to convince the nation as a whole of the depressed state of farming, this was due also to a wider, symbolic importance which cereal crops held in the national imagination. The ability of farmers to supply the

¹³ Thompson, 'Anatomy of Agriculture', p.218.

¹⁴ S.B. Saul, *The Myth of the Great Depression 1873-1896* (London, 1969), p.35.

¹⁵ R. Perren, *Agriculture in Depression* (Cambridge, 1995), p.6.

¹⁶ Perry, *British Agriculture*, p.xiv.

¹⁷ F.M.L. Thompson, 'The Second Agricultural Revolution 1815-1880', *Economic History Review*, Vol.21, No.1 (1968), pp.62-77, p.64.

¹⁸ Perren, *Agriculture in Depression*, p.11.

expanding population with food, and particularly bread, was seen as one of the success stories of Britain in the nineteenth century, a success story with its roots in the wars against the old enemy, France. Thus, when the fall in prices came, as F.M.L. Thompson has observed,

contemporaries were mesmerised by the catastrophic fall in cereal prices especially of wheat, the standard bearer of the farming world in the public eye, whose price was slashed in half in less than twenty years.¹⁹

In his study of the agricultural depression, J.A. Roberts linked the identification of the arable landscape with the national identity; economic indicators confirmed that arable England was experiencing real difficulties,

but because the 'south county' landscape of the home counties was established as a cherished expression of Englishness, depression was exaggerated spatially within the *fin de siècle* fatalism of the age to suggest the problem was national in extent.²⁰

While the arable lobby may have obscured the relative prosperity of other branches of the farming industry, it does seem clear that depression and distress were to be found in the cereal growing areas of the country. In a 'closed' economy, a fall in output, such as occurred following the seasons of atrocious weather and poor harvests after 1875, would be met with an increase in prices, thus cushioning the farming industry at a time of difficulty. However, overseas producers were able to maintain supplies of wheat and, indeed, increase their percentage share of a growing market. In 1872 imports made up 48.3% of the 98.1 million cwt of wheat on the British market; by 1902 this share had grown to 77% of a market of 140.1 million cwt. The declining market share of home producers was made worse by a fall in

¹⁹ Thompson, 'Anatomy of English Agriculture', p. 218.

²⁰ J.A. Roberts, *The Ruin of Rural England – an Interpretation of the Late Nineteenth Century Agricultural Depression, 1879-1914*, Unpublished PhD thesis University of Loughborough (1997), p.171.

prices. In 1873 wheat was fetching a price of 58s 8d per quarter, by 1888 this had fallen to 31s 10d per quarter, and in 1896 the price stood at 26s 2d.²¹ Other cereal products, such as barley and oats, experienced similar falls.

The short-term effects of poor weather, coupled with the longer-term trends of rising imports, hit the farmers to the east of James Caird's division of the country especially hard. These farms, particularly those on the heavy clay soils, were run on a high input, high return basis; they required capital to maintain a system which was expensive in terms of labour and fertilisers. When farmers sought to economise on these inputs, returns in the form of output fell, and, as capital was drained by the persistence of bad weather, responding to the change in circumstances became more difficult. Land which was too expensive to maintain was allowed to go out of cultivation, costs were cut where possible, and the physical manifestation of depression was there for all to see, farming and non-farming community alike, in the shape of uncleared ditches, rough pasture and weed infested fields; as F.M.L. Thompson concluded, 'what lay in ruins by the mid-1890s was the edifice of high farming'.²²

Thompson examined a series of statistics, including rent, farm output and labour employed, in order to map the extent of depression. Taking gross farm output for the period 1873-1911 at constant 1911 prices, he found that counties which suffered falls of more than 15% included the arable districts of Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Norfolk, Nottinghamshire and Oxfordshire, while the counties of Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Herefordshire, Huntingdonshire and Surrey saw falls of something approaching 25%. These falls in output compared with increases of as much as 20% in the counties of Cornwall, Cheshire, Lancashire, Shropshire and Somerset.²³

With both output and prices falling, farmers became vulnerable to what Thompson described as the 'money illusion'; people tend to measure their wealth by the single

²¹ Perren, *Agriculture in Depression*, pp.8-9. See also Appendix 3B 'Average price at market for corn crops (per imperial quarter) 1870-1910'.

²² F.M.L. Thompson, 'Free Trade and the Land' in G.E. Mingay, (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside* (London, 1981), pp.103-117, p.109.

²³ Thompson, 'Anatomy of English Agriculture', p.234.

factor of the money coming in, rather than the difference between income and expenditure.²⁴ Farmers had a poor reputation for keeping good accounts, therefore their focus may well have been on the falling returns on their produce; after all the very nature of what they took to market meant that their returns were not spread evenly over the year, but rather came all at once. Memory alone would serve to draw attention to the fall in prices from one year to the next.

How then to respond? Some did very little; the run of appalling seasons was important as not only did it mislead many farmers into believing that fortunes would improve when the sun shone, but also because it drained income at the start of what would prove to be a very difficult period. Some were unable to respond to the changing markets, and, as Perry noted, 'incompetence and misfortune were no doubt as much prime causes of individuals' problems during the depression as before,'²⁵ with farmers failing to sniff the way the economic wind was blowing. As Fletcher has argued, for arable farmers 'a certain rigidity, not merely of system but of mind, was the penalty paid by the third generation for the undoubted success of their forebears.'²⁶ Not all of these went out of business; many survived by reducing their labour costs, allowing fields to fall into rough pasture and cutting back on fertiliser costs. However, 'it was this kind of farming, without profit, spirit or satisfaction, which made so many of the younger generation look to other occupations for their own future.'²⁷ Some 'gentlemen' farmers were unwilling to continue under these circumstances:

it was a cultural response which conditioned men to think that they could live like gentry on 200 acres of wheat and, when prices fell, they seem to have abandoned farming rather than drop their standard of living significantly.²⁸

²⁴ Thompson, 'Anatomy of English Agriculture', p.212.

²⁵ Perry, *British Agriculture*, p.xxx.

²⁶ Fletcher, 'Great Depression', p.431.

²⁷ C. Orwin and E. Whetham, *History of British Agriculture 1846-1914* (Newton Abbot, 1971), p.265.

²⁸ Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*, p.150.

However, the criticism that farmers were too slow to change did not always play them fair. Farming was a long-term exercise and change could be risky; as Fletcher acknowledged, 'time was needed to distinguish an apparent cycle from an unmistakably secular trend.'²⁹ One Hertfordshire farmer, Benjamin Christy of Ashwell in the north of the county, reduced his barley acreage and increased his wheat following a fall in the barley price of 1881; the following year the barley price improved and the wheat fell. This same farmer, tenant of a 300 acre farm, also maintained a flock of 150 sheep, and it was the price of lambs at market which saw his income maintained; in 1879 the price of lambs at Royston market was £1 16s each, by 1883 the price was £2 15s each, yet he did not respond by increasing the size of his flock.³⁰ This farmer would seem to have seen his best hope of maintaining his income in spreading the risk, a practical consideration at a time when disease could wipe out a flock within a short space of time. Those who attributed the start of the depression to the cold, wet seasons of the late 1870s had memories also of the subsequent outbreaks of foot rot and liver fluke which reduced sheep numbers, together with epidemics of pleuro-pneumonia and foot and mouth among cattle.³¹

Arable farming could be made to pay. George Bayliss in Berkshire did away with the keeping of livestock and turned instead to the growing of corn continuously by the use of artificial manure, namely ammonia and phosphates. He was able to make a profit, spending around £90,000 out of his profits in buying the freeholds of previously rented farms.³² Both Daniel Hall and Henry Rider Haggard drew attention to a similar system in operation on Blount's Farm, near Sawbridgeworth in Hertfordshire, where John Prout and his son William were able to achieve a yield of 36 bushels of wheat per acre in 1895, compared to the average of 28 bushels for Great Britain and just over 26 bushels for Hertfordshire.³³ Prout held auctions on the farm for London buyers to inspect and then bid on the standing wheat, the buyers themselves being responsible for arranging the harvesting and transportation to the

²⁹ Fletcher, 'Great Depression', p.431.

³⁰ B.J. Davey, *Ashwell 1830-1914: The Decline of a Village Community* (Leicester, 1980), p.47.

³¹ J. Brown, *Agriculture in England: a Survey of Farming 1870-1947* (Manchester, 1987), p.4.

³² Orwin and Whetham, *British Agriculture*, p.217.

³³ A.D. Hall, 'Agriculture' in W. Page, (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertford Volume 2* (London, 1908), pp.129-139, pp.138-39. Daniel Hall was Director of Rothamsted Experimental Station 1902-1912, H. Rider Haggard, *Rural England. Being an Account of Agricultural and Social Researches Carried out in the Years 1901 and 1902, Volume I* (London, 1902), p.530.

London markets.³⁴ However, while criticising other farmers for not taking note of the achievement of John Prout, both Hall and Haggard acknowledged the part that geography had played in his success as without the demand for straw from the London buyers he would have found it difficult to sustain profits.³⁵

For those with access to urban markets there was the potential for profitable diversification. In his tour of Hertfordshire, Rider Haggard found evidence of shifts into both liquid milk and potato growing, crops which were also tried elsewhere.³⁶ In Berkshire, the number of cows increased by 34.7% between 1875 and 1900, and in Essex during the same period the figure increased by 55%³⁷. For those who were able to take advantage there were profits to be made as the demand for liquid milk rose in London alone by 25% each decade, 1880 to 1910, and the London 'milkshed' extended to a 200 mile radius.³⁸

Consumer demand was growing from a rising population experiencing real growth in income. Many farmers in the south were able to exploit this demand. On the light chalkland farms of Hampshire, where by 1874 some 86% of the agricultural land was in arable production, the depression should have spelt disaster. However, by shifting to a more flexible eight course crop rotation and moving into higher quality early lamb production, the farmers of this region were able to take advantage of a 'high value marketing niche.'³⁹ Demand was also apparent in other areas; hop growing expanded and 86 per cent of the hops produced for the brewing industry came from the hop fields of Kent, Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire.⁴⁰ In addition, Kent, East Sussex, Essex and Cambridgeshire saw an increase in the acreage under fruit. In Kent the acreage under soft fruit increased by around 80 per cent between 1887 and 1897,⁴¹ while Wisbech in Cambridgeshire moved from being wheat country into a fruit growing area, sending out around 15,000 tons of fruit a year to various cities by 1900. Jam factories such as those around Histon in Cambridgeshire and Tiptree in

³⁴ 'Mr. Prout's Crops', *HGAJ*, 1st August 1874. Prout made a real event of the auction, with a large luncheon preceding the sale of the standing crop, together with toasts and speeches from a range of invited guests.

³⁵ Hall, 'Agriculture', p.138.

³⁶ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.510.

³⁷ Brown, *Agriculture*, pp.49-50.

³⁸ Perren, *Agriculture in Depression*, p.13.

³⁹ B. Afton, 'The Great Agricultural Depression on the English Chalklands: the Hampshire Experience', *Agricultural History Review*, Vol.44, No.2 (1996), pp.191-205, p.205.

⁴⁰ Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*, p.143.

⁴¹ P. Horn, *The Changing Countryside in Victorian England and Wales* (London, 1984), p.71.

Essex responded to the increased crop and became major buyers of fruit.⁴² In 1908 Daniel Hall commented on the growth of the glasshouse farming of grapes, tomatoes and cucumbers in the east of Hertfordshire, with almost the whole Lea Valley as far as Hertford given over to this industry which had grown rapidly in the previous twenty years.⁴³ Poultry cramming expanded in Sussex as new techniques, a fall in the price of feed and improved rail links made this a viable business. Between 1885 and 1900 the value of poultry sent from one station alone, Heathfield, grew from around £60,000 a year to over £150,000.⁴⁴

Common to all these areas of expansion was access to good transport, usually the railway, but sometimes, as in the case of the glasshouses of the Lea valley, rivers or canals. Hall acknowledged the advantages of this district which benefited from fertile soil, a reliable water supply and good transport links into the capital.⁴⁵ Hunt and Pam noted that in Essex parishes the arrival of good rail connections meant a change in cropping patterns, with the acceleration of a shift from arable and stock into dairying wherever possible.⁴⁶ This change into dairy was very much associated in the minds of commentators with the arrival into the county of the land-hungry Scots, yet Hunt and Pam noted that native Essex farmers were already shifting into liquid milk before the Scots started arriving, an indication of the awareness by the former of the markets which would be so attractive to the latter as the century drew to its close.⁴⁷

When Rider Haggard, after interviewing a succession of Scots and Cornish farmers in Hertfordshire, asked where the 'home' people were he was told to look for them in the 'backwoods', by which was meant 'those districts which are a long way from the railway line or station, and therefore least desirable for the purposes of agriculture in this county.'⁴⁸ Haggard noticed the willingness of the newcomers to try something new; they had 'thrown over the old shibboleths', introduced potato growing which they combined with dairying, and laying down as much as thirty loads of London manure on each field.⁴⁹

⁴² Perren, *Agriculture in Depression*, p.14.

⁴³ Hall, 'Agriculture', p.136.

⁴⁴ Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*, p.144.

⁴⁵ Hall, 'Agriculture', p.136.

⁴⁶ Hunt and Pam, 'Managerial Failure', p.247.

⁴⁷ Hunt and Pam, 'Managerial Failure', p.264.

⁴⁸ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.510.

⁴⁹ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.510.

The arrival of the Scots was under way, in Hertfordshire at least, before the onset of the depression years. As early as 1863 James Sinclair had arrived in Hatfield, from the south-west of Scotland to take on a 400 acre farm previously given over to mixed farming with sheep, pigs and shorthorn cows. He dispensed with the cows, keeping only a very few sheep and turned the rest of the farm over to maincrop potatoes with some swedes, mangolds and tares. He exploited his proximity to the Hatfield-London railway to bring in stable manure and send out straw for the stabling of horses, as well as transporting his main crop. By 1901, his son was working the farm with an increased acreage of 730 acres, and was able to report to Rider Haggard that 'those who really farmed in Hertfordshire were making it pay; at any rate up to that time he had lost nothing at the business.'⁵⁰

The Hertfordshire experience would seem to suggest that landowners were able to find tenants for farms with good access to the railway, particularly those who were arriving from other parts of the country, although they had to offer reduced rents and capital investment as part of the package.⁵¹ Those who occupied the more remote farms were less able to exploit the areas of growth and so found themselves struggling to make a good return on their crops. As a study of Ashwell, in the northern tip of Hertfordshire, showed, the tenants here, with the support of a sympathetic landlord, were able to 'heave-to and ride the storm.'⁵² However, the living they made can only have been a poor one. One of those interviewed by Rider Haggard was a member of the Board which heard income tax appeals, and he claimed that in the Royston district, which included Ashwell, the number of appeals from farmers had increased from an average of one a year to three, and most farmers in that district were paying no income tax at all.⁵³

Enough examples exist to show that even in the arable areas most associated with depression, there were personal success stories of adaptation and prosperity to challenge that view of agricultural collapse prophesied by William H. Aylen.⁵⁴ However, there were also those for whom geography was against them and others

⁵⁰ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.551.

⁵¹ Thompson, 'Anatomy of English Agriculture', p.226. Thompson calculated that rentals in Hertfordshire fell by an average of 31.2% in the period 1872/3 – 1910/11, where rents for England as a whole fell by an average of 26.7%. The largest fall was experienced in Suffolk (48.4%), whilst Cheshire saw an increase in rentals of 0.1%.

⁵² Davey, *Ashwell*, p.47.

⁵³ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.559.

⁵⁴ Aylen, 'Poor and Protection', p.27.

who failed to sniff the air and see which way the wind was blowing, as well as those for whom the need to change was a step too far.

Chapter Three of this thesis will examine the impact of poor weather and falling prices on the farmers of Hertfordshire, showing that indeed many were shaken out of the industry, their places taken very often by those newcomers from Scotland and the West Country. By plotting the arrival of these new men and their families against the loss of those who found themselves in the bankruptcy courts, it will show that just as in the arable region of England as a whole, there were pockets of extreme depression alongside stories of survival and success. Yet the story of farmers in this period was more than just the story of their bankbook, and Chapter Three will also consider how farmers struggled to make their concerns heard in a world where increasingly the focus was on the place of the rural within the urban imagination.

On the eve of the First World War there was a sense that agricultural recovery was under way. In 1913, Daniel Hall wrote:

As a feature in the prosperity of the modern farmer we have put his adaptability to his conditions. In the main, the men who could not alter their system to meet the low prices prevailing only a few years ago have been shaken out of the industry, and the most capable have survived to take advantage of the recent rise in prices.⁵⁵

However, farming had seen more than just a re-adjustment of prices and personnel in the years leading up to the First World War, and farmers increasingly found that their own concerns were sidelined as the urban perception of the rural grew increasingly influential. This perception was influenced by farmers' own stories of doom and gloom, as well as rising levels of food imports reducing dependence on the farmers at home, but also by a wider concern with the depopulation of the countryside and the place of the rural as the spiritual heart of the nation; farmers found themselves on the receiving end of criticism for their failure to manage the economic downturn, but also their failure to manage the larger question of supporting the labourer in the countryside.

⁵⁵ A.D. Hall, *A Pilgrimage of British Farming 1910-1912* (London, 1913), p.150.

The period 1880-1914 saw no shortage of people willing to tell farmers just what they were doing wrong. Rider Haggard complained in 1902 of the parochial attitude of farmers who, 'look too much to their intimate and private interests, and allow their views to be hedged in too closely by the conditions of their immediate neighbourhood',⁵⁶ while Daniel Hall wrote in 1913 of the 'low mental calibre of many of the men occupying the land.'⁵⁷ Here was a view of farmers as authors of their own misfortune, backward looking and unable to respond to a changing market. Arthur Smith, editor of the *Herts Illustrated Review*, bemoaned the reluctance of farmers to undertake anything new even when faced with falling prices and changing demand, writing that, 'prejudice and a great dislike of change in any direction are amongst the causes of losses in the past';⁵⁸ he called on them to introduce new techniques and reduce production costs if they wished to make any profit. Daniel Hall called for farmers to become more businesslike, scientific and flexible in their approach to cropping patterns and the use of labour. Farmers should be using more machines and looking to employ fewer, but better paid men, arguing that 'it is less, not more, labour we want on most of our farms.'⁵⁹

This theme of farmers who did not know how to farm reappeared throughout this period; seemingly the profits which had been made in the years prior to depression were the result of simply sitting back and letting the coffers fill. More recently, Hunt and Pam in their re-appraisal of the approaches adopted in Essex have argued that modern accounts continue to criticise 'low' farming, seeing it as evidence of failure; yet when it came to implementing change, local knowledge was vital and 'cereal farmers on the boulder clay and medium Essex soils would have been far more aware of such developments than their late twentieth-century critics.'⁶⁰ Low farming could make perfect economic sense for the man with poor access to the railway and his capital depleted by a run of poor harvests.

⁵⁶ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, Introduction p.xiii.

⁵⁷ Hall, *Pilgrimage*, p.335.

⁵⁸ A. Smith, 'Agricultural Notes and Comments', *HIR* Vol.1, (January 1893), pp.56-60, pp.56, 130.

⁵⁹ Hall, *Pilgrimage*, p.53.

⁶⁰ Hunt and Pam, 'Managerial Failure', p.260.

Roberts has argued that if farmers experienced a loss of confidence in them by the wider world, then this was the result of their own 'talking up' of the agricultural depression. The crying of woe had led to a sub-text to depression, 'the capacity of rural residents to administer their own lives was disputed,' and a 'confrontation emerged between the 'objectivism' of outside neutrals and the intuition of the farming community.'⁶¹

It does seem that very few commentators had a good word for the farmers, and this hostility may explain the continual criticisms of the lifestyles of farmers which appeared throughout this period. One correspondent to the *Daily News* wrote in 1891 of the farmer who always moans but manages at his death to leave two or three thousand to his children,⁶² whilst a Devon migrant to Oxfordshire remembered the 'native' farmers 'driving about in carriages and pairs, hunting three times a week, card parties and top hats, and cigars,'⁶³ Those who welcomed the arrival of farmers from Scotland into the depressed areas of the country often did so in terms of their bringing a new energy to a class which had become complacent, 'the culture of the 'dirty-boot' family farm was thus injected into the ailing 'clean-boot' capitalist farm'.⁶⁴

If farmers felt under siege, then this was in part due to the confusion over their role. While there were those such as Hall and Haggard who desired a leaner, meaner, fitter farming industry, others saw the great question of the day as not the profits of farmers, but the exodus of the labourer from the land, and, as David Martin has noted, criticism of the failure of the agricultural interest to support the labourer was more likely to be levelled at the farmer than the landowner since the latter could deflect criticism by the very public displays of providing cottages or allotments.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Roberts, *Ruin of Rural England*, p.51.

⁶² *Daily News*, 9th September 1891 Letter signed 'South Beds' quoted in L. Bellamy and T. Williamson, (eds.), *Life in the Victorian Village. The Daily News Survey of 1891 Volume 1* (London, 1999), p.160.

⁶³ Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*, p.150.

⁶⁴ E.J.T. Collins, 'Rural and Agricultural Change' in E.J.T. Collins, (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.72-223, p.175.

⁶⁵ D. Martin, 'The Agricultural Interest and its Critics 1840-1914' in J.R. Wordie, (ed.), *Agriculture and Politics in England, 1815-1939* (Basingstoke, 2000), pp.128-148, p.129.

As the agricultural depression deepened, farmers sought to reduce their costs, the largest of which was labour. In addition, the smaller farmers found themselves hit hard and their land absorbed by larger tenants. One Hertfordshire man interviewed by Rider Haggard told of how in his own district of North Mymms, near Hatfield, in an agricultural area of between 2,000 and 3,000 acres, no fewer than sixteen farms had been absorbed into other farms over a twenty-year period, citing the case of a farmer of 200 acres in the Colney Heath area who had added to his acreage by absorbing a farm of sixty acres; this extra land took only one additional horse and the employment of a man in place of a boy.⁶⁶ At a time when the concern was the number of rural families leaving the countryside for the town, such a trend rang alarm bells for urban critics.

The letter of one farmer who distinguished himself as an 'Essex Scottish Farmer', which appeared in the *Daily News* of October 1891, exemplified the confusion of roles:

I do not see why the land should be saddled with the keeping up of the nation any more than the town. I do not think that the depopulation of the villages is a calamity. There are as many men left, and good men too, as we can find work for.⁶⁷

The solutions posed by many seeking to keep the labourer on the land, namely smallholdings and allotments, cut into the very interests of the farmers; when profits were small if not non-existent it was an optimistic hope that farmers would welcome further competition from those with lower overheads. As Jeremy Burchardt has noted, hostility by farmers towards allotment holders could be bitter, even to the point of sacking those workers who kept them.⁶⁸

Underlying the criticism of farmers was the idea of farming as 'special', a label that farmers would not have disagreed with, but which increasingly they found was deployed by others with an understanding which did not include their own economic

⁶⁶ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.579. Interview with Mr. Gardiner Wilson.

⁶⁷ Bellamy and Williamson, (eds.), *Victorian Village*, p.191.

⁶⁸ J. Burchardt, 'Land, Labour and Politics. Parliament and Allotment Provision, 1830-70' in Wordie, (ed.), *Agriculture and Politics*, pp.98-127, p.116.

realities of reduced yields and falling prices. It was the power of the rural imagery within the wider, urban imagination which set the agenda for an argument which focused on the social rather than the economic function of the countryside, and an important element of that imagining was the existence of an Agricultural Interest, and the assumptions which it carried.

The Agricultural Interest and its Place in the National Imagination

In August 1880, Earl and Countess Lytton returned from India following the resignation of the Earl from his post as Viceroy of India after three years of service. On arrival at Knebworth Station, decked with garlands and welcome banners, the couple rode through the village to the gates of the Park, where the horses were taken out of the traces and the carriage drawn up to the front of Knebworth House by workers from the estate, escorted by the tenant farmers and cheered on its way by all those it passed.⁶⁹ This one vignette made plain the rhetoric of the agricultural interest with the three estates bound together by mutual need and respect. Here was the landowner, charged not just with the care of his own small corner of the land, but the wider nation's well-being. The labourer who, by his muscle power, kept the wheels of agriculture turning, and finally the farmer who stood somewhere between the two, not riding with his landlord, but excused the effort of pulling on the shaft, showing deference to his superior, but keeping a watchful eye on his workers.

Yet alongside this model of class cooperation and appreciation, which earned a celebratory two column account in the local press, ran an alternative narrative of disappointment and anxiety. Earl Lytton returned to England in 1880 because, as the appointee of Disraeli, his services were no longer required after the Liberal victory at the General Election of March that year, in part a victory due to the public perceptions of poor handling by Lytton and the Tories of the Second Anglo-Afghan War.⁷⁰ He returned to an estate suffering from the effects of the agricultural depression. Of the nine farmers who accompanied the Lytton carriage, all but one, Benjamin Brown of Deard's End Farm, were in arrears and Brown alone would meet

⁶⁹ 'Lord Lytton Returns from India', *HGAJ*, 14th August 1880 p.5.

⁷⁰ D. Washbrook, 'Lytton, Edward Robert Bulwer-, first earl of Lytton (1831-1891)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Sept 2004) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17315 accessed 3rd September 2007.

his obligations at Michaelmas that year.⁷¹ The labourers who drew the carriage to the house were part of a class who were voting with their feet, part of that steady movement away from the villages of north Hertfordshire into the neighbouring towns and beyond, motivated perhaps by the thought of a world where their labour received a more generous reward and an employer assumed less in the way of deference and gratitude.

The enthusiasm with which the *Herts Guardian* reported this almost model expression of the agricultural interest at work, contrasted with the deeper, class-based concerns of those involved, and demonstrated the tensions which lay at the heart of the promotion of a 'community of interest',⁷² which celebrated mutual dependence whilst downplaying individual self-interest. The idea that there might have existed at the end of the nineteenth century such a group as 'the industrial interest' or the 'retail interest' which encompassed the needs and ambitions of both employers and employees within those industries is one which would be hard to defend. However, the concept of an 'agricultural interest' which crossed the barriers of class, a hierarchy which marched to the beat of the same drum, was one which was promoted by sections of both the urban and rural communities, fashioned from their own particular hopes and fears. It was a powerful image which informed the development of social and political understanding.

For those outside looking in, farming offered a template of harmonious working relationships which extended beyond the immediate working environment; men and women coming together for a mutual goal, each member as important as the other in achieving the final product. Raymond Unwin, the planner and architect of the first garden city at Letchworth, looked at the 'typical' village and saw a physical manifestation of this shared interest:

the expression of a small corporate life in which all the different units were personally in touch with each other, conscious of and

⁷¹ HCRO DE/K1573 Farm Rental Book, Knebworth Estate 1880-1891. At Michaelmas 1880 arrears on farm rentals stood at £999.19s 6d.

⁷² A. Howkins, *Poor Labouring Men. Rural Radicalism in Norfolk 1870-1923* (London, 1985), p.13.

frankly accepting their relations, and on the whole content with them.⁷³

Such language revealed the desire felt by so many of those who swapped the urban environment for the rural for something 'better' or 'more real' where they and their families could live out their lives in a welcoming space. Such people were won over by the vision of a Lytton and his estate workers sharing practices that their forefathers had shared, a vision that was grounded in the 'different' nature of a life centred on the land. That the vision was flawed by the realities of economics was easy to ignore when those experiencing it had little meaningful contact with the land themselves.

The concept of agriculture as different in nature from other industries has persisted. The historian G.M. Trevelyan, referring to the reluctance of governments to offer any real help to the farming industry, reminded his readers that:

political economy does not cover the whole field of human welfare. The men of theory failed to perceive that agriculture is not merely one industry among many, but is a way of life, unique and irreplaceable in its human and spiritual values.⁷⁴

More recently, Pamela Horn looked at the inter-war period as a time when, 'farming itself became more of an industry and less a way of life, as agriculturists sought for new ways to improve profitability.'⁷⁵

J.A. Roberts attributed the success of the 'farming as other' policy to the response of the landowners during the challenges of the depression when they were able to reinvent themselves as the 'benign defender of farm and field,' their domination of the Royal Commissions into Agriculture ensuring an agenda which saw 'the economic reality of depression subsumed in the symbolic decline of idyllic England.'⁷⁶ Their acceptance of the patriarchal role reinforced the idea of agriculture as an industry apart, demanding a different approach to the working relationship. The Agricultural

⁷³ B. Parker and R. Unwin, 'The Art of Building a Home' (1901) quoted in S. Meacham, *Regaining Paradise. Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement* (New Haven, 1999), p.4.

⁷⁴ G.M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* (Harmondsworth, 2000, first published 1942), p.567.

⁷⁵ Horn, *Rural Life*, p.237.

⁷⁶ Roberts, *Ruin of Rural England*, pp.82,84.

Relief Act, introduced in 1896, included a measure to relieve agricultural land of half of its local tax burden. However, it was criticised since the relief went first to the landowner on the assumption that he or she would pass on the benefits to the tenant in the form of lower rents. This discretionary help perpetuated the ideal of an agricultural interest where each element would support the other.⁷⁷

As Jeremy Burchardt has written, the enthusiasm of some landlords for the provision of better housing for labourers allowed them 'to avoid the question of wages, which although actually the most important element of the situation would have required fundamental change to address it effectively.'⁷⁸ In addition, new houses were a visible sign of a landlord's concern and his commitment to his local community. Yet the power of the notion of an agricultural interest carried real meaning. J.R. Wordie, highlighting the price paid by the agricultural labourer for the trend towards less labour intensive agriculture in terms of high unemployment and lower wages, has commented that beyond the economics of the situation, the large landowners were aware of a 'moral obligation' to compensate the labourers for the hardships they were experiencing which reflected the continuing power of the imagery of a paternalistic, rural structure.⁷⁹ Wordie argues that the provision of allotments was one way in which landowners could show their commitment to their communities, reflecting the success of a projection of the agricultural industry as 'special'; individuals might not have fulfilled that 'moral' obligation, but the consensus was that such an obligation existed.

Alun Howkins has argued that the promotion of an idea of relationships in rural locations as qualitatively different from those found in their urban neighbours became more popular as the century drew to a close.⁸⁰ Lord Winchilsea's National Agricultural Union of the 1890s was a formal expression of this attempt to promote the idea of unity amongst the agricultural interest, a positive picture of working relationships to set alongside the tensions and conflicts of the industrial world. It was designed to gain the ear of government at a time when the farming world felt itself abandoned and sacrificed on the altar of cheap food.

⁷⁷ E.H.H. Green, 'No Longer the Farmers' Friend? The Conservative Party and Agricultural Protection 1880-1914' in Wordie, (ed.), *Agriculture and Politics*, pp.149-177, p.159.

⁷⁸ J. Burchardt, *Paradise Lost. Rural Idyll and Social Change Since 1800* (London, 2002), p.60.

⁷⁹ Wordie, *Agriculture and Politics*, p.16.

⁸⁰ Howkins, *Poor Labouring Men*, p.13.

The value of the Union was expressed by Arthur Smith, of Smallford, near St. Albans who urged the farmers to join the Union which would have more authority than Farmers' Clubs or Chambers of Agriculture because:

it establishes the great principle that labourers, farmers, and landowners are all partners in one great industrial occupation, and that each is entitled to his share of the profits, in proportion to the capital, be it money, brains, or physical labour, which he contributes to the general fund. This position being once accepted, all the rest naturally follows; a real Union would make the agricultural interest master of the situation, able to dictate its own terms.⁸¹

However, Ewen Green has argued that there was little enthusiasm amongst farmers for such a combination of interests, and indeed the Hertfordshire Farmers' Club rejected the proposal to join the Union just one month after that plea from Arthur Smith.⁸² Paul Readman, whilst arguing that there was some interest in Winchilsea's proposals, although short-lived, has seen in the actions of those who supported the movement one of 'last gasps of traditional benevolent paternalism: a desperate effort to preserve an imagined rural order and its values.'⁸³

Alan Armstrong, in his study of farmworkers, supported the idea of labourers and farmers sharing a strong sense of identity:

derived in part from the intimacy of the work situation, and fortified by a strong suspicion that the true enemy of both was

⁸¹ A. Smith, 'Agricultural Notes and Comments', *HIR*, Vol.1, (February 1893), p.128.

⁸² Green, 'No Longer the Farmers' Friend', p. 153, A. Smith, 'Agricultural Notes and Comments', *HIR*, Vol.1, (March 1893), p.182.

⁸³ P. Readman, 'Conservatives and the Politics of Land: Lord Winchilsea's National Agricultural Union, 1893-1901', *English Historical Review*, Vol.121, No. 490 (2006), pp.25-69, p.60.

the anonymous urban consumer with his unthinking insistence on cheap food.⁸⁴

Flora Thompson, however, reminds us that whilst many agricultural labourers took pride in their work and 'were fond of explaining to an outsider that field work was not the fool's job that some townsmen considered it,' amongst those same men would be those who would also say that, 'We gets ten bob a week, a' we yarns every penny of it; but we doesn't yarn no more; we take hemmed good care o' that.'⁸⁵ Farm workers may well have recognised that their wages stood hostage to the farmer's income, but this did not necessarily equate into a 'sense of identity' which had meaning beyond the individual concern for one's livelihood.

Alun Howkins noted an increase in the informal practices of private charity and community celebrations, particularly at harvest and Christmas, which reflected the adoption of the rural community as a model for successful social relationships, and allowed donors to make a visible display of that 'living proof of the 'special' nature of rural society.' Yet the relationship of master and worker on the farm was still based on economics, and so was 'different not in kind, but in the representation'.⁸⁶ Charity was discretionary, eviction from a tied house was a background reality, and deference was not an easy state of mind; as one elderly Suffolk farmworker, interviewed by Ronald Blythe in the 1960s, remembered of the years leading up to the First World War:

I had to accept everything my governor said to me. I learnt never to answer a word. I dursn't say nothing. Today you can be a man with men, but not then. That is how it was. It will never be like that again. I lived when other men could do what they liked with me.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ A. Armstrong, *Farmworkers. A Social and Economic History 1770-1980* (London, 1988), p.14.

⁸⁵ F. Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford* (Harmondsworth, 1973, first published as *Candleford Green* Oxford, 1943), p.54.

⁸⁶ A. Howkins, *Poor Labouring Men*, p.35.

⁸⁷ R. Blythe, *Akenfield. Portrait of an English Village* (Harmondsworth, 1999, first published 1969), p.47.

As George Sturt noted in 1912, a middle-class man could take his Sunday walk in peace, but the village men 'dare not go, unless they are prepared to answer a summons for 'trespassing for an unlawful purpose,' or 'in search of game'.⁸⁸ By 1911 rural districts were supporting 15,657 gamekeepers.⁸⁹ Richard Jefferies, writing in 1909, referred to the labourer as:

the most peaceful of all men, the least given to agitation... Permit him to live and he is satisfied. He has no class ill-feeling, either against farmer or landowner, and he resists all attempts to introduce ill-feeling. He maintains a steady and manly attitude, calm, and considering, without a trace of revolutionary sentiments.⁹⁰

Yet, as K.D.M. Snell comments, this piece was written at a time of considerable rural unrest with reports of arson and cattle-maiming regularly reported in county newspapers.⁹¹

While a spotlight was shone on the lives of the village labourer and his family, paradoxically his voice was rarely heard. Rider Haggard, on his long tour of England, interviewed no labourers,⁹² and Richard Jefferies, one of the most widely read of writers on rural matters, while from a farming background himself, moved to London and wrote with an urban audience in mind, marrying 'the prejudices of the southern English farmer to a broader conception of what the townsman wanted to read about the backward countryman.'⁹³

⁸⁸ G. Bourne (Sturt), *Change in the Village* (New York, 1969, first published 1912), p.118.

⁸⁹ Horn, *Changing Countryside*, p.6.

⁹⁰ R. Jefferies, *Hills and the Vale* (Oxford, 1980, first published 1909), quoted in K.D.M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor. Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1995), p.388.

⁹¹ Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor*, p.388.

⁹² Reay, *Microhistories*, p.179.

⁹³ M. Freeman, 'The Agricultural Labourer and the 'Hodge' Stereotype', *Agricultural History Review*, Vol.49, No.2 (2001), pp.172-186, p.178.

Flora Thompson remembered how although the agricultural workers earned the same money, they:

differed as other men of their day differed, in country and town. Some were intelligent, others slow at the uptake; some were kind and helpful, others selfish, some vivacious, others taciturn. If a stranger had gone there looking for the conventional Hodge, he would not have found him.⁹⁴

The agricultural labourers amongst whom Flora Thompson lived in the last decades of the nineteenth century were as mixed a bunch as any collection of individuals, the complexities of their lives missed by many of those who set out to explore their world. Mark Freeman has written of the difficulties of accessing a real understanding of how the labourer perceived the world around him and his place in it; the final decades of the nineteenth century saw an increase in the levels of social investigation into the lives of labourers, stimulated by changes to the franchise as well as concerns accompanying depopulation of the villages. Yet the authentic voice of the labourer was elusive, with those who observed finding it difficult to penetrate his world, identified as they were as outsiders or the agents of authority.⁹⁵

However, the absence of hard knowledge was often of secondary importance to those wider public assumptions of the levels of skill, education and moral worth of this largely silent group of men and women, and these assumptions saw a shift in emphasis as the nineteenth century drew to a close, reflecting that wider urban understanding of the rural narrative, which crystallised around the leaching of population from the village to the town. Jason Long studied the movements of 28,000 individuals across the census years of 1851 and 1881, and concluded that those who moved responded to the signals from the labour market and were 'positively selected for migration', that is they were the individuals most likely to

⁹⁴ Thompson, *Lark Rise*, pp.49-50.

⁹⁵ M. Freeman, *Social Investigation and Rural England* (Woodbridge, 2003), p.162. Freeman refers to an inquiry into rural housing at Chipperfield, near Rickmansworth, where labourers were afraid to give their opinion in case it made its way back to the landlords.

prosper in their new urban economic home.⁹⁶ It was the loss of such people from the rural world which so exercised the imaginations of urban commentators and brought the social investigators into the countryside. Alun Howkins has highlighted the way in which the concerns expressed over the rural exodus took little account of the needs of agriculture:

nobody seriously questioned agricultural productivity or even efficiency; the question was, to use contemporary phraseology, a 'social' one. Country life had to be made attractive and men and women had to be returned to the land if the nation was to survive.⁹⁷

The wealth of the nation resided in the cities, but only by a continual inflow of new, healthy migrants from the rural areas could the vitality of the urban workforce be maintained; the value of the countryside lay in the potential to breed the next generation, not feed the present one. The Reverend J. Frome Wilkinson of Barley, near Royston, told Rider Haggard that:

the exodus from the country was not only serious but vital, and that involved in it, was nothing less than the fate of the manhood of the nation. The passing from a natural to an artificial life must, he said, weaken, and in the end kill, that manhood which, unless continually recruited, could not endure more than three generations of existence in cities.⁹⁸

Rowntree and Kendall in their research into the rural labourer saw his function as greater than just his economic contribution:

⁹⁶ J. Long, 'Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol.65, No.1 (2005), pp.1-35.

⁹⁷ A. Howkins, 'The Discovery of Rural England' in R. Colls and P. Dodd, (eds.), *Englishness, Politics and Culture 1880-1920* (Beckenham, 1986), pp.62-88, p.67.

⁹⁸ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.573.

Work on the land, in constant contact with natural objects and often in comparative isolation, produces a solid strength of character which our English nation can ill afford to lose.⁹⁹

Henry Rider Haggard expressed a concern that the result of the desertion of countryside for city could bring about 'the progressive deterioration of the race', and 'if unchecked, it may in the end mean the ruin of the race.'¹⁰⁰ An appeal by the Hertfordshire Farmers' Club, made in 1893, for an acknowledgment of the 'special' needs of the farming industry sought to persuade those outside that industry by emphasising the dependency of the one on the other:

The country, like a nurse, gives her breast to the town darling,
and if there be no milk, or the blood be tainted, the sickness of
the nurse means the sorrow of the child. The life of the village
and of the township is co-extensive.¹⁰¹

The farmers of Hertfordshire were calling for special measures to help in the economic downturn, but they framed their appeal in words which tapped into a pre-existing racial concern born of the successes and accompanying consequences of industrialisation.

While commentators bemoaned the falling rural population, agricultural labourers and their families took decisions which reflected their need for employment and prospects for the future. As F.M.L. Thompson has noted, while attempts to improve wages and living conditions in line with urban expectations were mooted:

in the real world, .. farm workers continued to leave and their flight from agriculture appears to have been reasonably painless, for them. They voted with their feet; it was the

⁹⁹ B.S. Rowntree and M. Kendall, *How the Labourer Lives* (London, 1913), p.14.

¹⁰⁰ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.541.

¹⁰¹ 'The Appeal of the Hertfordshire Farmers' Club', *HIR*, Vol. I, (January 1893), pp.65-66, p.65.

farmers, the farming press, and some of the politicians who were worried, and who expressed alarm.¹⁰²

F.M.L. Thompson has argued that the financial position of the agricultural labourer improved during the final years of the nineteenth century as wages improved in real terms as the price of food fell,¹⁰³ but, as Barry Reay has noted, the budgeting ability of individual families was crucial in negotiating the seasonal fluctuations in income and the unpredictable effects of illness, injury or bereavement on an already marginal existence.¹⁰⁴ Alan Armstrong in considering the question of population losses in the rural areas has concluded that:

it was the reluctance of sons to follow their fathers on to the land that was the chief feature of the reduction of the farm labour force, and the departure of their daughters into service which made the greatest single contribution to the net losses from rural areas.¹⁰⁵

Young men who grew up seeing their fathers worn down by working in all weathers and their mothers thrown into panic by a sudden need for new boots, looked to a future where wet weather meant light pay packets, work expanded to fill the daylight hours, leisure pursuits meant nursing a beer in the pub all evening, and the chance of female company was unlikely as girls followed their sisters into service. Little wonder, then, that they lifted their eyes to the distant horizon or were prey to the 'bank holiday' effect, when 'young men who have settled in London return to their homes 'with a blustering tale' and entice away those who remain.'¹⁰⁶

Whilst labourers got on with their daily lives, making decisions which reflected their own temperaments, circumstances and expectations, those who looked on from outside observed their world through the prism of their own assumptions of the place

¹⁰² Thompson, 'Anatomy of Agriculture', p.218.

¹⁰³ Thompson, 'Anatomy of Agriculture', p.214.

¹⁰⁴ Reay, *Microhistories*, p.120.

¹⁰⁵ Armstrong, *Farmworkers*, p.113.

¹⁰⁶ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.555.

of the rural in the wider nation. Alun Howkins has written of a shift in the public perception of the farmworker during this period from 'Hodge' the shiftless dullard to 'Lob' the timeless embodiment of true Englishness.¹⁰⁷ He argues that in part this was due to the activities of the NALU in the 1870s, which brought the working conditions of the labourers into the public consciousness. However, it also reflected the growing concern over urban deterioration. The countryside was the site of regeneration and the labourer the link with a more stable past, 'carrying on the work begun by the ancestors of a thousand years ago, making England's fields productive and her towns habitable.'¹⁰⁸ Where Hodge was sullen, Lob was deep thinking; where Hodge was unskilled, Lob was the bearer of timeless crafts and skill; where Hodge was dull, Lob was stoic. Lob was 'an essence which passes from generation to generation because of their relationship to the land.'¹⁰⁹ As Mark Freeman has argued, the labels of both Hodge and Lob reflected that 'cultural distance between the agricultural labouring classes and those who described them',¹¹⁰ with both serving as signposts to the concerns of those who employed them, rather than the realities of the lives of those about whom they were employed. Those concerns crystallised around the depopulation of the villages and fears of the failure of local elites to perform their traditional social function of supporting the labourer and his family within their village. As agricultural depression made it harder for those landowners who relied on their income from rents and crops to maintain an economic investment in their neighbourhood, there was a concern that whilst they were willing but not able, those who were moving into their ancestral homes were able but not willing.

The changing face of landownership

In 1878 James Caird set out his understanding of the place of the landowner within the rural community; beyond the efficient management of his estate he should concern himself in the 'welfare of those who live upon it' and at the same time he was:

¹⁰⁷ A. Howkins, 'From Hodge to Lob: Reconstructing the English Farm Labourer' in M. Chase and I. Dyck, (eds.), *Living and Learning. Essays in Honour of J.F.C. Harrison* (Aldershot, 1996), pp.218-235.

¹⁰⁸ G. Bourne (Sturt), *Bettesworth* (first pub 1901) quoted in Howkins, 'Hodge to Lob', p.226.

¹⁰⁹ Howkins, 'Hodge to Lob', p.233.

¹¹⁰ Freeman, 'Agricultural Labourer', p.186.

expected to be the head of all objects of public utility, to subscribe to, and, if so inclined, to ride with the hounds, showing at once an example to the farmers and tradesmen, and meeting them on terms of neighbourly friendship and acquaintance. The same example is carried out in his intercourse with the clergy and school-master, and his influence, where wisely exercised, is felt in the church, the farm and the cottage.¹¹¹

It was this model of concerned landownership which so many believed underpinned the cohesion of the rural community, and which many of the political and social commentators at the end of the nineteenth century believed was under threat from a new breed of 'selfish' landowner who cared little for tradition or those who lived beyond his own park gates. Avner Offer referred to the 'positional asset' of land as the non-financial rewards which accrued to those who owned it; these included political and social power as well as status within a local and indeed national community.¹¹² The final decades of the nineteenth century saw these different strands of landownership challenged as agricultural depression and a loss of political power formed two sides of a negative triangle of landownership; a third side was the decline in the 'social' premium attached to the holding of large estates. This is not to argue that landownership no longer carried any prestige or lifestyle benefits, but that there had been a change in the perception of what was necessary to achieve satisfactory levels of such benefits.

In 1879 an editorial in *The Economist* carried the following advice:

Social consideration is a great and legitimate object of desire, and so great is the effect of this visibility of wealth upon social consideration that it would pay a millionaire in England to sink half his fortune in buying 10,000 acres of land to return a shilling percent, and live upon the remainder, rather than to

¹¹¹ J. Caird, *The Landed Interest and the Supply of Food* (London, 1878), p.57.

¹¹² A. Offer, 'Farm Tenure and Land Values in England, c1750-1950, *Economic History Review*, 2nd series Vol.44, (1991), pp.1-20, p.2.

live upon the whole without land. He would be a greater person in the eyes of more people.¹¹³

This reflected a position argued by Martin Wiener that late Victorian Britain saw the rejection of the entrepreneurial spirit that had brought about the advances of the industrial revolution in favour of an anti-urban, anti-industrial, aristocratic model for society, where withdrawal from business in favour of a life of leisure pursuits and some local political service was the goal of many of the commercial and industrial money men. However, F.M.L. Thompson has argued that whilst businessmen were ambitious in looking to improve their personal circumstances, they were realists and measured those ambitions in terms of what could be achieved, 'rather than against a scale of landed status that for most was unimaginably remote.'¹¹⁴ This would seem to fit with a view of men and women who hoped to improve their standard of living but did not view their lives as failures if their daughters failed to marry into the aristocracy. By the end of the century, as the political and financial premium attached to land declined, enthusiasm for joining an aristocratic elite of old families declined with it.¹¹⁵

When power and status had relied on the holding of land then men of wealth sought to establish their place in the ranks of the landholding elite. When land ceased to offer the only route to such power or status then they sought other outlets, although of course the desire to live in a comfortable house in pleasant surroundings, displaying signs of conspicuous consumption continued to be an attraction. In his description of the home of the nouveaux riche D'Urbervilles – their very name displaying their origins – Thomas Hardy captures this change:

It was not a manorial home in the ordinary sense, with fields and pastures, and a grumbling farmer, out of whom the owner had to squeeze an income for himself and his family by hook or by crook. It was more, far more; a country-house built for

¹¹³ quoted in M.J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge 1981), p.12.

¹¹⁴ F.M.L. Thompson, *Gentrification and the Enterprise Culture. Britain 1780-1980* (Oxford, 2003, first published 2001), p.17.

¹¹⁵ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.96.

enjoyment pure and simple, with not an acre of troublesome land attached to it beyond what was required for residential purposes, and for a little fancy farm kept in hand by the owner, and tended by a bailiff.¹¹⁶

F.M.L. Thompson has argued that most of those who bought land did so for the opportunities it brought for entertaining friends and family in pleasant surroundings, while at the same time maintaining their involvement in the businesses which had made it all possible.¹¹⁷ David Cannadine has argued that such newcomers were simply recreating their urban dinner-parties in a rural environment, offering shooting and fishing as well as the usual card games and charades.¹¹⁸ Hertfordshire was particularly well-placed for such men, as its proximity to London and excellent road and rail transport links allowed the businessman to take care of profits during the week and escape to his rural playground at the weekend.

Chapter Four of this thesis will explore how such men interpreted their place within the landowning structure of the county and show that whilst they did indeed enjoy the leisure pursuits which came with the ownership of their rolling acres, they were not immune to the power of the notion of paternalistic responsibility for the local environment and those who saw the withdrawal of the older families as creating a vacuum of social responsibility were both unrealistic in their reading of the past and too pessimistic in their reading of the future.

Yet it was not only millionaires who found the idea of a home in the country attractive, and Chapter Four will also explore the assumptions and expectations that followed those who moved out of the city and along the railway line into Hertfordshire. These men too were looking to combine a continuing economic involvement within the capital with a taste of the rural for their families, and as will be shown, their understanding of their new home was coloured by a very particular rural understanding which was translated into the fabric of their houses and local

¹¹⁶ T. Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (Harmondsworth, 1994, first published 1891), p.43.

¹¹⁷ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.62.

¹¹⁸ D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (Harmondsworth, 2005), p.342.

environment. This understanding expressed itself in art and literature, and in the introduction to their study of landscape art at this time, Corbett, Holt and Russell have seen a shift away from a pre-Raphaelites expression of 'an imaginary past', to a form of landscape which 'took the form of geographical not temporal difference, an imagined space not an imagined time'.¹¹⁹ It was into this 'imagined space' that so many of those who bought new homes within Hertfordshire located and this had consequences for how they reacted with their surroundings.

In the census of 1911, some 79% of the population was classed as urban,¹²⁰ and, as Martin Wiener has noted, 'more than elsewhere, in England the late nineteenth-century countryside was "empty" and available for use as an integrating cultural symbol' which had its value in an urban interpretation of the rural as 'an alternative and complementary set of values, a psychic balance wheel.'¹²¹ Ysanne Holt has argued that Spencer Gore's paintings of the landscape around Letchworth Garden City captured that sense of emptiness; lacking figures his work became the site for urban expectations of the new town, a place of gardens and fields over which to take a stroll rather than a working environment.¹²² Jeremy Burchardt has written of the symbolism of the countryside in the urban imagination at a time of economic depression and rapid change that led to the paradoxical presentation of the countryside as at one and the same time eternal and unchanging, and yet undermined and receding into the past'.¹²³ This sense of loss was reflected in the writing of George Sturt, whose series of books on his Surrey village and its inhabitants proved very popular with urban audiences; *Bettesworth*, which focussed on a local craftsman, went through four editions between 1901 and 1920.¹²⁴ Sturt was just one of those authors who, as Alun Howkins has suggested, 'made what was probably the most fundamental contribution to the discovery of Rural England,¹²⁵ for the 'Rural England' which they brought before the public bore specific characteristics.

¹¹⁹ D.P. Corbett, Y. Holt and F. Russell, (eds.), *The Geographies of Englishness: Landscape and the National Past 1880-1940* (New Haven, 2002), p.ix.

¹²⁰ B. Short, *Land and Society in Edwardian Britain* (Cambridge, 1997), p.9.

¹²¹ Wiener, *English Culture*, p.49.

¹²² Y. Holt, *British Artists and the Modernist Landscape* (Aldershot, 2003). See Chapter 6 'An Ideal Modernity: Spencer Gore at Letchworth' p.121.

¹²³ Burchardt, *Paradise Lost*, p.73.

¹²⁴ J. Marsh, *Back to the Land. The Pastoral Impulse in Victorian England from 1880-1914* (London, 1982), p.64.

¹²⁵ Howkins, 'Discovery of Rural England', p.74.

Alfred Austin set out in 1901 on a quest, a pilgrimage in search of the 'real' England. His object was:

*Old England, or so much of it as is left.... I confess I crave for the urbanity of the Past.... for washing-days, home-made jams, lavender bags, recitation of Gray's *Elegy*, and morning and evening prayers.*¹²⁶

This was the world made popular by writers such as Edward Thomas, W.H. Hudson, Richard Jefferies, Rudyard Kipling and Kenneth Grahame as well as Sturt who extolled the virtues of his own village folk, 'representatives of a robust tradition' which was 'a genuine off-shoot of the home-made or "folk" civilisation of the south of England.' It was also a world given a voice by Cecil Sharp, who collected traditional songs and dances before they were 'lost' to an encroaching urban model for entertainment. However, Sharp brought to his work an assumption that the 'genuine' folk song or dance was one which reflected the unchanging nature of the rural inheritance, passed down from generation to generation; this left little room in his collection for those songs which bore more recent influences, perhaps bearing elements of protest, and resulted in a collection which extolled a 'rural, backwards-looking and elitist version of Englishness.'¹²⁷ Sharp's success in bringing the folk song into national consciousness was shown in 1914 when the Board of Education instructed teachers of music that 'the music learned by children in elementary schools should be drawn from our folk and traditional song.'¹²⁸

As Alun Howkins has written, 'the 'south country' was the product of an urban world, and an urban world at a particular point in time – the late 1870s through the 1900s,' but it probably reached its finest hour during the First World War when 'Englishness went into battle.'¹²⁹ The contrast between the reality of life in the Flanders' trenches and the image of an England of country lanes and the hay cart gave an extra layer of meaning to the idea of Englishness under threat. While propaganda images projected a concept of a rural England which bore little resemblance to the daily lives of the

¹²⁶ A. Austin, 'Haunts of Ancient Peace' (1902) quoted in Wiener, *English Culture*, p.45.

¹²⁷ Burchardt, *Paradise Lost*, pp.96-97.

¹²⁸ Howkins, 'Discovery of Rural England', p.78.

¹²⁹ Howkins, 'Discovery of Rural England', pp.64,79.

majority of those who fought in the mud, they did tap into a pre-existing assumption that had been reinforced by all those books on the 'special nature' of England. Brian Short has noted that, 'it was not the town that was fought for in Flanders but the English countryside; not even London, but rather the "South Country"'.¹³⁰

This viewing of the rural world through the prism of urban concerns and assumptions had implications beyond the aesthetics of the countryside. Chapter Five of this thesis will explore the expression of this understanding in the political arena, showing how in Hertfordshire the Conservative party was able to mount a successful campaign based on the promotion of candidates as grounded in their locality, the 'natural' heirs to an older, rural understanding for the new realities of the extended franchise. The emphasis within the campaigns on the county as rural in nature disguised the lack of any real help for the economic problems faced by farmers, a further manifestation of farmers being sidelined by wider concerns about the rural and evidence of a pragmatism amongst politicians adjusting to an increased agricultural labourer vote. The Conservatives were faced with squaring the circle of maintaining support amongst their traditional power base whilst at the same time persuading the newly enfranchised labourer that they could offer him something real in return for his vote. At a time when other rural constituencies were falling to Liberal candidates, Hertfordshire continued to return Conservative members to the House of Commons, often on the back of an uncontested election.¹³¹

The Political Understanding of the Rural World

Since the 1990s the historiographical spotlight has shifted from an emphasis on the rise of the Labour party to a consideration of the success of the Conservative party in adapting to the changing political climate.¹³² Ewen Green has highlighted the crisis

¹³⁰ B. Short, 'Images and Realities in the English Rural Community: an Introduction' in B. Short, (ed.), *The English Rural Community* (Cambridge, 1992), p.2.

¹³¹ The 1885 general election saw the Conservative Party win 46 of the 98 seats defined as rural in N. Blewitt, *The Peers, the Parties and the People: the General Elections of 1910* (London, 1972), pp.495-6 cited in P. Readman, *Land and Nation in England. Patriotism, National Identity, and the Politics of Land, 1880-1914* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp.30-31. Further elections saw their representation improve 1886 (84 seats), 1892 (64 seats), 1895 (81 seats), 1900 (78 seats).

¹³² M. Roberts, 'Popular Conservatism in Britain, 1832-1914. *Historiographical Review*', *Parliamentary History*, Vol.26, No.3 (2007), pp.387-410. For recent research into the rural Labour Party see C.V.J. Griffiths, *Labour and the Countryside. The Politics of Rural Britain*,

faced by the Tories at the end of the nineteenth century as members sought to incorporate the twin developments of urban growth and an enlarged franchise into their manifesto and avoid becoming identified as a purely rural special interest group.¹³³ As Matthew Fforde has argued, 'the Tories have been the objects of a remarkable exercise in self-conservation. To a great extent, British Democracy has turned out to be a Conservative affair,'¹³⁴ whilst Martin Pugh has noted:

it is a sobering thought that the total paid membership of the ILP in 1900 has been put at 6,000, a figure equivalent to the paid membership of the Primrose League in Bolton at that time!¹³⁵

In looking for explanations of this Conservative success, Frans Coetzee has challenged the view of the party as 'the inert beneficiaries of their opponents' excesses' of Home Rule, Disestablishment and the rise of socialism, and argued for a greater consideration of the dialogue between constituents and the political parties.¹³⁶ Jon Lawrence's research into the electoral patterns of Wolverhampton have led him to conclude that historians have placed too much emphasis on class-based concerns and downplayed the way in which local politicians engaged in a rhetoric based on an identity of locality,¹³⁷ a view echoed in Timothy Cooper's work on the growing working class suburb of Walthamstow.¹³⁸ As Chapter Five will show, questions of local identity were employed by both political parties in Hertfordshire as ways of garnering votes, a strategy which the Conservative candidates were more successful in deploying. Matthew Roberts has argued that it is too easy to evoke the existence of a deferential state of mind to explain support for the Tories within the countryside and that the idea of an 'innate conservatism' amongst the occupants of the farmhouse, the villa or even the cottage needs to be re-assessed against an

1918-39 (Oxford, 2007), which argues that the place of the countryside in Labour party thinking was more important than historians have acknowledged.

¹³³ E.H.H. Green, *The Crisis of Conservatism. The Politics, Economics and Ideology of the British Conservative Party, 1880-1914* (London, 1995).

¹³⁴ M. Fforde, *Conservatism and Collectivism, 1886-1914* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp.3-4.

¹³⁵ M. Pugh, *The Tories and the People, 1880-1935* (Oxford, 1985), p.2 Pugh's exclamation mark.

¹³⁶ F. Coetzee, 'Villa Toryism Reconsidered: Conservatism and Suburban Sensibilities in Late-Victorian Croydon' in E.H.H. Green, (ed.), *An Age of Transition: British Politics 1880-1914* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp.29-47, p.31.

¹³⁷ J. Lawrence, *Speaking for the People. Party, Language and Popular Politics in England, 1867-1914* (Cambridge, 2002).

¹³⁸ T. Cooper, 'London-Over-the-Border: Politics in Suburban Walthamstow, 1870-1914' in M. Cragoe, and A. Taylor, (eds.), *London Politics, 1760-1914* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp.211-232.

energy and engagement with their constituencies amongst party activists who recognised that 'voters had to be actively courted, socialized and educated'.¹³⁹ Martin Pugh has shown how the Primrose League formed a valuable means of achieving these ends by opening its membership to a cross-section of the franchised and disenfranchised and combining a backward-looking romanticism with a hard-headed modernization of politics which understood the importance of inclusion.¹⁴⁰

Matthew Fforde has argued that Tory success was in large part the result of a pragmatism within the party which acknowledged change and sought to incorporate it within a wider programme of low taxation, protection of property and national security. The Tory approach to the problems around agriculture highlighted this pragmatism; 'if the Right had attempted to turn back the agrarian clock, or at least sought to hold its hands, it would have been untrue to itself.'¹⁴¹ The realities of the enlarged franchise were that the Conservative party 'had to balance its traditional role as the representative of the agricultural interest with the need to appeal to a wider electorate.'¹⁴² Thus it was that it was the Conservative party which introduced two bills to dilute landownership in an attempt to persuade the agricultural labourers of their good intentions.¹⁴³ This was not universally welcomed within the party. As with the issues around Free Trade and Protection there were Tory politicians of an older school of thought who saw in the raising of barriers to foreign corn a solution to the problems besetting arable farmers at home. However, as Paul Readman has pointed out, even amongst such 'pure squire' Conservatives there were few that were so committed to this older vision that they were anti-modern,¹⁴⁴ and indeed there was a shift towards the way in which landownership itself was viewed. F.M.L. Thompson has noted how Tory enthusiasm for the wider availability of smallholdings was a positive response in the face of radical hostility to restrictive landownership; enlarging the property base of the electorate would increase Conservative representation and, 'smallholders and a new breed of yeomen were thus to form the

¹³⁹ Roberts, 'Popular Conservatism', pp.392-395.

¹⁴⁰ Pugh, *Tories and the People*, See Chapter 2 – 'The Politics of Social Integration'.

¹⁴¹ Fforde, *Conservatism and Collectivism*, p.65.

¹⁴² D. Martin 'The Agricultural Interest and Its Critics 1840-1914' in Wordie, (ed.), *Agriculture and Politics*, p.142.

¹⁴³ J.R. Fisher, 'Agrarian Politics' in Collins, (ed.), *Agrarian History*, pp.321-357, p.325. The two Acts in question were The Allotments Act (1886) and The Small Holdings Act (1892).

¹⁴⁴ Readman, *Land and Nation*, pp.177-178.

outer defences of the great landowners.¹⁴⁵ Such an understanding represented a further shift away from the policies advocated by the party's traditional supporters, the farmers, and revealed Tory pragmatism in action.

Paul Readman has recently argued that political historians have 'paid scant attention to the interaction between the politics of land and the politics of Englishness'.¹⁴⁶ In part this is because of the minimal impact of policies of land reform mooted by political parties, the rhetoric and campaigns by different pressure groups generating 'all heat and no light'.¹⁴⁷ However, Readman argues that the debates of politicians, whilst productive of little in the way of genuine land reform, did reflect that concern which existed amongst all sectors of society of how to integrate change and maintain that which had made the country so successful in the past. The patriotic rhetoric may have encompassed different visions of what constituted the nation, with Liberals looking back to a world of pre-enclosure access to the land by all, and the Tories to a deferential, stable community centred around the squire and the parson, but Readman argues that whilst both parties looked back to a rosier past, neither was inherently anti-modern, and the picture they drew of the past was a reflection of their own understanding of how to go forward into the next century:

For Liberal, Conservative and socialist politicians land reform was an integrative patriotic project, one which sought to fuse the best aspects of an imagined rural life of the past with those of the increasingly urbanised present.¹⁴⁸

As Chapter Five will show, for those who made Hertfordshire their home in the final decades of the nineteenth century, it was the rhetoric of inclusiveness offered by the Tories, centred on an imagined community, which carried that resonance of Merrie England which best fitted with their own understanding of the rural which they had brought with them from the urban streets into the greener surroundings of a county still resolutely proclaiming its identity as rural even as lanes became streets and cottages became villas. It is perhaps indicative of the change which was occurring

¹⁴⁵ F.M.L. Thompson, 'Changing Perceptions of Land Tenures in Britain, 1750-1914' in D. Winch and P.K. O'Brien, (eds.), *The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688-1914* (Oxford, 2002), pp.119-138 , pp.133-34.

¹⁴⁶ Readman, *Land and Nation*, p.2.

¹⁴⁷ Readman, *Land and Nation*, p.37.

¹⁴⁸ Readman, *Land and Nation*, p.215.

that at a meeting held in May 1883, the Hertford Conservative Club committee voted to discontinue taking *The Farmer* as it was not read by club members, and voted to take *The Mechanic*.¹⁴⁹

Conclusion

In the chapters which follow the implications for the county of Hertfordshire of an understanding of the rural as reflected through the prism of urban expectations will be explored and shown to have been influential in shaping the economic, social and political identity of the county. As the county's agricultural sector struggled to adapt to the falling prices and structural changes which impacted on farming patterns and personnel, those who were attracted to the county by its good transport links and promise of a rural existence for their families brought with them hopes for their new homes which were grounded in an assumption of a better quality of life away from the smoke, smells and daily reminders of chaos in the city where so many of them made their living. Their understanding of the problems faced by the wider nation was reflected in the homes they built, the causes they championed and the votes they cast.

¹⁴⁹ HCRO DEX799/3 Hertford Conservative Club Minutes, 1883-1897, 7th May 1883.

Chapter 2. The Changing Landscapes of the County of Hertfordshire

Introduction

In 1895 the author of a guide book to Hertfordshire for cyclists wrote approvingly of villages in the north of the county: 'it almost goes without saying that the villages which lie among the hills two or three miles from the railway are still very primitive, and therefore worth seeing.' In contrast, the town of Watford 'is now practically a London suburb, in which silk hats are common objects.' These, and other entries, left no doubt that in the author's mind the real worth of Hertfordshire was to be found in those isolated parts where the traveller could work his way through the list of 'A Few Things Worth Seeing' such as old manor houses, churches and ruins.¹

Where the cyclists' guide highlighted the area north of Bishop's Stortford as the site of 'pretty villages, which are little affected by the railway', Henry Rider Haggard, on a different mission but similar route, focussed attention on the critical role that the railway played in keeping both farms profitable and villages populated.² It was this Janus view of Hertfordshire, expanding towns and contracting villages, a farming economy under strain and an urban population with more interest in the rural than the agricultural, which dominated the story of the county in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

This chapter will serve as an introduction to the county, exploring its profile as a metropolitan county and highlighting those areas of economic and social experience which helped shape its identity in the final decades of the nineteenth century. This was a period which saw changes to the farming and landowning landscapes of the county as its people adjusted to the consequences of a depression in agriculture and improved access to the capital. As will become clear, the Hertfordshire story was a complex tale of growth and decline, optimism and pessimism, continuity and change, played out across both cultural and geographical space. What united these different narratives was a continuing perception of the county as rural in nature, although just what constituted that rural identity was open to differing interpretations which

¹ W.A. Bettesworth, *The Way About Hertfordshire. No 7 in the Way About Series of Gazetteer Guides* (London, 1896), pp.118,173.

² Bettesworth, *Way About Hertfordshire*, p.167, Rider Haggard, *Rural England*.

reflected that wider argument of urban perceptions of the essential place of the rural within the national imagination.

The county of Hertfordshire, an inland, lowland county, lay to the east of James Caird's line dividing the pastoral west from the arable east of the country.³ One of the smaller counties of England, it covered an area of 406,161 acres and at its greatest length measured only 39 miles north-east to south-west, from Royston to Rickmansworth, and 29 miles from north-west to south-east, Hitchin to Cheshunt.⁴

Tom Williamson has described Hertfordshire as 'a county without an identity', containing a landscape which borrowed its features from the counties which surrounded it; the claylands of Essex to the east, the valleys and woodlands of the Buckinghamshire Chilterns to the west, whilst to the south lay London 'outside the county and not a part of it, yet arguably the greatest single factor in its history'.⁵

The looming presence of London, with the heart of the capital just 10 miles from the southern border, dominated the orientation of the county which was north to south, with roads and, later, railway lines emphasising the county's position on the route out of the city and north into the Midlands and East Anglia.⁶ In contrast the lines of communication cross-county, east to west, were poor. Offences which took place at Northaw, near Hatfield were held at the Cheshunt Petty Sessions and witnesses from the former were obliged to travel into London on the G.N.R. and out again by the G.E.R. to give their evidence.⁷ In 1880 one member of the Hertfordshire Chamber of Agriculture suggested that in order to increase farmer attendance from the western portion of the county, meetings should be held in London, and committee meetings of groups as diverse as the newly formed County Football Association in 1886, the Hertfordshire County Council in 1888, and the Hertfordshire Women's War Agricultural Council in 1916, were all held in the capital.⁸

³ J. Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850-51* (London, 1852).

⁴ *Kelly's Trade Directory for Hertfordshire* (1895), p.1.

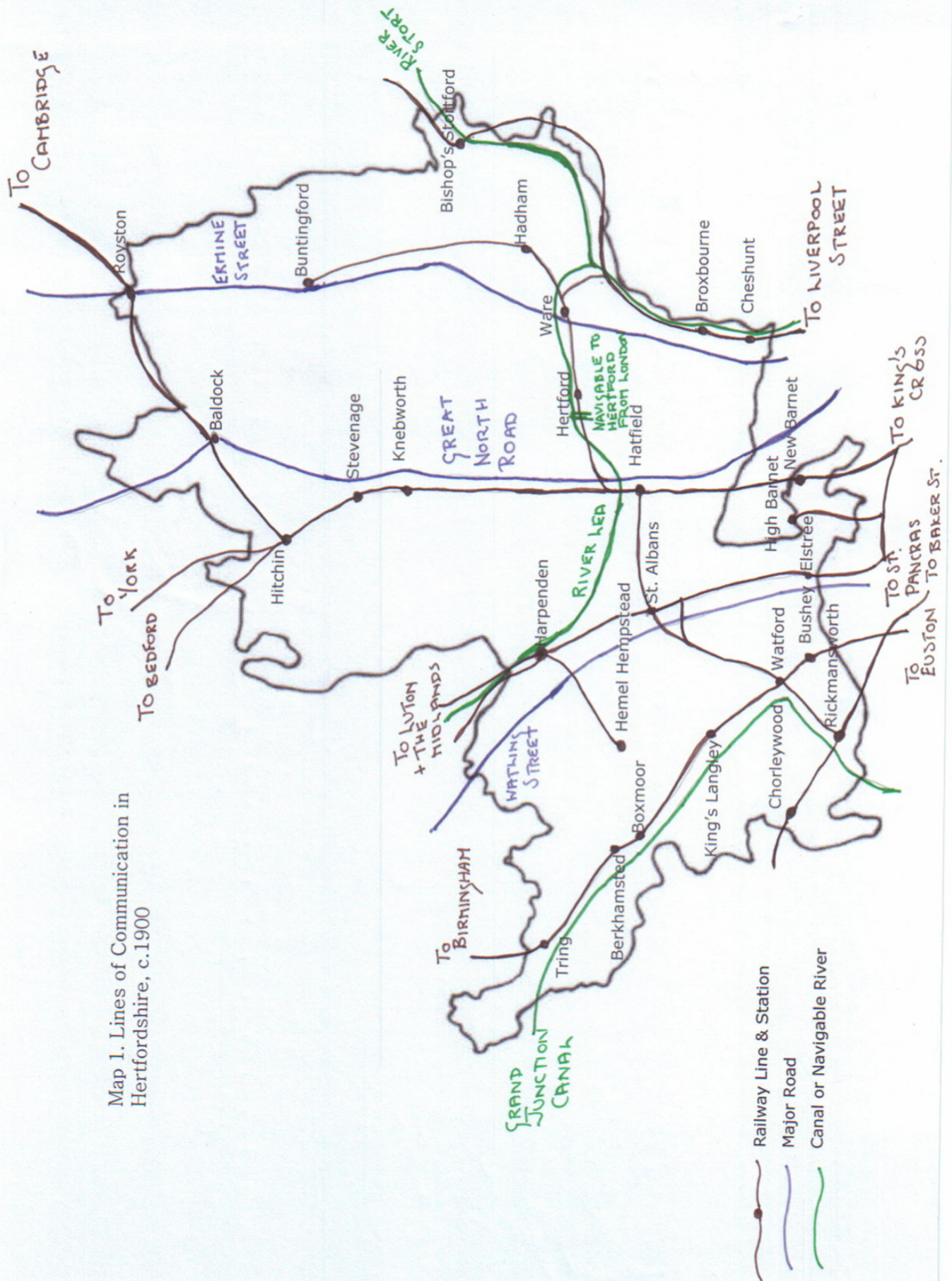
⁵ T. Williamson, *The Origins of Hertfordshire* (Manchester, 2000), pp.4-5.

⁶ See Map 1 'Lines of Communication in Hertfordshire'.

⁷ V.J. Mills and E.A. Menzies, *Open and Local Justice. A History of the Hatfield Petty Sessional Division in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (St. Albans, 1998), p.35. A petition for Northaw to be transferred to the Hatfield Division was finally successful in 1898.

⁸ 'Hertfordshire Chamber of Agriculture', *HM*, 14th February 1880, p. 4. Suggestion of J.B. Brandram, farmer from Ware, 'Formation of a Herts County Football Association', *HASAT*, 15th May 1886 p.8, G. Sheldrick, *The Hart Reguardant. Hertfordshire County Council 1889-1989*

Map 1. Lines of Communication in Hertfordshire, c.1900



Hertfordshire's position within that 'cultural province'⁹ centred on a rapidly expanding capital defined its development as a metropolitan county, a development which as Lawrence and Jeanne Stone have shown pre-dated the rapid growth of the nineteenth century. Merchants and statesmen had been buying property in the county since the time of the Tudors, attracted by the regular coach and carrier services, as well as what map maker Robert Morden described as, 'the rich soil and wholesome air, and the excellency of the county.'¹⁰ In 1890, one St. Albans newspaperman asked

Where can the London merchant find a prettier, and at the same time healthier locality in which to pitch his tent than in our own pleasant shire?¹¹

Yet even for such a well-positioned county there was a difference in experience between north and south, east and west, which was mirrored in patterns of population, landownership and farming, showing that intra-county factors were as influential as the presence of the rapidly expanding city just over the county border.

Patterns of Population and Employment

In the period 1851-1901 the population of the registration county of Hertfordshire grew by almost half, from 173,963 to 239,760.¹² However, these figures hid a difference of experience across the county which was a reflection not just of Hertfordshire's position within touching distance of London, but long term changes within the county's economy.

(Hertford, 1989), p.17, HCRO AEC/8 Hertfordshire Women's War Agricultural Council – Executive Committee Minute Book 1916-1917.

⁹ C. Pythian-Adams, *Societies, Cultures and Kinship* (Leicester, 1992), Introduction.

¹⁰ Robert Morden (1704) quoted in L. Stone and J.C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite. England 1540-1880* (Oxford, 1986), p.38.

¹¹ 'City Talk and County Chat', *HASAT*, 6th September 1890.

¹² W. Page (ed.), *Victoria County History of Hertfordshire* Volume 4 (London, 1914), 'Table of Population 1801-1901' pp. 235-238. See Appendix 2A 'Population of Hertfordshire 1851-1901'. All population figures which follow taken from this source unless otherwise referenced.

Table 2.1. Population Change in Hertfordshire 1851-1901 by Registration District

Registration District	Acreage	1851	1901	% growth/decline
Watford	36,952	18,800	53,936	187%
Barnet	14,006	5,697	16,183	184%
Edmonton	8,479	5,579	12,292	120%
St. Albans	41,224	18,004	33,008	83%
Berkhamsted	21,518	11,503	15,013	49%
Ware	36,254	16,482	21,156	28%
Hemel Hempstead	32,693	15,683	18,139	16%
Hitchin	65,887	24,540	28,505	16%
Hatfield	30,067	8,499	9,816	15%
Hertford	35,283	15,090	17,029	13%
Bishop's Stortford	31,517	13,433	14,610	9%
Royston	50,964	13,988	10,393	-26%

Source: Appendix 2A 'Population of Hertfordshire 1851-1901 by Registration County, District and Parish', and Appendix 2B 'Population change in Hertfordshire 1851-1901'.

The presence of London on its southern border was a major influence on population patterns. As Table 2.1 shows, those parishes in the south and west of the county, with good railway links to London, saw increases in population on a much larger scale than those of the east and north which were dependent on an agricultural hinterland for much of their prosperity. Whilst the county town of Hertford in the eastern part of the county saw an increase in population of 13 per cent between 1851 and 1901,¹³ the town of Watford, which lay in the south-west and on the mainline route from London to Birmingham, saw its population increase by just under 400 per cent in the same period. As early as 1864 it was noted by one agricultural writer that the grass farms south of Watford were disappearing under villas occupied by families from London,¹⁴ and by 1901 this district was the most densely populated part of the county, with 934 people per square mile.¹⁵ Other districts within touching distance of London saw impressive rises in population; at East Barnet numbers rose from 663 residents in 1851 to 6,839 in 1901, a massive increase of 932 per cent. In contrast, the parish of Norton, in the north of the county and of a similar acreage to

¹³ These figures refer to the parishes of All Saints, St. Andrew and St. John's Hertford which made up the Borough of Hertford. See Appendix 2A 'Population of Hertfordshire 1851-1901' for full details.

¹⁴ H. Evershed, 'The Agriculture of Hertfordshire', *JRASE*, Vol.25, (1864), pp.269-302, p.283.

¹⁵ N. Goose, 'Population, 1801-1901' in D. Short, (ed.), *An Historical Atlas of Hertfordshire* (Hatfield, 2010 forthcoming).

East Barnet saw its population fall by 47 per cent in the same period from 399 to 213 residents. This divergence of experience reflected the broader pattern of population change found within the county, as the more purely agricultural districts saw a loss of population in response to agricultural depression and the attraction of alternative employment and social opportunities elsewhere. Hertfordshire towns, although expanding, remained relatively small; in 1901 the urban district of Watford was home to just under 30,000 people and of the remaining urban districts only East Barnet, Cheshunt, Hemel Hempstead, Hitchin and St. Albans topped more than 10,000 inhabitants.¹⁶ Yet whilst Hertfordshire towns could not compete with the rate of change experienced by more industrial counties, their growth did reflect the story of the county in the late nineteenth century. By 1901, of the six towns with more than 10,000 inhabitants, only Hitchin, for much of the nineteenth century home to a thriving straw plait market, lay in the northern part of the county.

The key to growth was not just proximity but access to London, and in this the Hertfordshire pattern resembled that of other areas which bordered sites of urban growth, for example in Berkshire, where the western part of the county declined as that part east of Reading grew.¹⁷ Whilst towns such as Stevenage and Hitchin in the north of the county were on the mainline route into King's Cross, their situation was such that cost was a deterrent to all but the most wealthy commuter.¹⁸ It was the arrival of the mainline routes into the capital which seriously impacted on rates of population growth in the southern and western districts. In 1858 a branch line from Watford to St. Albans was opened, but the real increases in population for the latter followed the opening of the direct line into St. Pancras in 1869. Similarly, Rickmansworth, linked by a branch line to Watford from 1862, saw its population expand following the opening of the Metropolitan line in 1887;¹⁹ in 1881 the census returns showed 5,511 people living within the town, and by 1901 that figure had risen by almost half to 8,232.²⁰

¹⁶ BPP CX1.1 [Cd.6258] (1912-13) *Census of England and Wales 1911* Table 10 'Administrative Counties, Urban & Rural Districts with their Constituent Parishes' Watford U.D. (29,430), Cheshunt U.D. (12,292), East Barnet U.D. (10,094), Hemel Hempstead U.D. (11,264), Hitchin U.D. (10,072), City of St. Albans (16,019).

¹⁷ Collins, (ed.), *Agrarian History*, p.1278.

¹⁸ D.J. Hooson, *Some Aspects of the Growth and Distribution of Population in Hertfordshire since 1801* Unpublished PhD thesis University of London (1955), p.126.

¹⁹ H.P. White, *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain Volume 3 Greater London* (London, 1963), p.136.

²⁰ See Appendix 2A 'Population of Hertfordshire 1851-1901', Watford Registration District.

The railway companies were alert to the potential of commuting; as early as the 1850s, the London and North-Western Railway Company offered free first-class season tickets to those who built houses of an annual rent of £50 or more in the area around King's Langley, Tring and Boxmoor, the closest mainline station to Hemel Hempstead.²¹ The season ticket, valid for 21 years, belonged to the house and so could be taken on by new owners should the house be sold.²² Season tickets such as these were beyond the pocket of all but the professional classes, and the expansion of more modest districts began with the arrival of the tram; the tramways reached Waltham Cross in 1907 and stimulated the development of that part of Cheshunt.²³

In 1887 there was a fast service which left Berkhamsted at 8.54 a.m. and with only one stop reached Euston at 9.35,²⁴ attractive to both the commuter and his wife as she headed for such London department stores as Maple's and Shoolbred's of Tottenham Court Road, Barker's of Kensington or Selfridge's of Oxford Street. A common complaint amongst local tradesman was that they were often overlooked by those new to the county who preferred to use the London stores. The Mayor of Hertford called on residents to recognise that local tradesmen could supply more than just 'odds and ends',²⁵ whilst George Faudel-Phillips, tenant of Ball's Park, recognised that although London, 'the market of the world' was on their doorstep, it was not fair to 'merely do their accommodation business with the local dealer';²⁶ one inhabitant of King's Langley asked how the local poor were to be supported when 'two-thirds of the money which ought to be spent in the place is taken out of it' by those who 'perhaps desire to be most respected, yet go to town where they are least respected'.²⁷

²¹ Collins, (ed.), *Agrarian History*, p.1572.

²² W. Branch Johnson, *The Industrial Archaeology of Hertfordshire* (Newton Abbot, 1970), p.141. This was a private communication to the author from a Mr. Rex Wailes who recalled a family member buying a house in the late 1860s which carried with it an unexpired pass still valid for seventeen years.

²³ J. Edwards, *Cheshunt in Hertfordshire* (Cheshunt, 1974), p.41.

²⁴ P.C. Birtchnell, *A Short History of Berkhamsted* (Berkhamsted, 1972), p.88.

²⁵ 'Burns' Anniversary Dinner at Hertford', *HM*, 2nd February 1895 p.8.

²⁶ 'Herts Farmers' Club - Dinner of the Hertford Branch', *HM*, 27th January 1894 p.7. Faudel Philips was himself a London merchant, Alderman and future Lord Mayor of London (1895-96). See Chapters 4 and 5.

²⁷ 'King's Langley - The Trade of the Village', *HASAT*, 3rd April 1886, letter from 'An Old Inhabitant'.

Yet the convenience of London was for some too strong an attraction. One of those King's Langley residents who provoked the correspondent to the *Herts Advertiser & St. Alban's Times* recalled:

to get into Watford to shop, one hired a pony trap and did the trip at five to six miles an hour, but usually it was better to go to London and then Shoolbred's van delivered the things once a week.²⁸

The railway was the magnet and suburban villas clustered around stations. When the newly qualified barrister Arthur Hughes and his wife wanted a house with a garden for their growing family they 'consulted Bradshaw to find some spot that was 'country' and yet provided with a few fast trains to town' and decided on Barnet.²⁹ They were not alone. Published in the early years of the twentieth century, the *Victoria County History* commented on the continuing process across the county. At King's Langley the village was noted as extending southwards towards the railway station, whilst at Aldenham the development of two estates had seen the growth of an 'increasingly suburban population' around the village of Radlett. At Bushey the area around the station consisted of 'streets of modern houses mostly occupied by those whose work takes them daily to London' with a new development planned, just to the north of the London Road on the Bushey Grove Estate.³⁰ In 1906, the announcement that the G.N.R. were to begin running a 'special suburban express' from Hitchin, prompted one newspaper to note that now that 'widely-felt desire for a country home which shall be within easy rich of the Metropolis will be easily satisfied.'³¹

John Buckmaster, who grew up and started his working life in the Chiltern hills around Slapton, some seven or so miles away from Tring, returned to the district in the early 1880s after an absence of fifty years and noted how:

²⁸ R. Fisher, 'The Road Through King's Langley Before the First World War' in L.M. Munby, (ed.), *The History of King's Langley* (King's Langley, 1963), Appendix Ten, pp.156-158, p.157.

²⁹ M.V. Hughes, *A London Home in the 1890s* (Oxford, 1978, first published as *A London Home in the 90s* Oxford, 1937), p.185.

³⁰ Page, *VCH, Volume Two*, 'King's Langley' p.234, 'Aldenham' p.149, 'Bushey' p.180.

³¹ 'Hitchin', *HASAT*, 6th January 1906.

the small farms had quite disappeared. The homely but not always comfortable farmhouses had given way on the hillside to Gothic villas and mansions for stockbrokers, bankers, hunting men, and company promoters.³²

At Hoddesdon a local builder, John Alfred Hunt, developed fields half a mile to the north-east of the nearest station at Broxbourne, and built the St. Catherine's Estate where could be found 'superior residences of a picturesque design'.³³ Of the twenty houses completed by the time of the 1891 census, not one was occupied by a Hertfordshire native; the heads of six households had been born in London, four in Middlesex, two in Kent and single representatives came from counties such as Derbyshire, Berkshire, Surrey and Yorkshire.³⁴ Of the families with children born prior to moving to the St Catherine's Estate, four came from London, with two from Essex and one from Surrey. Those who moved in were settled in their careers, but still young, with twelve of the twenty men aged between 29 and 39, and only one person over the age of 60, a 76 year old widow by the name of Elizabeth Searle. These men were solicitors, stockbrokers, engineers, architects and clerks to the Stock Exchange, the largest group coming from the commercial sector, merchants dealing with India and Russia or in commodities such as teas and precious metals. Those who moved to Hoddesdon, attracted not just by the railway but by the countryside and the promise of fishing on the banks of the nearby River Lea, were representative of a type of person who saw in Hertfordshire the perfect mix of good air, comfortable living and the convenience of the city on their doorstep. Advertisements for a second release of houses listed the advantages of the position of the estate in the specific order of being only 16 miles from London and six minutes walk from the station with fast trains into Liverpool Street, beautiful views to the Essex hills, access to the Puckeridge and Hertfordshire foxhounds, harriers and staghounds, with fishing, tennis, golf, cricket, boating, bathing and skating on the doorstep, giving an indication of just what the agents believed would make the sale.³⁵

³² J.C. Buckmaster, *A Village Politician. The Life-Story of John Buckley* (Horsham, 1982, first published London, 1897), p.67.

³³ H.F. Hayllar, *The Chronicles of Hoddesdon From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Hoddesdon, 1948), p.62, *Kelly's* (1890), p.782 'Hoddesdon'.

³⁴ 1891 census 'Hoddesdon' RG12/1092 ED2 F28, 37 and ED3 F39-41.

³⁵ 'Broxbourne', *The Times*, 6th August 1898 p.18.

However, differences in population growth were not simply a reflection of the arrival of the London commuter, and the poorly served eastern district of the county was aware of the possibilities the railway offered those already living within the county. In 1883 a meeting was held at Shire Hall to consider plans for an East Hertfordshire Railway which would give Hertford a direct line to London 'and pass through country at present very badly off for railway accommodation'.³⁶ The line would have passed through Walkern and thence to Ashwell where it would join the G.N.R. line for connections onward to Cambridge. Opposition from the G.N.R., who feared the competition for their own Cambridge traffic, meant the scheme never got going, but the willingness of the local landowners such as the Marquis of Salisbury, Abel and Robert Smith, Baron Dimsdale and William Robert Baker together with the support of the Hertford Mayor and Corporation was an indication of the potential to both town and country of improved railway links in the eastern part of the county. As the agricultural depression of the late nineteenth century made clear, potential tenants required farms with easy access to the railway and the London markets, and farms unlet meant falling incomes for landowners and retailers alike. However, not all landowners were as welcoming of the railway and its potential for change. In 1910 Sir Hildred Carlile refused to allow the building of a track across his Park at Ponsbourne, near Hatfield, when the extension from Wood Green to Stevenage via Hertford was begun. As a result, the line disappeared into a tunnel and the proposed station which would have served Newgate Street was scrapped, leaving the village untouched and its population static.³⁷

Differences in patterns of population pre-dated the arrival of the railway. Already, by the middle of the century the parishes of the northern and eastern districts of the county were experiencing declining population with many parishes seeing their numbers fall from a high point as early as 1841. The earlier agricultural depression which followed the French Wars saw the heavy clay parishes around Buntingford, Bishop's Stortford and Much Hadham lose up to 30 per cent of their residents, losses which were not recovered when the economy improved.³⁸ Yet whilst districts such as these were struggling to maintain populations, in other parts of the county labourers

³⁶ F.G. Cockman, *The Railways of Hertfordshire* (Hertford, 1978), p.63.

³⁷ Workers' Educational Association, *Hatfield and Its People. Part IV Newgate Street* (Hatfield, 1960), p.24.

³⁸ Hooson, *Growth and Distribution*, pp.57, 104. See Appendix 2A for details of years in which highest population figures were returned.

and their families were choosing to stay. As Table 2.2 shows, by 1901 the 'emptiness' of the northern rural districts stood in stark contrast to the experience of their neighbours to the south, just a few miles distant.

Table 2.2. Population per Rural District, 1901

Rural District	Acreage	1901	Number of acres per person
Buntingford	28,470	5,020	5.7
Ashwell	22,049	3,953	5.6
Hadham	25,468	5,209	4.9
Hitchin	59,952	12,828	4.7
Hertford	33,835	7,580	4.5
Berkhamstead	18,383	4,708	3.9
Hemel Hempstead	19,994	6,012	3.3
St. Albans	38,772	12,264	3.2
Hatfield	23,486	7,551	3.1
Ware	33,953	10,891	3.1
Welwyn	6,480	2,234	2.9
Barnet	10,820	4,154	2.6
Watford	31,238	14,315	2.2

Source: Appendix 2C: 'Population and Acreage of Rural Hertfordshire 1901'

In spite of its difficulties, agriculture continued to be the largest employer of labour within the county; of the 822 boys who left the upper standard of elementary school during the academic year 1893-4, the destination of the greatest number was the farm employing 317 (39%), followed by 133 (16%) who became errand or telegraph boys, 108 (13%) employed in shops and 55 (7%) as domestic servants.³⁹ Yet the numbers of men and boys employed as agricultural labourers was falling. In 1871 the total number of agricultural labourers, including shepherds and indoor farm servants, was 19,406, a figure which had fallen by 45% in 1901 to 10,711.⁴⁰ In part this was due to the agricultural depression and the perils of casualisation which was

³⁹ BPP LXXV.433 [23] (1899) *Return for England and Wales of Number of Children Attending Elementary Schools known to be working for Wages or employed for profit; Classes of Employment into which Boys and Girls went on leaving School*, Part 2. The remainder went into building (42), clerical (28), hawking (24), metal & woodwork (24), clothing (11), teaching (11), printing (5), miscellaneous (64, including 13 paper mill workers, 15 stable boys).

⁴⁰ BPP LXXI Pt. 1.1 [C.872] (1873) *Census of England and Wales 1871*, Table 11 'Occupations of Males at Different Ages by Registration County', BPP CXIX.209 [Cd.1377] (1902) *Census of England and Wales 1901. The County of Hertford*, Table 32 'Occupations of Males and Females aged 10years and upwards'.

the employment norm for most agricultural workers. As farmers felt the pinch, maintenance of hedges and ditches became a luxury and labourers paid the price. However, the labourers were not simply the victims in this scenario; they had been voting with their feet for many years, a process identified by Alan Armstrong in his study of farm labourers as a conscious choice by sons not to join their fathers in the field, and exacerbated by the movement of daughters to domestic service in the towns.⁴¹ The 'new' employment opportunities offered by the railways, police and building trades drew many away. In Hertfordshire this movement of people meant a continuation of the shift away from the overwhelmingly rural north and north-eastern districts of the county.

In 1869 Commissioner George Culley expressed surprise that more of Hertfordshire's labourers did not take the migration trail into the capital

The proximity of London, no doubt, has a tendency to raise wages especially by absorbing young men and women as domestic servants, but the slightness of the effect has always astonished me, and I cannot but think that the ignorance of the labouring classes in the counties bordering upon the great city have allowed her wants to be supplied from more distant sources.⁴²

Whilst Culley saw the failure to move south by Hertfordshire's labouring classes as forced on them by their lack of skills, an alternative explanation might be that the young people preferred to stay in their own communities where possible and exploit local employment opportunities. It seems strange that the middle classes were expected to prefer the 'wholesome air' of districts away from the London stench, but that labouring people should be oblivious to the comparison. Obviously people needed to feed themselves and their families, but in western Hertfordshire there existed opportunities for alternative income streams which made staying amongst the support of family and friends a viable choice, and offered the chance of maximising family income.

⁴¹ Armstrong, *Farmworkers*, p.113.

⁴² BPP XIII.1 [231] (1868-69) *Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture Second Report of the Commissioners, Appendix Part 1 (Evidence from Assistant Commissioners)*, p.110.

The most important of these opportunities throughout the nineteenth century was the domestic industry of straw plait weaving which formed the basis of the manufacture of straw hats. Nigel Goose, in his study of two straw-plaiting districts in Hertfordshire, Berkhamsted and St. Albans, has shown that the availability of this work encouraged both the attraction and retention of the younger female population, as well as improving the earning potential for married women.⁴³ Flora Thompson commented on the absence from her own hamlet in Oxfordshire of the young girls aged 11 and over, sent away to earn their living in domestic service,⁴⁴ and in arable districts a surplus of men to women in the younger age group was common as the number of women employed in agriculture fell. Certainly for the villages of north Hertfordshire, with few opportunities for alternative employment for young women, there existed a surplus of men to women which reflected the national picture for rural areas. Dennis and Joan Mills, using data from eleven rural areas, arrived at an 'English Rural Norm' ratio of 104 males per 100 females in 1851.⁴⁵ This same ratio of 104 was mirrored for the total population in the farming dominated parish of Albury in the north-eastern registration district of Bishop Stortford, examples of a more general picture across this district. However, for the straw-plaiting parish of Wigginton, in the registration district of Berkhamsted, the ratio showed a surplus of women to men, a ratio of 92. With the data narrowed to the age group of 15-25 the difference was even more marked; in Albury there were 121 men for 100 women, in Wigginton there were only 94.⁴⁶ Twenty years later, in 1871, the situation for young men in Albury had deteriorated even further with a ratio of 168 men to every 100 women in the 15-25 age bracket, whilst in Wigginton there was still a surplus of women with a ratio of 95 in the same age group.⁴⁷

The reasons for moving away from the village or hamlet of one's birth were multi-layered and interdependent; the need to make a living imposed certain choices, but equally the quality of life offered within an environment played its part, and the opportunities for socialising and, potentially, marriage were factors to be considered.

⁴³ N. Goose, *Population, economy and family structure in Hertfordshire in 1851. Volume One The Berkhamsted Region* (Hatfield, 1996) and *Volume Two St. Albans and its Region* (Hatfield, 2000), p.38.

⁴⁴ Thompson, *Lark Rise*, p.155.

⁴⁵ Goose, *Berkhamsted*, p.27 for Mills' 'English Rural Norm'.

⁴⁶ Data for the 1851 census returns for Albury and Wigginton supplied by Professor Nigel Goose (University of Hertfordshire) *Hertfordshire Historical Resources Project 1851 Census for Hertfordshire*.

⁴⁷ 1871 Census 'Albury' RG10/1356 ED1 F5-28 and 'Wigginton' RG10/1390 ED1 F1-29.

Many of those who spoke to Rider Haggard in 1901 commented on the dullness of village life, and it can be assumed that part of that dullness lay in the lack of female company. Yet more than just that, those who married and settled in the straw-plaiting districts had the prospect of a family income which would mitigate against wet days and casual labour. In 1867 George Culley found that the day labourer in the parish of Harpenden, where opportunities for straw plaiting existed, was earning on average 12s. a week, with an additional three pounds in harvest and hay time. In Hertingfordbury, to the east and a non-straw plaiting district, the average day work wage was 11s a week, although on some farms this could rise to 12s for the ordinary day labourer. His fellow labourer in the north-eastern parish of Wallington was earning 10s a week, again supplemented by harvest bonuses.⁴⁸

The agricultural household wage in the south-western parishes was bolstered not simply by the opportunities for straw plaiting. Silk mills had flourished in this district since the end of the eighteenth century, their machinery powered by the flow from the rivers Gade, Colne and Ver.⁴⁹ The 1851 census returns showed a total of 446 women and 356 men employed in the silk industry in the Berkhamstead, St. Albans and Watford Registration Districts.⁵⁰ The conditions which attracted the silk mills, strong flowing water and good transport links, also saw the development of paper mills, particularly in the Gade Valley, around King's Langley and Rickmansworth. The numbers of those shown in the census returns as employed in the manufacturing of paper grew from a total of 758 in 1871 (453 men and 305 women) to 2,219 in 1911 (1,134 men and 1,085 women),⁵¹ and was noted as a contributing factor to the increased population of King's Langley.⁵² Others found work in factories such as the Photographic Printing Works at Elstree, singled out in the 1911 census report as responsible for the increase in population since the previous census.⁵³ The expansion of Abbott's Langley pre-dated the arrival of the commuter with the building of terraced homes in 1870 to house the support workers for the nearby 2,000-bed

⁴⁸ BPP XIII.1 [231] (1868-69) Evidence of John Govan, Farm Bailiff to J. B. Lawes, Harpenden p.435, Evidence of Mrs Fitz-John, labourer's wife, of Hertingfordbury p. 432, Evidence of Hugh Rayner, occupier, Wallington p.438.

⁴⁹ S.A. Jennings, *A Ravelled Skein: The Silk Industry in South-West Hertfordshire 1790-1890* Unpublished PhD Thesis University of Hertfordshire (2002).

⁵⁰ *Hertfordshire Historical Resources Project 1851 Census for Hertfordshire*.

⁵¹ BPP LXXI Pt.1.1 [C.872] (1873) *Census of England and Wales 1871* Tables 11 & 12 Occupations of Males and Females, BPP LXXVIII.321 [Cd.7018] (1913) *Census of England and Wales 1911 Volume X. Occupations and Industries*, Table 12 Hertfordshire Occupations of Males and Females.

⁵² BPP CX1.1 [Cd.6258] (1912-13), Table 10 Hemel Hempstead Rural District p.5 note b.

⁵³ BPP CX1.1 [Cd.6258] (1912-13), Table 10 Barnet Rural District p.4 note a.

Leavesden Metropolitan Asylum for Pauper Imbeciles and its sister institution the St. Pancras Industrial School.⁵⁴ Enterprises such as these provided a regular wage and an opportunity for anchoring the population in areas where agricultural work had been the traditional choice of employment.

