

**THE IMPLEMENTATION
AND ADMINISTRATION
OF THE
NEW POOR LAW
IN
HERTFORDSHIRE
c 1830-1847**

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

December 2016

Abstract

This research presents a regional study of the implementation of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act (commonly known as the New Poor Law) and its operation in Hertfordshire up to 1847. It examines the economic costs of poor relief across the whole of this rural southern county but it also adopts a micro-history approach to examine in detail how the New Poor Law was implemented and administered in four poor law unions: Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans and Watford. This study makes national and intra-county comparisons of poor relief data, policy and practice.

This research focuses on people as well as place and examines how different groups influenced poor law policy and practice. It makes an important finding about the role played by the second Marquis of Salisbury (a prominent Hertfordshire resident) in the review of the poor laws and the legislation that followed. At the local level this thesis explores the process of implementation and gives new emphasis to the contribution made by the assistant poor law commissioners to both process and policy in the initial years of the New Poor Law.

This study is unusual in the attention given to the middlemen of the poor law machinery – the poor law guardians and poor law officers including: medical officers, workhouse masters, relieving officers and schoolmasters and mistresses. This detailed examination of the local guardians challenges the existing historiography on the social demography of this body of men, demonstrates that the influence of elite personnel persisted and adds new data to support the argument that the operation of the poor laws was not just regionally but locally diverse. The workhouse, so symbolic of the New Poor Law and an essential component of the deterrent ideology, is considered in the context of attitudes around its construction and capacity as well as its everyday operation.

This thesis adds to the poor law historiography with new data on a previously under-researched area of the country; it provides new information on the development of poor law policy, but more importantly it draws attention to the role of the middlemen and how their individual contributions influenced poor law policy and practice.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council, the University of Hertfordshire and Oxford Brookes University for granting me a studentship to undertake this research.

I would like to thank my supervisors Dr Katrina Navickas at the University of Hertfordshire and Dr Alysa Levene at Oxford Brookes University for their support, patience and encouragement. I would also like to extend my thanks to all the staff and the post graduate community (past and present) in the history department at the University of Hertfordshire for their advice, ideas, support and encouragement. I would particularly like to thank Professor Sarah Lloyd for her kind words and support during some dark days as an undergraduate and Dr Julie Moore for blazing the trail for the mature student.

Finally, my friends and family and especially Lauren, Kate and my husband Ian who now know more about the New Poor Law than they ever wanted to. I could not have done this without you – thank-you.

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