With the arrival of cheap Chinese imports in the 1870s there was a decline in the demand for outworked straw-plait. The number of women engaged in the working of straw for the making of bonnets reached a peak in 1871 of 12,089, but by the next census it had fallen to 7,543, and in 1901 stood at only 681, a fall which was also accompanied by a decreased rate of return, barely lifting those who continued with it out of poverty, although the business of making of the hats themselves proved more resilient.⁵⁵ The silk industry also saw declining numbers employed following the closure of mills at Rickmansworth, Watford and Tring;⁵⁶ by the time of the 1891 census the industry employed 162 men and 397 women, with only two silk mills operational at Tring and St. Albans.⁵⁷ However, by this time, the alternative opportunities for employment offered by the factories and shops of the expanding towns, together with the increased demand for domestic servants enabled the young, unmarried women who thirty years before may have preferred the independence of an income derived from straw-plaiting, to find other ways of making a living. The domestic service sector for both men and women grew from an 1871 figure of 11,494 (1,911 men, 9,583 women) to 19,288 in 1901 (5,301 men, 13,987 women);⁵⁸ nearly 60 per cent of the girls who left elementary school in the academic year 1893-94 went into domestic service.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ S. Hastie, *Abbots Langley. A History* (Abbots Langley, 1993), p.5, *Kelly's* (1882), 'Leavesden' p.633. In 1882 the Industrial School had a pupil roll of over 600 boys, girls and infants.

⁵⁵ Goose, *St. Albans*, p.71.

⁵⁶ Jennings, *A Ravelled Skein*, p.10.

⁵⁷ BPP CIV.1 [C.6948] (1893-94) *Census of England and Wales 1891* Vol. III Table Seven 'Occupations of Males and Females Aged Ten Years and Upwards in the Registration Counties of the South Midlands', *Kelly's* (1890), p.952 'Silk Throwsters'.

⁵⁸ BPP LXXI Pt. 1.1 [C.872] (1873) *Census of England and Wales 1871* Table 11 'Occupations of Males at Different Periods of Age in Registration Counties' and 'Table 12 'Occupations of Females at Different Periods of Age in Registration Counties', BPP CXIV.209 [Cd.1377] (1902) Table 32 'Occupations of Males and Females aged 10 years and upwards'.

⁵⁹ BPP LXXV.433 [23] (1899) *Return for England and Wales of Number of Children Attending Elementary Schools known to be working for Wages or employed for profit; Classes of Employment into which Boys and Girls went on leaving School* Part 2. Of the 514 girls who left school 1893-4, 293 (57%) went into domestic service, 52 (10%) dressmaking, 42 (8%) teaching, 31 (6%) straw plait working, 21 (4%) shop work, 15 (3%) laundry work, 18 (4%), 8 (2%) field work, 25 (5%) miscellaneous trades.

However, whilst alternative employment sectors were seeing an expansion in their numbers, the agricultural sector remained for young men their most likely employment destination and the following section will consider the condition of the county farm on the eve of the agricultural depression.

The County Farm

In 1795, a report to the newly established Board of Agriculture commented that:

Hertfordshire is deemed the first corn county in the kingdom: and very properly so, for with the requisite advantage of climate and of various manures brought from London, to aid the production of the most valuable crops, nearly the whole of the soil is properly tillage land.⁶⁰

With a good network of turnpike roads out of the capital, six in all by 1813, and plenty of good material to be had for repairs and maintenance, the carting of soot, ashes, bones and nightsoil from the capital gave Hertfordshire a reputation as a model for arable farming.⁶¹ Those two key variables of good communication links and access to London manure continued to be crucial to the prosperity of the county's farmers. As the nineteenth century drew to a close and agricultural depression saw arable prices fall and livelihoods threatened, those with easy access to both were more able to adapt and survive than their more remote neighbours, whilst at the same time the potential they offered drew the eye of those farmers from further afield who saw the possibilities of new cropping patterns and markets in a county where rents were falling and landlords were willing to engage in capital projects for those willing to take on unlet land.⁶²

⁶⁰ D. Walker, 'Survey of Hertfordshire' (1795), first published in W. Marshall, (ed.), *The Review and Abstract of the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture. From the Several Agricultural Departments of England in Five Volumes. Volume V. The Southern and Peninsular Departments, Hertfordshire* (London, 1818), p.9.

⁶¹ A. Young, *A General View of the Agriculture of Hertfordshire* (London, 1804), p.32, N. Agar, *Behind the Plough. Agrarian Society in Nineteenth-Century Hertfordshire* (Hatfield, 2005), pp.4-5.

⁶² See 'Chapter 3 - The Farmers of Hertfordshire'.

Those who worked the farms of Hertfordshire found themselves dealing with roughly four different types of soil composition, with varying qualities of drainage and lightness of land, although, as Arthur Young noted, changes in the quality and workability of the soil could occur within a very short distance since 'the soils of this county mix and run into each other in a remarkable manner'.⁶³

The majority of the county sat on a layer of chalk, although this only rose to the surface in a small area to the north of the county, around Baldock and Royston.⁶⁴ Here a four course rotation of fallow or roots, wheat or barley, clover, wheat was maintained, with the root crop being the turnip which was more suited to the lighter soil than the potato, and manure coming from sheep bought in for fattening, as well as that carried by rail from London. It was only on these chalk hills that the farming of sheep was a significant part of the Hertfordshire farming economy, and the impact of epidemic and agricultural depression was felt in the decreasing size of the flock as the century drew to a close.⁶⁵

When Rider Haggard visited this district he found it 'a lonely region even for rural England' and noted the way that the road 'wanders up and down over a vast chalky plain that embraces many thousands of acres of absolutely open land'.⁶⁶ Hertfordshire was one of the earliest counties to enclose; in 1748, Pehr Kalm, a Swedish born researcher who worked with Linnaeus, visited Hertfordshire whilst en route for the American colonies and commented that all the county was enclosed like a 'charming and well arranged garden'.⁶⁷ However, Kalm's journey did not include this northern district which incorporated many examples of unenclosed farming. In 1864 Henry Evershed noted that 4,000 acres of farmland had only recently been enclosed in the parish of Ashwell, whilst many of the large open fields around

⁶³ Young, *General View*, p.2.

⁶⁴ All details of soil quality and farming practice taken from Evershed, 'Agriculture of Hertfordshire', pp.269-283 unless otherwise stated.

⁶⁵ See Appendix 3C 'Livestock Returns for Hertfordshire and England', Chapter 3 – 'The Farmers of Hertfordshire – Negotiating the Agricultural Depression'.

⁶⁶ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.554.

⁶⁷ P. Kalm, *Kalm's Account of his Visit to England on his Way to America in 1748* (trans Joseph Lucas) 2 vols. (London, 1892), p.147 www.archive.org accessed 23rd August 2010.

Baldock and Clothall were still farmed as in previous generations, and indeed remained unenclosed into the twentieth century.⁶⁸

Table 2.3 The size of Agricultural Holdings in Hertfordshire and England in 1881

% of total acreage in Hertfordshire	Class of Holding	% of total acreage in England
8	50 acres and under	14
8	From 50 acres to 100 acres	13
39	` 100 ` ` 300 `	41
29	` 300 ` ` 500 `	18
14	` 500 ` ` 1,000 `	11
2	Over 1,000 acres	3
100	TOTAL	100

Source: BPP XV.247 [C.3375.II] (1882) *Royal Commission on the Depressed Condition of Agricultural Interests. Report of Assistant Commissioner Druce*, p.34

As Table 2.3 shows, the size of agricultural holdings within the county favoured those above 100 acres, with the smaller holdings under-represented when compared to the national acreage, although this national acreage included many smallholdings and market gardens to be found in districts such as the Vale of Evesham or Wisbech.⁶⁹ As Chapter 3 'The Farmers of Hertfordshire' will show, the tendency towards larger farms would increase as the agricultural depression took hold in the last decades of the nineteenth century.⁷⁰ Yet, even before the difficulties of poor weather and falling prices there were differences in experience within the county. As Table 2.4 shows, the farms of the northern district were much more extensive, with 70% of the district's agricultural land being found on farms of more than 300 acres. This table is not comprehensive as not all farmers gave details of the acreage farmed.⁷¹ This seemed to be a particular issue with those who gave details of multiple occupations, such as farmer and bootmaker, or farmer and carrier, and may under-represent the smaller farmers; in addition, details of the home farms on large estates were not

⁶⁸ Evershed, 'Agriculture of Hertfordshire', p.301, Davey, *Ashwell*, p.39, Agar, *Behind the Plough*, pp.29-31.

⁶⁹ G.E. Mingay, 'The Farmer' in Collins, (ed.), *Agrarian History*, pp.759-809, pp.759-60.

⁷⁰ See Table 3.8 'Agricultural Holdings by Size in Hertfordshire'.

⁷¹ Details were taken of all those who gave their occupation as 'farmer', including those who noted a dual occupation e.g. farmer and butcher. Not all those recording their occupation as farmer gave details of the acreage occupied, Berkhamsted (13 farmers), Hatfield (2 farmers), Royston (15 farmers).

recorded. However, Table 2.4 does shed light on the disparity in experience of farming within the county, and it was the farmers of this northern district, with its thinner soils and poorer access to the railway, who would experience much of the worst of the upheaval following the onset of agricultural depression.⁷²

Table 2.4 Comparison of Farm Sizes for the Registration Districts of Berkhamsted, Hatfield & Royston as declared in the 1871 census returns

Acreage Farmed	Registration District								
	Berkhamsted			Hatfield			Royston		
	No.	Acres	% ⁷³	No.	Acres	%	No.	Acres	%
<49 acres	10	293	2%	14	382	3%	36	800	2%
50-99 acres	8	504	4%	16	1,109	8%	22	1,478	4%
100-299 acres	35	6,423	50%	35	6,159	44%	52	9,100	24%
300-499 acres	14	4,881	38%	15	5,315	38%	33	12,863	33%
500-999 acres	1	650	5%	2	1,140	8%	18	11,724	30%
1,000> acres	0	0	0%	0	0	0%	2	2,688	7%
Total	68	12,751	99%	82	14,105	101%	163	38,653	100%

Source: HCRO 1871 Census Returns for Berkhamsted, Hatfield & Royston Registration Districts. For full references see Appendix 2F. 'References for Census Returns for Hertfordshire, 1871-1911'

In contrast to the open vistas of the northern part of the county was a small area, untypical of the wider Hertfordshire geography, bordering on Middlesex and centred around Barnet. The soil here was heavy London clay, but sitting so close to the capital made the application of large amounts of manure brought out from the numerous stables on their doorstep an attractive proposition for the small cowkeepers who carted the liquid milk back into the city on the return journey.⁷⁴

To the south-east of the county lay the well-drained gravel area of the Lea Valley, singled out by Arthur Young as a 'noble vein of land', and blessed with good lines of

⁷² See Chapter 3 'The Farmers of Hertfordshire – Geography of Depression'.

⁷³ Rounding of percentages accounts for discrepancy in total.

⁷⁴ A.M. Carpenter, *Changes in the Agricultural Geography of the South Hertfordshire Plateau 1750-1888* Unpublished M.A. Thesis University of London (1965), p.158.

communication into the capital, by road, river and rail.⁷⁵ Here were to be found the market gardeners and nurserymen, particularly numerous in the district between Cheshunt and Hoddesdon. The first commercial glasshouse in this area was erected as early as 1806, but the great expansion in glass began in the 1890s when companies such as Hamilton's and Rochford's relocated from Tottenham to Waltham Cross and Turnford.⁷⁶ *Kelly's Trade Directory* of 1890 listed fourteen 'Nurserymen and Seedsmen' in the six mile area north of Waltham Cross, encompassing Cheshunt and Hoddesdon. Five years later this number had grown to twenty-one, and by 1902 it had doubled to forty-three. At the outbreak of war it stood at seventy-one, a five-fold increase on the 1890 figure.⁷⁷ Even allowing for the errors and omissions of the commercial trade directory, this gives an indication of one area of growth in the Hertfordshire agricultural economy. The largest company, Rochford and Sons, had 140 acres under glass by 1908, employing 600-700 men all year round, rising to 1,000 men at the busiest times of the year.⁷⁸ Such a rapid growth in one sector brought with it a sudden demand for skilled labour which could not be met within the district alone, and the 1901 census returns for Cheshunt showed migrants from as far afield as Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland working as market gardeners.⁷⁹ So many new workers had to be accommodated that a guide book of 1902 referred to the Flamstead End and Turnford districts as 'Rochfordville'⁸⁰

However, the districts of Barnet and Cheshunt, though successful, were not typical of the Hertfordshire experience as a whole. By far the largest part of the county was made up of boulder clay or clay with flints, overlying chalk, and here was to be found a mixed farming economy, heavily dependent on the demand for and price of wheat and barley. For those who farmed in these districts the variations in the soil on which they sat and their access to the railway were crucial to prosperity or even survival. The parishes of the eastern districts of Ware and Bishop's Stortford were particularly vulnerable to changes within the market as they sat on heavy clay, 'of a poor, wet, hungry description, which cannot be easily improved';⁸¹ when the heavy rains fell in the mid-1870s such land became waterlogged, making it difficult to

⁷⁵ Young, *General View*, p.6.

⁷⁶ Edwards, *Cheshunt*, p.32.

⁷⁷ *Kelly's* (1890), p.938, (1895), pp.313-314, (1902), p.355.

⁷⁸ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, p.136.

⁷⁹ 1901 Census 'Cheshunt' RG13/1277 ED1-8.

⁸⁰ Edwards, *Cheshunt*, p.33.

⁸¹ Evershed 'Agriculture of Hertfordshire', p.270.

work, reducing both the yield and quality of the crop, and expensive to maintain. Hunt and Pam's study of Essex farming during the agricultural depression concluded that local conditions were critical in determining survival strategies at a time of falling prices and uncertain markets. Native Essex farmers, no less than the land-hungry Scots who arrived at the end of the nineteenth century, read markets and responded by shifting into new crops where the location of the farm and prevailing soil conditions permitted.⁸² Similarly, in Hertfordshire, those whose farms lay on the heavy clay soils of the eastern parishes, far from the railway siding, found they had fewer options when falling prices reduced profits and destroyed capital. Those who farmed on more easily worked soil were able to shift into new crops and exploit new markets.

Arthur Young farmed at North Mymms, near Hatfield, for nine years, from 1768-1777,⁸³ but found the experience a bitter one; the gravel rich soil required large amounts of manure which seemed to make little lasting difference and he wrote that 'I occupied for nine years the jaws of a wolf. A nabob's fortune would sink in the attempt to raise good crops in such a country.'⁸⁴ Writing in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England* in 1864, a century later, Henry Evershed commented on Young's poor opinion of the land and confirmed that it still suffered from an innate sterility which required heavy drainage and chalking of the clay and gravel soil to make it profitable.⁸⁵ Yet, when Daniel Hall reflected on this part of the county in 1908, he noted that it now provided 'the best farming in Hertfordshire' with the gravel soils able to 'rapidly convert expenditures on manures into crops commanding a good price.'⁸⁶ The significant difference from the days of Young and Evershed was that the major crops within the rotation were now the potato, profitable and easily transported into the major centres of population, together with liquid milk, for which demand was high and continuing to grow. By 1890 the Great Northern Railway had a specially designated milk depot at Finsbury Park, with additional trains laid on to bring the milk from stations north along the line into Hertfordshire.⁸⁷

⁸² Hunt and Pam, 'Managerial Failure', p.249.

⁸³ G.E Mingay, 'Young, Arthur (1741-1820)', (Sept 2004) *ODNB* www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30256 accessed 4th August 2010.

⁸⁴ Evershed, 'Agriculture of Hertfordshire', p.271.

⁸⁵ Evershed, 'Agriculture of Hertfordshire', p.271.

⁸⁶ Hall, 'Agriculture', p.135.

⁸⁷ P.J. Atkins, 'The growth of London's railway milk trade 1845-1914', *Journal of Transport History*, New Series 4 (1978), pp.208-226, p.213.

The railway line that brought the commuter into the county also brought some prosperity, even in difficult times, for those farmers fortunate enough to have easy access to stations and sidings. Such farmers were able to adapt, survive and even see profits grow at a time when many of their neighbours were struggling to pay rents and hold on to their farms; as one Scot farming in Hatfield told Rider Haggard, 'those who really farmed in Hertfordshire were making it pay; at any rate up to that time he had lost nothing at the business.'⁸⁸ Yet, as Chapter 3 will show, the final decades of the nineteenth century defeated many of the native Hertfordshire farming families and it was those who moved themselves and their families from places as far afield as Scotland and the West Country who were able to best exploit both soil and position by shifting into different cropping rotations to meet changing market demands.

Whilst easy access to the railway and the markets it reached was central in attracting farmers to take on new tenancies, it was seen by some in the county as something of a double-edged sword. One correspondent wrote to the *Herts Guardian* in March 1880, addressing his letter to 'Cockney and Travelling Sportsmen', complaining of the damage done by those who travelled out from London and hired a horse on which to spend a day's hunting:

It would be well in the future if such gentlemen, after an enjoyable day's hunt, would, on returning to the different railway stations, train their steeds to the accustomed bridledways, instead of allowing them to diverge a few yards, for the purpose (I presume) of testing their unexhausted racing powers, on stiffish land lately sown with wheat, as was witnessed on Monday afternoon last.⁸⁹

In 1891 a correspondent complained of the visiting stranger with no ties to a country, a 'purse-proud individual' who 'rides about the land, hunting often for weak

⁸⁸ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.551. Interview with Mr. Sinclair of Hatfield.

⁸⁹ Letter from 'An Unfortunate Tenant Farmer', *HGAJ*, 6th March 1880.

places in hedges, is often imperious, often abusive and most unparliamentary in his language should an occupier remonstrate at the mischief he is doing.⁹⁰

Although his own behaviour was more conciliatory than this, Siegfried Sassoon himself confessed that when first joining the chase he had not thought of the fields he crossed as anything other than 'country to be ridden over', adding that:

it had not occurred to me that a hole in a fence through which fifty horses have blundered is much the same as an open gate, so far as the exodus of a farmer's cattle is concerned.⁹¹

At a time of real economic difficulty it is not hard to see why the sight of someone with such little respect for those who were struggling in the fields, could cause annoyance. Damage of crops by the Hunt was nothing new, but the growth in the numbers of the commuter hunter, taking the train out of the city and hiring a ride at a local stable, was seen as potentially destabilising to the agricultural partnership which had found its own ways of working around the problem by the offering of compensation, free membership of the Hunt and invitations to the Hunt dinner. *Baily's Magazine* promoted Hertfordshire as one of those Home Counties' packs which 'early hours and fast trains' had brought within the reach of the London man who wished to indulge in a day's hunt,⁹² but Lord Suffolk and Berkshire complained that this new breed of 'casual and itinerant hunting-men' were 'as a rule the meanest of mortals in the matter of trying to get their fun for nothing'.⁹³

Hertfordshire was home to two hunting packs, the Hertfordshire and the Puckeridge, both of whom, in common with hunts across the country, found subscriptions declining as agricultural prices and rentals fell;⁹⁴ neither practised the custom of 'capping' whereby visitors were asked to contribute something to the day's

⁹⁰ Letter from 'Audi Alteram partem', *HE*, 14th March 1891.

⁹¹ S. Sassoon, *The Complete Memoirs of George Sherston* (London, 1972, first published 1937), p.93.

⁹² 'Hunting from London', *Baily's Magazine*, (February 1884), p.13 quoted in E.A Hamilton, *The Social and Economic Impact of Foxhunting in Warwickshire, 1860-1920* Unpublished M.Phil Thesis University of Birmingham (2005), p.72.

⁹³ Lord Suffolk and Berkshire 'Foxhunters and Farmers', *National Review*, Vol.24, (1894), pp.546-556, p.554.

⁹⁴ Hamilton, *Foxhunting in Warwickshire*, p.83, M. Brander, *Portrait of a Hunt. The History of the Puckeridge and Newmarket and Thurlow Combined Hunts* (London, 1976), p.66.

expenses.⁹⁵ In 1897 *Country Life Illustrated* carried an item on 'Neophytes', the man of 'middle or advanced age' who suddenly 'conceives the idea that his *role* is that of a country gentleman' and takes a place in the country and looks to indulge in country pursuits.⁹⁶ Such men provided a source of amusement for those more accustomed to the hunting field, but increasingly it was the funds which such parvenus were able to draw on which made them attractive to the Masters of the Hunt, and as one historian of the Warwickshire hunt has noted, 'the newcomers had to adapt to the habits and mores of the hunt, and not the other way round'.⁹⁷ Hertfordshire's two hunting packs reflected the value of these new arrivals; in 1896, Edward Barclay of the banking family took on the Mastership of the Puckeridge, and two years later the joint Masters of the Hertfordshire were Thomas Fenwick Harrison, a shipping magnate, and Charles T. Part, a barrister.⁹⁸ It was men such as these who were part of that breed of commercial and professional newly wealthy who were attracted to Hertfordshire for its promise of a rural existence within easy access to town, and the following section will consider how the landowning patterns of the county were affected by falling agricultural prices, and the demand for a 'house in the country' from an urban population attracted by the package of clean air, pleasant surroundings and a fast train into town.

⁹⁵ *Baily's Fox-Hunting Directory 1897-98* (1898), p.99 'The Hertfordshire', p.130 'The Puckeridge'.

⁹⁶ 'Neophytes', *Country Life Illustrated*, 24th April 1897 p.399.

⁹⁷ Hamilton, *Foxhunting in Warwickshire*, p.83.

⁹⁸ W. Page, (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertford* Volume 1 (London, 1902), pp.352, 355. Charles T. Part also contributed the section on 'Sport, Ancient and Modern' for this volume pp.345-386. See Chapter 4 'The New Wealthy and their Understanding of the County'.

The Landowners of Hertfordshire

Table 2.5 Landownership within the County

Hertfordshire		
No. of Owners	Class ⁹⁹	Acres
10	Peers	82,682
15	Great Landowners	74,862
39	Squires	66,300
138	Greater Yeomen	69,000
237	Lesser Yeomen	40,290
2,184	Small Proprietors	34,196
9,556	Cottagers	2,339
208	Public Bodies	15,139
	Waste	5,302
12,387		390,110

Source: J. Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (Leicester, 1971, reprinting 1883 text, first published 1876, fourth edition 1883), p.505.

In 1873 John Bateman oversaw the collection and subsequent publication of information on the exact nature of landholding in England and Wales, a New Domesday survey which was intended to confound the claims of critics and show that landownership was widely dispersed amongst a property owning class. In this it failed, as the figures revealed that a quarter of the land of England and Wales, excluding the metropolis of London, was held by only 710 individuals, and that four-fifths of the whole of the United Kingdom was owned by fewer than 7,000 persons.¹⁰⁰ The county of Hertfordshire in size and population was one of the smaller counties of England, ranking as 35th in size and 32nd in population, with the proportion of land held in estates of more than 3,000 acres comparable to that of England and Wales

⁹⁹ See Appendix 2I 'Classes of Landownership as defined by Bateman'.

¹⁰⁰ Bateman, *Great Landowners*, Introduction p.12.

as a whole; 25 individuals owned 40% of the county.¹⁰¹ Using Sanford and Townsend's 1865 map from *The Great Governing Families of England*, F.M.L. Thompson has shown that small as it was Hertfordshire ranked third in a list of density of aristocratic seats per county, with one aristocratic seat to every 65,000 acres.¹⁰² With 23% of its total area occupied by estates of 10,000 acres or more, Hertfordshire was close to the figure of 24% for the country as a whole, and a county with a strong aristocratic presence.¹⁰³

This was a reflection of landowning patterns which had developed as early as the 16th century, as Hertfordshire attracted those whose presence at court or the counting house was a necessity. An early propagandist for the county, Thomas Fuller, a clergyman and historian, wrote in 1662:

It is the Garden of England for delight, and men commonly say, that such who buy a house in Hertfordshire pay two years' purchase for the air thereof.¹⁰⁴

Both Thomas Fuller and later commentators were struck by the quality of the air, in contrast to that of London; as recently as 1951 a guide to the county quoted Fuller in its introduction, for a readership fully aware of the hazards of metropolitan living before the Clean Air Act.¹⁰⁵ This contrast with and proximity to London made Hertfordshire an attractive proposition for those who wished to establish themselves within society whilst still maintaining their social and economic links with the capital. As a result, as Robert Morden noted, the county contained an 'incredible number of palaces and fair structures of the gentry and nobility'.¹⁰⁶ Arthur Young, in 1804, commented on the beautiful and ornamented grounds which added considerably to the attraction of the county, and a survey for the Board of Agriculture, drafted in

¹⁰¹ *The New Domesday Book of Hertfordshire. Compiled from the Official Return issued in 1873* (Hertford, n.d), Bateman, 'Great Landowners', p.505.

¹⁰² F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1980, first published 1963), pp.30, 32.

¹⁰³ See Appendix 2D 'Owners of Estates of 1,000 acres or more in Hertfordshire'.

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Fuller 'The History of the Worthies of England II' (1662), p.31 quoted in C.D Short, *Hearts, People and Status. A Study of the Social Structure of Three Areas of Hertfordshire in the late 17th century* Unpublished M.A. Thesis University of Leicester (1986), p.5.

¹⁰⁵ *Come to Hertfordshire. The Official Guide* (Dundee, 1951), p.4.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Morden (1704) quoted in Stone and Stone, *Open Elite*, p.38.

1795, drew attention to the large number of people of fortune residing in the county.¹⁰⁷ The estates they favoured were, for the most part, strung out along the main lines of communication; the Great North Road which passed through Hatfield, Welwyn and Knebworth, Watling Street which took a north-western route out of London towards St. Albans and thence Buckinghamshire and the Midlands, and Ermine Street which went via Hertford and Ware on its way into the north of the county and Cambridgeshire.¹⁰⁸ The more remote northern and north-eastern parts of the county were less well represented amongst the list of those who were resident owners of estates greater than 3,000 acres, a point noted by E.M. Forster in his novel *Howard's End*, set in part in the district around Stevenage, to which his newly widowed mother had moved when he was just a small child.¹⁰⁹

The great estates that throttle the south of Hertfordshire were less obtrusive here, and the appearance of the land was neither aristocratic nor suburban.¹¹⁰

The earlier pattern of new money settling in the county continued into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Lawrence and Jeanne Stone calculated that in the period 1820-1879 of the 68 purchasers of property in Hertfordshire, 35 or 51% had made their fortunes in the world of business, whilst 25 or 37% derived their wealth from landed income.¹¹¹ In 1870 the *Hertfordshire Mercury* carried an advertisement for a new *History of Hertfordshire* by John Edwin Cussans at a subscription price of one guinea per part. A previous history of the county by Robert Clutterbuck was now fifty years old, and it was felt that the time was ripe for a new book as many of the families featured in the older book had 'ceased to have any connection with the County, and a still greater number have, in consequence of the increased facilities for travelling, and other causes, become identified with its present history.'¹¹² A measure of the level of settlement within the county by the newly wealthy was their

¹⁰⁷ Young, *General View*, p.2, Walker, *Survey of Hertfordshire*, p.24.

¹⁰⁸ See Map 2. 'Houses of Resident Peers and Landowners of Estates 3,000 acres and above'.

¹⁰⁹ N. Beauman, *Morgan. A Biography of E.M. Forster* (London, 1993), See Chapter 3 'Rooks Nest'.

¹¹⁰ E.M. Forster, *Howard's End* (Harmondsworth, 2000, first published London, 1910), p.263.

¹¹¹ Stone and Stone, *'Open Elite'*, Appendix Table 6.2.

¹¹² 'History of Hertfordshire', *HM*, 1st January 1870.

Map 2. Houses of peers and commoners with estates greater than 3,000 acres resident in Hertfordshire



Source: Bateman, J., *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (Leicester, 1971, reprinting 1883 text, first published 1876, fourth edition 1883)

representation amongst the ranks of the office of High Sheriff.¹¹³ By the nineteenth century this office carried very little in the way of real power, but was an opportunity to announce one's arrival within the county's elite.¹¹⁴ The High Sheriff's procession with its liveried attendants and trumpeters leading the circuit judge into town was a very public and very expensive display which, as Table 2.6 shows, was taken on increasingly within Hertfordshire by those whose wealth derived from non-landed sources.

Table 2.6 Source of family or personal wealth for the High Sheriffs of Hertfordshire, 1870-1900

Source of wealth	No.
Commerce	10
Gentry	6
Banking	4
Brewing	4
Law	3
Manufacturing	3
Medicine	1
Total	31

Source: Appendix 2H 'High Sheriffs of Hertfordshire and the source of their wealth'

In addition, those who took on the role were in the main either the first or only representatives of their families to do so, reflecting the heavy financial demands and the willingness of the newly wealthy to establish themselves within county society at a time when the representatives of the older families were looking to preserve their incomes in the face of falling rental rolls.

¹¹³ See Appendices 2G 'Patterns of Office Holding amongst the High Sheriffs of Hertfordshire, 1870-1900' and 2H 'High Sheriffs of Hertfordshire and the source of their wealth, 1870-1900'.

¹¹⁴ D.C. Moore, 'The Landed Aristocracy' in G.E. Mingay, (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside* Volume 2 (London, 1981), pp.367-382, p.376.

Table 2.7 Pattern of Office Holding amongst the High Sheriffs of Hertfordshire, 1870-1900

	Number
Family first held office prior to the 18 th century	3
Family first held office 1800-1850	5
Family first held office 1850-1900	12
First member of family to hold office	11

Source: Appendix 2G 'Pattern of office holding amongst the High Sheriffs of Hertfordshire, 1870-1900'

This pattern amongst High Sheriffs mirrored the experience of landownership within the county in the latter part of the nineteenth century, with older families looking to protect what they already held and those whose wealth derived from a commercial and urban economy eager to take advantage of the convenience and opportunities offered by a rural county on the doorstep of the capital.

Landowners were alive to this demand from the newly wealthy and there were those happy to realise this valuable asset, particularly those who were not resident within the county and for whom their Hertfordshire property formed part of a larger land portfolio. In July 1866, the 'Distinguished Freehold Estate known as Oxhey' was advertised for sale by its new owner, Thomas Henry Sutton Sotheron Estcourt.¹¹⁵ Estcourt had adopted the name Sotheron on his marriage in 1830 to the wealthy heiress Lucy, only daughter of Admiral Frank Sotheron, and it was through his wife's family that he had come into the inheritance. His own seat was in Gloucestershire.¹¹⁶ The notice of sale emphasised the location of the Oxhey Estate as within only half an hour of the metropolis and in the immediate vicinity of Moor Park, Cassiobury and The Grove, the seats of Lord Ebury and the Earls of Essex and Clarendon. The estate was sold in five lots, the largest being sold to W.H. Smith, the newsagent and future

¹¹⁵ H.M. Stephens, 'Estcourt, Thomas Henry Sutton Sotheron (1801-1876)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *ODNB* (2004) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8894 accessed 2nd February 2007.

¹¹⁶ Bateman, *Great Landowners*, p.155 The family home of Estcourt, near Tetbury, was left to his younger brother on his death in 1876, together with a 5,400 acre estate spread across Wiltshire and Gloucestershire estates. His 5,757 acre Yorkshire estate at Darlington Hall, near Pontefract, was left to his nephew.

M.P., for a price of £46,500.¹¹⁷ Smith did not remain the owner for long, selling some plots of land for building and the remainder, in 1877, to Thomas Blackwell of the grocers, Crosse and Blackwell, who built a new house, Oxhey Place, to replace that which had been allowed to fall into ruins at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1910, Blackwell's grandson was still living at the house, but much of the estate had been turned over to a new private golf course which was opened in 1910, and Oxhey itself had been largely built over and absorbed into Watford Urban District.¹¹⁸

Not all estates went the way of Oxhey, for there were landowners who showed more tenacity and survived the last decades of the nineteenth century with their lands intact. Just as Sotheron Estcourt was able to take advantage of the demand for land, without spoiling his own view down in Gloucestershire, Earl Cowper at Panshanger was able to maintain his estate during the depression years by taking advantage of his property outside the county, in his case land which stood on the outskirts of Leeds at Potter Newton. Between 1885 and 1902 the Cowper estate was able to sell off land to developers, bringing in an income of more than £60,000.¹¹⁹ Indeed in 1890 he was also able, along with his neighbour Lord Salisbury at Hatfield, to enlarge his Hertfordshire estate when Lord Braye, another non-resident landowner whose seat was Stanford Park in Rugby,¹²⁰ decided to sell his 650-acre estate at Holwell Hyde, which sat between the parks of both Cowper and Salisbury. As the notice of sale made clear, this property had 'commanding views over the surrounding country' and offered 'eligible building sites commanding lovely views over Lord Salisbury's park', which goes some way to explaining the enthusiasm of both men for buying.¹²¹ Like Earl Cowper, Lord Salisbury was able to draw on revenues beyond his Hertfordshire estates, his 1,796 acres in Lancashire, some of which were to be found in the growing city of Liverpool, bringing in an income of £7,999 per annum at a time when his 13,389 acres in Hertfordshire were returning

¹¹⁷ HCRO DE/GO/E56 Sales Particulars and Accounts for the Oxhey Estate 1865-68, Davenport-Hines, R. 'Smith, William Henry (1825-1891)', *ODNB* (2004) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25938 accessed 2nd February 2007.

¹¹⁸ Page, *VCH, Volume Two*, 'Watford Parish' p.457.

¹¹⁹ C. Treen, 'The Process of Suburban Development in north Leeds, 1870-1914' in F.M.L. Thompson, (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester, 1982), pp.157-209, p.204.

¹²⁰ Bateman, *Great Landowners*, p.55.

¹²¹ HCRO DE/P/E31/5 1-2 Holwell Manor Estate Sales Particulars, 'Notice of Sale', *Estates Gazette*, 18th October 1892.

£18,372.¹²² With the Hertfordshire estates about to face the impact of falling prices, those Lancashire estates were to be all-important in maintaining income. Even more lucrative was his London property; he was able to capitalise on the rising price of land in the capital, selling off £200,000 worth of property in the Strand in 1888. David Cannadine ascribes apprehension at growing attacks on slum landlords for Salisbury's decision to sell, but the additional income at a time of agricultural uncertainty may well have been a consideration.¹²³

Not all the great landowners resident in the county were as resilient as Cowper and Salisbury. Upon the death of the 6th Earl of Essex in 1892, the new Earl was obliged to sell family paintings, raising over £40,000 for repairs to the family seat at Cassiobury, Watford.¹²⁴ Piecemeal sales of the estate continued; in 1908 Watford Urban District Council paid £16,500 for 50 acres of the estate to serve as a park for the town, adding a further 25 acres in 1913 at a cost of £7,000.¹²⁵ The family moved into their London home at the beginning of the twentieth century, never to return, and the last of the estate was sold off in 1922, with the house failing to sell and demolished a few years later.¹²⁶ The family's withdrawal from the county was as much a story of individual failings as wider societal patterns; the 7th Earl's expensive gambling habit ultimately made sustaining the expenses due on the estate at a time of increased pressure on rental returns and falling incomes an impossible task.¹²⁷

Other families managed to maintain their estates by strategies including reductions in household expenditure and short-term letting of the family home. Earl Lytton at Knebworth was able to find wealthy American tenants for his home whilst he was away on diplomatic duties.¹²⁸ The third Earl Verulam, who succeeded to the Gorhambury estate in 1895, continued to live in Sopwell House on the estate, letting the mansion and the shooting for around £1,500 to £2,000 a year, his father having

¹²² Bateman, *Great Landowners*, p.394.

¹²³ D. Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, p.122.

¹²⁴ T. Parrish, E. Chapman and G. Lorimer, (eds.), *The Book of Watford. A Portrait of our Town, c.1800-1987* (Watford, 1987), p.14.

¹²⁵ *Kelly's* (1914), 'Watford' p.266.

¹²⁶ W.R. Saunders, *The History of Watford* (Wakefield, 1970, first published 1931), p.46.

¹²⁷ Parrish, Chapman, and Lorimer, *Book of Watford*, p.14.

¹²⁸ John Cleveland Osgood, a coal magnate, and his wife took the house on a number of occasions between 1891-1895, *HM* 11th July 1891, *Kelly's* (1894) & (1895) see also Chapter 3 'The Farmers of Hertfordshire'. H. Phipps, from Pittsburgh, a partner of Andrew Carnegie, took the house for the summer of 1892, 'Knebworth House Let', *HS*, 29th April 1892.

been able to maintain the estate by a serious reduction of expenses and drawing on his capital.¹²⁹

With the Settled Land Act of 1882 removing many of the previous restrictions on selling land, there were those who sought to capitalise on pockets of land beyond their home estates. The demand for land for development encouraged non-resident landowners such as Sotheron Estcourt and Lord Braye to realise their Hertfordshire assets and offset them against falling rents. In 1892 the *Hertfordshire Standard* noted the coming under the hammer of practically the whole of the village of Redbourn, sited on Watling Street, near St. Albans. The village was sold off on the instructions of the Earl of Strathmore whose seat was in Forfar, and the division of the 1,800 acres into 62 lots of different sizes was a recognition of just where the purchasing power lay at this time.¹³⁰

In part this was a continuation of earlier patterns, with high demand leading to pressure on land and therefore smaller estates than were to be found amongst the gentry of other counties.¹³¹ The attractions both of London on the doorstep, 'select society' as neighbours and the opportunities for sport and socialising which a country estate could offer for those with new money seeking to improve their status made Hertfordshire a very desirable location. Where in previous years the new money came from those who had prospered at the royal and law courts, or in the far off Indies, it now came from a growing commercial sector supplying the household and retail needs of an expanding middle class. In addition, as the development of Oxhey, Redbourn and St. Catherine's Estate, Hoddesdon demonstrated, there was now an additional demand from that same expanding middle class who in their turn were looking to buy their own much smaller, but no less valued, home in a rural setting amongst like-minded people, offering those same attractions of easy access to town coupled with social and sporting outlets.

F.M.L. Thompson in his studies of the buying patterns of new millionaires in the latter part of the nineteenth century has concluded that the decisions made by these men

¹²⁹ Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.305.

¹³⁰ Bateman, *Great Landowners*, p.427, 'Important Sale of Property', *HS*, 1st July 1892 p.8.

¹³¹ Walker, *Survey of Hertfordshire*, p.24. Walker noted that the demand for estates from the wealthy attracted by the location of the county and its good air 'multiplies estates in a manner unknown in more distant counties'.

of business and finance reflected their awareness of both the declining financial returns and political relevance of the landed estate.¹³² Yet they continued to buy property, the appeal of the estate coming not from its potential for founding a dynasty based on land, or furthering a political career based on a local power base, but the opportunities it offered for a country house lifestyle with its space for hunting, shooting and what he terms 'landlord acting'.¹³³ For ambitions such as these, the smaller estate was ideal and the position of Hertfordshire, within easy reach of London, offered the chance for profit-making during the week and socialising at the weekend.¹³⁴ Many of those who sought a place in the country were not looking to put down roots, and indeed many took on homes as tenants before deciding whether to make the arrangement more permanent.¹³⁵ Turnover in estates was lively. Thompson looked at the changes in landownership for just one small area, a five mile radius centred on the town of St Albans. He compared the ownership of ten country houses at two points in time, namely 1890 and 1912, and found that by the later date only three of these houses were owned by the same families, and these three represented the old nobility and gentry, Lord Verulam, Lord Cavan and the Cherry-Garrard family; the latter had held their lands at Wheathampstead since the 16th century.¹³⁶ The new arrivals came in the main from the banking, retail and merchant classes, and these men too would move on, their interest no longer in founding a dynasty to sit alongside those of their more durable neighbours.¹³⁷

A wider search for the county of those houses listed under the heading Principal Seats in *Kelly's Directory* for the same period, 1890 and 1912, revealed a similar rate of change for those who occupied such homes. Unlike Thompson's search this

¹³² Thompson, *Gentrification*. See particularly Chapter 4 'The Culture of Entrepreneurs'.

¹³³ F.M.L. Thompson, 'English Landed Society in the Twentieth Century II New Poor and New Rich', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series Vol.1, (December 1991), pp.1-20, p.17. See also F.M.L. Thompson, 'English Landed Society in the Twentieth Century. I Property: Collapse and Survival', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series Vol.40, (December 1990), pp.1-24.

¹³⁴ See Appendix 2E 'Businessmen buying estates within the county of Hertfordshire'.

¹³⁵ John B. Maple at Childwickbury, near St. Albans and George Faudel-Phillips at Ball's Park, near Hertford both rented their homes before buying. 'Ball's Park Estate', *HS*, 13th July 1901. Faudel-Phillips paid £50,000 for Ball's Park mansion and 100 acres when it came up for sale in 1901. He had been living at the house since shortly before 1885 when he stood for election in the county. See Chapter 5 'The Political Climate of the County'. For Maple see Chapter 4 'The New Wealthy and their Understanding of the County'.

¹³⁶ Stone and Stone, *Open Elite*, p.125. Sir William Garrard, haberdasher and Lord Mayor of London bought the estate of Lamer in 1555.

¹³⁷ Thompson, 'Property Collapse and Survival', p.16.

included the turnover of those who were tenants as well as owners in order to give an indication of that sense of change which was abroad in the county. Of the 180 houses listed in 1890, only 62 were still home to the same family in 1912; of these 14 were occupied by the widows of the 1890 residents. It has not been possible to trace the fates of all these women, and the intervention of the First World War brought a different dimension to passing property on to a second generation. However, such a high turnover of those occupying the major Hertfordshire houses does give some indication of the understanding of those who took on both tenancies and possession of these estates. It also points to the concerns of those who promoted the value of landownership as a stabilising force within society, both politically and socially.

This 'new' breed of landowner raised fears in the minds of commentators that an older, paternalistic understanding would be lost in the face of those who cared only for their own pleasures and put down no roots within the county. Duncan Warrand, in his introduction to the genealogical volume of the *Victoria County History of Hertford*, distinguished between an older breed of squire whose roots ran deep within the county and whose sons rode their horses on the hunting field and to war, but whose homes were being lost to those with 'Wardour Street pedigrees' who turned the manor 'into a pleasure ground, its manor house into a shooting box or a week-end villa' and had severed any sense of connection with the land on which it stood.¹³⁸ In 1880, a Hunsdon farmer, Thomas Garratt, wrote to the *Herts Guardian* complaining about the displacement of the older families who would meet with you face to face by 'tradesmen who are nothing more than London counter jumpers', with no real understanding of how the rural world conducted affairs,¹³⁹ and the *Herts Illustrated Review* commented in 1893:

the landlord who will not see his tenants to talk over any matter of dispute, but spends his whole time and money away from the neighbourhood, either in yachting or worse, ought not to have any land at all.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ D. Warrand, (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertfordshire. Genealogical Volume* (London, 1907).

¹³⁹ 'Letter from Thomas Garratt of Hunsdon Lodge Farm', *HGAJ*, 6th March 1880. Garratt was tenant of 1,185 acres at the time of the 1881 census, but bankrupt by the end of that year. See Chapter 3 'The Farmers of Hertfordshire'.

¹⁴⁰ 'Agricultural Notes & Comments', *HIR*, Volume I, (February 1893) p.129.

Underlying such fears was a concern that at the local level vital economic support was being lost just when farmers were experiencing falling prices and the labourers were leaving the countryside for the town. Both Young and Walker in earlier times had commented on the large number of fine country houses to be found within the county, but their appreciation was not simply based on aesthetics, for it was not just the eye that was pleased, but also the pocket; both men emphasised the value to the local economy of such houses. Young considered them 'a national benefit from the very extensive employment with which they supply the industrious poor in their neighbourhood', whilst Walker felt that the presence of so many people of fortune able to dispense charity was advantageous in keeping down the poor rate.¹⁴¹

The fear was that this new generation of wealthy who were moving into the county neither understood nor cared for the environment beyond their own park or even drawing room. It is not hard to see why those who relied on the understanding of their landlords to survive the falling agricultural prices might have been suspicious of those who came to the county with one eye on their London investments and the other on their London guests. Yet whilst these men of wealth, with urban roots, may, as Thompson suggests, have found the smaller estate more desirable, they did bring to their new property an understanding of the rural which contained a sense of taking on that older paternalistic role.¹⁴² In addition, as evidenced by their highly visible positions as High Sheriff and Master of the Hunt, they brought disposable income which was in short supply amongst many of the older families. In 1892, the West Herts Agricultural Society appointed department store owner John Blundell Maple of Childwickbury as President, an appointment which may have had as much to do with his willingness to wipe out their £50 shortfall in funds as his herd of prize-winning pedigree sheep.¹⁴³

At Brent Pelham in the north-east of the county, where the heavy clay soil and distance from the railway made life difficult for so many farmers during the years of the agricultural depression, Edward Barclay, of the banking family, was able to nurse

¹⁴¹ Young, *General View*, p. 2, Walker, *Survey of Hertfordshire*, p. 22.

¹⁴² See Chapter 4 'The New Wealthy and their Understanding of the County' for their paternalistic engagement with the county.

¹⁴³ 'Local Notes', *WHP*, 18TH March 1892, 'Agricultural Notes', *HIR*, (January 1893), p.58. Maple won the Champion's Cup for his cross-breed sheep at the Smithfield Fat Stock Show, 1893.

his tenants through the worst of those years, showing a tolerance towards debt that speaks of something more than just an economic relationship. Noted as 'a gentleman farmer' who took 'a keen interest in agriculture',¹⁴⁴ Barclay was the first of his family to permanently reside on the estate.¹⁴⁵ By the giving of abatements and permanent reductions of rent his tenant farmers were able to remain in occupation until death or old age saw them depart;¹⁴⁶ when 71 year old Jemima Brand, tenant of Black Hall Farm died in 1899 she was in arrears for a sum of £175 5s 6d, but the account book showed this sum written off and £197 given as a 'gift to the family of the late Jemima Brand', perhaps in recognition of the family's long connection with the estate; Jemima Brand was the widow of Charles who had been the tenant of Black Hall Farm as far back as 1851, and whose father had held the farm before him.¹⁴⁷

Rider Haggard applauded the heavy capital investment made by Alexander Crossman, a London brewer who had bought the Cokenach estate, in the north-eastern parish of Barkway in 1896, saying it was 'delightful to see the wilderness in process of being made to blossom like the rose,' although he doubted whether there were many in his position, prepared to 'spend thousands of pounds, which possibly may never be remunerative, in the betterment of the land and its inhabitants.'¹⁴⁸ Crossman told Rider Haggard that he expected no real return on his estate, but that farming 'was his hobby'.¹⁴⁹

Haggard believed that men like Crossman, willing to invest in large capital projects, were not representative of the general breed of landowner who was more concerned with his sport than his tenants; he did not exclude the 'hereditary governing classes' from this, accusing them of treating the countryside as 'first and foremost a retreat for sportsmen and a tabernacle for the givers of fashionable house-parties'.¹⁵⁰ Such an attitude was a real threat not simply to the future of agriculture in the country, but also to the stability of the wider empire as poor wages and reduced opportunities

¹⁴⁴ E. Gaskell, *Hertfordshire Leaders, Social and Political* (London, 1908), p.147.

¹⁴⁵ 'Brent Pelham Hall', *Transactions of the East Hertfordshire Archaeological Society*, Vol.3, Pt.1 (1905), p.55. His father, Joseph, had bought the estate in 1865 but never lived there.

¹⁴⁶ HCRO D/EBc/A2 Annual Summaries of Account for the Brent Pelham Estate, 1896-1929.

¹⁴⁷ 1841 census 'Meesden' HO107/443 Book 13 ED9 F3, 1851 census 'Meesden' HO107/1707 ED4.

¹⁴⁸ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, pp.554-555, HCRO DE/B1877/T1 Title Deeds of the Earlsbury Estate (Great Cokenach), 'Local Necrology - April', *HA*, (1917), Crossman of Cokenach was a partner in the brewers Mann, Crossman and Paulin. He increased the estate from 550 acres to 5,000.

¹⁴⁹ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.569.

¹⁵⁰ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, Introduction to Volume 2 p.viii.

saw more and more labourers leaving the land for the unhealthy corruption of the towns. What was needed was a sense of urgency amongst landowners to address the particular situation of the agricultural labourer; Crossman himself called for farmers to pay higher wages, but called also on landowners to do more to help labourers by the building of good cottages with large gardens, as well as giving land for cricket and football fields and supporting a village sick club.¹⁵¹

Crossman's estate at Barkway sat in the midst of parishes which were particularly affected by both the agricultural depression and falling population, which might account for his awareness of the issues of concern to Rider Haggard and others. However, the Hertfordshire experience in general would suggest a more sophisticated response to their environment by those who moved in to the county than simply the desire for a base from which to hunt, shoot, fish or play baccarat. The easy access from the county to the capital encouraged higher levels of residency amongst those who bought what may well have been initially considered a country house, but developed into a country home. These men and their families did not stand outside the concerns of their day and indeed their desire for the rural experience reflected the value which it held in the wider urban imagination. Just as the great families of the county had always combined their economic and paternalistic roles with their sporting and leisure pursuits, the new wealthy were able to square the circle of business, philanthropy and pleasure, and Hertfordshire was able to benefit from their wealth and commitment at a time when those older families were looking to protect their estates and their incomes.¹⁵²

Whilst not all those who moved into the county could aspire to their own park gates, the increase in the numbers of those who saw Hertfordshire as a place to raise their families within a pleasant setting which provoked that sense of the rural also promoted the continuing profile of the county as essentially rural in nature, even as the streets in which they lived were expanding around the railway station. This growth in a property-owning class also impacted on the political situation of the county. With a strong tradition of sending Conservative members to Parliament, Hertfordshire was one of those shires which Conservative commentators feared would be destabilised by the arrival of those new men who were essentially urban in

¹⁵¹ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.571.

¹⁵² See Chapter 4 'The New Wealthy and their Understanding of the County'.

orientation and potentially ripe for Liberal picking. However, the county continued to return Conservative members, an indication of the local candidates' success in promoting themselves as the party of both property and the rural in the face of urban ignorance of and indifference to the long traditions of the county.¹⁵³

Conclusion

Hertfordshire experienced a growth in the last years of the nineteenth century which brought new men and their families into the county at a time when the existing rural partnership was under strain. Those who moved into the mansion, the villa and the farmhouse very often brought with them a bankbook and an energy which supported those who might otherwise have gone under without them. This essentially rural county's position on the skirts of London made it an attractive proposition economically, socially and emotionally which influenced both the nature of those who arrived and their understanding of their environment once they had unpacked. As subsequent chapters will show, these new arrivals would make their mark on the fabric of the county, from the houses in which they lived, the fields in which they toiled, and the commons on which they strolled. A stress on the rural nature of the county was played out in debates on political, social and economic concerns which increasingly saw the voice of the agriculturalist not as the soloist but rather as one member of the countryside choir.

¹⁵³ See Chapter 5 'The Political Climate of the County'.

Chapter 3 The Farmers of Hertfordshire 1875-1914

Introduction

In July 1875 the heavy rains of that summer claimed their first victim. George Gentle, a labourer employed by Thomas Pack on his 25-acre farm at Ashwell in the north of the county, was buried beneath several tons of chalk which collapsed on top of him whilst he was digging out the chalk for lime burning. It took four hours to release him from the saturated chalk by which time he was crushed almost beyond recognition.¹

Throughout that summer the local newspapers carried editorials on the weather, 'the matter of course conversation topic in England', and called on readers to pray for an end to the rains which had seen acres of land under water between Bishop Stortford and Sawbridgeworth.² When the incessant rain finally relented, and the sun shone on the harvest, yields were low and quality remarked upon as 'indifferent and coarse'.³ Whilst thanks were given that the damage had not been greater, the increase in the number of cases notified of foot and mouth disease was an indication of the difficulties that were to follow in the years to come.⁴ The annual report of the Veterinary Department for 1880 reported twenty farms infected with foot and mouth disease within the county, and an increase in the number of cattle infected with pleuro-pneumonia.⁵

¹ 'Ashwell – Fatal Pit Accident', *HGAJ*, 24th July 1875 p.4, 1871 census 'Ashwell' RG10/1359 ED1 F106.

² 'Hertford – The Weather', *HGAJ*, 17th July 1875 p.5, 'Bishop Stortford – The Rain', *HGAJ*, 24th July 1875 p.4, 'The Weather and the Crops', *HGAJ*, 31st July 1875 p.4, 'Hertford – The Storm', *HGAJ*, 14th August 1875 p.4.

³ 'The Harvest', *HGAJ*, 21st August 1875 p.4.

⁴ BPP XXI.287 [C.1542] (1876) *Annual Report of the Veterinary Department, Appendix* pp.16-17 referred to the increase in reported cases that autumn, but no returns of actual numbers involved were collected. For examples of Hertfordshire cases see *HGAJ*, 4th September 1875 p.4 'Hitchin Petty Sessions – Foot and Mouth at Pirton', p.5 'Sawbridgeworth – Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act', *HGAJ*, 11th September 1875 p.1 'Eastwick and Hunsdon Meads – Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act', p.4 'Foot and Mouth Disease at Ware', 'Foot and Mouth Disease at Stanstead', 'Foot and Mouth Disease at Hunsdon', *HGAJ*, 18th September 1875 p.1 'Orton Head, Hitchin – Contagious Diseases (Animals Act)', p.4 'Foot and Mouth Disease at Cheshunt', *HGAJ*, 2nd October 1875 p.1 'Offley Green, Rushden - Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act', *HGAJ*, 16th October 1875 p.1 'Yardley – Commonable land – Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act'.

⁵ BPP XXX.555 [C.2863] (1881) *Annual Report of the Veterinary Department* pp.38, 44.

The subject of the weather was a perennial one for farmers and those whose livelihoods depended upon them. However, the wet summer of 1875 heralded a run of poor seasons which were to have serious implications for arable farmers in particular as they brought to the fore issues of supply and demand, highlighting the shifting balance in a previously closed farming system which saw prices falling in the face of reduced yields and overseas competition. In 1879 Lord Salisbury commiserated with the audience at the West Herts Agricultural Show on the recent appalling weather they had encountered, and whilst calling on them to explore all avenues for making a living from their trade, he consoled them with the thought that whilst today the heavy yields from America were threatening their prosperity, the hungry soils of the prairie and their distance from the ports must mean that 'the advantage of America is an advantage which must always diminish'.⁶ For those who were listening that day or read his words in the newspaper that week, this proved to be a hollow prediction.

This chapter will show how the falling prices affected the farmers of Hertfordshire, highlighting the arrival of new men from Scotland and the West Country and their integration into the farming community, before going on to consider a wider sense of social and cultural displacement by farmers in a county where increasingly they perceived themselves to be sidelined by urban concerns. By locating the new arrivals within a changing farming structure, together with plotting the rise in farming-related bankruptcies, it will be possible to gain an insight into the subjective experience of depression within the county which underpinned that fear of a way of life under threat. The emphasis in this chapter, therefore, will be on the experience of depression and its implications for how farmers saw their place within the county.

Negotiating the Agricultural Depression

In the memory of most observers the agricultural depression began with the rain. Sir John Bennet Lawes reported to the 1881 Royal Commission that a rain gauge monitored in one 30-acre field on his Rothamstead Estate at Harpenden showed an average rainfall for the twenty years 1854-74 of 26½ inches, whilst for the years 1875-1880 it was just over 34 inches, with the greatest amount of 36 inches falling

⁶ 'West Herts Agricultural Show', *HM*, 1st December 1879 p.5.

in 1879.⁷ Most damagingly, the heaviest rains of that year fell in May, June and July when crops should have been ripening, which affected both the level and quality of the yield. The cycle of wet summers improved over the next few years, but then the summer of 1889 began with a rainfall 'without precedent in our annals', with 3.91 inches falling on Tewin and 3.76 inches recorded at Hitchin,⁸ and was described by one commentator as 'cold, very wet, and somewhat gloomy'.⁹ This pattern of cold, wet weather continued with serious consequences for both yields and prices.¹⁰ Those farmers who had weathered the earlier storms were hit once again, but at a time when their capital had been exhausted.

The wet weather also had implications for livestock, with epidemics of liver rot and foot and mouth disease seeing some six million sheep lost to disease from the national flock between 1879 and 1882.¹¹ In Hertfordshire during the same period the total number of sheep kept fell from 171,133 to 138,093, recovering somewhat the following year, but with the overall trend reflecting a decline in the popularity of sheep for Hertfordshire farmers. J.B. Lawes told the Royal Commission of 1881 that he had given up keeping sheep on his Rothamsted estate at Harpenden due to the problems with footrot,¹² but the Assistant Commissioner for Hertfordshire believed that the fall in the numbers of sheep reflected not simply the problems of disease but also the inability of farmers to replace stock that they were forced to sell to meet their debts.¹³ In 1882, the *Herts Guardian* commented that 'bad times and loss of capital prevent some farmers from keeping the quantity of sheep their farms will carry', pointing out that on the fields between Hertford and St. Margaret's there were only 200 sheep to be seen where previously there were 2,000.¹⁴ By the outbreak of the First World War the county flock stood at only 67,851, a fall of sixty per cent

⁷ BPP XVII.1 [C.3096] (1881) *Royal Commission on Depressed Condition of Agricultural Interests Minutes of Evidence* p.949.

⁸ J. Hopkinson, 'Rainfall of the 12th of July 1889 in Hertfordshire', *Hertfordshire Constitutional Magazine*, Vol.3, (1889), pp.6-9, p.6. Hitchin saw 3.76 inches fall in just the month of July, 1889.

⁹ E. Mawley, 'Weather in Hertfordshire, August 1889', *HCM*, Vol.3, (1889), p.73

¹⁰ See Appendix 3A 'Quantities returned and average prices per imperial quarter realised of arable crops at returning markets within Hertfordshire 1880-1913' and Appendix 3B 'Average price at market for corn crops (per imperial quarter) 1870-1910'.

¹¹ J. Brown, *Farming in Lincolnshire 1850-1945* (Lincoln, 2005), p.158.

¹² BPP XVII.1 [C.3096] (1881) p.950.

¹³ BPP XV.247 [C.3375.II](1882) *Royal Commission on the Depressed Condition of Agriculture. Report of Assistant Commissioner Druce* p.35.

¹⁴ 'Corn and Sheep', *HGAJ*, 1st April 1882 p.4.

from the 1879 figure.¹⁵ As an arable county, however, it was the declining wheat price which had the greater impact on the structure of farming in Hertfordshire.

Yields and prices of wheat, barley and oats returned at Hertfordshire's markets fluctuated in the period 1880-1913, hitting their lowest point in 1895 and staging a recovery in the years leading up to the First World War.¹⁶ The prices realised nationally at market in England and Wales in the years either side of the onset of the rains reflected the uncomfortable truth that the closed system of reduced domestic yields leading to higher prices at market had been breached by the ships arriving into British ports with ever-increasing cargoes of arable crops to meet the home demand.¹⁷ In 1879 John Prout, who farmed 450 acres at Sawbridgeworth on a continuous cropping rotation that included no stock and relied on artificial manures, lost £500 where in previous years he had made £1-2 per acre.¹⁸ The second run of poor harvests which followed the wet summer of 1889 saw yields and prices fall at Hertfordshire's markets, with wheat averaging a drop of 10 shillings per quarter from its 1891 average price of 36s. 2d. at a time when, as Table 3.1 shows, imports of wheat and wheat flour were showing a steady increase.¹⁹

Table 3.1 Five year averages of corn crops imported into the United Kingdom

Years	Wheat Cwt	Barley Cwt	Oats Cwt	Wheat Flour Cwt	Other Flour Cwt
1871 - 75	43,756,957	11,048,303	11,636,574	5,390,536	63,555
1876 - 80	52,696,932	12,028,199	12,838,773	8,490,353	544,446
1881 - 85	58,866,466	14,025,312	13,011,834	14,334,448	666,380
1886 - 90	55,905,151	16,667,490	15,087,323	16,021,731	644,080
1891 - 95	69,710,587	21,889,571	15,344,859	19,348,039	800,957
1896 - 00	66,659,932	20,027,479	17,003,546	21,102,363	2,556,388
1901 - 05	86,849,408	24,443,890	17,160,953	17,848,375	1,983,157
1906 - 10	96,868,694	19,507,458	15,074,410	12,294,110	1,960,385

Source: See Appendix 3D 'Grain and Flour Imported into the United Kingdom, 1870-1910'.

¹⁵ See Appendix 3C 'Livestock Returns for Hertfordshire and England'.

¹⁶ See Appendix 3A 'Quantities returned and average prices per imperial quarter realised of arable crops at returning markets within Hertfordshire, 1880-1913'.

¹⁷ See Appendix 3B 'Average price at market for corn crops (per imperial quarter), 1870-1910.

¹⁸ BPP XIV.1 [C.3309] (1882) *Royal Commission on the Depressed Condition of Agricultural Interests. Minutes of Evidence. Final Report. XIV* p.20.

¹⁹ See Appendix 3D 'Grain and Flour Imported into the United Kingdom, 1870-1910' for annual returns.

In an article written in 1896, J.B. Lawes and his colleague J.H. Gilbert concluded that the disruption of war might have a real impact on the price of corn crops, but that under normal trading conditions:

such is the extent to which the wheat-producing capabilities of the world have been opened up, and show possibilities of development, that it cannot be said that the circumstances indicate much prospect of a substantial and permanent rise²⁰

By 1914, only one British loaf in five came from home-produced flour.²¹

Within Hertfordshire, the farming landscape saw a shift in the balance between the three arable crops of wheat, barley and oats. Lawes told the Royal Commission of 1881 that given the narrowing of returns on the main arable crops he expected wheat still to be grown on the best wheat lands, but that its overall acreage would decrease and that of barley and oats would increase.²² As Table 3.2 shows, wheat did suffer a decline in Hertfordshire acreage, although the county performed better than the nation as a whole. Other arable counties such as Lincolnshire saw losses of more than 50 per cent.²³

²⁰ J.B. Lawes and J.H. Gilbert, 'On the depression of corn prices; and on the production of wheat in some of the chief exporting countries of the world', *JRASE*, Third Series, No.7 (1896), pp.723-737, p.737.

²¹ R. Perren, 'Food Processing Industries - Milling' in Collins, (ed.), *'Agrarian History'*, pp.1062-1075, p.1066.

²² BPP XVII.1 [C.3096] (1881) p.950.

²³ Brown, *'Farming in Lincolnshire'*, p.150. The acreage under wheat fell by 52.8% in the period 1875-1895.

Table 3.2 Percentage change in average acreage of land under wheat, barley, oats and permanent pasture in England and Hertfordshire, 1870-1910

	% change in average acreage 1870-1890	% change in average acreage 1870-1910
Wheat		
Herts	- 14%	- 10%
England	- 38%	- 47%
Barley		
Herts	- 21%	- 59%
England	- 9%	- 27%
Oats		
Herts	+ 35%	+ 50%
England	+ 25%	+ 27%
Permanent Pasture		
Herts	+ 31%	+ 41%
England	+ 30%	+ 39%

Source: See Appendix 3E 'Five year averages for acreage of land under cultivation'

Lawes' prediction of an increase in barley acreage was unrealised, with the county showing a larger than average fall in acreage compared to the nation as a whole in spite of being home to a large malting and brewing industry in the district centred on Ware, in east Hertfordshire.²⁴ This was a reflection of the difficulties faced by the barley growing districts of the eastern part of the county, where the heaviest clay soils were to be found and reductions in expenditure on drainage and general husbandry were quickly felt in returns on yield of this crop which did best on lighter, well-drained land.²⁵ Assistant Commissioner Spencer reported in 1895 that whilst land in the south of the county was for the most part let and occupied by tenants, there was a large amount of land in the north and east of the county which was unlet

²⁴ J. Brown, 'Malting' in, Collins, (ed.), *Agrarian History*, pp.1076-1084, p.1082. Kelly's, (1882), listed 62 maltsters in the county, with several occupying more than one site, p.750. One estimate of the numbers of maltsters in the Ware district alone was for 80 different sites, their owners combining the business with some other occupation and presumably too small to merit an individual trade directory entry, Old Inhabitant, 'A Guide to Hertfordshire', (1880), quoted in Branch Johnson, *Industrial Archaeology*, p.30.

²⁵ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) *Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression. Report by Aubrey Spencer on Vale of Aylesbury and County of Hertford* p.9 Barley continued to be grown on the lighter soils of the Royston district on the north-eastern border with Cambridgeshire.

or in hand, and the fear was that more was to follow.²⁶ As will be shown below, it was these parishes which saw the greatest level of settlement by the Cornish and Devon farmers, and their system was to keep more stock, laying down grass where the land would take it and shifting out of corn crops.²⁷ Thus, the fall in barley acreage reflected both the poor condition of the land itself and the arrival of farmers with different patterns of farming.

The acreage of oats did increase, as the county was able to take advantage of the growing demand from urban stables, both from within its own borders and beyond into the capital itself. The Scottish farmers who started arriving in the county even before the fall in prices of the late 1870s had already recognised the shifting patterns of demand and increased their commitment to oats, whilst also devoting more land to the growing of potatoes in response to the easily accessible London market.²⁸

As Table 3.2 shows, however, the biggest change on the county farm was the amount of land devoted to permanent pasture, where the initial response to falling arable prices was maintained in an increase of land devoted to the grazing of cattle. Where the number of sheep fell by two thirds in the period 1870-1914, the cattle and dairy herds increased by over half in the same period.²⁹ J.B. Lawes told the Royal Commission in 1881 that he had been laying down more grass to pasture on his own estate as liquid milk was more resistant to foreign imports. However, this remedy for falling prices was not available to all, and by 1895 Lawes himself had concluded that whilst the heavy application of manure might increase quantities of grass, it did not necessarily correlate to higher quality.³⁰ He had considered introducing cow-keeping for his labourers, but decided it was not an option as the 'clays of Herts are not of the pastoral kind.'³¹ On the heavy clays of the eastern district far from the railway sidings, as profits were squeezed costs were cut. One owner told the Assessment

²⁶ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.22 Spencer was told that at Wallington and Bygrave there were 1,000 – 2,000 acres unlet and almost out of cultivation, whilst in the Hadham district there was a large amount of land on the verge of being unworkable.

²⁷ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.15.

²⁸ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.14.

²⁹ See Appendix 3C. 'Livestock returns for Hertfordshire and England'. The number of sheep fell by 66%, cattle rose by 55%.

³⁰ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.9. Lawes put the failure to produce high quality grass down to the inability of the Hertfordshire soils to support white clover which was at the heart of good grazing land.

³¹ H. Evershed, 'Cow-Keeping By Farm Labourers', *JRASE*, (1879, reprinted 1880) in M. Freeman, (ed.), *The English Rural Poor 1850-1914 Volume Three 'Life on the Land'* (London, 2005), pp.5-37, p.28.

Committee of the Bishop's Stortford Union that land which he had been obliged to take in hand at Much Hadham was 'emphatically wheat land', heavy clay and hungry, where the grass laid down to pasture 'had nothing particular in the way of what farmers called 'bottom'', producing only a thin product.³² Much of the grass to be found here was a reflection not of dynamic decision making, but the result of fields being left untended, with 'tumbledown' pasture in place of fields of wheat and barley; in some places, it was reported, the grass was not long enough 'to cover a lark'.³³

However, others found there were profits to be had. With demand from London growing all the time, by 1888 93 per cent of the available land in East Barnet and 95 per cent of the land in Totteridge was under permanent grass, with much of the grassland let to London cow-keepers.³⁴ As Lawes had argued, this heavy clay was not the best medium for the keeping of dairy herds, but the easy access to manure from the London stables ensured productivity was maintained. One Scottish farmer told Rider Haggard that he brought in six to seven hundred tons of London 'muck' to improve the heavy land of his Hatfield farm.³⁵ Assistant Commissioner Spencer noted the increase in liquid milk production on farms adjacent to railway lines and these were the favourite locations of the Scottish arrivals. Lord Salisbury's agent, James McCowan, told Rider Haggard that the Scottish farmers near to the stations of the Hatfield district 'were doing well and putting money by, chiefly out of potatoes and the milk trade, which on all hands was admitted to be an expanding industry.'³⁶ Greater consideration will be given to the impact of the new men arriving from Scotland and the West Country later in this chapter; however, it should be noted that these incomers were able to negotiate both keen rents and considerable capital expenditure on cowsheds and dairies with landowners reluctant to take farms in hand. In 1895 landowners and farmers from Hertford district told Commissioner Spencer that those who were taking on farms were able to demand more of landlords, and Abel Smith, large landowner and M.P. for the district said, 'a large amount had been spent by landlords in putting up buildings and making

³² 'Hertfordshire Quarter Sessions – Important Rating Appeal', *HM*, 6th January 1894. The landowner was Richard Hunt, appealing against the rate for Exnalls Farm, Much Hadham.

³³ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.9.

³⁴ Carpenter, *Agricultural Geography*, p.158.

³⁵ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.539. The transportation of manure was not welcomed by all. In 1885 one correspondent complained of the stench of the London manure left waiting for collection at the railway stations of the G.N.R., giving particular mention to the problem at Stevenage, 'London manure at Railway Stations', *HM*, 31st January 1885.

³⁶ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.534.

arrangements for the keeping of a large number of cows,³⁷ as locally many farms had shifted into a different method of cultivation. As late as 1903, John Masson, a Scottish farmer who had previously been a tenant of Lord Hampden on the Luton Hoo Estate, was demanding the building of a high quality cowshed for his sixty cows on the grounds that his milkman of the past ten years would not accept milk taken under the existing condition of the farm. He got his new buildings and an annual rent of £430 for 475 acres and four cottages; in 1879, the same acreage and cottages were let for £600.³⁸

Hertfordshire farmers found themselves on the receiving end of a great deal of advice. Criticism of farmers was not new, but in the difficult days at the end of the nineteenth century the idea that farmers were guilty of failing to respond to the new realities of the agricultural economy and could not be trusted to farm wisely was voiced by many who stood, usually beyond the farm hedge, and passed judgement. Arthur Smith, proprietor of the *Hertfordshire Illustrated Review*, adopting what he termed 'a spirit of friendly criticism', called on farmers to maintain proper accounts, keep abreast of the latest scientific developments, and adopt 'green' malt as an animal feed, but doubted they would heed his advice as 'it is almost useless to expect that farmers will adopt any practice which is different to what they have been used to.'³⁹ Henry Rider Haggard, visiting the county in 1902, commented on the reluctance of neighbouring farmers to follow the example of John Prout's continuous cropping rotation, ascribing it to the 'conservatism, not to say the obstinacy, of farmers at large',⁴⁰ a view echoed by one reviewer of *Rural England* who complained of the 'blind reluctance [of farmers] to seek novel improvements or to practice strange economies'.⁴¹

The 'I'm not a farmer, but' school of thought was quick to tell those who worked their farms where they were going wrong. As one correspondent to the *Herts Mercury* wrote:

³⁷ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.40.

³⁸ HCRO DE/P/E254/1 Cowper Estate – Attimore Hall Farm, Tenancy Handbook, DE/P/E320 Cowper Estate - Attimore Hall Farm, Correspondence, see letters dated 2nd November 1903, 11th August 1904, 13th August 1904.

³⁹ 'Agricultural Notes', *HIR*, Vol. 1, (1893) pp.55,130,326.

⁴⁰ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.533.

⁴¹ L.L. Price, 'Rural England by Rider Haggard. A Review Article', *Economic Journal*, Vol.13, No.50 (June 1903), pp.204-215, p.210.

I have not much knowledge of farming myself, but judging from the state of the land in many parishes – notably in my own parish, on the land of one particular farm – I should say that farming in Hertfordshire is not by any means conducted as it should be. The land is not sufficiently cleared of the twitch, the dock, and the weeds, etc., but is allowed to remain in a very foul condition. How is it then to be expected that there should be anything like an average yield, even in the most favourable seasons. The thing to me is impossible.⁴²

No doubt to him it was impossible, and no doubt the capital-depleted farmers would have been happy to enlighten him as to the realities of trying to keep heavy soil, sodden with unseasonable rain, in the sort of condition that would please the eye of the passing 'civilian'.

Native farmers were cautious about changing their cropping rotations, and often rightly so as shifting into new patterns required capital outlay and an element of risk. One farmer told Commissioner Spencer that in his part of eastern Hertfordshire, near Ware, land which was ploughed up and laid down to grass would take four or five years to return to a growing condition and he thought it unwise to do so unless sure of a return.⁴³ In 1892, Arthur Sheriff of Hatfield moved into the fattening of bullocks and lost £400 in one year. The following year he switched to the rearing of calves and again made a loss. Whilst he eventually succeeded in the breeding of pedigree Shorthorns, he was a reminder to his neighbours of the risks involved in farming in general and the shifting of cropping in particular.⁴⁴ Criticism of farmers for not discerning that falling prices were part of a long-term trend rather than a short-term adjustment to local experience downplayed the difficulties for farmers in distinguishing between the two. Looking back from the vantage point of 1910 a farmer could clearly see the pattern of falling arable prices, yet year on year there were fluctuations that might muddle thinking and mitigate against perceived risk taking.⁴⁵ The soil on which a farm sat and the distance to the railway siding

⁴² 'Letter from unnamed correspondent', *HM*, 15th October 1881.

⁴³ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.40. James Hurford of Waters Place Farm, Water End, Ware was Land Steward to J.H. Buxton 1891 census 'Ware' RG12/1094 ED7 F117.

⁴⁴ Brown, *Agriculture in England*, p.36.

⁴⁵ See Appendix 3B 'Average price at market for corn crops (per imperial quarter), 1870-1910.

continued to be key to any decisions to change long-practised custom which had served well in the past.

Farm diaries belonging to two men who farmed in Ashwell some sixty years apart show that in 1883 Benjamin Christy was growing the same crops, in the same way, as his predecessor, William Sale, even though the latter was working on unenclosed land. When prices fell and the uncertainties of agricultural depression became the farming reality, Christy, whose farm was two miles from the nearest station along poor roads, maintained his old cropping patterns. Supported by rent reductions of nearly fifty per cent, Christy avoided the expense of capital-heavy shifts into alternative crops and rode out the difficult days; his family were still farming the same 288 acres, at Westbury Farm, in 1914.⁴⁶

The 1895 Royal Commission heard from Assistant Commissioner Spencer that some Hertfordshire farmers had learnt from the success of the Scottish and Cornish farmers, shifting their own cropping system to reflect that success.⁴⁷ However, for many farmers unable to exploit either soil or railway, the reduction of overheads, the adoption of low farming and the crossing of fingers was their strategy of choice. Support for the concept of low farming as a viable option for the hard-pressed farmer was offered by Sir John Bennett Lawes, who told the 1881 Royal Commission that high farming was not necessarily profitable farming and that 'two and two do not make four in manuring at all'.⁴⁸ However, the reduction of overheads did not make for pretty farming as hedges and ditches were neglected, and weeds spread as farmers attempted to reduce labour costs. Although the saving of many farming families, farming such as this was dispiriting and added to that sense of an industry in crisis. The report from the Royal Commission of 1881 spoke of many Hertfordshire farms as 'foul and impoverished' with the land in the worst state it had experienced in the previous twenty years.⁴⁹ It was also farming such as this which the non-farming community interpreted as poor management and led to a further sense of

⁴⁶ Davey, *Ashwell*, pp.39,46, 1871 census 'Ashwell' RG10/1359 ED2 F129, HCRO Inland Revenue Valuation of Land 'Domesday Books' (1909-10) 'Ashwell' IR2/6/1/2, *Kelly's* (1914) 'Ashwell' p. 25.

⁴⁷ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.15.

⁴⁸ BPP XVII.1 [C.3096] (1881) p.952.

⁴⁹ BPP XV.1 [C.2778] (1881) *Royal Commission on the Depressed Condition of Agricultural Interests. Preliminary Report from Her Majesty's Commissioners* p.368.

dislocation between those who saw fields as the source of their daily bread and those who saw them as a backdrop to rural living.

The reality of the falling prices was that farmers found themselves having to make hard choices which impacted beyond just their profit and loss account. The section that follows will take a closer look at both those who left the Hertfordshire farms and those who took their place, plotting the geography of the depression within the county and setting it in a wider context of a sense of cultural displacement for the farmer.

The Geography of Depression – Departures

At the time of the first Royal Commission into the Agricultural Depression, Commissioner Druce reported that the sons of Hertfordshire farmers were looking elsewhere for their livelihoods, usually with their fathers' approval as farming was such a drain on capital and had such an uncertain future.⁵⁰ In his report to the second Royal Commission into the Agricultural Depression, Aubrey Spencer was able to report little Hertfordshire land out of cultivation, but commented on a general air of apprehension in the county that unless prices stabilised land would be permanently lost.⁵¹ In the forty-year period 1870-1910, the total amount of acreage in Hertfordshire under all crops, fallow and grass fell by only two per cent from 332,972 acres to 325,213 acres.⁵² However, this fall hid a wide pattern of experiences across the county which added to that sense of gloom amongst farmers in 1881 and 1895.

In 1881, concern at the impact of falling prices and yields saw the Agricultural Returns include figures for the number of farms currently unoccupied and contiguous areas of farms exceeding five acres which had fallen out of cultivation.⁵³ Commissioner Druce told the Royal Commission that in his opinion the farms recorded as unlet in the 1881 Agricultural Returns were not a fair representation of the state of the county's farms as they reflected only those farms which were

⁵⁰ BPP XV.247 [C.3375.II] (1882) p.251.

⁵¹ BPP XVII.1 [8021] (1896) *Royal Commission on Agriculture. Minutes of Evidence Volume IV* p.16.

⁵² BPP LXIX.271 [C.460] (1871) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain* Table Three, BPP C.139 [Cd.5585] (1911) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Four.

⁵³ BPP XCIII.589 [C.3078] (1881) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, p.7, Table Six.

absolutely unoccupied, with not even a sheep or cow turned onto the grass to get some sort of return. He argued that in the arable counties which he investigated, there were large areas of land which were 'for all practical purposes unoccupied', with what grass there was being mainly couch and the result of neglect which gave 'little, if any, sustenance for the poor beasts or sheep that were turned out to graze upon it.'⁵⁴ In Hertfordshire he was told by the Chamber of Agriculture that there were approximately 9,000 acres unlet as at February 1880 and felt this was nearer to the reality than the return of 1881 which showed only 2,876 acres. The distinction was between unoccupied and unlet with the former being land no longer in any form of cultivation and the latter where some attempt to keep the land in reasonable condition was being made.⁵⁵ J.B. Lawes told the Commission of a farmer in the Harpenden district who had been declared bankrupt but was kept on by the landlord to plough the land which would otherwise have been unlet.⁵⁶ In April 1881 landowner J. Gwyn Jeffreys was summoned for non-payment of rates on two farms which he had been obliged to take in hand. His agent confirmed that one of the tenants, William Bott, had been 'allowed to remain out of charity. There was nothing for him to do but to trim the hedges and open out the ditches.'⁵⁷

Table 3.3 Arable Farms Unoccupied as at June 1881

County	Total Acreage Under Crops, Bare Fallow & Grass	Unoccupied Arable Farms		Unoccupied Detached Plots of more than 5 acres		Total Acreage Unoccupied	% of Total Acreage Under Crops Unoccupied
		Number	Acreage	Number	Acreage		
Buckinghamshire	403,673	4	802	8	229	1,101	0.27%
Cambridgeshire	482,889	13	1,904	18	330	2,234	0.46%
Essex	830,135	30	4,954	5	67	5,021	0.6%
Bedfordshire	259,171	9	1,573	4	442	2,015	0.78%
Hertfordshire	339,047	10	2,424	10	452	2,876	0.85%

Source: BPP XCIII.589 [C.3078] (1881) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables Two & Six

⁵⁴ BPP XV.247 [C.3375.II] (1882) p.2.

⁵⁵ BPP XV.247 [C.3375.II] (1882) p.37.

⁵⁶ BPP XVII.1 [C.3096] (1881) p.956.

⁵⁷ 'Hertford County Sessions', *HM*, 23rd April 1881.

As Table 3.3 shows, whilst the wider public perception of Essex as a very depressed county was confirmed by the total acreage unoccupied, Hertfordshire itself, as a smaller county, was suffering a greater loss proportionately than all of its neighbours, and as this table indicates many Hertfordshire farmers were neglecting those parts of their acreage which were difficult to work in the prevailing weather conditions without expending large amounts of increasingly depleted capital. This sense of being on the one side bordered by a county in severe difficulties such as Essex, plus an awareness of doing less well than other neighbours, would have added to that sense of depression within the county, especially when coupled with the anecdotal and subjective experiences reflected in Commissioner Druce's reservations at the accuracy of the returns. As gossip spread at markets and newspapers carried reports of bankruptcies, concern for the future increased.

Druce was told by the Hertfordshire Chamber of Agriculture of a large increase in the number of bankruptcies in the previous two years, whilst the feeling of those attending the Bishop's Stortford meeting was that the number of those bankrupted in 1879 alone was as many as in several previous years combined.⁵⁸ A search of the *London Gazette* for the period 1870-1913 shows that the suspicions of the Hertfordshire Chamber were correct.

⁵⁸ BPP XV.1 [C.2778] (1881) p.368.

Table 3.4. Numbers of Farmers recorded as bankrupt in the *London Gazette*, 1870-1913

YEAR	NUMBER	YEAR	NUMBER
1870	3	1892	3
1871	1	1893	2
1872	2	1894	8
1873	4	1895	5
1874	3	1896	2
1875	0	1897	1
1876	5	1898	0
1877	3	1899	1
1878	5	1900	0
1879	12	1901	1
1880	19	1902	1
1881	13	1903	1
1882	9	1904	1
1883	4	1905	1
1884	4	1906	2
1885	3	1907	0
1886	4	1908	3
1887	3	1909	1
1888	5	1910	0
1889	1	1911	1
1890	8	1912	1
1891	0	1913	0

Source: www.londongazette.co.uk see Appendix 3H 'Farmers Recorded as Bankrupt in the *London Gazette* 1870-1913'

As can be seen in Tables 3.4, the years which followed the wet summer of 1875 saw a steady increase in the number of farmers declared bankrupt, with the peak years being those leading up to the sitting of the Royal Commission into the Depression in Agriculture in 1881. A second spike in numbers followed the poor seasons of 1892. The falling away in numbers after 1895 was believed by some who spoke to Rider Haggard in 1901 as the effect less of conditions improving but rather a reluctance by landlords to take their tenants to court, 'since such a proceeding would give the landlord a bad name, and prevent him from getting other tenants.'⁵⁹

The high numbers of those declared bankrupt confirmed the farming community in their opinion that their industry was under threat, yet, as Table 3.5 shows, the

⁵⁹ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.512. Rider Haggard was told this by an agent who wished to remain anonymous.

experience of bankruptcy varied across the county with the worst patterns occurring in the eastern and northern districts. The district of Hemel Hempstead, situated in the west of the county, stands out as breaking this pattern. However, of the total of eighteen bankruptcies, two were in the parish of Kensworth which straddled the Bedfordshire border and was transferred to that county in 1897,⁶⁰ and eight were located in the border parish of Flamstead. Whilst no specific evidence has been found for the reason behind the cluster of Flamstead farms, it may reflect a less generous attitude towards tenants by the largest landowners, the Sebright family, who would seem to have preferred their Worcestershire and London homes to their Hertfordshire estate.⁶¹

Table 3.5. Bankruptcies amongst farmers within Hertfordshire by district 1870-1913⁶²

Registration District	Acreage ⁶³	1870-79	1880-89	1890-99	1900-13	Total
Hitchin	65,887	6	8	6	1	21
Royston	50,964	1	13	3	2	19
Ware	36,254	3	10	4	2	19
Hemel Hempstead	32,693	5	6	5	2	18
Bishop's Stortford	31,517	7	8	1	1	17
St. Albans	41,224	2	9	5	1	17
Watford	36,952	4	5	5	0	14
Hertford	35,283	2	2	1	2	7
Berkhamsted	21,518	1	3	1	1	6
Hatfield	30,067	2	4	0	0	6
Barnet	14,006	2	1	0	2	5
Edmonton	8,479	3	2	0	0	5
Total	404,844	38	71	31	14	154

Source: Appendix 3H 'Farmers Recorded as Bankrupt in the *London Gazette*, 1870-1913'

⁶⁰ Page, *VCH, Volume Two*, p.231.

⁶¹ Bateman, *Great Landowners*, p.400. Sir John Gage Saunders Sebright of Worcestershire held 3,886 of his total of 7,210 acres in Hertfordshire. He had two Hertfordshire homes in Flamstead, Beechwood Park and a newer house of Cheverells. The older house was maintained by the family, but it did not appear in *Kelly's* as occupied in the List of Principal Seats until the 1899 edition p.xx. *Kelly's* (1882, 1890 & 1895) 'Flamstead' p.597,747,78 showed Cheverells let to Benjamin Bennett throughout this period.

⁶² Where a farmer occupied more than one farm, with each situated in different districts, both farms have been counted in order to reflect the impact on the local area. For full details see Appendix 3H 'Farmers Recorded as Bankrupt in the *London Gazette* 1870-1913'.

⁶³ See Appendix 2A 'Population of Hertfordshire by Registration District and Parish'.

The impact of the falling prices and rising imports of wheat was felt not simply by the farmers. A similar search of the pages of the *London Gazette* for millers and corn dealers or merchants confirmed the wider sense of depression in these eastern and northern parishes.

Table 3.6. Combined Bankruptcies of farmers, millers and corn merchants within Hertfordshire by district 1870-1913

Registration District	Acreage	1870-79	1880-89	1890-99	1900-13	Total
Bishop's Stortford	31,517	9	14	1	1	25
Hitchin	65,887	6	11	6	1	24
Ware	36,254	5	11	6	2	24
Royston	50,964	2	13	5	2	22
Hemel Hempstead	32,693	7	7	5	2	21
St. Albans	41,224	5	10	5	1	21
Watford	36,952	4	6	5	0	15
Hertford	35,283	7	2	1	3	13
Hatfield	30,067	4	5	0	0	9
Berkhamsted	21,518	2	3	1	1	7
Barnet	14,006	2	1	1	2	6
Edmonton	8,479	3	3	0	0	6
Total	404,844	56	86	36	15	193

Source: see Appendix 3I 'Millers and Corn Merchants Recorded as Bankrupt in the *London Gazette*, 1870-1913', & 3H 'Farmers Recorded as Bankrupt in the *London Gazette*, 1870-1913'

Bankruptcies were the high-profile headline figures, but farmers would have been equally aware of those who were jumping before they were pushed. The opinion of farmers in the Bishop's Stortford district was that 1880 had seen higher numbers of tenants quitting their farms at Michaelmas than was common in that part of the county.⁶⁴ A search of the county newspapers for just the one year of 1880 showed a number of farmers quitting their farms.⁶⁵ Advertisements for farms to let and auctions of live and dead stock referred to forty-eight farms where tenancies were changing. Of these, five were due to the deaths of the sitting tenants, three where the tenants were specified as retiring and two where the leases had expired; the remaining thirty-eight were noted as quitting or giving up their farms. Excluding

⁶⁴ BPP XV.1 [C.2778] (1881) p.368.

⁶⁵ A search was made of all the Hertfordshire newspapers for 1880 fit for use at the British Newspaper Library, Colindale. Those available were *HEO*, *HGAJ*, *HM*.

those cases where the death of the farmer was not the cause for change, the greatest number of farms were to be found in the eastern parishes forming part of the rural district of Ware.⁶⁶ Although a crude measurement of farm change in only one year, these figures do support the conclusion that it was the eastern and northern districts with their heavier soils which were finding the struggle to maintain incomes and farms a struggle too far. In the western districts, whilst there were some who succumbed, the feeling of the Tring Branch of the Hertfordshire Farmers' Club was that rent reductions of between 25 and 50 per cent meant that 'farms were as well farmed as they used to be', and that both landlords and farmers had maintained capital expenditure, albeit with reduced profits.⁶⁷ The town of Tring fell within the rural district of Berkhamsted, which saw only six bankruptcies in the period 1870-1913, whilst the town of Bishop's Stortford lay adjacent to the rural district of Hadham which saw seventeen liquidations in the same period. A comparison of the census returns 1851-1871 for the parishes in these two districts saw both areas maintain 45 per cent of farming families in place.⁶⁸ However, in the twenty-year period 1871-91, whilst the Berkhamsted parishes maintained that rate of 45 per cent, those of the Hadham district saw only 37 per cent survive; by 1901 the survival rates from the 1871 census had fallen to 30 per cent for Berkhamsted and 21 per cent for Hadham.⁶⁹

Many of those who lost their farms were replaced by new arrivals from Scotland and the West Country, but these too were not always immune to the pressures of falling prices. Of the Hertfordshire farmers listed as bankrupt within the *London Gazette* four were born in Scotland and three in Cornwall.⁷⁰ In addition to these, William

⁶⁶ Ware (11), Hitchin (9), Buntingford & Watford (5), Bishop's Stortford, Hatfield & Hertford (3), Royston (2), St. Albans & Welwyn (1) Barnet, Berkhamsted, Edmonton & Hemel Hempstead (0).

⁶⁷ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.35.

⁶⁸ Continuity was assumed where a family member was either farming the same named farm, or was still noted as a farmer within the same parish. Sons who took on farms which were in a different parish were not included as the purpose was to assess change at this highly visible micro-level. Although outside the Rural District of Hadham, farms which fell within the Urban District of Bishop's Stortford were included in this comparison as an indication of how the farmers of this east Hertfordshire district perceived the state of their industry. See Appendix 2C 'Population and Acreage of Rural Hertfordshire 1901' for details of parishes included in this analysis.

⁶⁹ HCRO 1871-1901 census returns for Berkhamsted Rural District and Hadham Rural District, including Bishop's Stortford, 1851 census details courtesy of Professor Nigel Goose, University of Hertfordshire.

⁷⁰ *London Gazette* www.londongazette.co.uk accessed April 2010. James Bryden of Hatfield 6th September 1881 p.4628, George Begg of Hexton 20th February 1894 p.1122, John Ure of Ware 31st October 1899 p.6570, James Craig of Codicote 9th April 1901 p.2510, Robert

Alexander Byars, born in Sawbridgeworth but son of a Scot who moved into the county with his family some time after 1871, also appeared before the bankruptcy courts.⁷¹ Byars had taken over the family farm by 1901, but ten years previously he had been lodging in London and employed as the manager of a pill factory, and it may be that his inexperience lay behind his failure at Old Park Farm.⁷² George Begg of Mortgrove Farm, Hexton, was no more able to make the 300-acre farm pay than his predecessor, Frederick Laird, who had been declared bankrupt in 1883.⁷³ Such examples serve as a reminder of the range of variables involved in surviving as a farmer.

The human cost was there to be found in newspapers and in the stories farmers relayed to each other. In 1875, William Lake, who held 268 acres at St. Ippolyts, found himself unable to pay his way and gave notice to the Hitchin auctioneers to sell his stock. With the sale over, he took a ticket to London and thence onward to Gravesend in Kent where he hanged himself.⁷⁴ In February 1880, a verdict of accidental death was returned on William Clarke, the tenant of Tharbies Farm, Sawbridgeworth who had been found dead on the railway.⁷⁵ In the absence of any note of explanation, and perhaps in deference to his family, no suicide verdict was returned, but earlier reports of his death focussed on comments that he had been depressed of late and that in his pocket were found:

cuttings from newspapers relating to the allowances made by landlords towards their tenants, indicating that his mind had been fixed upon the question of agricultural depression.⁷⁶

Driffield of Boxmoor 7th August 1874 p.3900, Nicholas Stick of Little Hornead 14th October 1887 p.5567, Daniel Congdon of Great Munden and Westmill 1st September 1908 p.6423.

⁷¹ *LG*, 19th November 1909 p.8602, William Alexander Byars, Old Park Farm, Much Hadham www.londongazette.co.uk accessed April 2010, 1871 census 'Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex' RG10/1705 ED2 F16 William Byars born Scotland, farmer, William Alexander Byars, aged 9, born Sawbridgeworth, 1881 census 'Much Hadham' RG11/1407 ED8 F73 and 1891 census 'Much Hadham' RG12/1098 ED8 F160 Old Park Farm, William Byars, born Scotland, farmer.

⁷² 1891 census 'St. Pancras' RG12/125 ED14 F43 William Alexander Byars aged 29, born Sawbridgeworth, 1901 census 'Much Hadham' RG13/1288 ED8 F44 William A. Byars aged 39 born Sawbridgeworth.

⁷³ *LG*, 27th April 1883 p.2281, Frederick Laird of Mortgrove Farm, Hexton www.londongazette.co.uk accessed April 2010.

⁷⁴ D. Rance, *St. Ippolyts. A Country Parish in the Nineteenth Century* (Baldock, 1987), pp.150-152.

⁷⁵ 'Inquest of W.J. Clarke', *HGAJ*, 7th February 1880 p.4.

⁷⁶ 'Fatality on Railway', *HEO*, 31st January 1880 p.3.

In 1886 Benjamin Godfrey, concerned at the prospect of losing his farm at Wormley, near Cheshunt, travelled down the railway line towards Enfield, and laid down on the tracks.⁷⁷ In 1895, Edward Woollatt, a tenant farmer at Wheathampstead, committed suicide after becoming depressed at having to leave his previous farm of Samwells at Sandridge where he had been farming 'for a very long time'.⁷⁸ Woollatt had been born in Sandridge, as had his father before him, and had grown up on Upper Beech Hyde Farm in the same parish where some time before 1871 he took on the tenancy at Samwells which failed him in the early 1890s.⁷⁹ This sense of lost connection would have been familiar to those who experienced or witnessed changing faces in the farmhouse in the final decades of the nineteenth century.

As early as 1851, James Caird had noted the particular problems faced by those Hertfordshire farmers with holdings of fewer than 100 acres.⁸⁰ The feeling amongst witnesses to the Royal Commission of 1895 was that across the county it was these smaller farms which had been most affected by the falling prices. It was reported that at Buckland, near Buntingford, 'there used to be 60-acre men in the parish, but that they had come to grief', whilst at nearby Sawbridgeworth it was those farming under 100 acres who had fared less well, and at Barkway, near Royston, the smaller holdings had been absorbed by larger farms.⁸¹ On the other side of the county, at Tring, the feeling was that larger farms were better able to maintain capital and cultivation of their land,⁸² whilst at St. Albans Commissioner Spencer was told by one farmer, Mr. Harry Bailey, of St. Stephens, that those farming smaller farms were those most affected by the depression. Bailey said that his own farm bailiff had by saving built up capital of £300-400 and taken on a farm of 34 acres, but had lost all his investment and died a pauper, whilst another who owned and farmed 60 acres had lost his home and his land to the mortgagees.⁸³

⁷⁷ London Metropolitan Archives MJ/SP/C/LAN/167 26th October 1886 'Inquisition into death of Benjamin Godfrey, farmer, of Wormley, Hertfordshire'.

⁷⁸ 'Death of Farmer', *HM*, 11th May 1895 p.2.

⁷⁹ 1861 census 'Sandridge' RG9/828 ED10 F81 Edward Woollatt, aged 21, born in Sandridge, son of George S. Woollatt, farmer of 250 acres at Upper Beech Hyde Farm, 1871 census 'Sandridge' RG10/1377 ED10 F87 Edward Woollatt aged 31 farming 178 acres, 1881 census 'Sandridge' RG11/1430 ED10 F81 farming 273 acres.

⁸⁰ Caird, *English Agriculture*, pp.455-456.

⁸¹ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) pp.15-16, p.39.

⁸² BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.35.

⁸³ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.36, *Kelly's* (1895), 'St. Stephens' p.181.

As Table 3.7 shows, the impression of losses amongst the smaller farms was borne out by official returns.

Table 3.7. Agricultural Holdings by size in Hertfordshire

SIZE	1875		1885		1895	
	Number	Acres	Number	Acres	Number	Acres
1-50	2,776	28,180	2,628	28,587	2,234	25,526
50-100	373	27,862	366	27,265	362	26,978
100-300	768	138,935	729	133,902	705	129,047
300-500	254	97,084	254	96,852	262	100,767
500-1,000	66	41,766	75	47,749	79	49,509
1,000	4	4,889	6	7,366	4	4,320
TOTAL	4,241	338,716	4,058	341,721	3,646	336,147

Source: BPP LXXVI.647 [C.2727] (1880) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables Eight and Nine, BPP LXX.1 [C.4847] (1886) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables Twenty One and Twenty Two, BPP XCVII.1 [C.8502] (1897) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables Twenty Seven and Twenty Eight

This table shows that there was a movement towards the merging of acres into larger farms. However, it also shows that those who farmed the largest farms were not immune, and a single loss at this level could make a real impact on the morale of a community. Table 3.8 shows that in 1881 the census recorded nine farmers who were occupying 1,000 or more acres.⁸⁴ These farms were all situated in the eastern and northern districts of the county, reflecting the different pattern of farm size across the county.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ These farmers were found using the search facility for the 1881 census, using the different keywords 'farmer', 'farming' and 'acres' in the 'occupation' category at www.ancestry.co.uk accessed January 2007. Of the 1,247 active farmers found, 186 did not record any acreage.

⁸⁵ See Chapter Two, 'The County of Hertfordshire' Table 2.4 'Comparison of Farm Sizes for the Rural Districts of Berkhamsted, Hatfield and Royston as declared in the 1871 census returns'.

Table 3.8 Farmers occupying 1,000 acres and more in 1881⁸⁶

Name	Parish	Registration District	Acreage
Thomas Bowman	Sacombe	Hertford	1,000
Isabella Porter	Wyddial	Royston	1,000
Hugh Rayner	Wallington	Royston	1,000
Henry Boyce	Knebworth	Hitchin	1,018
John Smyth	Bygrave	Hitchin	1,124
Samuel Betts	Hadham	Bishop's Stortford	1,153
Thomas Garratt	Hunsdon	Ware	1,185
Thomas Hayden Smith	Standon	Ware	1,250
John Sworder	Westmill	Royston	1,725

The stories of those who farmed these largest farms point the way to how the farming landscape would develop as the century drew to a close. For some of those listed in Table 3.9, the years which followed 1881, whilst no doubt uncomfortable, were not fatal. Isabella Porter's son Frederick ran the farm alongside his widowed mother and in 1908 was still in possession, a magistrate and thought worthy of entry in Ernest Gaskell's *Hertfordshire Leaders* as one 'keenly interested in all that concerns agriculture.'⁸⁷ Hugh Rayner and John Smyth were members of a large extended farming family, prominent in the northern districts around Clothall, Norton and Wallington.⁸⁸ In December 1879, John Smyth, 'a worthy son of a worthy sire' was toasted at the Farmers' Christmas Dinner for his opposition to the implementation of the Highways Act and noted as 'a member of a family second to none in the county for the amount of capital they had invested in farming'.⁸⁹ The chair of that meeting was James Smyth, of Norton Hall, and the vice-chair was Edward Sale, James's nephew, who was standing in for Hugh Rayner, John Smyth's brother-in-law.⁹⁰ Both Smyth and Rayner stayed on their farms until they died, but whilst Rayner passed his tenancy onto his son, also Hugh,⁹¹ Smyth's son, John, left

⁸⁶ 1881 census 'Sacombe' RG11/1422 ED4 F53, 'Layston' RG11/1410 ED7 F27, 'Wallington' RG11/1410 ED11 F69, 'Stevenage' RG11/1417 ED15 F78, 'Bygrave' RG11/1416 ED4 F66, 'Little Hadham' RG11/1407 ED9 F87, 'Hunsdon' RG11/1400 ED3 F22, 'Standon' RG11/1403 ED6 F63, 'Westmill' RG11/1410 ED12 F81.

⁸⁷ Gaskell, *Hertfordshire Leaders*, p.221.

⁸⁸ Brander, *Portrait of a Hunt*, p.87.

⁸⁹ 'Christmas Dinner', *HGAJ*, 3rd January 1880 p.4.

⁹⁰ 1871 census 'Norton' RG10/1365 ED10 F33 James Smyth farmer of 700 acres, Edward Sale his nephew, a farmer's son, born Clothall 1847, 1881 census 'Wallington' RG11/1410 ED11 F69 Edward Sale, farmer 800 acres born Clothall 1847, 1871 census 'Wallington' RG12/1105 ED4 F50 Hugh Rayner, farmer, Fanny Rayner his daughter born Wallington 1868, 1891 census 'Bygrave' RG12/1105 ED4 F50 John Smyth, farmer, Fanny Rayner, his niece born Wallington 1868.

⁹¹ *Kelly's* (1908), 'Wallington' p.240 Hugh Rayner, Manor Farm & Hugh Rayner Junior, Mutcheaps Farm, *Kelly's* (1912), 'Wallington' p.249 Hugh Rayner, Mutcheaps & Manor Farm.

farming to become a solicitor and the tenancy was taken on by his former farm bailiff.⁹²

Thomas Smith also survived the depression years, dying in 1900, and with his family disappearing from the Hertfordshire Directories and Census returns.⁹³ Thomas Bowman retired some time after 1899 and moved to the coast,⁹⁴ whilst Henry Boyce who was a tenant of Earl Lytton at Knebworth and Stevenage left his farm at Michaelmas 1883, moving to Norfolk together with his son, Arthur, who was also a tenant of the Knebworth Estate.⁹⁵ Henry Boyce had been farming in Narborough at the time of the 1861 census, and told a meeting of Liberals at Hitchin in 1873 that 'he was known to some in that room as farming in three or four counties.'⁹⁶ Aged 70, Boyce would seem to have decided to return to a county he knew well.⁹⁷ Samuel Betts, a tenant of the Earl of Essex and a magistrate, moved to the nearby Lower Farm when his home of thirty or more years was sold to William Minet, an architect;⁹⁸ in 1911 the 84-year-old Samuel was owner and occupier of 250 acres in Much and Little Hadham.⁹⁹

For two men, the falling prices spelt the end of their careers as farmers. In November 1881, Thomas Garratt of Hunsdon was declared bankrupt and shortly afterwards he watched as his possessions were sold at auction.¹⁰⁰ Like Smyth and Rayner, Garratt came from a family with a high profile-presence in the county as

⁹² 'Local Necrology', *HA* (1898), p.196, 1891 census 'Bygrave' RG12/1105 ED4 F50 Albert Edwards, Farm Bailiff, 1901 census 'Bygrave' RG13/1299 ED4 F8 Albert Edwards, farmer, Bygrave Farm.

⁹³ *Kelly's* (1899), 'Standon' p.191 Thomas Haydn Smith, farmer, Death Index Ware 1900 April/May/June quarter Vol.3a p.301 www.ancestry.co.uk accessed May 2010.

⁹⁴ *Kelly's* (1899), 'Standon' p.165 for last mention of Bowman, 1901 census 'Hailsham' RG13/891 ED9 F20 www.ancestry.co.uk accessed January 2007.

⁹⁵ HCRO DE/K1573 Farm Rental Book, Knebworth Estate 1880-1891, 1891 Census 'Narborough' RG12/1574 ED2 F13 Henry Boyce, Landowner, and his son, Arthur, aged 36, Farmer www.ancestry.co.uk accessed January 2007.

⁹⁶ 1861 census 'Narborough' RG9/1262 ED2 F18 Bayer's Farm Henry Boyce, farmer 620 acres, son Arthur aged 6 www.ancestry.co.uk accessed January 2007.

⁹⁷ HCRO DE/K1573 Boyce and his son were shown as paying their rent each half year, although not on the due date. Allowances were made and arrears written off by the Estate but it is not clear whether arrears were monies withheld for legitimate reasons, later allowed or debts written off.

⁹⁸ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, p.49, Minet, W. *Hadham Hall and the Manor of Bawdes alias Hadham Parva in the County of Hertfordshire* (Colchester, 1914).

⁹⁹ HCRO Domesday Books IR2/1/1 (1909-10) Much Hadham 175-575, Little Hadham 576-829.

¹⁰⁰ *LG*, 1st November 1881 p.5381 www.london-gazette.co.uk accessed April 2010, 'Hunsdon', *HEO*, 26th November 1881 p.4.

millers and farmers.¹⁰¹ He was unusual amongst farmers in that his tenancy was held not annually, but on a long lease. Commissioner Druce reported that of the fifteen farmers who responded to his questionnaire only one held his farm on a lease, with most farms held on yearly agreements, very often completed verbally with no written agreement.¹⁰² Garratt's lease failed to protect him, when at Michaelmas 1881 he was unable to meet his rental obligations and his landlord moved to evict him.¹⁰³ The speed with which his landlord began proceedings may have been triggered by Garratt's habit of sending letters almost on a weekly basis to the local press, many of which were critical of his landlord, Charles Phelips of Briggins Park, Hunsdon, and his friends. Thomas Garratt's concerns at the way that farming and farmers were being treated by the wider population will be considered further below, as he illustrated very vocally the conviction amongst the farming community that they were battling not simply the weather and the foreign competitor, but also urban indifference to their plight.

In 1895, John Sworder of Westmill, near Buntingford, also found himself in front of the bankruptcy court with gross liabilities of £16,871 17s. 11d. He acknowledged that he had been unaware of how serious his predicament was because he had not prepared a balance sheet since the terrible season of 1879, and not posted his cash book since 1883, as 'he could not afford to do it', which earned the comment from the Receiver, 'was that not a good reason why you should do it?'.¹⁰⁴ Sworder believed that in 1880 his capital had stood at approximately £14,000, all of which he had lost, together with the £4,000 borrowed from his brother to get him through the bad seasons. Sworder was also a member of a family with a significant farming profile.¹⁰⁵ His bankruptcy cost him not just his farm, but also his position as Alderman on the newly formed Hertfordshire County Council.¹⁰⁶ Whilst Thomas Garratt remained in Hertfordshire, taking on the position of manager of the South

¹⁰¹ 'Granddad Garratt's Jottings. Transcript of Notes Written in Pencil in a Book in 1938-39 by Granddad Garratt', *Codicote Families*, No.31 (July 2000) and No.37 (January 2002).

¹⁰² BPP XV.247 [C.3375.II] (1882) pp.34-35.

¹⁰³ 'Granddad Garratt's Jottings.', *Codicote Families*, No.35 (July 2001) p.5, 'Correspondence' from Thomas Garratt, *HGAJ*, 18th March 1882 p.4.

¹⁰⁴ 'Failure of a Buntingford Farmer', *HGAJ*, 20th April 1895 p.6.

¹⁰⁵ 'Roll of Honour', *HA* (1918), p.223 Herbert Pelham Sworder, son of John W. of Barkway, 'a member of an old family which had been resident in North Herts for centuries'.

¹⁰⁶ 'Hertfordshire County Council', *HGAJ*, 20th July 1895 p.7.

Mill at Bishop Stortford,¹⁰⁷ John Sworder moved out of the county to Hailsham in Sussex where he could reinvent himself as retired rather than bankrupt.¹⁰⁸

Those who farmed one thousand acres or more in 1881 lived personal trajectories which were as much about individual circumstances and temperament as rainfall and prices. However, in their experiences of survival, retrenchment and bankruptcy can be seen the story of farming itself within the county, and nowhere more so than in the account of those who succeeded them. Whilst Frederick Porter and Samuel Betts were still farming at the time of Lloyd George's 'Domesday' Survey of all landownership,¹⁰⁹ only Hugh Rayner at Wallington had seen his farm pass from father to son.¹¹⁰ Two farms had been reduced with non-farming tenants taking on the house and some of the land; William Minet at Hadham and Alexander Sowerby Hay, a merchant trading with the United States, who took on Sacombe Bury, former home of Thomas Bowman.¹¹¹ At the time of his death, in 1910, Alexander Hay was tenant of 239 acres belonging to the house and its park, together with 130 acres of farmland.¹¹² The remaining acreage of Thomas Bowman's 1881 holding was held in 1909 by Walter Weir, a Scot.¹¹³ Thomas Smith,¹¹⁴ Henry Boyce,¹¹⁵ Thomas Garratt¹¹⁶ and John Sworder¹¹⁷ were all followed into the farmhouse by men from Scotland and Cornwall. The following section will consider the impact of those who moved into the

¹⁰⁷ 'Petty Sessions. Mr Thomas Garratt and the Bishop Stortford Local Board', *HM*, 28th June 1884 & 5th July 1884 p.4 At this case for non-payment of rates the court found that Garratt was a paid manager of the owner, Richard Hunt, and as an employee not liable for the rate.

¹⁰⁸ 1901 census 'Foot's Cray, Kent' RG13/694 ED5 F6 John Sworder born Westmill 1829 Retired Farmer www.ancestry.co.uk accessed January 2007.

¹⁰⁹ HCRO IR2/7/1 (1909-10) 386-693 Layston, 694-727 Throcking, 728-842 Wyddial for details of Porter's holding of approximately 900 acres, see p.106, fn.86 'Little Hadham' for Samuel Betts.

¹¹⁰ HCRO IR2/63/1 (1909-10) Wallington. Hugh Rayner shown as owning and occupying 910 acres.

¹¹¹ *Kelly's* (1902), 'Sacombe' p.172, 'Money-Market and City Intelligence', *The Times*, 8th May 1878 p.9.

¹¹² 'Deaths', *The Times*, 2nd May 1910 p.1, HCRO IR2/64/1 1-73 (1909-10) Sacombe, IR2/12/1 1-171 Bengeo Rural.

¹¹³ HCRO IR2/64/1 (1909-10) 1-73 Sacombe, 1911 census 'Sacombe' RG14/7618 ED4 SN44.

¹¹⁴ Smith was followed by John Braund, from Cornwall, *Kelly's* (1908), 'Standon' p.225, 1911 census 'Standon' RG14/7489 ED4 SN75.

¹¹⁵ HCRO DE/K1573 Boyce was followed at Broadwater Farm by Matthew Gray, a Scot, 1891 census 'Knebworth' RG12/1105 ED8 F88.

¹¹⁶ Garratt was followed by Nicholas Borrow, from Cornwall, 'Election of Board of Guardians', *HGAJ*, 3rd April 1886 p.5 Borrow of Hunsdon Lodge Farm was elected to the Ware Board as Guardian for Hunsdon, 1891 census 'Hunsdon' RG12/1093 ED3 F26.

¹¹⁷ Sworder was followed by John R. Russell, from Cornwall, 'Westmill', *HM*, 4th May 1895 p.6 Westmill Bury and approximately 800 acres let to J.R. Russell, previously farming at Warren Farm, Braughing, 1901 census 'Westmill' RG13/1291 ED9 F118. By 1911 Sworder was farming approximately 1,100 acres in the Buntingford Rural District HCRO IR2/41/1 1-152 Great Hormead, IR2/7/1 386-693 Layston, IR2/18/1 9-151 Cottered, IR2/17/1 1083-1222 Westmill.

county from these different extremes of the British Isles, showing how their presence was particularly felt in those areas already seeing the higher levels of bankruptcy and tenancy change.

The Geography of Depression - Arrivals

Scottish farmers had been present in the county before the onset of the agricultural depression, although prior to this most people's encounters with a Scottish accent would have taken place across a counter; the 1871 census returns for Hertfordshire showed that the largest occupational group amongst those head of households born in Scotland was drapers and tailors.¹¹⁸ Table 3.9 shows those heads of households born in Scotland, Devon and Cornwall who gave their occupation as farmer on the census returns, 1871-1911.

Table 3.9 Hertfordshire farmers appearing in the census born in Scotland, Devon or Cornwall

YEAR	SCOTLAND	DEVON	CORNWALL	TOTAL
1871	7	3	1	11
1881	25	7	0	32
1891	45	6	23	74
1901	56	21	49	126
1911	60	19	53	132

Source: See Appendix 3J Farmers born in Scotland, Devon and Cornwall residing in Hertfordshire 1871-1911

When Henry Rider Haggard undertook his tour of rural England in 1902 he commented that in Hertfordshire, 'were I asked what struck me most in that county I think that I should answer, the submergence of the Hertfordshire farmer.'¹¹⁹ As he journeyed around the county he was told again and again of the displacement of the 'native' farmer by men from Scotland and the West Country. These incomers were taking on the best land, in particular land near the railways, shifting into dairy or potato production, and pushing the 'native' farmer out to the fringes where there was only 'agricultural death'.¹²⁰ Yet Rider Haggard did not visit all the county as his wider agenda was largely driven by an interest in the depopulation of the villages. To

¹¹⁸ 1871 census for Hertfordshire searched for all male head of households born in Scotland. Drapers, 23, Tailors, 6.

¹¹⁹ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.509.

¹²⁰ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.567.

this end, he concentrated his investigation in the eastern and northern parishes of the county; his furthest trip west was to visit the farmers around Hatfield. It was these parishes of the eastern and northern districts where the new arrivals were to be found, mirroring the departure of those who fell victim to bankruptcy and tenancy change. The exception to this pattern was the rural district of Hatfield, which had one of the lowest levels of bankruptcies in the county and may be a reflection of shifts into alternative cropping patterns brought by the first of the Scottish farmers.

As early as 1863, James Sinclair was renting four hundred acres at Harpsfield Hall in the parish of St. Peter's, near St. Albans, a tenant of the Gape family,¹²¹ and in 1868 John Ross Dagg, agent to Lord Salisbury, recommended Scottish farmer, William Findlay, for the four-hundred-acre West End Farm at Essendon.¹²² James Sinclair was followed into the county in 1868 by his friend, John Hunter, and in 1890 by his brother, George Morten Sinclair, both of whom took tenancies on the Salisbury estate.¹²³

¹²¹ Workers' Educational Association, *Hatfield and Its People. Farming Yesterday and Today* (Hatfield, 1962), p.34.

¹²² Hatfield House Estate, Letters from his Land Agents to Lord Salisbury, 1868-1897, J.R. Dagg to Lord Salisbury 15th September 1868.

¹²³ Workers' Educational Association, *Farming Yesterday and Today*, p.37.

Table 3.10 Combined Presence of Scottish Farmers and Farm Bailiffs¹²⁴

Registration District	1871		1881		1891		1901	
	Farmers	Bailiffs ¹²⁵	Farmers	Bailiffs	Farmers	Bailiffs	Farmers	Bailiffs
Barnet		1	1	1		2		
Berkhamsted						1		1
Bishop's Stortford			2	1	2		5	1
Edmonton			2				1	
Hatfield	3		3	5	5	6	6	9
Hemel Hempstead		1						
Hertford	1		3		3	1	8	2
Hitchin			3	2	12	2	9	2
Royston		1		1	2	2	5	1
St Albans	2	2	3	2	8	2	7	1
Ware		2	3	4	7	8	12	5
Watford	1		5	1	6	1	3	1
Total	7	7	25	17	45	25	56	23

Source: www.ancestry.co.uk 1871-1901 census returns

As Table 3.10 shows it was not just amongst farmers that the Scots were to be found. Their popularity as farm bailiffs and agents increased the awareness amongst native farmers that they were living in changing times, and facilitated the migration of tenants from Scotland into the county; in 1892 Matthew Gray claimed to have brought ten Scottish farmers into the county in his ten years as agent for the Knebworth estate of Lord Lytton.¹²⁶ An indication of the growing visibility of the Scottish contingent was the appearance from 1886 onwards within the local press of reports of Burns Night celebrations in the county;¹²⁷ by 1891 the G.N.R. was laying on additional trains to ferry the revellers home from Hitchin to Stevenage,

¹²⁴ These figures were obtained by searching the census years of 1871, 1881, 1891 and 1901 for the occupations of all heads of households born in Scotland www.ancestry.co.uk. It was not possible to do a similar comprehensive search for those who gave their occupation as Farm Bailiff in the 1911 census returns as there was a high error rate for transcriptions at the www.findmypast site. Where it had been possible to search for individual farmers missing from the original search of heads born Scotland by cross checking with the Trade Directories and the Inland Revenue Land Returns of 1909-10, this was not possible for farm bailiffs as the Directories recorded only the largest estates and the object was to count those who were self-defined as bailiffs or agents to measure perception of change in local communities.

¹²⁵ The generic term of Bailiff has been used to cover all those who listed their occupation on census returns as Bailiff, Steward or Agent to a Farm or an Estate.

¹²⁶ 'The Dispute Between Curlers and Skaters at Knebworth', *HE*, 9th April 1892 p.7.

¹²⁷ 'Caledonian Dinner', *HGAJ*, 30th January 1886 p.8 reported 120 Scots and English guests at Hertford witnessing the piping in of the ceremonial haggis. This was the first full account of this celebration traced in the county's newspapers.

Knebworth, Welwyn and Hatfield.¹²⁸ In 1895, Aubrey Spencer reported that whilst in the western part of the county, around Tring, there were no farmers from the further parts of the country, on estates such as Knebworth the Scots outnumbered the English by nine to six, and on a neighbouring estate were to be found three Scots and seven Cornishmen out of a tenantry of thirty.¹²⁹ By 1901 as Table 3.10 shows, the numbers of those moving south from Scotland had swelled even more, and as Tables 3.9 and 3.11 show, they were being joined by those making the journey east from Cornwall and Devon.

Table 3.11 Geographical Distribution of Hertfordshire Farmers born in Scotland, Devon or Cornwall, 1871-1911

Registration District	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Barnet	1	3	0	1	0
Berkhamsted	1	1	1	1	1
Bishop's Stortford	0	2	8	18	18
Edmonton	0	2	0	1	0
Hatfield	3	4	5	8	11
Hemel Hempstead	1	0	0	2	2
Hertford	1	3	8	16	19
Hitchin	0	3	16	15	18
Royston	0	1	7	20	20
St Albans	2	3	13	10	11
Ware	0	3	9	29	24
Watford	2	7	7	5	8
Total	11	32	74	126	132

Source: See Appendix 3J 'Farmers born in Scotland, Devon and Cornwall residing in Hertfordshire, 1871-1911'

It was the coming of the second severe depression at the beginning of the 1890s which finished so many of the Hertfordshire men and freed up land for those who came from Devon and, in particular, Cornwall; whilst in 1881 there were no farmers born in Cornwall traced in Hertfordshire, twenty years later the census returns showed fifty.¹³⁰ Landowners faced with taking large areas of their land in hand were offering rents often as low as fifty per cent of their pre-1879 figure. Aubrey Spencer

¹²⁸ 'Hitchin – Burns Anniversary Dinner', *HE*, 24th January 1891 p.8.

¹²⁹ BPP XVII.1 [C.8021] (1896) p.14.

¹³⁰ See Appendix 3J 'Farmers born in Scotland, Devon and Cornwall residing in Hertfordshire 1871-1911'.

reported that the average rent on an arable farm in the Buntingford district in the 1870s would have been around 26s. an acre. The equivalent rent in 1895 was between 10s. and 12., and for those farms set some way off from the railway the rent could be as low as 5s. per acre. For the county as a whole, Spencer estimated that rentals had fallen between thirty-five and forty-five per cent.¹³¹ In some cases, farms were being let to new tenants rent-free in year one, rising to 5s. an acre in year two, and only reaching 10s. an acre in year three.¹³² Witnesses to the Royal Commission believed that Cornwall had weathered the falling prices better than many counties, and reported that in Scotland competition for farms remained strong. In both Scotland and Cornwall, the system for securing a farm was to let by tender which acted in favour of maintaining rental values.¹³³ Primrose McConnell wrote that a shortage of land combined with the system of tendering meant a disproportionate amount of income was swallowed up by rentals,¹³⁴ and one Scottish farmer in Hatfield told Henry Rider Haggard that with land in the Glasgow district let at £4 10s. an acre it was little surprise that his countrymen were moving south.¹³⁵ In 1902 John R. Russell, the Cornishman who had taken on John Sworder's farm at Westmill, told Rider Haggard that before moving to Hertfordshire he had been farming 30 acres in Cornwall; in 1901 he was farming 800 acres.¹³⁶ Hertfordshire was an attractive prospect for those who believed that they could make the land pay by bringing their regional cropping patterns to the county. The Scottish farmers shifted their production into potatoes, replacing wheat with oats, and increasing their dairy herds. The Cornish focussed more on stock, laying down land to grass and buying in calves to fatten and sell on, although where conditions suited they were flexible.¹³⁷ John R. Russell of Westmill told Rider Haggard that he was increasing production of liquid milk as he had a contract with a baby food factory, just down the railway line at Ware.¹³⁸

These newcomers would not take on just any farm. In 1894, Richard Hunt told the Bishop's Stortford Assessment Committee that he had been unable to let Exnalls

¹³¹ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.18.

¹³² BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.20.

¹³³ BPP XVII.1 [8021] (1896) *Royal Commission on Agriculture. Minutes of Evidence Volume IV* pp.23,91.

¹³⁴ P. McConnell, 'Experiences of a Scotsman on the Essex Clays', *JRASE*, (1891), pp.311-325, p.311.

¹³⁵ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.539.

¹³⁶ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.567.

¹³⁷ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) pp.14-15.

¹³⁸ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.568.

Farm in Much Hadham. So poor was the land that advertisements placed by the auctioneering firm of Messrs. R. & A.G. Thorowgood in all the agricultural papers had produced no takers. Men from Cornwall and Scotland had visited the farm, but none would take it on.¹³⁹ Rider Haggard was told by one farmer that the Cornish in particular liked a 'fat farm' when considering a tenancy, and access to the railway was crucial in selling a tenancy.¹⁴⁰ Where the new men were able to bring stock with them and persuade landlords to provide new buildings the native tenants, with their capital depleted and enthusiasm worn down, were unable to finance the building up of herds or shifts into new patterns of cropping.

Such a high visibility of new farmers with unfamiliar accents inevitably caused some comment from farmers and others, and in the following section consideration will be given to their reception within the county.

The New Arrivals and their Place in the County

In 1882 John Prout told the first Royal Commission into the Depression that he found of the Scots 'as a rule that they farm rather higher in the north and use a little more energy and a little more skill,¹⁴¹ and Commissioner Spencer reported in 1895 that he had been 'favourably impressed' by those farms occupied by Scots that he had visited, and concluded that

if it had not been for their immigration I think it probable that more land would have dropped out of cultivation than has actually been the case.¹⁴²

In 1902 Henry Rider Haggard toured the eastern and central part of the county and wrote:

Of course some of the old local men still remain, some prosper even, but on the whole victory is to the Scotch and Cornish. Theirs are the best and the best worked farms.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ 'Hertfordshire Quarter Sessions – Important Rating Appeal', *HM*, 6th January 1894 p.6.

¹⁴⁰ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.526. The farmer in question held a farm at Braughing, in the Rural District of Hadham.

¹⁴¹ BPP XIV.1 [C.3309] (1882) p.107.

¹⁴² BPP XVII.1 [C.8021] (1896) p.14.

However, both Spencer and Rider Haggard acknowledged the ill-feeling that existed amongst some native Hertfordshire farmers at the arrival of these new men who, in the opinion of Rider Haggard, were enjoying 'the largest share of prosperity.'¹⁴⁴ In 1883 as the obvious signs of bankruptcies and tenancy changes began to hit, John Smyth of Bygrave warned landlords against turning their backs on well-known tenants and letting land to 'adventurers who would rob the land of what the old tenants had left in it, and would leave when they had impoverished it.'¹⁴⁵ In 1886, at a special meeting of the Herts Chamber of Agriculture a farmer from Harpenden criticised landlords for letting farms to 'strangers' who cared little for their farms at rents denied to established tenants on the same estates.¹⁴⁶ In 1895 Aubrey Spencer reported that he had encountered some prejudice against the Scots in particular, being told that they employed little labour and changed farms frequently, working them out as they went.¹⁴⁷ Certainly that was the view of Harry Bailey, a farmer from St. Albans who told the Royal Commission that the Scots 'lived a bit harder than we do', adding:

There were many Scotchmen about here who stopped for four or five years, and then the landlord might take his land to do what he liked with it for what they cared.¹⁴⁸

However, Spencer believed this opinion was not universal. He had been told by some land agents that the Scots were staying and that they farmed 'very highly and use a great deal of manure.'¹⁴⁹ In July 1883, Robert Sinclair, the Scottish tenant of Amwellbury Farm, Great Amwell, was taken to court by the farm's owner, Mrs Mary Ann Brown, for failure to follow the terms of his lease. He had signed to a four course rotation, but had replaced this with a five course rotation which included potatoes. Witnesses called on Sinclair's behalf all testified that he had improved a farm which was in a poor state when he had taken it on, and by high farming had raised both the condition of the land and its letting potential.¹⁵⁰ The case was

¹⁴³ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.510.

¹⁴⁴ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.510.

¹⁴⁵ 'Coursing Meeting at Baldock', *HM*, 24th February 1883 p.4.

¹⁴⁶ 'Herts Chamber of Agriculture – Agricultural Depression', *HGAJ*, 20th February 1886 p.8.

¹⁴⁷ BPP XVII.1 [C.8021] (1896) p.14.

¹⁴⁸ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.36.

¹⁴⁹ BPP XVII.1 [C.8021] (1896) p.14.

¹⁵⁰ 'Important Farming Arbitration Case', *HM*, 21st July 1883 p.4.

adjourned and settled out of court. Mrs Brown would seem not to have held Sinclair's origins against him as he was followed as tenant of Amwellbury Farm by James Aitkenhead, a fellow Scot,¹⁵¹ and some time before 1890 the tenancy was taken by James Weir, another Scot whose son John was still farming at Amwellbury in 1911.¹⁵² This would seem to suggest that rumours of Scottish farmers refusing to take on a farm previously worked by a fellow Scot, were exaggerated.¹⁵³ Of the seven Scottish farmers present in the county in 1871, five were to be found on the same named farm and one within the same parish ten years later.¹⁵⁴ The exception was John Bryden of Marden Hill, Tewin, but by 1881 his farm was occupied by a fellow Scot, Samuel Wallace. As Appendix 3K 'Scottish Farmers Found in the Census 1871-1911' shows, Scottish farmer followed Scottish farmer, with many farms remaining in family hands into the twentieth century.¹⁵⁵ The Cornish farmers arrived later than their Scots neighbours, but of the 23 Cornish farmers traced in the 1891 census, 12 were still present on the same farms in 1901, 7 were no longer found within the county, and 4 had moved to different districts within the county.¹⁵⁶ These newcomers were here to stay.

The arrival of so many farmers from beyond the county's borders raised issues which went beyond farming custom or inclination, and whilst it is difficult to gauge private responses to public events there are some indications of the concerns which the Scottish farmers in particular raised in the minds of Hertfordshire residents. Landlords were happy to let their farms to Scottish tenants, but one concern was the attitude of these newcomers towards hunting. The relationship between the farmer and the Hunt was a tricky one as social and sporting pleasures were enjoyed against a backdrop of a working farming environment. As one Hertfordshire poet put it:

¹⁵¹ 1881 census 'Great Amwell' RG11/1399 ED5 F139 James Aitkenhead, born Scotland farming 300 acres.

¹⁵² *Kelly's* (1890), 'Great Amwell' p.690, 1891 census 'Great Amwell' RG12/1092 ED6 F127 James Weir born Scotland, son John aged 28 and daughter Mary aged 26 both born Scotland, 1911 census 'Great Amwell' RG14/7464 ED2 SN9 John aged 48, farmer of Amwellbury Farm, Mary, aged 46 sister and housekeeper.

¹⁵³ B.A. Holderness and G.E. Mingay, 'The South and South-East' in Collins, (ed.), *Agrarian History*, pp.367-375, p.373.

¹⁵⁴ See Appendix 3K 'Scottish Farmers Found in Census for Hertfordshire 1871-1911'.

¹⁵⁵ For examples see John Bryden and Samuel Wallace at Tewin, Kenneth Douglas and James Craig at Knebworth, the Crawford family at North Mymms and Hatfield, the Gatherum family at Abbot's Langley, the Hunter family at Hatfield, and the Sinclair families at Harpsfield Hall, St Albans, and Essendon Bury, near Hatfield.

¹⁵⁶ See Appendix 3L 'Cornish Farmers Found in Census for Hertfordshire 1871-1911'.

Bruisers should remember they must not always ride,
 For when young wheat is rising farmers' tempers will be tried
 If they see a lot of horse tracks right across the field;
 So keep along the headlands and the sore will soon be healed.

I love to see a farmer riding well in front
 For then we know we're following the backbone of the hunt¹⁵⁷

Hertfordshire farmers would seem to have been good supporters of the hunt. In 1874, following the death of the Master of the Hunt, there was a dispute between farmers and other followers of the Hunt on the actions taken by his replacement towards former Hunt servants. A meeting was held at which between 80-100 farmers protested at the changes, bringing forward the comment from the local press:

Perhaps no hunt in the kingdom can boast of more
 substantial or highly respectable yeomen than the
 representatives of this class in Herts.¹⁵⁸

With no strong hunting tradition of their own, the arrival of the Scottish farmers in particular raised some concerns for those who enjoyed the chase. Written in 1880 to celebrate the various members of the Hunt, the Hertfordshire poet quoted above did not specifically mention any of the Scottish farmers, and it would not appear that the sister Hertfordshire Hunt, the Puckeridge in the east of the county, attracted any Scottish followers.¹⁵⁹ A sympathetic attitude towards the Hunt was for some landlords an essential part of a successful tenancy. In 1903 the agent for the Cowper estate sought reassurance from Reginald Halsey, agent to the Luton Hoo estate, that the Scot, John Masson, who wished to take on Attimore Hall Farm was pro-hunting. Masson had claimed to 'hate the sight of barbed wire,' and Halsey was able to confirm that Masson would 'protect both foxes and game.'¹⁶⁰ Barbed wire was a real

¹⁵⁷ Dragon, *The Hertfordshire Hunt. A Poem*, (London, 1880), p.15.

¹⁵⁸ 'The Crisis in the Hertfordshire Hunt', *HGAJ*, 17th April 1875 p.8.

¹⁵⁹ Personal Communication from Edward Barclay, former Master of the Puckeridge Hunt, November 2005. The farmers did not appear in the subscription lists of the Hunt as they were members as of right if they agreed to allow the Hunt across their fields. A photograph of 1887 which showed the subscribers and farmers did not include any of the new farmers, only the older established families of Sworder, Sale, Smyth.

¹⁶⁰ HCRO DE/P/E320 Attimore Hall Farm Correspondence Letters of 9th and 10th November 1903.

problem for any hunt, considered by Siegfried Sassoon to be 'the most dangerous enemy of the hunting man'.¹⁶¹ The master of the Hertfordshire Hunt sought to address the problem by visiting all farmers new to the district and offering to pay for removal of the wire for the duration of the season.¹⁶²

One of those who gave a reference for John Masson was Matthew Gray, former Land Agent to Earl Lytton at Knebworth and centre of a controversy which saw Scottish farmers and the Hertfordshire Hunt clashing head on. Eleven years after the publication of the poem *The Hertfordshire Hunt*, a notice appeared on the front page of the *Hertfordshire Express* signed by nine Scottish farmers, tenants of the Knebworth estate, which warned the Master of the Hertfordshire Fox Hounds that legal proceedings would be taken against anyone hunting or riding over the farms which they occupied.¹⁶³ The amount of land involved was between five and six thousand acres and was so extensive that *The Field* commented it was effectively making 'nugatory all fox preserving and furtherance of fox-hunting for many miles round'.¹⁶⁴ The trigger for their action was an argument between a skating party and a group of Scottish curlers on a frozen lake in the park of Knebworth House.¹⁶⁵ The house at that time was let to an American couple, Mr. and Mrs. John Cleveland Osgood, who had taken the house in large part due to the attraction of the Hunt. Osgood was the millionaire owner of the Colorado Fuel Company which by 1892 owned almost 34,000 acres of coal land in the western United States.¹⁶⁶ It was noted by the local press that Mr. Osgood was 'fonder of hunting than of gardening, and [had] filled his enlarged stable – enlarged mainly at his own expense – with about thirty horses,'¹⁶⁷ the minutes of the Hertfordshire Hunt recorded Osgood as a subscriber to the Hunt for the seasons of 1890-91, 1891-92.¹⁶⁸ The Osgoods, who

¹⁶¹ Sassoon, *Complete Memoirs*, p.95.

¹⁶² *Baily's Fox-Hunting Directory 1897-98* (London, 1897) p.99.

¹⁶³ 'Notice to the Hertfordshire Fox Hounds', *HE*, 24th January 1891 p.1. The farmers involved were George Muirhead, Samuel Wallace, Alexander Morton, Robert Paterson, Thomas Corson, Kenneth Douglas, G.M. Hunter, Alexander Davison, George Little.

¹⁶⁴ 'The Hertfordshire Hunting Difficulty', *HM*, 21st February 1891 p.6 copy of report taken from *The Field* n.d.

¹⁶⁵ 'Dispute Between Curlers and Skaters at Knebworth. Gray v Stewart', *NHSBJ*, 8th April 1892 p.5. This is an account of the libel action taken by Matthew Gray against one of the skating party, Charles Poyntz Stewart, for a letter of complaint which saw Gray dismissed from his post as Land Steward to Earl Lytton. All details of the incident which follow taken from this source unless otherwise stated.

¹⁶⁶ H. Lee Scamehorn, 'John C. Osgood and the Western Steel Industry', *Arizona and the West*, Vol.15, No.2 (1973), pp.133-148, p.137.

¹⁶⁷ 'The Knebworth Gardens', *HM*, 11th July 1891 p.2.

¹⁶⁸ Personal communication from S. Warner of the Hertfordshire Hunt.

were absent at the time of the incident, had given permission for the local Scottish farmers to mark out part of the lake on which to practice for their curling matches. The Scots were deadly serious about their sport, which was organised into leagues with games against teams from Essex and London.¹⁶⁹ The argument occurred because the Scottish curlers arrived at the lake to find a party of skaters occupying the ice previously set aside for curling. The skaters were there by permission of the Osgood's housekeeper.

Matthew Gray maintained that he had been perfectly civil to the skaters who had provoked the curlers by criss-crossing the ice as they attempted to play. Witnesses for the skaters complained that the Scots had used 'unparliamentary language' in front of the ladies, directly insulting one as 'long and lanky', and had refused to apologise for so doing. Some members of the skating party moved off when the curlers claimed the ice and did not take part in what followed, whilst one corroborated Gray's account of deliberate interference with their play by members of the party.¹⁷⁰ The son of one of the curlers recalled the incident years later, saying that the curlers had been provoked, and of Gray that, 'his Scotch blood had risen to a high degree and he very plainly told one of the ladies if she skated across the rink once more he would put her on her bottom'.¹⁷¹ Supporters of the skaters stressed the 'gross and coarse language'¹⁷² employed in front of the ladies, whilst the farmers themselves defended their behaviour on the ice, saying they 'would not be trampled upon by the so-called 'Justices of the Peace' who were the peace breakers', a reference to Charles Poyntz-Stewart a landowner and J.P. from nearby Stevenage, and husband to the 'long and lanky' lady.¹⁷³ As part of their justification for their behaviour on the ice, the curlers pointed out that the skaters were not local as they had come from as far afield as Hitchin, Offley and Stevenage, an interesting appropriation by the Scots of the bragging rights on locality.

¹⁶⁹ 'Knebworth Curling Club', *HE*, 2nd January 1892 p.8.

¹⁷⁰ This was George Gardner, an engineer at the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, who was a guest of Joseph Little, headmaster of Hitchin Grammar School.

¹⁷¹ HCRO F.J. Smith, *Reminiscences of a Village Lad* (1955). This is a grangerised copy of a handwritten memoir dated 8th April 1995. Smith's father was a Scot who ran an agricultural machinery shop in Wheathampstead before moving to Knebworth in 1890 after being approached by Matthew Gray.

¹⁷² 'Skaters and Curlers' from Knebworthiensis, *HE*, 24th January 1891 p.8.

¹⁷³ Letter from Samuel Wallace of Swangleys Farm, Knebworth, *HE*, 31st January 1891 p.8.

The farmers distanced themselves from any insult to the Osgoods, but Matthew Gray lost his position on the Knebworth estate as a result of a complaint from the Americans to Lord Lytton, even though he himself had continued to allow the Hunt across his land at Broadwater Farm, which he held as a tenant in addition to his duties as land steward. At the subsequent trial for libel brought by Gray against Poyntz-Stewart, the latter sought to show Gray as a bully who used insulting language to the ladies and the threat of violence towards the men. He was also portrayed as throwing his weight around and declaring he did not care anything for the Osgoods or their friends; all of this Gray denied but he lost his case. He did, however, win a case against Lytton for unfair dismissal from his post, retaining the tenancy of Broadwater Farm rent free for the remaining seven years of his lease.¹⁷⁴

In 1903 John Masson was referred to as typical of his race, 'a Scotchman, quick tempered, and if anyone upsets him he lets them know in very plain language, but it is very soon over.'¹⁷⁵ It would seem that events at Knebworth resolved themselves in a similar way. The farmers denied that their action in banning the Hunt was intended as retaliation against the Osgoods whose kindness was particularly appreciated by 'the Scotch tenants',¹⁷⁶ and it would seem that the swift action was a response to perceptions of Charles Poyntz-Stewart as a member of the Hunt.¹⁷⁷ A meeting of the Hunt Club Committee in February authorised the Master, E.R. Sworder, to take legal advice to resist a claim from unnamed Scotch tenant farmers for £59 10s damages. The matter did not appear in the minutes of subsequent meetings and with a meet scheduled at Knebworth for November 1891, it would seem that a rapprochement was reached between the two parties.¹⁷⁸ With the Hunt re-admitted to their neighbourhood, the Osgoods returned to Knebworth in July of that year, 'greeted by the school children and others, who had assembled at the entrance to the village with a shower of flowers',¹⁷⁹ and continued as tenants for several more years.¹⁸⁰ Later that year Lord Lytton died suddenly of an embolism whilst in his Paris home.¹⁸¹ At his funeral in December his pall bearers reflected the new balance that had to be

¹⁷⁴ 'Mr. Matthew Gray and the Knebworth Stewardship', *HE*, 19th September 1891 p.8.

¹⁷⁵ HCRO DE/P/E320 Attimore Hall Farm Correspondence Letter of 10th November 1903.

¹⁷⁶ Letter from Samuel Wallace of Swangleys, *HE*, 31st January 1891 p.8.

¹⁷⁷ 'Notes by the Way', *HE*, 31st January 1891 p.6. This article claimed that Poyntz-Stewart only hunted occasionally.

¹⁷⁸ Personal Communication from S. Warner, Hertfordshire Hunt.

¹⁷⁹ 'Knebworth – Return of Mrs. Osgood', *HE*, 18th July 1891 p.5.

¹⁸⁰ *Kelly's* (1895), 'Knebworth' p.129 for last mention of Osgoods as tenants of Knebworth House.

¹⁸¹ 'The Late Lord Lytton', *HE*, 28th November 1891 p.5.

achieved amongst Hertfordshire farmers.¹⁸² Lytton was carried to his resting place by three of the Scottish farmers, George Little, George Muirhead and Samuel Wallace, plus three of the longest serving farming tenants of the estate, Charles Thompson, William Roberts and Charles Phillips.¹⁸³ Matthew Gray remained as tenant of Broadwater Farm until 1895, when he took on the post of Agent to Viscount Hampden of Luton Hoo, Welwyn, where he met John Masson.¹⁸⁴ His subsequent career saw him move to Chrishall Grange, near Royston where he farmed 860 acres in his own right as well as maintaining his post as Agent to Hampden; in 1901 he was interviewed by Henry Rider Haggard.¹⁸⁵ At the time of his death in 1925 he was a J.P. for Essex, and his funeral was attended by Lord and Lady Hampden as well as farmers from Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Essex.¹⁸⁶ The curlers continued to meet, but at a designated curling course which they constructed elsewhere in Knebworth.¹⁸⁷

The swift action on the part of the farmers to ban the hunt raised suspicions amongst the wider hunting community of the incident on the lake being just the excuse the Scottish contingent were looking for to implement their anti-hunt agenda; the letter to the Master of the Hunt was sent only one day after the encounter on the lake. The *Hertfordshire Express* carried extracts from *The Field* and *Land and Water* calling on the farmers to re-consider their actions, and warned that:

Should opposition to the Hunt by the Scotch community in and around Knebworth not soon show signs of giving place to a more kindly feeling there will be some reason to credit the suggestion which has been put forward in explanation of their action – namely, that the incident on the ice is merely a pretext or a declaration of war against foxhunting

¹⁸² 'Funeral of Lord Lytton', *HE*, 5th December 1891 p.6.

¹⁸³ HCRO DE/K1573 Farm Rental Book, Knebworth Estate List of Tenants Michaelmas 1880-1890, Thompson's father John, was farming at Norton Green at the time of the 1851 census 'Stevenage' HO107/1709 ED12a F218 John Thompson, Farmer, Norton Green, Charles Thompson, son, born 1835, Hampshire, 1881 census 'Stevenage' RG11/1417 ED15 F80 Charles Tompson [sic], farmer, Norton Green Farm, born 1836 Hampshire. William Roberts arrived some time before 1880 when his name first appears in the Rental Book, Phillips was a tenant of the estate by the time of the 1861 census 'Welwyn' RG9/826 ED1 F7.

¹⁸⁴ 'Knebworth', *HM*, 16th February 1895 p.6.

¹⁸⁵ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, pp.562-564.

¹⁸⁶ 'Chrishall – Death and Funeral of Mr. Matthew Gray', *RC*, 7th August 1925. I am grateful to Mr. Geoffrey Woollard, Matthew Gray's great, great nephew for this reference.

¹⁸⁷ F.A. Richardson, *Knebworth. The Story of a Hertfordshire Village* (Knebworth, 1969), p.86.

(towards which they are in some quarters believed to be not too well disposed) that they were only too ready to take advantage of.¹⁸⁸

Matthew Gray wrote to the press insisting that 'no feeling of animosity ever existed between the tenantry and the Hunt' but added that this was strained when two Hertfordshire members who were farmers were heard to say after a night of heavy rain 'we are having a gallop over a Scotchman's wheat.'¹⁸⁹ This hint at some anti-Scottish sentiment was reinforced by a letter which condemned the suggestion that farmers would be more tolerant of the Hunt if they were adequately compensated for damage done to crops:

This is a selfish contemptible spirit which is too infectious without the publication of such letters, in a neighbourhood where the virus has been imported by that money grubbing race who seem possessed of little public spirit.¹⁹⁰

There were those who had some sympathy for the curlers, but their action in banning the Hunt was seen as an 'ungracious insult' to the Osgoods who were strong supporters of the Hunt and might seek a house in more congenial country, with the inevitable loss of income to the surrounding neighbourhood.¹⁹¹ The winter of 1890-91 was particularly severe, with the ground frozen solid and unworkable for the eight weeks leading up to the incident, and the removal of the family from the big house would have had serious implications for the local neighbourhood at a time when men were being laid off and reported as living on nothing but potatoes and bread.¹⁹² The curlers themselves had sought the moral high ground by claiming to have 'paid 40s to the poor people of Knebworth for sweeping the ice, and that was a good deal more than all the skaters put together had spent.'¹⁹³ Their defence of themselves as the local men with an economic role to play revealed an understanding of just how crucial this role was within a community.

¹⁸⁸ 'Notes by the Way', *HE*, 31st January 1891 p.6.

¹⁸⁹ 'Matthew Gray and the Hertfordshire Hunt' Letter from Matthew Gray, *HE*, 3rd October 1891 p.7.

¹⁹⁰ 'Foxhunters v Farmers' Letter from 'An Old Fashioned Farmer', *HE*, 7th March 1891 p.8.

¹⁹¹ 'Notes by the Way', *HE*, 31st January 1891 p.6.

¹⁹² 'The Weather', *HE*, 17th January 1891 p.8.

¹⁹³ Letter from Samuel Wallace of Swangleys, *HE*, 31st January 1891 p.8.

In 1902, Rider Haggard concluded that the Scottish farmers of Hertfordshire paid 'the highest wages for the pick of the men.'¹⁹⁴ The ripple effect of low profits amongst farmers was felt beyond the farm gate by local dealers and tradesmen who relied on them for both orders and prompt payment. Aubrey Spencer was told by several cake and manure dealers of the difficulties in obtaining payment; one dealer reported £12,000 worth of debts, and said of the farmers that: 'where they used to take three months to pay they take nine months or a year now.'¹⁹⁵ The arrival of the Scots would seem to have been welcomed by traders who stressed their credentials as good payers. In 1886 one shopkeeper toasted 'the Scotch farmers who had settled round, spent their money in Hertford and did good to the trade of their town,'¹⁹⁶ whilst in 1895 Ralph Thorowgood, responding to the toast of 'Our English Friends' at the Burns Night Dinner said 'he had found the Scotchmen resident in Hertfordshire not only good customers amongst Englishmen, but what was better, good-paying customers.'¹⁹⁷ Burns night hospitality promoted an outpouring of mutual celebration; the Scottish Agent for the Bedwell Park estate, David McKinlay, proposed the toast to 'Our English Friends' with the sentiment that :

he had lived in this neighbourhood for 21 years, and during that time he had never met an Englishman who was not a perfect gentleman, and who was not ready, if wanted to lend him a helping hand, and to extend the right hand of friendship to him.¹⁹⁸

However, even when not fuelled by haggis and whisky there does seem to have been an attempt at accommodation each with the other by Scots and Hertfordshire men. When Rider Haggard was criticised by some farmers at the Herts Agricultural Show for his too optimistic report on the county's farming industry, he responded by saying that:

¹⁹⁴ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.511.

¹⁹⁵ BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) p.23.

¹⁹⁶ 'Caledonian Dinner', *HGAJ*, 30th January 1886 p.8. The speaker was Samuel Neale, a linen draper and upholsterer, *Kelly's* (1890) p.771.

¹⁹⁷ 'Burns' Anniversary Dinner at Hertford', *HM*, 2nd February 1895 p.8. Thorowgood was an auctioneer and certified Bailiff, *Kelly's* (1895) 'Hertford' pp.96-107, p.99,107.

¹⁹⁸ 'Caledonian Dinner at Hertford', *HM*, 30th January 1886 p.6. David McKinlay was the Land Agent to Mrs. Culling Hanbury. He had started his career in Hertfordshire as a domestic gardener before working his way up to agent, 1871 census 'Essendon' RG10/1374 ED9 F158 Bedwell Park, Gardener's House, 1881 census 'Essendon' RG11/1427 ED9 F58 Bedwell Park, Farm Bailiff, 1901 census 'Essendon' RG13/1307 ED1 F12 Bedwell Park 'Land Steward'.

some of those farmers, mostly, I admit, Cornish and Scotchmen, are – or in the year 1901 were – prospering. Owing perhaps to their being strangers in the land, rather than to their success, this statement seems to have given offence.¹⁹⁹

Yet where Scots and English were working alongside each other there does seem to have been some mutual respect. Of the four witnesses called by Robert Sinclair to defend his standard of farming at Amwellbury, only one, John Hunter of Peartree Farm, was a fellow Scot.²⁰⁰ The other three witnesses were all English-born, and two were native to the districts in which they farmed in 1881.²⁰¹ Both William Abbey²⁰² and James Waller²⁰³ were tenants of landowners who were already in 1881 letting farms to Scottish tenants and their willingness to come forward and testify on Sinclair's behalf suggests that both Scots and English had formed a working relationship on these estates. In 1895 the *Hertfordshire Express* carried a letter from Matthew Gray calling for greater respect for the standards of agriculture amongst English farmers, singling out the farmers of Hertfordshire 'who stand in the front rank of business men and farmers.'²⁰⁴ He concluded that:

there is no difference between a good Clydesdale and a good Shire horse, and there is no difference between a good Scotchman and a good Englishman.

Personal suspicion and private misgivings are hard to measure, and the exaggeration of isolated moments of anger or racial stereotyping which appeared in the press into

¹⁹⁹ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.512.

²⁰⁰ 1881 census 'Hatfield' RG11/1426 ED3 F39 John Hunter born Scotland, farming 280 acres at Peartree Farm.

²⁰¹ 1881 census 'St. Albans, St. Peter' RG11/1432 ED6 F23 William George born Sandridge farming 370 acres at Oak Farm, 'Digswell' RG11/1428 ED4 F53 James Waller born Digswell, farming 575 acres at Digswell Water, 'Thundridge' RG11/1402 ED10 F83 William Abbey born Middlesex, farmer at Castlebury Farm.

²⁰² William Abbey was a tenant of the Cowper family of Panshanger who owned the 300 acre Marden Hill Farm, Tewin which was occupied by John Bryden in 1871, 'Tewin' RG10/1372 ED2 F19, HCRO IR2/36/1 (1909-10) Tewin 250-430.

²⁰³ James Waller was a tenant of the Gape family of St. Albans. In the same parish of St. Albans, St. Peter, they owned Harpsfield Hall which was let to James Sinclair in 1863, see p.111, fn.121, 1871 census 'St. Albans, St. Peter' RG10/1378 ED6 F116 James Sinclair, born Scotland farming 500 acres showed that Sinclair had a son Robert, aged 20 in 1871, and occupation shown as Draper's Assistant, but no evidence found to show him as tenant of Amwellbury Farm in 1881.

²⁰⁴ 'Scotch Farmers in England', *HE*, 9th February 1895 p.6.

a general hostility should be avoided. That native farmers were unsettled by the arrival of the new men with strange accents was not surprising, but their common concerns of anxiety in the face of falling prices and a perceived failure by the wider non-farming public to respond to those concerns saw them share platforms in a bid to change opinion and affect policy.

In 1886, farmers from Hertfordshire organised a series of meetings to consider their situation in the face of a changing political culture which emphasised the rights of the newly enfranchised labouring classes to cheap bread against their own demands for tariffs on imports of food.²⁰⁵ The first of these meetings was called spontaneously after the close of market in Hertford by the Scot, John Hunter, who farmed at Holwell Farm, Hatfield.²⁰⁶ At the meetings which followed, those whose comments were recorded by the press included fellow Scots Samuel Wallace of Knebworth and Alexander Renwick of Standon,²⁰⁷ as well as native Hertfordshire farmers such as Henry C. Coggin of Watton, Thomas Bowman of Sacombe, Edward Pigg of Chipping, and Joseph L. Hine of Newnham.²⁰⁸ These men all shared a platform of resistance to cheap imports and called on government to re-introduce protection; their individual origins were of less importance than their shared difficulties as farmers. There were those who found it hard to welcome the new men who brought new patterns of cropping with them and seemed to be making profits at a time when so many native farmers were failing. However, they were here to stay and their assimilation continued; of the sixty members of the County War Agricultural Committee which met from 1916 onwards, 24 were farmers, nurserymen or land agents, and of these 10 originated from Scotland, Cornwall or Devon.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ For a more detailed consideration of this issue see Chapter 4 – The Political Climate of the County.

²⁰⁶ 'Hertford – Depression in Agriculture', *HGAJ*, 27th February 1886 p.4. Hunter was the son of John Hunter who had travelled south from Scotland in 1868 to take on the tenancy of Peartree Farm, owned by Lord Salisbury, Hatfield Workers' Educational Association, *Farming Yesterday and Today*, p.37.

²⁰⁷ 1891 census 'Knebworth' RG12/1105 ED8 F61 Samuel Wallace born Scotland, 1881 census 'Standon' RG11/1403 ED4 F34 Alexander Renwick farming 240 acres born Scotland.

²⁰⁸ 1881 census 'Watton' RG11/1422 ED7 F98 Henry C Coggin farmer of 386 acres, born Ardeley, 1881 census 'Sacombe' RG11/1422 ED4 F53 Thomas Bowman farmer of 1,000 acres born Ashwell, 1881 census 'Barkway' RG11/1411 ED3 F49 Edward Pigg farmer of 586 acres born Barkway, 1881 census 'Newnham' RG11/1416 ED5 F72 Joseph L. Hine farmer of 500 acres born Newnham.

²⁰⁹ See Appendix 3N 'Farming Members of the County War Agricultural Committee 1916-1918' DEX35 County War Agricultural Committee Minute Book 1 October 1916-November 1920. The minute book for this committee recorded no disagreements between the farming members.

A reading of the newspapers for this period would suggest that in spite of some suspicions of newcomers in general and the Scottish farmers in particular, the real issue of the day for farmers was not the divisions within their own ranks, but their sense of being under siege from without by a public with little understanding of the particular economic difficulties under which agriculture laboured, and an urban agenda which was antipathetic to rural needs. In the following section this feeling of dislocation will be explored, revealing the tensions which existed between farmers and the wider public within a context of different interpretations of the place of the rural within the wider national imagination.

Farmers and the wider nation

If there was one commodity which was not in short supply in the final years of the nineteenth century it was advice for farmers, some of it well intentioned, but most of it critical of the way in which they were running their businesses and indeed their lives. As was shown above, there were always those who were happy to tell farmers just how they should proceed. Charles E. Wodehouse, who farmed his own land at Hertingfordbury,²¹⁰ complained that:

It is too common for those who know little of practical farming to dictate to farmers how to cultivate their land, what crops to grow, what to produce, whether butter, poultry, eggs or jam.....It is, moreover, cruel to state, as I have often heard, that farmers do not know their business, and that ruin is their own fault.²¹¹

However, the criticism offered very often went beyond simple management or cropping suggestions, revealing an understanding that farming was not just any business, but rather that it held a special place in the nation's imagination. Farmers would not have disagreed with that conclusion; many of their calls for protection and reductions in their share of local taxation were framed in these same terms of agriculture as different in kind from other industries. However, increasingly farmers

²¹⁰ 1901 census 'Hertingfordbury' RG13/1304 ED10 F59, *New Domesday Book of Hertfordshire*, W H Wodehouse, Woolmers, 239 acres, HCRO Inland Revenue Valuation of Land 1909-10 IR2/36/1, C E Wodehouse, Woolmers, 302 acres.

²¹¹ 'Letter from C.E. Wodehouse', *HM*, 3rd August 1895 p.5.

found that their claim to special status was a two-edged sword, and a sword which was often wielded at their own heads. Criticism went deeper than calls for more efficient farming methods, focussing on their own culpability in the depopulation of the villages and the threat which followed to the health of the wider nation. On the one hand farmers were blamed for getting into economic difficulties in the first place because of their reliance on old patterns of farming and failure to adapt to the new economic climate. Yet at the same time they were criticised when they shifted into the more profitable areas, such as stock, which reduced jobs for labourers and contributed to the movement away from the villages. This ambivalence exposed the urban conundrum. Was farming an industry like any other to be run on the most profitable basis, or were farmers the custodians of the rural and expected to bear the cost of social expectations? As the rural prospect assumed greater importance as an antidote to urban decay and the feared degeneration of the national stock, the farmer as businessman was an intrusion into the picture of a working countryside where harmony reigned and the profit motive took a back seat. In a time of falling profits and the need to cut costs, their economic role was increasingly assuming less importance than their social function in the imaginations of the wider, urban public. Their attempt to establish their own agenda as the dominant narrative was defeated by that strand of thought which saw the countryside as a shared space that was not solely the preserve of the farmer and his crops. As the spotlight focussed on the loss of the labourer from the countryside, the farmer was in danger of becoming the fly in the rural ointment with his inability or reluctance to pay the sort of wages which might keep the men on the land. Whilst the landowners were able to promote themselves as the providers of cottages and village halls, the farmer's place as custodian of the countryside was a less straightforward one with the intrusion of hard economics into the soft focussed picture of the rural idyll. Farmers themselves felt they were at best overlooked, at worse blamed, by a non-farming public with little understanding of the real difficulties under which they laboured.

In an editorial on 'Weeds and Education' published in 1880, the *Herts Guardian* commented on the foul state of the land, with so many weeds in the field that 'the natural position of crop and weed are exactly reversed'.²¹² An opportunity had been missed, however, as the ground was so saturated that it would have been a simple

²¹² 'Weeds and Education', *HGAJ*, 26th June 1880 p.4.

matter to get rid of those long-rooted weeds such as dock and thistle which were so invasive, as they could have been pulled up by hand.

But the children were at school; boys and girls who might have been cleaning the land and extirpating the weeds, were learning astronomy, free hand-drawing, and a lot of other educational accomplishments – in some cases music included – and so the Education Act is the secondary cause of the land being in the foul state it is at present.²¹³

The sentiment that children at school were a wasted resource was one to which farmers continually returned. Thomas Garratt of Hunsdon complained that rather than stopping children from working before they were 14, legislators would be better employed preventing them 'from smoking, or attending theatres, casinos, and other places, and writing love letters.'²¹⁴ As will be shown below, Garratt was quick to put pen to paper in defence of perceived attacks on the farmer and was not one to call a spade a spade when he could call it a fine example of Old English implement making. Yet this hyperbole was indicative of an underlying apprehension that children were becoming 'too grand to follow the plough'.²¹⁵ It was not just the farmers who felt that the syllabus on offer in rural schools should be tailored to rural rather than urban needs and assumptions. The real fear was that schools were filling the children's heads with all sorts of nonsense, only for them to leave at 14 to 'be absorbed by the towns, by railways, by offices, by shops, and by emigration'.²¹⁶ R.B. Croft, a retired Naval Officer who had married into a wealthy Hertfordshire malting family,²¹⁷ commented in his annual report as chairman of the Ware Union School Attendance Committee on 'the very grave danger with which the agricultural interest is threatened by the operation of the Education Act' and warned 'that in the course of another generation the agricultural labourer will have ceased to exist'.²¹⁸ A more sober reflection by Sir John Bennet Lawes was that under the Education Act the local school in Harpenden had brought about an improvement in the condition of the

²¹³ 'Weeds and Education', *HGAJ*, 26th June 1880 p.4.

²¹⁴ 'Sabbath was made for Man', *HGAJ*, 31st January 1880 p.5.

²¹⁵ 'Hertfordshire Chamber of Agriculture', *HGAJ*, 4th February 1882 p.5 speech by Charles Wilshire, landowner from Welwyn.

²¹⁶ 'Local Taxation, a letter from A Hertfordshire Rector', *HGAJ*, 7th February 1880 p.5.

²¹⁷ 1881 census 'Ware' RG11/1402 ED8 F61, HCRO DE/X613/T1/50-51 Title deeds and related papers concerning the Fanhams Hall Estate 1699-1905.

²¹⁸ 'The Agricultural Interest and the Education Act', *HGAJ*, 20th April 1880 p.4.

agricultural labourers, but that it did have the effect of taking boys away from agriculture, whilst 'all the sons of the best labourers have gone away from agriculture.'²¹⁹ In 1893 the Royal Commission on Labour heard from farmers in the Buntingford district of the difficulties in getting boys to work on the farm:

Boys are kept at school too long; you cannot get them till they are 13 or 14, they then know nothing, and want 6s or 7s a week, which is too much, seeing that you are teaching them all the time.²²⁰

In 1901 Rider Haggard was repeatedly told by the Hertfordshire farmers of the decline in both quantity and quality of agricultural labourers. David McKinlay at Bedwell Park complained that, 'boys and girls could not be had unless they came out of school with the dunce's certificate,' whilst John Lloyd of Astwick Manor said that all the best men left for the city and they were left with 'worn-out odds and ends of men'.²²¹ Edward Pigg of Chipping told Rider Haggard that the farmers were paying as high as the industry would bear,²²² but those who stood outside farming argued that higher wages must be paid if the labourer was to be kept on the land. Alexander Crossman told Rider Haggard that the 'cause of the exodus of the rural population was simply bad wages for uncertain work,'²²³ a view that chimed with Rider Haggard's own opinion that agricultural labourers had to receive a competitive wage and/or have the prospect of one day claiming a piece of the land for themselves if they were to stay in the villages.²²⁴ A more extreme suggestion came from Gardiner Wilson who said that the labourer was being forced off the land by the absorption of small farms and consequent reduction in staffing levels. The solution to this was nationalisation of the land, but as this was unlikely to occur farmers must pay higher wages and labourers be given better quality cottages.²²⁵ Alexander Crossman was a wealthy brewer who had bought the 550-acre estate of Cokenach, near Barkway in the north of the county, only a few years before his meeting with Rider Haggard and by the time of his death in April 1916 he had enlarged the estate to almost 5,000

²¹⁹ BPP XVII.1 [C.3096] (1881) p.958.

²²⁰ BPP XXXV.155 [C.6894-II] (1893-94) *Royal Commission on Labour. The Agricultural Labourer*. Volume 1 England, Part II p.150.

²²¹ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, pp.541,548.

²²² Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.566.

²²³ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.570.

²²⁴ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.576.

²²⁵ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.579.

acres.²²⁶ Gardiner Wilson lived on Tollgate Farm, yet he was no farmer; the census returns showed him beginning his career as a railway clerk, reaching the level of Manager of the G.N.R. by the time of his letter to Rider Haggard in 1901.²²⁷ These two men, although from very different backgrounds and personal circumstances, reflected that wider interest in the rural questions of the day which tapped into an understanding that farming went beyond market forces and farmers should recognise their wider social function. Farmers argued that if that were so then they should be given some form of protection, for otherwise they would be unable to fulfil the second part of the rural contract. They could not raise wages any higher and the provision of cottages was beyond their remit as tenants themselves.

Farmers believed that they were already bearing most of the costs of rural living and increasingly they saw these costs reflecting assumptions and needs that were not their own. At the time of the first Royal Commission into the Agricultural Depression, Commissioner Druce reported the complaints from farmers that they were suffering a double blow as they were called first to pay higher rates to support schools, and then by the spoiling of the boys for agriculture.²²⁸ As the largest ratepayers in many rural districts, farmers' enthusiasm for the paying of rates was never strong. Under the pressure of falling incomes and stories of farming bankruptcies and change, that lack of enthusiasm was voiced, not simply in a reluctance to pay, but in a feeling that the monies paid were being used in a way antipathetic to their own situation and needs. A common complaint amongst farmers was the undue influence upon policy decisions of the 'Lancashire interest' whose intention was:

to cast every possible burden off their own shoulders on to those of the landed interest, make their roads, educate their children, provide for their lunatics, police, paupers &c.²²⁹

Farmers looked at the roads which bore the carriages of ever more barristers, bankers and managers to London, the drains which never reached the farmhouse, and the schools which taught children 'fancy' skills, and lamented both the changing

²²⁶ 'Local Necrology', *HA* (April 1916)

²²⁷ 1901 census 'North Mymms' RG13/1307 ED3 F42 Tollgate Farm, Gardiner Wilson born 1846 Wrentham, Suffolk General Manager, G.N.R., 1871 census 'Acton' RG10/1322 ED7 F175 Railway Clerk, 1881 census 'North Mymms' RG11/1427 ED7 F30 Tollgate Farm, Railway Clerk.

²²⁸ BPP XV.1 [C.2778] (1881) p.368.

²²⁹ 'Land Laws' A Letter from E.K. Fordham, *HM*, 25th June 1881 p.5. For more on this hostility to the 'Lancashire Interest' see Chapter Four, Political Climate of the County.

culture which they represented and their own obligation to support them. As a member of the Hadham Highway Board, Thomas Garratt was particularly aware of the London connection, as increased levels of traffic used the Ermine Way or Great Cambridge Road from London into East Anglia, passing through his own district of Hunsdon. He called for the burden of maintaining the roads to be shifted from the occupiers of land towards a fairer balance between owners, occupiers and users, proposing a petition to Parliament to argue for the change.²³⁰ The petition came to nothing, but the cause was a popular one. At a meeting of the Tring Agricultural Association, one member, Richard Fowler, who farmed 300 acres across the Hertfordshire/Buckinghamshire border, complained of meeting on the road from Aylesbury into Hertfordshire a circus, drawn by sixty or seventy horses. Under the turnpike system such an enterprise would have paid £200-300 a year, but now their costs were slashed.²³¹ In an editorial comment which managed to neatly encapsulate not one but two areas of farmer grievance, the *Herts Guardian* widened the net of those who should pay for the roads to take a swipe at that perennial favourite, the overseas farmer. In an editorial entitled 'Foreign Corn on English Highways' the newspaper argued:

It is our duty to call attention to the fact – (a most unjust fact!!) that with respect to our Highways, English Farmers are actually obliged to pay Highway rates for the benefit of foreign corn. Wheat, barley, maize, in large quantities, are actually carried over the farmers' roads from local stations to millers' and maltsters' stores, thus wearing to a considerable extent the farmers' property in shape of taxes, without a fraction of cost to the foreigners. It is especially hard in these times that farmers should thus be saddled with an expense which clearly should be defrayed by those who use their roads, viz., the Foreigner²³²

The uneasy relationship of farmers with the urban was made plain in debates on that most symbolic of urban improvements, the sewer. If the sight of the circus on the move provoked the farmers to complain, this was as nothing compared to their

²³⁰ 'Hadham Highway Board', *HEO*, 28th February 1880 p.5.

²³¹ 'Tring Agricultural Association', *HM*, 8th October 1881 p.5, 1881 census 'Weston Turville' RG11/1474 ED6 F120.

²³² 'Foreign Corn on English Highways', *HGAJ*, 4th February 1882 p.4.

anger at the necessity of supporting sanitary improvements from the rates. In an editorial calling for the dissolution of the Sanitary Board, the *Herts Guardian* predicted nothing but harm for those affected by projected sewage works at Hadham.

For these works there is not and never was the shade of a shadow of a reason. But they are forced on the parish by the combined action of the Local Government Board in London and the rural Sanitary Authority in the country; and the ratepayers of Hadham will be needlessly, excessively, and shamefully taxed to pay for sewerage works which when completed will be highly detrimental to the health of this pleasant village.²³³

In February 1880 Garratt wrote to the *Herts and Essex Observer* justifying his appearance before the Waltham Abbey Local Board to query the imposition of a £13 charge for sewage work.²³⁴ As the tenant of Harold's Park Farm, he was the occupier of 500 acres which fell within the jurisdiction of the Waltham Abbey Board. As a result he was expected to contribute £10 a year for a board school some five miles from his farm, as well as a similar amount towards the Metropolitan Police, although his land fell outside their jurisdiction. These rates he had paid, but an additional rate for sewage costs was the final straw as 'whilst [they] took my money for sewage rates, the Board allowed the sewage of nearly every farm to flow into the Lee.' In a stormy meeting Garratt left the Board in no doubt of his opinion of their competence, and, provoked, he returned to his own Rural Sanitary Authority at Ware and announced his intention of submitting a petition to Parliament proposing that, 'land used for agricultural purposes should be exempt from all sanitary rates'.²³⁵ The petition did not materialise, but farmer anger continued.

In April 1882, Barnard Acres was brought before the Ware Board of Health to explain why he had refused to pay the sanitary rate. He argued that he had paid all other rates owed, but objected to paying the special sanitary rate imposed for improvements at Stanstead Abbots which was some two miles distant from his farm, and from which he would receive no benefit. He argued that 'it is a great

²³³ 'Much Hadham', *HGAJ*, 28th August 1880 p.4.

²³⁴ 'Letter from Thomas Garratt', *HEO*, 21st February 1880 p.5.

²³⁵ 'Ware Rural Sanitary Authority', *HGAJ*, 28th February 1880 p.5.

injustice on the poor farmers: they have ruined 19 farmers out of 20, and now they want to ruin the last.²³⁶ Acres lost his appeal and was required to pay the rate; he was declared bankrupt six years later.²³⁷

Farmers remained convinced that they were the victims, not just of falling agricultural prices but of an urban, free-trade, liberal agenda which was indifferent both to the fate of the individual farmers and the wider farming industry. There were calls for farming to be treated as if it were any other industry, bearing only the costs of any other industry. Speaking at a meeting of the Herts Chamber of Agriculture, Charles Wilshere, a landowner from Welwyn, was applauded when he argued in favour of a re-assessment of the basis of local taxation and posed the question 'What was a farm but a machine for producing food?', yet at the same time, apologists promoted the 'special' place of farming as the keeper of the national health, feeding the nation in times of war and peace, making possible the expansion of the industrial and commercial economy, the stable heart of a rapidly changing society. Such a 'special' place should be recognised by some form of protection from competition, but cheap bread would always trump farmers' profits in the eyes of the wider public.

However, the concept of farming as special did have its place in the wider psyche. The notion of the farm as just an outdoor factory was tested in a court case which dealt not with those who owned or rented the land, but those who worked the soil and tended the stock. In March 1901 Joseph T. Hollinshead, a farmer from Harpenden, appealed against an award made in favour of an employee who was awarded damages by St Albans County Court under the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897. Charles Nash had been injured whilst tending a steam engine connected to a mill for grinding maize to feed the stock. The appeal from Hollinshead was on the grounds that a farmyard could not be considered a factory within the terms of the Act, as accepted by the County Court. The Judgement given by the Master of the Rolls, was in Hollinshead's favour, overturning the earlier judgement and illustrating the 'different' nature of farming. The argument was that in a factory the articles produced on the premises directly benefited the factory owner; the 'alleged' benefit to the cattle from milling the maize could not be shown to have any other than an

²³⁶ 'Ware Board of Health', *HGAJ*, 1st April 1882 p.5, 1881 census 'Hunsdon' RG11/1400 ED4 F33 Olive's Farm Barnard Acres, farming 400 acres.

²³⁷ *LG*, 13th March 1888 p.1592 www.londongazette.co.uk accessed April 2010.

indirect benefit to the farmer as it could not be proven that the cattle had been sold at a profit dependent on the maize. In his summing up he argued

If 'farmer' was read into the Act for the 'factory owner', and 'farm' for 'factory', the result was startling. For example a farmer would have to give every young person engaged on the farm certain prescribed holidays, and could only employ them on so many hours each week, and not at all on Sundays. He would have to set up a big clock for the purposes of regulating the hours the men on the farm came and went, and so forth.²³⁸

Clearly, the 'startling' idea of a big clock in the farmyard was meant to be a ridiculous one, and emphasised the 'different' nature of farming from other income generating occupations. The judgement in this case supported that call by the farmers for a recognition that their industry was different in nature from all other profit-generating businesses, but it also indicated the continuing resonance within the wider public mind of the distinctive character of the rural, and thus it was the business of all not just those who tilled the land or tended the stock. As the place of the rural assumed more importance in the urban imagination, the farmer himself came under greater scrutiny and there was a feeling abroad that the current generation of farmers were failing not just in their economic and social functions, but also offending against some perceived rural ideal of Englishness.

Gardiner Wilson of North Mymms wrote to Rider Haggard expressing the view that part of the problem of the land was that 'the old yeoman class of farmer is fast disappearing, having lost his capital, some of them probably through 'riotous living', and some through depression of the markets.'²³⁹ His assumption that farmers were in many cases the authors of their own misfortunes due to lifestyle choices was not uncommon and tapped into a general sense of unease that somehow farmers had lost sight of their true function within the rural balance of the agricultural interest.

In 1895 the *Herts Mercury* carried a notice of the death of a farmer who lived just over the county border at Rickling, Essex. James Laird, who had died aged 89, 'one of the old school of gentleman farmers,' was well known at Bishop's Stortford market

²³⁸ 'Farmers and the Workmen's Compensation Act', *HM*, 16th March 1901 p.5.

²³⁹ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.580.

as, 'winter or summer he was never seen in an overcoat, a garment much too effeminate for his taste.'²⁴⁰ The notice concluded with the words 'this kindly and cheery old English gentleman will be greatly missed,' drawing for the reader a mental picture which fitted with an understanding of just who a farmer should be. A few months later, a notice appeared announcing the death of Alfred Nicholls, who had been a tenant on the Woodhall estate for over thirty years, 'a farmer of the good old fashioned style'.²⁴¹ This sense of the 'old fashioned farmer', embodying all that was good about rural England, was employed by others as a criticism of the perceived failure of the contemporary man. In December 1880, the *Herts Guardian* carried a report of a speech by Clare Sewell Read in London where he called upon the English farmer to live in a style more comparable to his American counterpart if he wanted to compete:

Let him fling away his luxuries, or his 'comforts' whichever he may choose to call them; let him rise at four, labour with his own hands, and eat the same food as his labourers; let him think no more of hunting and shooting, or trips to the seaside, or of entertaining his friends with champagne and claret, and he need not be afraid of competition.²⁴²

This brought a defence of the farmer from the newspaper's editor which argued that there was 'not much amusement in going to market and selling his corn at a loss on the cost of growing', and went on,

Last year, Mr Bigg [of Stanstead Abbots] who farms his own land, lost 30s an acre. Will close living make up for that? Will rising at four in the morning make wheat crops good when the bloom does not set? ... Will a farmer's 'eating the same food as his labourers' make up for these losses? Will giving up hunting and shooting make up for this loss?²⁴³

²⁴⁰ 'Bishop Stortford – Death of Mr. James Laird', *HM*, 5th January 1895 p.3. The 1881 census shows James Laird, aged 75, farming 400 acres at Laird's Farm, Church End, Rickling RG11/1816 ED8 F112.

²⁴¹ 'Bramfield', *HGAJ*, 16th March 1895 p.5.

²⁴² 'The Agriculturists' Week', *HGAJ*, 11th December 1880 p.5.

²⁴³ 'The Agriculturists' Week', *HGAJ*, 11th December 1880 p.5.

Yet Clare Sewell Read's call for farmers to adopt a more sober lifestyle carried more than an economic warning. Here was a fear that England itself was in danger. One correspondent to the *Herts and Essex Observer*, a graduate of the 'I'm not a farmer, but' school of thought, offered his sympathies to the farmers on the recent bad weather with which they had had to contend, but concluded:

I think the good old fashioned farmer seems to have passed away, and the market-cart has had to give way for the dog-cart and sometimes the waggonette. Poor old Jack is now replaced by the hunter and the milking-stool for the music-stool.....I think the old-fashioned farmer will have to revive and that our great men must do something for them so that Old England does not go quite down the hill.²⁴⁴

There were those who defended the farmers. One pamphleteer seriously questioned the claims that 'extravagant living and immoderate education' lay at the heart of the recent depression, seeing the calls for the farmer's daughter 'to avoid the piano as if it were a poison, and to relinquish all those acquirements by which life is made durable',²⁴⁵ as ignoring the much bigger structural failures of agriculture. John B. Lawes answered criticism that farmers had forgotten that 'their business is one of averages' and spent too extravagantly when times were good, by saying that whilst farmers had prepared for two or three bad seasons, they could not have anticipated the six years of poor weather and low yields which had followed the rains of 1875.²⁴⁶ However, with little political will at large for giving farmers the protection they demanded to help their industry, attacks on farmers' own failings rather than structural problems within the agricultural sector at home and abroad were the easier target.

William Aylen, who farmed 250 acres near St. Albans and was organising secretary for the Hertford branch of the Herts Farmers Club, expressed an often heard view from farmers that 'the agricultural question is the great question of the day and

²⁴⁴ 'Letter from John Abraham', *HEO*, 22nd October 1881 p.4.

²⁴⁵ Silverstick, *What shall we do? A Treatise on the Present Agricultural Depression. Its causes, effects and remedies* (Bishop's Stortford, 1879), p.4.

²⁴⁶ BPP XVII.1 [C.3096] (1881) p.954.

hour,²⁴⁷ but whilst the agricultural question did form part of the rhetoric of politicians it was increasingly framed in terms of supporting the labourer rather than the farmer as here was both the danger to and hope for the nation and wider Empire.²⁴⁸ George Faudel-Phillips, a merchant and future Lord Mayor of London, who lived at Ball's Park, near Hertford, was reported as saying that he:

thought it was a sad and serious thing when they saw land going out of cultivation, because after all the prosperity of the land meant more or less the prosperity of this great empire, for the men off the land had been and always would be the backbone of the country.²⁴⁹

Farmers sought to establish themselves as the custodians of Empire, claiming that it was they who were at the heart of this prosperity, the foundation on which other industries could build. In 1883, John Smyth responded to the toast 'Success to Agriculture' at a coursing meeting, by saying that there was not a class in the land who was not interested in the success of agriculture:

The toast might have been called 'Success to Trade and Agriculture', and it might also have been called 'Success to the Empire'. When the ancient Romans neglected to maintain Agriculture they fell a prey to the Barbarians: and what happened to ancient Rome might happen to England if she allowed her fertile fields to return to their original state and was dependent on foreigners for her food supply. The bravery of our Army and Navy would avail us little if we had starving multitudes in England owing to the country being denuded of its food supply by a short-sighted policy of so-called Free Trade.²⁵⁰

This relationship of land and empire was evoked by others, tapping into a fear of loss of potency. William H. Aylen, wrote of how at the height of its Imperial power, 'to be

²⁴⁷ 'Agricultural Notes & Comments', *HIR*, Vol.1, (January 1893) p.28, 1881 census 'St. Albans – St. Peter' RG11/1432 ED4b F16 Sheephouse Farm. William H. Aylen farmed 250 acres, 'Herts Farmers' Club – Dinner of the Hertford Branch', *HM*, 27th January 1894 p.7.

²⁴⁸ See Chapter 4 – Political Climate of the County.

²⁴⁹ 'Herts Farmers' Club – Dinner of the Hertford Branch', *HM*, 27th January 1894 p.7.

²⁵⁰ 'Coursing Meeting at Baldock', *HM*, 24th February 1883 p.3.

a good husbandmen was then accounted the highest praise, and the State saw that the farmers had the fruits of their labour secured to them.' Yet, this lesson had been lost, and:

Although outwardly, Rome after these times, became richer and more powerful, yet there is no doubt that the decline of the empire began with the decline in the productive power of the soil of Italy. ... when the people were taxed to protect the fleet which brought the produce of Oriental climes into the capital of the empire, ... while at the same time the home-production was allowed to languish, and in many cases entirely fall into decay; then came the beginning of the end.²⁵¹

The message, and indeed warning, were clear; the consequences of neglecting farming went beyond the profits of individual farmers and threatened the long term prosperity and security of the entire nation. The use of the Roman Empire as an analogy for the problems which faced their own British Empire was not exclusive to the farmers. James A. Froude, writing in 1886, looked to the Roman example of imperial decay:

Horace had seen in Rome what we are now witnessing in England – fields deserted, the people crowding into the cities. He noted the growing degeneracy. He foretold the inevitable consequences.²⁵²

However, whilst farmers sought to employ the imagery of an England under threat to support their own special pleading for protection, the focus for those such as Froude was on returning the labourer to the land where he would raise a healthy brood of sons and daughters to populate the Empire, uncorrupted by urban influences. The farmer too often was seen as 'unhelpful' in securing that wider goal. Whilst

²⁵¹ 'Agricultural Notes & Comments', *HIR*, Vol.1, (February 1893) p.127.

²⁵² James A Froude, *Oceana* (London, 1886) p.8 quoted in R.F. Betts, 'The Allusion to Rome in British Imperialist Thought of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Victorian Studies*, Vol.15, No.2 (December 1971), pp.149-159, p.157.

landowners could provide cottages or build village halls,²⁵³ the farmer was criticised for providing only low paid, insecure employment.

Farmers understood the value of the title which went with the claim to stand at the heart of England, but were increasingly defeated by both economic and political developments. That understanding was demonstrated in the orchestration by Thomas Garratt of his eviction from his farm at Hunsdon. In November 1881, he watched as his goods were sold at auction under an order for distraint for rent. An onlooker described it as 'as a sight never before witnessed in free England – a sight sickening to behold' from which Garratt 'never flinched; he bore it like a true Englishman'. On the mirror behind the auctioneer's desk Garratt had written:

Where is the woman or man,
 With a heart who can
 Buy that bed
 On which my weary head
 Hath rested for thirty years,
 From pain, toil and cares;
 Where is that heart of stone,
 Who drove me from this home,
 Can his like be found
 Scarce on England's ground?
 With all his mighty power,
 Death may call him in an hour,
 Then where will he stand,
 At the right or left hand,
 Before that Great Judge?²⁵⁴

With this before them it is a wonder that anyone had the nerve to buy any of the stock, household effects, or indeed vines from the garden that were offered up for sale. This however, was only the first act in Garratt's swansong. On December 28th the Sheriff's officer, together with two solicitors and two policemen, arrived at the farm and demanded admittance. All the doors and windows were barred to them, and when Garratt refused to let them in they proceeded to apply battering rams to

²⁵³ See Chapter 4 – The New Wealthy and their Understanding of the County.

²⁵⁴ 'Hunsdon', *HEO*, 26th November 1881 p.4.

the door. On the sixteenth blow they were successful and entered ready for a fight, but, in Garratt's words:

to their surprise instead of opponents they found wine and spirits, sherry, brandy, and Christmas Elder Wine: at first they thought it was only a trap for them: but I told them I had always acted in a liberal manner to all visitors and should continue to do so, and act like an Englishman.²⁵⁵

The officers joined him in a glass of wine, but when told to leave the farm Garratt refused unless all his remaining goods were removed as well. After a lengthy argument which inevitably included the phrase 'an Englishman's home was his castle', he won his case and was left in the house overnight with the Sheriff's officer mounting guard, although it is not quite clear who was guarding whom. In the end Garratt was evicted but not until all his belongings had been removed, a process which took several days. He may have lost his home, but he went in some style. His evocation of Dickensian hospitality and good feeling was meant to stand in contrast to the baser, money driven, philosophy of his landlord. Here was how 'old' England truly conducted itself. His use of language to evoke a portrait of Old England reflected an understanding of the power of such imagery within the public imagination, Yet, of course, however he presented it the farm had been lost, and in Garratt's ultimately unsuccessful defence of his place on the farm was demonstrated the farmer's failure to square the circle of conflicting economic and social demands.

Conclusion

Martin Wiener wrote that, 'in England the late nineteenth-century countryside was "empty" and available for use as an integrating cultural symbol. The less practically important rural England became, the more easily it could come to stand simply for an alternative and complementary set of values, a psychic balance wheel.'²⁵⁶ Within this 'empty' space the farmers of Hertfordshire sought to come to terms with the structural changes forced on them by both poor weather and a changing balance of world trade. For some farmers the accommodation needed was too great; many of

²⁵⁵ 'Eviction at Hunsdon', *HGAJ*, 7th January 1882 p.5.

²⁵⁶ M.J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge, 1981), p.49.

them fell victim to bankruptcy courts, but even more simply folded their tents and slipped quietly into the night. Into their farms stepped newcomers from beyond the county borders, large numbers of them from Scotland and the West Country with new ideas on how to make land pay. Whilst there were some reservations on what these new men meant for the county, they were absorbed into a farming world which saw the county farm remain solvent even though some of its members had been lost. Yet, as Wiener suggested, they inhabited a rural world which was being appropriated by a non-farming public as the site of hope for an urban England under strain. The farmers found themselves out of step with a world where the spotlight had shifted from their headline role in feeding the nation, so crucial in the early part of the nineteenth century, to their supporting role as employers of labour. As the labourer moved into the spotlight vacated by the farmer, the social and political influence of the latter was increasingly subsumed by emphasis on the place of the former.

Chapter 4. The new wealthy and their understanding of the county

Introduction

In 1880, with the birth of his eighth daughter and tenth child, Henry Joseph Toulmin of Childwickbury, near St Albans faced the necessity of trimming his sails to the prevailing economic winds and letting the family home.¹ His daughter Mary recalled the family's departure for their new home at the Pré, just a few miles down the road, where they would, in turn, be the tenants of Lord Verulam:

the farmers are shaking in their shoes lest someone should take the farms who would make them pay their rents. The men who work for us are bewildered. Munt was heard to mutter, 'I just can't leave goo of 'em', and Lee cried openly.²

The new tenant of Childwickbury was John Blundell Maple, owner of the furniture store in Tottenham Court Road, one of that brand of new wealthy who found the county of Hertfordshire convenient for its railway links into town and pleasant countryside; two years later, Maple bought the house and the 850-acre estate from Toulmin,³ turning most of the previously mixed arable farming over to a stud farm, from where he trained the horses which brought him 544 victories at the races.⁴

In a chapter of her memoirs devoted to her father, Constance Toulmin, 'my father's last straw' and the unwitting cause of the move from Childwickbury, painted a picture of a man steeped in the culture of paternalism; four times Mayor of St Albans, churchwarden of the parish church of St. Michael, a conscientious magistrate, with 'a soft spot in his heart for poachers', a regular visitor of both the prison and workhouse, member of the Board of Guardians, founder of the Hertfordshire Children's Convalescent Home, instrumental in promoting the refurbishment of St Albans Abbey, and a regular subscriber to local causes such as

¹ C. Toulmin, *Happy Memories* (Leighton Buzzard, 1960), p.11.

² M. Carbery, *Happy World. The Story of a Victorian Childhood* (London, 1941), p.215.

³ A.G. Robins, 'Living the Simple Life: George Clausen at Childwick Green, St. Albans' in Corbett, Holt and Russell, (eds.), *Geographies of Englishness*, pp.1-28, p.7.

⁴ E. Moorhouse, 'Maple, Sir John Blundell, baronet (1845-1903)', rev. Wray Vamplew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* O.U.P. 2004 www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34867 accessed 25 Jan 2007.

the hospital and the museum, as well as more personal engagements with the poor of the parish.⁵

Whilst both of his daughters saw their father and his place in the community through the soft focussed lens of family affection, the energy of Toulmin and his commitment to his local environment, even after economic difficulties imposed a reduced lifestyle and offered an opportunity for withdrawal, reflected an assumption of his position within and responsibilities to his local community which fitted an understanding of paternalism deemed to be under threat from those new wealthy who were moving in to the big houses with only shooting and pleasure on their minds, those whom F.M.L. Thompson has described as 'amphibians, equally at home in the counting house and the country house'.⁶

Yet Toulmin was no scion of a long-established Hertfordshire family; his father, Henry Heyman Toulmin, a ship owner, had bought Childwickbury in 1854, enlarging the house and commissioning a new 117-acre garden, following in the footsteps of others who found the county both convenient and congenial.⁷ The young Henry Joseph was sent to Rugby, following that well trodden route into the upper classes,⁸ and neither he nor his two brothers entered the family business. Such a personal trajectory would seem to support the argument of those such as Wiener of the power of the pull of the gentry lifestyle on those whose money came from the grubby world of commerce,⁹ an argument which one would expect to be fulfilled in the man who followed Toulmin into Childwickbury. However, where Toulmin had turned his back on the family business and suffered the consequences when expanding family responsibilities ran into decreasing rental revenue, his story was not typical of the experience of those who followed him into the county.

⁵ Toulmin, *Happy Memories*, Chapter 3. 'Our Best Beloveds – Our Father', pp.14-18, 'Mr. H.J. Toulmin', *The Times*, 19th April 1926 p.16.

⁶ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.92.

⁷ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, 'St Michael's Parish', p.392, N. Pevsner, (revised by B. Cherry), *The Buildings of England. Hertfordshire* (Harmondsworth, first published 1953, revised edition 1977), p.127, H. Prince, *Parks in Hertfordshire since 1500* (Hatfield, 2008), pp.183-184.

⁸ Rugby School *Rugby School Register From 1675 to 1867 Inclusive* (Rugby, 1867), www.books.google.co.uk accessed 25th August 2009.

⁹ Wiener, *English Culture*, (1981).

With his stud farm and weekend shooting parties, John Blundell Maple, who counted the Prince of Wales amongst his friends,¹⁰ would seem to offer the obvious example of the model of a man of business looking for a pleasant environment in which to entertain guests, indulge in country pursuits and yet remain within easy reach of the commercial source from which that wealth sprang, one of those 'amphibians' who bought estates for the sport they offered as well as the chance of 'playing at being landlords'.¹¹ As such he exemplified the profile which the pessimistic commentators warned would de-stabilise the traditional rural partnership:

Either the old landowners have given place to new men, or their homes are occupied by wealthy traders, who want a seat in the country for the sake of the shooting, and who have no closer connection with the tenants than a lodger in a hotel has with the servants and waiters.¹²

David Cannadine has argued that these new men, with money to spend, stood in contrast to the traditional landowning classes who were struggling to cope in the face of falling rent rolls: '[they] had little interest in rural life, and little understanding of country ways or obligations'.¹³ They moved into the country houses, but had neither the time nor the inclination to take on the demands of the local authority role of magistrate or councillor; John Blundell Maple did sit in the House of Commons, but as the member for Dulwich which he represented from 1887 until his death, aged 58, in 1903. However, John Blundell Maple, whilst maintaining his business and sporting interests, was one who engaged with his local community in a meaningful way, donating a 24-acre site for a public park and recreation ground to the city of St. Albans in 1894,¹⁴ funding the building of an isolation hospital at a cost of five thousand pounds, as well as numerous smaller charities.¹⁵ In 1890 a profile of him appeared in the local paper which noted how in St. Albans 'he had made his name a

¹⁰ Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, p.346.

¹¹ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.62.

¹² E. Dicey, 'The Conservatism of Today', *Quarterly Review*, Vol.180, (1895), pp.549-576, p.553.

¹³ Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, p.360.

¹⁴ 'Munificent Public Gifts for St. Albans', *HS*, 27th June 1891 p. 5.

¹⁵ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, 'The city of St Albans: Advowson and charities', pp.510-515. Maple also funded the rebuilding of University College Hospital, London in 1896, R.J. Godlee, 'The Past, Present, and Future of the Medical School of University College', *British Medical Journal*, (October 1906), pp.873-74, p.873.

household word by generous deeds scattered among many classes',¹⁶ such deeds as providing two thousand pounds weight of beef for the poor of St. Albans, Wheathampstead, Sandridge, Redbourn and Harpenden during the extremely harsh winter of 1890-91.¹⁷ At his death in 1903 the flag on the town hall of St. Albans was flown at half-mast and his obituary recalled how 'no appeal for a charitable object was ever made to him in vain.'¹⁸ Men such as John Blundell Maple bought houses and put down roots, however shallow, which saw them connect with those amongst whom they lived. Maple's daughters played not just with the children of the gentry, but also with those of the estate workers and the village. His building of a hospital for infectious diseases, free of charge to local residents, was a direct response to his own personal tragedy at losing two of his daughters, Dolly and Freda, to scarlet fever and diphtheria.¹⁹ When he and his wife died they joined their daughters in the family vault in the local churchyard.²⁰

Edward Bujak, in his study of rural Suffolk, has argued that the businessman buying his home in the country was buying a little piece of tradition that saw him motivated not simply by the desire for a shooting estate but also the social cachet which 'emanated from being a good landlord who built and kept in good repair all the farms and cottages' on his estate.²¹ This of necessity brought with it a need for engagement with the environment within which he moved and played out his role of landowner. The place of the landowner within a paternalistic structure did not disappear with the arrival of those whose incomes were drawn from the workshop or warehouse. Expectations remained of those who bought their own little piece of the countryside. The continuing resonance of the paternalistic model was shown in criticism of those deemed to have fallen short in delivering their side of the bargain, as displayed in the sensational tales appearing in the very popular *Reynolds' Newspaper*. A radical newspaper, *Reynolds'* carried stories of upper-class scandal and falls from grace to promote its anti-aristocratic agenda. Anthony Taylor has

¹⁶ 'Mr. J. Blundell Maple M.P.', *HASAT*, 11th January 1890 p.3.

¹⁷ 'St. Albans – Seasonal Liberality', *HM*, 3rd January 1891 p.3. He also sent joints of beef to the workers at the local Midland Railway Station, perhaps in recognition of their contribution to his regular city commute. The giving of meat at Christmas was an annual occurrence. For further examples see *HASAT*, 5th Jan 1895 p.4, 1st Jan 1898 p.4.

¹⁸ 'Sir John Blundell Maple, Bart.', *HM*, 28th November 1903 p.5.

¹⁹ Toulmin, *Happy Memories*, p.11, 'St Albans Sisters Hospital' Hospital Records Database www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/hospitalrecords accessed 9th February 2007.

²⁰ Toulmin, *Happy Memories*, p.11. For details of the Maple family vault see www.stmichaels-parishchurch.org.uk/stmary.asp accessed 1st December 2009.

²¹ E. Bujak, *England's Rural Realms. Landholding and the Agricultural Revolution* (London, 2007), p.6.

argued in the context of hostility towards the aristocracy, that those who failed to fully engage with their paternalistic role were criticised as being mere *rentiers* who took money without giving anything in return.²²

Alun Howkins has called for more research on the nature of paternalism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, arguing that 'there seems to have been a distinct attempt to re-establish some sort of 'idyllic' notion of rural England' at this time.²³ As the century drew to a close, concerns over urban decay saw an increased focus on the role of the countryside as the source of the nation's industrial, commercial and military strength. Fresh supplies of healthy young men and women were deemed vital to counteract the three generation decline which was believed to occur in those who moved from the cottage by the green to the terraced streets of the town, if factories were to be filled, the empire defended, and the next generation secured. Supported by a rural literature which presented the countryside as the moral compass of the nation as well as the hope for future prosperity, increasingly the rural became identified with an idealised 'south country',²⁴ a world of cathedral cities, nucleated villages, gentle landscapes, small farms, local squires and deferential villagers existing in a hierarchy based on benevolent paternalism, a world that Hertfordshire was, for the urban observer, well-placed to offer, with all the advantages of a fast train service into the city. Periodicals such as *Country Life* painted an appealing picture of the county and its natives:

Hertfordshire lanes have a particular charm which is all their own. Very wide and grass covered, so that they are used as common pastures by the humble folk of 'the greens'.²⁵

²² A. Taylor, *Lords of Misrule. Hostility to Aristocracy in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Britain* (Basingstoke, 2004), p.34.

²³ Howkins, *Poor Labouring Men*, p.13. For a flavour of the historiographical argument on the rural idyll see R. Colls and P. Dodd, (eds.), *Englishness. Politics and Culture 1880-1920* (London, 1986), Short, (ed.), *English Rural Community*, Burchardt, *Paradise Lost*. For an alternative view which argues that whilst an anti-urban literature existed, it was limited in its appeal see P. Mandler, 'Against 'Englishness': English Culture and the Limits to Rural Nostalgia 1850-1940', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series Vol. 7, (1997), pp.155-175.

²⁴ The labelling of this rural idyll as 'south country' is most explicit in Edward Thomas's *South Country* (London, 1909), but the imagery can also be found in the works of Richard Jeffries, W.H. Hudson, Kenneth Grahame and George Sturt.

²⁵ 'Country Notes', *CLI*, 15th May 1897 p.510.

These 'humble folk' had a unique vocabulary, which was 'quaint and fragrant of days gone by.' Other magazines carried romantic imagery of the 'rosy-cheeked girl', plaiting her straw whilst minding her baby brother:

a fair curly-headed, blue-eyed, sturdy baby, as shall by and by
be one of England's sons of toil, iron muscled and lion-hearted,
such as forms her pride and strength.²⁶

This image of the countryside as a place where the values were timeless and the different strands of life came together in one organic whole of paternalism, bound up in a balance of deference and responsibility, the site of hope for the future, was a romantic but powerful myth. When the new wealthy moved into their country homes they brought with them an urban understanding of the rural which was bound up in an understanding of the countryside as 'special'. Responses to the new environment were conditional upon different levels of engagement with this myth; for some their local surroundings never moved beyond an unexplored and unchallenging backdrop to a largely urban lifestyle transplanted into a rural theatre, those who lived beyond the park gates functioning as just local 'colour' or one of the array of anonymous beaters or domestics. However, for others an awareness of the lives of those who were their spatial if not economic neighbours, would have brought an engagement grounded in social, religious and patriotic assumptions.

For many of the new wealthy who arrived in the county at this time an assumption of some responsibility for the well-being of their locality was a sign of the power of a paternalistic model which by the end of the century had become entwined with notions of gentlemanly behaviour. Mark Girouard has identified the role played by both the public school and gentleman's club in the dissemination of an ideal of 'the gentleman' who was sober in his dress, chivalrous in his behaviour towards women, charitable towards those less fortunate than himself and truthful in his dealings with his fellow men.²⁷ Such characteristics had clear connections with the posited ideal behaviour of the concerned landowner and so the urban professional and commercial classes were already familiar with a vocabulary of paternalism which fitted their

²⁶ 'September', *Hertfordshire Constitutional Magazine*, Vol.3, (1889) p.1. Article headed by the Latin motto 'Honeste Audax'.

²⁷ M. Girouard, *The Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven, 1981), pp.64-176.

particular understanding of the rural society into which they were entering. Historians continue to debate the corrosive effect of gentrification on the nation's enterprising spirit,²⁸ but of more relevance for the impact of those who made the move into Hertfordshire in the final decades of the nineteenth century was that they had indeed made the decision to move into an environment which they believed they understood, based on an ideal of rural and gentlemanly society which was an amalgam of religious, educational, and literary influences.

In 1895, Edward Dicey, a Liberal Unionist journalist, wrote of the threat to the 'national character' posed by the present generation of the wealthy moving into the country residences but having 'neither the power nor the will to supply the place of the 'fine old English gentleman, one of the olden time.'²⁹ Michael Bentley has argued that whilst voices such as these dealt in the broad strokes of generalisations, there was also space for the personal to displace the general, as evidenced in the genuine grief of his Conservative colleagues at the death of the millionaire newsagent, W.H. Smith.³⁰ Dicey's fears of a lack of appetite for the responsibilities of rural living amongst those merely in search of a place to shoot and entertain, revealed a pessimism which did not necessarily translate into reality. Just as exposure to the reality of the theoretically distasteful W.H. Smith, 'all middle-class money and commercial vulgarity', brought about a change in the response of those such as Lord Salisbury who were suspicious of the impact of the new wealthy on their society,³¹ the arrival of the new wealthy in the county of Hertfordshire brought about changes in the perception each of the other in the way that the county should be shaped.

At a time of agricultural depression, against a background of urban concerns for a decline in village populations and the concomitant national vigour, those who bought

²⁸ The modern historiographical debate over the decline of an entrepreneurial spirit amongst the new wealthy concerned with acceptance by an older, landowning élite, which originated with Martin Wiener has been joined by Martin Dauntton, William Rubinstein, Eileen Spring, and F.M.L. Thompson amongst others. For summaries of their arguments see Wiener, *English Culture*, (1981), M. Dauntton, 'Gentlemanly Capitalism' and British Industry 1820-1914', *Past and Present*, No.122 (Feb.1989), pp.119-158, W.D. Rubinstein, 'Businessmen into Landowners: The Question Revisited', in N.B. Harte and R.E. Quinault, (eds.), *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914: essays in honour of F.M.L. Thompson* (Manchester, 1996), pp.90-118, E. Spring, 'Businessmen and Landowners Re-engaged', *Historical Research*, Vol.72, No.177 (Feb. 1999), pp.77-91, Thompson, *Gentrification*, particularly Chapter Three 'Entrepreneurs as Aristocrats'.

²⁹ Dicey, 'Conservatism of Today', p.554.

³⁰ M. Bentley, *Lord Salisbury's World. Conservative Environments in Late-Victorian Britain* (Cambridge, 2001), p.70.

³¹ Bentley, *Lord Salisbury's World*, p.70.

estates in Hertfordshire reflected that concern by a continuing commitment to the support of their local communities which extended Thompson's 'landlord acting' into a wider engagement with the paternalistic framework, of benefit not just to those who entered the village hall, almshouse or cottage, but also to the wider nation. Those who bought estates were motivated by personal ambitions and pleasures, and for some these remained their only consideration. However, enough examples exist within Hertfordshire to indicate the assumption of a paternalistic responsibility for many of those who had made their fortunes in business. The county's particular position as a metropolitan county encouraged the settlement of those who were interested in more than just a shooting estate, and continued that earlier pattern of residency which was found amongst the aristocratic and great landowners of the county. Whatever Maple's motives in first seeking his house in the country, his and his family's lives were changed by exposure to the reality of the lives of those amongst whom they lived which went beyond just pleasure and entertainment.

In this chapter, the supposed apathy of the newly arrived, new wealthy towards their rural environment will be examined in the light of a wider, societal concern with the function of the rural within late Victorian and Edwardian England, before considering how their inner aesthetic understanding of their surroundings was translated into an outward concern for commons and the picturesque, with economic imperatives shifting in favour of social.

Wealth in Action

On a bitterly cold night in January 1891, Sir George Faudel-Phillips, wealthy City merchant and tenant of Ball's Park, accompanied by his wife and daughters, entered the back streets of Hertford and waited for some forty minutes amongst a group of lively local children whilst the key was sought to open up a mission hall. On entering the hall the evening progressed, with wool and needles being offered to the girls, and tools promised for the next meeting for the boys. There were to be three meetings a week, every Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday, when the children would be given instruction in skills such as drawing, fretwork and wood carving. Faudel-Phillips then entertained the children for half an hour with a story, until a knock at the door revealed two servants from Ball's Park carrying a large copper vessel full of

bread and 'hot milk sop'. The children having been fed and reminded to return in a clean and combed state for Tuesday's meeting, they went their separate ways, the children back to their homes and the Faudel-Phillips family in carriages onto Hatfield House for an evening of entertainment with Lord Salisbury and his family.³²

This example offers a reminder of the commitment which some members of the new wealthy believed they owed to the communities which bordered their estates. In that one month of January, as well as attending with her husband at that session for the children, Helen Faudel-Phillips had entertained 215 local school children to a Christmas Party, providing a tea, presents and entertainment, visited the local workhouse where she and her family gave a concert for the inmates before engaging in a game of musical chairs, and organised a series of 'Penny Dinners' to provide a meat dinner for those 'in great need or sickness'.³³ As an Alderman and later Mayor of the City of London, Faudel-Phillips was heavily engaged in charitable work; his most high profile campaign saw him raise £550,000 for the relief of famine in India.³⁴ Alongside this he entertained royalty from across the world and as Lord Mayor during the Jubilee year of 1897 escorted the Queen to the Thanksgiving Service at St. Paul's Cathedral where his wife presented the Queen with a silver basket carrying a bouquet of mauve and white orchids.³⁵ Faudel-Phillips's departure at the close of that January meeting in 1891 for the hospitality of Lord Salisbury and his family at Hatfield House, reflected a truth that one man's life was made up of a variety of experiences which could sit comfortably alongside each other, be it commercial entrepreneur, concerned philanthropist, or congenial guest.³⁶

F.M.L. Thompson, in his study of millionaires' estate buying choices, has warned that 'instance may be piled upon instance to produce an effect, but hardly a conclusion,'³⁷ and David Cannadine's reminder that any work of history 'summarises key features,

³² 'A City Alderman in 'Darkest Hertford'' article by 'Ishmaelite', *City Press*, reprinted in *HM*, 24th January 1891 p.5.

³³ 'Hertford - All Saints Infant School', *HM*, 3rd January 1891 p.3, 'New Year's Treat to the Workhouse Inmates', *HM*, 10th January 1891 p.3, 'Hertford Penny Dinners', *HM*, 24th January 1891 p.3.

³⁴ 'An Ex-Lord Mayor London. Death of Sir George Faudel-Phillips', *The Times*, 29th December 1922 p.11.

³⁵ 'The Diamond Jubilee - Celebration in London', *The Times*, 23rd June 1897 p.9.

³⁶ Faudel-Phillips was a highly intelligent man with a fund of anecdotes to entertain. See Chapter 5 'Political Climate of the County'.

³⁷ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.68.

but does not exhaust realities³⁸ should be borne in mind when considering the kaleidoscope of choices that made up the patterns of life for those who lived within the county at this time. However, Eric L. Jones has also argued for the validity of 'only minimum documentation' to make a good historical case, the 'bibliographic equivalent of Ockham's Razor'.³⁹ The examples offered in the following section will hopefully offer more than 'minimum documentation' to support an argument that illuminates the choices of those who extended themselves financially and emotionally to the communities in which they lived; whilst personal pleasure and well-being remained integral to those choices, the foundation of assumptions upon which those choices were laid revealed an understanding of their environment which owed much to their imagining of paternalism. What this section will not tackle is how these choices were regarded at the sharp end, as it were, by those who were deemed to benefit from them; the spending of money reveals the understanding of those who spent it, an understanding not necessarily shared by those on whom it was spent. At the outbreak of war in 1914, Lord Rothschild, who was acknowledged as being a philanthropic and engaged landowner, showed paternalism stripped bare when he told his estate and household employees at Tring to enlist on pain of dismissal from their posts.⁴⁰ Yet as Keith Grieves' work on recruitment in Sussex has shown, the impact of a 'transitional, urbanising social structure' in the county meant a changing dynamic in the traditional paternalistic conversation.⁴¹ A more conditional response to an appeal for recruits by George Hodgson, a wealthy textile manufacturer from Bradford who had retired to Hexton, near Hitchin, revealed the duality of the paternalistic model. When he called the men of the village together to urge them to sign up he argued, 'If the 'un comes 'ere you won't 'ave no 'omes to fight for!' to which a voice in the crowd shouted 'No more won't you, you old b...' and no-one volunteered.⁴² As ever, the paternalistic dynamic was a complicated one.

³⁸ Cannadine, *Decline and Fall*, p.8

³⁹ E.L. Jones, 'The Environmental Effects of Blood Sports in Lowland England since 1750', *Rural History*, Vol. 20, No.1 (2009), pp.51-66, p.52

⁴⁰ C. Dakers, *Countryside at War 1914-18* (1987), pp.26-27 cited in N. Mansfield, *English Farmworkers and Local Patriotism 1900-1930* (Aldershot, 2001), p.88

⁴¹ K. Grieves, 'Lowther's Lambs': Rural Paternalism and Voluntary Recruitment in the First World War', *Rural History*, Vol.4, No.1 (1993), pp.55-75, p.55

⁴² A. Ashley Cooper, *A Harvest of Hexton* (Hexton, 1986), p.213 Hodgson spent a considerable fortune on his estate at Hexton, and built new cottages for the villagers. For more on Hodgson see below p.168

Table 4.1. Local Improvements Funded by Individuals, 1870-1914

	1870-79	1880-89	1890-99	1900+	TOTAL
Church Restoration & Improvements ⁴³	9	11	11	8	39
New places of worship – sites given & buildings funded	8	6	4	5	23
Almshouses ⁴⁴	10 (3) ⁴⁵	17 (4)	15 (4)	36 (9) ⁴⁶	78 (20)
Reading Rooms, Social Clubs, Institutes & Lecture Halls	2	8	3	8 ⁴⁷	21
Village Halls		1	5	9	15
Public Parks and Recreation Grounds		3	3	2	8
Hospitals – Sites Given & Buildings Funded			5	2	7
Convalescent and Nursing Homes		1	1	1	3
Orphanages			1		1
New Nurses' Home				1	1

Source: Details taken from *Kelly's* (1914) and a range of local histories and memoirs. For details of individual donations with full referencing see Appendix 4A 'Individual Public Spending 1870-1914'

As Table 4.1 shows, investment by individuals in their local environment did not abate as the century drew to a close. This table is not exhaustive in its coverage of the various projects; it draws primarily on those recorded within the pages of *Kelly's Trade Directory*, supplemented by examples taken from Hertfordshire newspapers, local histories and personal memoirs, and concentrates on those improvements which were designed for the public in general, funded solely by one individual. As will become clear in the personal histories which follow, expenditure on localities was more widespread than this table suggests. Nevertheless, it does offer a pointer to the way in which people understood their local responsibilities and their assumptions of the most beneficial uses for their fortunes, whilst entering the caveat that personal motivations cannot always be so neatly tabled. Both Henry Toulmin and Thomas Fowell Buxton built new churches, Toulmin at Childwick Green for the

⁴³ This figure refers only to the restoration or repair of the fabric of the church, and the donation of new church furniture such as bells, pulpits or organs. It does not include memorial stained glass windows.

⁴⁴ This is the figure for the number of new homes provided. The number in brackets shows the number of individual initiatives. Missing from this table is a donation of land as a site for three cottages to be used as almshouses in Hoddesdon by Robert Barclay in 1897. See Appendix 4A for reference.

⁴⁵ This total includes two almshouses at Pirton which were rebuilt in 1877 by William Handscombe, farmer and heir of the original founder, John Hammond in 1607.

⁴⁶ This figure includes two separate endowments of four almshouses by Admiral Vander Meulen in Bishop's Stortford in 1907 and 1910.

⁴⁷ This includes two libraries in St. Albans and Cheshunt which were funded by Andrew Carnegie.

villagers who had difficulties in attending winter services at the parish church of St. Michael, some three miles away,⁴⁸ Buxton at Stanstead Abbots. However, Buxton's motives seemed to his neighbours as less than pure. An unpopular man, described by one Hertfordshire historian as:

one of the richest men in the County, so he is also one of the meanest. So thoroughly is he despised in Stanstead there is none so poor to do him reverence. Not a village boy touches his hat when the wealthy brewer passes.⁴⁹

When the foundations were laid for Buxton's new church on a site rejected by the vestry but close by the gates of his own park, concerns were raised that he was only interested in the needs of his own household and intended a rival to the existing parish church of St. James with its fifteenth-century features, some two miles distant from his house,⁵⁰ concerns that were realised when his new church of St. Andrew, 'an unimaginative, routine design,' was consecrated as the parish church in 1882.⁵¹ These contrasting examples serve to remind that physical expressions were sometimes ambiguous in revealing inner motivation, and that indeed a single financial donation could represent an amalgam of impulses such as personal generosity, a public expression of private grief, or the need for self-aggrandisement in equal or unequal measure.

It should also be remembered that spending was limited by the size of one's purse, and greater giving was no indication of greater commitment to charitable or paternalistic ideals; the equivalent of the widow's mite is missing from this table which focuses on the headlined individual contribution, but should be borne in mind when assessing the pervasiveness of a culture of giving.

⁴⁸ Toulmin, *Happy Memories*, p.11, Pevsner, *Hertfordshire*, p.342. Pevsner described the Childwick Green chapel as 'a tiny, domestic-looking chapel of 1867', p.128.

⁴⁹ A. Deacon and P. Walne, (eds.), *A Professional Hertfordshire Tramp* (Hertford, 1987), pp.8-9. The historian was John Edwin Cussans whose self-confessed dislike of Buxton was not helped by the latter's frequent requests for free copies of engravings taken of his home, Easney House.

⁵⁰ 'New Church at Stanstead' Letter from O. Chapple, *HGAJ*, 3rd April 1880 p.5, 'One who had the honor [sic] to serve' and Editorial Comment calling for maintenance of existing parish church, *HGAJ*, 17th April 1880 p.4.

⁵¹ Pevsner, *Hertfordshire*, p.342, Page, W., (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertford* Volume 3 (London, 1912), 'Stanstead Abbots' p.370.

As can be seen in Table 4.1, the provision of places of worship continued to be a concern of Hertfordshire residents, with the greatest number of individual initiatives being found in the categories of restoration of existing churches or the building of new ones. With the building of new churches, there was a clear distinction between the building of chapels of ease for small communities such as Toulmin's Childwick Green where the distance from the parish church was offered as a reason for non-attendance on Sundays, and the erection of a new building to accommodate the growing populations of commuters, as at Rye Common and Chorleywood.⁵² These new buildings all fell under the auspices of the Established Church, other than a Baptist Chapel opened in Northchurch which was funded at a cost of £2,200 by John Marnham of Boxmoor,⁵³ and one Catholic Church, Holy Rood, being opened in the rapidly expanding town of Watford.⁵⁴ The latter was funded at a cost of approximately £35,000 by Stephen Taprell Holland, who had taken out a lease on Otterspool House, Aldenham in 1873.⁵⁵ Holland was a partner in the firm of Taprell, Holland and Sons, suppliers of furnishings and fittings for Osborne House and Windsor Castle as well as to such gentlemen's clubs as the Athenaeum, the Reform, and the Army and Navy.⁵⁶

There was a steep decline in the number of Church building projects amongst the aristocracy, the only new building was undertaken by Earl Cowper at Ayot St Peter (1875), and Lord Salisbury at Hatfield (1877) and Hatfield Hyde (1882).⁵⁷ In parts of the county where new buildings were erected as a result of appeals to the local district, the prominent position of the new wealthy was maintained. The list of subscribers to the building of a new church to meet the needs of the rapidly expanding district of New Bushey, revealed the importance of the newcomers in

⁵² Robert Barclay, banker, funded a new iron church at Hoddesdon in 1880, S. Garside, *Hoddesdon. A History* (Chichester, 2002), p.74. John Saunders Gilliatt, an American born merchant banker who became a Governor of the Bank of England built a new Church and Vicarage at Chorleywood in 1870, I. Foster, *Chorleywood, Chenies, Loudwater and Heronsgate. A Social History* (Rickmansworth, 2007), pp.29-32, 'Mr. J.S. Gilliat', *The Times*, 16th February 1912 p.9.

⁵³ B. Hosier, *Hedgehog's Northchurch. A Personal History of a Village in Hertfordshire* (Northchurch, 1994), p.67. John Marnham was a retired stockbroker who stood unsuccessfully as the Liberal Candidate for the Western Division of Hertfordshire in 1892. See Chapter Four – The Political Climate of the County.

⁵⁴ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, 'Watford: Churches and charities' pp.464-469, Holy Rood Church, Watford www.holyroodrc.com/history accessed 4th December 2009 for details of cost.

⁵⁵ HCRO DE/Wh/T6 Thellusson Family - Otterspool Estate 1873.

⁵⁶ Victoria and Albert National Art Library <http://catalogue.nal.vam.ac.uk> accessed 4th December 2009 for details of the company history.

⁵⁷ For a full breakdown of spending by social class and occupation see Appendix 4B 'Individual Public Spending Initiatives by Social Class and Occupation, 1870-1914'.

getting such projects off the ground.⁵⁸ Heading the list, with a gift of £2,500 was David Carnegie,⁵⁹ a merchant with trading links to Sweden, whilst donations of £1,000 apiece were made by Thomas Blackwell of Oxhey, the grocer of Crosse and Blackwell fame,⁶⁰ and Robert Carew of Carpender's Park, who had made his fortune in producing gin and rum from his sugar plantations in India.⁶¹ The newsagent and M.P., W.H. Smith, contributed £250, although he had moved on from Oxhey in 1877. By contrast, the Earl of Essex, whose home at Cassiobury was just two miles away from the proposed new site, gave only £100.

The umbrella term of church restoration covered a wide range of improvements and financial commitment. At one level there were the gifts of church bells or furniture such as the donation by Mrs Janet Kidston of an organ to her parish church at Northaw,⁶² or a new set of church bells to the church at Aspenden by local farmer, Joseph Woodward.⁶³ A rather more expensive contribution was made by those who undertook complete restorations of churches badly in need of repair, such as Earl Cowper at Hertingfordbury,⁶⁴ or the very enthusiastic Edmund Beckett, the first Baron Grimthorpe. Beckett had made the large fortune which allowed him to indulge his passion for church architecture, as a barrister.⁶⁵ The Hertfordshire obituarist who referred to him as one who went about his many good works 'in a quiet and unassuming manner'⁶⁶ would seem to have been testing the credibility of his readers, as Grimthorpe's arrogance, quick temper and ability to offend his neighbours were

⁵⁸ M. Bray, *Oxhey. The History of a Parish* (Oxhey, 1979), Chapter Two: 'The Church' www.stmatthewsoxhey.org.uk accessed 11th August 2009 gives details of the various donations.

⁵⁹ Carnegie, Sweden www.carnegie.se/en accessed 16th February 2010. The history of the company shows that D. Carnegie and Co, a company trading in iron, timber and other commodities was founded by David Carnegie's uncle, also named David. David Junior ran the company but returned to Scotland and thence Hertfordshire, leaving a manager in Sweden.

⁶⁰ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, 'Watford Parish' p.457.

⁶¹ 'The Pulham Legacy – Part 5 Some Rediscovered Treasures' www.pulham.org.uk accessed 11th August 2009, Page, *VCH Volume Two*, 'Watford Parish' p.447.

⁶² Mrs Janet Kidston was the wife of John P. Kidston, Merchant and Ship Owner. She donated a new organ to Northaw Parish Church in 1882. Her husband paid for the full restoration of the same church in 1888. 1881 census 'Northaw' RG11/1427 ED10 F85. Kidston was a Scot who continued to have business interests in Scotland. N. Morgan and M. Moss, 'Wealthy and Titled Persons' – The Accumulation of Riches in Victorian Britain: the Case of Peter Denny', *Business History*, Vol.31, No.3 (1989) pp.28-47, p.46 fn2.

⁶³ Joseph Woodward, aged 67, farming 225 acres at Aspenden in 1881, paid for a new set of Church Bells, RG11/1409 ED2 F28

⁶⁴ 'Hertingfordbury', *HE*, 9th May 1891 p.8. The restoration had taken two years to complete.

⁶⁵ L.C. Sanders, 'Beckett, Edmund, first Baron Grimthorpe (1816-1905), rev. Catherine Pease-Watkin, *ODNB* (2004; online edn, May 2007) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30665 accessed 8th July 2009.

⁶⁶ 'Baron Grimthorpe', *HM*, 6th May 1905 p.4.

legendary.⁶⁷ He alone funded the restoration of three churches in St. Albans, not simply providing the finances but also the designs which saw him destroy the thirteenth-century west front of the Abbey, replacing it with a thoroughly Victorian façade, as well as other early, original features.⁶⁸ He persuaded the Bishop to grant him a faculty to complete a programme of restoration left floundering after the death of George Gilbert Scott, in return for funding the whole expensive enterprise himself.⁶⁹ That the Abbey was in need of restoration was not in question; one St. Albans historian recalled being told by an elderly resident of gaping holes in the roof of the nave which meant services could only safely be conducted in the Lady Chapel.⁷⁰ The willingness of Grimthorpe to expend his considerable fortune and energies on its rescue was seen by many as a mixed blessing.

Grimthorpe received much criticism in his lifetime for his very personal vision of restoration, criticism his self-belief allowed him to dismiss.⁷¹ However, his was not the only interpretation of what was desirable in church architecture to be questioned. In 1891, a new vicar arrived at the parish church of Hexton, near Hitchin. Reverend F.C. Fillingham had transferred from a Newcastle parish and the *Hertfordshire Express* carried a letter from him to his former parishioners which had appeared in the *Newcastle Daily Journal* explaining his decision to move to such a 'small country parish.'⁷² His choice had been based on the existence within Hexton 'of one of the last unrestored churches in our land; one of that [sic] last relics of that 18th century whose traces are being so rapidly obliterated.' By taking on the living he would be in a position to stop 'some Vandal from coming in and 'restoring' the church.' He ascribed the enthusiasm for restoration as the outcome of an ambition 'to get a reputation by activity and to be favourably thought of by those in authority.' However, the *Hertfordshire Express* sprang to the defence of Earl Cowper and his work at Hertingfordbury, whilst the Rev. H.T. Valentine, vicar of St. Paul's Walden,

⁶⁷ 'Death of Lord Grimthorpe', *The Times*, 1st May 1905 p.11 referred to him as one who lived a 'full and stormy life' and 'loved controversy.' The Bishop of St Albans called on his congregation to forget Grimthorpe's 'controversial' attitude to restoration of the Abbey and remember instead his generosity in rescuing a building which was in danger of ruin.

⁶⁸ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, 'St. Albans Abbey' pp.488-507.

⁶⁹ Pevsner, *Hertfordshire*, p.297. The cost of the restoration of the Abbey alone was estimated at £130,000.

⁷⁰ E. Toms, *The Story of St. Albans* (Luton, 1975), p.163. The resident in question was Mrs. Margaret Wix, the first woman Mayor of St. Albans.

⁷¹ M. Freeman, *St. Albans. A History* (Lancaster, 2008), p.235. Grimthorpe was often in conflict with the St. Albans Archaeological and Architectural Society, a society which he 'conspicuously failed to join'.

⁷² 'The Vicar of Hexton and Church Restoration', *HE*, 30th May 1891 p.3.

invited Fillingham to visit his own parish church where he might decide whether the green growths which covered his whitewashed walls and the high oak pews riddled with dry rot, or the foul smell arising from an ancient but sinking floor, negated the need to raise funds of £3,500 to restore the building and ensure the tower did not fall down.⁷³

Where Fillingham saw restoration as a symptom of the modern world's 'unrest', those such as Valentine welcomed the contributions of those with means who were in a position to hold back the ravages of time. In 1902, the members of the East Hertfordshire Archaeological Society bemoaned the lack of a 'wealthy squire with a love for the traditions of the past' to step up and repair the local church at Anstey.⁷⁴ However, Fillingham's condemnation of the passion for restoration as driven by a need for acceptance may have had some relevance for those of the new wealthy who contributed towards local projects. Identification with an old parish church was a way of both making a connection and announcing an arrival. Across the county, restoration by those with roots in the county continued, as part of an older landowning structure, but the new wealthy were also prominent in taking their part.

As the century drew to a close and the falling land prices took their toll on aristocratic and gentry rent rolls, the presence within Hertfordshire of a resident, wealthy, commercial élite who could look to sources other than land for their income saw public initiatives maintained. In St. Albans, the importance of the new arrival with the money and inclination to support his local environment was welcomed. Alderman William Hurlock, himself a merchant,⁷⁵ praised Sir John Maple on his initiative in providing both an isolation hospital and a recreation ground and park for the people of the town:

Coming to the neighbourhood as a stranger, and acting so nobly, it must occur to everyone that it was a great blessing that men could be found who could be so benevolent. The merchant princes had been the glory of our land. They were

⁷³ 'The Vicar of Hexton and Church Restoration' and 'St. Paul's Walden Restoration Fund', *HE*, 6th June 1891, pp.1, 8

⁷⁴ 'Anstey Church', *Transactions of the East Hertfordshire Archaeological Society*, Vol. 2, No.1 (1902), p. 95.

⁷⁵ 1891 census 'St. Albans' RG12/1116 ED9 F30 William Hurlock, clothier and draper, Toms, *St. Albans*, p.168. Toms claims that Hurlock had shops in London, but no confirmation found.

men who had given public parks in nearly every county in England.⁷⁶

This was not mere metaphorical back slapping from one Tory merchant to another. Like Maple, Hurlock was a Conservative, but 1892 saw him in dispute with his own party organisation as he threw his support behind William Bingham-Cox, the alternative Tory candidate for the St. Albans division, and was not afraid to condemn those grandees of the party who would ride roughshod over local interests.⁷⁷ In John Blundell Maple's donation of a park and recreation ground to the people of St. Albans many of the concerns and assumptions of the day were given physical expression. There were more public parks opened in the period 1885-1914 than at any other time, although the majority of these were funded by local councils or corporations, rather than the gifts of individual philanthropists.⁷⁸ In a special supplement to mark the opening of Clarence Park in 1894, the *Herts Advertiser* acknowledged that St. Albans' Council would have had to accept 'a large, capital expenditure' had Maple not stepped forward with his offer, so desirable was a park for the town.⁷⁹ The idea for such a park had been publicly raised in 1891 by a correspondent to the *Herts Standard* who called upon the largest local landowner, Earl Spencer, to donate a piece of land which had previously been used as brickfields but which now stood unused, for that purpose.⁸⁰ Whilst the letter itself had been signed only with a pseudonym, the identification of the author by the paper as 'a gentleman of powerful local influence, possessing an ample fortune' and a generous nature, suggested a link with Maple himself.⁸¹ Earl Spencer, whose seat was at Althorp in Northamptonshire,⁸² was not forthcoming, a further example of that symbiosis of degree of residency and level of commitment. Only two months later the same newspaper carried the news that Maple was to donate thirteen acres to the city for use as a recreation ground and public park; the site had been bought from Earl

⁷⁶ 'Sir Blundell Maple's Gift', *HS*, 30th September 1892 p.8.

⁷⁷ See Chapter Five – Political Climate of the County pp.213-216.

⁷⁸ H. Jordan, 'Public Parks, 1885-1914', *Garden History*, Vol. 22, No.1 (1994), pp.85-113, pp.85, 89.

⁷⁹ 'Sir. J. Blundell Maple's Munificent Gift', *HASAT*, Supplement 28th July 1894 p.1

⁸⁰ 'A People's Park and Recreation Ground for St. Albans' from 'A Citizen', *HS*, 4th April 1891 p.3.

⁸¹ 'Prospects of a People's Park', *HS*, 4th April 1891 p.5.

⁸² Bateman, *Great Landowners*, p.417. Earl Spencer owned 3,017 acres of land in Hertfordshire, much of it in the parishes of St. Albans and Sandridge. His St. Albans home of Holywell House had been demolished in 1837, Toms, *St. Albans*, p.146.

Spencer and a local orchid nurseryman, Frederick Sander.⁸³ Spencer sold the land to Maple upon condition that a road would be laid out along the eastern border for a new housing development of substantial houses, a recognition of the improved value on previously poor land which would follow from the opening of a park.⁸⁴ Many of the houses which were built carried first floor balconies which had good views of the park.⁸⁵

The first approach to Maple had come from the St. Albans Cricket Club who played on Bernard's Heath, just to the north of the town. Concern at their lack of security of tenure and desire to develop more facilities such as a pavilion, which could help them tender for the home of the County Cricket ground, saw them approach Maple as to the possibility of providing the club with a permanent home.⁸⁶ When the park and recreation ground opened in 1894, they contained two distinct areas; separate football and cricket pitches, with a bowling green, running and cycle track, alongside a park with drinking fountain, bandstand, shrubberies and winding paths.⁸⁷ The cost of maintaining the Park was to be taken over by the City Council, and this was reflected in the greater emphasis on grass at the expense of formal bedding. There were some flower beds, tracking alongside the paths, but not the large displays of annual flowers which required so much in the way of maintenance; the *Herts Advertiser* applauded Maple's understanding of the need to reduce the long-term costs of the park.⁸⁸ In keeping with that enthusiasm for a perceived 'Old English' architecture, the Superintendent's lodge was built in the gothic style.⁸⁹

From the moment of its inception, the newspapers dubbed this the 'People's Park',⁹⁰ and its design, in which Maple was heavily involved, incorporated the assumptions of just how such a facility should be executed. Where the earliest Victorian parks saw their function as combining the opportunity for fresh air and gentle exercise with the

⁸³ 'Munificent Public Gifts for St. Albans', *HS*, 27th June 1891 p.5. The paper reported that Maple had paid £3,500 to Sanders for his portion of the land. No mention was made of the price to Earl Spencer.

⁸⁴ 'Munificent Public Gifts for St. Albans', *HS*, 27th June 1891 p.5, H. Smith, 'Clarence Park, St. Albans – a Late-Victorian Public Park' in A. Rowe, (ed.), *Hertfordshire Garden History. A Miscellany* (Hatfield, 2007), pp.174-191, p.179.

⁸⁵ These houses can still be seen along Clarence Road, adjoining the park.

⁸⁶ Smith, H. 'Clarence Park', p.178.

⁸⁷ 'Sir. J. Blundell Maple's Munificent Gift', *HASAT*, Supplement 28th July 1894 p.1.

⁸⁸ 'Sir. J. Blundell Maple's Munificent Gift', *HASAT*, Supplement 28th July 1894 p.1.

⁸⁹ H.A. Taylor, 'Urban Public Parks 1840-1900. Design and Meaning', *Garden History*, Vol.23, No.2 (1995), pp.201-221, p.210, Smith, 'Clarence Park', p.183.

⁹⁰ see p. 159, fn. 80 & 81, above.

educational experience of encounters with native and exotic trees and shrubs, the parks which were laid down towards the end of the century showed a much greater concern with the provision of facilities for more energetic athletic pursuits, reflecting that wider concern with the health of the nation.⁹¹ Maple himself wrote that he 'considered cricket and athletic sports as great factors in the development of the English race',⁹² and the *Herts Advertiser*, listing the facilities on offer within the park, commented on their good fortune within St. Albans in being able to stage a wide range of 'those trials of strength and endurance which have done more than is generally conceded to maintain England in the van of the nations of the world'.⁹³ This concern for the physical wellbeing of the residents and, by association, the nation at large, was seen in Maple's insistence that the cycle track be laid with cinders rather than the preferred choice of the cycle club for wood, as the former, slower surface was deemed more novice-friendly.⁹⁴

Table 4.2. Individual Public Spending Initiatives in Hertfordshire Consolidated by Social Class and Occupation, 1870-1914⁹⁵

STATUS	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	TOTAL
Aristocracy	6	2	2	2	12
Clergy	1	1	3		5
Farmers	3	1	1		5
Gentry	7	9	6	6	28
Military	1			2	3
First Generation					
Commercial	1	8	13	14	36
Manufacturing	2	2	2	3	9
Finance	1	4	2	10	17
Law		4	3	1	8
Other		1	4	5	10
No Trace		2	1	2	5
TOTAL	22	34	37	45	138

⁹¹ Jordan, 'Public Parks', p.86.

⁹² HALS Off Acc 1162/891 quoted in Smith, 'Clarence Park', pp.182-183.

⁹³ 'Sir. J. Blundell Maple's Munificent Gift', *HASAT*, Supplement 28th July 1894 p.1.

⁹⁴ Smith, 'Clarence Park', p.183.

⁹⁵ Where an individual made more than one contribution per category, both have been taken into account to reflect level of commitment. For details by class and occupation see Appendix 4B 'Individual public spending initiatives in Hertfordshire by social class and occupation, 1870-1914'.

As Table 4.2 shows, it was those such as Maple who increasingly as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth assumed the responsibility for public initiatives, and the nature of those initiatives reflected their concerns. The building of almshouses had always been a part of the paternalistic framework of philanthropy, but as the effect of falling rental rolls impacted on the ability of the gentry and aristocracy to fulfil this part of the social contract, it was taken on by those such as Sir Walter Gilbey, the wine merchant, at Bishop's Stortford,⁹⁶ and John Saunders Gilliat, the American born merchant banker, at Chorleywood.⁹⁷ John Blundell Maple also built and endowed sixteen one-bedroomed almshouses at Harpenden for former employees of his furniture company.⁹⁸ As these were not available to local residents they have not been included in the analysis of public initiatives in Table 4.2 above, but do give an indication of how the provision of almshouses continued to be part of that wider understanding of paternalism amongst the new wealthy.

Equally, the growth in the provision of village halls, parks and healthcare facilities was accomplished largely as a result of investment by those new arrivals whose wealth had been made in the commercial and manufacturing spheres. What is also very clear is the retrenchment by the aristocracy from their previously strong position as providers of public amenities. It should be remembered again at this stage, that the spending shown refers only to the headlined initiatives of a single donor, and thus downplays the continuing presence of those such as Earl Cowper and Lord Salisbury on donation lists. However, these tables do give a clear indication of the willingness of many of the new wealthy to spend their money on their new environment.

Jeremy Burchardt has examined the post-World War One focus on the village hall as a means of addressing the restlessness and dissatisfaction of those agricultural workers and their families who returned to their previous working and domestic lives with an expectation that things had to improve.⁹⁹ Prior to the war concern was already mounting at the failure of the villages to compete with the attraction of

⁹⁶ Gilbey built two blocks of four cottages in 1906, www.stortfordhistory.co.uk/guide13 accessed 19th July 2005.

⁹⁷ Gilliat built two almshouses in 1881 and a further two in 1906, leaving all four, plus an endowment of £500, to the parish upon his death in 1912, Foster, '*Chorleywood*', p.32.

⁹⁸ H. Barty-King, *Maples, Fine Furnishers. A Household Name for 10 years* (London, 1992), p.67.

⁹⁹ J. Burchardt, 'Reconstructing the Rural Community: Village Halls and the National Council of Social Service, 1919 to 1939', *Rural History*, Vol.10, No.2 (1999), pp.193-216, p.195.

urban opportunities for entertainment and socialisation. In 1889 the Rector of Hertingfordbury called for more effort to address this lack of rural diversion:

It is not in the crowded cities alone that this yearning for brotherhood among men is felt so keenly; it is felt bitterly in the isolations of country life. One or two giving their annual subscriptions to village clubs is far from being all we want.¹⁰⁰

Hertingfordbury had to wait until 1910 for its own village hall, built as a memorial to her husband the late Earl, by Countess Cowper, although the Earl himself had financed a Village Room for the hamlet of Digswell in 1890.¹⁰¹ The village hall as a memorial became more common as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth; of the fifteen built, eight have been traced as bearing memorials to deceased spouses or parents.¹⁰²

Braughing, a village in the north-east of the county, was in the unusual position of receiving two memorial halls within the space of twelve years. Herbert Shepherd Cross, who had made his fortune in the bleaching of textiles in Lancashire, bought the estate of Hamel's at Braughing in 1884. In keeping with the pattern of previous generations of Hertfordshire buyers, this was in part driven by political ambitions; he was elected as Conservative member for Bolton the following year.¹⁰³ In 1893 he built a hall as a memorial to his wife, but it stood a little way out of the village. In 1905 he was approached by the vicar, Rev. Stanley, with a request to build a new hall closer to the centre of the village, which would be available for church functions as well as wider community events. This was in response to the success of the new minister at the local chapel who had raised enough funds to convert three houses into a Hall and Coffee House, offering youth groups, a dame school for the girls of the village, slide shows and entertainments aimed at the younger generation. Reverend Stanley was concerned that this was infringing on the influence of the

¹⁰⁰ Rev. F. Burnside, 'Review of the Church Work for 1889', *Hertfordshire Constitutional Magazine*, Vol.3, (1889), pp.249-251, p.251.

¹⁰¹ *Kelly's* (1914), 'Hertingfordbury' and 'Digswell' pp.97, 147.

¹⁰² Memorials were specifically mentioned at Aldbury (1891), Braughing (1893 and 1905), Ware (1895), Abbots Langley (1902), Sawbridgeworth (1902), Broxbourne (1910), Hertingfordbury (1910).

¹⁰³ J.J. Mason, 'Cross, Herbert Shepherd (1847-1916) *ODNB* (2004) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/46857 accessed 8th July 2009.

parish church.¹⁰⁴ Shepherd Cross duly obliged and the original hall was converted to cottages.¹⁰⁵

Shepherd Cross combined in one person a number of different strands. He maintained his business interests in Lancashire whilst holding his seat in Parliament until 1906, and he took a close interest in the 1,170 acres of farmland which he acquired on buying the Hamel's estate,¹⁰⁶ although, as his agent explained to Henry Rider Haggard, as a keen sportsman, Shepherd Cross took care to keep some of those acres in hand, not because they could not be let, but for shooting purposes.¹⁰⁷ His arrival at Braughing was seen as a positive benefit, with his 'great liberality' both to the church and village at large being applauded.¹⁰⁸

The commitment of the new wealthy to their local environment as indicated in the tables above was displayed also in those initiatives which received less in the way of headlines, but were nevertheless an important part of the paternalistic structure. At Bishop's Stortford, the combined influence of just two men, Sir John Barker the Kensington department store owner, and Sir Walter Gilbey, the wine merchant, made a very real difference to the fortunes of that town. Barker, the son of a carpenter, had cut his retailing teeth as an employee of William Whiteley, before branching out on his own; by 1880 he had incorporated fifteen shops on Kensington High Street into one impressive department store, and was making an annual profit of £8,500.¹⁰⁹ Like his fellow storekeeper, John Blundell Maple, Barker remained active within his business, and like Maple he found time to stand for Parliament, although as a Liberal, contesting Maidenhead three times before finally entering the Commons as MP for Penrhyn and Falmouth in 1906. He funded the building of a wing and an additional operating theatre for the Rye Street Hospital and continued to generate funds with the holding of a garden party each year in the grounds of his home which attracted the Duke of York and the Prince of Wales.¹¹⁰ The hospital

¹⁰⁴ D.R. Smith, *The Story of Braughing* (Waltham Cross, 1971), p.24.

¹⁰⁵ Page, *VCH Volume Three*, 'Braughing' p.307.

¹⁰⁶ HCRO CP21/19/2 Valuation List for The Parish of Braughing, 1881-1886.

¹⁰⁷ Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.522.

¹⁰⁸ 'Braughing Church', *TEHAS*, Vol.1, No.2 (1900), p.205.

¹⁰⁹ M. Moss and A. Turton, *A Legend of Retailing. House of Fraser* (London, 1989), p.281.

¹¹⁰ *Kelly's* (1914), 'Bishop's Stortford' p.61,

www.stortfordhistory.co.uk/guide7/grange_paddocks.html accessed 29th July 2005. The Prince of Wales attended the show in 1900 which included a tennis tournament, a race for homing pigeons, dancing and a ladies' balloon race for which the first prize was a bicycle.

stood on a site which had been donated by Sir Walter Gilbey, who was Barker's friend, neighbour and business partner.¹¹¹

Sir Walter Gilbey was born in Bishop's Stortford, the son of a local coach proprietor whose business failed with the arrival of the railway, and saw the family move into inn keeping.¹¹² Gilbey made his fortune as an importer of wine, his position as chairman of the family firm of W. & A. Gilbey bringing him an annual income of £100,000,¹¹³ and once wealthy, he moved back to the district of his childhood and bought an eight-thousand-acre estate at Elsenham, just four miles over the county border into Essex. Unlike Maple and Barker, Gilbey did not enter politics, but with them he shared a passion for horse breeding: Maple had his racehorses, Barker his polo ponies, and Gilbey his shire horses, founding the Shire Horse Society in 1878. At Elsenham he established a commercial jam-making business from the produce of his home farm, and he took a keen interest in agricultural affairs at a time of deep local depression. He was President of the Royal Agricultural Society in 1896, and in the same year he endowed a Lectureship in the History and Economics of Agriculture at Cambridge worth two thousand pounds a year.¹¹⁴ In his capacity as President, he appealed each year for the proceeds from the harvest festival collection plate to be donated to the Royal Agricultural Benevolent Institute for the relief of distressed farmers;¹¹⁵ the first of those appeals, made in 1887, saw an increase in monies raised on the previous year from £1,250 to £5,500.¹¹⁶ Although his home at Elsenham stood just across the county border, Gilbey's presence was a very real one within Bishop's Stortford. On his eightieth birthday he was presented with a gold mounted stick by estate workers and villagers with an inscription which read:

¹¹¹ Moss and Turton, *Legend of Retailing*, p.282. Gilbey provided the capital for Barker to buy out his former partner in 1888. Barker's daughter, Ann, had married Gilbey's son, Tresham in 1886.

¹¹² R.J. Moore-Colyer, 'Gilbey, Sir Walter, first baronet (1831-1914)', *ODNB* (2004) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38445 accessed 26th January 2007. All biographical details taken from this source unless otherwise specified.

¹¹³ J. Kidd, *Gilbey's, Wine and Horses* (Cambridge, 1997), p.1.

¹¹⁴ Kidd, *Gilbey's*, p.92.

¹¹⁵ 'Harvest Thanksgivings and the Royal Agricultural Benevolent Institution - Letter from Sir Walter Gilbey', *The Times*, 26th August 1899 p.8 in which he refers to this being his twelfth annual appeal. The letters were also carried in the local Hertfordshire press, for example, 'Royal Agricultural Benevolent Institution', *HGAJ*, 29th August 1901 p.3 and *HM*, 31st August 1891 p.4.

¹¹⁶ Kidd, *Gilbey's*, p.92.

In recognition of his many kindly acts and never ceasing efforts to better the condition of those amongst whom he has dwelt for thirty-five years.¹¹⁷

However, it was more than just his 'kindly acts' such as the building of almshouses, donations to charitable institutions, or spending £20,000 on a golf course and club house for the town which secured his welcome in Bishop's Stortford.¹¹⁸

In 1898 he bought the struggling Stort Navigation, which was vital to the continuing viability of the town's largest employer, the malt industry, as it made it possible to transport the malt direct to London, with coal making the return journey.¹¹⁹ The company had seen various owners unsuccessfully try to make a profit and, with closure imminent, Gilbey stepped in to secure its future and continued to keep it open at a loss until 1905.¹²⁰ His Elsenham Jam project, borne out of an enthusiasm for agriculture and his newly acquired estate, was also seen by him at a time of calls for farmers to diversify as a way of surviving the falling arable prices, as a means of securing local employment. Elsenham jam did not compete with the other major producers of jam from home-grown fruit, such as Chivers in Cambridgeshire or Crosse and Blackwell.¹²¹ However, Gilbey's willingness and ability to support loss-making enterprises such as the Stort Navigation and his jam production had implications locally which were indicative of his commitment to a lifestyle to which he had not been born, but which nevertheless he believed he understood.

Their function as a safety net in a society where so many were threatened with disaster by a shift in the weather or commercial demands, meant that in a county such as Hertfordshire, where estates were not simply shooting retreats, there was the possibility of the new wealthy stepping up and taking on that responsibility. Just as Gilbey kept the barges on the Stort moving, Lord Rothschild at Tring was able to step in and keep the silk mill from closing when the leaseholders, Evans and Co., had

¹¹⁷ Kidd, *Gilbey's*, p.4.

¹¹⁸ Kidd, *Gilbey's*, p.91. Gilbey gave the golf course and clubhouse to the town in 1910.

¹¹⁹ I. Orton, *The Book of Bishop's Stortford and Sawbridgeworth* (Chesham, 1976), p.83.

¹²⁰ G. Robinson, *Barracuda Guide to County History. Hertfordshire* (Chesham, 1978), p.119, Bishop's Stortford Local History Society, *Bishop's Stortford. A Short History* (Bishop's Stortford, 1969), p.70.

¹²¹ R. Perren, 'Food Processing Industries - Food Manufacturing' in Collins, (ed.), *Agrarian History*, pp.1085-1100, p.1096.

to give up the lease.¹²² He was able to absorb the losses and keep the mill open into the 1890s. Not all contributions were on that scale, but the awareness and commitment of a local, resident landowner could make a real difference. When the *Hertfordshire Standard* first reported Maple's decision to fund the building of a park, they made particular comment on the employment that this would bring local men over the coming winter.¹²³ At Harpenden John Bennett Lawes was applauded for providing the funds to employ a large number of men in levelling and filling in of part of the gravel pits on the common as a way of combating the rise in the number of locally unemployed due to the extreme cold weather which had been set in for some months.¹²⁴

The pervasiveness of the paternalistic model could also be seen in those whose background was not just urban, but international. The American financier, Walter Hayes Burns, bought North Mymms Park in 1893 for a price in the region of £75,000.¹²⁵ His wife Mary was daughter of the banker, Junius S. Morgan, and Walter was senior partner in the London office of J.S. Morgan and Co.¹²⁶ In 1899 their daughter married Lewis Harcourt, first Viscount Harcourt,¹²⁷ on which occasion Mrs Burns, now widowed, gave a tea and entertainment for the women and children of the estate in the afternoon, followed by a supper in the evening for their menfolk. The parish magazine reported that around 633 people were included in the day's festivities, but more importantly, 'The men felt grateful not only for the day's pleasure but for the continuous employment provided for them through the winter as well as the summer months'. Upon Mary Burns' death in 1919, the magazine included details of some of her contributions to the wellbeing of the parish: she had funded the provision of a parish nurse and a local Men's Institute, as well as being a generous contributor to the restoration of the parish church, and one of her final acts, although seriously ill, had been to send a cheque to cover the cost of the peace

¹²² Jennings, *A Ravelled Skein*, p.179, A. Macdonald, *That Tring Air* (Tring, 1940), p.54.

¹²³ 'Whispers at St. Albans', *HS*, 29th August 1891 p.5.

¹²⁴ 'Harpenden - The Unemployed', *HS*, 10th January 1891 p.5.

¹²⁵ 'Record of County Topics', *Hertfordshire Illustrated Review*, Volume 1, (March 1893) p.168.

¹²⁶ K. Burk, *Morgan Grenfell 1838-1988. The Biography of a Merchant Bank* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 41-43.

¹²⁷ Patrick Jackson, 'Harcourt, Lewis Vernon, first Viscount Harcourt (1863-1922)', *ODNB* (2004, online edn, Jan 2008) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33692 accessed 8th July 2009.

celebrations in the village.¹²⁸ She was also the first landowner to offer ground for allotments when approached by the parish council in 1894.¹²⁹

Here was a woman with very clear ideas of the duties which came with living in a rural environment, an understanding shared by others such as Mary Saunders, the American-born wife of James Saunders, a merchant who bought the Porters estate in 1882, whose daughter recalled how her mother:

soon came to the proper 'Big House' terms with the two neighbouring villages of Radlett and Shenley, so that anyone who was ill or in trouble in either at once turned to her for help.¹³⁰

At Christmas, there were gifts for every local child of sweets, boots or a frock plus a 'proper' present of a toy, showing a sensitivity to what children actually wanted at Christmas as well as what was useful to parents.¹³¹ At some point after 1891, James and Mary adapted a vacant gate lodge on the estate and installed a Matron to care for ten or twelve local girls who were orphans, giving them a home and a training with a view to placing them in public service.¹³²

Those who moved into the county brought with them an energy, and more importantly the funds, to make a real difference to their surroundings. The rebuilding of cottages was a way of making an announcement of one's arrival, but more than that it also reflected a greater concern with the daily environment of the rural labourers. Along with the building of village halls and recreation grounds, it denoted an assumption that local conditions were driving the depopulation of the villages.

¹²⁸ *North Mymms Parish Magazine*, September 1899 and August 1919, cited in D. Colville, *North Mymms - Parish and People* (Letchworth, 1972), pp.79-80.

¹²⁹ P. Kingsford, *A Modern History of Brookmans Park 1700-1950*, (North Mymms, 1983), Chapter 3 'Towards Dissolution 1880-1923'
www.brookmans.com/history/kingsford/chthree.shtml accessed 8th July 2009.

¹³⁰ A. Bridge, *Portrait of My Mother* (London, 1955), p.114.

¹³¹ Bridge, *Portrait*, p.115. Mrs Saunders was not alone in trying to seek out what children actually wanted. Lord Rothschild at Tring would ask each of his workers what would be welcomed by their children, whilst his wife would send a hamper of treats and a shilling to each child, R.R. Timberlake, 'Hastoe near Tring. Recollections of life on the Rothschild Estate in the time of the first Baron Rothschild', *Hertfordshire's Past*, Vol.39, (Autumn 1995), pp.11-21, p.12

¹³² Bridge, *Portrait*, p.114. No date is given for the opening of this home for housing orphan and disadvantaged girls, but a search of the 1891 census for Shenley reveals no sign of it and the family left Shenley in 1893 'Shenley' RG12/1052 ED 2 & 3.

In 1906, Maurice Glyn, a banker, bought the 956-acre estate of Albury Hall in the north of the county.¹³³ On moving in he sunk a new well and built new cottages which were all given access to piped water.¹³⁴ George Hodgson and his vision for Hexton reveal just what rural living meant for many of those who moved into the county. Hodgson had made his fortune in Bradford, manufacturing looms for the textiles market,¹³⁵ and fell into that group of people identified by Thompson who bought country estates at the end of their working careers, 'the rich man's version of the retirement home which would be resold after his death.'¹³⁶ Men such as these had no dynastic ambitions, fully anticipating the sale of the estate by their heirs. However, as Hodgson's example shows, such 'limited' ambitions did not preclude a very real, and very expensive, engagement with their environment.

In 1900, George Hodgson bought the 2,473-acre Hexton estate, near Hitchin, an estate which had been allowed to run down by the previous landowner who, although resident, had little cash to invest in the fabric of the estate. Hodgson poured money into his estate, modernising the house, installing electricity and good plumbing, remodelling the garden and, as a final touch, adding a tower and flagpole. His renaming of the house as Hexton Manor gives some indication of where he saw his own position in the local community, very much on the lines of an older feudal ideal. He pulled down and had rebuilt both the home farm and the cottages of his labourers, with each cottage given access to pumped water. He provided a new cricket field and pavilion, as well as uniforms for the village team. His role as lord of the manor encompassed the provision of the traditional school and Sunday School treats, and the elderly were particularly blessed by visits from his wife, Elsie, who would treat them to her own violin recitals. In all Hodgson spent over £160,000 on restoring the house and estate. R.E. Pahl referred to Hexton in 1964 as an example of the continuing paternalistic tradition, citing the deference shown at the funeral of the father of the then squire as an example of that 'true hierarchy of mutual respect and inter-dependent economic functions.'¹³⁷ George Hodgson offers an example of

¹³³ 1901 census 'Mayfair and Knightsbridge' RG13/82 ED7 F165, HCRO 'Albury' IR2/1/1 (1909-10), 'Furneux Pelham' IR2/58/1 (1909-10), 'Little Hadham' IR2/1/1/ (1909-10), F.M. Wheatley, 'Albury Hall', *Albury Church Magazine*, (October 1954), non-paginated www.alburyvillage.org.uk/AlburyHallSurvey accessed 19th July 2005.

¹³⁴ Wheatley, 'Albury', (July and November 1952).

¹³⁵ Cooper, *Hexton*, pp.195-213 for following section on George Hodgson.

¹³⁶ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.85.

¹³⁷ R.E. Pahl, *Urbs in Rure. The Metropolitan Fringe in Hertfordshire* (London, 1964), p.43.

one who came to Hertfordshire from an urban background, but with a very clear idea of how the rural should be organised.

Another such was Charles Hancock, a jeweller whose firm designed and produced the Victoria Cross.¹³⁸ He bought the 1,100-acre estate of Willian in 1867, built himself a new mansion, Roxley Court, and had the whole village drained, building new cottages, with gardens and fruit trees provided, for all of his labourers;¹³⁹ in 1872 he built a school on the green at Willian for ninety girls and boys at a cost of £820.¹⁴⁰ It was acknowledged that his arrival had made a great improvement to the village, which until his purchase had been part of the Dimsdale estate with no resident landowner.¹⁴¹ Both Hodgson and Hancock were acknowledged to have breathed new life into their local environment after neglect by landowners who had the will but not the means to make a difference in the face of falling rents.¹⁴² At Hexton, the steady decline in population was halted. In 1901, when Hodgson first arrived in the village, the population stood at a figure of 155, a fall of 36% from the 1871 figure of 241; ten years later, the population had risen to 188 and would continue to rise into the twentieth century. One resident of the village, writing in 1936, attributed the steadying of the ship to the willingness of Hodgson and Sir James Hill, who succeeded him at the Manor House in 1918, to spend money on local improvements which provided employment for local men, after years of low investment by the previous landowners.¹⁴³ Like Hodgson, Hill had made his money in the wool trade of Yorkshire,¹⁴⁴ and although beyond the time remit of this thesis, it is worth noting that he continued to build cottages within the village, fitting them with electric lights, and providing a replacement village hall in 1928.¹⁴⁵ Men such as Hodgson, Hancock and Hill may have seen their retirement into the country as the coda to their careers, but their hopes for that retirement had a very real impact on the lives of those amongst whom they chose to spend it.

¹³⁸ www.hancocks-london.com/hancocks_history.htm accessed 28th May 2008.

¹³⁹ Agar, *Behind the Plough*, p.94.

¹⁴⁰ Robinson, *Hertfordshire*, p.114.

¹⁴¹ *Kelly's* (1882), 'Willian' p.694.

¹⁴² Cooper, *Hexton*, pp.178-195. The previous owner of the Hexton Estate, William Young, had inherited the estate in 1869, but entailments and the need to support six siblings with fifteen children between them had made it more sensible for the family to move into a smaller house on the estate. He continued to live on in this house for thirty years, whilst the main house remained largely unlet and fell into a state of disrepair.

¹⁴³ R.J. Whiteman, (ed.), *Hexton: A Parish Survey* (Hexton, 1936), p.68.

¹⁴⁴ Thompson, *Gentrification*, Appendix 4ii 'Businessmen leaving less than £1 million born before 1870 who died after 1914 and who purchased country estates' pp.189-194, p.191.

¹⁴⁵ Whiteman, *Hexton*, pp.59,72 & 86.

Not all of those who moved into the county had the funds to re-model entire villages. However, the understanding of men like Hodgson and Hancock was replicated across the county on a smaller, but no less representative, scale, and the following section will show how that understanding was made visible within the county.

The Aesthetics of the County

Peter Mandler has argued that the influence of rural nostalgia was not as dominant a cultural influence as historians have claimed, that in fact as a myth 'it was dimmer, more ethereal, and getting dimmer still with every generation,' and that a 'swooning nostalgia for the rural past'¹⁴⁶ was limited to a few disaffected voices at both extremes of the political spectrum. However, Paul Readman in his research into the National Society for Checking the Abuses of Public Advertising (SCAPA)¹⁴⁷ has countered that the dismissal of organisations such as the National Trust and Commons' Preservation Society as minority groups ignores a wider enthusiasm for protection of the aesthetics of landscape which tied into notions of Englishness, where 'aspect' was important and 'scenery [was] treated as a national asset.'¹⁴⁸ The fight to protect the famous view from Richmond Hill from developers was an indication of how widely the brief to maintain access could be interpreted.¹⁴⁹

Landscape remained the most popular of the artistic genres to appear at the Royal Academy exhibitions, but landscape of a very particular form.¹⁵⁰ Christopher Wood has described Victorian landscape paintings as 'machines for evasion', reflecting an urban desire rather than a rural reality.¹⁵¹ There were those artists like George Clausen who sought to convey a more realistic interpretation of the lives of those who lived and worked in the countryside but, as Christiana Payne has argued, 'agricultural landscape, if depicted literally, risked being stigmatised as low, vulgar or

¹⁴⁶ Mandler, 'Against Englishness', p.160.

¹⁴⁷ P. Readman, 'Landscape Preservation, 'advertising disfigurement', and English National Identity c.1890-1914', *Rural History*, Vol.12, No.1 (2001), pp. 61-83.

¹⁴⁸ SCAPA Journal *A Beautiful World*, (September 1909) No.10 p.27 quoted in Readman, 'Landscape Preservation', p.67.

¹⁴⁹ Readman, 'Land and Nation', p.114.

¹⁵⁰ C. Wood, *Paradise Lost. Paintings of English Country Life and Landscape 1850-1914* (London, 1988), pp.9-11.

¹⁵¹ Wood, *Paradise Lost*, p.12.

mean,' and was less likely to sell either as paintings or prints.¹⁵² When Clausen's portrayal of two men and a woman topping and tailing turnips in a bleak Hertfordshire landscape was exhibited in London in 1883, the *Times* reviewed it as a painting that could 'give no pleasure' as it was 'really too ugly'.¹⁵³ The picture failed to sell, and Clausen later amended it to include a young girl with a hoop, a device which proved a commercial success. The most productive of Victorian painters was Thomas Sidney Cooper, whose landscapes and animal paintings appeared at every Royal Academy exhibition from 1833 until 1902. Prints of his 266 paintings were to be found hanging on the walls of many of the suburban villas which housed those who sought an escape into supposed rural certainties.¹⁵⁴ The dream they sold struck a chord with those who hoped to replicate just a small part of that world in their own lives.

When cottages and their inhabitants did appear on the walls of the new houses, they were quite likely to be watercolours by Helen Allingham. She herself regarded these paintings as a record of a fast disappearing vernacular architecture and was a supporter of Morris's Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.¹⁵⁵ Following her husband's death in 1888, and with three children to support, Allingham's paintings were increasingly geared to a commercial market which clamoured for her tumbledown cottages set in a picturesque landscape, with perhaps a small child clinging to his mother at the gate.¹⁵⁶ Allingham herself may have had a professional agenda in her call to protect her cottages from the 'improver' who 'with poor materials and careless labour [would] rub out a piece of Old England';¹⁵⁷ however, her prints were being bought by the people moving into those improved cottages and their desire for an Allingham on the wall reflected their own understanding of 'Old England'.

¹⁵² C. Payne, *Toil and Plenty. Images of the Agricultural Landscape in England 1780-1890* (New Haven, 1993), p.63.

¹⁵³ Robins, 'George Clausen', p.18.

¹⁵⁴ Wood, *Paradise Lost*, p.9, D.C. Sperling, 'Cooper, Thomas Sidney (1803-1902)'. *ODNB* (Sept 2004; online edn, May 2008) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32555, accessed 30th December 2009.

¹⁵⁵ R. Treble, 'The Victorian Picture of the Countryside' in G.E. Mingay, (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside* (London, 1981), pp.166-175, p.170.

¹⁵⁶ I. Taylor, 'Allingham, Helen Mary Elizabeth (1848-1926)' *ODNB* (2004) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38585 accessed 28th January 2010. For examples of Allingham's works see 'Cherry-Tree Cottage, Chiddingfold', 'A Cottage at Hambledon', 'An Old Buckinghamshire House' www.helenallingham.com accessed 28th January 2010.

¹⁵⁷ 'A Collection of Drawings by Mrs. Allingham, RWS, illustrating Surrey Cottages', The Fine Art Society, London, prefatory note p.4 quoted in Treble, 'The Victorian Picture', p.170.

These new owners, of both country house, cottage or villa, had their own ideas of how the county should function and indeed look. Paul Hunneyball, in his study of the house building amongst the newly wealthy of the seventeenth century, found that their enthusiasm for innovation in the design and execution of both the building of new houses and alterations of old was a reflection of their desire to both announce their arrival within a new community and their own position as leaders of fashion.¹⁵⁸ Similarly those who arrived into the county in the latter decades of the nineteenth century engaged in considerable levels of house building, and in a style which reflected the fashionable nostalgia for an idealised rural past. Nikolaus Pevsner noted that Hertfordshire was 'remarkable for the quantity of late C19 and early C20 work in a C17 or C18 style,'¹⁵⁹ seen in such properties as King's Walden Bury, Hamels and Oxhey Place.¹⁶⁰ At King's Walden, Thomas Fenwick Harrison, a ship-owner, built his new house in a 'neo-Elizabethan style', whilst the textile bleacher, Herbert Shepherd Cross, had his new home of Hamels which was a plain, early Georgian building, remodelled as 'sham Elizabethan'. At Oxhey, near Watford, Thomas Blackwell, the grocer, asked for a Jacobean design for his new home. This 'homage' to an earlier time was also reflected in buildings intended for a less wealthy market such as John Blundell Maple's almshouses at Harpenden which were 'built in the Elizabethan style',¹⁶¹ the new farmhouse and farm buildings built at Aston by stockbroker Vernon Malcolmson, complete with inglenook fire place, leaded light windows and thatched roofs,¹⁶² Lord Rothschild's *Louisa Cottages*, with their exposed timber frames, built to house retired estate workers at Tring, and the mock Tudor villas aimed at the businessmen of the St Catherine's Estate in Broxbourne, and reached their fullest expression in the 'free and comfortable neo-Tudor' houses to be found in the adventure that was Letchworth Garden City;¹⁶³ advertisements for the new homes in Letchworth referred to them as 'cottages' even when they comprised four bedrooms, servants' quarters and spacious living rooms.¹⁶⁴ Paul Readman has argued that this

¹⁵⁸ P.M. Hunneyball, *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire* (Oxford, 2004).

¹⁵⁹ Pevsner, *Hertfordshire*, p.35. This comment appeared in Pevsner's introduction to the first edition of 1953.

¹⁶⁰ Pevsner, *Hertfordshire*, pp. 218,155 & 268.

¹⁶¹ Description taken from opening ceremony as reported in *Illustrated London News* (June 1897), quoted in Barty-King, *Maples*, p.67.

¹⁶² M. Bowyer, 'We have to deal with the Farmers'. *Episodes in the History of North Hertfordshire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2010), pp.37-38.

¹⁶³ Pevsner, *Hertfordshire*, Tring p.369, Broxbourne p.115, Letchworth Garden City p.228.

¹⁶⁴ Meacham, *Regaining Paradise*, p.110.

enthusiasm for a 'Tudorbethan' style was consumer-led, with architects and builders responding to customer demand for a design which connected the present with a past they believed had some meaning.¹⁶⁵

The aesthetics of the rural extended beyond the lodge or garden gate. At Aldenham, Gerald Williams, a stockbroker, rebuilt his new home of Piggotts Manor in a mock-Tudor style and landscaped the area around the village green of Letchmore Heath which faced the gates to his estate to provide a more suitable backdrop to his own rural idyll.¹⁶⁶

In her study of popular attitudes towards rural customs, Tracey Young found that as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth the concern amongst the middle classes for securing the common spaces deemed necessary for the health of the nation, urban and rural gave these spaces protection at a time when pressures on land made them vulnerable.¹⁶⁷ Those who moved into the county brought with them this assumption of the importance of the common or heath as a resource whose importance was far greater than as an economic support to a limited number of commoners. Their understanding of right to access went beyond that enshrined in a contract for particular commoners, attached to particular property. This assumption saw them call for better management of the space, a management which was required to ensure the protection of the aesthetic value of the common as well as fair access for all. In addition, protection of the common brought with it protection of property values.

In July 1894, the *Hemel Hempstead Gazette* carried a piece on the improved appearance of the district of Boxmoor, a district whose growth was very much a result of the attraction of fast trains into London in a rural setting:

Persons returning to Boxmoor after some years of absence must be struck with the park-like appearance which that district is now assuming as well as with the general improvements that have

¹⁶⁵ P. Readman, 'The Place of the Past in English Culture c.1890-1914', *Past and Present*, No.186 (February 2005), pp.147-199, p.166.

¹⁶⁶ D. Wratten, *The Book of Radlett and Aldenham* (Chesham, 1969), p.35, 1901 census 'Aldenham' RG13/1314 ED2 F23 for Williams's occupation.

¹⁶⁷ T.E. Young, *Popular Attitudes Towards Rural Customs and Rights in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England* Unpublished PhD Thesis University of Hertfordshire (2008), pp.229-230.

recently been made. Originally a swamp, it is at the present time a charming residential neighbourhood; and the Trustees of Boxmoor are entitled to the gratitude of the whole parish for what they have done towards adding to its attractions.¹⁶⁸

In January 1890, a correspondent to the *Herts Advertiser and St. Albans Times* called for action to be taken to fill in the village pond at Harpenden which was a health hazard and only used by a couple of gentleman to water their cattle, whom he was sure would have little trouble in finding another source for this purpose; should the pond be filled in and grassed over, 'it would add one more to our many gem-like village greens.'¹⁶⁹ The writer, James Rothwell, a retired London cabinet maker who had moved to Harpenden some time before 1881,¹⁷⁰ received support from one who signed himself 'Improvement', and called for a water trough for the cattle, arguing that the pond smelt.¹⁷¹ However, the feeling amongst other correspondents and the paper itself was that the pond should not be filled in, although again the cattle seem to have been an afterthought with the ornamental aspect receiving the major attention. There was a dissenting voice from one correspondent who argued that complaints about the smell emanating from the cattle should be set against the fact that the local doctor had lived opposite the pond for forty years and never seen fit to complain, and that 'many who live near St. Albans have a horror of what has been done in the name of improvement'.¹⁷² In the opinion of the *Herts Advertiser*, the pond would be greatly improved if planted up with bulrushes and other aquatic plants, the whole to be surrounded by an attractive fence:

Its rural appearance is the greatest charm of this village, and anything which adds to its natural beauty should be jealously preserved and carefully attended to.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ 'Notes and Comments', *HHG*, 19th July 1894 p.4.

¹⁶⁹ 'Harpenden Village Pond' – Correspondence from James Rothwell, *HASAT*, 4th January 1890 p.7.

¹⁷⁰ 1891 Census 'Harpenden' RG12/1114 ED5 F92. The 1871 census showed him living with his family in Marylebone, London and working as a cabinet maker RG10/187 ED18 F18. The 1881 census showed him living in Harpenden RG11/1429 ED18 F18.

¹⁷¹ 'Harpenden Pond' – Correspondence from 'Improvement', *HASAT*, 18th January 1890 p.3.

¹⁷² 'Harpenden Village Pond', *HASAT*, 25th January 1890 p.7.

¹⁷³ 'City Talk and County Chat', *HASAT*, 25th January 1890 p.3.

No mention was made of the difficulties this might cause thirsty cattle. The doctor with the tolerant nose was Dr. Spackman who lived at Bowers House, facing the pond.¹⁷⁴ Spackman died in 1892 and was followed at Bowers House by Dr. William H Blake, who, like his predecessor, 'did not regard it as a nuisance', and recalled that cattle and horses would drink at the pond twice a day; in hot summers when no rain fell the water in the pond was 'like thick soup gone bad, but the animals liked the flavour and seemed none the worse for it.'¹⁷⁵ A postcard from 1905 showed the village pond still present, still unfenced and still frequented by cattle in search of refreshment, indeed, by now thought a suitable image of rural England to merit inclusion on a postcard.¹⁷⁶ The pond was finally filled in and grassed over in the 1920s.¹⁷⁷

The argument over aesthetics was not confined to the view of the green. In 1883 the residents of Stevenage fought a proposal by the Post Office to erect telegraph poles along their High Street,¹⁷⁸ once described by Charles Dickens as 'wide for its height, silent for its size, and drowsy in the dullest degree.'¹⁷⁹ Coincidentally, the infant E.M. Forster and his mother were in the process of moving into their new home of Rooksnest, just outside the village, during that year, and in his novel *Howard's End*, written in 1910, he drew on the imagery of the 'red rust' of London, creeping ever nearer to the fields and houses of his childhood to warn of something even more threatening; 'London is only part of something else... Life's going to be melted down, all over the world,' a reflection of that feeling that the rural needed to be protected if the nation were to remain strong.¹⁸⁰ In spite of a spirited campaign which attracted the support of Henry C. Cowper, M.P. for the county, and Countess Lytton of nearby Knebworth who wrote that the poles were 'very hideous and quite spoil the dear lovely town of Stevenage', the Local Board were unable to influence either the route

¹⁷⁴ W.H. Blake, *Harpenden in 1879* (Harpenden, 2005). This is a reprint of a series of articles, originally published under the title 'Forty Years Ago' in the *Harpenden Echo* in 1919.

¹⁷⁵ Blake, *Harpenden*, p.5.

¹⁷⁶ Henry Valentine, *Harpenden Village Pond* (Harpenden, 1908) www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/places/places-h/harpenden.htm accessed 26th November 2009.

¹⁷⁷ Harpenden Workers' Educational Association, *Harpenden. A Picture History* (Harpenden, 1973), p.5.

¹⁷⁸ R.M. Sharp, 'Our only object is to preserve the beauty of the road'. A nineteenth-century campaign to save a rural landscape', *Local Historian*, Vol. 24, No.3 (1994), pp.153-163.

¹⁷⁹ C. Dickens, 'Tom Tiddler's Ground', *Christmas Stories* (first published in *All the Year Round* Christmas 1861, this Everyman collection first published London, 1910, reprinted 1971) pp.267-291, p.270. Dickens formed a poor impression of Stevenage after an unsatisfactory visit to the Hermit, James Lucas 'a morbid and misanthropical man, secluding himself for the sake of notoriety' p.268

¹⁸⁰ Beauman, *Morgan*, See Chapter 3 'Rooksnest', Forster, *Howard's End*, p.329.

or the design of the poles; they had called for something more decorative to be placed along a road which ran adjacent to the High Street. The campaign was led by John Bailey Denton, a civil engineer with a particular interest in drainage and sanitation,¹⁸¹ who offered to plant trees along the High Street at first as an alternative to the poles,¹⁸² and then, in 1887, once the deed was done, as a means of diverting the attention away from them.¹⁸³

The planting of trees was a popular means of making a mark on the environment. In 1881 Henry Jenkin Gotto, a London stationer who had built himself a new country house at St. Albans, paid for the planting of lime trees along St. Peter's Street.¹⁸⁴ St. Albans also had to deal with the matter of telegraph poles. In 1892, the Urban Sanitary Committee recommended the rejection of an approach from the Postmaster General to erect telegraph poles along the public highway. Henry Toulmin, a member of the Town Council, argued that the 'erection of horrid gallows and scaffold-looking posts' would deter the visitors who came to visit their very 'picturesque city'. However, it was acknowledged there was little the council could do against the authority of the Post Office.¹⁸⁵ Toulmin saw the matter not simply as an aesthetic problem, but one of economics; they in St. Albans needed to encourage visitors and the 'medieval beauty' of their city was an asset to be protected.

This economic balance was considered by the *Hertfordshire Standard* to be vital. In responding to John Blundell Maple's successful lobbying for workmen's trains for London, the newspaper called for an extension of the radius of the scheme to include St. Albans, which 'as a trading city languishes for an increased money-spending population.' Whilst acknowledging the presence within the city of those whose homes were 'retreats from London' the newspaper argued that the arrival of new families in the city could only bring economic benefits to those with businesses or small houses for rent. This need not spoil the character of the area:

¹⁸¹ A.D.M. Phillips, 'Denton, John Bailey (1814-1893)' *ODNB* (2004) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50168 accessed 27th January 2010.

¹⁸² Sharp, 'Our only object', p.158.

¹⁸³ H. Madgin, *Stevenage. A History and Celebration* (Salisbury, 2004), p.63.

¹⁸⁴ Toms, *St. Albans*, p.170, 1891 census 'St. Peter' RG12/1115 ED6 F143, Henry Jenkin Gotto 'Stationer', partner in Parkins and Gotto, Stationers 'Highgate Road and Kentish Town Road, east side', P. Lovell and W. McB. Marcham, (eds.), *Survey of London: Volume 19: The Parish of St Pancras Part 2: Old St Pancras and Kentish Town* (London, 1938), pp. 33-51, www.british-history.ac.uk accessed 22nd February 2010.

¹⁸⁵ 'The City Council - Telegraph Posts in St. Albans', *HS*, 8th July 1892 p.6.

for the cheap colony would spring up in one direction and the aesthetic would develop into quite a distinct neighbourhood. There is room for all.¹⁸⁶

This balancing of aesthetic need and modern growth was a debate played out across the county, particularly in those areas of the south and west which had seen the greatest influx of people attracted by the easy access to town. As pressure on land grew, the question of the function of common and heath land was raised, and increasingly the view revealed within the county was of these as a local resource founded in social rather than economic need, and therefore of interest to all, not just those with commoners' rights. The issue became one less of rights and more of correct management, interpreted as maintaining the aesthetic value of the common together with issues of wider social access. Those who were making that shift from an urban to a rural environment brought with them clear notions of the benefits they expected to derive from the change. The open space of the common was there to provide 'an antidote to the harshness of [an] urban life'¹⁸⁷ they had left behind but to which they were still economically connected.

At Berkhamsted, where enclosure by Earl Brownlow had been declared illegal by the courts, continuing ill will locally saw a deterioration in the fabric of the common which was of benefit to nobody.¹⁸⁸ Baron Eversley, who as George Shaw-Lefevre and chairman of the Commons Preservation Society had managed the case against Brownlow, looked back in 1910 to the victory and wrote that the commons were 'natural parks, over which every one may roam freely',¹⁸⁹ echoing that assumption of landscape as the birthright of all and choosing to downplay the original summing up of the judge in the Berkhamsted case which confirmed the tenants of Berkhamsted in almost all commonable rights other than 'the right to recreation or pastime on the waste.'¹⁹⁰ The line between the rights of commoners and the right to the common was increasingly negotiable. In August 1894, Henry Downing, a broker in the City of

¹⁸⁶ 'Cheap Trains to St. Albans', *HS*, 20th May 1892 p.5.

¹⁸⁷ P. Lowe, 'The Rural Idyll Defended' in G.E. Mingay, (ed.), *The Rural Idyll* (London, 1989), pp.113-131, p.117.

¹⁸⁸ B. Cowell, 'The Commons Preservation Society and the Campaign for Berkhamsted Common, 1866-70', *Rural History*, Vol. 13, No.2 (2002), pp.145-161, p.158.

¹⁸⁹ Baron Eversley, *Commons, Forests and Footpaths* (first published 1894, revised edition 1910) quoted in Cowell, 'Commons Preservation', p.158.

¹⁹⁰ Justice Romilly's judgement in the case of *Smith v Brownlow* quoted in G.H. Whybrow, *The History of Berkhamsted Common* (London, 1934).

London, wrote to the *Hemel Hempstead Gazette* to voice his concern at the refusal of the Boxmoor trustees to erect railings and fences to stop cattle and horses wandering onto the public highway. Their response to his concerns had been to send a letter claiming that so to do would 'interfere with the rights and enjoyment of the public.'¹⁹¹ However, in his letter to the newspaper he revealed that understanding of the common which was entwined with notions of the rural experience. He called on the trustees to go back to the Act of Origin of the Moor where he was sure they would find that the space was intended more 'as a recreation ground for the inhabitants than a grazing place for horses and cattle'.

At Harpenden, the problem was one of managing the common in the face of a large increase in population.¹⁹² John Bennet Lawes faced increasing difficulties in policing Harpenden Common as the varieties of users grew;¹⁹³ as lord of the manor, he was called upon to arbitrate on issues of commoners' rights in the face of demands by residents whose interpretation of ancient custom included their own right of access to this local resource. In 1888 Lawes proposed that a Harpenden Common Preservation Committee should assume responsibility for the Common.¹⁹⁴ At a public meeting held that year he proposed to set up a committee, selected by himself, which would consider all issues concerning the protection of the Common. He also proposed to build new roadways across the Common which would discourage the indiscriminate use of shortcuts for which the local tradesmen were largely responsible and the subsequent damage to the turf. There was some concern from the local residents at encroachments on the Common, but the mood of the meeting was generally one of support for Lawes, in the face of increased pressure on the Common. There was a shift in an understanding of commons away from their economic function to their wider social function as places of recreation accessible to all, not just those with commoners' rights which was the result of an influx of those whose own economic security lay elsewhere.

The common as a site for the spending of leisure time was not an idea which arrived with the first of the new wealthy or the commuter. It had always been a shared

¹⁹¹ 'The Boxmoor Trustees' – Correspondence from H.B. Downing, *HHG*, 2nd August 1894 p.5, 1881 census 'Hemel Hempstead' RG11/1444 ED10 F82.

¹⁹² The population of Harpenden grew from 2,608 in 1871 to 5,067 in 1901, and 6,555 in 1911

¹⁹³ L.M. Munby, *The Making of the English Landscape. The Hertfordshire Landscape* (London, 1977), p.188.

¹⁹⁴ 'Harpenden Common – Important Meeting', *HASAT*, 3rd March 1888 p.4.

space available for more than just economic exploitation.¹⁹⁵ Where they existed as open spaces, as at Harpenden, they were natural sites for fairs, football and cricket matches between villages, horse races and local celebrations.¹⁹⁶ However, by their nature such events were inclusive of the local population. As the population expanded the common continued to offer these traditional pleasures, but the arrival of the new wealthy and their middle-class neighbours saw a shift in how that space was interpreted.

Golf Courses and The Common

Richard Holt has written that, 'Golf gave the illusion of country life but required neither skill with arms nor horsemanship'.¹⁹⁷ As such it proved attractive to those who were moving into the county and hoping to partake of their own little part of the rural idyll, for it carried none of the potential humiliation or indeed danger of the unwieldy gun or unforgiving hedge. The merchants, brokers and lawyers who had made the move into the county found in the playing of a round of golf an opportunity for fresh air, exercise and social interaction with like-minded fellows which came close to the package of benefits which they believed they were buying along with their first-class season ticket, and in the common they saw the natural 'empty' space where such ambitions might be fulfilled. At Boxmoor a group of men on their daily commute to London proposed approaching the Boxmoor Common Trust for permission to establish a links type course on Sheethanger Common. Their first meetings were held in the first-class carriages on the evening train back to Boxmoor Station and subsequently at the station itself.¹⁹⁸

Whilst the earliest golf clubs were not enclosed with fences or railings, they were, nevertheless, with their high joining and annual fees, plus monitoring of membership, an exclusive space, denied to many of those who had previously used the common freely. In addition, as one enthusiast of the game wrote in 1908:

¹⁹⁵ Young, *Popular Attitudes*, p.144.

¹⁹⁶ E. Grey, *Cottage Life in a Hertfordshire Village* (Harpenden, 1977, first published 1934), pp. 200-202 for account of race days and cricket matches, E. Grey, *Rothamsted Experimental Station. Reminiscences, Tales and Anecdotes* (Harpenden, 1922), p.151 for account of fireworks held to celebrate the Jubilee of the Experimental Station in 1893.

¹⁹⁷ R. Holt, 'Golf and the English Suburb. Class and Gender in a London Club c.1890-1960', *The Sports Historian*, Volume, 18 No.1 (May 1998), pp.76-89, p.79.

¹⁹⁸ www.boxmoorgolfclub.co.uk/history accessed 1st April 2006.

For all sorts of coarseness and tuftiness there is no amelioration equal to the human foot. A dozen men playing golf for a week over rough common will make a difference such as no one who has not seen it could believe.¹⁹⁹

This may have been seen as an asset to those hoping to sink a putt, but not so to the commoner grazing his sheep.

Two years after Lawes' move to set up a committee to monitor use of the common, a correspondent to the *Herts Advertiser*, who signed himself 'A Putter', wrote to propose that a new golf club be formed on the Common as it only required the permission of the trustees to remove some of the furze for greens to be laid which would attract 'a sufficient number of gentlemen[from] Harpenden, St. Albans and Luton to form a very respectable club'.²⁰⁰ Lawes agreed to lease land on the common in 1894 for a token annual rent of one shilling.²⁰¹ Other golf clubs found themselves paying much higher rents; at Boxmoor, the trustees of the common demanded five pounds a year for use of Sheethanger Common,²⁰² whilst by 1898, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were charging ten pounds a year at Gustard Wood.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ H.G. Hutchinson, *Golf. A Complete History of the Game* (Philadelphia, 1908), p.98 www.archive.org accessed 7th March 2010, B. Darwin, 'Hutchinson, Horatio Gordon (1859-1932)' rev. W. Vamplew, *ODNB* (2004) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34073 accessed 7th March 2010. Hutchinson was a regular contributor on golf to *Country Life* and the first Englishman elected as Captain of the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrews, Scotland in 1908.

²⁰⁰ 'A Proposed Golf Club' Correspondence from 'A Putter', *HASAT*, 11th January 1890 p.3.

²⁰¹ I. Stuart, *Golf in Hertfordshire* (Hitchin, 1972), p.61.

²⁰² www.boxmoorgolfclub.co.uk/history.htm accessed 8th April 2006.

²⁰³ HCRO DE/L/5661/1 Papers relating to the drawing up of an agreement for the use of part of Gustard Wood Common as a golf course 1898.

Table 4.3 Golf Clubs Established by 1912

EST	NAME	SITUATION²⁰⁴
1890	Boxmoor	The Common
1890	Bushey	Grounds of Bushey Hall Hotel
1890	Chorleywood	The Common ²⁰⁵
1892	Mid-Herts Golf Club, Gustard Wood	The Common
1893	Colney Heath	The Heath ²⁰⁶
1893	Royston	The Common
1894	Harpenden	The Common
1895	Berkhamsted	The Common
1896	West Herts Golf Club, Watford	Portion of Cassiobury Park leased from the Earl of Essex ²⁰⁷
1898	East Herts Golf Club, Ware	Farmland leased from A.G. Sandeman ²⁰⁸
1899	Porters Park, Radlett	Parkland leased from M.P. Grace
1905	Letchworth	Grounds of Letchworth Hall, part of the Letchworth Garden City development
1905	Verulam Golf Club, St. Albans	Park of Sopwell House leased from Earl Verulam ²⁰⁹
1908	Knebworth	Land leased from Earl Lytton
1910	Bishop's Stortford	Land donated by Sir Walter Gilbey
1910	Oxhey	Land leased from S.J. Blackwell ²¹⁰

Source: *Kelly's* (1912), 'Clubs –Golf' p.373

As Table 4.3 shows, commons were the earliest sites for golf clubs within the county. This table lists only those formally constituted golf clubs which appeared in *Kelly's* for 1912, and so may underestimate the playing of golf on common or heathland within the county. However, whilst as at Chorleywood, golfers had been hacking around the common for some years before the club was formally constituted, it was the arrival of the organised and exclusive club which marked a real shift in how the common was experienced.

²⁰⁴ Unless otherwise indicated the former use of the site has been taken from Stuart, 'Golf.'

²⁰⁵ Stuart, *Golf*, p.48. Whilst the Chorleywood Golf Club was formally recognised in March 1890, a nine and eighteen hole golf course was already in use on the common.

²⁰⁶ Stuart, *Golf*, p.103. This nine hole golf course was short-lived with no formal membership. The golfers were instrumental in the establishment of nearby Porters Park at Radlett.

²⁰⁷ R.G. Simons, *West Herts Golf Club* (Watford, 1988), p.23. The Earl of Essex leased 250 acres of parkland at £250 per annum to members of the Bushey Hall Club who formed the new West Herts Club.

²⁰⁸ East Herts Golf Club *The First 100 Years. A Centenary Celebration* (Buntingford, 1999), p.12. A.G. Sandeman, of the port-importing family paid £3,100 for 89 acres of Lime Kiln Farm which adjoined his Presdales estate for the express purpose of building a golf course.

²⁰⁹ <http://www.verulamgolf.co.uk/history/> accessed 31st December 2009.

²¹⁰ 116 acres leased from S.J. Blackwell HCRO IR2/74/7 Watford Rural 1909-10. Blackwell was a member of the Blackwell grocery family.

At Chorleywood, stewardship of the common was held by John Saunders Gilliat, a merchant banker, who was the first lord of the manor to be resident within the parish.²¹¹ Whilst he never played the game himself, he was president of the Chorleywood Golf Club and sought to keep a balance between the rights of the commoners to graze, and the golfers, footballers and cricketers to pursue their sports; in this he was not always successful as there were complaints made to the golf club of the water becoming unfit for use because golfers were going into the pond on the common too often and stirring it up in looking for lost balls.²¹² In 1910 Gilliat drew up an agreement with the various concerned parties, and to this day the Chorleywood Golf Club shares the common with dog walkers and others.²¹³ Just as the Harpenden correspondent had been sure of the demand from the respectable classes for a golf course on the common, membership of these clubs was not an open door policy. The first members of the Chorleywood club reflected the aspirations of those who were moving into the district. Membership was restricted to one hundred and fifty, and members were required to wear a rather splendid red and gold uniform, advertised as an aid to visibility on the busy common, but also an indication of having 'arrived'; one member was Arthur Balfour M.P., nephew to Lord Salisbury, who was able to take advantage of the easy access from London by train.²¹⁴

Similarly, at Gustard Wood, where the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as Lords of the Manor gave permission for a new nine-hole golf course to be laid out on the common, the membership was drawn from the wealthier end of the community, with a joining fee of two guineas plus an annual fee of one guinea.²¹⁵ In 1891, the majority of the three hundred members of Bushey Golf Club were either barristers, stockbrokers, or solicitors.²¹⁶

Not all courses laid out on common land fared so well. Reginald Hine, a Hitchin lawyer and local historian, recalled a golf course laid out in 1898 on a common in the town. It was short-lived, 'as what with roads and railings, courting couples and cows,

²¹¹ Foster, *Chorleywood*, p.30.

²¹² Stuart, *Golf*, p.48.

²¹³ G.E. Ray, *The Book of Chorleywood and Chenies* (Chesham, 1983), p.15, <http://www.club-noticeboard.com/chorleywood>, accessed 30th December 2009. The website carries a warning to all walkers to be wary of golf balls in flight whilst crossing the line of the holes.

²¹⁴ Foster, *Chorleywood*, pp.61-62.

²¹⁵ www.mid-hertsqolfclub.co.uk accessed 25th January 2010.

²¹⁶ Simons, *West Herts*, p.16.

nursemaids and perambulators, the hazards proved too many'.²¹⁷ It may also have floundered as it did not have the fuel of hungry businessmen to keep it going. As Table 4.3 shows, the earliest golf clubs established in the county were all on common land and all to be found in that accessible and expanding south-western part of the county.

In theory, that part of the common laid out as a golf course was still accessible to the non-golfing population. However, whilst the walking of dogs or the Sunday stroll might be accommodated, those who sought to exercise their rights to forage or graze were more problematic. At Harpenden, the committee which sat to adjudge questions of access seems to have managed the common well enough to preclude any resource to law. One resident remembered cattle and sheep on the common before the war; only the cricket pitch and golf course were mown, leaving enough land to accommodate the herds and flocks of two local farmers.²¹⁸ However, in March 1898, Frederick Wright, a nurseryman and copyholder, brought two members of the Gustard Wood golf club before the St. Albans Divisional Bench on a charge of assault, for an attempt to remove him from a green whilst he was grazing his sheep, as was his right.²¹⁹ His protest was against the cutting of the turf to provide a putting surface. With no damages as such being sought, this was a case which both parties hoped would clarify the rights of the other, but the case ended with a whimper as Wright withdrew his charge when the court decided that the case should be heard at a higher court. Wright had brought the case himself after the police refused to prosecute 'a three-ha'penny assault' and the cost of pursuing it further proved too expensive for Wright's purse.²²⁰ What was unusual about Wright's case is that it seems to have been the only example to reach the courts or the ears of the newspapers.²²¹ At Gustard Wood the members seem to have adopted the same tactics as the Hunt in placating potential enemies with invitations to club dinners and money to compensate individual losses.²²² It is perhaps an indication of the insidious effect of the arrival of golf that Frederick Wright's son later learned to play at the

²¹⁷ R.L. Hine, *The History of Hitchin, Volume 2* (Woking, 1972, first published 1929), p.266.

²¹⁸ E. Gregory, *The Harpenden I Remember Before 1914* (Harpenden, 1981), p.8.

²¹⁹ 'St. Albans – A Copyholder's Rights', *HM*, 30th April 1898 p.3.

²²⁰ The reference to a 'three ha'penny assault' was from the Chairman of the Bench, Lord Grimthorpe, a man known for his blunt speaking.

²²¹ A search of Hertfordshire newspapers 1880-1900 revealed no other example of conflict between golfers and commoners.

²²² www.mid-hertsgolfclub.co.uk accessed 25th January 2010.

club, winning two hundred prizes and sinking sixteen holes-in-one in his amateur career.²²³

In 1895, almost forty years on from the fight to save Berkhamsted Common from enclosure, Earl Brownlow gave permission for a nine-hole course to be laid out at a nominal rent of ten shillings a year. The club was one of the first to form an Artisans' Section for the young men of the town, seeing this as 'the best possible way to counter opposition and to bring conflicting interests into agreement.'²²⁴ Where Brownlow's trustees had tried those years before to mark out the common as his own private space, by the end of the century an interest in the common was felt to be the right of all those who chose to spend time on it, whether confirmed in law or not.

In some ways golf clubs, with their exclusive membership and defining of public space as private, would seem to challenge the beneficial effects of middle-class involvement. However, with their economic attention focussed increasingly beyond the confines of their own immediate environment, the new wealthy were able to square that circle of the common as belonging to the community, albeit on occasions only the particularly wealthy members of that community. The common as an aesthetic and social resource for the wider community protected property values as well as a wider understanding of what the rural experience should include. In 1873, there were 5,345 acres of common land to be found in Hertfordshire, a figure which stood at 5,180 acres in 1962, a fall of only three per cent, in contrast to the Buckinghamshire experience which saw levels fall by sixty-seven per cent from an 1873 figure of 10,438 acres to 3,447.²²⁵

Conclusion

In 1880, when Earl and Countess Lytton returned from their time in India to their estate at Knebworth, the carriage was drawn from the station to the house by a body of estate workers.²²⁶ Twenty years later, when George Hodgson and his wife arrived to take up residence at their new home of Hexton Manor, their motor car was pulled

²²³ www.mid-hertsgolfclub.co.uk accessed 25th January 2010.

²²⁴ Whybrow, *Berkhamsted Common*, p.131.

²²⁵ W.E. Hoskins and D.L. Stamp, *The Common Lands of England* (1963), pp.92, 252 & 287, quoted in Young, *Popular Attitudes*, pp.136-137.

²²⁶ 'Lord Lytton Returns from India', *HGAJ*, 14th August 1880.

from the gates of the park to the house by the men of the village.²²⁷ These two incidents, book-ending the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, shared more than just the outward appearance of the status quo in action. In 1880, Earl Lytton was returning to an estate suffering from a crisis of confidence and his physical appearance was taken as a sign of hope for the future. Similarly, in 1900, George Hodgson's investment in the renamed Hexton Manor was seen as a lifeline for a village which had seen its population steadily drift away, as opportunities for work had dwindled along with the previous owner's bank balance. A resident, prosperous and engaged landowner continued to be crucial to the health and viability of the rural population.

As this chapter has shown, the model of paternalism in action continued to be part of the understanding of many of those new wealthy who sought a country home in the county. Whilst there those whose only interest in those who lived beyond the park gates was the ready availability of beaters or domestic help, enough examples exist of the engagement of the new wealthy with their local environment to argue for a continuing resonance of the paternalistic model and the call to demonstrate a gentlemanly behaviour which had implications for the strength of the wider nation that tapped into social and patriotic concerns. F.M.L. Thompson has argued in the context of hunting as a unifying force that 'loyalties founded on emotions outrun the calculus of economic interests'.²²⁸ It was just such a climate of loyalty that landowners, including the new wealthy, sought to engender by their gifts of blankets, provision of opportunities for winter employment and investments in village halls, recreation grounds and cottages.

Charles T. Part, a barrister who moved to Radlett in 1870,²²⁹ showed his commitment to the village by donating the land for a village hall, giving the site for and financing the building of a recreation ground, as well as founding the Radlett Industrial Co-operative Society shop and working men's club in 1885. When his daughter, Lucy, was married in 1900, the centre of Radlett was decorated with garlands, flags and banners calling on God's blessings for the bride and groom, a display more frequently associated with the celebrations of the aristocracy or older

²²⁷ Cooper, *Hexton*, p.198.

²²⁸ Thompson, *English Landed Society*, p.144.

²²⁹ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, p.155.

gentry.²³⁰ It was his status within the community which was being recognised, a status which was tied into his residence and engagement, rather than his class or the source of his wealth. When Sir Walter Gilbey received his baronetcy in 1893, the streets of Bishop's Stortford were similarly garlanded with banners of congratulation, and at a special banquet held in the town, the toast in his honour included the lines

More than the laurel wreath,
More than the title won,
Is the approving consciousness
Of duty nobly done.²³¹

Hertfordshire's position as a metropolitan county saw it benefit from the desire of the new wealthy for a place in the country, and the understanding of the responsibilities which accompanied that place in the country eased the county through the economic difficulties of a rural economy in the last decades of the century. Many of that first generation who arrived in the county of Hertfordshire such as Maple, Hodgson and Shepherd Cross had only shallow roots within the county, their heirs selling up and moving on to pastures new. Yet this did not stop them from engaging with their environment, and whilst they stayed their presence and commitment was an important element of local social and economic life.

The new wealthy who settled in Hertfordshire in the late nineteenth century had a very particular vision for their homes which, by the expenditure of considerable amounts of money, they were able to realise in the shape of a new or re-modelled house for themselves, as well as 'tidying up' the view beyond the lodge gate. For those with less cash to spare, but with similar expectations of the rural, the common and heath lands of the county offered an opportunity for vicarious ownership of their own little piece of the rural idyll. This involvement with their environment saw both the protection but also the re-shaping of the common, as the economic function diminished in the face of increased social demands. Hertfordshire today still has a high survival rate for its commons and village greens,²³² a reflection of that involvement and commitment to an imagining of the rural which still persists.

²³⁰ Wratten, *Radlett and Aldenham*, pp.83,96, 1891 census 'Aldenham' RG12/1117 ED3 F41.

²³¹ Kidd, *Gilbey's Wine*, p.95.

²³² Munby, *Hertfordshire Landscape*, p.84.

Chapter 5. The Political Climate of the County.

Introduction

The Conservative Party candidates were the victors in every division of every general and by-election held in the county of Hertfordshire between the introduction of the wider franchise in 1885 and the end of the 19th century. Such a consistency of results offers the opportunity to explore the question posed by Matthew Roberts in his review article of 2007: 'How was the Conservative Party able to maintain its position in the counties?'¹ In that article he called for more research into rural Conservatism in the immediate aftermath of the extension of the franchise in 1885, and the Hertfordshire experience offers an insight into the responses of a metropolitan county, still self-consciously rural in character, negotiating both urban growth and rural depopulation at a time of agricultural depression.

This chapter, therefore, will examine how the Conservatives of Hertfordshire successfully negotiated the developing identity of the county, integrating the changes so that they maintained a position as the 'natural' party of government for the county. What was it about the imagined community of Conservative rhetoric which resonated with the people who lived and sometimes worked within its boundaries? For a county such as Hertfordshire, experiencing rapid shifts in the economic, spatial and social character of its population, the success or otherwise of political parties was tied into their ability to offer an umbrella of identity for as wide an electorate as possible.

On one level, Hertfordshire would appear to reflect an older historiographical truth that the Conservative party was the beneficiary of the 'politics of deference', where votes were accrued from a continuing identification of interests amongst rural residents.² In addition, the growth of a middle-class commuter interest would seem to have offered the Conservatives a natural constituency of voters. Yet, in 1885, with prices falling and farms failing, the farming vote was not a given, and Lord Salisbury for one was pessimistic about the support of the inhabitants of those villas strung along the railway track, reflecting in 1900 how: 'in my time they were a certain

¹ Roberts, 'Popular Conservatism', p.409.

² D.C. Moore, *The politics of Deference: a study of the mid-nineteenth century English political system* (Hassocks, 1976).

“find” for every Radical candidate’.³ To this could be added the concern on just where the newly enfranchised labourer would place his mark. The obviously Conservative nature of the county was not quite so obvious to those who sought to represent it in 1885, and that it became so could not be taken for granted. Work on elections prior to 1885 by historians such as Edwin Jaggard on Cornwall, J.R. Fisher on Nottinghamshire, and Matthew Cragoe on Wales has challenged the notion of an electorate compliant in the face of an élite agenda.⁴ While the Hertfordshire experience would seem to question that, it will become clear that it was the ability of the Conservatives to absorb electorate assumptions on identity into their own understanding that enabled them to better exploit the issues surrounding the elections which followed the Third Reform Act.

As recent research has shown, rural as well as urban politics resembled more a conversation between candidate and electorate than a handing down of ideas from one to the other. R.W. Davis in Buckinghamshire, T.A. Jenkins in Gloucestershire, Frans Coetzee in Croydon and Timothy Cooper in Walthamstow have shown how, in constituencies of quite different natures, political canvassing was mediated through local concerns and that constituencies could rarely be taken for granted.⁵ Cooper has raised the question of whether the villas supported the Conservatives because their residents were middle-class or ‘because Conservatives were simply better at exploiting the politics of locality and community.’⁶ In Hertfordshire, the ability of the Conservatives to tap into and organise themselves around local concerns gave them an electoral appeal which crossed economic and social barriers. Yet what did that mean for the traditional agricultural interest of the county? Where did farmers and their concerns fit in the changed political climate after 1885? The rhetoric of candidates and their supporters made much of the needs of agriculture, but so often it was of the labourer that they were thinking, a reflection of the farmers’ position as the increasingly subordinate member of the agricultural partnership in the wider

³ Minutes of the NUCA Conference, 1900, CPA, Bodleian Library, Oxford, NUA 2/1/20 (microfiche) quoted in A. Windscheffel, *Popular Conservatism in Imperial London 1868-1906* (London, 2007), p.1.

⁴ E. Jaggard, *Cornwall Politics in the Age of Reform 1790-1885* (London, 1999), J.R. Fisher, ‘Issues and Influence: Two By-Elections in South Nottinghamshire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century’, *Historical Journal*, Vol. 24, (1981), pp.155-163, M. Cragoe, *Culture, Politics and National Identity in Wales 1832-1886* (Oxford, 2004).

⁵ R.W. Davis, *Political Change and Continuity. 1760-1885. A Buckinghamshire Study* (Newton Abbot, 1972), T.A. Jenkins, ‘Political Life in Late Victorian Britain: The Conservatives in Thornbury’, *Parliamentary History*, Vol.23, No.2 (2004), pp.198-224, Coetzee, ‘Villa Toryism Reconsidered’, Cooper, ‘London-Over-the-Border’.

⁶ Cooper, ‘London-Over-the-Border’, p.215.

public imagination. As the *Agricultural Gazette* wrote in 1891, the farmer 'is nowhere today in the consideration of party politicians', while the labourer 'is the king to whom the leaders of both parties do homage.'⁷

This chapter will eavesdrop on that conversation between electorate and candidate in order to better understand how the Conservative party was able to top the polls in the contested general elections of 1885 and 1892, and convince the Liberals of the futility of a contest in the 1886, 1895 and 1900 elections. Paul Readman has written of the need for historians to firmly locate the discourse of the past within an historical context which recognises 'the extent to which it "counted" to people at the time'.⁸ By studying reports of political meetings and the correspondence they generated within the pages of local newspapers, this chapter will identify the issues which 'counted' to the people of Hertfordshire, and how those issues in their turn were then fed back into the campaigns of candidates. It will also show that increasingly the 'real' conversation was between the Conservatives and the villa, the Conservatives and the cottage, with only a passing nod to the farmhouse.

The remainder of this chapter will fall into two parts. The first part will set out the main features of the different electoral campaigns, organised on a division by division basis, and demonstrating how the Conservatives were consistently more successful in setting the electoral agenda. The second part will offer an explanation for that consistency of results by the Conservatives, before moving on to consider what the assumptions about county identity and the place of agriculture within that identity reveal of the changing nature of the rural within the political imagination as the nineteenth century drew to a close. As a metropolitan county, Hertfordshire offers an insight into the way that understanding of the rural was reflected through a prism of community, a prism which the Conservatives with their rhetoric of inclusiveness and stability were better placed to exploit, and one which fitted with urban assumptions of the place of the countryside. The picture which emerged was in line with the wider conversation within the county which saw the agricultural nature of the county re-defined by an urban understanding.

⁷ *Agricultural Gazette*, 30th November 1891 quoted in Fisher, 'Agrarian Politics', p.323.

⁸ Readman, *Land and Nation*, p.7.

The Third Reform Act, 1884

The Third Reform Act of 1884 saw the electorate grow nationally from an 1883 figure of 2,618,453 to 4,380,333, as the £10 household occupation and lodger qualification for Borough voters was extended to the Counties, and the £12 rateable value condition for the Counties was reduced to £10, thereby enfranchising two of every three adult males.⁹ Ewen Green identified this major piece of Gladstonian legislation as the key to 'a new era of mass politics', which, together with the Secret Ballot Act (1872) and the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act (1883) transformed the way in which political parties approached the electorate both between and during election campaigns: 'the age of informal influence and the talented amateur was passing, and the age of professionalized politics had arrived'.¹⁰ For Conservatives, their influence in drawing up the Redistribution of Seats Act (1885) was of equal significance in shaping the future of party politics. For Lord Salisbury, the increased franchise offered an opportunity to redraw the political map. He calculated that the loss of two-member constituencies within the counties could be turned to good account and protect the rural vote from the urban at a time of urban expansion, a calculation which would protect the rural Tory voter from his Liberal, urban neighbour.¹¹ However, the great unknown was the vote of the newly enfranchised and, crucially, property-poor agricultural labourer. What would be important for him in deciding to cast his vote? How safe in fact was that rural Tory vote? The Hertfordshire experience would show that the rural vote would be maintained, although it could never be taken for granted.

Prior to 1885, Hertfordshire returned three county members, together with a member for the Borough of Hertford. The Borough of St Albans had lost its right to send a member after a Royal Commission of 1852 revealed extensive bribery and corruption, the voters being transferred to the county constituency.¹² The general election of 1880, the last before the passing of the Third Reform Act, was uncontested and saw the return of one Liberal, the Hon H.F. Cowper, and two Conservatives, T.F. Halsey and Abel Smith; the fathers of both Halsey and Smith had

⁹ H.J. Hanham, *The Reformed Electoral System in Great Britain, 1832-1914* (London, 1968), E.J. Feuchtwanger, *Democracy and Empire. Britain 1865-1914* (London, 1985), pp.171-172.

¹⁰ Green, 'An Age of Transition', p.11.

¹¹ R. Shannon, *The Age of Salisbury 1881-1902: Unionism and Empire* (London, 1996), p.99.

¹² BPP IV.223 [67] (1852) *Saint Alban's Disfranchisement. A Bill to Disfranchise the Borough of Saint Alban.*

served as Conservative members for the county, while Henry Cowper was brother to one of the county's largest landowners, Earl Cowper at Panshanger. Previous elections had seen a similar pattern of shared representation between the Liberals and Conservatives.¹³

The Redistribution of Seats Act of 1885 saw the county divided into four divisions; the Northern or Hitchin, (8,996 registered voters), the Eastern or Hertford, (8,840), the Western or Watford, (10,029), the Mid or St. Albans (8,741).¹⁴ As a Borough with a population of fewer than 15,000, Hertford lost its separate franchise status. The total of those registered to vote for the county was 36,606, with 31,227 of these enfranchised as occupiers; the 1880 election had been decided by an electorate of 11,131 including the 1,081 registered for the Borough of Hertford, thus seeing an overall increase for the county in the numbers of those entitled to vote of more than 200 per cent. When Hertfordshire went to the polls it was not clear just how this new electorate would be voting, but, as Table 5.1 shows, the Tories were returned with a support ranging from 52.1 per cent to 60.6 per cent of the vote, a pattern repeated in the only other contested elections of 1892 and 1898.

This next section will consider how the election campaigns of the three contested elections were conducted, focussing on the influence of candidate choice and the shifting electoral agenda.

¹³ F.W.S. Craig, *British Parliamentary Election Results 1832-1885* (Aldershot, 1989), T.P. Halsey from 1846 to his death in 1854, and Abel Smith from 1835 to 1847 p.398.

¹⁴ BPP LII.569 [44-2] (1886) *Electors Counties and Boroughs 1885-86*.

Table 5.1 Hertfordshire Election Results 1880-1900

YEAR	SEAT	TURNOUT	CANDIDATE	PARTY	VOTES CAST	%
1880	COUNTY		HALSEY, T.F.	CONS	UNOPPOSED	
			SMITH, ABEL	CONS	UNOPPOSED	
			COWPER, HON. H.F.	LIB	UNOPPOSED	
	HERTFORD	89.2%	BALFOUR, A.J.	CONS	564	58.5%
			BOWEN, E.E.	LIB	400	41.5%
1885	EASTERN	83.0%	SMITH, ABEL	CONS	4,263	58.1%
			COWPER, HON. H.F.	LIB	3,072	41.9%
	NORTHERN	81.0%	DIMSDALE, BARON	CONS	4,419	60.6%
			FORDHAM, H.G.	LIB	2,869	39.4%
	MID-HERTS	81.7%	GRIMSTON, VISCOUNT	CONS	4,108	57.5%
			COLES, J.	LIB	3,037	42.5%
	WESTERN	77.2%	HALSEY, T.F.	CONS	4,032	52.1%
			FAUDEL-PHILLIPS, G.	LIB	3,712	47.9%
1886	EASTERN		SMITH, ABEL	CONS	UNOPPOSED	
	NORTHERN		DIMSDALE, BARON	CONS	UNOPPOSED	
	MID-HERTS		GRIMSTON, VISCOUNT	CONS	UNOPPOSED	
	WESTERN		HALSEY, T.F.	CONS	UNOPPOSED	
1892	EASTERN	75.8%	SMITH, ABEL	CONS	4,276	60.3%
			SPEIRS, E.R.	LIB	2,818	39.7%
	NORTHERN	77.0%	HUDSON, G.B.	CONS	4,187	60.5%
			WATTRIDGE, J.	LIB	2,728	39.5%
	MID-HERTS	78.3%	GIBBS, V.	CONS	3,417	45.1%
			HARVEY, T.M.	LIB	2,573	34.0%
			BINGHAM-COX, W.H.	IND CON	1,580	20.9%
	WESTERN	76.4%	HALSEY, T.F.	CONS	4,802	57.0%
			MARNHAM, J.	LIB	3,627	43.0%
1895	EASTERN		SMITH, ABEL	CONS	UNOPPOSED	
	NORTHERN		HUDSON, G.B.	CONS	UNOPPOSED	
	MID-HERTS		GIBBS, V.	CONS	UNOPPOSED	
	WESTERN		HALSEY, T.F.	CONS	UNOPPOSED	
1898	EASTERN	77.4%	CECIL, E.	CONS	4,118	51.7%
			SPENCER, RT. HON. C.R.	LIB	3,850	48.3%
1900	EASTERN		SMITH, ABEL H.	CONS	UNOPPOSED	
	NORTHERN		HUDSON, G.B.	CONS	UNOPPOSED	
	MID-HERTS		GIBBS, V.	CONS	UNOPPOSED	
	WESTERN		HALSEY, T.F.	CONS	UNOPPOSED	

Source: F.W.S. Craig, *British Parliamentary Election Results 1832-1885* (Aldershot, 1989), pp.152,261,398, F.W.S. Craig, *British Parliamentary Election Results 1885-1918* (Aldershot, 1989), pp.295-298, BPP LVII.53 [117] (1880) *Parliamentary constituencies (number of electors)*.

The Four Divisions

Table 5.2. Registered Voters 1885-1900

	EASTERN	MID-HERTS	NORTHERN	WESTERN	TOTAL
1885	8,840	8,741	8,996	10,029	36,606
1892	9,355	9,672	8,982	11,037	39,046
1900	10,402	11,104	9,275	13,450	44,231

Source: BPP LII.641 [47] (1886) *Return for each Parliamentary Constituency in the United Kingdom of Number of Electors on Register*, BPP LXIII.351 [244] (1892) *Return of Parliamentary Constituencies Showing Number of Electors on Register*, BPP LXVII.445 [116] (1900) *Return for each Parliamentary Constituency in United Kingdom*.

The Northern or Hitchin Division

With a population of 49,111, an electorate of 8,996 and only one town of significance, Hitchin, (population 8,434 in 1881 and 2,037 registered voters in 1885), the heavily agricultural Northern division offered both political parties an ideal test ground for the sympathies and interests of the Hertfordshire agricultural labourer.¹⁵ The largest geographical division, this was a district of farming, brewing and straw plaiting, but falling arable prices and reduced demand for home-grown straw plait impacted heavily on the villages, reflected in its position as the slowest growing of the Hertfordshire electorates. On its eastern edge, this division, together with the Eastern or Hertford division, shared a border with the Saffron Walden division of Essex, with whom they also shared an identity of agricultural depression. Yet, whilst both Hertfordshire divisions returned Conservative members, the Saffron Walden division returned a Liberal member with 61.2 per cent of the poll, almost a mirror image of the result in the Northern division. Patricia Lynch has ascribed this strong Liberal showing to an established network of Nonconformity which gave working men opportunities for local leadership and self-expression, as well as a recent experience of activism with a high level of membership of the National

¹⁵ BPP LXIII.1 [258] (1884-85) *Return of the Counties of England, Scotland and Ireland divided by Redistribution of Seats Act*, pp.183-185 'County of Hertford', BPP LXXIX.1 [C.3563] (1883) *Census of England and Wales 1881 Volume II. Area, Houses and Population (Registration Counties) Hertfordshire* pp.127-130, 'New Parliamentary Register', *HM*, 31st October 1885 p.4.

Agricultural Labourers' Union during the mid-1870s.¹⁶ This was in line with H.M. Pelling's findings for Liberal success across the country in areas of greater Nonconformist or union activity.¹⁷ Whilst in Hertfordshire there was some interest in the Labourers' Union, with Joseph Arch addressing a crowd at Hitchin in June 1873, union activity was limited, and nonconformity, whilst a presence in towns such as Hitchin and Baldock, did not have a high profile in the villages.¹⁸ However, with such a strong showing for the Conservative candidates, it seems unduly dismissive to see this as simply a reflection of passive voting by agricultural labourers. Perhaps a more significant difference between the Essex and Hertfordshire divisions was the earlier collapse of the straw plait industry in the former; by 1880 the trade had shifted westwards towards Luton, a shift which continued to benefit the straw plaiters of Hertfordshire, although by 1886 there were calls for some protection for the industry from the Chinese plait which was coming into the county.¹⁹ The 1885 and 1892 campaigns in this division tapped into an understanding of their community which convinced enough working men to support the Tory vision of the rural. No doubt they had some misgivings, but when push came to shove, it was the Conservatives that many of them trusted to deliver improved working and living conditions.

The 1885 contest was between the Conservative, Baron Robert Dimsdale, formerly Member for the Borough of Hertford, and the Liberal, Herbert George Fordham. Both men had strong connections with that part of the county. Dimsdale, who lived at Essendon near Hatfield, also had a home in the Northern parish of Meesden where he was the principal landowner, and owned farms within Anstey, Barkway and Nuthampstead parishes,²⁰ whilst Fordham lived just a mile over the county border into Cambridgeshire. A barrister and member of the Geological Society and British Association, Fordham came from an extended brewing and farming family,

¹⁶ P. Lynch, *The Liberal Party in Rural England 1885-1910* (Oxford, 2003), pp.28, 31.

¹⁷ H.M. Pelling, *Social Geography of British Elections 1885-1914* (Aldershot, 1967), pp.6-8.

¹⁸ Agar, *Behind the Plough*, p.163, H.W. Gardner, *A Survey of the Agriculture of Hertfordshire* (London, 1967), p.180, BPP L.19 [401] (1882) *Return of Churches, Chapels and Buildings Registered for Religious Worship in Great Britain*. This shows that in the Hitchin division of the county there were some thirty nonconformist chapels pp.167 & 177, a figure which showed a decline from the 48 chapels enumerated by William Upton in 1847-48, W. Upton, 'Statistics of the Religious Condition of the County of Hertfordshire 1847-48' in J. Burg, (ed.), *Religion in Hertfordshire 1847-51* (Hertford, 1995), pp.3-89.

¹⁹ Lynch, *Liberal Party*, p.15, 'Hitchin Conservative Meeting', *NHSBJ*, 21st May 1886 p.5. This was a speech by George Hare, a guard on the G.N.R. who called for something to be done for the plaiters of Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire.

²⁰ *Kelly's* (1882), 'Anstey' pp.558-59, 'Meesden' p.636, HCRO DE/D/1157 Dimsdale Estate Accounts 1873-88.

prominent in the northern parishes, which was recognised amongst the Liberals of the district as one 'who for years past have always been prepared to undertake the most difficult and the most thankless work for their party.'²¹ Thankless this task probably was, as Dimsdale was a very popular member for the county. He was courted by the Tories of the Eastern division and even his opponents recognised his strengths, the Liberal press acknowledging the 'uphill task' that faced Fordham in taking on a man of Dimsdale's character.²²

Dimsdale presented himself as very much an agriculturist, one who lived amongst them, understood them and was happy to stand on his previous record of service and commitment both to those who worked for him and the wider community. When he spoke of the problems of the agricultural depression it was as a landowner who had seen the arrears on his north Hertfordshire estates steadily mount. In March 1880 he carried forward arrears of £288 6s 9d, a figure which had grown to £1,235 15s 7d by September 1885, even allowing for abatements on rent of 10% or more over the intervening years. More importantly for his public image, was the fact that his tenants were all still in place, and repairs were still being made to cottages and farmhouses, as well as a continuing commitment to such charitable enterprises as his soup kitchen in Hertford.²³ At a public meeting in Brent Pelham he told a delighted audience that 'in all matters affecting the farming interests, he would be an agriculturalist first and a politician afterwards'.²⁴

Fordham, too, understood the power of the agricultural credential, claiming in his election address to be one who was 'practically acquainted ... with rural and agricultural affairs'. However, more revealing perhaps of his understanding of this most rural of constituencies was his comment that 'he was prepared to go into the dark corners of this division of the county and give explanations of his Liberal opinions'.²⁵ Such statements were grist to the mill of Conservative depictions of the

²¹ 'H.G. Fordham of Odsey Grange', *HS*, 25th April 1885 p.6, E. Lynam, 'Fordham, Sir Herbert George (1854–1929)', rev. Elizabeth Baigent, *ODNB* (2004) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33200 accessed 19th November 2008.

²² HCRO DEX247/Z1 Hoddesdon Conservative Association Minute Book, 1869-93, Resolution passed 23rd January 1885 proposing Dimsdale as the prospective member for the Hertford Division of the county, 'Hitchin – The New Member', *HE*, 5th December 1885 p.5.

²³ HCRO DE/D/1157 Dimsdale Estate Accounts 1873-88, 'Hertford – The Dimsdale Soup Charity', *HGAJ*, 3rd January 1885 p.4. This soup kitchen supplied 176 families with between one and two quarts of soup for the first three months of each year.

²⁴ 'Baron Dimsdale's Candidature', *HEO*, 4th July 1885 p.3.

²⁵ 'Mr Fordham's Candidature', *HE*, 20th June 1885 p.6.

Liberals as men of the town, unacquainted with the real agricultural labourer and out of their depth in the mud of the farmyard, a recurring theme of all elections across the county.

Dimsdale was very much the acceptable face of landownership; his supporters promoted him as one who 'the poor could shake by the hand', a man who had helped 'many a worthy family, though little was publicly known of such assistance'.²⁶ His was a message of inclusion, inviting all moderate Liberals to join him, and any criticism of his opponent was delivered in a spirit rather of regret for a lost colleague than aggression against a Radical opponent. In the contest of 1892, he gave a speech which praised Gladstone, recognising that 'every popular movement, political, social or moral, which has occupied the attention of the country for the last fifty years, had in Mr. Gladstone its warmest advocate', adding that only his enthusiasm for Home Rule in Ireland marred his political record.²⁷

Yet Dimsdale was not simply an uncomplicated Tory squire. His public announcements against Protection, supported by election flyers stressing his opposition to any change in the existing fiscal system, robbed his opponents of one of their more popular tools with which to attack the opposition.²⁸ Protection as an issue was never a real feature of the campaign. Further, in a speech at Hitchin before an audience of whom it was estimated around one third were Liberals, he took pains to commend the excellent character of his Liberal opponent, Fordham, before moving on to thank the Nonconformists for their invaluable help in the Bradlaugh affair.²⁹ This twinning of the two was a subtle reminder to his audience that Fordham, a Unitarian, had refused to condemn the actions of Bradlaugh and stood by the right of a constituency to send to Parliament whom they wished.³⁰ The issue of Fordham's religious beliefs and commitment would become one of the key

²⁶ 'Hitchin Division Conservative Association', *HS*, 11th April 1885 p.7.

²⁷ 'Conservative Meeting at Hitchin', *NHSBJ*, 8th July 1892 p.5.

²⁸ HCRO DE/D/1386 Hon. Baron Dimsdale on Free Trade (Hertford, n.d. but extract from speech delivered 1st June 1885 at Hitchin). It is an indication of Conservative fears of the potential threat to their candidate from this issue, that with election expenses limited by the Corrupt Practices Act (1883) it was Dimsdale's support for Free Trade that they chose to highlight in a poster campaign.

²⁹ 'Hitchin – Conservative Meeting', *HS*, 6th June 1885 p.7. Dimsdale referred again to the help of the Nonconformists and Bradlaugh at a meeting at Brent Pelham 'Baron Dimsdale's Candidature', *HEO*, 4th July 1885 p.3.

³⁰ 'Mr. H.G. Fordham's Candidature. Meeting at Ippolyts', *HE*, 13th June 1885 p.6. In answer to a question on Bradlaugh, Fordham supported the right of a constituency to send to Parliament whomever they wanted.

battle grounds of the election in this division. Whilst Dimsdale distanced himself from direct attacks on Fordham's religious beliefs, perhaps out of genuine distaste for such tactics, but also, perhaps, reflecting a reluctance to alienate the Nonconformist vote and tarnish his persona of inclusion and moderation, his Conservative supporters were not so reluctant and succeeded in forcing Fordham to fight the election on their agenda of disestablishment, rather than the Liberal extension of the franchise and landlord oppression. Again and again Fordham was obliged to defend himself against accusations of atheism and refusing to allow a Bible in his house, addressing the issue directly in his election address on 'the wild and absurd statements [which] have been industriously promulgated throughout the Division'.³¹ The sympathetic *Hertfordshire Express* believed that Fordham was vulnerable as soon as it became clear he was a Unitarian, his religious views 'continually misapprehended and frequently misrepresented: so that many of the Liberal party decided to abstain from voting.'³²

Baron Dimsdale was returned by the Hitchin constituency with almost 61 per cent of the vote, the most comprehensive Tory victory of any of the Hertfordshire divisions.³³

With Dimsdale suffering from ill-health, the 1892 contest was between the Conservative, George Bickersteth Hudson, a landowner living at Frogmore near Knebworth, and the Liberal, John Wattridge, the 'working man candidate' of Hampshire.³⁴ A former barrister, Hudson was a large landowner who found himself in 1892 with nine hundred acres in hand.³⁵ In one of the worst years of the agricultural depression, Hudson, like Dimsdale before him, offered himself as one who suffered alongside those feeling the fallout from overseas imports and tumbling prices, making his lifetime residence in the county and position as an agriculturalist the first and second points of his election address;³⁶ at Michaelmas that year, he gave his

³¹ 'Mr. H.G. Fordham's Candidature. Meeting at Ippolyts', *HE*, 13th June 1885 p.6, 'Mr. H.G. Fordham's Candidature. Meeting at Ickleford', *HE*, 27th June 1885, 'Mr Fordham's Candidature. Meeting at Walkern', *HE*, 25th July 1885 p.7 for examples of Fordham's speeches, 'Correspondence Column', *HE*, 25th July 1885 p.8 for letters from Fordham and his chief accuser, John Smyth, a farmer, of Bygrave, 'Election Address', *HE*, 14th November 1885 p.6.

³² 'Stevenage - The Polling', *HE*, 5th December 1885 p.5.

³³ Craig, *Election Results 1885-1918*, p.296.

³⁴ 'The Candidates for the Hitchin Division', *HE*, 2nd July 1892 p.7.

³⁵ 'Mr. G.B. Hudson', *HIR*, Vol.1, (1893) p.244, *The New Domesday Book of Hertfordshire* shows Hudson's father owning 1,782 acres in Hertfordshire

³⁶ 'To the Electors of the Northern or Hitchin Division', *NHSBJ*, 1st July 1892 p.3.

remaining tenants a fifty-per-cent abatement on their rents, and let many of his cottages rent-free.³⁷

It was acknowledged by his supporters that Hudson was not as strong a candidate as Dimsdale; on one occasion a speech in which he was quoted as saying that he was against Protection but in favour of a half-crown-a-quarter penalty on all imported corn called forth a letter from one who signed himself a Unionist urging his friends 'to use their influence to cause their candidate to maintain a discrete silence'.³⁸ However, he had been the potential candidate since 1891 when Dimsdale fell ill, and had made it his mission to appear across this largest of the Hertfordshire divisions, appearing at Primrose League, Conservative and Agricultural Meetings throughout the constituency.³⁹

Wattridge was a late entry into the campaign, being selected as the candidate only in the middle of June, some four weeks before polling day, reflecting the difficulties of finding a candidate in this division.⁴⁰ Meetings held across the division at the end of May secured only small audiences, a fact blamed by some, rather optimistic, speakers on the fine weather which deterred people from entering stuffy halls.⁴¹ Wattridge had first entered the county as part of the Liberal Van which was touring the villages of the Hitchin division and was one of those labour candidates who was supported by the Liberal Central Association.⁴² He promoted himself as one who understood the agricultural labourer; he had worked as a schoolmaster and printer, before taking on a seven-acre smallholding in Surrey, and before joining the Liberal Van he had worked as sub-agent for the Liberal cause in both Hampshire and Surrey.⁴³ He was forthright in his opinions on the Tories as 'the natural enemies of the working man', arguing that 'you might as well try to get blood out of flint as to

³⁷ 'Agricultural Notes', *HIR*, Vol.1, (1893) p.59.

³⁸ 'Mr G.B. Hudson at Welwyn', *HE*, 5th March 1892 p.7.

³⁹ 'Herts Agricultural Show', *HE*, 8th August 1891 p.5, 'Hitchin Division Conservative Association', *HE*, 28th April 1891, 'Welwyn Habitation of the Primrose League', *NHSBJ*, 26th February 1892 p.5.

⁴⁰ 'The Election – A Candidate for Hitchin', *NHSBJ*, 17th June 1892 p.5.

⁴¹ 'Home Counties Liberal Federation – Meetings in the Hitchin Division', *HE*, 4th June 1892 p.5. The low turnout was commented on in meetings held at Hitchin, Welwyn, Stevenage, Buntingford and Royston.

⁴² B. McGill, 'Francis Schnadhorst and Liberal Party Organization', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol.34, No.1 (March 1962), pp.19-39, p.19.

⁴³ 'The Representation of North Herts. The Liberal Candidate', *HE*, 18th June 1892 p.8.

try and get good measures out of them for the working class'.⁴⁴ The Hertfordshire Liberals clearly believed that as an agricultural worker Wattridge was a viable candidate, arguing that 'they wanted an agricultural and labour member because Herts was an agricultural county',⁴⁵ but his late nomination meant that this was always an uphill task, and with the rhetoric dominated by the issue of Home Rule, the Conservatives were able to protect their 60 per cent showing at the polls.

Patricia Lynch has argued that the Liberal Party was less successful in rural areas when they drew back from promoting a 'language of rural reform', achieving success only when individual candidates moved away from the Party agenda and concentrated instead on issues of local concern such as allotments.⁴⁶ However, in the Northern division neither Liberal candidate, although not afraid of a Radical agenda, was able to convince the agricultural worker to support him at the poll, thus showing that the casting of a vote was a more nuanced affair than Lynch's model might suggest.

The Eastern or Hertford Division

In the Eastern Division, both candidates in 1885 were sitting Members for the county; Abel Smith (Conservative) and the Hon Henry F. Cowper (Liberal). Centred on the county town of Hertford, the Eastern Division had an electorate of 8,840 out of a total population of 51,427.⁴⁷ This district was again primarily arable in nature and, as with the Northern division, encompassed some of the land most badly affected by the agricultural depression. The largest clusters of population were to be found along the Lea Valley; with the river navigable to Ware, this area was home to a thriving brewing industry, whilst closer to the Middlesex border, around Cheshunt, there was an expanding nursery industry.⁴⁸ Just over the border into Middlesex was the Royal Ordnance Factory, and many of the employees lived at Cheshunt.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ 'The Election – A Candidate for the Hitchin Division', *NHSBJ*, 17th June 1892 p.5, 'The Representation of North Herts', *HE*, 18th June 1892 p.8.

⁴⁵ 'Campaign in North Herts. Mr Wattridge at Stevenage', *HE*, 2nd July 1892 p.6. Speech by Eardley Bailey Denton.

⁴⁶ Lynch, *Liberal Party*, p.119.

⁴⁷ BPP LXIII.1 [258] (1884-85) p.185 'County of Hertford', BPP LII.569 [44-2] (1886) p. 573.

⁴⁸ BPP LXXIX.1 [C.3563] (1883) pp.127-130. Population of Cheshunt 7,735, Hertford, 6,595, Ware 5,745.

⁴⁹ T.G. Otte, 'Avenge England's Dishonour': By-elections, Parliament and the Politics of Foreign Policy in 1898', *English Historical Review*, Vol.121, No.491 (2006), pp.385-428, p.408.

Abel Smith's selection was not greeted with the same enthusiasm as his Hitchin colleague. Like Dimsdale he was a Hertfordshire man; resident within the division, his home was at Woodhall Park, near Ware, from where he oversaw an estate of more than 11,000 acres.⁵⁰ He was very much in the model of a paternalistic landlord, noted for his building of good quality cottages and providing schools for the villages of the estate,⁵¹ and unapologetic in his defence that landownership was not simply a matter of wages:

I think the way to help the working man is to provide him with a good home, to give him a good piece of land to cultivate, and to let the cottages at a low rent. It is also my pleasure ... To support the schools, and to support the charities in my villages⁵²

At a meeting held in Hertford in April, and chaired by Baron Dimsdale, an audience of three hundred debated the candidature for the division. Whilst Dimsdale proposed Abel Smith's selection, there were signs of dissent and some concern was expressed at Smith's appeal to the 'new' voters, with calls for a meeting of delegates to canvass opinion amongst the working men before proceeding further. Smith was selected only after a full poll which saw him win with a vote of 171 against 123.⁵³ Given the high profile of disestablishment within the 1885 campaign, it was considered by many that one of his greatest electoral strengths was his evangelical profile. He was President of the East Herts Association of the Church Missionary Society, personally conducted Bible classes for the workmen on his estate, and endowed a Church in the rapidly expanding Port Vale district of Hertford. As the Liberal *Hertfordshire Mercury* recognised, this 'secured him many adherents among the various Nonconformist bodies.'⁵⁴

Neither was the selection of the Liberal candidate, the Hon. H.F. Cowper, a straightforward matter. Cowper lived at Brocket Hall, Welwyn, which was just across the electoral border into the Northern division, but he was brother to Earl Cowper of

⁵⁰ Bateman, *Great Landowners*, p.411. Abel Smith's entire 11,212 acre estate lay within Hertfordshire.

⁵¹ BPP XIII.1 [231] (1868-69) *Royal Commission on Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, Second Report. Appendix (Evidence from Assistant Commissioners)* p.433 'Watton', Agar, *Behind the Plough*, pp.109-110.

⁵² 'Bishop Stortford Conservative Demonstration', *HS*, 2nd May 1885 p.3.

⁵³ 'Hertfordshire Conservative Association - A Lively Scene', *HS*, 25th April 1885 p.7.

⁵⁴ 'Death of Mr Abel Smith, M.P.', *HM*, 4th June 1898 p.5.

Panshanger, whose 10,000 acre estate lay mainly in the Eastern division for which he was the candidate.⁵⁵ The Liberal selection meeting was 'rather a protracted one' and Cowper faced 'some awkward questions which he declined to answer'. These 'awkward questions' included the disestablishment of the Church, and unspecified matters on land and agriculture, and the meeting made it plain that 'if he did not answer in private he would have to in public'.⁵⁶ Cowper does seem to have been a less than comfortable candidate. His own family remembered him as personally charming, a good conversationalist but possessing 'a want of energy and a strange love of inaction'.⁵⁷ He came in for some criticism from his fellow Liberals for having missed the division which saw the defeat of the Liberal Government in June. At a meeting of Ware Liberals he defended himself on the grounds that with a four-line whip he had not realised that the division was an important one, and the report in the normally very hostile and very conservative *Herts Guardian* referred to his speech as mild and one 'no Conservative could object to'.⁵⁸ His position on the question of land was that whilst property should be as easy to transfer as a cow or watch, landlord and tenant should be left to arrange matters themselves, with no interference from third-party outsiders, and whilst he welcomed allotments he was unconvinced of the viability of smallholdings of five or six acres.⁵⁹

The reports of the campaign which appeared in the newspapers suggested a much more low key atmosphere in the East Herts Division, with neither candidate really showing any sign of trimming their sails to the new electoral wind. Both men seem to have been friends so there were repeated professions of admiration, and little in the way of personal attack, the only criticisms made were of the other's lack of clarity in spelling out their beliefs, be it of Cowper on Disestablishment or Smith on Protection. This was the only division which took a break in campaigning; there were no reports of meetings held from mid-August to the beginning of September, and the *Herts and*

⁵⁵ Bateman *Great Landowners*, p.109. Earl Cowper owned 37,869 acres of which 10,122 acres lay in Hertfordshire.

⁵⁶ 'Hertford – The Liberal Candidate', *HS*, 2nd May 1885 p.7.

⁵⁷ Countess Cowper 'Earl Cowper, K.G., a memoir by his wife' (1913), p.650 reference to her brother-in-law, Henry Cowper, quoted in R. Davenport-Hines, *Ettie. The Intimate Life and Dauntless Spirit of Lady Desborough* (London, 2008), p.28.

⁵⁸ 'Ware Liberal Association', *HGAJ*, 4th July 1885 p.5.

⁵⁹ 'Hoddesdon – Liberal Meeting at Hoddesdon', *HEO*, 25th July 1885 p. 4, The Contest in the Hertford Division. Meeting in the Great Hall', *HEO*, 10th October 1885 p.3.

Essex Observer welcomed the return of the candidates 'after a welcome period of rest from the turmoil of the political arena.'⁶⁰

With Cowper unafraid to stress his 'moderate' position, he would seem to support Lynch's argument that it was the failure of Liberals to pursue a Radical policy which saw them defeated in the counties; certainly this was the view of one correspondent who wrote in 1886 that the failure of the Liberal vote within this division was the moderate position of Cowper:

The Liberal candidate should have been a man of advanced political views, so as to have fallen in with the wishes of the newly enfranchised working classes; to sum up what I mean in one word, we ought to have had a Radical candidate.⁶¹

That Abel Smith was returned with a 58 per cent share of the poll, on a voter turnout of 83 per cent, may have been a reflection of Cowper's own lack of a strong profile, but equally it demands something more than just an assumption of voting by default for Abel Smith. One Liberal supporter at the start of the campaign saw no threat to the Radicals from Abel Smith, referring to his unpopularity with the working classes and his speeches which were of 'the usual dull, bucolic tendency of an agricultural Tory'.⁶² Yet, it may have been that the writer misread the constituency; it was Abel Smith's profile as an agricultural Tory which swung the vote in this most agricultural of districts. With little to choose between the candidates, Abel Smith's more high profile presence as local landlord and employer may have gone some way in convincing the electorate of his commitment to their communities, and what was for most of them their economic lifeblood in farming. His electoral address dealt almost entirely with agricultural concerns. Beginning with a commitment to Church Establishment, he then went on to declare his support for the cheaper transfer of land 'which would increase the number of holders of landed property', the facilitation of schemes to increase the availability of allotments, and an enquiry into the depression in trade and agriculture.⁶³ In contrast, Cowper's election address, whilst

⁶⁰ 'Hertford Division – The Conservative Candidate before the Constituency', *HEO*, 12th September 1885 p.4.

⁶¹ 'The Coming Election' Correspondence from 'T.H.S.', *HM*, 19th June 1886 p.5.

⁶² 'Mr Abel Smith, M.P., at the Corn Exchange, Hertford', *HM*, 19th September 1885. Letter from 'A Voter of Bengeo' p.5.

⁶³ 'Election Address of Mr. Abel Smith', *HM*, 21st November 1885 p.2.

recognising 'how vitally important the welfare of agriculture is to the community I seek to represent', offered little in the way of concrete policy beyond a declaration of support, and with no mention of allotments or the celebrated 'three acres and a cow'.⁶⁴

The 1892 election saw Abel Smith face Edwin Robert Speirs, a Fellow of the Statistical Society and Secretary to a Life Assurance Company. Speirs was nominated only in the middle of June, and although by the end of the campaign he could claim to have attended more than thirty-two meetings,⁶⁵ this late appearance coupled with his twin identities as a Londoner and office bound gave much fuel to the Tory rhetoric of Liberals as outsiders, urban and ignorant of the realities of rural living.⁶⁶ Smith used his speeches to 'correct' Speirs on his understanding of the poor law, allotments and free education, and his supporters cast Speirs in the role of one 'who came down with his carpet bag, as the Americans said, and who if not returned, would take up his carpet bag, go off and be seen no more.'⁶⁷ Speirs cast Smith in the role of reactionary landowner wishing to deny the agricultural labourer both the existence and the security of his vote,⁶⁸ and would have seemed to have offered the Radical profile which Cowper had lacked seven years previously. He promoted a programme of land reform which would see the abolition of primogeniture, the compulsory letting of allotments near to labourers' homes, local authorities given more authority to seize land, and the establishment of village councils, 'where the labourer would have the opportunity of being represented by those who belonged to the same class.'⁶⁹ He argued for policies which went beyond the Newcastle programme, but was unable to convince the electorate of his cause. Abel Smith's increased majority of 1,258 (60.3 per cent of the poll) reflected a cocktail of Liberal handicaps: poor organisation locally, suspicion of Home Rule and a candidate with no local credentials.

⁶⁴ 'Election Address of The Honourable H.F. Cowper', *HM*, 21st November 1885 p.2.

⁶⁵ 'Liberal Meeting at the Great Hall', *EHWEN*, 9th July 1892 p.5. Speirs made this claim a week before the final poll.

⁶⁶ 'Bishop Stortford. A Liberal Candidate for the Hertford Division', *EHWEN*, 18th June 1892 p.4.

⁶⁷ 'Sawbridgeworth. Conservative Meeting', *EHWEN*, 25th June 1892 p. 5, 'Conservative Meeting at the Great Hall', *EHWEN*, 2nd July 1892 Supplement p.1.

⁶⁸ 'Bishop Stortford. Liberal Meeting at the Great Hall', *EHWEN*, 9th July 1892 p.4.

⁶⁹ 'Hertford Division Election', *EHWEN*, 25th June 1892 p.8.

In June 1898, Abel Smith died, thus forcing a by-election.⁷⁰ It had been expected that when Abel Smith finally retired his son, Abel Henry, would take over as the Conservative candidate. However, in 1898, Abel Henry was the member for Christchurch in Hampshire and with a slender majority of only 84 the Conservatives could not risk a by-election in his seat.⁷¹ The election therefore was a contest between two men new to the constituency, both from aristocratic families. The Conservative candidate was Evelyn Cecil, assistant private secretary to his uncle, the Marquis of Salisbury, whilst the Liberal candidate was Charles Robert Spencer, brother to the Fifth Earl Spencer, who had lost his Mid-Northamptonshire seat at the election of 1895.⁷²

This by-election was one of several which took place during 1898, a year which saw Lord Salisbury criticised for a failure to stand up to the ambitions of the Russians and Germans in the Far East. T.G. Otte has argued that this matter was to the forefront in the elections which took place throughout that year, with the Liberals capitalising on the 'threat to empire' to take Conservative seats in districts as diverse as Norfolk, Reading and Lancashire.⁷³ Certainly, whilst Cecil tried to set an agenda of Home Rule and the threat to the Church and the House of Lords, Spencer's election address and his speeches all began with an attack on a 'vacillating foreign policy [which is] resulting in profitless concessions to other Powers'.⁷⁴ However, foreign policy, whilst the leading item in his speeches, was not the only focus of his campaign, and the newspaper reports devoted as many if not more column inches to the domestic aspects of the campaign on issues such as the Agricultural Rating Bill and its bias towards the landlords at the expense of the farmer and the labourer, Conservative broken promises on old age pensions, and the 'sham' of the Workmen's Compensation Act, which excluded the agricultural labourers.⁷⁵ In contrast to previous elections in this division, there was a real energy around the campaigning. The Liberals produced a newspaper of their own during the campaign, the *East Herts*

⁷⁰ 'Death of Mr Abel Smith, M.P.', *HM*, 4th June 1898 p.5.

⁷¹ 'The East Herts Election', *HM*, 11th June 1898 p.5.

⁷² J. Tomes, 'Cecil, Evelyn, first Baron Rockley (1865–1941)', *ODNB* (2004)

www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/58668 accessed 26 March 2009, P. Gordon, 'Spencer, John Poyntz, fifth Earl Spencer (1835–1910)', *ODNB* (Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008)

www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36209 accessed 26 March 2009, *HM*, 11th June 1898 p.4.

⁷³ Otte, 'Avenge England's Dishonour', pp.427-428.

⁷⁴ 'Election Address – Charles Robert Spencer', *HM*, 11th June 1898 p.4.

⁷⁵ 'Great Liberal Meeting at Hertford' and 'Liberal Meeting at Sawbridgeworth', *HM*, 18th June 1898 p.2.

Elector, and the *Hertfordshire Mercury* commented on the 'really smart productions' which had appeared on both sides.⁷⁶

The result was a victory for the Conservatives, but with an increased Liberal vote of 3,850 (48.3% of the poll) and a majority slashed from 1,458 to 268, this was deemed a 'Great Moral Victory' by the Liberal press.⁷⁷ The *Hertfordshire Mercury* argued that the Tory victory was down to fears over the secrecy of the ballot, the undue influence of the 'county', and the high number of out-voters, many of them shareholders in the New River Company.⁷⁸ The Liberal achievement was considerable, especially given the poor level of party organisation within the division; Spencer himself seemed quite taken aback by the extent of his vote, writing to his brother that 'it surpassed my wildest dreams'.⁷⁹ However, by-elections have always been tests of the popularity of a government, giving the electorate an opportunity to remind their political masters that votes cannot be taken for granted, and this result was not necessarily a reflection of a shifting in wider attitudes towards the Conservative party. In 1900, the seat was held for the Conservatives without a contest by Abel Henry Smith.

Western or Watford Division

Geographically the smallest of the divisions, the Western division was home to the largest electorate in 1885 with 10,029 registered voters out of a total population of 55,036, and several centres of urban growth.⁸⁰ In spite of the expanding towns, this was still a district defined largely by farming, with the straw plait trade a declining but still significant employer of women. Manufacturing was represented by a number of paper mills and factories along the Gade valley around Hemel Hempstead.⁸¹

⁷⁶ 'The East Herts Election', *HM*, 18th June 1898 p.5, 'The East Herts Bye-Election', *HM*, 25th June 1898 p.4.

⁷⁷ 'East Herts Bye-Election', *HM*, 25th June 1898 p.4.

⁷⁸ 'East Herts Bye-Election', *HM*, 25th June 1898 p.4.

⁷⁹ C.R. Spencer to Earl Spencer, 23rd June 1898 quoted in Otte, 'Avenge England's Dishonour', p.412.

⁸⁰ BPP LXIII.1 [258] (1884-85) p. 185, BPP LII.569 [44-2] (1886), BPP LXXIX.1 [C.3563] (1883) pp.127-130 Population of Bushey 4,788, Rickmansworth 5,511, Hemel Hempstead 9,064, Watford 15,507.

⁸¹ BPP LXXX.1 [C.3722] (1883) *Census of England and Wales, 1881, Volume III* Table 10 'Occupations of Males and Females in the South-Midland Division' shows 469 men, 455 women employed in paper manufacture, *Kelly's* (1882), pp.753-744 lists five paper manufacturers, all situated in the Western division. The census returns for Straw Plaiters gives only a total figure of 7,543 women so employed for the county as a whole.

This division was home to the tightest of the 1885 contests, with Conservatives reaching only 52 per cent of the poll. At the Conservative selection meeting held in March, there was a call from the floor to recognise the impact of the new electoral situation in this rapidly changing constituency: 'they must not, simply because a man had wealth and position, accept him as a candidate; he must also be thoroughly competent to represent the constituency of which Watford was the centre'.⁸² The speaker then went on to successfully nominate the sitting member, Thomas Frederick Halsey, a landowner who lived within the division at Great Gaddesden, near Hemel Hempstead, on the grounds that he knew the district well, both farms and mills, had an excellent voting record and also had the leisure to devote to his Parliamentary duties.

Unusually for the county, there was a number of candidates suggested for the Liberal nomination, a reflection perhaps of the feeling abroad that this was a winnable seat for the Liberals. William Weston of Grove Mill, Watford proposed Walter T. Coles, a farmer, of Bushey Lodge as one who would represent more fully the agricultural interest, whilst a barrister, W. S. Robson was also amongst those considered.⁸³ In the end, the candidate chosen was George Faudel-Phillips, Sheriff of London, and partner in Messrs Faudel and Phillips of Newgate Street, an import company. Faudel-Phillips had a home in London, and leased a country house at Ball's Park, near Hertford. A member of the Reform and Garrick clubs, he was a personal friend of Lord Rothschild and one of the first Jewish M.P.s to sit in the House of Commons.⁸⁴ It was at the Tring meeting that Faudel-Phillips was first put forward, and the support of Lord Rothschild who chaired that meeting was crucial to his selection.⁸⁵ Faudel-Phillips had studied in France and Germany and was fluent in both languages, entertaining a delegation of French professors at a Mansion House dinner with a 'clever speech in the native language of the guests'.⁸⁶

⁸² 'Watford. Meeting of Conservatives', *HS*, 27th March 1885 p.7. Speaker was a Mr. Edwards.

⁸³ 'Selection of a Liberal Candidate', *WO*, 4th April 1885 p.4, 'Liberal Meeting – Address by Mr. W.S. Robson', *WO*, 6th June 1885 p.2.

⁸⁴ M. Clark, 'Jewish Identity in British Politics: The Case of the First Jewish MPs, 1858–87', *Jewish Social Studies*, n.s. 13, no.2 (Winter 2007), pp. 93-126.

⁸⁵ 'Meeting of the Liberal Party', *WO*, 20th June 1885 p.2.

⁸⁶ 'Parliamentary Candidate – Mr. G Faudel-Phillips', *WO*, 29th August 1885 p.3, 'Election Intelligence – Meeting of the Liberal Party', *WO*, 13th June 1885 p.3.

Faudel-Phillips was an excellent speaker, comfortable in front of large audiences, probably the most intelligent, and certainly the wittiest, of those who stood for Parliament in Hertfordshire in 1885. His speeches were full of anecdotes, practical demonstrations of how the ballot box worked, with pre-prepared ballot slips made out with the names of Gladstone and Churchill, and twin posters listing the twenty-four measures introduced by the Liberals over the past fifty years, and the twenty-four measures thrown out by the House of Lords in the same period.⁸⁷ Referring to the Tories as 'the "heave a brick at it" party', evoking the iconic *Punch* cartoon, he cast them in the role of those with no ideas of their own but spoilers of the ideas of others, distrustful of the working man and only a whisker away from reinstating Protection.⁸⁸

The Conservative response was to highlight Faudel-Phillips' London roots, with Halsey referring to him as 'a warehouseman in Newgate Street', and with supporters again evoking the image of one who in Randolph Churchill's words, came before them 'with his tall hat, black coat, and bag' who would disappear if he lost, and should he win would move to London and care nothing for the views of the division.⁸⁹ Halsey used the wit and obvious sophistication of his opponent to flag up his own credentials as a plain speaking man of the country. At a meeting in King's Langley he referred to Faudel-Phillips' 'good and amusing speech' in the same place the previous week, apologising to his audience if they found him a 'dull and dreary speaker', lacking 'Mr Phillips talents and geniality'.⁹⁰ This evoked the looked for response of cheers for Halsey and cries of 'No, No' from his audience, and was a clever way of dealing with the obvious talents of his opponent, casting himself as one who could only deal in plain talking, and Faudel-Phillips as one a little too clever with words and not to be quite trusted; Halsey's favourite adjective was 'straightforward' whether applied to himself, his policies or his party.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Examples include 'Liberal Meeting – Address by Mr Faudel-Phillips', *HS*, 20th June 1885 p.7, 'Bushey – Address of Mr G. Faudel-Phillips', *WO*, 26th September 1885 p.3, 'Abbots Langley – Liberal Meeting' and 'Bushey – Liberal Meeting', *WO*, 1st August 1885 pp.2,3.

⁸⁸ 'Mr G. Faudel-Phillips at Mill End', *WO*, 12th September 1885 p.3, 'Further Illustration of the Mining Districts', *Punch Magazine*, 25th February 1854 www.punchcartoons.com accessed 25th January 2009.

⁸⁹ 'Rickmansworth – Conservative Association Meeting', *WO*, 25th July 1885 p.3, 'Abbots Langley – Conservative Meeting', *WO*, 31st October 1885 p.6. Speech of Hammond Solly, chair of the meeting, included this reference to Randolph Churchill.

⁹⁰ 'Conservative Meeting at King's Langley', *WO*, 24th October 1885 p.3.

⁹¹ For examples see 'Abbots Langley – Conservative Association', *WO*, 11th July 1885 p.4, 'Bushey – Meeting in Support of the Conservative Candidate', *WO*, 24th October 1885 p.5, 'Abbots Langley – Conservative Meeting', *WO*, 31st October 1885 p.4.

With disestablishment a feature of all four campaigns in the county, the subject of Faudel-Phillips' Jewish faith was referred to only obliquely by Halsey when calling for no state interference 'with that Christianity which was the common inheritance of us all'.⁹² Others were not quite so circumspect, with one speaker suggesting that Faudel-Phillips had no understanding of the consequences of disestablishment, and whilst it did not seem likely 'that he was going to convert them all into synagogues', nevertheless he should be aware of the damage disestablishment would bring to the churches of the county.⁹³ In fact, Jewish politicians tended to support the Church of England and had little interest in seeing it disestablished once their own emancipation was established.⁹⁴ Faudel-Phillips, when the question was raised, took the safe Liberal line that he would support Gladstone in this matter.⁹⁵ Halsey was quick to use this to highlight his own strength of character, promising a meeting in Tring that 'if it cost him every vote at the election he would not vote for Disestablishment', an easy promise and one he was unlikely to be called upon to break.⁹⁶ However, given the torrid time that Fordham received in the Northern division, Faudel-Phillips faced little overt anti-Semitism, a response which was in keeping with the generally few displays of anti-Semitism encountered by prospective Jewish M.P.s.⁹⁷ The issue of disestablishment, however, in this division as in others, generated the largest postbag to the newspapers.⁹⁸

Halsey won the seat with a majority of 320 (52.1 per cent of the poll), a victory which some Liberals ascribed to their complacency on the loyalty of the working man's vote, and their failure to fully comprehend a logic of 'trade is bad, work is scarce, and a change of Government is necessary'.⁹⁹ That Halsey took the seat in the face of an energetic and skilful opponent was a reflection of a wider Liberal failure in Hertfordshire to convince the electorate that they fully understood the particular

⁹² 'Rickmansworth – Conservative Meeting', *WO*, 17th October 1885 p.3.

⁹³ 'Rickmansworth – Conservative Meeting', *WO*, 17th October 1885 p.3. Speech by J.W. Birch.

⁹⁴ Clark, 'Jewish Identity', pp.107-108.

⁹⁵ 'Disestablishment and Disendowment', *WO*, 19th September 1885 p.3. Letters exchanged between C. H. W. Finmore, of Watford, and Faudel-Phillips.

⁹⁶ 'Tring – Conservative Meeting', *WO*, 31st October 1885 p.4.

⁹⁷ Clark, 'Jewish Identity', p.8.

⁹⁸ Correspondence first appeared under the heading 'Disestablishment and Disendowment' in the *WO*, 22nd August 1885 p.3 and continued throughout the campaign and beyond with the writers more concerned with issues of history than present day politics.

⁹⁹ 'The Situation', *WO*, 5th December 1885 p.4. Letter from G. Harrison of Pinner Road.

situation of this metropolitan county even when their own candidate would seem to offer a recognisable profile of Londoner moving out.

In 1892, when Halsey next defended his seat, he was faced by a new opponent as Faudel-Phillips had followed the Unionists out of the Liberal fold.¹⁰⁰ The new Liberal candidate was John Marnham, a retired stock broker, who lived at Boxmoor, near Hemel Hempstead.¹⁰¹ A prominent Baptist and a magistrate, Marnham had to be persuaded to stand, but at a meeting chaired by his own brother, the feeling was that whilst they had done well in 1885 with a stranger, 'when they had for their candidate a friend and neighbour who was in close touch and sympathy with the working man,' the result must be a favourable one for their cause.¹⁰² Halsey, however, could trump any card of locality that the Liberals might wish to play, and he and his supporters made much of his previous eighteen years of service and his presence in their midst throughout the recent economic troubles. He referred to his opponent in complimentary terms as one who no doubt did a great deal of good in his own neighbourhood, but as one who lacked either the political understanding or experience to effectively represent the division in Parliament.¹⁰³ Where Faudel-Phillips had been too clever, Marnham was not quite clever enough.

However, it was the issue of Home Rule which in this division more than any other formed the heart of the debate, and Halsey was returned with an increased majority of 1,175 (57.0 per cent of the poll). Marnham seemed genuinely surprised at the size of the defeat, believing that his support in the towns of Watford and Hemel Hempstead would outweigh the Conservative support in the district around Tring and Kings Langley, and was convinced that it was on the question of Ireland that he had lost the poll, with voters fearing the break up of the Union.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ 'On the Election in Herts', *HM*, 19th June 1886 p.5 on Faudel-Phillips declining offer to stand as a Liberal in Watford Division. By 1909 he was chairman of the East Herts Conservative Association and an ally of Henry Abel Smith in his confrontation with Henry Page Croft and the Confederacy, L.L. Witherall, 'Political Cannibalism among Edwardian Conservatives', *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol.8, (1997), pp.1-26, p.11.

¹⁰¹ 'Biographies of the Candidates', *The Times*, 27th June 1892 p.3.

¹⁰² 'Death and Funeral of John Marnham', *HHG*, 5th December 1903, BPP LXXIV Pt.I.295 [366-1] (1893-94) *Returns of Names and Professions of Justices of the Peace of England and Wales, June 1892, Part II. Counties*. Marnham was made a Justice of the Peace in February 1882, 'Hemel Hempstead – Liberal Meeting at the Town Hall', *HHG*, 4th June 1892 Supplement p.1.

¹⁰³ 'Nash Mills – Unionist Meeting', *HHG*, 2nd July 1892 p.5.

¹⁰⁴ 'General Election. Watford Division. Declaration of the Poll', *HHG*, 16th July 1892 p.5.

Just as in the other divisions, the general elections of 1886, 1895 and 1900 were uncontested. However, alone of all the Conservative candidates, Thomas Halsey did undertake a series of meetings during the election of 1900, a reflection of the need to maintain a high profile in this, the most rapidly expanding of the constituencies.¹⁰⁵ As Frans Coetzee identified in Croydon, the population in areas of expansion this close to London was a highly mobile one; 'Conservative majorities were not simply reproduced from election to election, but reconstituted from a continually shifting pool of voters.'¹⁰⁶ Halsey's meetings were a reflection of that understanding of the new political realities for this part of the county, and the need to keep the Conservative presence in front of a fluid population.

The Mid-Herts or St. Albans Division

Centred on St. Albans, this division was home to the smallest population in 1885, with only 47,500 people living within its boundaries, and an electorate of 8,741.¹⁰⁷ However, it was one of the faster growing, with only the Western division showing a larger number of electors by the end of the century. This was primarily a rural district, home still to a straw plaiting population, with straw hat factories sited in St Albans itself. However, in the south of the division sat the rapidly expanding district around Barnet, with a total population of 8,275, an ever present reminder of the encroaching metropolis.¹⁰⁸

This was the only division where both candidates were new to the electoral process. The Conservative candidate was Viscount Grimston, eldest son of the Earl of Verulam who lived within the division at Gorhambury, St. Albans. The description which appeared of him in the local press was short and to the point, giving his parentage and position as a Captain in the Herts Yeomanry, finishing with the comment that 'he has gained in all quarters, by his affable and agreeable manners, universal esteem'. With no other details of his suitability to represent the constituency in Parliament, it was left to the reader to decide whether the right parentage and a pleasant

¹⁰⁵ Reports of meetings at Berkhamsted and Rickmansworth, *HASAT*, 29th September 1900 pp. 5,8, At Watford, Bushey and Hemel Hempstead, *HASAT*, 5th October 1900, p.7.

¹⁰⁶ Coetzee, 'Villa Toryism', p.43.

¹⁰⁷ BPP LXIII.1 [258] (1884-85) p.185 'County of Hertford', BPP LII.569 [44-2] (1886) p. 573.

¹⁰⁸ BPP LXXIX.1 [C.3563] (1883) Hertfordshire pp.127-130. The Barnet total is made up of 4,283 (Chipping Barnet) and 3,992 (East Barnet). Other towns in this division were Harpenden (3,064) and Hatfield (4,330). The total for the St. Albans parishes was 15,734 with an estimated 10,930 of these living within the city itself, *Kelly's* (1882) 'St. Albans' p.655.

disposition would suffice.¹⁰⁹ In fact, Grimston gave his potential constituents very little opportunity to experience his agreeable manner first-hand; in this self-consciously rural division he was hampered by severe hay fever and failed to appear at any meetings from late June to the beginning of August, as he was away on a cruise, taken on doctor's orders.¹¹⁰

His opponent was John Coles, a member of the Stock Exchange, Fellow of the Statistical Society, and resident of London. He did, however, have some Hertfordshire credentials as his brother, Walter T. Coles, farmed 370 acres at Bushey Lodge, near Watford.¹¹¹

Unsurprisingly, Coles' London identity was used against him by Tories to question his suitability to represent the division. One Conservative penned the lines:

Cockney Cole [sic] might spout and banter,
But Grimston beats him in a canter,¹¹²

while another argued that he might pass muster for a town like Birmingham but was 'out of place in an agricultural county like Hertfordshire.'¹¹³

However, while the Tories were obviously not going to pass up an opportunity to attack their opposition when it was gifted to them, the main debating points in this division were the failure of the Liberal foreign policy and the attack on the working man's breakfast table. In an early speech at New Barnet, Grimston made no mention of the problems of this 'rural' county, concentrating instead on the emotive subject of the death of General Gordon that January and the inability of the Liberals to defend the reputation of the nation abroad.¹¹⁴ This might be expected in a place such as New Barnet, but at Essendon, where farming dominated, he referred to the agricultural depression only in answer to a question on his support for an inquiry.

¹⁰⁹ 'Parliamentary Candidates – No. 3. St. Albans Division', *WO*, 5th September 1885 p.4.

¹¹⁰ 'St. Albans – The Conservative Candidate', *HS*, p.5.

¹¹¹ 'Parliamentary Candidates – No. 4. St. Albans Division', *WO*, 5th September 1885 p.4, 1881 Census 'Watford' RG11/1439 ED19 F35. Walter T. Coles was unsuccessfully nominated as the Liberal candidate in the Western division.

¹¹² 'War Cries', *HGAJ*, 14th November 1885 p.8. Poem submitted by J.D.S. of Hatfield.

¹¹³ 'The Conservative Candidate for the St Albans Division', *HS*, 23rd May 1885 p.7. Speech by Mr Edmund Fawcett of Childwick Hall.

¹¹⁴ 'New Barnet Conservative Meeting', *HGAJ*, 30th May 1885 p.8.

Again, the focus of his speech was the failure of Gladstonian foreign policy which was 'laying the foundations of the ruin of the empire.'¹¹⁵ Coles himself noted at his selection meeting that he had been forced to change his speeches in response to audience concerns on foreign policy, having expected the main feature of the campaign to be on the extension of the franchise.¹¹⁶

Grimston took the seat with a majority of 1,071 votes (57.5 per cent of the poll), which, given his long absence during campaigning, was an indication of just how ineffective the Liberal candidate was perceived to be. The *Hertfordshire Standard* attributed the victory to Grimston's support at Hatfield, Barnet and St. Albans, with Harpenden, Wheathampstead and Redbourn polling for the Liberals. Interestingly, the *Standard* put this stronger Liberal showing down to the residence within this place of three high profile supporters: Sir John Bennet Lawes at Harpenden, Charles Lattimore, the anti-Corn Law campaigning farmer, at Wheathampstead, and 'the highly respected vicar' at Redbourn, a reflection of an assumption in the continuing influence for both parties of the high-profile individual within a community.¹¹⁷

The 1885 campaign in this division was a somewhat lacklustre affair, but the same could not be said of the 1892 contest when the Conservative party ran two candidates. The fact that even with a split opposition the Liberals were unable to take the seat reflected the strength of Conservatism in this part of the world, but it also meant that the Tory establishment could not take for granted those whose vote it courted.

Dubbed 'The Conservative Comedy' by the Liberal *Hertfordshire Mercury*,¹¹⁸ the two Tory candidates were William H. Bingham-Cox and Vicary Gibbs. Bingham-Cox was a brewer and owner of the *Licensed Victuallers' Gazette*, having latterly bought a brewery in St. Albans in 1889, for £25,000, and not shy of self-promotion as 'a philanthropist, a jolly dog', whose firm 'made the gods' sweet nectars flow'.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ 'Essendon – Conservative Association', *HS*, 13th June 1885 p.7.

¹¹⁶ 'Wheathampstead – Liberal Meeting', *HS*, 30th May 1885 p.7.

¹¹⁷ 'St Albans Division Election', *HS*, 5th December 1885 p.7, 'Liberal Demonstration at Park Street', *HS*, 27th June 1885 p.7, 'Redbourn – Inaugural Meeting of the Liberal Association', *HM*, 3rd April 1886.

¹¹⁸ 'The Conservative Comedy in the St Albans Division', *HM*, 30th May 1891 p.6.

¹¹⁹ A. Whitaker, *Brewers in Hertfordshire: A Historical Gazetteer* (Hatfield, 2005), p.192, 'A Legend of Magic and Mystery', *HE*, 4th July 1891 p.5. This was a full column advertisement extolling the virtues of a philanthropist who visited a town where water was the only drink,

However, Bingham-Cox, who maintained his home in London, was alive to the power of residency within the political imagination. In 1890, shortly after buying the Kingsbury Brewery, he took on the tenancy of a house at Northaw, on the edge of the neighbouring Eastern Division; by 1892 he had moved just under two miles down the road, across the border and into the Mid-Herts Division.¹²⁰ It was just this sort of political awareness that enabled him to secure the Tory candidacy before Central Office had organised themselves. At a Conservative Association meeting held in St. Albans in April 1891 he received a large majority of the votes cast, and was adopted as the candidate for the division. This seemed to take the Tory establishment completely by surprise, but they rallied and called a further meeting in June of that year at which time Vicary Gibbs was named as the 'official' candidate. Bingham-Cox, however, refused to accept this second vote and announced his intention to fight the campaign, his resentment perhaps fuelled by being blackballed by the Conservative County Club in May of that year.¹²¹

Vicary Gibbs was the son of Henry Hucks Gibbs, the merchant banker who was raised to the peerage as Baron Aldenham in 1896. A barrister by training he had joined his father's company in 1882 and lived at his father's home at Aldenham.¹²² This led Bingham-Cox to refer to him as the 'lodger candidate', one who paid 'not one farthing in rates and taxes' and had 'no stake whatever in the county', a clever attempt to distract from his own recent arrival in the county by upping the stakes on just what it meant to be a 'local' man.¹²³

The rather anonymous Liberal candidate was Thomas Morgan-Harvey, an importer of South African goods and a dissenter, who lived in East Barnet.¹²⁴ Sadly, those newspapers which survive give few other details of his personality or speeches. They found the exchanges of vitriol between the two Conservative camps far more to their

and delivered them his elixir which helped them grow 'strong and glad', an elixir which was to be found only at the Kingsbury Brewery.

¹²⁰ 'Biographies of Candidates', *The Times*, 27th June 1892 p.3. Bingham-Cox is shown living at 26 Southampton Street, The Strand and Tolmers, near Hertford but just within the Mid-Herts Division, *Kelly's* (1890), 'Northaw' p.798 W.H. Bingham-Cox shown residing at The Woodlands. Northaw fell in the Eastern Parliamentary District.

¹²¹ 'St. Albans - The Conservative Association', *HM*, 16th May 1891 p.6, 'The Conservative Comedy in the St Albans Division', *HM*, 30th May 1891 p.6.

¹²² P.W. Hammond, 'Gibbs, Vicary (1853-1932)', *ODNB* (2004)

www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33388 accessed 14 Oct 2008.

¹²³ 'Great Gaddesden - Sensational Political Meeting', *HHG*, 20th February 1892 p.5.

¹²⁴ 'St. Albans' - A Liberal Candidate for the St Albans Division', *NHSBJ*, 22nd January 1892.

liking, with each side accusing the other of packing the selection meetings, destroying the Tory vote, and calling on the other to stand down. Reports of the political campaign were short on details of policy and long on insults traded. As one editorial stated:

Really, it does one good to be present at a meeting like that of Great Gaddesden last week. Such meetings are not satisfactory by way of argument and logic, but I believe they have a very healthy effect upon the liver and may be taken occasionally as a tonic.¹²⁵

The Conservatives could not allow such a high-profile constituency to fall to the Liberals; this was after all the constituency in which Lord Salisbury himself resided and whilst he publicly refused to intervene, his eldest son was a prominent supporter of Gibbs, and his nephew, Arthur Balfour, as leader of the party in the Commons was not so constrained by a sense of propriety.¹²⁶ In a master stroke, Vicary Gibbs offered to withdraw, should Bingham-Cox also do so, in favour of the Rt. Hon. C.T. Ritchie, a cabinet minister in search of a seat. Bingham-Cox refused to stand down, thus forfeiting sympathy from many Conservatives who might have felt he had been unfairly treated at first but would not support him at the cost of their party. With all the correspondence between Arthur Balfour, Vicary Gibbs, Bingham-Cox and John Blundell Maple appearing in the columns of *The Times*, Bingham-Cox was cast in the light of 'dog in a manger' and support shifted in favour of Gibbs.¹²⁷ The use of the columns of *The Times* rather than the local newspapers was a reflection of the immediacy of a daily newspaper over the weekly county press in the rapidly moving election climate. However, there was a further dimension to the decision to use the London-based newspaper, and that was the audience which Tory central office was hoping to influence; in this case the growing number of middle-class business and professional men accustomed to taking *The Times* with their breakfast and daily commute, an indication of the changing habits of the men of Hertfordshire.

¹²⁵ 'Local Notes – Disruption at Great Gaddesden', *WHP*, 19th February 1892 p.5.

¹²⁶ 'Lord Salisbury and the Split in the St Albans Division', *NHSBJ*, 19th February 1892 p.8. Two letters were carried, one from an elector in the St. Albans division asking for his advice on whom to vote for, and Lord Salisbury's reply saying that he could not 'with propriety intervene', although giving permission for this reply to be printed.

¹²⁷ 'The Mid-Herts Election', *The Times*, Monday 11th July 1892 p.7.

The final poll saw Bingham-Cox come last, although with a creditable 20.9 per cent of the vote, and a result which brought some satisfaction to Balfour who wrote to his aunt that he was 'delighted at Bingham-Cox's disaster:- it is a slight set off against some of our mishaps.'¹²⁸

A Conservative County

To consider, then, the question first posed by Matthew Roberts: 'how were the Conservatives able to maintain their position in the counties?'¹²⁹ The first point to be made was the generally weaker profile of the Liberal candidates in Hertfordshire. Although Faudel-Phillips in 1885 and Charles Spencer in 1898 were good platform performers, it was probably no coincidence that both had experience in public speaking and administration. In contrast their colleagues were, in the main, new entrants into the political arena. This in turn may have been a reflection of the perceived strength of the Tory support in this county, making it more difficult to put out and perhaps 'waste' a strong candidate, ensuring a self-perpetuating philosophy of defeat. More important, however, was the fact that those who stood as Liberals reinforced a Tory rhetoric grounded in the importance of the local identity.

The claim to have an authority to speak on behalf of a constituency by virtue of residence or experience was not, of course, confined to the Hertfordshire elections, nor to the Conservative party, and Jon Lawrence has argued that the politics of place, whilst a major part of election rhetoric, was not always a straightforward matter, with candidates offering different definitions of what it meant to be local.¹³⁰ In Hertfordshire, the rival Tory candidates at the 1892 election in St Albans fought over the bragging rights to the title of 'local candidate', with Gibbs citing his family's long residence, and Bingham-Cox countering with his role as a significant employer, painting his opponent as the 'lodger candidate'. However, this contest was not typical of the county's experience, and the Tories were better able to field candidates who were secure in their claim to the authority of place.

¹²⁸ R. Harcourt-Williams, (ed.), *Salisbury-Balfour Correspondence* (Hertford, 1988), p.425. A.J. Balfour to Lady Salisbury, July 1892.

¹²⁹ Roberts, 'Popular Conservatism', p.409.

¹³⁰ Lawrence, *Speaking for the People*, pp.165-169.

Of the seven men who stood as Tory candidates in the period 1885-1900, six identified themselves primarily as substantial Hertfordshire landowners, resident not just within the county, but within their respective divisions; the one exception was the 'troublesome' William Henry Bingham-Cox, who offered instead his profile as a St Albans employer. Liberal complaints of intimidation by landlords, farmers and the parson were in their turn an implicit acceptance of that assumption of influence by those who exercised social, economic and charitable authority, as witnessed by the explanation for a strong Liberal vote in Wheathampstead, Harpenden and Redbourn. However, Liberal candidates in a position to exercise a 'benevolent' influence along Radical principles were thin on the ground. Of the nine Liberal candidates, only two could be said to be members of the landowning class: Henry Cowper in 1885 and Charles Robert Spencer in 1898, both men brother to an Earl, and neither resident within their respective divisions nor landowners in their own right within the county. Of the remaining seven candidates, two were merchants, two were stockbrokers, and the rest were a lawyer, a smallholder and a member of the Statistical Society who was also Secretary to an Insurance Company.¹³¹ Of these nine candidates, four were resident in Hertfordshire, although only two of these had homes within their selected divisions.¹³² Yet, given the opportunity to select a local farmer, Walter Coles, as the candidate for the Watford division, the Liberal party turned instead to the urban and urbane Faudel-Phillips, showing a greater confidence in his experience of London administration than Coles' twenty years of service on the Board of Guardians.¹³³ It is indicative of the perceived power of place that Faudel-Phillips began his campaign in late June 1885 with stories of his experience of the 'dark and loathsome alleys' not far from his London home.¹³⁴ However, the London references soon ceased and by the beginning of August both he and his supporters were citing testimonials received from Hertford Liberals to his work during the past three years 'under the shadow of the mighty house of Hatfield', a recognition of the strength of feeling amongst Hertfordshire voters on this issue of local knowledge.¹³⁵

¹³¹ The two merchants were George Faudel-Phillips (1885) and Morgan Harvey (1892), the two stockbrokers were John Coles (1885) and John Marnham (1892), the lawyer, Henry Fordham (1885), the smallholder, John Wattridge (1892), the Secretary, Edwin Robert Speirs (1892).

¹³² Those living within their division were Morgan Harvey (Barnet), John Marnham (Hemel Hempstead), in Hertfordshire were Hon. Henry Cowper (Lemsford), George Faudel-Phillips (Hertford), outside the county were John Coles (London), Henry Fordham (Cambs), Hon. Charles Spencer (Northants), Edwin Speirs (London), John Wattridge (Hants).

¹³³ 'Selection of a Liberal Candidate', *WO*, 4th April 1885 p.4.

¹³⁴ 'The Proposed Liberal Candidate for the Watford Division', *WO*, 27th June 1885 p.2.

¹³⁵ 'Bushey - Liberal Meeting', *WO*, 1st August 1885 p.3.

Whilst living within the division was important for the Tories, more important still was an understanding of a wider commitment to the locality. In the aftermath of the 1885 general election, the victorious Hertfordshire Conservatives were convinced that the return of four members at a time when Liberals were gaining rural seats across the country was the result both of formal political organisation and informal influence from a resident landowning class. Speaking at a celebratory banquet in London, Lord Salisbury referred to:

the greater number of the upper and middle classes who reside in these home counties, and whose influence is, therefore, personally brought to bear in the best way by offices of good neighbourhood on all the voters in whose vicinity they reside.¹³⁶

A similar understanding was shown in 1892 when *The Times* referred to the impact on Liberal support caused by the withdrawal of the Liberal Unionists, 'who, though not numerically strong, are men of great influence', and again in 1898 when Evelyn Cecil's victory was ascribed in part by the Liberal press to having 'the great bulk of the county influence in his favour, and anyone who knows anything about this part of Hertfordshire will at once perceive what an all-important factor this is in a contest of this kind'.¹³⁷ How much truth there was in this assessment it is difficult to test, but the perception of influence remained key in the political understanding of this constituency.

Certainly, if criticism of the Tory dames was a barometer of their influence the ladies of Hertfordshire could rightfully take their bow. W.H. Smith expressed his concern to the Marquis of Salisbury on the need to rely on the Party's supporters for getting out into the field at election time, writing that he had 'not found them to be eager volunteers in canvassing or organisation';¹³⁸ it would seem that such fears were misplaced. One Liberal correspondent to the *Hertfordshire Express* complained of the Dames of the Primrose League in the Northern division who forced themselves into labourers' homes 'to extort admissions as to our political views', whilst in Harpenden

¹³⁶ 'Herts Conservative Banquet', *HGAJ*, 20th February 1886 p.5.

¹³⁷ 'The Approaching General Election – XV. The Home Counties', *The Times*, 1st February 1892 p.4, 'The East Herts Bye-Election', *HM*, 25th June 1898 p.4.

¹³⁸ K. Rix, 'The Elimination of Corrupt Practices in British Elections? Reassessing the Impact of the 1883 Corrupt Practices Act', *English Historical Review*, Vol.123, No.50 (2008), pp.65-97, p.80.

the Primrose Dames were accused of soliciting votes for blankets, and at Hertford of using 'blandishments ... to stultify and undermine the independence of the poorer class of voters'.¹³⁹ The Liberals at Stevenage complained that:

the knights and dames of the present day had reversed the order of things that existed in the middle ages, when the knights came out to fight the battles and left the dames at home; but now the knights stopped at home at ease and sent the dames out to fight their battles by distributing leaflets, etc., at the cottage doors.¹⁴⁰

Underpinning this was an assumption of the existence of the deferential vote, be it a reflection of gratitude or fear. Yet such intrusions could no doubt be counter-productive, even when tolerated for the sake of not causing offence to one who might be distributing blankets in a few weeks time.¹⁴¹ Irritation at the unlooked-for visits of parson, farmer's wife or Primrose Dame, might be translated into resistance at the ballot box. The victory of Baron Dimsdale in the Northern division, with almost 61 per cent of the poll, points to a Tory agricultural vote which requires more by way of explanation than intimidation by those who wielded blankets and pamphlets. Alex Windscheffel, in his work on London, has argued for a reappraisal of working-class Conservatism, arguing that too often it has been seen by historians as 'somehow aberrant and thus inherently unstable', where it appears in an urban context being the result of a lingering memory of deference following rural migrants into the towns, ripe for conversion to Socialism.¹⁴²

However, the rural Tory vote also deserves further exploration as not simply the result of a lack of class imagination, but perhaps a considered choice, based on an assumption of shared and self-interest. Faudel-Phillips rather contemptuously described the Conservative working man as 'a dummy horse such as they use in the prairies to decoy wild ones with', betraying a failure of imagination on how labourers

¹³⁹ 'Political Canvassing' a letter from John Foster, *HE*, 21st November 1885 p.8, 'Harpenden – Liberal Meeting', *HASAT*, 3rd April 1886 p.8, 'Editorial', *HM*, 5th December 1885 p.2.

¹⁴⁰ 'Stevenage – Meeting of the Liberal Association', *HM*, 5th June 1886 p.3.

¹⁴¹ Flora Thompson recalled one old, bedridden man in the hamlet of Lark Rise who was taken to the poll by the Conservatives in style in a carriage piled high with cushions. Seeing her a few days later he told her to tell her father that he voted Liberal 'They took th' poor old hoss to th' water, but he didn't drink out o' their trough'. Thompson, *Lark Rise*, Chapter 19 'A Bit of a Tell' p.289.

¹⁴² Windscheffel, *Popular Conservatism*, pp.10-11.

understood the political world around them.¹⁴³ The *Herts Mercury* recognised the dangers in complacency on the labouring vote, when it called on the Liberal party to attend more closely to workers' fears on such subjects as the Local Veto Bill, following the 1895 general election which was uncontested across the county, ending with the comment that: 'it is an insult to the whole electorate to assume that the Tory victory is merely venal.'¹⁴⁴

The question remains of why the labourers of Hertfordshire 'bought in' to the Tory understanding of the rural where those in other counties rejected the paternalistic vision. The answer may lie, as Lord Salisbury suggested, in the larger number of resident landowners to be found in the county, which made this a working rather than a theoretical model. The deferential vote was a two-way street which also required that those who demanded it deliver their side of the deal, and at a time of agricultural depression when falling prices seemed beyond anyone's control, the alternative support system of the engaged landowner was even more necessary. Although falling prices also meant a rise in real wages for the agricultural labourer, this was more likely experienced on the ground as a calculation of the head rather than the heart, and whilst Flora Thompson's claim that 'everybody seemed in those days to do well on the land, except the farm labourer'¹⁴⁵ was too simplistic a view of the realities of life beyond the cottage, it did no doubt reflect a shared belief that drew more from the management of family economies than an understanding of wider economic and social trends. The reality of life in the cottage required a network of support that went beyond just a wage economy. This understanding was reflected in the speech of a local Tory supporter who reminded an audience at Birch Green:

We, my friends, have much to be thankful for; we live in a parish where employment is found at any cost. The greater portion of this parish belongs to a wealthy landlord whose bread does not depend upon your labour being productive.¹⁴⁶

As R. W. Davis concluded in his study of Buckinghamshire, there was such a thing as the 'genuine deferential vote', but it was not a passive reflection of labouring

¹⁴³ 'Abbots Langley – Liberal Meeting', *WO*, 1st August 1885 p.2.

¹⁴⁴ *HM*, 20th July 1895 p.4.

¹⁴⁵ Thompson, *Lark Rise*, p.476.

¹⁴⁶ 'Conservative Meeting – Birch Green', *HGAJ*, 18th April 1885 p.8. Speech by C E Wodehouse.

acceptance of the status quo, but rather a reminder to the landowning class of the need to earn that vote through proper attention to social and economic obligations.¹⁴⁷ The particular situation in Hertfordshire was that there were more of that class in a position to be listening. When during an election campaign local landowners such as John Williamson Leader announced the handing over of a four-and-a-half-acre field for new allotments in Buntingford, or Arthur Holland Hibbert reduced rentals on allotments in Watford, or Abel Smith found work for one hundred men cleaning out a river, or Thomas Clutterbuck gave the site for a new hospital to serve Watford, they were demonstrating a listening paternalism in action.¹⁴⁸ In the Western division, Faudel-Phillips raised the issue of local government making more land available to those who wished to cultivate it, but he had to acknowledge that in this part of the world this was not a problem 'due to the kindness of local gentleman', although he called on the audience to bear in mind those who were not so fortunate.¹⁴⁹ However, when life was difficult, it was the actions of such 'local gentlemen' which might make all the difference and affect voting decisions. One unnamed trader in the Western division reminded those who would secure his vote and the votes of other tradesmen of the responsibility they had towards local business between elections, and gave an honourable mention to Thomas Halsey who was 'exceptionally liberal in his dealings, getting everything for his family and his household from the town near where he lives'.¹⁵⁰ Halsey was no doubt politically astute enough to understand that constituencies needed to be nursed. Patricia Lynch has shown that even a popular M.P. such as the Liberal, Herbert Gardner, was vulnerable when his enforced absence at Westminster was perceived as neglect by those who had voted him into Parliament.¹⁵¹

When the new voters deliberated over just where to put their vote, they were guided by an understanding of the economic and social which was their own. It was for the two parties to establish a resonance with that understanding which chimed with their own policies and rhetoric, and in this the Hertfordshire Tories were more successful,

¹⁴⁷ Davis, *Political Change*, p.223.

¹⁴⁸ 'Buntingford', *HM*, 3rd October 1885 p.6. Forty applications were immediately made for the 'good-sized allotments', 'The Allotment Gardens', *WO*, 21st November 1885 p.5, 'Standon – Candidature of Mr Abel Smith', *EHWEN*, 9th July 1892 p.5, the work was done over the winters of 1885-1887, 'Watford District Cottage Hospital', *WO*, 7th November 1885 p.4.

¹⁴⁹ 'King's Langley – Meeting in support of the Liberal Candidate', *WO*, 19th September 1885 p.3.

¹⁵⁰ 'Local Trade', *WO*, 14th November 1885 p.6. Letter from 'A Tradesman'.

¹⁵¹ Lynch, *Liberal Party*, pp.146-147.

offering a model for the county which a significant number of agricultural workers found more convincing, and which fitted that understanding of the rural belonging to those who were moving into the county.

The Tory strategy in the face of an enlarged and potentially hostile franchise, was one of inclusion and community building, and the model that came most easily to them was that of the paternalistic, agricultural interest, adapted to the particular circumstances of the end of the nineteenth century. Their success lay in promoting this model as suitable for a county undergoing agricultural depression and urban growth. Their skill lay in highlighting those areas of their opponents' beliefs and understanding which fed into a portrayal of them as divisive, narrow minded, impractical and, above all, urban in their orientation. Patricia Lynch has argued that impatience with the Liberal focus on Home Rule led many agricultural workers to turn to the Conservatives as the party to deal with their own concerns, attracted by a rhetoric of village harmony.¹⁵² Whilst Paul Readman has taken issue with this as ignoring the often divisive nature of village politics,¹⁵³ given the two alternatives offered at the poll an argument can be made for the choice of the Conservative candidate in Hertfordshire. The labourers may have been unconvinced by the rose-tinted Tory vision, and for many the Liberals still seemed the best hope for an improvement in their lives. However, for many others the candidates who stood before them came with practical experience of the agricultural interest at work and shared a language and understanding which fitted with their own economic understanding of just how their communities might prosper. A vote for Abel Smith or Baron Dimsdale carried with it a reminder that these communities should not be ignored.

The complaint of the Liberals, time and time again, was that the Conservatives stole their ideas, only giving anything to the working man to gain political advantage; a cynical tactic to win votes:

The Tory party had always granted, when obliged, just as much reform as would keep the country quiet and prevent rebellion, whereas the Liberal party had endeavoured to give as much of it

¹⁵² Lynch, *Liberal Party*, especially Chapter 4 'Parliamentary Politics 1886-1899'.

¹⁵³ Readman, *Land and Nation*, pp.31-32.

as they possibly could without shaking the foundations of the constitution.¹⁵⁴

The Tories answered this by saying that they were the party which delivered, making Liberal fantasies realities. Claiming credit for the enlarged franchise, they argued that it was their experience and understanding which had delivered the Redistribution of Seats Act which meant that villages such as Essendon were not swamped by the towns such as Watford.¹⁵⁵ In 1892, voters were reminded that the Liberals had failed their erstwhile colleague, Jesse Collings, and it was left to Lord Salisbury to find the public money needed to bring about the reality of the Smallholdings Act.¹⁵⁶ The rhetoric of the Conservatives was of the Liberals as out of touch with the realities of the rural existence, a party long on ideas but short on practicalities, a party obsessed with past battles, long won, a party above all with an urban agenda: 'They rode into office on the back of that celebrated cow they used to hear so much about; but after they got into power they never heard anything more of allotments.'¹⁵⁷ Whilst the Liberals talked of seizing land and carving it into smallholdings as an answer to depression, the Tory landowner was day by day repairing cottages, giving allotments and meeting the tenant and the labourer face to face. Enough working men in Hertfordshire were convinced by the Conservative understanding of the rural to secure the county for the Tories.

The Liberals countered with tales of landowner obstruction and the threat to the breakfast table, drawing a narrative thread from the 1830s to the present day, calling on the new voters to repay the debt they owed to those who had fought such battles in the past, arguing that 'if they did not support the party to whom they owed their political birth they would be guilty of ingratitude'.¹⁵⁸ The Liberals complained that the 'old gang of peers, parsons and petticoats' were everywhere intimidating the voters, yet they in their turn harangued the labourers with the need to repay the Liberal commitment.¹⁵⁹ Across the county, the 1885 campaign featured at every Liberal meeting, a potted history of the battle for cheap bread and the vote. In

¹⁵⁴ 'Liberal Meeting at Boxmoor Hall', *HHG*, 14th May 1892 p.5. Speech by John Marnham

¹⁵⁵ 'Essendon – Conservative Demonstration', *HS*, 13th June 1885 p. 7, also 'Viscount Grimston at London Colney', *HS*, 20th June 1885 p.6. On this occasion the comparison was between the village of London Colney and Watford.

¹⁵⁶ *NHSBJ*, 26th February 1892 p.4. An Editorial on the Smallholdings Act.

¹⁵⁷ 'Conservative Meeting', *HHG*, 16th April 1892 p.5. Speech by Thomas Halsey

¹⁵⁸ 'Liberal Meeting at Ashwell', *HE*, 28th February 1885 p.5.

¹⁵⁹ 'West Herts Liberal Club', *WO*, 19th December 1885 Supplement p.1.

Hitchin, Fordham spoke of how 'the Liberal Party had made them free men', and how if they remembered the secret ballot, longer voting hours, the extension of the suffrage and the limits on electioneering money they would 'as working men feel bound to vote' for the party of progress, the Liberals.¹⁶⁰ Underlying this was a fear that the agricultural labourers might not appreciate how far the Liberals had brought them; in East Herts older labourers were brought in to remind the present generation of how hard life had been under Tory protection and obstruction, and one visiting speaker referred to the need to 'kill the old tiger again and again', the 'tiger' being the false picture of the past painted by the Tories.¹⁶¹

It was a similar story in 1892, with John Wattridge in the Northern division recalling the Conservative love of taxing windows, soap, newspapers and food, which brought forth the response from his opponent: 'What was the use of bringing up things that had been put an end to fifty or sixty years ago?'¹⁶² For obvious reasons, the Conservatives were keen to avoid history lessons on the battles for free trade or the suffrage, but the by-product of this was a sense that they were, curiously, the more 'modern' of the political actors. Forced to focus on the present, they presented a less negative or complaining face to the electorate, attacking the Liberals for their agenda of moral and social control, typified in the exchanges over the poor man's pint.

Jon Lawrence has demonstrated that in urban Wolverhampton, the Tories used the defence of the pint as a platform from which not simply to attack the 'spoilsport' element of Liberal policies, but also as a link to their own claim to an 'older paternalism which looked indulgently on the "pleasures of the people"'.¹⁶³ In Hertfordshire, the Tories drew on a similar rhetoric to portray Liberals as the 'ginger beer and infidel party', fearful of the newly enfranchised as men who 'could not be trusted to run alone without the cackling of an effete old nurse'.¹⁶⁴ Whether his constituents were convinced by Abel Smith's claim that 'he thought home-brewed

¹⁶⁰ 'Therfield – Mr Fordham's Candidature', *HE*, 6th June 1885 p.5.

¹⁶¹ 'Liberal Meeting at Birch Green', *HM*, 19th September 1885 p.3. Speeches by Walter Topham, a labourer, and Mr. Digby, a shepherd, on the Corn Laws and the suffrage, 'Liberal Meeting at Hertford', *HM*, 2nd October 1885 p.3. The Speaker was George Howell, prospective Lib-Lab candidate for Bethnal Green.

¹⁶² 'The Election – A Candidate for the Hitchin Division' and 'The Election – Conservative Meeting at Hitchin', *NHSBJ*, 17th June 1892 p.5 and 8th July 1892 p.5.

¹⁶³ Lawrence, *Speaking for the People*, p.107.

¹⁶⁴ 'Hoddesdon Conservative Association – Meeting at Rye Common', *HEO*, 25th July 1885 p.4. Speech by A.B. Rasdall, 'Conservative Meeting at Hitchin', *HGAJ*, 11th April 1885 p.5. Speech by John Smyth, farmer, of Norton.

beer was a very good thing. He brewed his own and liked it better than that nasty foreign wine', is perhaps open to debate, but what he was doing was identifying himself in this division which was home to several breweries as one who would defend both the brewing and drinking of the staple of the working man's diet.¹⁶⁵ One farmer in the Northern division claimed to have switched political allegiance because the Liberal attempt to increase the beer duty 'was a tax on the barley grower equal to 4s an acre, while champagne only paid 2d a bottle'.¹⁶⁶ Conservative supporters were keen to exploit this potential for a class division, and on occasion their adventures into poetry could cause both rich and poor alike to wince:

Let brandy and gin bring Revenue in
Or luxuries, like Champagne, it is clear,
When one's income is large – it isn't fair to charge
A tax on malt or the poor man's beer!¹⁶⁷

As Lawrence identified, the highlighting by the Tories of the threat to the pint carried with it a wider appeal to an old England of simple pleasures within a paternalistic structure, and this appeal carried a particular resonance within Hertfordshire, reaching out to the understanding of those who were moving into the county. Ewen Green argued that the success of the Conservatives was their ability to relocate themselves as the party not simply of those who were owners of landed property, but rather as the party of those who owned property in general, those very villa owners of whose support Lord Salisbury had been pessimistic, convincing them that the Liberal party, infected with Radicalism, was a threat to all property owners, not just the large landowner.¹⁶⁸ Certainly, in Hertfordshire there was some evidence of Conservatives playing on the suspicion of Radical intentions: H.G. Fordham was obliged to deny the claims of a Tory pamphlet circulating in the Northern division that the Liberals wanted to take people's land for redistribution without compensation, and at a meeting in the St. Albans division, H.J. Gotto told a

¹⁶⁵ 'Hoddesdon – Conservative Meeting', *HEO*, 20th June 1885 p.3, Whittaker, *Brewers in Hertfordshire*, Table 1.1 'Breweries in Hertfordshire' pp.4-6 lists 12 breweries active in the Eastern division in the period 1885-1900.

¹⁶⁶ 'Baron Dimsdale's Candidature', *HEO*, 4th July 1885 p.3. Speech by C W Scruby. A correction appeared in the next edition, 11th July 1885 p.2, confirming this should have read 4s a quarter, not acre.

¹⁶⁷ 'Correspondence' from Thomas Garratt, *HEO*, 13th June 1885 p.3.

¹⁶⁸ Green, *The Crisis of Conservatism*, see particularly Chapter 3 'Conservatism and the Propertied'.

Conservative meeting that he had formerly been a Liberal and member of the Cobden Club but had resigned since he 'could detect a wave of communistic feeling coming over the country.'¹⁶⁹ In his obituary of Lord Randolph Churchill, Edward Dicey wrote that the Conservative success was due to a recognition of the new realities of a property-based democracy 'whose keenest, staunchest, and most unswerving supporters' would be those of the 'small trading and professional' classes who had most to lose from any Radical ambitions for redistribution of landownership. This was echoed by Thomas Halsey in the Western division, who warned:

Depend upon it, if you sap the foundation of the rights of private property, the people who will suffer most greatly will not be the rich man you envy and wish to pull down and rob, but the lower middle class and the poor men who have led steady lives and saved a little property, who will no longer be secure; they will be the first to feel the pinch of the insecurity established by those fatal promises.¹⁷⁰

This was a speech directed at the labourers, but the 'lower middle class' were also listening. Like Halsey, Dicey identified a Conservative understanding of the way in which people processed politics which Mrs Thatcher would also call on a century later with her promotion of the sale of council houses: 'that to augment in any way the muster roll of men who have a stake in the country, however small, is to increase the permanent force which tells in favour of Conservatism'.¹⁷¹

However, Dicey also identified in the appeal of the Primrose League an attraction which went beyond just the economic, an interest which 'was sentimental, as well as material'.¹⁷² Put crudely, this was the motto that 'everyone loves a lord', which Randolph Churchill had seen as an opportunity for engagement with the middle classes, with the removal of 'social barriers which formerly interposed between the

¹⁶⁹ 'Mr. H.G. Fordham's Candidature – Meeting at Pirton', *HE*, 13th June 1885 p.6, 'Viscount Grimston at London Colney', *HS*, 20th June 1885 p.6. Henry Jenkin Gotto ran a Stationery business in London, and in 1883 had built New House Park, on the site of a farm which he had bought in 1877, HCRO DE/HCC/27581 Sale Particulars and Plan of Purseley Farm, Shenley 17th October 1877, *Kelly's* (1882), 'Court Directory' p.704.

¹⁷⁰ 'Bushey – Meeting in support of the Conservative candidate', *WO*, 24th October 1885 p.5.

¹⁷¹ Dicey, 'Conservatism of Today', p.569.

¹⁷² Dicey, 'Conservatism of Today', p.568.

landed gentry and the well-to-do professional and trading classes'.¹⁷³ Whether the reality of social inclusion was as complete as Dicey suggested would appear doubtful, but the illusion of social mixing was a powerful inducement to joining the League. Hertfordshire was awash with both Lords and Primrose League habitations, with the St. Albans District alone home to twelve habitations, around 4,500 members and the opportunity to mingle with members in the grounds of Gorhambury and Hatfield House.¹⁷⁴ However, the Primrose League also offered a social benefit for this county of newcomers which went beyond the vicarious thrill of sipping tea within touching distance of the Earl of Verulam or Lord Salisbury. Surely of more day to day use for the new arrival was the easy introduction into a community; much as membership of a Church or Chapel congregation, or in the twentieth century the Women's Institute, here was a readymade circle of people with a shared vocabulary which made the transition into a new home and the making of new friends all the easier.

The 'sentimental' aspect of the Primrose League, identified by Dicey, also goes some way to explaining the particular susceptibility of the villa owners to the imagery of a rural England as defined by the Conservative party; talk of face to face communities offering mutual support which was based on more than just an economic exchange was a comforting vision at a time of considerable wider social anxieties, and those who had taken the decision to move into the expanding districts along the railway line were more than likely to have factored in those anxieties when making the life changing choice to relocate. This was the time of Andrew Mearns' *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (1883), William Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890), and Charles Booth's *Inquiry into the Life and Labour of the People in London* (appeared between 1886-1903), which all painted a disturbing picture of the population just over the border and one of which many of those who lived within the county but encountered on their commute would have been well aware. Such investigations also fed into existing concerns on the depopulation of the villages, the inhabitants of which were swelling those 'dark and loathsome alleys' referred to by Faudel-Phillips. Thus the residents of town and village, county and capital were connected, and the rhetoric of both parties sought to both allocate blame and claim

¹⁷³ Dicey, 'Conservatism of Today', p.568.

¹⁷⁴ Pugh, *Tories and the People*, p.108, D/EV/Z7 Minutes of St. Albans Divisional Council of the Primrose League, 1890-1897. A meeting held 3rd March 1891 noted that approximately 19,000 people from nine habitations had attended the Demonstration held at Hatfield House the previous month, although it was not made clear whether the count was of members only. By May 1895 the total number of members for the St. Albans Division was 39,620.

solutions. That the Conservatives were more successful in this was an indication of the power of their vision for the rural amongst a growing urban electorate.

Throughout the political campaigning of the contested elections, Conservative candidates made much of the agricultural profile of the county as a way of establishing their own rural credentials in the face of their opponents' lack of the same. In 1885, Edmund Fawcett of Childwick Hall near St. Albans argued that: 'he did not think a man who was upon the Stock Exchange in London was fit to go and sit in the House of Commons to represent an agricultural district.'¹⁷⁵ Fawcett had been a silk merchant before moving to St. Albans where he raised pedigree bulls, a trajectory not unfamiliar within the county.¹⁷⁶ In 1892, Abel Smith attacked Edwin Speirs: 'Hertfordshire was an agricultural county and he hardly thought any one unacquainted with county affairs could be considered competent to represent agricultural interest,'¹⁷⁷ whilst in 1898 Earl Cowper's brother-in-law argued that the Mid-Northamptonshire constituency would 'hardly have rejected Mr. Spencer at the last election had they regarded him as a good representative of agriculture.'¹⁷⁸ Such comments were obviously part of a wider rhetoric of 'stranger, danger', but there was an additional message within these comments which tapped into an understanding of just what the county represented.

In this metropolitan county facing the twin pressures of urban expansion and village depopulation, the issues surrounding agriculture were used as a vehicle for promoting a particular rural identity which meshed with the assumptions of the changing population, and explains the Conservative emphasis on the agricultural nature of the county as a vote winner.

In 1885, Thomas Halsey, who would later play up the difference between himself and his 'sophisticated' opponent, Faudel-Phillips, referred to unspecified attacks upon the integrity of the county's voters who had been called 'rough dogs' by unnamed critics,

¹⁷⁵ 'Conservatism in Mid-Hertfordshire', *HS*, 28th July 1885 p.7.

¹⁷⁶ 1861 Census 'Hornsey' RG9/791 ED3 F72, Silk Merchant, born Westmoreland 1817. By 1863 Fawcett was living at Childwick Hall and breeding pedigree bulls, L.F. Allen, *Pedigrees of English Short-Horn Bulls, to which American Short-Horns Trace* (New York, 1874), pp.204, 209 <http://www.archive.org/stream/pedigreesofengli00allerich> accessed 26th April 2009.

¹⁷⁷ 'Bishop Stortford. Conservative Meeting at the Great hall', *EHWEN*, Supplement 2nd July 1892.

¹⁷⁸ 'East Herts Bye-Election. Close of the Campaign', *HGAJ*, 25th June 1898 p.5.

and said they might be rough, but they 'had plenty of common-sense'.¹⁷⁹ During his campaign of 1898, Evelyn Cecil gave a speech in which he read to his audience an extract from the Radical newspaper, the *Nottingham Daily Express*. In this extract, the leader writer commented on the difficulty of fighting against 'steady-going, jog-trot, agricultural Toryism such as prevails in Hertfordshire', where the combined forces of the squire and the parson denied the intellectual freedom open to Nottingham residents. This brought forth the response from Cecil:

we simple-minded, 'jog-trot' people cannot expect to soar into such realms of splendour as that. The golden gates of Nottingham intellectualism are for ever closed upon us. And I only wish to say that I do not feel the least disappointed in the matter. The intellectualism of Nottinghamshire may not be open to us in Hertfordshire, but I am quite sure that the majority of the electors belong to the common-sense party which knows its own mind.¹⁸⁰

What both men were doing was to draw a line between the urban and rural understanding of the world which they felt would only be to their advantage in establishing themselves as the 'right' party to represent the county; that they were doing this at a time of steady urbanization of their county was indicative of a feeling abroad that rural values were somehow core values, and that they as Tories were in a stronger position than their urban based opponents to benefit from this.

Frans Coetzee has shown how in the Borough of Croydon, where migrants from London and the rural hinterland were swelling the population, the Tory rhetoric in 1885 was of themselves as inclusive, the party for the whole nation, taking care to paint their Liberal opponents as the special interest party, obsessing over streetlamps and window design but unable to see the wider Imperial picture.¹⁸¹ Paul Readman identified a similar tactic by the Conservatives in the 1900 general election, when they painted themselves as the party of the broader vision, the party of Empire, whilst their opponents fussed over minor matters of detail, 'like a man

¹⁷⁹ 'Abbots Langley. Formation of a Conservative Association', *WO*, 11th July 1885 p.4.

¹⁸⁰ 'Mr Evelyn Cecil's Candidature. Meeting at Bishop Stortford', *HM*, 11th June 1898 p.5.

¹⁸¹ Coetzee, 'Villa Toryism', see especially pp.29, 34.

wanting to tidy his sitting-room while his house was on fire.¹⁸² This picture of inclusiveness and vision was also deployed within Hertfordshire, a message of community with a very clear political message that the Tories were the party best placed to deliver; a very special type of community which tapped into an older England, a community of the heart not the head, and one which the Liberals, with their urban agenda, failed to understand. W.H. Aylen, editor of the *Hertfordshire Illustrated Review*, spoke of how 'they wanted to keep up the old generosity which used to exist in this country years ago, and have no far off distinction between the broadcloth and the fustian',¹⁸³ tapping into an understanding of the county which was offered as a working model, offering stability and optimism in a period of rapid change and pessimism. That it was based on a false memory was of little consequence; it was the perception of stability and harmony which was important and explains its particular appeal in this metropolitan county which proclaimed its rural nature even as fields were being replaced by gardens. The Conservatives had few practical solutions to offer, so the appeal to the imagination of their electorate seemed the strategy of choice.

Following the 1885 election, one happy Conservative proclaimed that the key to their own success had been the electorate's rejection of Liberal divisiveness: 'it was all head-work with them, and there was no heart in it'.¹⁸⁴ This community of the heart was central to the Tory rhetoric on just why they should be trusted to deliver a county in which people could safely live, work and raise their families.

In January 1886, an unnamed correspondent wrote to the *Herts Guardian and Agricultural Journal* contrasting the behaviour of local Conservative landlords who had given generous abatements on rent of fifteen, twenty or even twenty-five per cent, with his own Liberal-supporting landlord who had given no abatement on the grounds that he could not afford to, and even rounded up the amount due from 19s 11d to the full one pound. However, what upset the correspondent most was that a dinner had been given but that the landlord had not stayed, a sure sign of his lack of commitment to them and the wider rural community.¹⁸⁵ In 1892, the *East Herts and*

¹⁸² Speech of A. Conan Doyle, *Scotsman*, 26th September 1900, p. 9 quoted in P. Readman, 'The Conservative Party, Patriotism, and British Politics: The Case of the General Election of 1900', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol.40, No.1 (2001), pp.107-145, p.121.

¹⁸³ 'Viscount Grimston at Park Street', *HS*, 20th June 1885 p.6.

¹⁸⁴ 'Conservative Dinner at Welwyn', *HGAJ*, 27th February 1886 p.8.

¹⁸⁵ 'Correspondence', *HGAJ*, 23rd January 1886.

West Essex News reported that following the announcement of the poll in Hertford, Edwin Speirs, the Liberal candidate, was 'deserted by his Radical friends and left solitary.'¹⁸⁶ On hearing this, some members of the local Conservative club went out, found Speirs and invited him back for a drink, which he accepted, spending the rest of the evening with them.

Clearly, these incidents were flagged up by Conservative supporters as a measure of just how big a gap there was between the two parties, with the Tory party the embodiment of decent behaviour in line with expectations of that older 'Merrie England' tradition; the Liberals cast in the role of those who knew the price of everything and the value of nothing. The Conservatives turned the landowning status of their candidates into an asset, employing a language of 'service' to their communities which was not driven by self-profit. In 1892 John Blundell Maple spoke to a Conservative meeting of how he might well retire to his country estates but 'he felt that he had a certain duty to society to perform,' and that duty was best carried out by going into the House of Commons.¹⁸⁷ The references to Liberals carrying carpet bags throughout the campaigns was a reminder to the electorate not just of the residency of the Conservative candidates, but also an assumed profit motive in Liberal wishes to represent the county.

During the campaign of 1885, the *Hertfordshire Standard* congratulated Mr Demain Saunders of Hoddesdon for the effort he had recently shown in improving the lives of his labourers both at work and at home, using this as an opportunity to demonstrate the Conservative principles in action, and casting the Liberals as the outsiders. By engaging with his workmen in their daily lives he had achieved:

more practical good results for civilization than all the fine broadcloth speculations and kid glove theories. The latter may suit scented-handkerchief reformers, but it is by the former pattern of local nobleness of sinking all punctilious objections of personal culture and actually superintending the improvement of labourers' dwellings, that the attractions and comfort of humble homes are enhanced and civilization best advanced.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ 'Hertford. The Defeated Candidate and His 'Friends'', *EHWEN*, 16th July 1892 p.5.

¹⁸⁷ 'Conservatism in Mid-Hertfordshire', *HS*, 28th July 1885 p.7.

¹⁸⁸ 'Notes of the Week', *HS*, 26th December 1885 p.5.

Those 'scented-handkerchiefs' perhaps used to protect them from the reality of the farmyard. However, Conservative inclusiveness went only so far; in 1892, G.B. Hudson's victory speech called on Wattridge to return home with the knowledge that:

Hertfordshire men prefer a Hertfordshire man. I hope he will understand too that we in this county are not anxious to have one class set against another class, but that we wish to live in peace and harmony.¹⁸⁹

Later that evening a celebratory procession of 200 torchbearers marched through the town behind John Blundell Maple's steam fire engine. Amongst those who marched were Hudson, Evelyn Cecil and Baron Dimsdale, he who had made messages of inclusiveness and moderation his trademark. The culmination of the evening was the setting of fireworks in front of a crowd of thousands, and a huge bonfire on which was burnt an effigy of the Grand Old Man himself, William Gladstone. As Paul Readman has argued, the model of Conservative harmony was a flexible one when it came to securing political advantage.¹⁹⁰

The paradox is that while Hertfordshire was attracting those who had made their money from beyond its borders, the rhetoric was all of this as an agricultural county, distrustful of the urban interloper. Across elections, Conservative speakers warned of the outsider who did not understand how this rural county worked, an indication of just how the new men in the villa understood their adopted home and a reflection of the continuing resonance of the county's agricultural identity. However, this was a modified agricultural identity, and one which had implications for the county's farmers. In this final section, the place of agriculture in general and the farmer in particular within this 'new' understanding will be considered. At a time of agricultural depression when politicians could offer little in the way of concrete help to the farmers, there was a political investment for Conservatives in turning the spotlight away from the farmer towards the agricultural labourer, enabling candidates and their supporters to focus on that narrative of community which fitted an urban understanding of the rural as the social rather than the economic engine of the

¹⁸⁹ 'Hertfordshire Elections', *NHSBJ*, 22nd July 1892 p.5.

¹⁹⁰ Readman, *Land and Nation*, pp.31-32.

nation. The crisis in the countryside was not that of the farmers' falling income but the threat to the virility of the nation and the wider empire from the depopulation of villages which had traditionally sent their young and strong to man the machine shop, the factory, the building site and the army. Against this concern the farmers struggled to make their voice heard as their economic function in keeping the labourer in the countryside was weakened by falling incomes and the shift into less labour intensive production. The need of political parties to harness the labouring vote was reinforced by these wider social concerns, and the casualty in this was the farmer who struggled to establish his place in the new political realities of 1885 and beyond.

An Agricultural County

In February 1885, almost a year before the general election was called, George Faudel-Phillips was elected as a member of the Herts Chamber of Agriculture.¹⁹¹ That this London merchant, with obvious ambitions to enter the House of Commons, should feel the need to identify himself in the public imagination with agriculture, was an indication of just how dominant was this understanding of the county's identity.

However, the emphasis on agriculture was in many ways a rhetorical device, inherited from an earlier Conservative understanding which was a handy way of flagging up an identity but whose meaning was in a state of transition. At a celebratory banquet held at Cheshunt in 1886, no mention was made of the place of agriculture in the speeches of either of the guests of honour, Lord Cranborne or Abel Smith, and it was a similar story the following week when of all the speeches delivered by Lord Salisbury, Abel Smith, Viscount Grimston and Thomas Halsey, the only passing reference to agriculture, in a three column account, was made by Lord Salisbury with his comment that with so many resident landowners, Hertfordshire, unlike so many rural counties, avoided the over-emphasis on 'the monotonous struggle between farmers and labourers upon the question of wages'.¹⁹² At a meeting in Watford, held to celebrate the return of the 'Herts Conservative Four', the

¹⁹¹ 'Hertford – Herts Chamber of Agriculture', *HE*, 7th February 1885 p.5.

¹⁹² 'Great Conservative Banquet at Cheshunt', *HGAJ*, 13th February 1886 p.5, 'Herts Conservative Banquet', *HGAJ*, 20th February 1886 p.5.

toast was made to agriculture, 'a very important word'.¹⁹³ The speaker then went on to give an acrostic based on this 'very important word' which set out the ingredients of the Conservative Party triumph in the county:

A	All Four Members
G	God Save the Queen
R	Reform for which the Tories were responsible
I	Ireland safe with the Conservatives
C	Church and State – strengths of Established Church
U	United party
L	Licensing Laws
T	Temperance Reform
U	United – repeated because so important
R	Radicals – the danger of
A	Atheists – the danger of
L	Liberals – the danger of

Missing from the list was any mention of agriculture in general or farmers in particular, and no other speaker referred to the questions surrounding farming in what constituents had been reminded throughout the campaign, was an agricultural county. It may be that the speaker wished to imply that Conservative success was built on a solid foundation of commitment to agriculture, but if so the implication was buried within a speech full of high-flown language setting out the threat to the Union from Radicals, Atheists and Teetotallers.

Yet, the appeal to the county's agricultural roots was a dominant theme of the contested election campaigns, but a closer look at the rhetoric shows that this was agriculture as seen through the eyes of the labourer rather than the farmer. In the speech which followed his pronouncement of himself as an agriculturalist first and politician second, Baron Dimsdale, spoke mainly to the labourers of the division, calling for more investment in allotments by landowners, and for a shift in rating laws to encourage landlords to take money out of funds for investment in cottage building and refurbishment. Remarking on the impossibility of reverting to a system of protection, he made only passing reference to the farmers' difficulties by calling

¹⁹³ 'Watford – The Return of the Herts Conservative Four', *HGAJ*, 6th March 1886 p.8. The toast was made by F.M. Cowley of whom no indication of residence or occupation has been traced.

for an inquiry 'into the causes of agricultural distress'.¹⁹⁴ George Hudson gave a speech at Welwyn on 'the needs of the agricultural population' but made no mention of farmers, focussing instead on the need for better cottages, allotments and 'half a crown a week more in wages', although he failed to give any indication how the latter might be achieved.¹⁹⁵ In 1892, Vicary Gibbs' election address raised the seven issues of Home Rule, Disestablishment, Foreign Policy, Protection of the Pint, Allotments and Smallholdings, Pauper Immigrants, the Condition of the Working Classes;¹⁹⁶ in one of the worst years of the agricultural depression there was no policy of hope for the farmers. In part, of course, this reflected the newly found importance of the agricultural labourer in the post-Reform Act political world. Smallholdings and allotments were seen as vote winners by both sides, which accounted for their prominent place in election speeches and addresses. However, the absence of specific help for farmers was also a sign of the party's impotence in the face of wider economic realities.

Matthew Fforde has argued that one of the strengths of the Conservative party was the ability to take on board such economic realities:

The great point about the Conservative Party was that it did not seek to halt or check organic economic change. The Right was not in favour of conserving elements which were being overtaken by evolving forces.¹⁹⁷

Thus it was, that in this self-consciously rural county where the agricultural identity was proclaimed at campaign meeting after campaign meeting, there was little on offer to appease the traditional supporters of the Conservative party, the farmers. The 1885 campaign saw Conservative ridicule of the under-capitalised labourer taking on the celebrated 'three acres and a cow', thus downplaying the threat of direct competition in an already fragile market, but there was never any suggestion that protection of farmers' incomes was part of Conservative thinking, and by the 1890s such ridicule had been replaced by a fresh consideration of the benefits of smallholdings, with the concurrent threat of further stress on profits. Indeed, it was

¹⁹⁴ 'Baron Dimsdale's Candidature', *HEO*, 4th July 1885 p.3.

¹⁹⁵ 'Mr. G.B. Hudson at Welwyn', *NHSBJ*, 26th February 1892 p.5.

¹⁹⁶ 'Mid Herts Election', *HHG*, 2nd July 1892 p.4.

¹⁹⁷ Fforde, *Conservatism and Collectivism*, pp.62-63.

the Liberals who offered some small recognition of the farmers' economic struggles, offering amendments to the Agricultural Holdings Act to give tenants more freedom to make improvements without suffering financial penalties.¹⁹⁸ However, this was small beer in tackling farmer complaints, and even this formed only a minor diversion in speeches which otherwise focussed on the needs of the agricultural labourer, and there was little in the Liberal programme which offered the farmers any real hope for change. More indicative of the underlying themes of Liberal speeches was that made by the stockbroker, John Coles, who was dismissive of the concerns of agriculture, calling on farmers to be more businesslike and realise that 'if one article did not pay they must grow another'.¹⁹⁹

The 'three acres and a cow' programme was sufficient a threat to secure the farmer vote for the Tories in 1885, but as Ewen Green has identified, the relationship between farmer and party was always a strained one as the demands of the former increasingly seemed out of step in the changing conditions of the late nineteenth century.²⁰⁰ The Hertfordshire farmers for the most part fell into line behind the Conservative candidates. There were some who appeared on Liberal platforms, men such as William Chapman, a farmer from Standon, who called the Liberals 'the best friends of the farmer' and had been a supporter of the Farmers' Alliance in 1882.²⁰¹ Chapman was declared a bankrupt the following year, and what part his financial difficulties played in his political allegiance either way has been lost to us.²⁰² Other Liberal farmers included Charles Lattimore, 72 years old and a veteran of the Corn Law agitation, who farmed 360 acres at Wheathampstead,²⁰³ John William Walker of Bedwell Farm, Essendon who gave his support to the Liberals since the Agricultural

¹⁹⁸ For example 'Mr Fordham's Candidature', *HEO*, 11th July 1885 p.5, 'Bushey – Liberal Meeting', *WO*, 1st August 1885 p.3, 'Liberal Candidate at Great Gaddesden', *HHG*, Supplement 9th July 1892.

¹⁹⁹ 'Wheathampstead – Liberal Meeting', *HS*, 30th May 1885 p.7.

²⁰⁰ Green, *Crisis of Conservatism*, p.97.

²⁰¹ 'Hon. H.F. Cowper at Standon', *HEO*, 8th August 1885 p.2, 'White Hart Hotel – Annual Dinner of the Ordinary', *HGAJ*, 14th January 1882 p.5.

²⁰² 'Bankruptcy at Hertford County Court', *HGAJ*, January 2nd 1886 p.5. Chapman had net liabilities of £3,647 16s 0d and admitted to not having kept accounts since taking on the farm in 1881 following the death of his father.

²⁰³ 'Liberal Demonstration at St. Albans', *HM*, 10th October 1885 p.3, 'Wheathampstead – Liberal Meeting', *HS*, 30th May 1885 p.7. Tribute was paid to Lattimore's part in the Anti-Corn Law Movement by Rev Wallace Jones of Codicote, 'Mr. Bright and Hertfordshire', *HM*, 20th April 1889 p.4. This tribute to Bright following his death in March referred to Lattimore as 'agricultural advisor' to Cobden and Bright, 1881 census 'Wheathampstead' RG11/1429 ED1 F8 Lattimore farmed 360 acres, employing seventeen men and three boys.

Holdings Act was 'not worth the paper it was written on',²⁰⁴ and Alexander Menhinick, farming at Walkern, originally from Cornwall and a lay preacher who campaigned with his son, Charles, on the issue of disestablishment.²⁰⁵ However, these men were in the minority and probably reflected a disproportionate representation on the platform by Liberals who were keen to exploit any suggestion of farmer disaffection with the Tories.

Throughout the 1885 campaign there was a sense of farmers keeping their powder dry, appearing on platforms and supporting candidates in what was seen as the more important goal of keeping the county safe for the Conservatives. However, this almost united front concealed discontent which manifested itself after the 1885 election, not helped perhaps by the failure of the celebrating politicians to acknowledge the difficulties faced and support given by the farmers. A series of meetings was held on market days across the county, organised and attended, almost solely, by farmers.²⁰⁶ The first of these meetings followed a special meeting held by the Herts Chamber of Agriculture on the Agricultural Depression.²⁰⁷ This meeting, like others held by the Chamber of Agriculture in this period, did not draw a large crowd, reflecting a general loss of confidence by farmers that these landlord-dominated sessions could deliver real change. In response to Abel Smith's suggestion that they defer having their own enquiry until the Royal Commission reported, Charles Wodehouse argued that farmers were 'tired of coming here to listen to the same old, old, story of rent and taxes; they want something more attractive', whilst farmer, Henry Coggin, made it plain that 'they wanted members of parliament who would stand up in their places and say they must have Protection, and stick to it'.²⁰⁸ Baron Dimsdale was adamant that farmers 'were following a Will-o'-the-Whisp [sic] in seeking to go back to Protection', and other landlords offered similar advice around the wait-and-see model. It was in the week following this meeting that the first of the farmers' meetings took place, the brainchild of John

²⁰⁴ 'Liberal Meeting at Little Berkhamstead', *HM*, 26th September 1885 p.4, 1881 census 'Essendon' RG11/1427 ED9 F68 farmer of 330 acres employing ten men and five boys.

²⁰⁵ 1891 census 'Walkern' RG12/1109 ED6 F63 shows Menhinick as farmer and Methodist lay preacher, 'Will Disestablishment improve their social status?' Correspondence from Charles Menhinick, Walkern Park, *HE*, 28th November p.7.

²⁰⁶ 'Hertford - Depression in Agriculture', *HGAJ*, 27th February 1886 p.4, 'Depression in Agriculture', *HGAJ*, 20th March 1886 p.4, 'Agricultural Depression - Farmers' Meeting at Hertford', *HGAJ*, 27th March 1886 p.4, 'Agricultural Meeting at Hitchin', *HGAJ*, 24th April 1886 p.8.

²⁰⁷ 'Herts Chamber of Agriculture - Agricultural Depression', *HGAJ*, 20th February 1886 p.8.

²⁰⁸ 'Herts Chamber of Agriculture - Agricultural Depression', *HGAJ*, 20th February 1886 p.8. Henry C Coggin was farming 386 acres at Watton in 1881 RG11/1422 ED7 F98.

Hunter, Junior, of Holwell Farm, Essendon, who 'had asked a few friends to attend, considering it time the farmers tried to do something for they were getting from bad to worse.'²⁰⁹

Over the following weeks, these meetings of farmers generated good audiences across the county and the talk was all of Protection and permanent reductions in rents. W. H. Aylen called for farmers to 'organise and combine so as to secure a serious reduction of rent',²¹⁰ while Edward Pigg who farmed at Chipping in the north-east of the county said that farmers should only vote for those who supported Protection.²¹¹ John Hunter, senior, was loudly cheered when he referred to the likelihood of an election:

An election was coming and they meant to have a farmers' man, a man from the country and for the country; and if that were their wish they must put a man forward not as a conservative or liberal, but with regard to his opinions on free trade. Let them vote for that flag; and if they did so they would have the honour of beginning the contest and putting the right man in the right place.²¹²

However, in spite of the enthusiastic response to calls for Protection, the farmers were never really in a position to influence their elected representatives. At a meeting held after the close of market in Hitchin, William Swoorder, who farmed at Ickleford and Hitchin, asked his fellow farmers: 'How can we in Herts clamour for an immediate return to Protection having so recently and deliberately returned four members to Parliament all pledged not to vote for it.'²¹³ Henry Beningfield, an auctioneer from Ware who was present at the same meeting highlighted the farmers' voting dilemma; he defended the four Hertfordshire members, who he believed at heart were in favour of Protection, but they were unable to stand up and declare so in the current climate. He had voted not on free trade, 'but to do all he could to rid

²⁰⁹ 'Hertford – Depression in Agriculture', *HGAJ*, 27th February 1886 p.4. Hunter was the son of John Hunter who had travelled south from Scotland in 1868 to take on the tenancy of Peartree Farm, owned by Lord Salisbury. Hatfield Workers' Educational Association, *Farming Yesterday and Today*, p.37.

²¹⁰ 'Depression in Agriculture', *HGAJ*, 20th March 1886 p.4 W.H. Aylen of St. Albans.

²¹¹ 'Agricultural Depression', *HGAJ*, 27th March 1886 p.8 Edward Pigg of Chipping.

²¹² 'Agricultural Depression', *HGAJ*, 27th March 1886 p.8 John Hunter, of Peartree Farm.

²¹³ 'Agricultural Meeting at Hitchin', *HGAJ*, 24th April 1886 p.8, *Kelly's* (1890), 'Ickleford' p.786.

the county of the incubus we had had in the shape of government for nearly the last seven years’.

The Conservatives offered the farmer little, but the Liberals offered him less. In a world where protection was a ‘Will-o’-the-Whisp’, the Conservatives carried at least a sense of common identity which was perceived as lacking in a Liberal, urban agenda. Negative voting it may have been, but for the Hertfordshire Four it was still one more cross against their name. With no contested election in 1886, the farmers had little opportunity to air their grievances in a wider arena, and there were no further reports of meetings after April, although the issue of Protection was a stubborn one and raised its head throughout the rest of the century, leading a somewhat exasperated Vicary Gibbs to declare in 1895:

he had over and over again declared that if he had the choice between the ruin of the greatest industry in the kingdom and Protection, he would infinitely rather have the protective system. But it was impossible for Mr Halsey, or himself, or anybody else to secure Protection until the working classes of the country had satisfied themselves that such a system would be beneficial to their interests.²¹⁴

As has been shown in previous chapters, the farmers sought to establish their right to be heard by an increasingly indifferent population, by seeking to claim their position at the heart of the nation, couching their demands in an appeal to their function as both the producers of food and of a healthy population to defend the Empire. In this appeal to patriotism they were not alone; Paul Readman has recently shown how for both Liberals and Conservatives debates around the land question offered an opportunity to establish their credentials as the true patriots and guardians of the Empire.²¹⁵ While such debates were ultimately fruitless in securing significant change in the landowning structure of a country in the grip of agricultural depression and wider social change, the issue of land reform was closely argued over and indicative of assumptions which went beyond just property rights, for:

²¹⁴ ‘Herts Agricultural Society – Annual show’, *HGAJ*, 27th July 1895 p.4.

²¹⁵ Readman, *Land and Nation*, especially Chapter 2 ‘Land Reform and National Stability’.

In a real sense, debates about agrarian issues and reform were debates about the nation and the character of its people, about the very nature of Englishness. Perhaps more than anything else, it was this that explained their contemporary importance.²¹⁶

There was a tradition within the Conservative party which farmers tapped into. This was tied into their vital role in keeping the nation fed in the earlier years of the century when protection of farmers' income was seen as maintaining supply and their ability to keep up that supply a function of patriotic duty. When Vicary Gibbs referred to agriculture as 'the greatest industry in the kingdom' he was drawing on that tradition and seeking to placate a hostile audience. However, this strand of Conservative thought was giving way to one which saw the advantage in promoting a policy of support for smallholdings. Smallholdings had been a major weapon in the Liberal armoury as an attempt to break up the landowning status quo of large and powerful landowners. Originally hostile to the idea, Conservative doubts on the economic viability of such peasant farming on the French model, were soothed by a fresh appreciation for their role as the guardians of property; more owners of smallholdings meant more potential Tory votes. Tories such as Rider Haggard also pointed to the Danish example where modern, efficient farming was carried out by small, peasant proprietors.²¹⁷ However, there was a commitment to this idea that went beyond votes or bacon, and drew its inspiration from the notion of a stable, rural economy which would in turn maintain the health of the wider nation and mitigate against urban and imperial decay. This was the same ground being fought over by the farmers with their claim to be the heart of the nation, promoting their social as well as their economic function. However, with that economic function undermined by cheaper imports, they were unable to consolidate their role as the patriotic centre of the nation. The Tory policy of support for smallholdings was a reminder to farmers of just how far they had fallen in the priorities of the Conservative party.

The older vision of farming as central to social and economic stability did not die overnight; Lord Winchilsea's National Agricultural Union was an attempt to combine the three strands of the Agricultural Interest in a defence of the great national industry and derail the development of urban type class interests in the countryside:

²¹⁶ Readman, *Land and Nation*, p.39.

²¹⁷ Readman, *Land and Nation*, pp.178-79.

'a desperate effort to preserve an imagined rural order and its values, and with it agriculture, the industry upon which English greatness supposedly depended.'²¹⁸ While the farmers of Hertfordshire shared his vision of agriculture at the heart of the nation, they were not so quick to share the vision of the harmonious agricultural interest; in 1893 the Hertfordshire Farmers' Club voted not to join Winchilsea's Union, a pessimistic appraisal of their own place within the Agricultural Interest.²¹⁹

Conclusion

The two general elections contested in Hertfordshire, in 1885 and 1892, coincided with some of the worst years of the agricultural depression. While the country at large returned Liberal administrations in these years, the men of Hertfordshire sent Conservative candidates to the House of Commons. Discerning the motives for voting choices is not transparent, but this chapter has sought to show that when men went to the polls it was with a very particular understanding of the Conservative party which resonated with their own assumptions on the county in which they lived, as well as the wider political nation. The Conservative Party's emphasis on its role as the protector of property chimed with those who were moving into the villas along the railway line, whilst the self-proclaimed identity of the Tory candidates as men of the county and the country offered a reassuring profile of stability in a rapidly changing world. For those who earned their living from the soil, there were doubts as to the commitment of the Conservatives to their own special needs, be it farmer or labourer. However, the failure of the Liberal candidates to establish their rural credentials at a time when all those tied into the land were nervous of the future, gave the Conservatives an advantage which they were quick to exploit. The values of the Agricultural Interest still carried some influence in this post-Reform world, in a county where a high degree of residency amongst landowners had meaning for a labouring population relying on more than just a wage economy. Yet, for farmers there was a sense that they had been sidelined in a world where their vote above all others could be taken for granted. Increasingly they found themselves as Tories by default, voting for a party which could promise them little and deliver even less.

²¹⁸ Readman, 'Conservatives and the Politics of Land', p.60.

²¹⁹ 'Agricultural Notes and Comments', *HIR*, Volume, 1 March 1893 p.182.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This thesis has explored the ways in which the county of Hertfordshire negotiated economic, social and political change against a background of agricultural depression and a shifting population profile. Few previous studies have offered an in-depth analysis of the economic and social impact of the agricultural depression upon an entire English county. This thesis is also unusual in that it takes a multi-faceted approach, considering the relationship between economic, social and cultural influences at both the local and national level. Additionally, this research considers the relationship between perception and reality within the wider national debate on the significance of the 'rural'. One of the key findings has been the importance of the proximity of Hertfordshire, an arable county, to London. This study shows that geographical location could have a significant impact on the manner in which such a typically 'south country' county responded to the contraction of the agricultural economy.

What has emerged from the research has been the investment which both those who had long roots in the county and those who had recently arrived from beyond its borders made in nourishing the continuing rural identity of the county, even as fields were neglected or disappearing under the gravel paths and herbaceous borders of the villa. In part this was born out of a desire to celebrate both a rural heritage and individual expectations for the future, but it also connected with a fear amongst the wider urban nation that the rural was under threat and needed to be cherished and protected if the country were to retain the energy and strength of character required to maintain its place in the world as the twentieth century approached. However, this rural identity was a plastic one, shaped by the needs of those who promoted it, and, as farmers found to their cost, it was an identity forged out of a social need which saw their function as feeders of the nation downplayed in the face of their failure to keep the labourer in his village. The balance within the traditional notion of a rural partnership between landowner, farmer and labourer shifted, with landowners better placed to deliver some policies of comfort, however minimal, which reassured those who looked to the paternalistic model as the link to an older, more stable way of life. This thesis has dealt largely with the assumptions and perceptions of those who lived within Hertfordshire at this time, their expectations and fears for their future, offering a context for their understanding of their environment. The following sections will summarise the different ways in which that environment was perceived,

showing that there was a shared language which people drew upon when expressing their own understanding of both the county and the wider nation.

The View from the Farmhouse

For the farmers of Hertfordshire the final decades of the nineteenth century were difficult ones. Faced with a run of seasons which seemed sent by Providence to try their patience and a rising threat from overseas suppliers for markets at home, they did what they had to do to survive, although for some survival proved impossible. The Hertfordshire experience of reduced yields, falling prices, rising levels of bankruptcies and the arrival of farming families from Scotland and the West Country all added to that climate of depression which coloured their perception of the world around them and their place within it. As has been shown, although a small county there were differences in how severely the farmers from north and south, east and west were hit by the cocktail of poor weather and disappointing prices. However, gossip recognises few boundaries and newspapers were shared by all, making even those who were surviving themselves aware of the problems not too far down the road and anxious for their own futures, which in turn affected on how they related to the non-farming world.

It was not all doom and gloom. There were, as there always are, some who were able to seize an opportunity at the most difficult of times. Charles Honour of Moffat's Farm, North Mymms, was at the time of the 1881 census working as an agricultural labourer in North Mymms with a young family to support.¹ Interviewed by Rider Haggard twenty years later, Honour was proud of the fact that 'what he possessed he had made, for he did not start with a penny' and now he and his three sons, all of them teetotallers as he was, were farming 350 acres of which only 22 were pasture.² His profits were small and he supplemented his income by some carting work, but he had moved his family into another social bracket. His daughter, Kate, was active in the Primrose League, receiving a Special Election Bar for her efforts in canvassing during the 1906 election which saw the Tory candidate, Sir Hildred Carlile, returned as member for the St. Albans division at a time of overwhelming Liberal gains

¹ 1881 census 'North Mymms' RG11/1427 ED7 F32. Charles and Sarah Honour, both born in Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire had three young sons and had moved to Hertfordshire some time between the birth of their second son, John, also born in Aylesbury c. 1876, and their third son, Charles W., born in North Mymms c.1878.

² Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, p.547.

elsewhere in the country.³ In her capacity as Warden for her local district she rubbed shoulders at committee meetings with the local gentry, not on equal terms perhaps, but nevertheless an improvement in status for a girl whose father began his working life employed by others and had progressed to the point of farming his own land and drawing the eye of a man such as Rider Haggard. He was still farming 376 acres at North Mymms at the time of the Inland Revenue Land Survey, and as a member of the Hatfield Rural District Council served on the Hatfield District Sub-Committee of the Hertfordshire War Agricultural Commission.⁴

Charles Honour did not claim that farming in a climate of depression was easy, but he brought to the task an energy and ambition which was mirrored in those who joined the Hertfordshire farming community from beyond its borders. These newcomers brought new ways of looking at old problems and a commitment by themselves and their families to hard work which helped them through the transition from one culture to another. As was shown in Chapter Three, there was some suspicion of these new arrivals amongst native farmers, as might have been expected, but ultimately their shared identity of farmer counted for more than their accents or cropping patterns.

It was this question of what constituted the identity of farmers which so exercised their minds as the century drew to a close. At a time when incomes were hit and they were struggling to maintain both their businesses and their standard of living, farmers looked for support from an urban world which they kept fed only to find that they could expect little in the way of practical help even from those who expressed sympathy, as cheap food was the mantra for social stability from all sides of the political spectrum. Whilst the language of politicians and social commentators was all of the place of the rural in sustaining the nation, the farmers were unsuccessful in their attempt to mobilise such sentiments in their own cause. They instead found themselves accused of failing to play their part in protecting the national stock by policies of low wages and reduced labour costs which did little to halt the flight from the land of the next. As populations grew and improvements to roads, sewers and the general environment were called for, farmers were vocal in their complaints of paying the piper whilst somebody else called the tune. This crystallised around

³ Kingsford, *Brookmans Park*, Chapter 11 'The Primrose Path'
www.brookmans.com/history/kingsford2/ch11.shtml accessed 10th September 2010.

⁴ HCRO IR2/52/1 North Mimms Domesday Book, HCRO RDC/7/1/6 Rural District Council Minutes October 1912 – June 1916.

arguments about the place of education in the rural curriculum and whether it should be of a different nature to that on offer in the towns. In the mind of the Hertfordshire farmers it was clear that 'fancy' education was leading to a reluctance amongst boys to follow their fathers into the field, a diversion perhaps from their own inability to make the work and pay attractive, but a view that also tapped into that idea of the rural as 'other'.

They did have some 'successes' in making their voice heard. In 1895 Earl Cowper offered Hertfordshire County Council a 240-acre farm on his Tewin estate for use as a school farm to deliver technical instruction to the sons of farmers and labourers.⁵ The offer was welcomed by the chair of the council, Sir John Evans, the retired chairman of John Dickinson & Co., printers, but a sub-committee of twelve members, of whom seven were farmers, rejected the idea after visiting similar farms in Lancashire and East Sussex and canvassing opinion amongst Hertfordshire's farmers.⁶ They could not find any farmer who would want his son to attend such a farm and did not think it practical to offer places to the sons of labourers. As Alderman and farmer Charles Wodehouse reported to the Council:

Technical education would not raise prices, and a rise in prices would alone restore life to agriculture. There was no response whatever from *bona fide* farmers with regard to the Technical Instruction craze.

It was comments such as these which confirmed observers in their opinion of the stereotypical farmer, always grumbling and stuck in his ways. An exasperated Daniel Hall complained in 1908 that it could not be claimed:

that the proximity of the Rothamsted experiments has made the Hertfordshire farmers any more scientific than their fellow. English farming is still largely a matter of use and tradition – a social form as much as a business, and [William] Eliss's account of how it was practised in Hertfordshire in 1732 may

⁵ 'Hertfordshire County Council', *HGAJ*, 2nd February 1895, p.6.

⁶ 'Hertfordshire County Council – Earl Cowper's Offer to the Council', *HGAJ*, 11th May 1895, p.6.

still, with a few additions, be taken as a very fair picture of what it is to-day.⁷

Yet the nervousness of the farmers over any change when they were focussed on just surviving might be understandable. The decision to reject Earl Cowper's proposal came just one month after the bankruptcy hearing of one of the largest farmers in the county and one of the council's own members, Alderman John Sworder of Buntingford; a reminder of the vulnerability of all farmers, although perhaps some lessons on keeping accounts might have helped Sworder adjust earlier to the prevailing economic winds.

The to and fro of accusation and counter-accusation between critical observers and defensive farmers was a reflection of that wider debate on how to integrate social and economic imperatives within rural society. Farmers found that whilst the urban spotlight was focussed on the problems of the countryside, increasingly the problems which it lit up were those of the agricultural labourer and his family, rather than their own economic difficulties. Criticism was directed as much at their perceived pretensions to a lifestyle as their failure as producers of food.⁸ Erstwhile political friends proved unwilling or unable to provide any policies of comfort, and they had little in their armoury with which to fight the accusations of neglect of the labourer. The agricultural interest was increasingly used as a way of defining that 'special' relationship between the landowner and the labourer, where hard economics could be softened by the application of social solutions such as gardens with fruit trees, village halls or cricket pitches; the labourer may have preferred a bit more in the way of hard economics but for those who wanted to see in the agricultural interest a way forward out of urban dislocation such solutions were a visible sign of a society which 'cared' and still had heart. For the farmers, their claim to be the heart of the rural was one they failed to make in any meaningful way before the advent of war in 1914.

⁷ Hall, 'Agriculture', p.139.

⁸ Criticism of the lifestyle of farmers was not confined to the pre-War period. Samuel Bensusan undertook a trip in search of rural England in 1928, a homage to Rider Haggard, and referred to farmers who always complain of being on the verge of bankruptcy but manage to keep a motor car, and buy from shops what their fathers would have made themselves. Their daughters came in for particular criticism for considering themselves above hard work S.L. Bensusan, *Latter Day Rural England in 1927* (London, 1928), p.20.

The View from the Mansion

In many ways, the story of landowning in Hertfordshire at the end of the nineteenth century was a continuation of long-established patterns in this county which had so much to offer those with ties to the capital. The commercial entrepreneurs Barker, Maple, Gilbey and Faudel-Phillips, the financiers Rothschild and Barclay, the men of law Grimthorpe and Part, were following that earlier pattern set by newly enriched Tudor courtiers, the nabobs of the East India Company and the bankers who serviced them all. However, where their predecessors had seen the acquisition of a landed estate as an essential element in the acquisition of status and power and the culmination of a career, the new wealthy of the late nineteenth century understood their estates as an addition to their portfolio rather than the summit of their achievements; the country estate still provided status but anybody looking to live off rentals and the home farm would be demonstrating a presumably uncharacteristic onset of commercial blindness. There were those who retired upon buying their land, such as Hancock and Hodgson, but these men were at the end of their active working lives, drawing on investments made over a lifetime of business activity. For others, the possession of the estate meant a pleasant environment in which to bring up their families and entertain guests, whilst still keeping their focus on the careers which made it all possible.

The country estate had always offered the opportunity for fine living and pleasure, but the fear at the end of the century was that with their economic focus turned elsewhere the new wealthy would neglect the traditional functions of paternalism owed to those amongst whom they lived. However, as this thesis has shown, the newly wealthy from a range of economic backgrounds were mindful of the expectations of a society which continued to consider the notion of paternalism and gentlemanly behaviour as one of its strengths. In addition they brought wealth and the energy which had created that wealth to bear upon the communities in which they lived. Motives may have been mixed: George Hodgson's improvements to the village of Hexton and renaming of his home as Hexton Manor may have been as much about his own imagining of his place as a rural squire as the desire to improve the lives of those who moved into damp free cottages with access to clean water. However, that imagining came from a man with a strong urban and indeed industrial profile, and reflected just how assumptions of what constituted rural living fed into the perpetuation of those assumptions.

When the new wealthy re-modelled their homes and invested in the fabric of their communities they demonstrated a continuing glance over the shoulder to an imagined rural past; from the mansion to the porter's lodge, the almshouse to the village reading room, there was a nostalgia for a time when society seemed more ordered and optimistic. However, as Paul Readman has argued, we should guard against painting this end-of-the-century romanticism as anti-modern and recognise that it represented a wish to combine the best of the past with the best of the present.⁹ John Maple may have approved a Jacobean design for his almshouses at Harpenden, but he remained a man of his time, installing a telephone at Childwickbury in 1889 whilst he was on holiday in Monte Carlo with his family.¹⁰ Maple's story was a synthesis of old and new, work and relaxation, philanthropy and self-indulgence.

The novelist Mary Ward, better known as Mrs Humphry Ward, came from a middle-class, urban background.¹¹ As material success followed the publication of her first novels, Mary wrote of how she wanted to 'come close to the traditional life of field and farm', and in 1892 she rented the country estate of Stocks, at Aldbury, near Tring, subsequently buying the estate in 1896 for £18,000, together with the adjacent farm and cottages.¹² The 'traditional' life which Mary sought was expressed in entertaining guests with shooting parties in the winter, and tennis, cricket and golfing parties in the summer. The family continued to maintain their family home in London, and travelled abroad regularly throughout the year to Italy, Switzerland and the South of France. Though earning a good income from her books, Mary was not in the same financial bracket as millionaires such as Maple or Gilbey and not able to invest in their high profile contributions to their local environment. Yet she, a townswoman through and through, was alive to the responsibilities which came with her country house, visiting the poor, heading charity subscription lists and giving the traditional offering of coal in the winter; each January the family produced amateur dramatic productions for the village children.¹³ She was not blind to the tensions which came from playing *Lady Bountiful*; in her novel *Marcella*, written only two years after becoming the tenant of Stocks, her heroine is torn between two men

⁹ Readman, *Land and Nation*, pp.177-178.

¹⁰ 'St. Albans', *HM*, 9th February 1889 p.3.

¹¹ J. Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward. Eminent Victorian Pre-eminent Edwardian* (Oxford, 1990) for all biographical details.

¹² Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p.133.

¹³ Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p.142.

representing two opposing ways of addressing the problems faced by the agricultural labourer. At the end of the novel Marcella walks away from the radical socialist, Edward Wharton, and marries the conservative, Aldous Raeburn, convinced that individual responsibility of each landowner for the well-being of those who relied upon him or her offered greater hope for the future than revolution or radical political change:

She pledged herself to every man, woman, and child on it [the estate] so to live her life that each one of theirs should be the richer for it.¹⁴

This was a romantic view of the potential for change inherent in a traditional system of paternalism, but one which had a resonance for those who were part of that urban/rural country house hybrid at the end of the nineteenth century who hoped thereby to resolve the problems of the rural and stave off more radical solutions. In 1909 Lloyd George addressed those who owned land and warned them of the consequences of failing to live up to that paternalistic ideal:

if the owners cease to discharge their functions in seeing to the security and defence of the country, in looking after the broken in their villages and in their neighbourhoods, the time will come to reconsider the conditions under which land is held in this country. No country, however rich, can permanently afford to have quartered upon its revenue a class which declines to do the duty which it was called upon to perform.¹⁵

His message may have been a radical one, but his use of that shared language of paternalism expressed that wider social understanding of what was owed by those who lived on the country estate, even, or especially, when it was not delivered. Hertfordshire was fortunate in that so many of those new wealthy who moved into the county at that time shared that understanding and translated it into action, although ultimately it was as but a drop in the ocean in effecting real improvements in the lives of those whom it sought to help.

¹⁴ Mrs Humphry Ward, *Marcella* (Cirencester, 2005, first published 1895), p.470.

¹⁵ Lloyd George's Limehouse Speech of 30th July 1909, quoted in Short, *Land and Society*, p.23.

The View from the Villa

Whilst the county of Hertfordshire attracted many of the high-profile millionaires such as Maple, Rothschild and Grimthorpe, of more significance for the growth and distribution of the population was the arrival of the professional families who were drawn by that same promise of a rural way of life within easy distance of the capital. Their expectations of what such a life would bring moulded their environment; the houses they wanted to live in, the views they wanted to see and the leisure they wanted to enjoy were grounded in an ideal of the rural which found expression in the art they hung on their walls. They found a political home in the rhetoric of a Conservative Party which was better able to exploit notions of locality and rural identity within a comforting identity of protection of property rights.

Their vision of the rural may have been a romantic one, but again there was a hope of taking the better elements of that romance into a more optimistic future. The 'cottages' of Letchworth represented a desire to develop a community which was a cohesive whole, a supposed re-creation of what had once been a rural norm, but taken to a higher level. Ebenezer Howard's plan was for a synthesis of the old and the new which would provide a dynamic model for the twentieth century. This was no simple 'Disneyfication' of the English village, but a

third alternative, in which all the advantages of the most energetic and active town life, with all the beauty and delight of the country may be secured in perfect combination.¹⁶

There would be clean water to drink, good air to breathe and sound homes in which to raise families, but alongside the smallholdings and allotments there would be factories and warehouses to provide secure employment and good wages. Howard's vision was born out of an assumption of the threat to the stability and future of a country where the people were leaving the countryside for the already crowded towns.¹⁷ His depiction of the rural as the 'symbol of God's love and care, the source of all health, all wealth, all knowledge' tapped into that understanding of the enduring nature of the countryside which resonated with those who believed that the depopulation of the villages was a real danger which needed to be addressed.

¹⁶ E. Howard, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (London, 1946 first published 1902), pp.45-46.

¹⁷ Howard, *Garden Cities*, p.42.

Alun Howkins has seen in Letchworth the home counties pattern of 'essentially middle-class estates as enclaves within existing village communities' writ large.¹⁸ These were not true suburbs as they were not extensions of towns, but rather the result of sub-division of plots as and when they became available. There was a shift within the notices of sales of estates from an early 1870s stress on the reliability of a good income from rentals, to the 1890s highlighting of the potential for building new homes; a notice which appeared in the *Estates Gazette* of July 1890 was typical in focussing on the opportunities for developing 'sites for gentlemen's residences' in Northaw which was 'ripe for building development, being so near London and having such natural advantages.'¹⁹ This shift represented both the need of cash-hungry landowners to realise assets and the demand from those who sought their own little piece of the country lifestyle, a lifestyle which offered access to hunting, fishing, shooting and, latterly, golf. Like their wealthier neighbours, those who moved into the county at this time were attracted by the more practical restorative qualities offered by the rural, and, whilst they did not have the funds to build their own Jacobean mansions, the architects and builders who developed the new estates were alive to the attraction of such styles and delivered accordingly, whilst the new inhabitants themselves shaped the development of their environments by their own assumptions of just what a rural way of life should contain. Their understanding of the place of the common and the heath as the site of social rather than economic need ensured continued interest in how they were developed which ultimately protected them for the present generation of Hertfordshire residents to take their Sunday walk, their earlier economic importance in the budgets of commoners having given way in the face of middle-class aesthetic values.

The View from the Cottage

So much of the talk around the 'problem' of the labourer was a reflection of the perceptions of those who stood outside the cottage and looked in, rather than the result of a genuine understanding of their environment by the inhabitants themselves. What is clear, is that the men and women of the northern and eastern parishes, which were much more agricultural than their neighbours in the south and west, were moving away as agricultural depression impacted on the ability of

¹⁸ A. Howkins, 'Social, Cultural and Domestic Life' in Collins, (ed.), *Agrarian History*, pp.1354-1424, p.1420.

¹⁹ 'Northaw - Freehold Estate', *Estates Gazette*, 12th July 1890.

farmers to offer reliable work at reasonable rates of pay, the continuation of a trend which was already apparent by the middle of the century. The attractions of increased opportunities for work and socialising offered by the towns drew many away from the site of their birth; sometimes they were unable to stay even if they wanted to. A correspondent to the *Daily News* complained that the desire to keep the village of Welwyn unchanged meant that 'many of the villagers are exiles against their will', and a local firm of bootmakers which employed one hundred hands had been forced to move to St. Albans to find suitable premises as there was nothing in the village either for sale or rent.²⁰ That desire to keep the labourer in the village could be flexible when it impinged on that ancient English tradition of 'not in my back yard'.

Social investigators moved out into the countryside to try to get to the heart of how the labourers themselves perceived their environment, but this proved elusive; Richard Jefferies held that labourers had one language they used when talking to outsiders and one they used only amongst themselves, making it hard to get to the true feelings behind the words.²¹ When one reads of the visit from Mrs. Hodgson with her violin, Mary Ward with her daughters in tow, and the persistent knocking of the dames of the Primrose League it is perhaps not surprising that the labourer and his wife kept their own counsel at a time when the family economy relied on a number of different strands of support. Hodge and Lob remained the labels of those who stood outside and observed, their use revealing the assumptions and concerns of those who employed them. Agricultural labourers were as diverse in their opinions, abilities and sentiments as any group of people, and that diversity was reflected in their different political viewpoints.

The post-reform world of electioneering was greeted enthusiastically by the newly enfranchised labourer who was thought to be a natural find for the Liberal party. Yet it would seem that for many agricultural labourers in Hertfordshire there was a continuing sense of identity and inclusion within an agricultural interest which translated to support for the Conservative party at the polls. The high numbers voting for Baron Dimsdale in the first post-reform election of 1885 pointed to a more nuanced understanding of politics than might be suggested by a line drawn on the basis of class. The labourers of the heavily agricultural Northern division of the

²⁰ Bellamy and Williamson, *Victorian Village*, p.227. Letter from 'Verax' of Welwyn dated 17th October 1891.

²¹ Freeman, *Social Investigation*, p.65.

county showed at the polls that they were prepared to elect a Tory landowner, evidence perhaps of an investment in their own rural identity as well as their newly acquired ability to grab that landowner's attention and remind him of just where his political future lay; their distrust of an urban agenda translated into a distrust of a Liberal Party so heavily identified with manufacturing, teetotalism and the town. This distrust was not universal, for the Liberals did garner votes across the county, but was significant enough to help send all four Tory candidates to the Commons.

A Rural County

Hertfordshire's identity as a rural county has so often been defined in terms of its relationship to London, the convenience of its situation making it popular with those who sought a sense of space and cleaner air, be they the day tripper or the city dweller looking for something more permanent.²² On the eve of the Second World War, the *King's England* series introduced the county as 'London's Country Neighbour' and described it as:

country as it should be, unspoiled by the heavy hand of industry. Its four hundred thousand people on their four hundred thousand acres are all country folk, loving their small rivers and their little hills.²³

This was cosy countryside, almost Hobbit-like in its portrayal of a people each centred on their own little patch of the rural idyll. This 1930s version of the south country was self-consciously promoting the county as rural even as a second garden city was taking shape at Welwyn, with the acknowledged aim of attracting London

²² There were many guides to the county aimed at the day trippers or those undertaking a touring holiday. See *Adam's Pocket Descriptive Guide to the Environs of the Metropolis* (London, 1852), p.7 which invited readers to escape for a day the 'moil and turmoil of the human hive' for the 'region of trees and flowers' to be found on the edge of the capital, H.J. Foley, *Rural Rambles in Hertfordshire* (London, 1889), A.J. Foster, *Tourist's Guide to Hertfordshire* (London, 1896) which took as its format four tours based on the mainline railways which passed through the county, Bettsworth, *Way About Hertfordshire*, which was aimed specifically at the cyclist. The current webpage for Hertfordshire on a tourist information site aimed at the overseas traveller introduces the county as a chance for 'Day trippers escaping the Big Smoke [to] seek out Hertfordshire's Roman roots, crumbling Norman ruins and opulent royal homes. Deserted medieval forests and the rolling Chiltern Hills crown its lush landscape and many a king and queen once favoured its tranquil towns and villages.' www.whatsonwhen.com accessed 15th September 2010.

²³ A. Mee, *The King's England. Hertfordshire, London's Country Neighbour* (Barnsley, 1991, first published 1939), p.1.

workers.²⁴ Guides to the county continued to emphasise its place as a counter-balance to the city even as the urbanisation of the south and south-west continued.

It was this connection to London which attracted so many of those who moved into the county, be they the Scottish farmers who recognised the marketing opportunities for milk and potatoes, or the millionaires and professional men who looked to combine their economic interests in the city with the benefits of clean air and easy access to the hunt, the river or the golf course. There were those who feared that the changes which brought these new men and their families into the county would mean a change too far and the loss of an older, more valuable tradition. However, those who arrived at the end of the nineteenth century brought an energy and enthusiasm for their new home which was translated into action. The farmers helped to restructure an agricultural economy which was wobbling in the face of increased competition and new markets; the new wealthy defied the pessimists and showed a continuing investment in the notion of a paternalistic society. They shared a belief in the protection of the rural as vital to the greater health of the nation, but, as this thesis has shown, there was a divergence of opinion when the nature of that protection was discussed; farmers, for all their claims to be the heart of the countryside, were unable to convince that their Protection was protection for all. Yet the label of an agricultural county continued to be important to those who promoted Hertfordshire as an antidote to the urban sprawl on its doorstep, and that image of the county rooted in that most ancient of industries offered a picture which attracted and reassured those who chose to make their home within its borders.

Of all counties Hertfordshire seems the most desirable. Perhaps because it is the essence of a peace loving people with its neatly hedged fields, narrow deep set lanes, little towns and hamlets that scarce own a name story book villages with houses and cottages grouped about a green Nearly all

²⁴ S. Meacham, *Regaining Paradise*, p.181. My grandfather was a printer with the *Daily Mail* in the 1920s and was one of a group of workers approached and offered the opportunity to move out to Welwyn Garden City when it was first mooted. Coming from a long line of Londoners he declined on the grounds that it was 'out in the sticks', a reminder that the rural idyll was not for everybody.

Hertfordshire towns enjoy a rural setting, for the county is true to its old industry – agriculture.²⁵

A final perspective

This research has focussed on the economic, political, and social experience of agricultural depression and landownership change in one rural county, an approach which could be applied to comparative studies of other counties. In addition to bringing more detail to the picture of agricultural depression as it was experienced on the ground by farmers themselves, this thesis contributes to the wider historiography on the nature of identity at the end of the nineteenth century, and the place of the rural in the national psyche.

²⁵ *Hertfordshire – the County Handbook* quoted in Pahl, *Urbs in Rure*, p.24. Pahl gives no date for the *County Handbook* but places it in the early 1930s..

Appendix 4B. Individual Public Spending Initiatives in Hertfordshire by social class & occupation 1870-1914

Status	Church Restoration ¹				Total
	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	
Aristocracy	3		1		4
Clergy					0
Farmers	2		1		3
Gentry ²	1	2	3	2	8
Military	1				1
First Generation ³					
Commercial	1	5	2	5	13
Manufacturing	1	1			2
Finance				1	1
Law		2	2		4
Other			2		2
No trace		1			1
Total	9	11	11	8	39

Status	New Churches				Total
	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	
Aristocracy	2	1			3
Clergy	1		1		2
Farmers					0
Gentry	3	2			5
Military					0
First Generation					
Commercial		1	2	1	4
Manufacturing	1				1
Finance	1	2	1	3	7
Law				1	1
Other					0
No trace					0
Total	8	6	4	5	23

¹ This refers only to the restoration or repair of the fabric of the church, and the donation of new church furniture such as bells, pulpits or organs. It does not include memorial stained glass windows.

² D. Warrand, (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertford. Genealogical Volume* (London, 1907), p.xviii. Gentry families were those included in Duncan Warrand's consideration of "extant families whose long association with their county has made them a part of its history." This included those whose continued to derive wealth from non-landed sources such as brewing or banking. For examples see the Hanburys of Ware p.13 and Fordhams of Royston p.10.

³ These individuals were the first in their families to settle permanently in the county.

Status	Almshouses ⁴				Total
	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	
Aristocracy	2 (1)				2 (1)
Clergy		2 (1)	2 (1)		4 (2)
Farmers	2 (1)				2 (1)
Gentry	6 (1)				6 (1)
Military				8 (2)	8 (2)
First Generation					
Commercial		3 (1)	3 (1)	14 (3)	20 (5)
Manufacturing					0
Finance		2 (1)	5 (1)	5 (2)	12 (4)
Law					0
Other		10 (1)	5 (1)	3 (1)	18 (3)
No trace				6 (1)	6 (1)
Total	10 (3)	17 (4)	15 (4)	36 (9)	78 (20)

Status	Reading Rooms, Libraries and Institutes				Total
	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	
Aristocracy				1	1
Clergy					0
Farmers		1			1
Gentry	2	5	2	2	11
Military					0
First Generation					
Commercial		1		1	2
Manufacturing					0
Finance				1	1
Law		1			1
Other			1	3	4
No trace					0
Total	2	8	3	8	21

⁴ This is the figure for the number of new homes provided. The number in brackets shows the number of individual initiatives.

Status	Village Halls				Total
	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	
Aristocracy			1	1	2
Clergy			1		1
Farmers					0
Gentry				1	1
Military					0
First Generation					
Commercial			1	1	2
Manufacturing		1	1	3	5
Finance				2	2
Law			1		1
Other					0
No trace				1	1
Total	0	1	5	9	15

Status	Parks & Recreation Grounds				Total
	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	
Aristocracy					0
Clergy					0
Farmers					0
Gentry					0
Military					0
First Generation					
Commercial			2	1	3
Manufacturing			1		1
Finance		1			1
Law		1			1
Other				1	1
No trace		1			1
Total	0	3	3	2	8

Status	Hospitals, Nursing Homes & Orphanages				Total
	1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	
Aristocracy		1			1
Clergy					0
Farmers					0
Gentry			1	1	2
Military					0
First Generation					
Commercial			5	2	7
Manufacturing					0
Finance				1	1
Law					0
Other					0
No trace			1		1
Total	0	1	7	4	12

Appendix 4A Individual public spending initiatives in Hertfordshire, 1870-1914¹

Name	Occupation	Place	Date	Amenity
William Baker	Gentry ²	Bayford	1870	New Church
John S. Gilliat	Merchant Banker ³	Chorleywood	1870	New Church & Vicarage
Charles Longman	Paper Manufacturer ⁴	Apsley End	1871	New Church
Marquess of Salisbury	Aristocracy	Hatfield	1872	Church Restoration
William Hodgson	Sugar Refiner ⁵	Eastwick	1872	Church Restoration
Robert Smith	Gentry	Waterford	1872	New Church
Thomas Clutterbuck	Gentry	Watford	1873	Public Library & College for Science
Abel Smith	Gentry	Watton	1873	Six Almshouses
Reynolds, Sir A.J.	Merchant ⁶	Digswell	1874	Church Restoration ⁷
Earl Cowper	Aristocracy	Ayot St Peter	1875	New Church ⁸
Earl Cowper	Aristocracy	Hertford	1876	New Tower and Spire for Church
Countess of Essex	Aristocracy	Watford	1876	Two Almshouses
William Handscombe	Farmer	Pirton	1876	Two Almshouses ⁹
Marquess of Salisbury	Aristocracy	Hatfield	1877	New Chapel of Ease on site of Cemetery
Earl Brownlow	Aristocracy	L. Gaddesden	1877	Church Restoration
Mrs. Caroline Brooke	Army widow ¹⁰	Croxley Green	1877	Church Clock and Bell
William Rolfe	Farmer ¹¹	Meesden	1877	Church Restoration

¹ Unless otherwise stated, details taken from *Kelly's Trade Directory for Hertfordshire* (1914), hereafter *Kelly's*.

² D. Warrand, (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertford. Genealogical Volume* (London, 1907), p.xviii. Donors categorised as gentry are those included in Duncan Warrand's consideration of "extant families whose long association with their county has made them a part of its history." This included those whose continued to derive wealth from non-landed sources such as brewing or banking and had a long family presence within the county. For examples see the Hanburys of Ware p.13 and Fordhams of Royston p.10. Those families included in Warrand, but with only a first generation presence within the county, have been shown under their occupation.

³ 'Mr. J.S. Gilliat', *The Times*, 16th February 1912 p.9.

⁴ 'Wills and Bequests', *The Times*, 1st March 1873 p.10. Longman was a partner in the paper manufacturing company of John Dickinson.

⁵ Thompson, *Gentrification*, Appendices New Men of Wealth and the Purchase of Landed Estates pp.162-194, p.165. William Hodgson was the son of Thomas Hodgson, a sugar refiner.

⁶ 'Sir A.J. Reynolds - Obituary', *The Times*, 4th April 1931 p.12.

⁷ Pevsner, *Hertfordshire*, p.399. Pevsner gives a date of 1874-76 for the restoration.

⁸ Page, *VCH Volume Three 'Ayot St Peter'* pp.63-65, p.64. This church replaced an earlier church destroyed by fire in 1874.

⁹ Page, *VCH Volume Three, 'Pirton'* pp.44-51. p.51. These two almshouses replaced an earlier endowment made by John Hammond in 1607. William Handscombe, a farmer, was a descendant of John Hammond.

¹⁰ 1871 census 'Watford' RG10/1383 ED6 F119, www.croxleygreenallsaints.org/history.htm accessed 20th January 2010. Mrs Caroline Brook, widow of James Brooke, Colonel in King's 8th Regiment, donated a new Church Clock and Bells to All Saints Church, Croxley Green.

Name	Occupation	Place	Date	Amenity
Joseph Woodward	Farmer ¹²	Aspenden	1877	Church Bells
Rev. J.G. Hale	Clergy	Therfield	1878	New Church ¹³
Robert Smith	Gentry	Hertford	1878	New Chapel for Hospital
Lady Susan Dacre	Gentry	Kimpton	1879	Workmen's Institute
Arthur Giles-Puller	Gentry	Wadesmill	1879	Stone Cross Memorial to Thomas Clarkson
Thomas Halsey	Gentry ¹⁴	G. Gaddesden	1879	Church Restoration
Robert Barclay	Banker ¹⁵	Hoddesdon	1880	Recreation Ground ¹⁶
Robert Barclay	Banker	Rye Common	1880	Iron Church ¹⁷
Thomas F. Buxton	Brewer ¹⁸	Stanstead Abbots	1880	New Church
Henry P. Gilbey	Wine Merchant ¹⁹	Bishop's Stortford	1880	Working Men's Club ²⁰
Robert Hanbury	Gentry	Ware	1880	New Vestry for Church
George D. Pearman	Farmer ²¹	Walkern	1880	Reading Room ²²
William H. Solly	Gentry	Bedmond	1880	Iron Church
John Saunders Gilliat	Merchant Banker	Chorleywood	1881	Two Almshouses ²³
Marquess of Salisbury	Aristocracy	Hatfield	1882	Chapel of Ease at Hatfield Hyde
Countess Cowper	Aristocracy	Hertingfordbury	1882	Rest Home For Ladies ²⁴
Baron Aldenham	Merchant ²⁵	Aldenham	1882	Church Restoration

¹¹ 1881 census 'Meesden' RG11/1409 ED1 F16 William Rolfe, aged 65, farming 300 acres.

¹² 1881 census 'Aspenden' RG11/1409 ED2 F28 Joseph Woodward, aged 67, farming 225 acres.

¹³ Pevsner, *Hertfordshire*, p.362. Pevsner gives a date of 1878 for the church of St. Mary which Rev. Hale built on the site of an earlier church.

¹⁴ The Halsey's had been resident at Great Gaddesden since the early 17th century but failed to make Warrand's list of families of ancient Hertfordshire lineage on the criterion of inheritance only through the male line. Warrand, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, p.13.

¹⁵ Hayllar, *Hoddesdon*, p.61.

¹⁶ E.W. Paddick, *Hoddesdon. Tales of a Hertfordshire Town* (Hoddesdon, 1971), p.74.

¹⁷ Garside, *Hoddesdon*, p.74.

¹⁸ Deacon and Walne, *Professional Hertfordshire Tramp*, pp.8-9.

¹⁹ R.J. Moore-Colyer, 'Gilbey, Sir Walter, first baronet (1831-1914) *ODNB* (Sept 2004) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38445 accessed 1st December 2009. Henry P. Gilbey was the older brother of Walter Gilbey.

²⁰ 'Bishop Stortford Working Men's Club. Opening of the Great Hall', *HEO*, 10th January 1880 p.2.

²¹ 1881 census 'Walkern' RG11/1422 ED6 F85 George D Pearman 'Farmer and Miller'.

²² 'Walkern', *HGAJ*, 10th April 1880 p.5.

²³ Foster, *Chorleywood*, p.32.

²⁴ First mentioned in *Kelly's* (1882), p.618.

Name	Occupation	Place	Date	Amenity
Baron Aldenham	Merchant	Elstree	1882	Three Almshouses ²⁶
Mrs. Kidston	Merchant's wife ²⁷	Northaw	1882	New Church Organ
Baron Rothschild	Finance ²⁸	Long Marston	1883	Site for New Church ²⁹
Robert Hanbury	Gentry	Amwell End	1883	New Mission Hall
Robert Hanbury	Gentry	Amwell End	1883	Reading Room
George J. Reveley	Independent ³⁰	Bushey	1883	Ten Almshouses ³¹
Baron Aldenham	Merchant	St Albans	1884	Church Restoration – Abbey Sanctuary Chapel
Spencer Charrington	Brewer ³²	Hunsdon	1884	Church Restoration – Church Tower & Bells ³³
Charles T. Part	Barrister ³⁴	Radlett	1884	Working Men's Social Club ³⁵
James Jackson Scott	Shipbuilder ³⁶	Ardeley	1884	New Chancel Screen
Robert Smith	Gentry	Bengeo	1884	Church Restoration
Baron Grimthorpe	Barrister ³⁷	St Albans	1885	Church Restoration – St Albans Abbey
Gerard V. Ames	Gentry	Ayot St Lawrence	1886	New Social Club
Mrs Lionel Lucas	Unknown ³⁸	Berkhamsted	1886	Recreation Ground ³⁹

²⁵ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.185, M. Daunton, 'Gibbs, Henry Hucks, first Baron Aldenham (1819-1907)' *ODNB* (Sept 2004; online edn May 2006) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33386 accessed 26th January 2007. Baron Aldenham was formerly Henry Hucks Gibbs, whose wealth came from his monopoly in supplying Europe with guano from Peru.

²⁶ Pevsner, *Hertfordshire*, p.140. Pevsner gives a date of 1882-83 for these almshouses.

²⁷ Morgan & Moss, 'Wealthy and Titled Persons', p.46 fn.24, 1881 census 'Northaw' RG11/1427 ED10 F85 John P. Kidston and wife Janet, Merchant and Ship Owner. Kidston was a Scot who continued to have business interests in Scotland.

²⁸ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.172.

²⁹ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, 'Tring with Long Marston' pp.281-294, p.292. This replaced an older church which was demolished in 1883. The site given was some distance from the old parish church.

³⁰ George Johnson Reveley appeared in every census 1841-1871 living in Queen's Square, Holborn, with his occupation given as 'Independent' 1841 HO107/671 ED1 F7, and 'Fundholder' 1851 onwards HO107/1513 ED4a F40. Reveley Lodge originally purchased by his mother, Ann, in 1845, was inherited by George in 1854, Hertfordshire Record Society Newsletter (Spring 2006) www.hrsociety.org.uk/news/2006.doc accessed 6th February 2010..

³¹ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, 'Bushey' pp.179-186, p.186. By his will of 1877, George Johnson Reveley provided £1,500 for the building of ten almshouses, and invested £10,000 for maintenance of the building and the support of the residents.

³² Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.168.

³³ 'Spencer Charrington of Hunsdon House', *HM*, 17th December 1904 p.5.

³⁴ Wratten, *Radlett and Aldenham*, p.83, 1891 census 'Aldenham' RG12/1117 ED3 F41.

³⁵ Wratten, *Radlett and Aldenham*, p.96. Charles Part also provided a shop and post office for the village of Radlett.

³⁶ R.E. Harbord, *The Parish of Ardeley. A Short History* (Ardeley, 1952), p.38.

³⁷ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.169. Formerly known as Edmund Denison-Beckett.

³⁸ Mrs. Lionel R. Lucas shown living at King's Hill, Great Berkhamsted, *Kelly's* (1882), p.708 & (1890), p.884. No further identification possible.

Name	Occupation	Place	Date	Amenity
Canon F. Fox Lambert	Clergy	Clothall	1887	Two Almshouses
Henry T. Hodgson	Gentry	Harpenden	1887	Harpenden Institute
John Henry James	Gentry ⁴⁰	Leavesden	1887	Village Club, Reading Room & Library
Charles T. Part	Barrister	Radlett	1887	Recreation Ground ⁴¹
Joseph Sharples	Banker ⁴²	Hitchin	1887	Drinking Fountain
Mrs. East	No trace	Hoddesdon	1888	Church Restoration
Brodie Henderson	Engineer ⁴³	L. Berkhamsted	1888	Village Hall
John P. Kidston	Merchant	Northaw	1888	Church Restoration
Mrs. Martin-Leake	Barrister's wife ⁴⁴	High Cross	1888	Church Restoration
Baron Rothschild	Finance	Tring	1889	Natural History Museum
Edmund S. Hanbury	Gentry	Thundridge	1889	Reading Room
Earl Cowper	Aristocracy	Digswell	1890	Parish Room
Baron Dacre	Gentry	Kimpton	1890	Church Restoration
Canon Fox Lambert	Clergy	Cromer	1890	New Chapel of Ease
Edward Salvin Bowlby	Barrister ⁴⁵	Eastwick	1890	Five Almshouses ⁴⁶
Vicary Gibbs	Barrister ⁴⁷	Aldenham	1890	Church Bells ⁴⁸
Roderick W. Henderson	Surgeon ⁴⁹	Rickmansworth	1890	Church Restoration
Sir J. G. Saunders-Sebright	Gentry	Flamstead	1890	Fuel and Food Charities
Wigg Family	Architect ⁵⁰	Frogmore	1890	Three Almshouses
Earl Cowper	Aristocracy	Hertingfordbury	1891	Church Restoration

³⁹ Birtchenell, *Berkhamsted*, p.99.

⁴⁰ 1891 census 'Watford' RG12/1120 ED19 F32.

⁴¹ Aldenham Parish Council, *Radlett and the Parish of Aldenham* (Aldenham, n.d.).

⁴² 1871 census 'Hitchin' RG10/1368 ED7 F6.

⁴³ C.M. Lewis, 'Henderson, Sir Brodie Haldane (1869-1936) *O.D.N.B.* (2004) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/55211 accessed 2nd December 2009.

⁴⁴ 1881 census 'Standon' RG11/1403 ED8 F83.

⁴⁵ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.165. Edward Salvin Bowlby, a barrister, inherited the Gilston estate from his uncle, William Hodgson, the son of Thomas Hodgson, a sugar refiner. In view of his somewhat ambivalent status he has been included in the 'other' categories of status.

⁴⁶ Personal Communication from Professor Nigel Goose, March 2009.

⁴⁷ 1881 census 'Marylebone' RG11/157 ED17 F91, Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.185. Gibbs was the son of Henry Hucks Gibbs, later Baron Aldenham, who was a guano merchant.

⁴⁸ 'Aldenham - The Church Bells'. *HAST*. 4th January 1890 p.7.

⁴⁹ 1891 census 'Rickmansworth' RG12/1121 ED1 F5.

⁵⁰ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, 'St. Stephens' pp.424-432, p.432.

Name	Occupation	Place	Date	Amenity
Mrs. Mountford-Wood	Clergy Widow	Aldbury	1891	Two Almshouses
Mrs. Mountford-Wood	Clergy Widow	Aldbury	1891	Village Hall
Sir Henry Meux	Gentry	Waltham Cross	1892	Site of Eleanor Cross protected
Mrs Mary Saunders	Merchant's wife ⁵¹	Shenley	1892	Orphanage & Training home for local girls ⁵²
Joseph Grout Williams	Gentry	Tring	1892	Constitutional Club
Baron Rothschild	Finance	Tring	1893	Five Almshouses ⁵³
Sir John Blundell Maple	Department Store Owner ⁵⁴	St Albans	1893	New Hospital
John Crawter	Agent & Auctioneer ⁵⁵	Waltham Cross	1893	New Mission Church
Gosselin Family	Gentry	Bengeo	1893	Church Restoration
Mrs. J.W. Robins	Stockbroker's widow ⁵⁶	Watford	1893	New Chapel of Ease
Herbert Shepherd-Cross	Textile Bleacher ⁵⁷	Braughing	1893	Village Hall
Baron Grimthorpe	Barrister	St Albans	1894	Church Restoration – St. Peter's Church
Sir John Blundell Maple	Department Store Owner	St Albans	1894	Public Park
Mrs. Blackwell	Gentry ⁵⁸	Chipperfield	1894	New Church Organ
Joseph Westrope	Farmer ⁵⁹	Ashwell	1894	Church Restoration
Sir Walter Gilbey	Wine Merchant	Bishop's Stortford	1895	Site for Hospital
Thomas Fowell Buxton	Brewer	Stanstead Abbots	1895	Four iron seats along the public road ⁶⁰
Frere Family	Gentry ⁶¹	Bishop's Stortford	1895	Hospital
Stephen T. Holland	Contractor of furnishings ⁶²	Watford	1895	New Church
Mrs J. Kidston	Merchant's widow	Northaw	1895	Convalescent Home for Children ⁶³

⁵¹ Bridge, *Portrait*, p.114.

⁵² Bridge, *Portrait*, p.114. No date is given for the opening of this home for housing orphan and disadvantaged girls, but a search of the 1891 census for Shenley reveals no sign of it and the family left Shenley some time after 1893.

⁵³ Personal Communication from Professor Nigel Goose, March 2009.

⁵⁴ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.168.

⁵⁵ 1881 census 'Cheshunt' RG11/1398 ED6 F7.

⁵⁶ 1881 census 'Tottenham' RG11/1385 ED24 F44, *London Gazette* 30th July 1889 p.4085

www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/25959/pages/4085 accessed 3rd March 2010, confirmed as J.W. and Emily Robins of The Elms, Watford.

⁵⁷ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.190.

⁵⁸ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, 'King's Langley' pp.234-245, p.235. Mrs Blackwell, widow of Robert Blackwell of Chipperfield Manor, a landowner, donated a new church organ to her local parish church in memory of her husband.

⁵⁹ Davey, *Ashwell*, p.29. The Westrope family were farmers in the Ashwell district.

⁶⁰ 'Stanstead Abbots. Presentation to the Parish', *HM*. 20th April 1895 p.3.

⁶¹ Page, *VCH Volume Three*, 'Thorley' pp.373-377 p. 373. The Frere family do not appear in Warrant, but were present in Thorley, near Bishop's Stortford from the end of the eighteenth century.

⁶² Victoria and Albert National Art Library <http://catalogue.nal.vam.ac.uk> accessed 4th December 2009.

Name	Occupation	Place	Date	Amenity
Mrs. Henry Page	Maltster's wife ⁶⁴	Ware	1895	Village Hall
Lady Meux	Gentry	Waltham Cross	1896	Library and Reading Room ⁶⁵
Robert Barclay	Banker	Hoddesdon	1897	Site for almshouses ⁶⁶
Sir John Barker	Department Store Owner ⁶⁷	Bishop's Stortford	1897	New Wing for Hospital
Thomas F. Blackwell	Grocer ⁶⁸	Oxhey	1897	Church Restoration
Charles P. Christie	Brewer ⁶⁹	Rye Park	1897	Recreation Ground
Alexander Crossman	Brewer ⁷⁰	Great Chishall	1897	Church Restoration – Church Tower ⁷¹
John Blundell Maple	Department Store Owner	Harpenden	1897	Sixteen Almshouses ⁷²
John Blundell Maple	Department Store Owner	Harpenden	1897	Convalescent Home
Charles T. Part	Barrister	Radlett	1897	Site for Village Hall ⁷³
Baron Grimthorpe	Barrister	St. Michaels	1898	Church Restoration
Baron Rothschild	Financier	Long Marston	1898	New Cemetery
Miss Collins-Splat	Unknown	Bushey	1898	New Hospital
Charles Woollam	Silk Manufacturer ⁷⁴	St. Albans	1898	Recreation Ground
Dr. Frederick C. Fisher	Surgeon ⁷⁵	King's Langley	1899	Reading Room ⁷⁶
Baron Mount-Stephen	Railway Entrepreneur ⁷⁷	Lemsford	1900	Nurses' Home
John Marnham	Stockbroker ⁷⁸	Northchurch	1900	New Baptist Chapel ⁷⁹

⁶³ The first mention of the Convalescent Home appeared in *Kelly's* (1895), p.147.

⁶⁴ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.167.

⁶⁵ Edwards, *Cheshunt*, p.121.

⁶⁶ Garside, *Hoddesdon*, p.63.

⁶⁷ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.183.

⁶⁸ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, 'Watford Parish' p.457.

⁶⁹ Hayllar, *Hoddesdon*, p.58.

⁷⁰ 1901 census 'Barkway' RG13/1292 ED4 F51.

⁷¹ 'Local Necrology April 1916 - Alexander Crossman', *Herts Almanac* (1917), 'Great Chishall' *Kelly's Directory of Essex* (1916), p.127.

⁷² Barty-King, *Maples*, p.67. These almshouses consisted of sixteen one-bedroomed flats, and together with the Convalescent Home opened at the same time were intended for use not by Hertfordshire residents but employees of Maples furniture company. For this reason neither have been included in the tables appearing in the chapter 'The New Wealthy and their Understanding of the County'.

⁷³ Wratten, *Radlett and Aldenham*, p.83.

⁷⁴ *Kelly's* (1882), 'St. Albans' p.662.

⁷⁵ *Kelly's* (1899), 'King's Langley' p.137.

⁷⁶ L.M. Munby, (ed.), *The History of King's Langley* (King's Langley, 1963), p.127. This replaced an earlier Reading Room, demolished in 1895

⁷⁷ G.P. Marchildon, 'Stephen, George, Baron Mount Stephen (1829-1921) *ODNB* (2004) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36270 accessed 26th January 2007.

Name	Occupation	Place	Date	Amenity
Baron Rothschild	Financier	Hastoe	1901	New Chapel
Baron Rothschild	Financier	Hastoe	1901	Village Hall ⁸⁰
Baron Rothschild	Financier	Tring	1901	Three Almshouses ⁸¹
Edward Barclay	Banker	Brent Pelham	1901	Village Hall
Col. Blake	Gentry	Welwyn	1901	Site for New Hospital
Christie Family	Brewers	Hoddesdon	1901	Set of 8 New Church Bells
Baroness Rothschild	Financier's wife	Tring	1902	Nursing Home ⁸²
Sir Samuel Boulton	Chemical Engineer ⁸³	Totteridge	1902	Village Hall
Thomas F. Harrison	Ship-owner ⁸⁴	King's Walden	1902	New Church Organ
W.H. Henderson	Unknown	Abbotts Langley	1902	Village Hall
Thomas T. Greg	Solicitor ⁸⁵	Westmill	1902	Village Hall ⁸⁶
Mrs. Thomas Mann	Brewer ⁸⁷	Sawbridgeworth	1902	Four Almshouses
Charles T. Part	Barrister	Radlett	1902	Drinking Fountain ⁸⁸
Sir Martin Gosselin	Gentry	Widford	1904	Burial Ground and Mortuary
Spencer Charrington	Brewer	Hunsdon	1904	Bought and restored school buildings ⁸⁹
George Moss	Unknown ⁹⁰	Ashwell	1904	Six Almshouses
Sir John Barker	Department Store Owner	Bishop's Stortford	1905	New Operating Theatre for Hospital
Sir Walter Gilbey	Wine Merchant	Bishop's Stortford	1905	Eight Almshouses
Thomas F. Buxton	Brewer	Stanstead Abbots	1905	Set of 6 New Church Bells

⁷⁸ 'Biographies of the Candidates', *The Times*, 27th June 1892 p.3.

⁷⁹ Hosier, *Hedgehog's Northchurch*, p.67.

⁸⁰ Timberlake, 'Hastoe', p.13. No confirmation of the date for the building of either the chapel or the village room has been found, but Robert Timberlake, born 1901, recalled Christmas entertainments in the village hall, the Hastoe Room, as a child before the War.

⁸¹ Personal Communication from Professor Nigel Goose, March 2009.

⁸² The first mention of the Tring Nursing Home for which Lady Rothschild gave the site appeared in *Kelly's* (1902), p.209, Macdonald, *Tring Air*, p.65 claims that Lady Rothschild supported the Nightingale Cottage Nursing Home with an endowment which in 1940 brought in £187 a year.

⁸³ 'War Work at 86 - Sir Samuel Boulton's Decision', *The Times*, 14th December 1916 p.5.

⁸⁴ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.172.

⁸⁵ M.R. Parkinson, 'Thomas Tylston Greg 1858-1920' *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, Vol.15, No.1 (1971), pp.15-24, p.15.

Thomas Tylston Greg trained as a solicitor. He was the grandson of Thomas Greg, merchant, ship-owner, and cotton mill owner. For the purposes of all tables T.T. Greg appears in the manufacturing category, an acknowledgment of the source of his wealth.

⁸⁶ The first mention of the Village Hall appeared in *Kelly's* (1902), p.240.

⁸⁷ 1891 census 'Sawbridgeworth' RG12/1096 ED3 F44.

⁸⁸ Wratten, *Radlett and Aldenham*, p.81.

⁸⁹ 'Spencer Charrington', *HM*, 17th December 1904 p.5, Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.168.

⁹⁰ *Kelly's* (1908), 'Ashwell' pp.24-26, p.25. George Moss was described as "of London, a native of Ashwell".

Name	Occupation	Place	Date	Amenity
Herbert Shepherd Cross	Textile Bleacher	Braughing	1905	Village Hall – replaced 1893 Hall
John Saunders Gilliat	Merchant Banker	Chorleywood	1906	Two Almshouses ⁹¹
Henry Tylston Hodgson	Gentry	Harpenden	1906	New Village Room for Young People
Admiral Vander-Meulen	Naval Officer	Bishop's Stortford	1907	Four Almshouses
Andrew Carnegie	American Philanthropist	Cheshunt	1907	Public Library
Baron Aldenham	Merchant	St Albans	1908	New Organ for Abbey
Robert Barclay	Banker	Rye Park	1908	New Church ⁹²
Arthur. S. Bowlby	Barrister ⁹³	Gilston	1908	Working Men's Club
G.C. Glyn	Banker ⁹⁴	Albury	1908	Church Restoration
Frederick Harrison	Coachbuilder ⁹⁵	Ware	1908	Two Almshouses
Thomas F. Harrison	Ship-owner	King's Walden	1908	Church Restoration
Admiral Vander-Meulen	Naval Officer	Thorley	1909	Upkeep of Cemetery
Esther Dudding	Clergy widow	Barkway	1909	Three Almshouses
G.R. Smith-Bosanquet	Gentry	Broxbourne	1909	New Church Organ
G.R. Smith-Bosanquet	Gentry	Broxbourne	1909	Recreation Room
Smith-Bosanquet Family	Gentry	Broxbourne	1909	Parish Room
Marquess of Salisbury	Aristocracy	Hatfield	1910	Library, Lecture Room and Ballroom
Countess Cowper	Aristocracy	Hertingfordbury	1910	Village Hall
Admiral Vander-Meulen	Naval Officer	Bishop's Stortford	1910	Four Almshouses – additional to 1907 gift ⁹⁶
Andrew Carnegie	American Philanthropist	St. Albans	1910	Public Library
Mrs. J. Kidston	Merchant's wife	Cuffley	1910	New Iron Church
W.R. Blackwell	Grocer	Oxhey	1911	Parish Hall
Blackwell Family	Gentry	Chipperfield	1911	New Stone Pulpit
Cuthbert & J.R. Grundy	Artist ⁹⁷	Cheshunt	1911	Public Park
William Randall	Merchant ⁹⁸	Hemel Hempstead	1911	Public Park
Ernest E. Wickham	Solicitor ⁹⁹	Colliers End	1911	New Church

⁹¹ Foster, *Chorleywood*, p.32.

⁹² *Kelly's* (1912), 'Hoddesdon' p.156. This church replace the Iron Chapel which Barclay had funded in 1880.

⁹³ 1901 census 'Gilston' RG13/1281 ED10 F7. Arthur Salvin Bowlby was the son of Edward S. Bowlby see above fn.45.

⁹⁴ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.165.

⁹⁵ 1901 census 'Ware' RG13/1282 ED4 F80.

⁹⁶ Admiral Vander Meulen's sister, Mrs. Georgina Menet, gave money for a further block of four almshouses in 1915. Their father had been Rector of nearby Thorley and priority in these houses was to be given to residents of Thorley www.stortfordhistory.co.uk/guide13 accessed 19th July 2005.

⁹⁷ 'Sir Cuthbert Grundy. Painter and Public Benefactor', *The Times*, 2nd February 1946 p.6.

⁹⁸ 1901 census 'Hemel Hempstead' RG12/1124 ED1 F10.

Name	Occupation	Place	Date	Amenity
Frank G. Debenham	Auctioneer & Surveyor ¹⁰⁰	Flamstead End	1912	Reading Room ¹⁰¹
Mrs Hayes-Burn	American Financier's wife ¹⁰²	North Mymms	1914	Village Institute ¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Page, *VCH Volume Three*, 'Standon' pp.347-366, p.365. Wickham built St. Mary's at Colliers End, a hamlet in the parish of Standon, in memory of his wife. 1901 census 'Twickenham' RG13/1187 ED5 F127 Edward Ernest Wickham 'Solicitor' married to Hannah B. Wickham. Both Ernest and Hannah died in the Ware Registration District which covered Standon, Hannah in December 1909 Vol. 3a p.330 and Edward in January 1923 Vol. 3a p.335 www.ancestry.co.uk accessed 6th February 2010.

¹⁰⁰ 'Mr. F.G. Debenham', *The Times*, 8th November 1912 p.11.

¹⁰¹ No foundation date was given, but the first mention of this small Reading Room designed for use in the winter by the residents of Flamstead End appeared in *Kelly's* (1914), p.84.

¹⁰² 'Record of County Topics', *H.I.R.*, Volume One, (March 1893), p.168.

¹⁰³ Kingsford, *Brookmans Park*, 'Chapter 3 Towards Dissolution 1880-1923'. Mrs Hayes-Burn, who died in 1919, also funded the provision of a nurse for the parish [n.d.] www.brookmans.com/history/kingsford/chthree.shtml accessed 8th July 2009.

Appendix 3N Farming Members of the County War Agricultural Committee, 1916-1918

Name	Address	Born¹	Occupation
Ayre, Richard A.	Bushey Lodge, Leavesden	Devon	Farmer
Broad, Trefy N.	Burr's Green, Sacombe	Cornwall	Farmer
Clarke, Joseph	Park Hill Farm, Tring	Tring	Farmer
Coles, Walter T.	Watford	Devon	Farmer – Retired
Cooke, Edward E.	Bygrave House, Bygrave	Norfolk	Farmer
Cox, Harry	Great Haver's Farm, Bishop's Stortford	Middx	Farmer
Crawford, Daniel	Birchwood Farm, Hatfield	Scotland	Farmer
Davis, Ernest Robert	Rectory Farm, Pirton	Hexton	Farmer
Farr, Charles E.	Weston	Weston	Farmer
Hird, Robert W.	New House Park Farm, St. Albans	Yorkshire	Farmer
Horn, William J.	Handside Farm, Lemsford	Hatfield	Farmer
McCowan, James C.	Estate Office, Hatfield	Scotland	Land Agent
Menhinick, Charles	New Hall Farm, Ware	Cornwall	Farmer
Morris, Edward T.	Buckland	Anstey	Farmer
Pigg, Edward	Furneux Pelham	Barkway	Farmer
Rae, Alfred	Turnford, Broxbourne	Scotland	Nurseryman
Rochford, Joseph	Broxbourne	Yorkshire	Nurseryman
Sibley, Charles F.	The Grove, Harpenden	Harpenden	Farmer
Smith, John W.	Stevenage Bury	Stevenage	Farmer
Strong, William	Water End Farm, Wheathampstead	Somerset	Farmer
Turner, George J.	Cole Green, Hertford	Scotland	Land agent
Wallace, Samuel Jr.	Bedwell Park, Essendon	Scotland	Farmer
Wallace, Samuel	Swangleys Farm, Knebworth	Scotland	Farmer
Wilcox, Charles P.	Waterdell Farm, Watford	London	Farmer

Source : HCRO DEX35 County War Agricultural Committee Minute Book 1 October 1916- November 1920.

¹ For all those born within Hertfordshire the parish of birth is given. For all others only the county or country of birth is shown.

Appendix 3M

Devon farmers resident in Hertfordshire 1871-1911

Name	Farm	Parish	Registration District	Year
DICKER, JAMES H		RIDGE	BARNET	1871
RAWLE, RICHARD	THE COMMON	BERKHAMSTED	BERKHAMSTED	1871
COLES, WALTER T	BUSHEY LODGE	WATFORD	WATFORD	1871
DICKER, JAMES		RIDGE	BARNET	1881
STONE, WILLIAM	RABLEY HOUSE	RIDGE	BARNET	1881
RAWLE, RICHARD	THE KENNELS	BERKHAMSTED	BERKHAMSTED	1881
MACKENZIE, F.A.	MIMWOOD LODGE	NORTH MYMMS	HATFIELD	1881
WARD, HENRY	MILL END	SANDON	ROYSTON	1881
COLES, WALTER T	BUSHEY LODGE	WATFORD	WATFORD	1881
SYMES, WILLIAM	BULLSLAND FARM	RICKMANSWORTH	WATFORD	1881
RAWLE, RICHARD	THE KENNELS	BERKHAMSTED	BERKHAMSTED	1891
REED, CHARLES	CHELSING	BENGEO	HERTFORD	1891
HOLE, WILLIAM	SMALEY LODGE	MEESDON	ROYSTON	1891
CONGDON, JAMES	NOBLES	GREAT MUNDEN	WARE	1891
PAGE, NICHOLAS	WHITE HALL	SANDON	WARE	1891
AYRE, RICHARD	BUSHEY LODGE	BUSHEY	WATFORD	1891
LETHBRIDGE, JOHN	DENHAM FARM	TOTTERIDGE	BARNET	1901
RAWLE, JOHN S	KENNELS	BERKHAMSTED	BERKHAMSTED	1901
HORNER, SAMUEL	SPELBROOK	HIGH WYCH	B. STORTFORD	1901
AYRE, ARTHUR	PARK FARM	NORTHAW	HATFIELD	1901
MORGAN, ROBERT	COLESDALE FARM	NORTHAW	HATFIELD	1901
ELWORTHY, FRED	GROVE HILL	HEMEL HEMPSTEAD	H. HEMPSTEAD	1901
ADAMS, JOHN	PALE FARM	KING'S LANGLEY	H. HEMPSTEAD	1901
BAILEY, JOHN	GT GOBIONS	STAPLEFORD	HERTFORD	1901
BAILEY, MARWOOD	WARE ROAD	HERTFORD	HERTFORD	1901
REED, CHARLES	CHELSING	TONWELL, BENGEO	HERTFORD	1901
TALBOT, JAMES M	BURY FARM	DATCHWORTH	HERTFORD	1901
BLOWEY, THOMAS	SISSIFERNS	CODICOTE	HITCHIN	1901
CONGDON, JOHN	COATES MANOR	WOODEND, ARDELEY	ROYSTON	1901
PAGE, ARTHUR	LODGE FARM	BROADFIELD	ROYSTON	1901
CHAPLAND, JAMES	CHERRY TREE FARM	REDBOURN	ST. ALBANS	1901
GALE, WILLIAM	LOWER CHERRY TREE	REDBOURN	ST. ALBANS	1901
CONGDON, JAMES H	NOBLES	GT MUNDEN	WARE	1901
PAGE, NICHOLAS	WHITEHALL	SANDON	WARE	1901
REED, NATHANIEL	THUNDRIDGE HILL	THUNDRIDGE, WARE	WARE	1901
AYRE, RICHARD	BUSHEY LODGE	WATFORD	WATFORD	1901
STEVENS, GEORGE	LEGGATTS FARM	RICKMANSWORTH	WATFORD	1901
RAWLE, J S	THE COMMON	G BERKHAMSTED	BERKHAMSTED	1911
AYRE, ARTHUR	PARK FARM	NORTHAW	HATFIELD	1911
HAYMAN, ARCHIBALD	TOLMER'S COTTAGE	NORTHAW	HATFIELD	1911
ADAMS, JOHN	FRENCH'S FARM	KING'S LANGLEY	H. HEMPSTEAD	1911
BAILEY, JOHN	GOBION'S	STAPLEFORD	HERTFORD	1911
CUDLIPP, GEORGE	BRIDGE'S FARM	WALKERN	HERTFORD	1911
CUDLIPP, THOMAS	BASSETT'S GREEN	WALKERN	HERTFORD	1911
REED, CHARLES	CHELSING	TONWELL	HERTFORD	1911
TALBOT, JAMES M	BURY FARM	DATCHWORTH	HERTFORD	1911
TREHANE, WILLIAM D.	DUNKIRKS FARM	BRICKENDON	HERTFORD	1911
CHICHESTER, JOHN R	PORTERS END	KIMPTON	HITCHIN	1911

Name	Farm	Parish	Registration District	Year
CONGDON, JOHN	WOODEND	ARDELEY	ROYSTON	1911
PAGE, ARTHUR	HALL FARM	BROADFIELD	ROYSTON	1911
PAGE, NICHOLAS	CHURCH END	ARDELEY	ROYSTON	1911
ARIES, JOHN R	HILL END FARM	ST MICHAEL'S	ST ALBANS	1911
GALE, WILLIAM H	CHERRY TREES	REDBOURN	ST ALBANS	1911
GREENSLADE, ARTHUR	DOWSETTS	STANDON	WARE	1911
AYRE, RICHARD S.V.	SHEPHERD'S FARM	RICKMANSWORTH	WATFORD	1911
AYRE, RICHARD	BUSHEY LODGE	WATFORD	WATFORD	1911

Source: www.ancestry.co.uk these figures were obtained by searching the census years of 1871, 1881, 1891 and 1901 for all heads of households born in Devon, then searching for those giving their occupation as farmer. The 1911 census was searched at www.findmypast.com . An additional search was made for farmers listed in the trade directory for the relevant years to allow for errors in transcription of the census.

Appendix 3L Cornish farmers resident in Hertfordshire, 1871-1911

Name	Farm	Parish	Registration District	Year
DRIFFIELD, ROBERT	MOOR END	BOVINGDON	H. HEMPSTEAD	1871
NO CORNISH FARMERS PRESENT IN 1881				1881
BROAD, RICHARD M	LITTLE HYDE HALL	HIGH WYCH	B. STORTFORD	1891
BROAD, TREFY	RENTHOUSE	BRAUGHING	B. STORTFORD	1891
JASPER, CHARLES	THORLEY HALL	THORLEY	B. STORTFORD	1891
MOFFATT, JOHN G	STONARDS	HIGH WYCH	B. STORTFORD	1891
PROUT, JOHN	BLOUNTS FARM	HIGH WYCH	B. STORTFORD	1891
RUSSELL, JOSEPH	WARREN FARM	BRAUGHING	B. STORTFORD	1891
GUBBIN, RICHARD	BARDOLPHS	WATTON	HERTFORD	1891
HICKS, RICHARD	BRAMFIELD MANOR	BRAMFIELD	HERTFORD	1891
OLIVER, MARSENA	GREGORY'S FARM	WATTON	HERTFORD	1891
SMEETH, JOHN	BENGEO TEMPLE	BENGEO	HERTFORD	1891
KITTOW, WILLIAM	LANGLEY	LANGLEY	HITCHIN	1891
MENHINICK, ALEXANDER	WALKERN PARK	WALKERN	HITCHIN	1891
STICK, NICHOLAS	OFFLEY HOLES	PRESTON	HITCHIN	1891
VARCOE, EDWIN	DANE END	WESTON	HITCHIN	1891
CONGDON, DANIEL	WAKELY FARM	WESTMILL	ROYSTON	1891
KESTELL, THOMAS	BUCKLAND	BUCKLAND	ROYSTON	1891
SOPER, JAMES	STONEBURY	LITTLE HORMEAD	ROYSTON	1891
WHITE, HARRY	BURY FARM	NUTHAMPSTEAD	ROYSTON	1891
BORROW, NICHOLAS	HUNSDON LODGE	HUNSDON	WARE	1891
COUCH, THOMAS	BARTRAMS	STANDON	WARE	1891
KEAT, JOHN	BIGGINS	STANDON	WARE	1891
LANYON, GRACE ¹	BROKEN GREEN	STANDON	WARE	1891
LANYON, JAMES	STANDON FRIARS	STANDON	WARE	1891
CURRA, PETER	BUCKLER'S	MUCH HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1901
GEORGE, JOHN	FRIARS FARM	HIGH WYCH	B. STORTFORD	1901
GRIGG, ALBERT	COCKHAMPSTEAD	BRAUGHING	B. STORTFORD	1901
JASPER, WILLIE	THE HALL	THORLEY	B. STORTFORD	1901
KEAST, JAMES	BRAUGHINGBURY	BRAUGHING	B. STORTFORD	1901
LANYON, EDWIN	WARREN FARM	BRAUGHING	B. STORTFORD	1901
LUCKIES, FRANCIS J	SHINGLE HALL	HIGH WYCH	B. STORTFORD	1901
MILDREN, EDWARD	HIXHAM HALL	FURNEUX PELHAM	B. STORTFORD	1901
MILDREN, RICHARD	WESTFIELD FARM	LITTLE HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1901
STEPHENS, ELIJAH	BUSTARDS	HIGH WYCH	B. STORTFORD	1901
SYMONS, JOHN S	HOME FARM	LITTLE HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1901
TYACK, RICHARD	THE LORDSHIP	MUCH HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1901
GUBBIN, RICHARD	VILLAGE STREET	WATTON	HERTFORD	1901
GUBBIN, RICHARD F	BARDOLPH FARM	WATTON	HERTFORD	1901
ROWE, PHILLIP	WALKERN PARK	WALKERN	HERTFORD	1901
SMEETH, JOHN	BENGEO TEMPLE	TONWELL, WARE	HERTFORD	1901
KITTOW, WILLIAM HENRY	THE FARM	LANGLEY	HITCHIN	1901
PRYOR, THOMAS	BOTANY BAY	GRAVELEY	HITCHIN	1901
STICK, NICHOLAS	NORTON BURY	NORTON	HITCHIN	1901
WHITE, NICHOLAS	TILE KILN FARM	WESTON	HITCHIN	1901
WHITE, THOMAS STICK	DANE END FARM	WESTON	HITCHIN	1901
COLEMAN, THOMAS	BEAUCHAMPS	BUNTINGFORD	ROYSTON	1901

Name	Farm	Parish	Registration District	Year
CONGDON, DANIEL	KNIGHT'S HILL	WESTMILL	ROYSTON	1901
DAWE, EMILY	WYDDIAL BURY	WYDDIAL	ROYSTON	1901
DAWE, WILLIAM	TANNIS COURT	ASPENDEN	ROYSTON	1901
FROST, WILLIAM H	MANOR FARM	HINXWORTH	ROYSTON	1901
KESTELL, THOMAS	BUCKLAND HILL	BUCKLAND	ROYSTON	1901
MILDREN, EDMUND	CHERRY GREEN	WESTMILL	ROYSTON	1901
RUSSELL, JOSEPH REED	WESTMILL BURY	WESTMILL	ROYSTON	1901
SOPER, ARTHUR		BUNTINGFORD	ROYSTON	1901
SOPER, JAMES	STONEBURY	LITTLE HORMEAD	ROYSTON	1901
STICK, THOMAS J	WARREN FARM	COTTERED	ROYSTON	1901
WHITE, HARRY JAMES	BURY FARM	NUTHAMPSTEAD	ROYSTON	1901
WILLIAMS, PHILLIP	SANDON BURY	SANDON	ROYSTON	1901
VARCOE, JAMES	ST JULIAN'S FARM	ST. ALBANS, ST. STEPHEN	ST ALBANS	1901
BERRYMAN, MARY A	MILL FARM	GREAT MUNDEN	WARE	1901
BLAKE, RICHARD	BROMLEY HALL	STANDON	WARE	1901
BROAD, TREFY N	TONWELL	WARE	WARE	1901
COUCH, THOMAS	BARTRAMS	STANDON	WARE	1901
GREENWOOD, ISAAC	OLD FARM	STANDON	WARE	1901
HOCKING, LOUISA	DANE END FARM	WARE	WARE	1901
KEAT, JOHN	BIGGINS PARK	STANDON	WARE	1901
LANYON, GRACE	BROKEN GREEN	STANDON	WARE	1901
LANYON, JAMES	THE FRIARS	STANDON	WARE	1901
MENHENICK, CHARLES	NEW HALL FARM	WARE	WARE	1901
OLIVER, MARSENA	RENSLEY FARM	WADESMILL	WARE	1901
PETHYBRIDGE, CHARLES	HIGH ST	STANDON	WARE	1901
ROBERTS, CHARLES	WIDFORDBURY	WIDFORD	WARE	1901
TREMBATH, NORMAN	MARSHALLS	STANDON	WARE	1901
CLEAVE, JOHN	FRIARS FARM	HIGH WYCH	B. STORTFORD	1911
GREENWOOD, WILLIAM	PATMORE HALL	ALBURY	B. STORTFORD	1911
GRIGG, ALBERT S	COCKHAMPSTEAD	BRAUGHING	B. STORTFORD	1911
KEAST, JAMES	BRAUGHING BURY	BRAUGHING	B. STORTFORD	1911
LANYON, EDWIN	WARREN FARM	BRAUGHING	B. STORTFORD	1911
LUCKIES, FRANCIS JOHN	SHINGLE HALL	HIGH WYCH	B. STORTFORD	1911
MILDREN, RICHARD	WESTFIELD COTTS	LITTLE HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1911
PETHYBRIDGE, CHARLES	FARNHAM HALL	BISHOP'S STORTFORD	B. STORTFORD	1911
SOPER, WILLIAM	DASSELLS	BRAUGHING	B. STORTFORD	1911
STEPHENS, ELIJAH	BUSTARDS FARM	HIGH WYCH	B. STORTFORD	1911
STEPHENS, WILLIAM	SPELBROOK	BISHOP'S STORTFORD	B. STORTFORD	1911
SYMONS, JOHN S	HOME FARM	LITTLE HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1911
TUCKER, JAMES	OLD PARK	MUCH HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1911
TYACK, R W J	LORDSHIP FARM	MUCH HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1911
ROWE, PHILLIP	ROW END FARM	MARKYATE	H. HEMPSTEAD	1911
BROAD, T N	BURR'S GREEN	SACOMBE	HERTFORD	1911
COUCH, THOMAS	FOXHOLES FARM	ST JOHN RURAL	HERTFORD	1911
GUBBIN, RICHARD F	BARDOLPHS	WATTON	HERTFORD	1911
SMEATH, JOHN	TEMPLE FARM	BENGEO	HERTFORD	1911
DAWE, WILLIAM		CALDECOTE	HITCHIN	1911
KITTOW, WILLIAM	THREE HOUSE FARM	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1911
KITTOW, WILLIAM H		LANGLEY	HITCHIN	1911
STICK, NICHOLAS	NORTON BURY	LETCHWORTH	HITCHIN	1911
TALBOT, PERCY	BOTANY BAY	LETCHWORTH	HITCHIN	1911
WHITE, CHARLES	TILE KILN FARM	WESTON	HITCHIN	1911
WHITE, HARRY JAMES		OFFLEY	HITCHIN	1911

Name	Farm	Parish	Registration District	Year
WHITE, NICHOLAS		SHEPHALL	HITCHIN	1911
WHITE, THOMAS STICK	DANE END	WESTON	HITCHIN	1911
COLEMAN, THOMAS	BEAUCHAMPS	WYDDIAL	ROYSTON	1911
DAWE, JOSEPH	WYDDIAL BURY	WYDDIAL	ROYSTON	1911
DYER, LEONARD GEORGE	ROE GREEN	SANDON	ROYSTON	1911
FROST, WILLIAM	MANOR FARM	HINXWORTH	ROYSTON	1911
MILDREN, EDMUND		CHERRY'S GREEN	ROYSTON	1911
RUSSELL, JOSEPH REED	WESTMILL BURY	WESTMILL	ROYSTON	1911
RUSSELL, THOS RICHARD	HORMEAD HALL	GREAT HORMEAD	ROYSTON	1911
SOPER, JAMES	STONEBURY	LITTLE HORMEAD	ROYSTON	1911
STICK, THOMAS JOHN	WARREN	COTTERED	ROYSTON	1911
TUCKER, WILLIAM JOHN	LORDSHIP	COTTERED	ROYSTON	1911
WILLIAMS, PHILLIP J	BURY FARM	SANDON	ROYSTON	1911
VARCOE, JAMES	ST JULIAN'S	ST. ALBAN'S, ST STEPHEN	ST. ALBANS	1911
BRAUND, JOHN	NEW STREET	STANDON	WARE	1911
CAYZER, WILLIAM P	BLAKESWARE	WIDFORD	WARE	1911
HAWKEN, HORACE	TOWN FARM	STANDON	WARE	1911
KEAT, MORCOMB	BIGGIN FARM	STANDON	WARE	1911
LANYON, EDITH & OLIVIA	BROKEN GREEN	STANDON	WARE	1911
LANYON, JAMES	FRIARS FARM	STANDON	WARE	1911
MENHINICK, CHARLES	NEW HALL	WARE	WARE	1911
MILDREN, EDWARD	NOBLES FARM	GREAT MUNDEN	WARE	1911
OLIVER, MARSENA	WADESMILL FARM	STANDON	WARE	1911
REED, NATHANIEL	THUNDRIDGE HILL	THUNDRIDGE	WARE	1911
ROBERTS, CHARLES	BURY FARM	WIDFORD	WARE	1911
TREMBATH, NORMAN	BROCKHOLDS	GREAT MUNDEN	WARE	1911
GILES, HENRY	STOCKERS FARM	RICKMANSWORTH	WATFORD	1911

Source: www.ancestry.co.uk these figures were obtained by searching the census years of 1871, 1881, 1891 and 1901 for all heads of households born in Cornwall, then searching for those giving their occupation as farmer. The 1911 census was searched at www.findmypast.com. An additional search was made for farmers listed in the trade directory for the relevant years to allow for errors in transcription of the census.

¹ Women only included where farming household included family members born in Cornwall.

Appendix 3K Scottish farmers resident in Hertfordshire, 1871-1911

Name	Farm	Parish	Registration District	Year
BRYDEN, JAMES	HOLWELL HYDE	HATFIELD	HATFIELD	1871
FINDLAY, WILLIAM		ESSENDON	HATFIELD	1871
HUNTER, JOHN	PEARTREE FARM	HATFIELD	HATFIELD	1871
BRYDEN, JOHN	MARDEN HILL	TEWIN	HERTFORD	1871
BOYES, JOHN	BEAUMONT FARM	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1871
SINCLAIR, JAMES	HARPSFIELD HALL	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1871
GATHERUM, JOHN	HYDE FARM	ABBOT'S LANGLEY	WATFORD	1871
FORSYTHE, JAMES	UNDERHILL	CHIPPING BARNET	BARNET	1881
BYARS, WILLIAM	OLD PARK FARM	MUCH HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1881
FINDLAY, JOHN	TEDNAMBURY	SAWBRIDGEWORTH	B. STORTFORD	1881
BALLANTINE, HUGH	PARK FARM	CHESHUNT	EDMONTON	1881
THOMSON, JAMES	CHESHUNT PARK	CHESHUNT	EDMONTON	1881
BRYDEN, JAMES	HOLYWELL HYDE	HATFIELD	HATFIELD	1881
FINDLAY, WILLIAM	HILL END FARM	ESSENDON	HATFIELD	1881
HUNTER, JOHN	PEARTREE	HATFIELD	HATFIELD	1881
BEATTIE, JAMES	HARRISON'S FARM	HERTFORD ST. JOHN	HERTFORD	1881
SCOTT, ANDREW	WOODCOCK LODGE	LITTLE BERKHAMSTEAD	HERTFORD	1881
WALLACE, SAMUEL	MARDEN HILL FARM	TEWIN	HERTFORD	1881
DAVIDSON, ALEXANDER	BURLEY FARM	LETCHWORTH	HITCHIN	1881
DOUGLAS, KENNETH	RUSTLING END	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1881
LITTLE, GEORGE	LANGLEY FARM	HITCHIN	HITCHIN	1881
BOYES, JOHN	BEAUMONT FARM	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1881
CRAWFORD, DANIEL	PLAISTOWS	ST. ALBANS, ST. STEPHEN	ST. ALBANS	1881
SINCLAIR, JAMES	HARPSFIELD	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1881
AITKENHEAD, JAMES	AMWELL BURY	GREAT AMWELL	WARE	1881
RENWICK, ALEXANDER	MENTLEY FARM	STANDON	WARE	1881
SINCLAIR, JOHN	WHITEHILL FARM	LITTLE MUNDEN	WARE	1881
CREIGHTON, WILLIAM	BRACKETS FARM	RICKMANSWORTH	WATFORD	1881
GATHERUM, JOHN	HYDE FARM	ABBOT'S LANGLEY	WATFORD	1881
HARDIE, WALTER	MEDBOURNE ROAD	ALDENHAM	WATFORD	1881
JOHNSTONE, ADAM	CALLOWLAND FARM	WATFORD	WATFORD	1881
SWANSTON, JOHN	HARWOODS	OXHEY	WATFORD	1881
BYARS, WILLIAM	OLD PARK FARM	MUCH HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1891
FINDLAY, ALEXANDER	WARREN FARM	MUCH HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1891
CRAWFORD, DANIEL	POTTRELLS	NORTH MYMMS	HATFIELD	1891
HUNTER, JOHN	PEARTREE FARM	HATFIELD	HATFIELD	1891
HUNTER, JOHN	HOLWELL MANOR	HATFIELD	HATFIELD	1891
LYLE, WILLIAM	DIGSWELL LODGE	WELWYN	HATFIELD	1891
SINCLAIR, GEORGE M.	ESSENDON BURY	ESSENDON	HATFIELD	1891
BEATTIE, JAMES	MONK'S GREEN	HERTFORD ST. JOHN	HERTFORD	1891
GADDIE, DAVID	HAWKIN'S HALL	DATCHWORTH	HERTFORD	1891
SMITH, G. MORRISON	GOBIONS	STAPLEFORD	HERTFORD	1891
BEGG, GEORGE	MORTGROVE FARM	HEXTON	HITCHIN	1891
CORSON, THOMAS	MANOR FARM	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1891
DAVIDSON, ALEXANDER	BURLEY FARM	LETCHWORTH	HITCHIN	1891
DOUGLAS, KENNETH	RUSTLING END FARM	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1891
GRAY, MATTHEW	BROADWATER FARM	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1891
HUNTER, GAVIN	CHELLS FARM	STEVENAGE	HITCHIN	1891
LITTLE, GEORGE	LANGLEY FARM	LANGLEY	HITCHIN	1891

Name	Farm	Parish	Registration District	Year
MORTON, ALEXANDER	KNEBWORTH LODGE	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1891
MUIRHEAD, GEORGE	DEARDS END	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1891
PATERSON, ROBERT	HALF HYDE FARM	SHEPHALL	HITCHIN	1891
SMITH, BENJAMIN	IRONGATE FARM	WESTON	HITCHIN	1891
WALLACE, SAMUEL	SWANGLEYS	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1891
CUNNINGHAM, JOHN B	HYDE HALL COTTAGE	SANDON	ROYSTON	1891
LAUGHTON, PETER		COTTERED	ROYSTON	1891
BELL, JAMES	BEECH FARM	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1891
BOYES, JOHN	BEAUMONT FARM	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1891
MUIR, WILLIAM	LITTLE NAST HYDE	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1891
SINCLAIR, JAMES	HARPSFIELD HALL	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1891
SINCLAIR, WILLIAM	NAPSBURY	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1891
SLIMMON, JOHN	LYE HOUSE	ST. ALBANS, ST. STEPHEN	ST. ALBANS	1891
SLIMMON, JAMES	MARSHALLSWICK	SANDRIDGE	ST. ALBANS	1891
SMITH, JOHN	NICHOLLS	REDBOURN	ST. ALBANS	1891
RENNICK, ALEXANDER	HODDESDON RD	ST. MARGARET'S	WARE	1891
SINCLAIR, JOHN	WHITE HILL FARM	GREAT MUNDEN	WARE	1891
WEBSTER, JOHN	CASTLEBURY	THUNDRIDGE	WARE	1891
WEIR, JAMES	AMWELLBURY	GREAT AMWELL	WARE	1891
WEIR, JAMES	DANE END	LITTLE MUNDEN	WARE	1891
WEIR, WALTER	WEMSTEAD	WATTON	WARE	1891
YOUNG, WILLIAM	BULL'S GREEN	SACOMBE	WARE	1891
CORBETT, JOHN	COMMON WOOD	WATFORD	WATFORD	1891
GATHERUM, JAMES	HYDE FARM	ABBOT'S LANGLEY	WATFORD	1891
HARDIE, WALTER	MEDBURN	ALDENHAM	WATFORD	1891
HART, JAMES KNOX	LEVERSTOCK GREEN	ABBOT'S LANGLEY	WATFORD	1891
JOHNSTONE, ADAM	BUSHEY HALL	BUSHEY	WATFORD	1891
SWANSTON, JOHN	HARWOOD'S FARM	OXHEY	WATFORD	1891
BEATTIE, JAMES		MUCH HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1901
FINDLAY, ROBERT	CLINTON'S	LITTLE HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1901
FINDLAY, WILLIAM	PARSONAGE FARM	SAWBRIDGEWORTH	B. STORTFORD	1901
GRAHAM, GEORGE	MOAT FARM	MUCH HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1901
WEIR, JAMES	FORD STREET	BRAUGHING	B. STORTFORD	1901
RAE, ALFRED	BROOK HOUSE	TURNFORD	EDMONTON	1901
CRAWFORD, DANIEL JNR.	BIRCHWOOD	HATFIELD	HATFIELD	1901
CRAWFORD, DANIEL	POTTRELLS	NORTH MYMMS	HATFIELD	1901
HUNTER, JAMES	PEARTREE FARM	HATFIELD	HATFIELD	1901
LYLE, WILLIAM	DIGSWELL LODGE	WELWYN	HATFIELD	1901
SINCLAIR, GEORGE M.	MILL GREEN	ESSENDON	HATFIELD	1901
WALLACE, SAMUEL	BEDWELL PARK	ESSENDON	HATFIELD	1901
BROWN, JOHN	MARDEN FARM	TEWIN	HERTFORD	1901
DAVIDSON, ALEXANDER	ASTON BURY	ASTON	HERTFORD	1901
DOUGLAS, KENNETH	BROOM HALL	WATTON	HERTFORD	1901
GADDIE, DAVID	HAWKINS HALL	DATCHWORTH	HERTFORD	1901
GADDIE, DAVID JNR.		ASTON	HERTFORD	1901
LAIRD, JAMES	BAYFORD HALL	BAYFORD	HERTFORD	1901
LITTLE, GEORGE	MOAT FARM	DATCHWORTH	HERTFORD	1901
RITCH, PETER	OLD BROOK FARM	BENNINGTON	HERTFORD	1901
CRAIG, JAMES	RUSTLING END	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1901
HUNTER, GAVIN	CHELLS	STEVENAGE	HITCHIN	1901
MASSON, JOHN	RYE END	KIMPTON	HITCHIN	1901
MORTON, ALEXANDER	KNEBWORTH LODGE	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1901
MORTON, ANDREW	CHESFIELD MANOR	GRAVELEY	HITCHIN	1901

Name	Farm	Parish	Registration District	Year
MUIRHEAD, GEORGE	DEARDS END	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1901
NICHOLSON, CHRISTOPHER	LANGLEY	LANGLEY	HITCHIN	1901
NISBET, RICHARD	LODGE FARM	WESTON	HITCHIN	1901
WALLACE, SAMUEL	SWANGLEYS	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1901
GILCHRIST, WILLIAM	WALLINGTON BURY	WALLINGTON	ROYSTON	1901
LAUGHTON, PETER	BRADBURY FARM	GREAT HORMEAD	ROYSTON	1901
MOODY, ARCHIBALD	GARDENER'S END	ARDELEY	ROYSTON	1901
SMITH, BENJAMIN H	WADBURNS	WESTMILL	ROYSTON	1901
WALKER, THOMAS	HYDE HALL	SANDON	ROYSTON	1901
BELL, JAMES	BEECH FARM	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1901
LITTLE, ROBERT	WESTWICK HALL	ST. ALBANS, ST. MICHAEL	ST. ALBANS	1901
PATERSON, ROBERT	OAK FARM	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1901
SINCLAIR, JOHN	HARPSFIELD HALL	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1901
SINCLAIR, WILLIAM	ST. STEPHEN'S HILL	ST. ALBANS, ST. MICHAEL	ST. ALBANS	1901
SLIMMON, WILLIAM	SOUTH LODGE	SANDRIDGE	ST. ALBANS	1901
SMITH, JOHN	NICHOLLS	REDBOURN	ST. ALBANS	1901
EADIE, JAMES	WEST END FARM	WORMLEY	WARE	1901
FERGUSON, JAMES	BLAKESWARE	WARE	WARE	1901
FINDLAY, ALEXANDER	SAWTREES	THUNDRIDGE	WARE	1901
RENWICK, ALEXANDER	MAIN STREET	ST. MARGARET'S	WARE	1901
SINCLAIR, JOHN	WHITE HILL	GREAT MUNDEN	WARE	1901
URE, JOHN	WARE PARK	WARE	WARE	1901
WEBSTER, JOHN	HUNSDON LODGE	HUNSDON	WARE	1901
WEIR, ANDREW	HIGH STREET	STANDON	WARE	1901
WEIR, JAMES	AMWELL BURY	GREAT AMWELL	WARE	1901
WEIR, JAMES	BARWICK	STANDON	WARE	1901
WEIR, JOHN	MOLES	THUNDRIDGE	WARE	1901
WEIR, WALTER	WEMPSTEAD	WARE	WARE	1901
GATHERUM, ELIZABETH ¹	HYDE FARM	ABBOT'S LANGLEY	WATFORD	1901
JOHNSTONE, ADAM	BUSHEY HALL	BUSHEY	WATFORD	1901
ROBERTSON, ANDREW	HILL FIELD FARM	ALDENHAM	WATFORD	1901
FINDLAY, WILLIAM	PARSONAGE FARM	SAWBRIDGEWORTH	B. STORTFORD	1911
GRAHAM, GEORGE	MOAT FARM	MUCH HADHAM	B. STORTFORD	1911
WEIR, JAMES & DAVID	FORD ST. FARM	BRAUGHING	B. STORTFORD	1911
YOUNG, ANDREW	FIRGROVE FARM	FURNEUX PELHAM	B. STORTFORD	1911
CRAWFORD, DANIEL	BIRCHWOOD	HATFIELD	HATFIELD	1911
CRAWFORD, JAMES	POTTERELLS	NORTH MYMMS	HATFIELD	1911
HILL, ALEXANDER C	ROE GREEN	HATFIELD	HATFIELD	1911
HUNTER, THOMAS	WEST END FARM	ESSENDON	HATFIELD	1911
LYLE, WILLIAM	DIGSWELL LODGE	WELWYN	HATFIELD	1911
SINCLAIR, GEORGE M	ESSENDON BURY	ESSENDON	HATFIELD	1911
SINCLAIR, ROBERT A	MILL GREEN	ESSENDON	HATFIELD	1911
WALKER, THOMAS G	SYMONDSHYDE	HATFIELD	HATFIELD	1911
WALLACE, SAMUEL	BEDWELL PARK	ESSENDON	HATFIELD	1911
DOUGLAS, KENNETH	BROOM HALL	WATTON	HERTFORD	1911
GADDIE, DAVID	HAWKINS HALL	DATCHWORTH	HERTFORD	1911
LAIRD, JAMES	HALL FARM	BAYFORD	HERTFORD	1911
LAIRD, JOHN	ROXFORD FARM	HERTINGFORDBURY	HERTFORD	1911
LITTLE, GEORGE	MOAT FARM	DATCHWORTH	HERTFORD	1911
LOVE, JOHN	BAYFORD PLACE	BAYFORD	HERTFORD	1911
MASSON, JOHN	ATTIMORE HALL	TEWIN	HERTFORD	1911
RITCHE, PETER	FINCH'S FARM	BENNINGTON	HERTFORD	1911
WEIR, WALTER	SACOMBE HILL	SACOMBE	HERTFORD	1911

Name	Farm	Parish	Registration District	Year
DRUMMOND, WILLIAM	BROADWATER	STEVENAGE	HITCHIN	1911
HUNTER, GAVIN	CHELLS	STEVENAGE	HITCHIN	1911
MOODIE, ARCHIBALD	IRONGATE	WESTON	HITCHIN	1911
MORTON, ANDREW	LETCHWORTH HALL	LETCHWORTH	HITCHIN	1911
MUIRHEAD, ARCHIBALD	ASTON PARK FARM	ASTON	HITCHIN	1911
MUIRHEAD, GEORGE	DEARSEND FARM	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1911
NICHOLSON, CHRISTOPHER		LANGLEY	HITCHIN	1911
WALLACE, SAMUEL	SWANGLEYS	KNEBWORTH	HITCHIN	1911
FINDLAYSON, JOHN	ASHWELL END	ASHWELL	ROYSTON	1911
GILCHRIST, WILLIAM	BURY FARM	WALLINGTON	ROYSTON	1911
LAUGHTON, PETER	BRADBURY FARM	HARE STREET	ROYSTON	1911
SMITH, BENAMIN H	WADBURNS	WESTMILL	ROYSTON	1911
SMITH, MAGNUS	BERKESDEN GREEN	ASPENDEN	ROYSTON	1911
WYLIE, THOMAS	BEAR FARM	ASHWELL	ROYSTON	1911
BROWN, JOHN	HEDGES FARM	ST. ALBAN'S, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1911
BROWN, THOMAS	PLACE FARM	WHEATHAMPSTEAD	ST. ALBANS	1911
LITTLE, JANET	WESTWICK	ST. ALBANS, ST. MICHAEL	ST. ALBANS	1911
MUIR, ARCHIBALD	BURSTON MANOR	ST. ALBANS, ST. STEPHEN	ST. ALBANS	1911
PATERSON, ROBERT	OAK FARM	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1911
SINCLAIR, JOHN	HARPSFIELD	ST. ALBANS, ST. PETER	ST. ALBANS	1911
SLIMMON, WILLIAM	MARSHALLSWICK	SANDRIDGE	ST. ALBANS	1911
YOUNG, WILLIAM	MARFORD FARM	SANDRIDGE	ST. ALBANS	1911
BEATTIE, JAMES	STANDON LODGE	STANDON	WARE	1911
EADIE, JAMES	WEST END	WORMLEY	WARE	1911
FINDLAY, ALEXANDER	SAWTREES FARM	THUNDRIDGE	WARE	1911
HUNTER, WILLIAM	THE MILL	BROXBOURNE	WARE	1911
URE, JOHN	BALDOCK STREET	WARE	WARE	1911
WEBSTER, JOHN	HUNSDON LODGE	HUNSDON	WARE	1911
WEIR, ANDREW		STANDON	WARE	1911
WEIR, JAMES	BARWICK	STANDON	WARE	1911
WEIR, JOHN	AMWELLBURY	GREAT AMWELL	WARE	1911
WEIR, JOHN	MOLES FARM	THUNDRIDGE	WARE	1911
WEIR, ROBERT SCOTT	ST. MARGARET'S	ST. MARGARET'S	WARE	1911
CREIGHTON, WILLIAM	PIPERS FARM	RICKMANSWORTH	WATFORD	1911
GRAHAM, ROBERT	HART HALL	ABBOT'S LANGLEY	WATFORD	1911
ROBERTSON, ANDREW	HILLFIELD FARM	ALDENHAM	WATFORD	1911
SMITH, JOHN	LOOM FARM	ALDENHAM	WATFORD	1911
YOUNG, SAMUEL	WOODOAKS	WEST HYDE	WATFORD	1911

Source: www.ancestry.co.uk these figures were obtained by searching the census years of 1871, 1881, 1891 and 1901 for all heads of households born in Scotland, then searching for those giving their occupation as farmer. The 1911 census was searched at www.findmypast.com. An additional search was made for farmers listed in the trade directory for the relevant years to allow for errors in transcription of the census.

¹ Women only included where farming household included family members born in Scotland.

Appendix 3J. Farmers born in Scotland, Devon and Cornwall resident in Hertfordshire 1871-1911

Registration District	1871			1881			1891			1901			1911		
	SCOT	DEV	CORN	SCOT	DEV	CORN	SCOT	DEV	CORN	SCOT	DEV	CORN	SCOT	DEV	CORN
Barnet		1		1	2						1				
Berkhamsted		1			1			1			1			1	
Bishop's Stortford				2			2		6	5	1	12	4		14
Edmonton				2						1					
Hatfield	3			3	1		5			6	2		9	2	
Hemel Hempstead			1								2			1	1
Hertford	1			3			3	1	4	8	4	4	9	6	4
Hitchin				3			12		4	9	1	5	8	1	9
Royston					1		2	1	4	5	2	13	6	3	11
St Albans	2			3			8		5	7	2	1	8	2	1
Ware				3			7	2		12	3	14	11	1	12
Watford	1	1		5	2		6	1		3	2		5	2	1
Total	7	3	1	25	7	0	45	6	23	56	21	49	60	19	53

Source: www.ancestry.co.uk these figures were obtained by searching the census years of 1871, 1881, 1891 and 1901 for all heads of households born in Scotland, Devon and Cornwall, then searching for those giving their occupation as farmer. The 1911 census was searched at www.findmypast.com . An additional search was made for farmers listed in the trade directory for the relevant years to allow for errors in transcription of the census.

Appendix 3I Millers, corn merchants and dealers recorded as bankrupt in the *London Gazette*, 1870-1913

Name	Mill	Situation	Occupation	Year
ANTHONY, CHARLES		MUCH HADHAM	CORN MERCHANT	1870
HOARE, THOMAS		ASTON	MILLER	1870
ROLFE, WILLIAM		HERTFORD	CORN DEALER	1870
RUTTER, THOMAS MARSH	MARDOCK MILL	WARE	MILLER	1870
HILLS, JAMES		WATERFORD	MILLER	1871
BEARD, JASPER	WATTON MILL	WATTON	MILLER	1872
SMITH, GEORGE	PICCOTT'S END MILL	HEMEL HEMPSTEAD	MILLER	1874
EDWARDS, GEORGE	KINGSBURY MILL	ST. MICHAEL'S	MILLER	1876
HOLT, JESSE WILLIAM		GREAT BERKHAMSTED	CORN MERCHANT	1876
WEBB, THOMAS WILLIAM		ASHWELL	CORN MERCHANT	1876
BLAKEY, ROBERT		HATFIELD	CORN DEALER	1877
DIXON, WILLIAM		ST. ALBANS	CORN MERCHANT	1877
GREEN, RICHARD	ESSENDON MILL	ESSENDON	MILLER	1877
HEAVER, MICHAEL & WILLIAM		STANSTEAD ABBOTTS	MILLER	1877
MCCULLOGH, DAVID		FLAMSTEAD	MILLER	1877
FRANKISH, JABEZ	KINGSBURY MILL	ST. MICHAEL'S	MILLER	1879
MCMULLEN, EDWARD		HERTFORD	CORN MERCHANT	1879
WATSON, WALTER		BRENT PELHAM	MILLER	1879
COOK, EBENEZER		ST. STEPHEN'S	MILLER	1880
SLINN, GEORGE		BISHOP'S STORTFORD	CORN MERCHANT	1880
BLACKMAN, FREDERICK		WATFORD	CORN MERCHANT	1881
CHRISTY, RICHARD		WESTON	MILLER	1881
FARMER, HENRY		HITCHIN	CORN MERCHANT	1882
STOCK, RICHARD		THORLEY	CORN MERCHANT	1882
ALDRIDGE, HENRY		WELWYN	CORN MERCHANT	1884
APLIN, FREDERICK G.	STEAM FLOUR MILL	BISHOP'S STORTFORD	MILLER	1884
HARVEY, JAMES		BISHOP'S STORTFORD	CORN MERCHANT	1884
CHALKLEY, WILLIAM		STEVENAGE	CORN MERCHANT	1885
RAYSON, ALFRED		CHESHUNT	MILLER	1885
CLARK, ALFRED		BISHOP'S STORTFORD	CORN MERCHANT	1886
HARVEY, PERCY P		BISHOP'S STORTFORD	CORN MERCHANT	1886
SMITH, ROBERT		WARE	CORN MERCHANT	1886
MIDGLEY, JAMES	BURY MILL	HEMEL HEMPSTEAD	MILLER	1887
COOPER, GEORGE		WARE	CORN MERCHANT	1893

Name	Mill	Situation	Occupation	Year
FLITTON, THOMAS ALLEN	ASHWELL MILL	ASHWELL	MILLER	1895
BEWLEY, THOMAS EDWARD	BROXBOURNE MILL	BROXBOURNE	MILLER	1896
WALDOCK, FRANCIS E		ASHWELL	MILLER	1898
GOWING, WILLIAM A		BARNET	CORN MERCHANT	1899
HOLDER, WILLIAM		HERTFORD	CORN MERCHANT	1906

Source: www.londongazette.co.uk accessed April 2010. A search was made of millers and corn dealers from Hertfordshire appearing before the County Courts of Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex and Middlesex. Those whose occupation was also given as Farmer have been included in the Appendix listing Bankrupt Farmers.

Name	Farm	Situation	Dual Occupation	Year
HOARE, JOHN CHAPMAN		LITTLE HADHAM	MILLER	1870
ROBINSON, RICHARD		FLAMSTEAD	STRAW DEALER	1870
WARRELL, WILLIAM		ST ALBANS		1870
BURTON, ROBERT	UPPER GREEN END FARM	BOXMOOR		1871
DICKINSON, HENRY	TENEMENT FARM	BEDMOND		1872
MARSH, GILBERT		STEVENAGE	CATTLE SALESMAN	1872
ACRES, WILLIAM		STANDON		1873
ARNOLD, ELISHA		FLAMSTEAD	GROCER & PLAIT DEALER	1873
HUNT, WILLIAM DANIEL		ELSTREE	BUTCHER	1873
PALLET, WILLIAM HENRY	MOAT FARM	GREAT HADHAM		1873
BARKER, HENRY RANDALL		BENDISH, ST PAUL'S WALDEN		1874
DRIFFIELD, ROBERT	MOOR END FARM	BOXMOOR		1874
LAWRENCE, WILLIAM		CHESHUNT	HAY DEALER	1874
GREEN, THOMAS		BISHOP'S STORTFORD		1876
MASON, HENRY (JUNIOR)	LOWGATE FARM	SACOMBE		1876
PEPPERCORN, JAMES	POPE FIELD & COTTON'S FARM	ST ALBANS		1876
WATSON, JOHN ELLIOT		BISHOP'S STORTFORD		1876
WHITEMAN, LEONARD		STEVENAGE		1876
BAKER, ARTHUR	LETCHWORTH HALL	LETCHWORTH		1877
BOWLER, THOMAS ARTHUR	SMALL GROVE FARM	FLAMSTEAD		1877
CLARKE, ROBERT	LITTLE FANHAMS FARM	WARE		1877
FRANKLIN, WILLIAM		SAWBRIDGEWORTH		1878
GOEBER, JOHN WILLIAM	RYE FARM	STANSTEAD ABBOTTS		1878
GRAPE, GEORGE	BURTON FARM	CHESHUNT	MARKET GARDENER	1878
HATTON, ROBERT		PATMORE HEATH, ALBURY		1878
TREHARNE, STEPHEN FRANCIS		BUSHEY		1878
ADAMS, JAMES	CLAREMONT FARM	CHESHUNT		1879
BEDDALL, JOHN	BEECHES FARM	BRENT PELHAM		1879
DEVON, WILLIAM	ROWLEY GREEN FARM	SHENLEY	MARKET GARDENER	1879
FOXLEE, THOMAS		AYOT ST PETER		1879
HUNT, JAMES		OFFLEY	MANUFACTURER	1879
MCDONNELL, SAMUEL		WHITE HORSE INN, OFFLEY	INNKEEPER	1879
PARSON, CHARLES FREEMAN	CARPENDER'S PARK FARM	WATFORD		1879
RICHARDSON, CHARLES S	BAYFORD HALL	BAYFORD		1879

Name	Farm	Situation	Dual Occupation	Year
SMITH, WILLIAM (JUNIOR)		MICKLEFIELD, RICKMANSWORTH		1879
WARREN, HENRY EDWARD		LITTLE HORMEAD		1879
WILLMOTT, JOSEPH		GREAT BERKHAMPSTEAD	GROCER	1879
YOUNG, FREDERICK	NEW PARK FARM	HATFIELD		1879
BEAMENT, JOHN MARCUS	PARK VALLEY FARM	ST STEPHENS		1880
DUNTON, JOSEPH		HODDESDON	CATTLE DEALER	1880
FIELD, WILLIAM		SHILLEY GREEN, PRESTON		1880
GAYFORD, FREDERICK	GACE'S & HOSPITAL FARMS	BISHOP'S STORTFORD		1880
GENTLE, JAMES		SAILOR BOY INN , WALSWORTH	LICENSED VICTUALLER, HAY & STRAW DEALER	1880
HALE, JOHN		DANE END, THERFIELD		1880
JEEPES, AMOS		CHESHUNT	BUTCHER	1880
JOHNSON, JAMES	RODERICK'S FARM	SAWBRIDGEWORTH		1880
KIRKBY, WILLIAM	GREENMAN & POLE HALL FARMS	EASTWICK & SAWBRIDGEWORTH		1880
MORTEN, WILLIAM	WATERDELL, LEA & LEGGATT'S FARMS	WATFORD		1880
ORCHARD, THOMAS	HART HALL FARM	BEDMOND		1880
ORCHARD, THOMAS LIDDON	COXPOND FARM	HEMEL HEMPSTEAD		1880
PALMER, GEORGE	FELLOWSHIP FARM	REED		1880
PARRISH, THOMAS	BROOM HALL FARM	WATTON AT STONE		1880
PIGGOTT, HENRY		BROADFIELD, COTTERED		1880
SHERMAN, JEREMIAH		WOODCOCK HILL, NORTHCHURCH		1880
SIBLEY, CHARLES	LAMER HOME FARM	WHEATHAMPSTEAD		1880
THOROHAM, JAMES	WOOD FARM	HEMEL HEMPSTEAD		1880
WILLMOTT, FREDERICK	CHURCH FARM & THE PINES	HARPENDEN		1880
BROWN, THOMAS ALFRED	BRAUGHINGBURY	BRAUGHING		1881
BRYDEN, JAMES		HOLWELL HYDE, HATFIELD		1881
CLARK, JOSEPH PORTER		SANDON	BREWER	1881
COLE, JAMES		CHEQUERS INN, BUCKLAND	PUBLICAN & DEALER	1881
COSTIN, HENRY	BURSTON LODGE FARM	PARK STREET	PIG DEALER	1881
CUTHBERT, JONATHAN	LITTLE BARWICK FARM	THUNDRIDGE		1881
GARRATT, THOMAS	HUNDSON LODGE, YELLOW LODGE & HAROLD'S PARK FARMS	HUNSDON, EASTWICK & WIDFORD, STANSTEAD ABBOTTS, WALTHAM CROSS, NAZEING & EPPING		1881
HOW, WILLIAM	LITTLE ROW END FARM	FLAMSTEAD	PLUMBER	1881
KIDMAN, CHARLES	SUTTON'S FARM	HATFIELD		1881

Name	Farm	Situation	Dual Occupation	Year
QUENEBOROUGH, WILLIAM E		CHEQUERS INN, FLAMSTEAD	LICENSED VICTUALLER	1881
TINGEY, GEORGE EDWARD	COOTER'S END FARM	HARPENDEN		1881
WILKERSON, GEORGE	HAY FARM	THERFIELD		1881
WOOLSTON, JAMES	BOWER'S FARM	HARPENDEN		1881
COOMES, JOHN		CHESHUNT	HAY DEALER	1882
DEARDS, EDMUND HENRY	ARNOLD'S FARM	CODICOTE		1882
ELLIOTT, CHARLES WILLIAM		WESTMILL	MILLER	1882
KNIGHT, JAMES		SPELBROOK, BISHOP'S STORTFORD		1882
PEARMAN, JOSEPH	FLANDER'S GREEN FARM	COTTERED		1882
SAUNDERS, GEORGE		HERON'S GATE, RICKMANSWORTH		1882
SWAINE, WILLIAM		STEVENAGE		1882
SWANNELL, CHARLES	HOLWELL FARM	ESSENDON	POTATO DEALER	1882
WOODWARDS, JOSEPH		ASPENDEN		1882
LAIRD, FREDERICK	MORTGROVE FARM	HEXTON		1883
MACHON, JOHN		WYDDIAL	COAL MERCHANT	1883
ROBERTS, JOHN	POTASH FARM	PUTTENHAM		1883
WRIGHT, JOHN	NEW BARNS FARM	HADHAM		1883
DELL, CHARLES	UNDERHILL FARM	BARNET		1884
MERRY, CHANDLER ROBERTSON	KIRBY'S FARM	ASHWELL		1884
STRATTON, JOHN	RABLEY HEATH FARM	WELWYN	PHEASANT BREEDER	1884
SWORDER, WILLIAM (JUNIOR)	BROCKHOLDS FARM	GREAT MUNDEN	AUCTIONEER & VALUER	1884
CHAPMAN, WALTER WILLIAM	STANDON LODGE	STANDON		1885
CHRISTY, JAMES	NEW HOUSE FARM	SAWBRIDGEWORTH	BUTCHER	1885
MOORE, WILLIAM	TEMPLE CHESLYN, SUTE'S & REMESLEY FARMS	BENGEO, STANDON & WADESMILL		1885
BEAMENT, WILLIAM HENRY	HOUNDWOOD	ST ALBANS	MILLER & CORN DEALER	1886
ELVIN, JAMES	LYNCH FARM	KENSWORTH ¹		1886
HALL, JOHN (JUNIOR)		BALDOCK	CATTLE DEALER	1886
SMOOTHY, ALBERT THOMAS B	OLD WELBURY FARM	OFFLEY		1886
ATTWOOD, WILLIAM HENRY	CLAY HALL FARM	KENSWORTH	BRICKMAKER	1887
PIPER, GEORGE PARSEY		GREAT HORMEAD		1887
STICK, NICHOLAS	STONEBERRY FARM	BUNTINGFORD		1887
ACRES, BARNARD	OLIVE'S FARM	HUNSDON		1888

¹ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, p.231. Kensworth was transferred to the county of Bedfordshire in 1897.

Name	Farm	Situation	Dual Occupation	Year
EDWARDS, ISAAC NEWTON		REDBOURN	MILKMAN	1888
LIDDINGTON, THOMAS JAMES	GOLDFIELD MILL	TRING	MILLER	1888
UNDERWOOD, WILLIAM A	BUSHEY GROVE & DELROW FARMS	WATFORD & ALDENHAM		1888
WILLMOTT, FREDERICK	THE GRANARY	HARPENDEN		1888
DAVIS, CHARLES (JUNIOR)	CASTLE FARM	PRESTON		1889
BROOKS, JOHN		WARE		1890
CHUCK, JOSEPH		WARE	MALTSTER	1890
COCK, WILLIAM		BROKEN GREEN, STANDON		1890
DICKINSON, WILLIAM		LONDON COLNEY	HORSE SLAUGHTERER	1890
FARR, WILLIAM	HOWEL'S FARM	WESTON		1890
ODELL, WILLIAM	THE GRANGE	RADWELL	AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY HIRE	1890
QUENEBOROUGH, WILLIAM E.	BOTTOM FARM	MARKYATE STREET, FLAMSTEAD		1890
STANNERS, FRED	COLD HARBOUR FARM	BERKHAMPSTEAD		1890
BROWN, BENJAMIN	LEGGATT'S FARM	KING'S WALDEN		1892
EDWARDS, WILLIAM	SHAW GREEN FARM	RUSHDEN		1892
WELLS, JOHN THOMAS W	HERTINGFORDBURY PARK FARM	HERTINGFORDBURY		1892
CONNOR, THOMAS	FISH STREET FARM	REDBOURN		1893
HARDING, JAMES		ST ALBANS	DAIRYMAN	1893
BEGG, GEORGE	MORTGROVE FARM	HEXTON		1894
BONE, EDWARD ROBERT		WATFORD HEATH, BUSHEY		1894
CLARKE, CHARLES	PARSONAGE FARM	SAWBRIDGEWORTH		1894
FINCH, JOHN	LANGLEY HILL FARM	LANGLEY		1894
GODDARD, GEORGE	PARSONAGE FARM	OFFLEY	DEALER IN HORSES	1894
MORTON, FREDERICK		RED LION INN, SARRATT	LICENSED VICTUALLER	1894
POLLARD, FRANCIS		PEPPERSTOCK, FLAMSTEAD		1894
SAUNDERS, ALFRED WILLIAM	HOLTSMERE END FARM	FLAMSTEAD		1894
FIELD, WILLIAM (JUNIOR)	REVEL'S END FARM	REDBOURN		1895
MEAD, THOMAS	PARK VALLEY FARM	PARK STREET, ST ALBANS		1895
PARK, JOHN	SARRATT HALL FARM	SARRATT		1895
ROBINS, THOMAS	CUPID GREEN & LOWER CHERRY TREE FARMS	HEMEL HEMPSTEAD		1895
SWORDER, JOHN	WESTMILL BURY & ALSWICK HALL	WESTMILL & THROCKING		1895
BALDWIN, EDWIN		TOWER HILL, CHIPPERFIELD		1896
NASH, WILLIAM	PARK FARM	BOVINGDON		1896
SIBLEY, WILLIAM	LEGGATT'S & RUSSELL FARMS	WATFORD	COWKEEPER	1897

Name	Farm	Situation	Dual Occupation	Year
URE, JOHN	WARE PARK & BAYFORD HALL FARMS, AND BRIDGE OF PEW FARM	WARE & PERTH, SCOTLAND		1899
CRAIG, JAMES	RUSTLING END FARM	CODICOTE		1901
BASSIL, SAMUEL WHEATLEY	THE WOOL PHEASANTRIES	HEMEL HEMPSTEAD		1902
CRANE, JOHN BELL	BLUE HILL FARM	WATTON AT STONE		1903
HUNT, HENRY	LODGE FARM	WALLINGTON		1904
LENO, MATTHEW	WESTWICK FARM	LEVERSTOCK GREEN		1905
CLINTON, THOMAS WILLIAM	GOSMORE FARM	BENNINGTON		1906
RATCLIFF, GEORGE	GALLEY LANE FARM	BARNET		1906
CONGDON, DANIEL	MILL & WAKELY FARMS	G. MUNDEN & WESTMILL	AGRICULTURAL MACHINIST	1908
COXSHALL, JOHN (JUNIOR)	RYE FARM	HODDESDON		1908
DICKINSON, FRANK	LEASEY BRIDGE FARM	WHEATHAMPSTEAD	HORSE DEALER	1908
BYARS, WILLIAM ALEXANDER	OLD PARK FARM	MUCH HADHAM		1909
DICKENSON, WILLIAM HENRY	TOWN FARM	ALDBURY		1911
CRAZE, CHARLES EDWIN	GLADWYN FARM	TOTTERIDGE		1912

Source: www.londongazette.co.uk accessed April 2010. A search was made of farmers from Hertfordshire appearing before the County Courts of Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex and Middlesex.

Appendix 3G Acreage under wheat, barley, oats and permanent pasture in Hertfordshire, 1870-1914

YEAR	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Permanent pasture or grass		
				For hay	Not for hay	Total
1870	60,499	46,887	26,348	42,860	43,253	86,113
1871	64,411	45,553	25,227	53,083	33,457	86,540
1872	63,429	43,266	24,549	53,945	34,194	88,139
1873	64,516	43,464	24,156	49,734	39,713	89,447
1874	64,443	43,784	24,813	46,055	46,106	92,161
1875	60,309	49,688	25,138	50,983	42,585	93,568
1876	57,446	47,925	27,089	51,303	42,670	93,973
1877	61,481	45,452	26,386	53,261	39,727	92,988
1878	62,167	47,108	25,937	54,846	38,922	93,768
1879	59,363	49,129	25,779			97,548
1880	60,791	45,977	25,928			98,765 ¹
1881	57,582	45,256	27,196			100,866
1882	62,469	39,718	25,933			103,078
1883	58,819	40,941	27,069			103,671
1884	59,515	39,053	26,359			105,737
1885	54,112	43,747	27,979	59,650	47,162	106,812
1886	51,637	42,545	30,267	61,039	45,428	106,467
1887	52,661	39,855	30,551	63,227	45,637	108,864
1888	58,501	37,295	28,042	66,261	43,737	109,998
1889	57,274	37,911	25,662	70,666	42,539	113,205
1890	57,605	35,650	29,756	68,337	47,797	116,134
1891	56,968	36,334	30,227	60,819	54,520	115,339
1892	56,904	34,885	32,575	54,504	61,130	115,634
1893	48,683	34,227	37,120	47,469	68,833	116,302
1894	52,415	34,051	38,917	64,692	52,324	117,016
1895	38,076	35,793	38,092	64,234	53,892	118,126
1896	49,046	34,154	33,350	60,142	60,757	120,899
1897	52,359	31,803	33,948	57,952	61,018	118,970
1898	54,152	27,529	32,132	57,307	61,543	118,850
1899	54,755	29,037	32,943	55,681	63,352	119,033
1900	51,391	27,766	36,237	53,863	66,824	120,687
1901	47,512	27,749	34,631	54,604	66,226	120,830
1902	49,501	26,440	37,422	58,299	61,852	120,151
1903	44,447	26,343	35,705	61,544	60,721	122,265
1904	43,066	24,897	39,213	60,030	64,843	124,873
1905	51,691	21,960	36,946	54,589	70,678	125,267
1906	50,897	21,404	39,029	52,699	72,196	124,895
1907	50,661	31,381	39,316	58,414	66,357	124,771
1908	51,067	20,669	37,519	57,604	67,121	124,725
1909	54,881	19,150	37,474	50,565	73,479	124,044
1910	56,325	18,451	36,871	54,002	69,948	123,950
1911	58,130	16,426	38,226	51,894	72,684	124,758
1912	57,796	16,812	38,548	52,091	71,639	123,730
1913	56,836	18,608	37,371	57,947	67,809	125,756
1914	58,017	20,001	36,180	51,367	73,261	124,628

Source: BPP LXIX.271 [C.460] (1871) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables Three, Four & Five, BPP LXIX.301 [C.878] (1873) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables Four & Five, BPP LXXIX.593 [C.1303] (1875) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables Four & Five, BPP LXXVIII.97 [C.1623] (1876) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables One & Two, BPP LXXVII.461 [C.2133] (1878) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP LXXVI.647 [C.2727] (1880) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP LXXIV.1 [C.3351] (1882) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP LXXXV.141 [C.4142] (1884) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP LXX.1 [C.4847] (1886) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP CVI.1 [C.5493] (1888) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP LXXIX.1 [C.6143] (1890) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP LXXXVIII.1 [C.6743] (1892) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP CL.1 [C7256] (1893-94) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP CVI.1 [C.7698] (1895) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP XCVIII.1 [C.8502] (1897) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP CVI.1 [C.9304] (1899) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP CL.1 [Cd.166] (1900) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP LXXXVIII.1 [Cd.576] (1901) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP CXVL.PT.1.1 [Cd.1121] (1902) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP CV.1 [Cd.2131] (1904) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP CXXX.I [Cd.306] (1906) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Two, BPP XCVII [Cd.3372] (1907) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Thirty-Six, BPP CXXI.113 [Cd.3870] (1908) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Tables Two & Four, BPP CII.1 [Cd.4533] (1909) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Five, BPP CVIII.133 [Cd.5064] (1910) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Tables Three & Six, BPP C.139 [Cd.5585] (1911) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Tables Four & Seven, BPP CVI.1 [Cd.6021] (1912-13) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Tables Four & Eight, BPP XCVIII.151 [Cd.7325] (1914) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Tables Three & Seven, BPP LXXIX.485 [Cd.7926] (1914-16) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Tables Three & Seven.

¹ BPP LXXVI.647 [C.2727] (1880) p.5 The report noted that as in 1879, the category of 'for hay' and 'not for hay' for rotation and permanent grasses had been discontinued due to the confusion in the minds of some farmers on the distinction between the two.

Appendix 3F Acreage under wheat, barley, oats and permanent pasture in England, 1870-1914

YEAR	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Permanent pasture or grass		
				For hay	Not for hay	Total
1870	3,247,973	1,963,744	1,490,647	2,647,448	7,032,763	9,680,211
1871	3,312,550	1,964,210	1,454,144	3,051,372	6,830,461	9,881,833
1872	3,336,888	1,896,403	1,442,075	3,114,469	6,876,359	9,990,828
1873	3,252,802	1,926,183	1,419,128	2,949,997	7,287,817	10,237,814
1874	3,391,440	1,889,722	1,356,739	2,814,212	7,623,937	10,438,149
1875	3,128,547	2,090,423	1,421,951	3,118,554	7,417,729	10,536,283
1876	2,822,342	2,109,265	1,525,349	3,123,727	7,564,902	10,688,629
1877	2,987,129	2,000,531	1,489,999	3,239,365	7,618,651	10,858,016
1878	3,041,241	2,062,498	1,430,376	3,314,759	7,694,821	11,009,580
1879	2,718,992	2,236,101	1,425,126			11,233,526 ¹
1880	2,745,733	2,060,807	1,520,125			11,461,856
1881	2,641,045	2,029,499	1,627,004			11,655,825
1882	2,829,491	1,857,542	1,533,452			11,800,728
1883	2,466,596	1,912,162	1,674,916			12,008,679
1884	2,530,711	1,808,408	1,620,264			12,197,566
1885	2,349,305	1,894,350	1,647,579	3,480,622	8,749,193	12,229,815
1886	2,161,126	1,898,713	1,772,260	3,809,224	8,601,762	12,410,986
1887	2,197,580	1,759,636	1,768,123	3,926,513	8,619,990	12,546,503
1888	2,418,674	1,742,338	1,616,344	4,127,662	8,488,227	12,615,889
1889	2,321,504	1,776,011	1,623,967	4,324,959	8,375,615	12,700,574
1890	2,255,694	1,775,606	1,648,153	4,131,277	8,704,923	12,836,200
1891	2,192,393	1,772,432	1,672,835	3,866,208	9,218,909	13,085,117
1892	2,102,969	1,709,587	1,765,463	3,834,923	9,202,048	13,036,971
1893	1,798,869	1,751,602	1,914,373	3,606,918	9,521,460	13,128,378
1894	1,828,626	1,766,142	1,978,312	4,178,720	8,949,068	13,127,788
1895	1,339,806	1,837,850	2,045,477	4,079,803	9,165,044	13,244,847
1896	1,609,255	1,778,779	1,845,730	3,967,426	9,386,969	13,354,395
1897	1,785,562	1,698,323	1,829,072	3,901,563	9,290,226	13,191,789
1898	1,987,385	1,562,761	1,731,157	3,932,220	9,322,129	13,254,349
1899	1,899,827	1,635,634	1,781,649	3,753,867	9,570,293	13,324,160
1900	1,744,556	1,645,022	1,860,513	3,776,473	9,615,404	13,391,877
1901	1,617,721	1,635,426	1,831,740	3,754,836	9,792,824	13,457,660
1902	1,630,892	1,578,977	1,892,717	3,975,088	9,488,340	13,463,428
1903	1,497,254	1,545,354	1,953,866	4,122,884	9,458,294	13,581,178
1904	1,302,404	1,543,579	2,059,983	4,116,855	9,576,560	13,693,415
1905	1,704,281	1,410,287	1,880,475	4,033,908	9,726,684	13,760,592
1906	1,661,147	1,439,708	1,881,031	4,130,262	9,686,962	13,817,224
1907	1,537,208	1,411,163	1,967,682	4,275,730	9,532,130	13,807,860
1908	1,548,732	1,383,326	1,958,810	4,267,562	9,633,360	13,900,922
1909	1,734,236	1,379,133	1,839,912	4,094,162	9,817,833	13,911,995
1910	1,716,629	1,449,492	1,857,731	4,295,832	9,627,495	13,923,327
1911	1,804,445	1,337,513	1,841,136	4,283,629	9,619,865	13,903,494
1912	1,821,952	1,365,044	1,865,569	4,394,906	9,422,744	13,817,650
1913	1,663,453	1,469,781	1,772,247	4,504,078	9,508,868	14,012,946
1914	1,770,470	1,420,346	1,730,091	4,239,074	9,821,968	14,061,042

Source: BPP LXIX.271 [C.460] (1871) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables Two, Four & Five, BPP LXIX.301 [C.878] (1873) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables One, Four & Five, BPP LXXIX.593 [C.1303] (1875) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables One, Two & Five, BPP LXXVIII.97 [C.1623] (1876) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables One & Two, BPP LXXVII.461 [C.2133] (1878) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP LXXVI.647 [C.2727] (1880) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP LXXIV.1 [C.3351] (1882) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP LXXXV.141 [C.4142] (1884) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP LXX.1 [C.4847] (1886) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP CVI.1 [C.5493] (1888) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP LXXIX.1 [C.6143] (1890) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP LXXXVIII.1 [C.6743] (1892) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP CL.1 [C7256] (1893-94) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP XCIII.107 [C.7316] (1894) *Agricultural Produce Statistics of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP CVI.1 [C.7698] (1895) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP XCVIII.1 [C.8502] (1897) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP CVI.1 [C.9304] (1899) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP LXXXVIII.1 [Cd.576] (1901) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP CXVL.PT.1.1 [Cd.1121] (1902) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table One, BPP CV.1 [Cd.2131] (1904) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table One, BPP CXXX.I [Cd.306] (1906) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table One, BPP XCVII [Cd.3372] (1907) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Thirty-Six, BPP CXXI.113 [Cd.3870] (1908) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Tables Two & Four, BPP CII.1 [Cd.4533] (1909) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Five, BPP CVIII.133 [Cd.5064] (1910) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Tables Two & Six, BPP C.139 [Cd.5585] (1911) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Seven, BPP CVI.1 [Cd.6021] (1912-13) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Tables Two & Eight, BPP XCVIII.151 [Cd.7325] (1914) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Tables Six & Seven, BPP LXXIX.485 [Cd.7926] (1914-16) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Tables Six & Seven.

¹ BPP LXXVI.647 [C.2727] (1880) p.5 The report noted that as in 1879, the category of 'for hay' and 'not for hay' for rotation and permanent grasses had been discontinued due to the confusion in the minds of some farmers on the distinction between the two.

Appendix 3E Five year averages for acreage of land under wheat, barley, oats and permanent pasture in England and Hertfordshire, 1870-1914

	1870-74	1875-79	1880-84	1885-89	1890-94	1895-99	1900-04	1905-09	1910-14
Wheat									
Herts	63,460	60,153	59,835	54,837	54,515	49,678	47,183	51,839	57,421
% growth/decline	n/a	-5%	-6%	-14%	-14%	-12%	-16%	-18%	-10%
England	3,308,331	2,939,650	2,642,715	2,289,638	2,035,710	1,724,367	1,558,565	1,637,121	1,755,390
% growth/decline	n/a	-11%	-20%	-31%	-38%	-48%	-53%	-51%	-47%
Barley									
Herts	44,591	47,860	42,189	40,271	35,029	31,663	26,639	22,913	18,060
% growth/decline	n/a	7%	-5%	-10%	-21%	-29%	-40%	-49%	-49%
England	1,928,052	2,099,764	1,933,684	1,814,210	1,755,074	1,702,669	1,589,672	1,404,723	1,408,435
% growth/decline	n/a	9%	0%	-6%	-9%	-12%	-18%	-27%	-27%
Oats									
Herts	25,019	26,066	26,497	28,500	33,719	34,093	36,642	38,057	37,439
% growth/decline	n/a	4%	6%	14%	35%	36%	46%	52%	50%
England	1,432,547	1,458,560	1,595,152	1,685,655	1,795,827	1,846,617	1,919,764	1,905,582	1,813,355
% growth/decline	n/a	2%	11%	18%	25%	29%	34%	33%	27%
Permanent Pasture									
Herts	88,480	94,369	102,423	109,069	116,085	119,176	121,761	124,740	124,564
% growth/decline	n/a	7%	16%	23%	31%	35%	38%	41%	41%
England	10,045,767	10,865,207	11,824,931	12,500,753	13,042,891	13,273,908	13,517,512	13,839,719	13,943,692
% growth/decline	n/a	8%	18%	14%	30%	32%	35%	38%	39%

Source: For full references see Appendices 3F & 3G 'Acreage under Wheat, Barley, Oats & Permanent Pasture in England and Hertfordshire, 1870-1914'

Appendix 3D Grain and Flour Imported into the United Kingdom, 1870-1910

Year	Wheat cwt	Barley cwt	Oats cwt	Wheat Flour cwt	Other Flour cwt
1870	30,901,229	7,217,369	10,830,630	4,803,909	33,695
1871	39,389,803	8,569,012	10,914,186	3,977,939	19,390
1872	42,127,726	15,046,566	11,537,325	4,388,136	42,800
1873	43,863,098	9,241,063	11,907,702	6,214,479	79,439
1874	41,527,638	11,335,396	11,387,768	6,236,044	93,130
1875	51,876,517	11,049,476	12,435,888	6,136,083	83,018
1876	44,454,657	9,772,945	11,211,019	5,959,821	224,875
1877	54,269,800	12,959,526	12,910,035	7,377,303	220,033
1878	49,906,484	14,156,919	12,774,420	7,828,079	867,364
1879	59,591,795	11,546,314	13,471,660	10,728,252	698,670
1880	55,261,924	11,705,290	13,826,732	10,558,312	711,286
1881	57,147,933	9,805,944	10,324,119	11,357,381	239,365
1882	64,240,749	15,540,112	13,638,457	13,057,403	315,913
1883	64,138,631	16,461,328	15,137,540	16,329,312	1,211,416
1884	47,306,156	12,953,015	12,921,866	15,095,301	798,276
1885	61,498,864	15,366,160	13,037,189	15,832,843	766,929
1886	47,435,806	13,713,637	13,485,233	14,689,560	467,932
1887	55,802,518	14,239,566	14,462,943	18,063,234	895,961
1888	57,261,363	21,305,350	18,770,686	16,910,442	660,938
1889	58,551,887	17,400,910	15,990,567	14,672,082	532,593
1890	60,474,180	16,677,988	12,727,186	15,773,336	662,970
1891	66,312,962	17,465,698	16,600,394	16,723,003	648,349
1892	64,901,799	14,277,342	15,661,394	22,106,009	951,901
1893	65,461,988	22,844,562	13,954,986	20,408,168	660,832
1894	70,126,232	31,241,384	14,979,214	19,134,605	773,953
1895	81,749,955	23,618,867	15,528,310	18,368,410	969,751
1896	70,025,980	22,477,322	17,586,730	21,320,200	1,459,497
1897	62,740,180	18,958,720	16,116,810	18,680,669	2,631,800
1898	65,227,930	24,457,004	15,577,900	21,017,109	2,658,494
1899	66,636,078	17,189,358	15,626,730	22,945,708	3,231,443
1900	68,669,490	17,054,990	20,109,560	21,548,131	2,800,705
1901	69,708,530	21,873,430	22,470,670	22,576,430	2,795,908
1902	81,002,227	25,210,955	15,857,167	19,386,341	1,044,884
1903	88,131,030	26,555,867	16,283,763	20,601,448	2,343,580
1904	97,782,500	27,152,300	14,097,700	14,722,893	2,063,436
1905	97,622,752	21,426,900	17,095,463	11,954,763	1,667,979
1906	92,967,200	19,934,500	15,286,500	14,190,300	2,242,795
1907	97,168,000	19,627,620	10,485,290	13,297,366	1,960,307
1908	91,131,205	18,137,200	14,269,250	12,969,855	1,830,983
1909	97,854,425	21,556,470	17,835,998	11,052,540	1,712,816
1910	105,222,638	18,281,500	17,495,014	9,960,491	2,055,025

Source: BPP LXV.421 [210] (1878-79) *Return of Quantities of Grain imported into the United Kingdom; Gazette average prices of Corn, Butcher's Meat, Wool and other Agricultural Produce 1828-78*, Table 1, BPP LXXXIII.225 [264] (1881) *Return of Quantities of Grain imported into the United Kingdom; Gazette average prices of Corn, Butcher's Meat, Wool and other Agricultural Produce 1879-80*, Table 1, BPP LX.405 [137] (1886) *Return of Quantities of Grain imported into the United Kingdom; Gazette average prices of Corn, Butcher's Meat, Wool and other Agricultural Produce 1881-1885*, Table 1, BPP CL.1 [Cd.166] (1900) *Agricultural Returns for Great Britain*, Table 47 Groups 5 & 6, BPP LXXV.1 [Cd.6906] (1913) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Tables 100-101.

Appendix 3C Livestock returns for Hertfordshire and England 1870-1914

Year	Horses used solely for agricultural purposes		Cattle		Sheep		Pigs	
	Herts	England	Herts	England	Herts	England	Herts	England
1870	10,662	755,764	27,097	3,757,134	198,684	18,940,256	29,305	1,813,901
1871	10,780	733,257	25,040	3,671,064	167,295	17,530,407	33,492	2,078,504
1872	10,588	731,619	27,191	3,901,563	169,200	17,912,904	38,093	2,347,512
1873	10,588	736,530	30,345	4,173,683	184,223	19,169,851	36,906	2,141,417
1874	10,560	739,221	33,380	4,305,540	195,141	19,859,758	33,062	2,058,781
1875	10,672	745,356	32,442	4,218,470	188,040	19,114,634	30,650	1,875,357
1876	11,068	758,820	31,392	4,076,410	177,060	18,320,091	31,857	1,924,033
1877	10,927	761,089	28,675	3,979,650	164,636	18,330,377	33,640	2,114,751
1878	11,130	767,372	28,801	4,034,552	170,088	18,444,004	34,665	2,124,722
1879	11,094	769,590	31,754	4,128,940	171,133	18,445,522	30,404	1,771,081
1880	11,099	766,527	33,032	4,158,046	155,011	16,828,646	27,975	1,697,914
1881	11,046	772,087	31,423	4,160,085	142,218	15,382,856	28,466	1,733,280
1882	10,993	772,054	28,770	4,081,735	138,093	14,947,994	31,745	2,122,625
1883	10,947	778,179	30,704	4,216,625	156,936	15,594,660	34,625	2,231,195
1884	11,081	774,793	34,351	4,451,658	167,343	16,428,064	35,619	2,207,444
1885	10,858	763,040	37,731	4,713,101	169,507	16,809,778	32,464	2,036,665
1886	10,869	767,104	37,708	4,769,119	161,465	16,402,138	28,523	1,882,698
1887	10,807	766,693	35,039	4,623,715	153,616	16,452,508	28,367	1,940,507
1888	10,758	756,980	32,151	4,352,826	140,634	15,788,794	29,738	2,018,420
1889	10,867	764,013	30,216	4,352,657	144,094	15,839,882	30,194	2,118,385
1890	10,828	764,858	33,009	4,617,641	146,848	16,841,288	33,108	2,355,760
1891	11,364	796,969	35,695	4,870,215	157,188	17,874,722	36,183	2,461,185
1892	11,386	802,044	38,594	4,068,590	157,220	17,993,756	27,160	1,828,542
1893	11,157	789,717	37,073	4,744,059	142,676	16,805,280	24,354	1,828,542
1894	10,753	780,516	30,051	4,450,607	115,474	15,509,995	24,281	2,013,823
1895	10,968	783,547	30,068	4,472,565	121,480	15,557,571	33,689	2,471,020
1896	10,879	781,204	32,013	4,573,603	119,987	16,031,095	34,329	2,476,488
1897	11,510	824,123	33,158	4,567,834	119,421	15,721,213	25,976	1,990,534
1898	11,322	830,316	35,151	4,674,303	118,040	15,886,538	24,083	2,078,898
1899	11,419	830,345	35,895	4,841,852	117,816	16,261,417	25,553	2,225,420
1900	11,416	834,063	35,732	4,818,698	112,413	15,844,713	24,424	2,021,422
1901	11,269	843,624	34,497	4,791,535	106,952	15,548,057	21,396	1,842,133
1902	11,089	832,065	32,597	4,611,937	98,869	15,034,479	23,554	1,956,158
1903	11,462	856,569	33,776	4,746,308	100,814	14,900,978	29,699	2,305,807
1904	11,692	869,618	38,866	4,917,232	96,582	14,748,962	31,762	2,476,355
1905	11,643	871,082	38,636	5,020,936	94,461	14,698,018	25,338	2,083,226
1906	11,467	865,783	40,598	5,060,862	92,002	14,839,927	23,642	1,983,602
1907	11,355	863,817	39,969	4,987,731	90,537	15,098,928	26,942	2,257,136
1908	11,227	866,709	40,741	4,998,278	110,196	15,958,875	28,680	2,439,087
1909	11,443	879,212	42,931	5,100,145	115,662	16,494,812	24,605	2,046,284
1910	11,866	884,017	44,526	5,126,251	106,627	16,273,518	25,377	2,020,319
1911	11,184	843,632	45,615	5,173,976	88,616	15,739,529	29,915	2,414,728
1912	10,799	816,734	44,737	5,087,455	78,583	14,504,489	28,955	2,270,154
1913	9,740	726,795	41,664	4,991,208	72,976	13,736,438	25,007	1,911,520
1914	9,499	712,743	42,122	5,119,445	67,851	13,651,965	28,305	2,259,951

Source: BPP LXIX.271 [C.460] (1871) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Six, BPP LXIX.301 [C.878] (1873) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Seven, BPP LXXIX.593 [C.1303] (1875) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Seven, BPP LXXVIII.97 [C.1623] (1876) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Four, BPP LXXVII.461 [C.2133] (1878) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables One & Two, BPP LXXVI.647 [C.2727] (1880) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables One & Two, BPP LXXIV.1 [C.3351] (1882) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables One & Two, BPP LXXXV.141 [C.4142] (1884) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables One & Two, BPP LXX.1 [C.4847] (1886) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables One & Two, BPP CVI.1 [C.5493] (1888) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables One & Two, BPP LXXIX.1 [C.6143] (1890) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Tables One & Two, BPP LXXXVIII.1 [C.6743] (1892) *Agricultural*

Returns of Great Britain, Tables One & Two, BPP CL.1 [C.7256] (1893-94) Agricultural Returns of Great Britain, Tables One & Two, BPP CVI.1 [C.7698] (1895) Agricultural Returns of Great Britain, Tables One & Two, BPP XCVIII.1 [C.8502] (1897) Agricultural Returns of Great Britain, Tables One & Two, BPP CVI.1 [C.9304] (1899) Agricultural Returns of Great Britain, Tables One & Two, BPP CL.1 [Cd.166] (1900) Agricultural Returns of Great Britain, Tables One & Two, BPP LXXXVIII.1 [Cd.576] (1901) Agricultural Returns of Great Britain, Tables One & Two, BPP CXVL.PT.1.1 [Cd.1121] (1902) Agricultural Returns of Great Britain, Tables One & Two, BPP CV.1 [Cd.2131] (1904) Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain, Tables One & Two, BPP CXXX.I [Cd.306] (1906) Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain, Tables One & Two, BPP CXXI.113 [Cd.3870] (1908) Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain, Tables One & Two, BPP CVIII.133 [Cd.5064] (1910) Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain, Tables Two & Three, BPP CVI.1 [Cd.6021] (1912-13) Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain, Tables Two & Four, BPP XCVIII.151 [Cd.7325] (1914) Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain, Tables Three & Six, BPP LXXIX.485 [Cd.7926] (1914-16) Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain, Tables Three & Six.

Appendix 3B Average price at market for corn crops (per imperial quarter), 1870-1910

Year	England & Wales ¹						Hertfordshire ²					
	Wheat		Barley		Oats		Wheat		Barley		Oats	
	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
1870	46	11	34	7	22	10						
1871	56	8	36	2	25	2						
1872	57	0	37	4	23	2						
1873	58	8	40	5	25	5						
1874	55	9	44	11	28	10						
1875	45	2	38	5	28	8						
1876	46	2	35	2	26	3						
1877	56	9	39	8	25	11						
1878	46	5	40	2	24	4						
1879	43	10	34	0	21	9						
1880	44	4	33	1	23	1	44	4	35	3	19	3
1881	45	4	31	11	21	9						
1882	45	1	31	2	21	10						
1883	41	7	31	10	21	5						
1884	35	8	30	8	20	3						
1885	32	10	30	1	20	7						
1886	31	0	26	7	19	0	30	2	28	1	17	6
1887	32	6	25	4	16	3	31	11	28	1	15	11
1888	31	10	27	10	16	9						
1889	29	9	25	10	17	9	28	7	28	6	16	10
1890	31	11	28	8	18	7						
1891	37	0	28	2	20	0	36	2	29	9	19	9
1892	30	3	26	2	19	10						
1893	26	4	25	7	18	9	26	2	27	9	18	2
1894	22	10	24	6	17	1						
1895	23	1	21	11	14	6	22	3	24	7	15	2
1896	26	2	22	11	14	9						
1897	30	2	23	6	16	11						
1898	34	0	27	2	18	5	33	5	28	10	17	11
1899	25	8	25	7	17	0	24	11	27	7	17	5
1900	26	11	24	11	17	7						
1901	26	9	25	2	18	5						
1902	28	1	25	8	20	2						
1903	26	9	22	8	17	2						
1904	28	4	22	4	16	4						
1905	29	8	24	4	17	4						
1906	28	3	24	2	18	4						
1907	30	7	25	1	18	10						
1908	32	0	25	10	17	10						
1909	36	11	26	10	18	11						
1910	31	8	23	1	17	4						

¹ BPP LXV.421 [210] (1878-79) *Return of Quantities of Grain imported into the United Kingdom; Gazette average prices of Corn, Butcher's Meat, Wool and other Agricultural Produce 1828-78*, Table 2, BPP LXXXIII.225 [264] (1881) *Return of Quantities of Grain imported into the United Kingdom; Gazette average prices of Corn, Butcher's Meat, Wool and other Agricultural Produce 1879-80*, Table 2, BPP LX.405 [137] (1886) *Return of Quantities of Grain imported into the United Kingdom; Gazette average prices of Corn, Butcher's Meat, Wool and other Agricultural Produce 1881-1885*, Table 2, BPP LXXV.1 [Cd.6906] (1913) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table 48.

² BPP LXXXIII.719 [411] (1881) *Return of Quantities of Wheat, Barley and Oats returned for "Gazette" Average Prices in Returning Markets in England and Wales, 1880*, BPP LXXV.283 [108] (1887) *Return of Quantities of Wheat, Barley and Oats Returned for 'Gazette' Average Prices in Returning Markets in England and Wales*, Table Two, BPP X.1 [312] (1888) *First Report from Select Committee on Corn Averages*, Table One, BPP LVIII.173 [13] (1890) *Statistical Table of Corn Prices for the Year 1889*, BPP LXIII.671 [84] (1892) *Statistical Table of Corn Prices for the Year 1891*, BPP XCIII.1[C.7315] (1894) *Statistical Tables of Prices of British Corn, 1893*, Table Three, BPP CVI.1 [C.7698] (1895) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Forty Three, BPP CVI.1 [C.9304] (1899) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Thirty Eight, BPP CL.1 [Cd.166] (1900) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Thirty-One, BPP LXXIX.485 [Cd.8112] (1914-16) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Forty-Seven.

Appendix 3A Quantities returned and average prices per imperial quarter realised of arable crops at returning markets within Hertfordshire, 1880-1913

		QUANTITIES RETURNED						AVERAGE PRICE FOR THE YEAR					
		WHEAT		BARLEY		OATS		WHEAT		BARLEY		OATS	
		<i>qrs</i>	<i>bus</i>	<i>qrs</i>	<i>bus</i>	<i>qrs</i>	<i>bus</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
1880 ¹	Hertford	9,035	4	11,146	4	nil		44	2	36	4		
	Royston	15,079	4	21,330	6	262		44	6	34	3	19	3
	<i>County</i>	<i>24,115</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>32,477</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>262</i>		<i>44</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>3</i>
1886 ²	Hertford	20,833	1	6,409	4	60		30	5	28	1	19	3
	Royston	17,717	2	29,388	1	220	5	29	10	27	10	16	9
	Hitchin	22,770	5	19,457	5	1,435		30	9	27	11	17	11
	B Stortford	16,685	6	31,097	4	140		29	9	28	8	16	1
	<i>County</i>	<i>78,006</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>86,352</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>1,855</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>6</i>
1887 ³	Hertford	21,237	7	6,519	6	nil		32	1	27	9		
	Royston	18,639	0	26,616	3	nil		31	7	27	5		
	Hitchin	11,833	0	18,728	3	588	6	32	5	29	3	16	4
	B Stortford	9,635	0	32,443	0	70		31	10	27	11	15	6
	<i>County</i>	<i>61,344</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>84,307</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>658</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>11</i>
1889 ⁴	Hertford	28,140	3	10,244	5	158	3	29		29	6	15	8
	Royston	25,055	6	29,170	4	578	7	29	3	27	7	18	2
	Hitchin	16,134	1	32,631	6	1,634	2	27	11	28	10	17	4
	B Stortford	46,891	4	73,526	4	209		28	2	28	4	16	5
	<i>County</i>	<i>110,221</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>145,573</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2,580</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>10</i>
1891 ⁵	Hertford	20,994	1	8,752	6	650	4	36	2	30	5	20	4
	Royston	25,625	3	22,321	2	1,034	5	36	3	29	1	18	11
	Hitchin	20,875	4	23,698	3	3,057	1	36	5	29	6	20	5
	B Stortford	31,675	5	61,406	6	869	1	36	1	30	3	19	6
	<i>County</i>	<i>98,470</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>116,179</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>5,611</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>9</i>
1893 ⁶	Hertford	17,568	5	8,676	0	310	4	26	3	27	7	17	10
	Royston	20,885	6	10,124	1	993	7	26	3	27	11	17	5
	Hitchin	20,474	3	24,661	4	4,091	2	26	7	26	7	19	5
	B Stortford	21,484	7	57,680	5	665		25	9	29	1	18	2
	<i>County</i>	<i>80,413</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>101,142</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>6,060</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>2</i>
1895 ⁷	Hertford	12,983	1	9,569	4	314	1	22	3	24	7	13	5
	Royston	16,739	0	18,324	2	390	6	22	7	24	1	15	2
	Hitchin	20,751	2	26,633	2	3,347	2	22	6	23	11	16	11
	B Stortford	12,813	5	42,590	3	372	6	21	9	25	10	15	2
	<i>County</i>	<i>63,288</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>97,117</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4,424</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>2</i>
1897 ⁸	Hertford	25,235	0	3,094	6	96	6	29	10	28	2	16	9
	Royston	19,069	3	15,056	4	490	7	29	1	26	7	16	10
	Hitchin	37,580	1	31,453	4	5,138	6	29	8	23	7	16	9
	B Stortford	16,149	3	59,782	1	430	5	29	2	28	2	15	5
	<i>County</i>	<i>98,033</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>109,386</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>6,157</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>5</i>

¹ BPP LXXXIII.719 [411] (1881) *Return of Quantities of Wheat, Barley and Oats returned for "Gazette" Average Prices in Returning Markets in England and Wales, 1880.*

² BPP LXXV.283 [108] (1887) *Return of Quantities of Wheat, Barley and Oats Returned for 'Gazette' Average Prices in Returning Markets in England and Wales, Table Two.*

³ BPP X.1 [312] (1888) *First Report from Select Committee on Corn Averages, Table One.*

⁴ BPP LVIII.173 [13] (1890) *Statistical Table of Corn Prices for the Year 1889.*

⁵ BPP LXIII.671 [84] (1892) *Statistical Table of Corn Prices for the Year 1891.*

⁶ BPP XCIII.1[C.7315] (1894) *Statistical Tables of Prices of British Corn, 1893, Table Three.*

⁷ BPP CVI.1 [C.7698] (1895) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain, Table Forty Three.*

⁸ BPP CII.1 [C.8897] (1898) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain, Table Thirty Eight.*

		QUANTITIES RETURNED						AVERAGE PRICE FOR THE YEAR					
		WHEAT		BARLEY		OATS		WHEAT		BARLEY		OATS	
		<i>qrs</i>	<i>bus</i>	<i>qrs</i>	<i>bus</i>	<i>qrs</i>	<i>bus</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
1898 ⁹	Hertford	23,983	1	6,867	4	698	0	33	2	30	2	18	1
	Royston	16,653	4	19,120	4	1,103	5	33	7	28	9	17	9
	Hitchin	34,767	4	29,643	6	5,297	4	33	8	26	10	18	0
	B Stortford	15,359	6	63,734	6	571	3	33	4	29	8	18	1
	<i>County</i>	<i>90,763</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>119,366</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>7,670</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>11</i>
1899 ¹⁰	Hertford	33,312	5	6,751	4	669	2	25	3	28	11	17	10
	Royston	26,220	5	18,059	3	2,001	5	24	10	26	11	16	6
	Hitchin	40,044	2	28,920	6	5,971	2	24	11	25	6	17	8
	B Stortford	11,575	6	51,690	5	1,214	0	24	11	29	2	17	8
	<i>County</i>	<i>111,153</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>105,422</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>9,856</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>5</i>
1901 ¹¹	Hertford	26,121	3	6,983	1	145	5	26	10	27	11	17	10
	Royston	20,329	4	17,679	3	1,732	7	26	6	26	11	17	3
	Hitchin	35,266	7	21,517	0	5,347	3	27	0	25	1	18	3
	B Stortford	21,959	6	76,462	7	1,828	3	26	6	28	6	18	0
	<i>County</i>	<i>103,677</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>122,642</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>9,054</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>10</i>
1903 ¹²	Hertford	20,678	4	7,440	1	587	3	26	5	25	9	16	6
	Royston	21,960	5	21,486	3	2,784	1	26	7	23	1	16	6
	Hitchin	40,589	2	22,204	7	6,961	4	26	7	22	8	17	0
	B Stortford	21,766	3	61,313	5	2,408	4	26	4	23	8	17	3
	<i>County</i>	<i>104,994</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>112,445</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>12,741</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>9</i>
1905 ¹³	Hertford	15,799	6	7,600	4	1,096	5	29	4	25	5	17	4
	Royston	22,324	5	20,875	1	4,772	4	29	9	24	7	17	0
	Hitchin	39,032	0	19,298	2	8,531	6	29	10	24	6	16	9
	B Stortford	22,731	6	88,506	2	1,976	2	29	7	25	5	16	5
	<i>County</i>	<i>99,888</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>136,280</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>16,377</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>10</i>
1907 ¹⁴	Hertford	25,851	4	13,374	2	2,067	4	30	4	26	3	18	6
	Royston	25,166	0	20,882	1	5,096	1	30	1	24	9	17	11
	Hitchin	34,312	7	19,975	6	13,521	3	30	6	25	2	18	8
	B Stortford	25,351	2	76,172	5	2,858	7	30	6	26	0	18	1
	<i>County</i>	<i>110,681</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>130,404</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>23,543</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>4</i>
1909 ¹⁵	Hertford	18,328	5	9,417	7	547	6	35	1	27	7	17	9
	Royston	22,367	5	18,114	5	3,940	7	36	9	26	11	18	0
	Hitchin	33,759	7	11,694	6	6,255	5	36	8	26	7	18	4
	B Stortford	15,349	3	38,051	2	1,415	0	36	3	27	3	17	6
	<i>County</i>	<i>89,805</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>77,286</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>12,159</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>11</i>
1911 ¹⁶	Hertford	19,802	2	7,857	2	289	6	31	7	29	9	18	8
	Royston	28,912	6	13,006	0	4,050	5	31	4	28	6	18	3
	Hitchin	38,514	4	11,108	1	6,718	7	31	6	28	11	18	9
	B Stortford	18,936	5	32,530	3	2,663	7	31	1	29	5	18	8
	<i>County</i>	<i>106,166</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>64,501</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>13,723</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>7</i>
1913 ¹⁷	Hertford	21,103	4	12,128	3	435	1	34	9	28	5	20	11
	Royston	31,362	6	19,754	4	4,555	7	34	5	27	1	20	10
	Hitchin	34,579	7	14,311	1	5,298	0	34	5	27	10	21	3
	B Stortford	39,361	6	51,539	7	3,940	1	34	5	28	0	21	8
	<i>County</i>	<i>126,407</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>97,733</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>14,229</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>2</i>

⁹ BPP CVI.1 [C.9304] (1899) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Thirty Eight.

¹⁰ BPP CL.1 [Cd.166] (1900) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Thirty One.

¹¹ BPP CXVL.PT.1.1 [Cd.1121] (1902) *Agricultural Returns of Great Britain*, Table Twenty Six.

¹² BPP CV.1 [Cd.2131] (1904) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Thirty Eight.

¹³ BPP CXXX.I [Cd.306] (1906) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Thirty Seven.

¹⁴ BPP CXXI.287 [Cd.4264] (1908) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Forty Six.

¹⁵ BPP CVIII.309 [Cd.5268] (1910) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Forty Six.

¹⁶ BPP CVI.1 [Cd.6272] (1912-13) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Forty Six.

¹⁷ BPP LXXIX.485 [Cd.8112] (1914-16) *Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain*, Table Forty-Seven.

Appendix 2I Classes of landownership as defined by Bateman, 1883

Class	
Peers	Includes Peeresses and Peers' eldest sons
Great Landowners	Includes all estates held by commoners owning at least 3,000 acres, if the rental reaches £3,000 per annum
Squires	Includes estates of between 1,000 & 3,000 acres, and such estates as would be included in the previous class if their rental reached £3,000 averaged at 1,700 acres
Greater Yeomen	Includes estates of between 300 & 1,000 acres, averaged at 500 acres
Lesser Yeomen	Includes estates of between 100 & 300 acres, averaged at 170 acres
Small Proprietors	Includes lands of over 1 acre and under 100 acres
Cottagers	Includes all holdings of under 1 acre

Source: J. Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (Leicester, 1971, reprinting 1883 text, first published 1876, fourth edition 1883), Table VI 'Tables showing the Landowners divided into eight classes according to acreage' p.501.

Peers and Great Landowners are assigned to those counties in which their principal estates are situated, and are never entered in more than one county. The column recording their numbers in each county must be taken with this qualification, but the acreage of all the Peers or Great Landowners in each county is correctly given.

Appendix 2H High Sheriffs of Hertfordshire and the source of their wealth, 1870-1900.

Year	Name	Residence	Source of wealth ¹
1870	Unwin Unwin Heathcote ²	Shephallbury	Gentry
1871	Charles Longman ³	Shendish, King's Langley	Publishing
1872	Thomas Curtis ⁴	Berkhamsted	Commerce
1873	Horace Smith Bosanquet ⁵	Broxbournebury	Banking
1874	Sir John Gage Sebright ⁶	Beechwood, Flamstead	Gentry
1875	James Sydney Walker ⁷	Hunsdonbury	Commerce
1876	John Gwyn Jefferies ⁸	Ware Priory	Law
1877	David Carnegie ⁹	Eastbury, Oxhey	Commerce
1878	Thomas Fowell Buxton ¹⁰	Easneye, Ware	Brewing
1879	Charles Butler ¹¹	Warren Wood, Hatfield	Insurance Broker
1880	Charles Cholmondely Hale ¹²	King's Walden	Gentry
1881	Sir John Evans ¹³	Hemel Hempstead	Paper Manufacturer
1882	James William Carlile ¹⁴	Ponsbourne, Hatfield	Textile Manufacturer
1883	Salisbury Baxendale ¹⁵	Ware	Commerce
1884	Henry Huck Gibbs ¹⁶	Aldenham House	Commerce
1885	Sir Astley Paston Cooper ¹⁷	Gadebridge, Hemel Hempstead	Surgeon
1886	John Harry Eyres Parker ¹⁸	Ware Park	Law
1887	Henry Demain-Saunders ¹⁹	Beechwood, Flamstead	Gentry
1888	William Bunce Greenfield ²⁰	Flamsteadbury	Commerce
1889	Joseph Grout Williams ²¹	Pendley Manor, Tring	Gentry
1890	Arthur Holland-Hibbert ²²	Great Munden	Gentry
1891	Edmund Smith Hanbury ²³	Poles, Ware	Brewing
1892	Richard Benyon Croft ²⁴	Ware	Brewing
1893	Robert Barclay ²⁵	High Leigh, Hoddesdon	Banking
1894	Edward Henry Loyd ²⁶	Langleybury	Banking
1895	Edward Salvin Bowlby ²⁷	Gilston Park	Sugar Refiner
1896	Percival Bosanquet ²⁸	Ponfield, Little Berkhamstead	Commerce
1897	John Henry Buxton ²⁹	Hunsdonbury	Brewing
1898	Charles Thomas Part ³⁰	Aldenham	Law
1899	Frederick Henry Norman ³¹	Much Hadham	Banking
1900	George Faudel-Phillips ³²	Ball's Park, Hertford	Commerce

Source: High Sheriff of Hertfordshire website www.highsheriffofhertfordshire.org.uk accessed 20th May 2009.

¹ For all non-landed sources of family wealth the reference is either to the occupation of the individual or his family's source of wealth where he is a second or third generation member. Individuals named as gentry are members of families noted for their long presence in the county Warrand, *VCH Genealogical Volume*.

² Page, *VCH Volume Two*, 'Shephall' p.443.

³ A. Briggs, 'Longman family (per. 1724-1972)', *ODNB* (2004; online edn, May 2005) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/72356 accessed 19 May 2009.

⁴ 1861 census 'Berkhamsted St. Peter' RG9/841 ED6 F109 Thomas Curtis born c.1798 Solihull, Warwickshire 'Landed Proprietor' married to Anne S. Curtis, 1851 census 'Palmer's Green, Edmonton' HO107/1703 ED1f F170 Thomas Curtis born c.1799 Solihull Warwickshire 'Merchant' married to Anne S. Curtis.

⁵ Warrand, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, pp. 4,7,17. Smith-Bosanquet was a grandson of Samuel Smith, the banker, who bought Woodhall Place in 1801.

⁶ Warrand, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, p.205. The family bought Beechwood Place, Flamstead in the late 17th century.

⁷ 1861 census 'Hunsdon' RG9/804 ED4 F40 James Sydney Walker, born in Australia gave his occupation as 'Landed Proprietor'. His two elder children, aged 12 & 8 were also born in Australia, but his younger

children, aged 6 & 4 were born in Paddington, Middlesex. A search of the Australian newspapers revealed several transactions involving land registration or sales by James Sydney Walker of Hunsdonbury, England. 'Transfer of Land Statute', *The Argus*, 28th July 1870, where the sale noted a joint ownership with 'William Walker of England', 'Yan Yean Estate for Sale', *The Argus*, 24th April 1876, estate of 3,100 acres near Melbourne. He was also the plaintiff in a case brought against the Geelong & Melbourne Railway Company for damages resulting from a loss made on a loan to the railway by Walker and his partners 'Larnach and Others v. Geelong & Melbourne Railway Company', *The Argus*, 3rd March 1860. For this reason the source of his wealth has been given as commercial <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au> accessed 14th August 2010.

⁸ W.J. Harrison, 'Jeffreys, John Gwyn (1809–1885)', rev. Eric L. Mills, *ODNB* (2004)

www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14705 accessed 19 May 2009.

⁹ Burke's *Landed Gentry of Great Britain* (19th edition, 2001), p.196 Carnegie family www.books.google.co.uk accessed 19th May 2009. David Carnegie was a partner in the family's investment bank and purchased Eastbury Mansion at Oxhey in 1857, Thompson, *Gentrification*, Appendix 4i (B) p.188. See also www.carnegie.se/en for a history of the company.

¹⁰ Warrant, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, p.6, 1881 census 'Stanstead Abbots' RG11/1400 ED5 F44 'Partner in Brewery'.

¹¹ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.170.

¹² Page, *VCH Volume Three*, p.33.

¹³ Warrant, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, p.9. Sir John Evans was a partner in the printing company John Dickinson & Co.

¹⁴ J.W. Carlile, *The History of the Carlile Family (Paisley Branch)* (Winchester, 1909), James William Carlile was a member of the thread manufacturing company James Carlile & Sons of Paisley www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk 'Carlile of Ponsbourne Park' accessed 17th May 2009.

¹⁵ Rubinstein, *Capitalism, Culture & Decline*, p.132. Salisbury Baxendale was the third son of Joseph Baxendale, chairman of Pickfords.

¹⁶ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.185. Henry Huck Gibbs was a guano merchant P.188.

¹⁷ Page, *VCH Volume Two*, 'Hemel Hempstead' p.225.

¹⁸ 1881 census 'Ware' RG11/1402 ED6 F39 John H.E. Parker 'Commander R.N. retired', 1851 census 'Ware' HO107/1705 ED1f F388 William Parker 'Barrister & Landed Proprietor', Page, *VCH Volume Three*, 'Ware' p.388. John Harry Eyre Parker was a naval officer. His father, William, was resident at Ware Park some time before 1848 when he served as High Sheriff, buying the house c.1858.

¹⁹ Warrant, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, p.205 A member of the Sebright family.

²⁰ No supporting evidence found for William Bunce Greenfield in the census returns. Included within commerce category as mentioned in a range of announcements found at 19th century British Newspapers online site www.gale.cengage.co.uk/product-highlights/history/19th-century-british-library-newspapers.aspx *The Morning Post*, 31st May 1861 p.1 William Bunce Greenfield named as a director of The Commercial Copper Smelting Company, *The Bury and Norwich Post*, 10th January 1865 named as director of the Lynn Dock Scheme, 'High Court of Justice. Kennard v Sir George Elliot' *The Northern Echo*, 5th November 1875 William Bunce Greenfield named as party to a contract for construction work on the port of Alexandria, Egypt.

²¹ Warrant, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, p.17.

²² Warrant, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, p.13 family present at Great Munden since 1715.

²³ Warrant, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, p.13.

²⁴ Warrant, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, p.8.

²⁵ Warrant, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, p.5.

²⁶ Warrant, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, p.14.

²⁷ Thompson, *Gentrification*, p.165. Bowlby was the grandson of sugar refiner Thomas Hodgson.

²⁸ Warrant, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, p.5. Bosanquet was a member of the banking family of Smiths of Woodhall. He gave his occupation on the 1901 census returns as 'Retired East & West Indies Merchant' 1901 census 'Little Berkhamstead' RG13/1304 ED12 F89.

²⁹ Warrant, *VCH Genealogical Volume*, p.6.

³⁰ Wratten, *Radlett and Aldenham*, pp.83, 96, 1891 census 'Aldenham' RG12/1117 ED3 F41.

³¹ A.C. Howe, 'Norman, George Warde (1793–1882)' *ODNB* (Sept. 2004)

www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20257 accessed 19 May 2009.

³² 'An Ex-Lord Mayor London. Death of Sir George Faudel-Phillips', *The Times*, 29th December 1922 p.11.

Appendix 2G

Patterns of office holding amongst the High Sheriffs of Hertfordshire,
1870-1900

Year of office	Family first held office prior to the 18 th century	Family first held office 1800-1850	Family first held office 1850-1900	Only member of family to hold office	Family held office in 20 th century
1870		U.U. Heathcote			
1871				C. Longman	
1872				T. Curtis	
1873		H. Smith Bosanquet			1928
1874	Sir J.G. Sebright				1904
1875				J. S. Walker	
1876				J. G. Jefferies	
1877				D. Carnegie	
1878			T.F. Buxton		1938, 1958, 1992
1879				C. Butler	
1880	C.C. Hale				
1881			Sir J. Evans		1914
1882			J.W. Carlile		1922
1883				S. Baxendale	
1884			H.H. Gibbs		1913
1885			A. Paston Cooper		
1886		J. Parker			
1887	H. Demain-Saunders				
1888				W. B. Greenfield	
1889				J. G. Williams	
1890			A. Holland-Hibbert		
1891		E. Smith Hanbury			
1892			R. B. Croft		1911
1893			R. Barclay		1990
1894			E.H. Loyd		
1895			E.S. Bowlby		1908
1896		P. Bosanquet			1928
1897			J.H. Buxton		1938, 1958, 1992
1898				C.T. Part	
1899				F.H. Norman	
1900			G. Faudel-Phillips		1907, 1933
TOTAL	3	5	12	11	12

Source: High Sheriff of Hertfordshire website www.highsheriffofhertfordshire.org.uk

Appendix 2F References for Hertfordshire Census Returns 1871-1901

Registration District	Civil Parish	1871	1881	1891	1901
		RG10	RG11	RG12	RG13
BARNET					
	Chipping Barnet	1332/2-3	1369/2-3	1053/2-4	1230/1-2
	East Barnet	1332/4-5	1370/4-5	1054/4-5	1231/10-11 1232/12-14
	Elstree	1331/1	1368/1	1052/1	1229/1
	Ridge	1331/4	1368/4	1052/4	1229/4
	Shenley	1331/2-3	1368/2-3	1052/2-3	1229/2-3
	Totteridge	1332/6	1370/6	1054/6	1229/7
BERKHAMSTED					
	Aldbury	1390/2-3	1447/2-3	1127/4-5	1330/4
	Great Berkhamsted	1389/4-7	1446/1-2, 4-7	1126/3-7	1328/2-3 1329/5
	Little Gaddesden	1389/1	1446/1	1126/1-2	1328/1
	Northchurch	1389/2-4 1390/1	1446/2-6	1126/3-4	1328/2-5
	Puttenham	1390/6	1447/6	1127/16	1330/5
	Tring	1390/3, 7-8 1391/8a-15	1448/7-10 1449/11-13	1127/6-16	1330/5-6 1331/7-13
	Wigginton	1390/1	1447/1	1127/3	1330/3
BISHOP'S STORTFORD					
	Albury	1356/1	1408/1	1099/1	1290/1
	Bishop's Stortford	1355/2-6	1406/2-4 1407/5-6	1098/2-6	1289/2-6
	Braughing	1356/2-3	1408/2-3	1099/2-3	1290/2-3
	Brent Pelham	1356/5	1408/5	1099/5	1290/5
	Furneux Pelham	1356/4	1408/4	1099/1, 4	1290/4
	Little Hadham	1355/8	1407/9	1098/9	1288/9
	Much Hadham	1355/7	1407/8	1098/8	1288/8
	Sawbridgeworth	1353/2-4	1404/2-4	1096/2-4	1286/2-4
	Stocking Pelham	1356/5	1408/5	1099/5	1290/5
	Thorley	1353/1	1404/1	1096/1	1285/1
EDMONTON					
	Cheshunt	1347/1-5 1348/6-11	1397/1-5 1398/6-11	1091/1-11	1277/1-5 1278/6-10
HATFIELD					
	Ayot St. Lawrence	1375/5	1428/5	1113/5	1308/5
	Ayot St. Peter	1375/6	1428/6	1113/6	1308/6
	Digswell	1375/1,4	1428/4	1113/4	1308/4
	Essendon	1374/9	1427/9	1112/9	1307/1
	Hatfield	1374/1-6	1426/1-5 1427/6	1112/2-6	1307/5-10
	Northaw	1374/1,8-10	1427/10	1112/10	1307/2
	North Mymms	1374/7-8	1427/7	1112/7-8	1307/3
	Welwyn	1375/1-3	1428/1-3	1112/1-3	1308/1-3

Registration District	Civil Parish	1871	1881	1891	1901
		RG10	RG11	RG12	RG13
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD					
	Bovingdon	1385/2-4	1442/2-4	1123/2-4	1324/2-4
	Caddington	1568/32-33	1653/34-36	1275/43-44	1519/40-41
	Flamstead	1388/4-6	1445/4-6	1125/4-6	1327/3-4,7
	Flaunden	1385/1	1442/1	1123/1	1324/1
	Great Gaddesden	1388/1-3	1445/1-3	1125/1-3	1327/1-2
	Hemel Hempstead	1386/1-6 1387/7-12	1443/1-5 1444/6-12	1124/1-12	1325/1-7 1326/8-13
	Kensworth	1566/15-16	1647/12-13	1270/12-13	1513/10
	King's Langley	1385/5-7	1442/5-6	1123/5-7	1324/5-7
	Studham	1566/13	1647/14-16	1270/16	1513/12
HERTFORD					
	Aston	1371/1	1422/1	1109/1	1303/1
	Bayford	1373/12	1423/5	1110/5	1304/4
	Bengeo	1372/3-4	1423/6 1424/7	1110/6	1304/7
	Bennington	1371/2	1422/2	1109/2	1303/2
	Bramfield	1372/1	1423/1	1110/1	1304/1
	Brickendon	1373/13	1424/8	1110/8	1304/8
	Datchworth	1371/3	1422/3	1109/3	1303/3
	Hertford - All Saints	1373/9-10	1423/3-4	1110/3-4	1305/3,5-6,8
	Hertford - St. Andrew	1372/7-8	1425/12-13	1111/12-13	1305/13 1306/14
	Hertford - St. John	1372/5-6	1424/14-15	1111/14-15	1306/15-16
	Hertingfordbury	1373/15	1424/9	1110/9	1304/10
	Little Amwell	1373/11	1424/10	1111/10	1304/11
	Little Berkhamstead	1373/14	1424/11	1111/11	1304/12
	Sacombe	1371/4	1422/4	1109/4	1303/4
	Stapleford	1371/5	1422/5	1109/5	1303/5
	Tewin	1372/2	1423/2	1110/2	1304/2
	Walkern	1371/6	1422/6	1109/6	1303/6
	Watton at Stone	1371/7	1422/7	1109/7	1303/7

Registration District	Civil Parish	1871	1881	1891	1901
		RG10	RG11	RG12	RG13
HITCHIN					
	Baldock	1364/1-3	1416/1-3	1105/1-3	1298/1-3
	Bygrave	1364/4	1416/4	1105/4	1299/4
	Caldecote	1364/5	1416/5	1105/5	1299/5
	Clothall	1364/6	1416/6	1105/6	1299/6
	Codicote	1367/1-2	1418/1-2	1107/1-2	1299/19-20
	Graveley	1364/7	1416/7	1105/7	1299/7
	Great Wymondley	1366/18	1417/18	1106/18	1299/17
	Hexton	1367/3	1418/3	1107/3	1300/1
	Hitchin	1367-69/4-12	1418-19/4-12	1107/4-12	1301/2-6 1301/7-10
	Ickleford	1369/6	1420/16	1108/15	1300/12
	Ippollitts	1369/17-18	1420/17-18	1108/16-17	1300/13
	Kimpton	1369/19-20	1420/19-20	1108/18-19	1300/15-16
	King's Walden	1369/21-22	1420/21-22	1108/20-21	1300/17-18
	Knebworth	1365/8	1416/8	1105/8	1299/8
	Letchworth	1365/9	1416/9	1105/9	1299/9
	Lilley	1370/23	1421/23	1108/22	1300/20
	Little Wymondley	1366/19	1417/19	1106/19	1299/18
	Newnham	1364/5	1416/5	1105/5	1299/5
	Norton	1365/10	1416/10	1105/10	1299/10
	Offley	1370/24-25	1421/24-25	1108/23-24	1300/21-22
	Pirton	1370/28	1421/28	1108/27	1300/25
	Radwell	1364/4	1416/4	1105/4	1299/4
	St. Paul's Walden	1370/26-27	1421/26-27	1108/25-26	1300/23-24
	Shephall	1365/11	1417/11	1105/11	1299/11
	Stevenage	1365/12-13 1366/14-15	1417/12-15	1106/12-15	1298/12-15
	Weston	1366/16-17	1417/16-17	1106/16-17	1299/16
	Willian	1365/9	1416/9	1105/9	1299/9

Registration District	Civil Parish	1871	1881	1891	1901
		RG10	RG11	RG12	RG13
ROYSTON					
	Anstey	1357/1	1409/1	1100/1	1291/1
	Ardeley	1358/14	1410/14	1100/14	1291/11
	Ashwell	1359/1-2	1411/1-2	1101/1-2	1292/1-2
	Aspenden	1357/2	1409/2	1100/2	1291/2
	Barkway	1359/3-4	1411/3	1101/3-4	1292/4
	Barley	1360/5-6	1411/5-6	1101/5	1292/5
	Broadfield	1358/10	1410/10	1100/10	1291/4
	Buckland	1357/3	1409/3	1100/3	1291/3
	Cottered	1357/4	1409/4	1100/4	1291/4
	Great Horstead	1357/5	1409/5	1100/5	1291/5
	Hinxworth	1360/10	1411/10	1101/9	1293/8
	Kelshall	1360/11	1411/11	1102/10	1293/9
	Layston	1358/7	1410/7	1100/7	1291/6
	Little Horstead	1357/6	1409/6	1100/6	1291/5
	Meesden	1357/1	1409/1	1100/1	1291/1
	Nuthampstead	1360/16	1412/16	1101/4	1292/4
	Reed	1360/17	1412/17	1102/15	1293/14
	Royston	1359/20 1360/18-19	1412/18-19	1102/16-17	1294/15-17
	Rushden	1358/8	1410/8	1100/8	1291/7
	Sandon	1358/9	1410/9	1100/9	1291/8
	Therfield	1360/21-22	1412/20	1102/18-19	1293/18-19
	Throcking	1358/10	1410/10	1100/10	1291/4
	Wallington	1358/11	1410/11	1100/11	1291/7
	Westmill & Wakeley	1358/12	1410/12	1100/12	1291/9
	Wyddial	1358/13	1410/13	1100/13	1291/10
ST. ALBANS					
	Harpenden	1376/4-5 1377/6	1429/4-5 1430/6	1114/4-7	1310/4-7
	Redbourn	1377/7-9	1430/7-9	1114/8-10	1309/8-10
	St. Albans	1378/8-10	1432/8-9 1433/10	1116/9-11	1311/1-7 1312/8-13
	St. Albans – St. Michael	1379/11-13	1433/11-13	1116/12-14	1313/18-19
	St. Albans – St. Peter	1378/1-7	1431/1-4 1432/5-7	1115/1-7	1313/14-18
	St. Albans – St. Stephen	1379/14-17	1433/14-16	1116/16-17	1313/20-22
	Sandridge	1377/10-11	1430/10-11	1114/11-12	1309/1,11
	Wheathampstead	1376/1-3	1429/1-3	1114/1-3	1309/1-3

Registration District	Civil Parish	1871	1881	1891	1901
		RG10	RG11	RG12	RG13
WARE					
	Broxbourne & Hoddesdon	1349/2-4	1399/2-4	1092/2-5	1279/2 1280/3-6
	Eastwick	1350/1	1400/1	1093/1	1281/1
	Gilston	1350/2	1400/2	1093/1	1281/1
	Great Amwell	1349/5	1399/5	1092/6	1279/7
	Great Munden	1352/2-3	1403/2-3	1095/2-3	1284/2-3
	Hunsdon	1350/3-4	1400/3-4	1093/3	1281/2-3
	Little Munden	1352/1	1403/1	1095/1-2	1284/1
	Standon	1352/4-8	1403/4-8	1095/4-8	1284/4-8
	Stanstead Abbots	1350/5-6	1400/5-7	1093/4-6	1281/4-6
	Stanstead St. Margaret	1350/7	1400/7	1093/6	1281/6
	Thundridge	1351/9-10	1402/9-10	1094/9-10	1283/9
	Ware	1351/1-8	1401/1-4 1402/5-8	1094/1-8	1280/9 1282/1-5 1283/6-8
	Widford	1350/8-9	1400/8-9	1093/7-8	1281/7-8
	Wormley	1349/1	1399/1	1092/1	1279/1
WATFORD					
	Abbot's Langley	1384/1-3	1441/1-3	1122/1-3	1323/1-4
	Aldenham	1380/1-4	1434/1-4	1117/1-3	1314/1-3
	Bushey	1380/5-12	1434/5-7 1435/8-13	1117/4-9	1314/5-9 1315/4
	Rickmansworth	1383/1a-9	1440/1-10	1121/1-10	1321/1-7 1322/8-16
	Sarratt	1383/1-2	1440/11-12	1121/11-12	1322/13
	Watford	1381/1-8 1382/9-15	1436/1-4 1437/5-9 1438/10-17 1439/18-19	1118/1-6 1119/7-17 1120/18-19	1316/1-6 1317/7-13 1318/14-18 1319/19-23

Appendix 2E Businessmen buying estates within the county of Hertfordshire

Name	Hertfordshire Estate	Source of Wealth	Died
Millionaires dying between 1809 and 1893 who purchased landed estates¹			
Lionel Rothschild ²	Tring Park	Banker	1879
Sir Henry Meux	Theobalds, Cheshunt	Brewer	1883
Millionaires dying between 1894 and 1914 who purchased landed estates³			
Sir Charles Booth	Netherfield, Ware	Distiller	1896
Samuel G. Smith	Sacombe Park	Banker	1900
John Blundell Maple	Childwickbury, St. Albans	Department Store	1903
Spencer Charrington	Hunsdon House	Brewer	1904
Edmund Beckett Denison	Batchwood, St. Albans	Barrister	1905
Charles Butler	Warren Wood, Hatfield	Insurance Broker	1910
Millionaires dying between 1915 and 1940 who purchased landed estates⁴			
Thomas F. Harrison	King's Walden Bury	Ship-owner	1916
Sir Walpole L. Greenwell	Little Berkhamsted	Stockbroker	1919
Non-millionaire businessmen born before 1870 who purchased country estates⁵			
David Carnegie	Eastbury, Oxhey	Merchant	1890
Harry Panmure Gordon	Loudwater, Rickmansworth	Stockbroker	1902
Henry Huck Gibbs ⁶	Aldenham	Guano Merchant	1907
Sir John Evans	Hemel Hempstead	Paper Manufacturer	1908
Sir John Barker	Bishop's Stortford	Department Store	1914
Herbert Shepherd Cross	Hamels, Braughing	Textile Bleacher	1916
Sir James Hill	Hexton Manor, Hexton	Wool Merchant	1936

Source: F.M.L. Thompson, *Gentrification and the Enterprise Culture. Britain 1780-1980* (Oxford, 2003, first published 2001), 'Appendices New Men of Wealth and the Purchase of Landed Estates' pp.162-194. Thompson drew on information from obituaries, county histories and volumes of *Who Was Who* to give details of estates bought by those millionaires listed in W.D. Rubinstein, 'British Millionaires, 1809-1949', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, No.48 (1974) pp. 206-210.

¹ Thompson, *Gentrification*, Appendix 1 pp.163-166. Missing from this table is William Henry Smith, the newsagent, who bought the Oxhey estate in 1867 but sold it on in 1877 to Thomas Blackwell, the grocer Page, *VCH Volume Two*, p.457.

² Lionel bought the estate at Tring in 1872 as a wedding present for his son Nathaniel who inherited it outright in 1879 upon Lionel's death. V. Gray & M. Aspey, 'Rothschild, Nathaniel Mayer de, first Baron Rothschild (1840-1915)', *ODNB* (Oxford, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35844 accessed 1st November 2009.

³ Thompson, *Gentrification*, Appendix 2 pp.167-172.

⁴ Thompson, *Gentrification*, Appendix 3 pp.172-181.

⁵ Thompson, *Gentrification*, Appendix 4iA pp.183-188, Appendix 4ii pp.189-194.

⁶ Although Thompson claims that Gibbs bought the estate at Aldenham, in fact his father had inherited Aldenham House from a distant female relative in 1842. Henry Huck Gibbs did extend the estate, re-modelling the house and enlarging the park from 80 to 120 acres. Page, *VCH Volume Two*, p.151, Pevsner, *Hertfordshire*, p.69, Prince, *Parks in Hertfordshire*, pp.135 &197.

Appendix 2D Owners of estates of 1,000 acres or more in Hertfordshire

Owner	Residence ¹	County ²	Hertfordshire acreage	Hertfordshire Annual Rental £	Non-Herts acreage ³	Non-Herts Rental £
Hertfordshire Estates of 10,000 acres or more						
Marquis of Salisbury	Hatfield House		13,389	18,372	6,813	15,041
Abel Smith	Woodhall Park		11,212	14,617		
Earl Cowper	Panshanger Park		10,122	13,540	27,747	46,852
Hertfordshire Estates of 3,000 – 10,000 acres						
Earl of Verulam	Gorhambury, St Albans		8,625	11,919	1,492	2,182
Earl Brownlow	Belton House, Grantham	Lincs ⁴	8,551	12,760	49,784	73,666
Charles Cholmeley Hale	King's Walden Park		6,905	10,130	1,094	1,660
Lord Dacre	The Hoo, Welwyn		6,658	9,527	6,659	7,105
Earl of Essex	Cashiobury Park, Watford		5,545	7,805	9,325	11,131
Earl Lytton	Knebworth Park		4,863	5,366		
Lord Rendlesham	Rendlesham Hall, Woodbridge	Suffolk ⁵	3,969	5,500	20,059	19,524
William Robert Baker	Bayfordbury		3,911	6,631		
Sir John G Saunders Sebright	Besford Court, Pershore	Worcs ⁶	3,886	6,155	3,324	7,412
Robert Gaussen	Brookmans Park		3,566	4,246		
Earl Spencer	Althorp Park	Northants	3,017	5,600	24,168	41,164
Joseph Trueman Mills	Clermont, Thetford	Norfolk	3,000	4,993	10,800	12,998
Hertfordshire Estates of 1,000 – 3,000 acres						
Sir Nathaniel Meyer Rothschild	Tring Park		2,939	5,413	12,439	23,488
Mrs Delme-Radcliffe	Hitchin Priory		2,900	4,600	926	1,290
Arthur Giles-Puller	Youngsbury, Ware		2,888	4,480	1,077	1,575
George Sowerby	Putteridge Park, Lilley		2,804	4,098	3,197	3,669

¹ For those owners whose principal residence was given by Bateman as situated outside Hertfordshire, a note has been made of those who owned and resided in, for part of the year at least, a home within the county.

² Hertfordshire unless otherwise indicated.

³ Property in London was excluded by Bateman.

⁴ Earl Brownlow also owned and spent time at his Hertfordshire house, Ashridge, Little Gaddesden.

⁵ Lord Rendlesham also owned Edge Grove, at Aldenham, but this house was let.

⁶ Sir John Gage Saunders Sebright also owned two homes, Beechwood Park and Cheverells, at Flamstead but both houses were let.

Owner	Residence	County	Hertfordshire acreage	Hertfordshire Annual Rental £	Non-Herts acreage	Non-Herts Rental £
Sir Henry Meux	Theobalds, Cheshunt		2,702	6,017	12,408	17,490
Unwin Unwin-Heathcote	Shephallbury, Stevenage		2,700	3,723	343	612
<i>Lord Ebury</i>	<i>Rickmansworth Park</i>		2,619	5,634	104	169
Cherry Drake-Garrard	Lamer Park, Wheathampstead		2,543	3,185		
Charles Wilshere	The Frythe, Welwyn		2,517	4,793	932	1,554
<i>Lord Strathnairn</i>	<i>Newsells Park, Barkway</i>		2,490	3,171	428	432
Duke of Wellington	Strathfieldsaye, Winchfield	Hants ⁷	2,246	3,922	16,870	18,240
<i>Horace J Smith-Bosanquet</i>	<i>Broxbournebury</i>		2,207	4,451	12	20
Thomas F Halsey	Gaddesden Place		2,100	3,381	1811	2458
Henry Hucks Gibbs	Aldenham Park		2,088	3,940	1,317	2,237
<i>John Hodgson</i>	<i>Gilston Park, Sawbridgeworth</i>		2,078	3,244	13	24
Mrs S. Hughes	Offley Place		2,070	2,884		
Hon Charles P Villiers	Hamels Park		2,049	3,025		
<i>William Barnard</i>	<i>Sawbridgeworth</i>		2,035	3,126	49	74
Dowager Countess of Caledon	Castle Caledon	Co. Tyrone ⁸	1,947	2,567		
<i>Charles J Phelps</i>	<i>Briggins Park, Hunsdon</i>		1,868	3,299	1,057	1,541
Baron Dimsdale	Essendon		1,854	2,212	528	1,429
<i>Thomas F Buxton</i>	<i>Easneye, Stanstead Abbots</i>		1,809	3,318		
<i>Lady Glamis</i>	<i>Redbourn House</i>		1,795	3,558		
<i>Hon. Granville Dudley Ryder</i>	<i>Westbrook, Bovingdon</i>		1,792	2,205	39	41
Mrs Browne	Walkern Hall		1,784	2,964	1,000	1,535
Rev Thomas D. Hudson	Frogmore Lodge, Aston		1,782	2,214		
Hon Mrs Harcourt	Newsells Park, Barkway		1,769	1,749		
Earl of Mexborough	Methley Park, Leeds	Yorkshire	1,769	1,854	7,765	32,711
Lionel Ames-Lyde	Kings Lynn	Norfolk ⁹	1,732	2,056	2,420	3,302
Richard Hunt	Stanstead Abbots		1,714	2,596		
<i>Mrs Mary Florence Metcalfe</i> ¹⁰	<i>Julians, Rushden</i>		1,711	1,942		
Henry Edward Surtees	Redworth Hall, Darlington	Durham ¹¹	1,706	2,283	7,750	4,819

⁷ The Duke of Wellington also owned Standon Lordship, Standon, near Ware, but this house was let.

⁸ The Dowager Countess of Caledon also owned Tyttenhanger Park, near St Albans, but this house was let.

⁹ Lionel Ames-Lyde also owned and spent time at his Hertfordshire house, Ayot House, Ayot St Lawrence.

¹⁰ Bateman shows the Julians estate as part of the 2.305 acre estate of F.M. Metcalfe, but in fact it was the property of his wife, Mary Florence, who inherited it from her father, Adolphus Meetkerke, in 1879.

Owner	Residence	County	Hertfordshire acreage	Hertfordshire Annual Rental £	Non-Herts acreage	Non-Herts Rental £
Coningsby Charles Sibthorp	Canwick, Lincoln	Lincs ¹²	1,700	2,300	6,000	8,000
<i>Robert Hanbury</i>	<i>Poles, Ware</i>		<i>1,694</i>	<i>1,523</i>	<i>1715</i>	<i>2554</i>
Lieut-Col Wilkinson	Chesfield Lodge, Graveley		1,653	1,968		
Earl of Strafford	Wrotham Park, Barnet		1,634	2,751	13,360	13,598
Marquis Townshend	Rainham Hall, Fakenham	Norfolk ¹³	1,565	1,645	18,345	20,915
Francis John Fordham	Yew Tree House, Royston		1,453	1,695		
John Archer Houblon	Hallingbury Place	Essex ¹⁴	1,449	1,647	14,066	17,840
Richard Oakley	Lawrence End, Kimpton		1,448	1,697		
Arthur Macnamara	Eaton Bray, Dunstable	Beds ¹⁵	1,443	1,769	3,957	6,231
<i>Robert Phillips Greg</i>	<i>Coles Park, Westmill</i>		<i>1,431</i>	<i>1,740</i>	<i>893</i>	<i>4,256</i>
Arthur M. Blake	Danesbury, Welwyn		1,414	2,282	2,929	5,049
Sir Henry Lushington	Aspenden Hall, Aspenden		1,379	1,754		
James John Gape	St Michael's Manor, St Albans		1,360	1,435	1,886	1,764
Rev James Williams (Exors) ¹⁶	Tring		1,342	2,579	160	123
Joseph Gurney Barclay	High Leigh, Hoddesdon		1,340	2,070	2,476	2,696
<i>Charles F Hancock</i>	<i>Hendon Hall</i>	<i>Middlesex¹⁷</i>	<i>1,314</i>	<i>1,848</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>578</i>
Mrs Fanny Rosier	Marlowes, Hemel Hempstead		1,300	1,938		
Leonard Proctor	The Lordship, Bennington		1,293	2,315		
Robert Clutterbuck	Hyde Park	London	1,239	1,869		
William Parker	Ware Park		1,208	3,375		
Thomas Dashwood	Walsworth House, Hitchin		1,188	1,471		
Thomas Clutterbuck	Micklefield Hall, Rickmansworth		1,181	2,748		
William Jones Loyd	Langleybury, Abbots Langley		1,185	2,093		

¹¹ Henry Edward Surtees also owned and spent time at his Hertfordshire house, Dane End, Little Munden. He was a JP and MP (1859-1868) for the county.

¹² Coningsby Charles Sibthorp also owned and spent time at his Hertfordshire house, North Mymms Park, near Hatfield.

¹³ Marquis Townshend also owned Ball's Park, Hertford, but this house was let.

¹⁴ Hallingbury Place was only just over the county border into Essex, three miles to the south-east of Bishop Stortford.

¹⁵ Arthur Macnamara also owned and spent time at his home, Caddington Hall, in the parish of Caddington, partly in Hertfordshire and partly in Bedfordshire.

¹⁶ It is unclear how much of this estate was inherited by Rev Williams' son, Joseph Grout Williams, of Pendley Manor, Tring. Joseph Grout was also owner of 1,074 acres in his own right.

¹⁷ Charles Hancock also owned and spent time at his Hertfordshire house, Roxley Court, in Willian near Hitchin. See Chapter 4 'The New Wealthy and their Understanding of the County – Wealth in Action'.

Owner	Residence	County	Hertfordshire acreage	Hertfordshire Annual Rental £	Non-Herts acreage	Non-Herts Rental £
<i>William Hammond Solly</i> ¹⁸	<i>Bedmond, Serge Hill</i>		1,158	2,059	519	488
<i>St. Bartholomew's Hospital</i>	<i>Smithfield</i>	London	1,150	1,625	6,892	13,148
Hon Mrs Bathurst	Chobham	Surrey	1,144	1,549		
Thomas B Myers	Porters, Shenley		1,135	1,612		
Charles Heaton-Ellis ¹⁹	Wyddial Hall		1,133	1,358		
<i>Edward King Fordham</i>	<i>Ashwellbury, Ashwell</i>		1,103	2,884	45	179
John Bennett Lawes	Rothamstead, Harpenden		1,120	1,831		
<i>William Henry Smith</i> ²⁰	<i>Greenlands, Henley on Thames</i>	Oxon	1,098	1,093	6,777	10,485
Mrs Emily Hibbert	Munden House, Watford		1,092	2,381		
Mrs Frances O. Gosselin	Kensington	London ²¹	1,088	1,368		
Joseph Grout Williams ²²	Pendley Manor, Tring		1,074	1,522		
Mrs L. Kenwick	Walmer	Kent	1,068	1,292		
Charles Reading	Hove	Sussex	1,065	1,225		

Source: J. Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (Leicester, 1971, Reprinting Fourth Edition 1883), BPP LXXII [C.1097] (1874) *Return of the Owners of Land (Exclusive of the Metropolis) 1873*. The latter listed all the owners of property holding one acre and above within the county and has been used to detail estates of less than 2,000 acres. It has also been searched for the breakdown of estates by county where Bateman gave only an overall figure for estates between 2,000 and 3,000 acres. These entries are shown in italics.

¹⁸ Bateman gives an overall figure for William Solly's estate of 2,279 acres, listing the counties of Herts, Kent and Warwickshire. A search by county of the 1874 returns showed only the Hertfordshire estate of 1,158 acres and an additional holding of 519 acres in Kent.

¹⁹ The Wyddial Hall Estate was split between Charles Heaton-Ellis and his mother at this time, but was united with her death in 1874.

²⁰ William Henry Smith's Hertfordshire estate at Oxhey had been sold by the time of Bateman's 1883 revised text.

²¹ Mrs Gosselin was the widow of Martin H Gosselin. Her son continued to live at the family home of Blakesware, Ware.

²² Joseph Grout also stood to inherit part of his father's estate at Tring, but the precise amount is unclear. See fn. 16.

Appendix 2C Population and acreage of rural Hertfordshire 1901

	Acreage	Population 1901
Total of Urban Districts	51,623	161,704
Total of Rural Districts	352,900	96,719

Rural District	Parish	Acreage	Population 1901	Number of acres per person
Ashwell		22,049	3,953	5.6
	Ashwell	4,109	1,281	3.2
	Barkway	3,252	661	4.9
	Barley	2,725	505	5.4
	Hinxworth	1,463	230	6.4
	Kelshall	2,360	217	10.9
	Nuthampstead	1,959	168	11.7
	Reed	1,477	183	8.1
	Therfield	4,704	708	6.6
Barnet		10,820	4,154	2.6
	Elstree	1,510	1,323	1.1
	Ridge	3,615	478	7.6
	Shenley	4,091	1,509	2.7
	Totteridge	1,604	844	1.9
Berkhamsted		18,383	4,708	3.9
	Aldbury	2,027	812	2.5
	Great Berkhamsted Rural	3,264	460	7.1
	Little Gaddesden	2,458	588	4.2
	Nettleden	781	147	5.3
	Northchurch	3,798	1,224	3.1
	Puttenham	796	97	8.2
	Tring Rural	3,584	711	5.0
	Wigginton	1,675	669	2.5
Buntingford		28,470	5,020	5.7
	Anstey	2,150	364	5.9
	Ardeley	2,424	392	6.2
	Aspenden	1,711	646	2.6
	Broadfield	375	7	53.6
	Buckland	1,629	244	6.7
	Cottered	1,832	339	5.4
	Great Hormead	1,968	376	5.2
	Layston	1,434	794	1.8
	Little Hormead	1,065	128	8.3
	Meesden	1,009	132	7.6
	Rushden	1,509	195	7.7
	Sandon	4,061	578	7.0
	Throcking	1,048	34	30.8
	Wallington	2,043	152	13.4
	Westmill	2,670	379	7.0
	Wyddial	1,542	260	5.9

Rural District	Parish	Acreage	Population 1901	Number of acres per person
Hadham		25,468	5,209	4.9
	Albury	3,248	505	6.4
	Braughing	4,368	930	4.7
	Brent Pelham	1,637	207	7.9
	Furneux Pelham	2,585	449	5.8
	High Wych	3,961	761	5.2
	Little Hadham	3,082	655	4.7
	Much Hadham	4,490	1,199	3.7
	Stocking Pelham	647	138	4.7
	Thorley	1,450	365	4.0
Hatfield		23,486	7,551	3.1
	Bishop's Hatfield	12,884	4,754	2.7
	Essendon	2,331	565	4.1
	Northaw	3,305	664	5.0
	North Mymms	4,966	1,568	3.2
Hemel Hempstead		19,994	6,012	3.3
	Bovingdon	3,957	1,047	3.8
	Flamstead	5,491	1,049	5.2
	Flaunden	919	179	5.1
	Great Gaddesden	4,149	746	5.6
	King's Langley	3,481	1,579	2.2
	Markyate	1,997	1,412	1.4
Hertford		33,835	7,580	4.5
	Aston	2,070	543	3.8
	Bayford	1,853	330	5.6
	Bengeo Rural	2,778	500	5.6
	Bennington	3,060	522	5.9
	Bramfield	1,609	188	8.6
	Brickendon Rural	1,348	259	5.2
	Datchworth	1,553	542	2.9
	Hertingfordbury	2,645	733	3.6
	Little Amwell	469	824	0.6
	Little Berkhamstead	1,587	420	3.8
	Sacombe	1,534	210	7.3
	St. Andrew Rural	1,040	58	17.9
	St. John Rural	1,662	252	6.6
	Stapleford	1,355	216	6.3
	Tewin	2,695	492	5.5
	Walkern	2,992	788	3.8
	Watton at Stone	3,585	703	5.1

Rural District	Parish	Acreage	Population 1901	Number of acres per person
Hitchin		59,952	12,828	4.7
	Bygrave	1,793	148	12.1
	Caldecote	326	25	13.0
	Clothall	3,525	251	14.0
	Codicote	2,531	1,145	2.2
	Graveley	1,838	409	4.5
	Great Wymondley	1,491	279	5.3
	Hexton	1,485	155	9.6
	Holwell	870	246	3.5
	Ickleford	1,036	577	1.8
	Ippollitts	2,936	840	3.5
	Kimpton	3,677	944	3.9
	King's Walden	4,392	1,026	4.3
	Knebworth	3,489	698	5.0
	Langley	1,626	145	11.2
	Letchworth	3,652	277	13.2
	Lilley	1,795	438	4.1
	Little Wymondley	1,007	337	3.0
	Newnham	975	116	8.4
	Offley	5,569	1,066	5.2
	Pirton	2,783	924	3.0
	Preston	1,119	230	4.9
	Radwell	743	90	8.3
	St. Paul's Walden	3,720	929	4.0
	Shephall	1,156	194	6.0
	Walsworth	1,051	341	3.1
	Weston	4,540	791	5.7
	Willian	827	207	4.0
St. Albans		38,772	12,264	3.2
	Harpenden Rural	3,479	342	10.2
	Redbourn	4,563	1,932	2.4
	St. Michael Rural	6,269	794	7.9
	St. Peter Rural	6,239	3,568	1.7
	St. Stephen	7,326	1,783	4.1
	Sandridge Rural	5,709	1,440	4.0
	Wheathampstead	5,187	2,405	2.2
Ware		33,953	10,891	3.1
	Broxbourne	1,932	748	2.6
	Eastwick	841	86	9.8
	Gilston	985	281	3.5
	Great Amwell	2,289	1,895	1.2
	Great Munden	3,758	355	10.6
	Hoddesdon Rural	1,110	70	15.9
	Hunsdon	1,971	498	4.0
	Little Munden	1,774	327	5.4
	Standon	7,745	2,240	3.5
	Stanstead Abbots	2,612	1,484	1.8
	Stanstead St. Margaret's	408	192	2.1
	Thundridge	2,206	396	5.6
	Ware Rural	4,208	883	4.8
	Widford	1,168	418	2.8
	Wormley	946	1,018	0.9

Rural District	Parish	Acreage	Population 1901	Number of acres per person
Watford		31,238	14,315	2.2
	Abbot's Langley	5,281	3,342	1.6
	Aldenham	6,114	2,487	2.5
	Chorleywood	1,989	1,180	1.7
	Rickmansworth Rural	7,460	1,425	5.2
	Sarratt	1,540	630	2.4
	Watford Rural	8,854	5,251	1.7
Welwyn		6,480	2,234	2.9
	Ayot St. Lawrence	751	99	7.6
	Ayot St. Peter	1,093	221	4.9
	Digswell	1,674	285	5.9
	Welwyn	2,962	1,629	1.8

Source: BPP CX1.1 [Cd.6258] (1912-13) *Census of England and Wales 1911* Volume I Table 7 'Population in Urban and Rural Portions of Administrative Counties' & Table 10 'Administrative Counties, Urban Districts & Rural Districts with their constituent Civil Parishes'.

Appendix 2B Population change in Hertfordshire 1851-1901

	Acreage	1851	1901	% growth/decline
Registration County	446,420	173,963	239,760	38%

Registration District	Civil Parish	Acreage	1851	1901	% growth/ decline
BARNET		14,006	5,697	16,183	184%
	Chipping Barnet	1,489	2,380	5,190	118%
	East Barnet	1,697	663	6,839	932%
	Elstree	1,510	396	1,323	234%
	Ridge	3,615	366	478	31%
	Shenley	4,091	1,297	1,509	16%
	Totteridge	1,604	595	844	42%
BERKHAMSTED		21,518	11,503	15,013	49%
	Aldbury	2,058	820	812	31%
	Great Berkhamsted	4,363	3,395	5,600	
	Little Gaddesden	925	374	326	-1%
	Northchurch	3,908	1,383	2,455	65%
	Puttenham	744	142	97	-13%
	Tring	7,846	4,746	5,054	78%
	Wigginton	1,674	643	669	-32%
BISHOP'S STORTFORD		31,517	13,433	14,610	9%
	Albury	3,248	668	505	-24%
	Bishop's Stortford	3,285	5,280	7,143	35%
	Braughing	4,368	1,246	930	-25%
	Brent Pelham	1,637	298	207	-31%
	Furneux Pelham	2,585	688	449	-35%
	Little Hadham	3,082	878	655	-25%
	Much Hadham	4,490	1,264	1,199	-5%
	Sawbridgeworth	6,639	2,571	2,846	11%
	Stocking Pelham	647	138	138	0%
	Thorley	1,536	402	538	34%
EDMONTON		8,479	5,579	12,292	120%
	Cheshunt	8,479	5,579	12,292	120%
HATFIELD		30,067	8,499	9,816	15%
	Ayot St. Lawrence	751	147	99	-33%
	Ayot St. Peter	1,093	282	221	-22%
	Digswell	1,656	239	242	1%
	Essendon	2,331	739	565	-24%
	Hatfield	12,884	3,862	4,754	23%
	Northaw	3,305	545	664	22%
	North Mymms	4,966	1,128	1,568	39%
	Welwyn	3,081	1,557	1,703	9%

Registration District	Civil Parish	Acreage	1851	1901	% growth/decline
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD		32,693	15,683	18,139	16%
	Bovingdon	3,958	1,130	1,047	-7%
	Caddington ¹	2,996	1,299	1,017	-22%
	Flamstead	6,004	1,852	1,666	-10%
	Flaunden	919	305	179	-41%
	Great Gaddesden	4,149	1,161	746	-36%
	Hemel Hempstead	7,184	7,073	11,264	59%
	Kensworth ²	2,553	1,033	516	-50%
	King's Langley	3,481	1,599	1,579	-1%
	Studham ³	1,449	231	125	-46%
HERTFORD		35,283	15,090	17,029	13%
	Aston	2,073	626	543	-13%
	Bayford	1,745	353	330	-7%
	Bengeo	3,054	1,520	2,726	79%
	Bennington	2,949	676	515	-24%
	Bramfield	1,609	210	188	-10%
	Brickendon	1,534	750	1,209	61%
	Datchworth	1,960	648	650	0%
	Hertford - All Saints	22	1,273	846	-34%
	Hertford - St. Andrew	1,179	2,148	2,094	-3%
	Hertford - St. John	2,138	2,282	3,506	54%
	Hertingfordbury	2,645	752	733	-3%
	Little Amwell	526	458	853	86%
	Little Berkhamstead	1,694	556	420	-24%
	Sacombe	1,534	313	210	-33%
	Stapleford	1,355	289	216	-25%
	Tewin	2,695	522	492	-6%
	Walkern	2,992	738	788	7%
	Watton at Stone	3,579	976	710	-27%

Registration District	Civil Parish	Acreage	1851	1901	% growth/decline
HITCHIN		65,887	24,540	28,505	16%
	Baldock	200	1,920	1,798	-6%
	Bygrave	1,809	221	202	-9%
	Caldecote	326	49	25	-49%
	Clothall	3,444	535	335	-37%
	Codicote	2,531	1,039	1,145	10%
	Graveley	1,838	412	409	-1%
	Great Wymondley	1,491	335	279	-17%
	Hexton	1,485	278	155	-44%
	Hitchin	6,420	7,077	10,788	52%
	Ickleford	1,035	574	577	1%
	Ippollitts	2,936	965	840	-13%
	Kimpton	3,677	992	944	-5%
	King's Walden	4,392	1,164	1,026	-12%
	Knebworth	2,737	290	548	89%
	Letchworth	1,131	76	96	26%
	Lilley	1,849	528	438	-17%
	Little Wymondley	1,007	300	337	12%
	Newnham	975	150	116	-23%
	Norton	1,780	399	213	-47%
	Offley	5,515	1,208	1,066	-12%
	Pirton	2,761	897	900	0%
	Radwell	743	88	90	2%
	St. Paul's Walden	3,720	1,175	929	-21%
	Shephall	1,156	242	194	-20%
	Stevenage	4,545	2,118	3,957	87%
	Weston	4,530	1,186	841	-29%
	Willian	1,854	322	257	-20%

Registration District	Civil Parish	Acreage	1851	1901	% growth/decline
ROYSTON		50,964	13,988	10,393	-26%
	Anstey	2,150	465	364	-22%
	Ardeley	2,424	630	392	-38%
	Ashwell	4,109	1,425	1,281	-10%
	Aspenden	1,407	508	480	-6%
	Barkway	3,252	986	661	-33%
	Barley	2,725	870	505	-42%
	Broadfield	375	8	7	-13%
	Buckland	1,629	386	244	-37%
	Cottered	1,832	437	339	-22%
	Great Hormead	1,919	601	376	-37%
	Hinxworth	1,463	347	230	-34%
	Kelshall	2,360	326	217	-33%
	Layston	2,242	1,220	983	-19%
	Little Hormead	1,067	87	128	47%
	Meesden	1,009	185	132	-29%
	Nuthampstead	1,959	302	168	-44%
	Reed	1,477	277	183	-34%
	Royston ⁴	315	1,529	1,272	-17%
	Rushden	1,509	321	195	-39%
	Sandon	4,061	770	578	-25%
	Therfield	4,833	1,335	856	-36%
	Throcking	910	85	50	-41%
	Wallington	2,043	254	152	-40%
	Westmill & Wakeley	2,670	389	379	-3%
	Wyddial	1,224	245	221	-10%
ST. ALBANS		41,224	18,004	33,008	83%
	Harpenden	5,112	1,980	5,067	156%
	Redbourn	4,563	2,085	1,932	-7%
	St. Albans	166	3,371	4,467	33%
	St. Albans - St. Michael	6,558	2,248	3,088	37%
	St. Albans - St. Peter	5,745	3,746	11,714	213%
	St. Albans - St. Stephen	8,140	1,802	2,085	16%
	Sandridge	5,753	864	2,250	160%
	Wheathampstead	5,187	1,908	2,405	26%

Registration District	Civil Parish	Acreage	1851	1901	% growth/decline
WARE		36,254	16,482	21,156	28%
	Broxbourne & Hoddesdon	4,535	2,571	4,810	87%
	Eastwick	822	170	86	-49%
	Gilston	985	263	281	7%
	Great Amwell	2,482	1,652	2,954	79%
	Great Munden	3,402	554	310	-44%
	Hunsdon	1,975	481	498	4%
	Little Munden	2,247	628	372	-41%
	Standon	7,745	2,462	2,240	-9%
	Stanstead Abbots	2,628	914	1,484	62%
	Stanstead St. Margaret	408	97	192	98%
	Thundridge	2,206	572	396	-31%
	Ware	4,705	5,088	6,097	20%
	Widford	1,168	519	418	-19%
	Wormley	946	511	1,018	99%
WATFORD		36,952	18,800	53,936	187%
	Abbot's Langley	5,281	2,384	3,342	40%
	Aldenham	6,114	1,656	2,487	50%
	Bushey	3,219	2,750	6,686	143%
	Rickmansworth	10,021	4,851	8,232	70%
	Sarratt	1,540	613	630	3%
	Watford	10,777	6,546	32,559	397%

Source: W. Page, (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertford* Volume 4 (London, 1914), 'Table of Population' pp.235-238.

¹ The parish of Caddington was split between Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire. Figures shown relate only to the Hertfordshire portion. Caddington was transferred wholly to Bedfordshire in 1897, Page, *VCH Volume Two*, p.187.

² The parish of Kensworth was transferred to Bedfordshire in 1897, Page, *VCH Volume Two*, p.231.

³ The parish of Studham was split between Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire. Figures shown relate only to the Hertfordshire portion. Studham was transferred wholly to Bedfordshire in 1897, Page, *VCH Volume Two*, p.274.

⁴ The parish of Royston was split between Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire. Figures shown relate only to the Hertfordshire portion.

Appendix 2A Population of Hertfordshire 1851-1901 by Registration County, Registration District and Parish

	Acreage	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	
Registration County	446,420	173,963	177,452	194,612	202,446	215,179	239,760	
Registration District	Civil Parish	Acreage	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
BARNET		14,006	5,697	6,556	9,127	11,321	13,165	16,183
	Chipping Barnet	1,489	2,380	2,989	3,375	4,283	4,563	5,190
	East Barnet	1,697	663	851	2,925	3,992	5,128	6,839
	Elstree	1,510	396	402	525	662	805	1,323
	Ridge	3,615	366	437	448	406	459	478
	Shenley	4,091	1,297	1,304	1,380	1,321	1,425	1,509
	Totteridge	1,604	595	573	474	657	785	844
BERKHAMSTED		21,518	11,503	12,074	12,923	14,092	14,827	15,013
	Aldbury	2,058	820	848	854	912	894	812
	Great Berkhamsted	4,363	3,395	3,585	3,940	4,485	5,073	5,600
	Little Gaddesden	925	374	386	383	373	312	326
	Northchurch	3,908	1,383	1,638	1,886	2,135	2,312	2,455
	Puttenham	744	142	135	123	121	105	97
	Tring	7,846	4,746	4,841	5,076	5,357	5,424	5,054
	Wigginton	1,674	643	641	661	709	707	669
BISHOP'S STORTFORD		31,517	13,433	13,427	14,528	14,938	14,609	14,610
	Albury	3,248	668	700	673	621	563	505
	Bishop's Stortford	3,285	5,280	5,390	6,250	6,704	6,595	7,143
	Braughing	4,368	1,246	1,180	1,076	1,022	974	930
	Brent Pelham	1,637	298	286	284	232	215	207
	Furneux Pelham	2,585	688	620	618	571	540	449
	Little Hadham	3,082	878	864	869	853	733	655
	Much Hadham	4,490	1,264	1,172	1,318	1,298	1,274	1,199
	Sawbridgeworth	6,639	2,571	2,701	2,832	3,049	3,025	2,846
	Stocking Pelham	647	138	126	185	173	144	138
	Thorley	1,536	402	388	423	415	546	538
EDMONTON		8,479	5,579	6,592	7,518	7,735	9,620	12,292
	Cheshunt	8,479	5,579	6,592	7,518	7,735	9,620	12,292
HATFIELD		30,067	8,499	8,400	8,631	8,802	9,309	9,816
	Ayot St. Lawrence	751	147	122	151	112	137	99
	Ayot St. Peter	1,093	282	234	232	219	215	221
	Digswell	1,656	239	243	255	227	240	242
	Essendon	2,331	739	672	645	594	540	565
	Hatfield	12,884	3,862	3,871	3,998	4,059	4,330	4,754
	Northaw	3,305	545	551	559	583	582	664
	North Mymms	4,966	1,128	1,095	1,157	1,266	1,511	1,568
	Welwyn	3,081	1,557	1,612	1,634	1,742	1,754	1,703

Registration District	Civil Parish	Acreage	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD		32,693	15,683	16,325	16,957	16,580	16,904	18,139
	Bovingdon	3,958	1,130	1,155	1,162	1,054	1,056	1,047
	Caddington ¹	2,996	1,299	1,259	1,162	1,146	1,055	1,017
	Flamstead	6,004	1,852	1,919	2,005	1,846	1,701	1,666
	Flaunden	919	305	244	218	240	181	179
	Great Gaddesden	4,149	1,161	1,147	1,106	938	871	746
	Hemel Hempstead	7,184	7,073	7,948	8,720	9,064	9,678	11,264
	Kensworth ²	2,553	1,033	925	891	655	605	516
	King's Langley	3,481	1,599	1,509	1,495	1,464	1,629	1,579
	Studham ³	1,449	231	219	198	173	128	125
HERTFORD		35,283	15,090	15,301	16,009	16,754	17,196	17,029
	Aston	2,073	626	639	662	571	541	543
	Bayford	1,745	353	297	352	273	349	330
	Bengeo	3,054	1,520	1,791	2,044	2,335	2,586	2,726
	Bennington	2,949	676	637	581	578	617	515
	Bramfield	1,609	210	191	230	249	213	188
	Brickendon	1,534	750	841	743	934	1,007	1,209
	Datchworth	1,960	648	635	606	626	672	650
	Hertford – All Saints	22	1,273	1,175	1,175	1,127	963	846
	Hertford – St. Andrew	1,179	2,148	2,184	2,275	2,481	2,121	2,094
	Hertford – St. John	2,138	2,282	2,388	2,756	2,987	3,357	3,506
	Hertingfordbury	2,645	752	799	828	823	797	733
	Little Amwell	526	458	500	618	704	861	853
	Little Berkhamstead	1,694	556	450	408	424	430	420
	Sacombe	1,534	313	314	304	260	250	210
	Stapleford	1,355	289	226	249	200	216	216
	Tewin	2,695	522	547	513	530	550	492
	Walkern	2,992	738	823	799	843	849	788
	Watton at Stone	3,579	976	864	866	809	817	710
HITCHIN		65,887	24,540	25,412	27,469	27,202	27,303	28,505
	Baldock	200	1,920	1,974	2,036	1,901	1,918	1,798
	Bygrave	1,809	221	195	191	239	195	202
	Caldecote	326	49	44	36	31	31	25
	Clothall	3,444	535	492	486	417	402	335
	Codicote	2,531	1,039	1,227	1,214	1,191	1,123	1,145
	Graveley	1,838	412	422	443	380	406	409
	Great Wymondley	1,491	335	314	276	270	255	279
	Hexton	1,485	278	234	241	200	167	155
	Hitchin	6,420	7,077	7,677	8,850	9,070	9,510	10,788
	Ickleford	1,035	574	546	589	563	529	577
	Ippollitts	2,936	965	952	994	1,008	894	840
	Kimpton	3,677	992	1,014	952	936	991	944
	King's Walden	4,392	1,164	1,183	1,156	1,135	1,124	1,026
	Knebworth	2,737	290	250	245	250	382	548
	Letchworth	1,131	76	68	95	108	79	96
	Lilley	1,849	528	480	520	505	526	438
	Little Wymondley	1,007	300	318	356	401	411	337
	Newnham	975	150	135	113	113	125	116
	Norton	1,780	399	352	400	331	282	213
	Offley	5,515	1,208	1,215	1,346	1,302	1,268	1,066
	Pirton	2,761	897	1,023	1,081	1,125	1,016	900
	Radwell	743	88	102	103	101	101	90
	St. Paul's Walden	3,720	1,175	1,123	1,154	1,020	946	929
	Shephall	1,156	242	243	216	221	206	194
	Stevenage	4,545	2,118	2,352	2,909	3,116	3,309	3,957
	Weston	4,530	1,186	1,196	1,123	969	876	841
	Willian	1,854	322	281	344	299	231	257

Registration District	Civil Parish	Acreage	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
ROYSTON		50,964	13,988	13,397	13,353	12,396	11,752	10,393
	Anstey	2,150	465	473	412	391	396	364
	Ardeley	2,424	630	574	563	495	464	392
	Ashwell	4,109	1,425	1,507	1,576	1,568	1,556	1,281
	Aspenden	1,407	508	577	667	613	485	480
	Barkway	3,252	986	940	934	782	761	661
	Barley	2,725	870	809	714	615	574	505
	Broadfield	375	8	19	26	19	16	7
	Buckland	1,629	386	385	362	358	376	244
	Cottered	1,832	437	470	456	379	357	339
	Great Hormead	1,919	601	660	631	519	436	376
	Hinxworth	1,463	347	320	313	297	289	230
	Kelshall	2,360	326	318	286	249	241	217
	Layston	2,242	1,220	998	1,086	1,071	1,091	983
	Little Hormead	1,067	87	103	143	127	116	128
	Meesden	1,009	185	163	181	189	178	132
	Nuthampstead	1,959	302	281	254	217	207	168
	Reed	1,477	277	224	224	189	206	183
	Royston ⁴	315	1,529	1,387	1,348	1,272	1,262	1,272
	Rushden	1,509	321	291	277	270	225	195
	Sandon	4,061	770	771	810	763	728	578
	Therfield	4,833	1,335	1,222	1,237	1,175	996	856
	Throcking	910	85	97	63	74	70	50
	Wallington	2,043	254	238	250	191	133	152
	Westmill & Wakeley	2,670	389	357	341	371	348	379
	Wyddial	1,224	245	213	199	202	241	221
ST. ALBANS		41,224	18,004	18,926	21,079	23,296	26,872	33,008
	Harpenden	5,112	1,980	2,164	2,608	3,064	3,916	5,067
	Redbourn	4,563	2,085	2,043	2,162	2,177	2,016	1,932
	St. Albans	166	3,371	3,679	3,946	4,097	4,434	4,467
	St. Albans – St. Michael	6,558	2,248	2,303	2,115	2,256	2,437	3,088
	St. Albans – St. Peter	5,745	3,746	4,158	5,261	6,562	8,044	11,714
	St. Albans – St. Stephen	8,140	1,802	1,786	1,979	1,980	2,196	2,085
	Sandridge	5,753	864	833	820	841	1,458	2,250
	Wheathampstead	5,187	1,908	1,960	2,188	2,319	2,371	2,405
WARE		36,254	16,482	16,515	17,460	18,625	19,603	21,156
	Broxbourne & Hoddesdon	4,535	2,571	2,663	2,872	3,466	4,192	4,810
	Eastwick	822	170	116	104	95	71	86
	Gilston	985	263	270	270	272	260	281
	Great Amwell	2,482	1,652	1,660	2,245	2,517	2,612	2,954
	Great Munden	3,402	554	457	447	439	439	310
	Hunsdon	1,975	481	516	518	526	532	498
	Little Munden	2,247	628	601	581	468	415	372
	Standon	7,745	2,462	2,245	2,259	2,069	2,153	2,240
	Stanstead Abbots	2,628	914	980	1,057	1,219	1,322	1,484
	Stanstead St. Margaret	408	97	93	107	96	139	192
	Thundridge	2,206	572	489	455	467	450	396
	Ware	4,705	5,088	5,397	5,403	5,745	5,686	6,097
	Widford	1,168	519	456	450	511	461	418
	Wormley	946	511	572	692	735	871	1,018

Registration District	Civil Parish	Acreage	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WATFORD		36,952	18,800	20,355	27,172	31,328	38,914	53,936
	Abbot's Langley	5,281	2,384	2,400	2,638	2,989	3,230	3,342
	Aldenham	6,114	1,656	1,769	1,929	1,833	2,085	2,487
	Bushey	3,219	2,750	3,159	4,543	4,788	5,652	6,686
	Rickmansworth	10,021	4,851	4,873	5,337	5,511	6,974	8,232
	Sarratt	1,540	613	736	654	700	704	630
	Watford	10,777	6,546	7,418	12,071	15,507	20,269	32,559

Source: W. Page, (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertford* Volume 4 (London, 1914), 'Table of Population' pp.235-238. Figures in **bold** indicate census year in which highest population figure was attained 1851-1901.

¹ The parish of Caddington was split between Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire. Figures shown relate only to the Hertfordshire portion. Caddington was transferred wholly to Bedfordshire in 1897, Page, *VCH Volume Two*, p.187.

² The parish of Kensworth was transferred to Bedfordshire in 1897, Page, *VCH Volume Two*, p.231.

³ The parish of Studham was split between Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire. Figures shown relate only to the Hertfordshire portion. Studham was transferred wholly to Bedfordshire in 1897, Page, *VCH Volume Two*, p.274.

⁴ The parish of Royston was split between Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire. Figures shown relate only to the Hertfordshire portion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Archival Sources

Hatfield House Estate

Letters from his Land Agents to Lord Salisbury, 1868-1897

Hertfordshire County Record Office (HCRO)

AEC/8 Hertfordshire Women's War Agricultural Council – Executive Committee Minute Book 1916-1917

CP21/19/2 Valuation List for The Parish of Braughing, 1881-1886

D/EBc/A2 Annual Summaries of Account for the Brent Pelham Estate, 1896-1929

D/EV/Z7 Minutes of St. Albans Divisional Council of the Primrose League, 1890-1897

DE/B1877/T1 Title Deeds of the Earlsbury Estate (Great Cokenach)

DE/D/1157 Dimsdale Estate Accounts 1873-88

DE/D/1386 Hon. Baron Dimsdale on Free Trade (Hertford , n.d. extract from speech delivered 1st June 1885 at Hitchin.)

DE/GO/E56 Sales Particulars and Accounts for the Oxhey Estate 1865-68

DE/HCC/27581 Sale Particulars & Plan of Purseley Farm, Shenley 17th October 1877

DE/K1573 Knebworth Estate, Farm Rental Book 1880-1891

DE/L/5661/1 Papers relating to the drawing up of an agreement for the use of part of Gustard Wood Common as a golf course 1898

DE/P/E31/5/1-2 Cowper Estate - Holwell Manor Estate Sales Particulars

DE/P/E254/1 Cowper Estate – Attimore Hall Farm, Tenancy Handbook

DE/P/E320 Cowper Estate - Attimore Hall Farm Correspondence

DE/Wh/T6 Thellusson Family - Otterspool Estate 1873

DE/X613/T1/50-51 Title deeds and related papers concerning the Fanhams Hall Estate 1699-1905

DEX35/Z1 County War Agricultural Committee Minute Book 1 October 1916-November 1920

DEX247/Z1 Hoddesdon Conservative Association Minute Book, 1869-93

DEX799/3 Hertford Conservative Club Minutes, 1883-1897

I/R2 Inland Revenue Valuation of Land 'Domesday Books' (1909-10)

RDC/7/1/6 Rural District Council Minutes October 1912 – June 1916

London Metropolitan Archives (LMA)

MJ/SP/C/LAN/167 Inquisition into death of Benjamin Godfrey, farmer, of Wormley, Hertfordshire 26th October 1886

Printed Primary SourcesParliamentary Papers

BPP IV.223 [67] (1852) *Saint Alban's Disfranchisement. A Bill to Disfranchise the Borough of Saint Alban*

BPP XIII.1 [231] (1868-69) *Royal Commission on Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture Second Report Appendix (Evidence from Assistant Commissioners)*

BPP LXXI Pt.1.1 [C.872] (1873) *Census of England and Wales 1871*

BPP LXXII [C.1097] (1874) *Return of the Owners of Land (Exclusive of the Metropolis) 1873.*

BPP XV.87 [C.1352] (1875) *Report of the Committee as to Questions on the Yeomanry Cavalry*

BPP XXI.287 [C.1542] (1876) *Annual Report of the Veterinary Department*

BPP LXV.421 [210] (1878-79) *Return of Quantities and Grain imported into the United Kingdom; Gazette average prices of Corn, Butcher's Meat, Wool and other Agricultural Produce 1828-78*

BPP LVII.53 [117] (1880) *Parliamentary constituencies (number of electors)*

BPP XV.1 [C.2778] (1881) *Royal Commission on the Depressed Condition of Agricultural Interests. Minutes of Evidence. Preliminary Report. Vol XV*

BPP XVII.1 [C.3096] (1881) *Royal Commission on the Depressed Condition of Agricultural Interests. Minutes of Evidence XVII*

BPP LXXXIII.225 [264] (1881) *Return of Quantities of Grain imported into the United Kingdom; Gazette average prices of Corn, Butcher's Meat, Wool and other Agricultural Produce 1879-80*

BPP LXXXIII.719 [411] (1881) *Return of Quantities of Wheat, Barley and Oats returned for "Gazette" Average Prices in Returning Markets in England and Wales, 1880*

BPP XXX.555 [C.2863] (1881) *Annual Report of the Veterinary Department*

BPP VIII.269 [284] (1882) *Report from the Select Committee on Law of Distress*

BPP XIV.1 [C.3309] (1882) *Royal Commission on the Depressed Condition of Agricultural Interests. Minutes of Evidence. Final Report. XIV*

BPP XV.247 [C.3375.II] (1882) *Royal Commission on the Depressed Condition of Agricultural Interests. Report of Assistant Commissioner Druce.*

- BPP L.19 [401] (1882) *Return of Churches, Chapels and Buildings Registered for Religious Worship in Great Britain*
- BPP LXXIX.1 [C.3563] (1883) *Census of England and Wales 1881 Volume II. Area, Houses and Population (Registration Counties)*
- BPP LXXX.1 [C.3722] (1883) *Census of England and Wales, 1881 Volume III*
- BPP XLVII.401 [20] (1884) *Return of Repayment of Income Tax (Schedule A), 1881-83*
- BPP LXIII.1 [258] (1884-85) *Return of the Counties of England, Scotland and Ireland divided by Redistribution of Seats Act*
- BPP LII.569 [44-2] (1886) *Electors Counties and Boroughs 1885-86*
- BPP LII.641 [47] (1886) *Return for each Parliamentary Constituency in the United Kingdom of Number of Electors on Register*
- BPP LX.405 [137] (1886) *Return of Quantities of Grain imported into the United Kingdom; Gazette average prices of Corn, Butcher's Meat, Wool and other Agricultural Produce 1881-1885*
- BPP LXXV.283 [108] (1887) *Return of Quantities of Wheat, Barley and Oats Returned for 'Gazette' Average Prices in Returning Markets in England and Wales*
- BPP X.1 [312] (1888) *First Report from Select Committee on Corn Averages*
- BPP LVIII.173 [13] (1890) *Statistical Table of Corn Prices for the Year 1889*
- BPP XX.35 [C.6675] (1892) *Report of the Committee to Consider the Question of the Yeomanry*
- BPP LXIII.671 [84] (1892) *Statistical Table of Corn Prices for the Year 1891*
- BPP LXIII.351 [244] (1892) *Return of Parliamentary Constituencies Showing Number of Electors on Register*
- BPP XXXV.155 [C.6894-II] (1893-94) *Royal Commission on Labour. The Agricultural Labourer. Volume 1 England, Part II*
- BPP LXXIV Pt.I.295 [366-1] (1893-94) *Returns of Names and Professions of Justices of the Peace of England and Wales, June 1892, Part II. Counties*
- BPP CIV.1 [C.6948] (1893-94) *Census of England and Wales 1891*
- BPP XCIII.107 [C.7316] (1894) *Agricultural Produce Statistics of Great Britain*
- BPP XCIII.1 [C.7315] (1894) *Statistical Tables of Prices of British Corn, 1893*
- BPP XVI.73 [C.7691] (1895) *Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression. Report by Aubrey Spencer on Vale of Aylesbury and County of Hertford*
- BPP XVII.1 [8021] (1896) *Royal Commission on Agriculture. Minutes of Evidence Volume IV*
- BPP LXXV.433 [23] (1899) *Return for England and Wales of Number of Children Attending Elementary Schools known to be working for Wages or employed for profit; Classes of Employment into which Boys and Girls went on leaving School*
- BPP LXVII.445 [116] (1900) *Return for each Parliamentary Constituency in United Kingdom*

BPP CXIX.209 [Cd.1377] (1902) *Census of England and Wales 1901. The County of Hertford*

BPP LXVI.701 [Cd.3408] (1907) *Return of the Number of Agricultural Holdings in each county of Great Britain for 1890, 1895, 1903, 1906*

BPP CX1.1 [Cd.6258] (1912-13) *Census of England and Wales 1911*

BPP LXXVIII.321 [Cd.7018] (1913) *Census of England and Wales 1911 Volume X. Occupations and Industries*

Agricultural Returns of Great Britain

BPP LXIX.271 [C.460] (1871)
 BPP LXIX.301 [C.878] (1873)
 BPP LXIX.637 [C.1033] (1874)
 BPP LXXIX.593 [C.1303] (1875)
 BPP LXXVIII.97 [C.1623] (1876)
 BPP LXXXV.479 [C.1878] (1877)
 BPP LXXVII.461 [C.2133] (1878)
 BPP LXXV.471 [C.2407] (1878-79)
 BPP LXXVI.647 [C.2727] (1880)
 BPP XCIII.589 [C.3078] (1881)
 BPP LXXIV.1 [C.3351] (1882)
 BPP LXXXV.141 [C.4142] (1884)
 BPP LXXXIV.1 [C.4537] (1884-85)
 BPP LXX.1 [C.4847] (1886)
 BPP LXXXVIII.279 [C.5187] (1887)
 BPP CVI.1 [C.5493] (1888)
 BPP LXXIX.1 [C.6143] (1890)
 BPP LXXXVIII.1 [C.6743] (1892)
 BPP CL.1 [C7256] (1893-94)
 BPP CVI.1 [C.7698] (1895)
 BPP XCII.1 [C.8073] (1896)
 BPP XCVIII.1 [C.8502] (1897)
 BPP CII.1 [C.8897] (1898)
 BPP CVI.1 [C.9304] (1899)
 BPP CL.1 [Cd.166] (1900)
 BPP LXXXVIII.1 [Cd.576] (1901)
 BPP CXVL.PT.1.1 [Cd.1121] (1902)

Agricultural Statistics for Great Britain

BPP CV.1 [Cd.2131] (1904)
 BPP CXXX.I [Cd.306] (1906)
 BPP XCVII [Cd.3372] (1907)
 BPP CXXI.113 [Cd.3870] (1908)
 BPP CXXI.287 [Cd.4264] (1908)
 BPP CII.1 [Cd.4533] (1909)
 BPP CVIII.133 [Cd.5064] (1910)
 BPP CVIII.309 [Cd.5268] (1910)
 BPP C.139 [Cd.5585] (1911)
 BPP CVI.1 [Cd.6021, 6272] (1912-13)
 BPP LXXV.1 [Cd.6906] (1913)
 BPP XCVIII.151 [Cd.7325] (1914)
 BPP LXXIX.485 [Cd.7926] (1914-16)

Newspapers and Journals

<i>Baily's Fox-Hunting Directory</i>	<i>Baily's</i>
<i>Country Life Illustrated</i>	CLI
<i>East Herts and West Essex News</i>	EHWEN
<i>Estates Gazette</i>	EG
<i>Hemel Hempstead Gazette</i>	HHG
<i>Hertfordshire Advertiser and St. Albans Times</i>	HASAT
<i>Hertfordshire Almanac</i>	HA
<i>Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire Reporter</i>	HCR
<i>Hertfordshire and Essex Observer</i>	HEO
<i>Hertfordshire Constitutional Magazine</i>	HCM
<i>Hertfordshire Express</i>	HE
<i>Hertfordshire Guardian and Agricultural Journal</i>	HGAJ
<i>Hertfordshire Illustrated Review</i>	HIR
<i>Hertfordshire Mercury</i>	HM
<i>Hertfordshire Standard</i>	HS
<i>Kelly's Trade Directory for Hertfordshire</i>	<i>Kelly's</i>
<i>London Gazette</i>	LG
<i>North Hertfordshire and South Bedfordshire Journal</i>	NHSBJ
<i>Quarterly Review</i>	QR
<i>The Royston Crow</i>	RC
<i>The Times</i>	
<i>Transactions of the East Herts Archaeological Society</i>	TEHAS
<i>Watford Observer</i>	WO
<i>West Hertfordshire Post</i>	WHP

Newspaper Websites

19 th century British newspapers online	http://gale.cengage.co.uk/product-highlights/history/19th-century-british-library-newspapers.aspx
Australian Newspapers online	http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper
London Gazette	www.london-gazette.co.uk
Times Digital Archive	http://infotrac.galegroup.com

Reference Works

The New Domesday Book of Hertfordshire. Compiled from the Official Return issued in 1873. (Hertford, n.d)

Bateman, J., *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland* (Leicester, 1971, reprinting 1883 text, first published 1876, fourth edition 1883)

Burke's Landed Gentry of Great Britain (19th edition, 2001)

Craig, F.W.S., *British Parliamentary Election Results 1832-1885* (Aldershot, 1989)

Craig, F.W.S., *British Parliamentary Election Results 1885-1918* (Aldershot, 1989)

Upton, W., 'Statistics of the Religious Condition of the County of Hertfordshire 1847-48' in Burg, J., (ed.), *Religion in Hertfordshire 1847-51* (Hertford, 1995)

Contemporary Articles and Books

Adam's Pocket Descriptive Guide to the Environs of the Metropolis (London, 1852)

Allen, L.F., *Pedigrees of English Short-Horn Bulls, to which American Short-Horns Trace* (New York, 1874)

'Anstey Church', *Transactions of the East Hertfordshire Archaeological Society*, Vol.2, No.1 (1902), p.95

Aylen, W.H., 'The Poor and Protection', *Hertfordshire Illustrated Review*, Vol.1, (January 1893), pp.27-30

Bettesworth, W.A., *The Way About Hertfordshire. No 7 in the Way About Series of Gazetteer Guides* (London, 1896)

Bourne, G. (Sturt), *Change in the Village* (New York, 1969, first published 1912)

'Braughing Church', *Transactions of the East Herts Archaeological Society*, Vol.1, No.2 (1900), p.205

'Brent Pelham Hall', *Transactions of the East Herts Archaeological Society*, Vol.3, No.1 (1905), p.55

Buckmaster, J.C., *A Village Politician. The Life-Story of John Buckley* (Horsham, 1982, first published 1897)

Burnside, Rev. F., 'Review of the Church Work for 1889', *Hertfordshire Constitutional Magazine*, Vol.3, (1889), pp.249-251

Caird, J., *English Agriculture in 1850-51* (London, 1852)

Caird, J., *The Landed Interest and the Supply of Food* (London, 1878)

Carlile, J.W., *The History of the Carlile Family (Paisley Branch)* (Winchester, 1909)

Dicey, E., 'The Conservatism of Today', *Quarterly Review*, Vol.180, (1895), pp.549-576

Dickens, C., 'Tom Tiddler's Ground' *Christmas Stories* (first published in *All the Year Round* Christmas 1861, this Everyman collection first published London, 1910, reprinted 1971)

Dragon, *The Hertfordshire Hunt. A Poem* (London, 1880)

Evershed, H., 'The Agriculture of Hertfordshire', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Vol.25, (1864), pp.269-302

Evershed, H., 'Cow-Keeping By Farm Labourers', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, (1879, reprinted 1880) in Freeman, M., (ed.), *The English Rural Poor 1850-1914, Volume Three: 'Life on the Land'* (London, 2005), pp.5-37

Gaskell, E., *Hertfordshire Leaders, Social and Political* (London, 1908)

Godlee, R.J., 'The Past, Present, and Future of the Medical School of University College', *British Medical Journal*, (October 1906), pp.873-874

Foley, H.J., *Rural Rambles in Hertfordshire* (London, 1889)

- Forster, E.M., *Howard's End* (Harmondsworth, 2000, first published 1910)
- Foster, A.J., *Tourist's Guide to Hertfordshire* (London, 1896)
- Haggard, H. Rider, *Rural England. Being an Account of Agricultural and Social Researches Carried Out in the Years 1901 and 1902, Volumes I and 2* (London, 1902)
- Hall, A.D., 'Agriculture' in Page, W. (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertford, Volume 2* (London, 1908), pp.129-139
- Hall, A.D., *A Pilgrimage of British Farming 1910-1912* (London, 1913)
- Hardy, T., *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (Harmondsworth, 1994, first published 1891)
- Hopkinson, J., 'Rainfall of the 12th of July 1889 in Hertfordshire', *Hertfordshire Constitutional Magazine*, Vol.3,(1889), pp.6-9
- Howard, E., *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (London, 1946 first published 1902)
- Hutchinson, H.G., *Golf. A Complete History of the Game* (Philadelphia, 1908)
- John Dickinson & Co., *The Firm of John Dickinson and Company Limited* (London, 1896)
- Kalm, P., *Kalm's Account of his Visit to England on his Way to America in 1748 in Two Volumes* (trans. Joseph Lucas) (1892)
- Lawes, J.B. and Gilbert, J.H., 'Allotments and Smallholdings', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Third Series (1892), pp.439-463
- Lawes, J.B. and Gilbert, J.H., 'On the depression of Corn Prices; and on the Production of Wheat in Some of the Chief Exporting Countries of the World', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, Third Series (1896), pp.723-737
- Marshall, W. (ed.), *The Review and Abstract of the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture. From the Several Agricultural Departments of England in Five Volumes. Volume V. The Southern and Peninsular Departments. Hertfordshire* (London, 1818)
- Mawley, E., 'Weather in Hertfordshire, August 1889', *Hertfordshire Constitutional Magazine*, Vol.3, (1889), p.73
- McConnell, P., 'Experiences of a Scotsman on the Essex Clays', *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England*, (1891), pp.311-325
- Page, W., (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertford Volume 1* (London, 1902)
- Page, W., (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertford Volume 2* (London, 1908)
- Page, W., (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertford Volume 3* (London, 1912)
- Page, W., (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertford Volume 4* (London, 1914)
- Price, L.L., 'Rural England by H. Rider Haggard. A Review Article', *Economic Journal*, Vol.13, No.50 (June 1903), pp.204-215
- Rowntree, B.S. and Kendall, M., *How the Labourer Lives* (London, 1913)
- Rugby School, *Rugby School Register From 1675 to 1867 Inclusive* (Rugby, 1867)

Silverstick, *What Shall We Do? A Treatise on the Present Agricultural Depression. Its Causes, Effects and Remedies* (Bishop's Stortford, 1879)

Smith, A., 'Agricultural Notes and Comments', *Hertfordshire Illustrated Review*, Vol.1, (January 1893), pp.56-60

Lord Suffolk and Berkshire, 'Foxhunters and Farmers', *National Review*, Vol.24, (1894), pp.546-556

Walker, D., *A Survey of the County of Hertford* (London, 1795)

Ward, Mrs. Humphry, *Marcella* (Cirencester, 2005, first published 1894)

Warrand, D., (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Hertford. Genealogical Volume* (London, 1907)

Young, A., *A General View of the Agriculture of Hertfordshire* (London, 1804)

Secondary Sources

Come to Hertfordshire. The Official Guide (Dundee, 1951)

Afton, B., 'The Great Agricultural Depression on the English Chalklands: the Hampshire Experience', *Agricultural History Review*, Vol.44, No.2 (1996), pp.191-205

Agar, N., *Behind the Plough. Agrarian Society in Nineteenth-Century Hertfordshire* (Hatfield, 2005)

Aldenham Parish Council, *Radlett and the Parish of Aldenham* (Aldenham, n.d.)

Armstrong, A., *Farmworkers. A Social and Economic History 1770-1980* (London, 1988)

Atkins, P.J., 'The Growth of London's Railway Milk Trade 1845-1914', *Journal of Transport History*, New Series 4 (1978), pp.208-226

Barty-King, H., *Maples, Fine Furnishers. A Household Name for 10 years* (London, 1992)

Beauman, N., *Morgan. A Biography of E.M. Forster* (London, 1993)

Bellamy, L. and Williamson, T., (eds.), *Life in the Victorian Village. The Daily News Survey of 1891* (London, 1999)

Bensusan, S.L., *Latter Day Rural England in 1927* (London, 1928)

Bentley, M., *Lord Salisbury's World. Conservative Environments in Late-Victorian Britain* (Cambridge, 2001)

Betts, Raymond F., 'The Allusion to Rome in British Imperialist Thought of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Victorian Studies*, Vol.15, No. 2 (December 1971), pp.149-159

Birtchnell, P.C., *A Short History of Berkhamsted* (Berkhamsted, 1972)

Bishop's Stortford Local History Society, *Bishop's Stortford. A Short History* (Bishop's Stortford, 1969)

Blake, W.H., *Harpenden in 1879* (Harpenden, 2005, first published 1919)

- Blythe, R., *Akenfield. Portrait of an English Village* (Harmondsworth, 1999, first published 1969)
- Bowyer, M., *'We have to deal with the Farmers'. Episodes in the History of North Hertfordshire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2010)
- Branch Johnson, W., *The Industrial Archaeology of Hertfordshire* (Newton Abbot, 1970)
- Brander, M., *Portrait of a Hunt. The History of the Puckeridge and Newmarket and Thurlow Combined Hunts* (London, 1976)
- Brassley, P., 'Agricultural Science and Education' in Collins, E.J.T. (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales. Volume VII 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.594-649
- Bray, M., *Oxhey. The History of a Parish* (Oxhey, 1979)
- Bricket Wood Society, *A Souvenir of Bricket Wood* (St. Albans, 1982)
- Bricket Wood Society, *The Fairgrounds of Bricket Wood 1889-1929* (St. Albans, 1985)
- Bridge, A., *A Portrait of My Mother* (London, 1955)
- Brown, J., *Agriculture in England. A Survey of Farming 1870-1947* (Manchester, 1987)
- Brown, J., 'Malting' in Collins, E.J.T. (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales. Volume VII 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.1076-1084
- Brown, J., *Farming in Lincolnshire 1850-1945* (Lincoln, 2005)
- Bujak, E., *England's Rural Realms. Landholding and the Agricultural Revolution* (London, 2007)
- Burchardt, J., 'Reconstructing the Rural Community: Village Halls and the National Council of Social Service, 1919 to 1939', *Rural History*, Vol.10, No.2 (1999), pp.193-216
- Burchardt, J., 'Land, Labour and Politics. Parliament and Allotment Provision, 1830-70' in Wordie, J.R., (ed.), *Agriculture and Politics in England, 1815-1939* (London, 2000), pp.98-127
- Burchardt, J., *Paradise Lost. Rural Idyll and Social Change Since 1800* (London, 2002)
- Burg, J., (ed.), *Religion in Hertfordshire 1847-51* (Hertford, 1995)
- Burk, K. *Morgan Grenfell 1838-1988. The Biography of a Merchant Bank* (Oxford, 1990)
- Cannadine, D., *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (Harmondsworth, 2005)
- Carbery, M., *Happy World. The Story of a Victorian Childhood* (London, 1941)
- Cecil, Viscount of Chelwood, *All the Way* (London, 1949)
- Cherry, G.E. and Sheail, J., 'Coasts and Rivers' in Collins, E.J.T. (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales. Volume VII 1850-1914 Part II* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.1716-1742
- Clark, M., 'Jewish Identity in British Politics : The Case of the First Jewish MPs, 1858-87', *Jewish Social Studies*, n.s.13, No.2 (Winter 2007), pp.93-126
- Cockman, F.G., *The Railways of Hertfordshire* (Hertford, 1978)

- Coetzee, F., 'Villa Toryism Reconsidered: Conservatism and Suburban Sensibilities in Late-Victorian Croydon' in Green, E.H.H. (ed.), *An Age of Transition: British Politics 1880-1914* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp.29-47
- Collins, E.J.T., *The Orsett Estate, 1743-1914* (Grays, 1978)
- Collins, E.J.T., 'Rural and Agricultural Change' in Collins, E.J.T., (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.72-223
- Colls, R. and Dodd, P., (eds.), *Englishness. Politics and Culture 1880-1920* (London, 1986)
- Colville, D., *North Mymms - Parish and People* (Letchworth, 1972)
- Cooper, A. Ashley, *A Harvest of Hexton* (Hexton, 1986)
- Cooper, T., 'London-Over-the-Border: Politics in Suburban Walthamstow, 1870-1914' in Cragoe, M. and Taylor, A. (eds.), *London Politics, 1760-1914* (Basingstoke, 2005), pp.211-232
- Corbett, D.P., Holt, Y and Russell, F., (eds.), *The Geographies of Englishness: Landscape and the National Past 1880-1940* (New Haven, 2002)
- Cowell, B., 'The Commons Preservation Society and the Campaign for Berkhamsted Common, 1866-70', *Rural History*, Vol.13, No.2 (2002), pp.145-161
- Cragoe, M., *Culture, Politics and National Identity in Wales 1832-1886* (Oxford, 2004)
- Cragoe, M. and Taylor, A., (eds.), *London Politics, 1760-1914* (Basingstoke, 2005)
- Daunton, M., 'Gentlemanly Capitalism' and British Industry 1820-1914', *Past and Present*, No.122 (Feb. 1989), pp.119-158
- Davenport-Hines, R., *Ettie. The Intimate Life and Dauntless Spirit of Lady Desborough* (London, 2008)
- Davey, B.J., *Ashwell 1830-1914: The Decline of a Village Community* (Leicester, 1980)
- Davis, J., *Aldbury. The Open Village* (Aldbury, 1987)
- Davis, R.W., *Political Change and Continuity. 1760-1885. A Buckinghamshire Study* (Newton Abbot, 1972)
- Deacon, A. and Walne, P., (eds.), *A Professional Hertfordshire Tramp* (Hertford, 1987)
- East Herts Golf Club, *The First One Hundred Years 1899-1999. A Centenary Celebration* (Buntingford, 1999)
- Edwards, E., *A New History of Flamstead* (Flamstead, 1999)
- Edwards, J., *Cheshunt in Hertfordshire* (Cheshunt, 1974)
- Feuchtwanger, E.J., *Democracy and Empire. Britain 1865-1914* (London, 1985)
- Fforde, M., *Conservatism and Collectivism 1886-1914* (Edinburgh, 1990)
- Fisher, J.R., 'Issues and Influence: Two By-Elections in South Nottinghamshire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Historical Journal*, Vol.24, (1981), pp.155-163
- Fisher, J.R., 'Agrarian Politics' in Collins, E.J.T., (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales Volume VII 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.321-357

- Fisher, R., 'The Road Through King's Langley Before the First World War' in Munby, L.M. (ed.), *The History of King's Langley* (King's Langley, 1963), pp.156-158
- Fletcher, T.W., 'The Great Depression of English Agriculture 1873-96', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series Vol.13, (1960), pp.417-432
- Fletcher, T.W., 'Lancashire Livestock Farming during the Great Depression', *Agricultural History Review*, Vol.9.1 (1961), pp.17-42
- Foster, I., *Chorleywood, Chenies, Loudwater and Heronsgate. A Social History* (Rickmansworth, 2007)
- Freeman, M., 'The Agricultural Labourer and the 'Hodge' Stereotype', *Agricultural History Review*, Vol.49 No.2 (2001), pp.172-186
- Freeman, M., *Social Investigation and Rural England* (Woodbridge, 2003)
- Freeman, M. (ed.), *The English Rural Poor 1850-1914: 'Life on the Land'* (London, 2005),
- Freeman, M., *St. Albans. A History* (Lancaster, 2008)
- Gardner, H.W., *A Survey of the Agriculture of Hertfordshire* (London, 1967)
- Garside, S., *Hoddesdon. A History* (Chichester, 2002)
- Gazley, J.G., *The Life of Arthur Young, 1741-1820* (Philadelphia, 1973)
- Girouard, M., *The Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven, 1981)
- Goose, N., *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire in 1851. Volume One The Berkhamsted Region* (Hatfield, 1996)
- Goose, N., *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire in 1851. Volume Two St. Albans and its Region* (Hatfield, 2000)
- Goose, N., 'Population, 1801-1901' in Short, D. (ed.), *An Historical Atlas of Hertfordshire* (Hatfield, 2010 forthcoming)
- 'Granddad Garratt's Jottings. Transcript of Notes Written in Pencil in a Book in 1938-39 by Granddad Garratt', *Codicote Families*, No.31 (July 2000), No. 35 (July 2001) & No.37 (January 2002)
- Green, E.H.H., *The Crisis of Conservatism. The Politics, Economics and Ideology of the British Conservative Party 1880-1914* (London, 1995)
- Green, E.H.H., 'An Age of Transition: An Introductory Essay' in Green, E.H.H., (ed.), *An Age of Transition: British Politics 1880-1914* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp.1-17
- Green, E.H.H., 'No Longer the Farmers' Friend? The Conservative Party and Agricultural Protection 1880-1914' in Wordie, J.R., (ed.), *Agriculture and Politics in England, 1815-1939* (London, 2000), pp.149-177
- Gregory, E., *The Harpenden I Remember Before 1914* (Harpenden, 1981)
- Grey, E., *Rothamsted Experimental Station. Reminiscences, Tales and Anecdotes* (Harpenden, 1922)

- Grey, E., *Cottage Life in a Hertfordshire Village* (Harpenden, 1977, first published St. Albans, 1934)
- Grieves, K., 'Lowther's Lambs': Rural Paternalism and Voluntary Recruitment in the First World War', *Rural History*, Vol.4, No.1 (1993), pp.55-75
- Griffiths, C.V.J., *Labour and the Countryside. The Politics of Rural Britain, 1918-39* (Oxford, 2007)
- Hanham, H.J., *The Reformed Electoral System in Great Britain, 1832-1914* (London, 1968)
- Harbord, R.E., *The Parish of Ardeley. A Short History* (Ardeley, 1952)
- Harcourt-Williams, R., (ed.), *Salisbury-Balfour Correspondence* (Hertford, 1988)
- Harte, N.B. and Quinault, R.E., (eds.), *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914. Essays in Honour of F.M.L. Thompson* (Manchester, 1996)
- Hastie, S., *Abbots Langley. A History* (Abbots Langley, 1993)
- Hayllar, M.P.S., *The Chronicles of Hoddesdon from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Hoddesdon, 1948)
- Hertfordshire County Council, *Hertfordshire. Survey Report and Analysis of County Development Plan* (Hertford, 1951)
- Hine, R.L., *The History of Hitchin* (Woking, 1972 first published 1929)
- Holderness, B.A. and Mingay, G.E., 'The South and South-East' in Collins, E.J.T., (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.367-375
- Holt, R., 'Golf and the English Suburb. Class and Gender in a London Club c.1890-1960', *The Sports Historian*, Vol.18, No.1 (May 1998), pp.76-89
- Holt, Y., *British Artists and the Modernist Landscape* (Aldershot, 2003)
- Horn, P., *The Changing Countryside in Victorian England and Wales* (London, 1984)
- Horn, P., *Rural Life in England in the First World War* (Dublin, 1984)
- Hosier, B., *Hedgehog's Northchurch. A Personal History of a Village in Hertfordshire* (Northchurch, 1994)
- Howkins, A., *Poor Labouring Men. Rural Radicalism in Norfolk 1870-1923* (London, 1985)
- Howkins, A., 'The Discovery of Rural England' in Colls, R. and Dodd, P. (eds.), *Englishness. Politics and Culture 1880-1920* (Beckenham, 1986), pp.62-88
- Howkins, A., *Reshaping Rural England. A Social History 1850-1925* (London, 1992)
- Howkins, A., 'Deserters from the Plough', *History Today*, Vol.43, (February 1993), pp.32-38
- Howkins, A., 'From Hodge to Lob : Reconstructing the English Farm Labourer' in Chase, M. and Dyck, I. (eds.), *Living and Learning. Essays in Honour of J.F.C. Harrison* (Aldershot, 1996), pp.218-235
- Howkins, A., 'Social, Cultural and Domestic Life' in Collins, E.J.T. (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.1354-1424

- Hughes, M. V., *A London Home in the 1890s* (Oxford, 1978, first published as *A London Home in the 90s*, 1946)
- Hunneyball, P.M., *Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire* (Oxford, 2004)
- Hunt, E.H. and Pam, S.J., 'Managerial Failure in late Victorian Britain? Land Use and English Agriculture', *Economic History Review*, Vol.54 No.2 (2001), pp.240-266
- Jaggard, E., *Cornwall Politics in the Age of Reform 1790-1885* (London, 1999)
- Jenkins, T.A., 'Political Life in Late Victorian Britain: The Conservatives in Thornbury', *Parliamentary History*, Vol.23 No.2 (2004), pp.198-224
- Jordan, H., 'Public Parks, 1885-1914', *Garden History*, Vol.22 No.1 (1994), pp.85-113
- Jones, E.L., 'The Environmental Effects of Blood Sports in Lowland England since 1750', *Rural History*, Vol.20 No.1 (2009), pp.51-66
- Kidd, J., *Gilbey's, Wine and Horses* (Cambridge, 1997)
- King, C., 'The Rise and Decline of Village Reading Rooms', *Rural History*, Vol.20 No.2 (2009), pp.163-186
- Kingsford, P., *A Modern History of Brookmans Park 1700-1950* (North Mymms, 1983)
- Lawrence, J., *Speaking for the People. Party, Language and Popular Politics in England, 1867-1914* (Cambridge, 2002)
- Long, J., 'Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol.65 No.1 (2005), pp.1-35
- Lovell, P. and Marcham, W.McB. (eds.), *Survey of London. Volume 19 The Parish of St Pancras Part 2: Old St Pancras and Kentish Town* (London, 1938)
- Lowe, P., 'The Rural Idyll Defended' in Mingay, G.E. (ed.), *The Rural Idyll* (London, 1989), pp.113-131
- Lynch, P., *The Liberal Party in Rural England 1885-1910* (Oxford, 2003)
- Macdonald, A., *That Tring Air* (Tring, 1940)
- Madgin, H., *Stevenage. A History and Celebration* (Salisbury, 2004)
- Mandler, P., 'Against 'Englishness': English Culture and the Limits to Rural Nostalgia 1850-1940' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series Vol.7 (1997), pp.155-175
- Mansfield, N., *English Farmworkers and Local Patriotism 1900-1930* (Aldershot, 2001)
- Marsh, J., *Back to the Land. The Pastoral Impulse in Victorian England from 1880-1914* (London, 1982)
- Martin, D., 'The Agricultural Interest and its Critics 1840-1914' in Wordie, J.R., (ed.), *Agriculture and Politics in England, 1815-1939* (London, 2000), pp.128-148
- McGill, B., 'Francis Schnadhorst and Liberal Party Organization', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol.34, No.1 (March 1962), pp.19-39

- Meacham, S., *Regaining Paradise. Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement* (New Haven, 1999)
- Mee, A., *The King's England. Hertfordshire London's Country Neighbour* (Barnsley, 1991, first published 1939)
- Mills, V.J. and Menzies, E.A., *Open and Local Justice. A History of the Hatfield Petty Sessional Division in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (St. Albans, 1998)
- Minet, W., *Hadham Hall and the Manor of Bawdes alias Hadham Parva in the County of Hertfordshire* (Colchester, 1914)
- Mingay, G.E., (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside* (London, 1981)
- Mingay, G.E., (ed.), *The Rural Idyll* (London, 1989)
- Mingay, G.E., 'The Farmer' in Collins, E.J.T. (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.759-809
- Moore, D.C., *The politics of Deference: a study of the mid-nineteenth century English political system* (Hassocks, 1976)
- Moore, D.C., 'The Landed Aristocracy' in Mingay, G.E. (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside Volume 2* (London, 1981), pp.367-382
- Morgan, N. and Moss, M., 'Wealthy and Titled Persons' – The Accumulation of Riches in Victorian Britain: the Case of Peter Denny', *Business History*, Vol.31, No.3 (1989), pp.28-47
- Moss, M and Turton, A., *A Legend of Retailing. House of Fraser* (London, 1989)
- Munby, L.M., (ed.), *The History of King's Langley* (King's Langley, 1963)
- Munby, L.M., *The Making of the English Landscape. The Hertfordshire Landscape* (London, 1977)
- Mutch, A., 'Farmers' Organizations and Agricultural Depression in Lancashire, 1890-1900', *Agricultural History Review*, Vol.31, (1983), pp.26-36
- Offer, A., 'Farm Tenure and Land Values in England, c1750-1950', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series Vol.44, (1991), pp.1-20
- Orton, I., *The Book of Bishop's Stortford and Sawbridgeworth* (Chesham, 1976)
- Orwin, C. and Whetham, E., *History of British Agriculture 1846-1914* (Newton Abbot, 1971)
- Otte, T.G., "'Avenge England's Dishonour': By-elections, Parliament and the Politics of Foreign Policy in 1898", *English Historical Review*, Vol.121, No.491 (2006), pp.385-428
- Paddick, E.W., *Hoddesdon. Tales of a Hertfordshire Town* (Hoddesdon, 1971)
- Pahl, R.E., *Urbs in Rure. The Metropolitan Fringe in Hertfordshire* (London, 1964)
- Parkinson, M.R., 'Thomas Tylston Greg 1858-1920', *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, Vol.15, No.1 (1971), pp.15-24
- Parrish, T., Chapman, E. and Lorimer, G., (eds.), *The Book of Watford. A Portrait of our Town, c.1800-1987* (Watford, 1987)

- Payne, C., *Toil and Plenty. Images of the Agricultural Landscape in England 1780-1890* (New Haven, 1993)
- Pelling, H.M., *Social Geography of British Elections 1885-1914* (Aldershot, 1967)
- Perren, R., 'Food Processing Industries - Food Manufacturing' in Collins, E.J.T. (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales. Volume VII 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.1085-1100
- Perren, R., 'Food Processing Industries - Milling' in Collins, E.J.T. (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales. Volume VII 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.1062-1075
- Perren, R., *Agriculture in Depression* (Cambridge, 1995)
- Perry, P.J. (ed.), *British Agriculture 1875-1914* (London, 1973)
- Pevsner, N. (revised by Cherry, B.), *The Buildings of England. Hertfordshire* (Harmondsworth, first published 1953, revised edition 1977)
- Prince, H., *Parks in Hertfordshire since 1500* (Hatfield, 2008)
- Pugh, M., *The Tories and the People 1880-1930* (Oxford, 1985)
- Pythian-Adams, C., *Societies, Cultures and Kinship* (Leicester, 1992)
- Rance, D., *St. Ippolyts. A Country Parish in the Nineteenth Century* (Baldock, 1987)
- Ray, G.E., *The Book of Chorleywood and Chenies* (Chesham, 1983)
- Readman, P., 'The Conservative Party, Patriotism, and British Politics: The Case of the General Election of 1900', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol.40, No.1 (2001), pp.107-145
- Readman, P., 'Landscape Preservation, 'advertising disfigurement', and English National Identity c.1890-1914', *Rural History*, Vol.12, No.1 (2001), pp.61-83
- Readman, P., 'The Place of the Past in English Culture c.1890-1914', *Past and Present*, No.186 (February 2005), pp.147-199
- Readman, P., 'Conservatives and the Politics of Land: Lord Winchilsea's National Agricultural Union, 1893-1901', *English Historical Review*, Vol.121, No.490 (2006), pp.25-69
- Readman, P., *Land and Nation in England. Patriotism, National Identity, and the Politics of Land, 1880-1914* (Woodbridge, 2008)
- Reay, B., *Microhistories. Demography, Society and Culture in Rural England, 1800-1930* (Cambridge, 1996)
- Richards, S., *A History of Tring* (Tring, 1974)
- Richardson, F.A., *Knebworth. The Story of a Hertfordshire Village* (Knebworth, 1969) Typed Copy held at HCRO
- Rix, K., 'The Elimination of Corrupt Practices in British Elections? Reassessing the Impact of the 1883 Corrupt Practices Act', *English Historical Review*, Vol.123, No.50 (2008), pp.65-97
- Roberts, M., 'Popular Conservatism in Britain, 1832-1914. Historiographical Review', *Parliamentary History*, Vol.26, No.3 (2007), pp.387-410

Robins, A.G., 'Living the Simple Life: George Clausen at Childwick Green, St. Albans' in Corbett, D.P., Holt, Y. and Russell, F. (eds.), *The Geographies of Englishness: Landscape and the National Past 1880-1940* (New Haven, 2002), pp.1-28

Robinson, G., *Barracuda Guide to County History. Hertfordshire* (Chesham, 1978)

Rowe, A., (ed.), *Hertfordshire Garden History. A Miscellany* (Hatfield, 2007)

Rubinstein, W.D., *Capitalism, Culture and Decline in Britain, 1750-1990* (London, 1994, first published 1993)

Rubinstein, W.D., 'Businessmen into Landowners: The Question Revisited', in Harte, N.B. and Quinault, R.E. (eds.), *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914: essays in honour of F.M.L. Thompson* (Manchester, 1996), pp.90-118

Sainsbury, J.D., *The Hertfordshire Yeomanry. An Illustrated History 1794-1920* (Welwyn, 1994)

Sassoon, S., *The Complete Memoirs of George Sherston* (London, 1972, first published 1937)

Saul, S.B., *The Myth of the Great Depression 1873-1896* (London, 1969)

Saunders, W.R., 'The History of Watford' (Watford, first published 1931, first edition reprint 1970)

Scamehorn, H. Lee, 'John C. Osgood and the Western Steel Industry', *Arizona and the West*, Vol.15, No.2 (1973), pp.133-148

Shannon, R., *The Age of Salisbury 1881-1902: Unionism and Empire* (London, 1996)

Sharp, R. M., 'Our only object is to preserve the beauty of the road'. A Nineteenth-Century Campaign to Save a Rural Landscape', *Local Historian*, Vol. 24, No.3 (1994), pp.153-163

Sheail, J., 'Underground Water Abstraction: Indirect Effects of Urbanization on the Countryside', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.8, No.4 (1982), pp.395-408

Sheldrick, G., *The Hart Reguardant. Hertfordshire County Council 1889-1989* (Hertford, 1989)

Short, B., (ed.), *The English Rural Community. Image and Analysis* (Cambridge, 1992)

Short, B., *Land and Society in Edwardian Britain* (Cambridge, 1997)

Short, D., (ed.), *An Historical Atlas of Hertfordshire* (Hatfield, forthcoming 2010)

Simons, R.G., *West Herts Golf Club* (Watford, 1988)

Smith, D.R., *The Story of Braughing* (Waltham Cross, 1971)

Smith, F.J., *Reminiscences of a Village Lad* (1955) Grangerised Copy held at HCRO

Smith, H., 'Clarence Park, St. Albans – a Late-Victorian Public Park' in Rowe, A. (ed.), *Hertfordshire Garden History. A Miscellany* (Hatfield, 2007), pp.174-191

Snell, K.D.M., *Annals of the Labouring Poor. Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1995)

Sparrow, V., *Remember Stortford* (Birmingham, 1985)

Spicer, C.M., *Tyme Out of Mind. The Story of Shephall, Near Stevenage* (Stevenage, 1984)

- Spring, E. 'Businessmen and Landowners Re-engaged', *Historical Research*, Vol.72, No.177 (February, 1999), pp.77-91
- Stone, L. and Stone, J.C. Fawtier, *An Open Elite. England 1540-1880* (Oxford, 1986)
- Stuart, I., *Golf in Hertfordshire* (Hitchin, 1972)
- Sutherland, J., *Mrs Humphry Ward. Eminent Victorian Pre-eminent Edwardian* (Oxford, 1990)
- Taylor, A., *Lords of Misrule. Hostility to Aristocracy in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Britain* (Basingstoke, 2004)
- Taylor, H.A, 'Urban Public Parks 1840-1900. Design and Meaning', *Garden History*, Vol.23 No.2 (1995), pp.201-221
- Thompson, F., *Lark Rise to Candleford* (Harmondsworth, 1973, first published as *Candleford Green* Oxford, 1943)
- Thompson, F.M.L., *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1980, first published 1963)
- Thompson, F.M.L., 'The Second Agricultural Revolution 1815-1880', *Economic History Review*, Vol.21, No.1 (1968), pp.62-77
- Thompson, F.M.L., 'Free Trade and the Land' in Mingay, G.E. (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside* (London, 1981), pp.103-117
- Thompson, F.M.L., (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester, 1982)
- Thompson, F.M.L., 'English Landed Society in the Twentieth Century. I Property: Collapse and Survival', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series Vol.40, (December 1990), pp.1-24
- Thompson, F.M.L., 'English Landed Society in the Twentieth Century II New Poor and New Rich', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series Vol.1, (December 1991), pp.1-20
- Thompson, F.M.L., 'An Anatomy of English Agriculture 1870-1914' in Holderness, B.A. and Turner, M. (eds.), *Land, Labour and Agriculture, 1700-1920. Essays for Gordon Mingay* (London, 1991), pp.211-240
- Thompson, F.M.L., *Gentrification and the Enterprise Culture. Britain 1780-1980* (Oxford, 2003, first published 2001)
- Thompson, F.M.L., 'Changing Perceptions of Land Tenures in Britain, 1750-1914' in Winch, D. and O'Brien, P.K. (eds.), *The Political Economy of British Historical Experience, 1688-1914* (Oxford, 2002), pp.119-138
- Timberlake, R.R., 'Hastoe Near Tring. Recollections of Life on the Rothschild Estate in the Time of the First Baron Rothschild', *Hertfordshire's Past*, Vol.39, (Autumn 1995), pp.11-21
- Toms, E., *The Story of St. Albans* (Luton, 1975)
- Toulmin, C., *Happy Memories* (Leighton Buzzard, 1960)
- Treble, R., 'The Victorian Picture of the Countryside' in Mingay, G.E. (ed.), *The Victorian Countryside* (London, 1981), pp.166-175

- Treen, C., 'The Process of Suburban Development in North Leeds, 1870-1914' in Thompson, F.M.L. (ed.), *The Rise of Suburbia* (Leicester, 1982), pp.157-209
- Trentmann, F. and Taylor, V., 'From Users to Consumers: Water Politics in Nineteenth-Century London' in Trentmann, F. (ed.), *The Making of the Consumer. Knowledge, Power and Identity in the Modern World* (Oxford, 2006), pp.53-80
- Trevelyan, G.M., *English Social History* (Harmondsworth, 2000, first published 1942)
- University of Cambridge, *An Economic Survey of Hertfordshire Agriculture* (Cambridge, 1931)
- Wheatley, F.M., 'Albury Hall', *Albury Church Magazine*, (July & November, 1952, October 1954)
- Whitaker, A., *Brewers in Hertfordshire: A Historical Gazetteer* (Hatfield, 2005)
- White, H.P., *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain, Volume 3: Greater London* (London, 1963)
- Whiteman, R.J., (ed.), *Hexton: A Parish Survey* (Hexton, 1936)
- Whybrow, G.H., *The History of Berkhamsted Common* (London, 1934)
- Wiener, M.J., *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge, 1981)
- Wilkerson, J., *Two Ears of Barley. Chronicle of an English Village* (Royston, 1969)
- Williamson, T., *The Origins of Hertfordshire* (Manchester, 2000)
- Windscheffel, A., *Popular Conservatism in Imperial London 1868-1906* (London, 2007)
- Witherall, L.L., 'Political Cannibalism among Edwardian Conservatives', *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol.8, (1997), pp.1-26
- Wood, C., *Paradise Lost. Paintings of English Country Life and Landscape 1850-1914* (London, 1988)
- Workers' Educational Association, *Hatfield and Its People. Newgate Street* (Hatfield, 1960)
- Workers' Educational Association, *Hatfield and Its People. Farming Yesterday and Today* (Hatfield, 1962)
- Workers' Educational Association, *Harpenden. A Picture History* (Harpenden, 1973)
- Worsley, G., 'Review: Architecture and Image-Building in Seventeenth-Century Hertfordshire', *English Historical Review*, Vol.120, No.485 (2005), pp.219-220
- Wordie, J.R., (ed.), *Agriculture and Politics in England, 1815-1939* (London, 2000)
- Wratten, D., *The Book of Radlett and Aldenham* (Chesham, 1969)
- Yaxley, S., (ed.), *History of Hemel Hempstead* (Hemel Hempstead, 1973)

Unpublished PhD Theses

Carpenter, A.M., *Changes in the Agricultural Geography of the South Hertfordshire Plateau 1750-1888* Unpublished M.A. Thesis University of London (1965)

Hamilton, E.A., *The Social and Economic Impact of Foxhunting in Warwickshire, 1860-1920* Unpublished M.Phil Thesis University of Birmingham (2005)

Hooson, D.J., *Some Aspects of the Growth and Distribution of Population in Hertfordshire since 1801* Unpublished PhD thesis University of London (1955)

Jennings, S., *A Ravelled Skein: The Silk Industry in South-West Hertfordshire 1790-1890* Unpublished PhD Thesis University of Hertfordshire (2002)

Roberts, J. A., *The Ruin of Rural England – an Interpretation of the late 19th century Agricultural Depression 1879-1914* Unpublished PhD thesis University of Loughborough (1997)

Rothery, M., *Transformations and Adaptations: The English Landed Gentry 1870-1939* Unpublished PhD Thesis University of Exeter (2004)

Short, C.D., *Hearts, People and Status. A Study of the Social Structure of Three Areas of Hertfordshire in the Late 17th Century* Unpublished M.A. Thesis University of Leicester (1986)

Young, T.E., *Popular Attitudes Towards Rural Customs and Rights in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England* Unpublished PhD Thesis University of Hertfordshire (2008)

Websites

1911 census online	www.findmypast.com
Albury Village Local History	www.alburyvillage.org.uk
Aldenham Local History	www.localauthoritypublishing.co.uk/councils/aldenham
All Saints Church, Croxley Green	www.croxleygreenallsaints.org/history.htm
Ancestry Website for Census 1841-1901	www.ancestry.co.uk
Barkway Local History	www.barkway-village.co.uk/almshouses.htm
Bishop's Stortford Local History	www.stortfordhistory.co.uk
Boxmoor Golf Club	www.boxmoorgolfclub.co.uk
Carnegie & Co., Sweden	www.carnegie.se/en
Chorleywood Golf Club	www.club-noticeboard.com/chorleywood
Croxley Green Local History	www.croxleygreen.com/AA-Hist-Main.asp
Eastwick and Gilston Local History	www.eastwickandgilston.org.uk
Hancock and Co., Jewellers	www.hancocks-london.com
The Helen Allingham Society	www.helenallingham.com

Hertfordshire Local History & Genealogy Site	www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk
Hertfordshire Record Society	www.hrsociety.org.uk
High Sheriffs of Hertfordshire	www.highsheriffofhertfordshire.org.uk
Holy Rood Catholic Church, Watford	www.holyroodrc.com
House of Commons Parliamentary Papers	http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk
Internet Archive for complete books online	www.archive.org
James Pulham and Co., Landscape Gardeners	www.pulham.org.uk
Mid-Herts Golf Club, Gustard Wood	www.mid-hertsqolfclub.co.uk
North Mymms Local History	www.brookmans.com/history
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography	www.oxforddnb.com
Open Library for Complete Books online	www.openlibrary.org
Punch Cartoons	www.punchcartoons.com
St. Michael's Parish Church, Childwick	www.stmichaels-parishchurch.org.uk
Verulam Golf Club	www.verulamgolf.co.uk/history
Victoria and Albert National Art Library	http://catalogue.nal.vam.ac.uk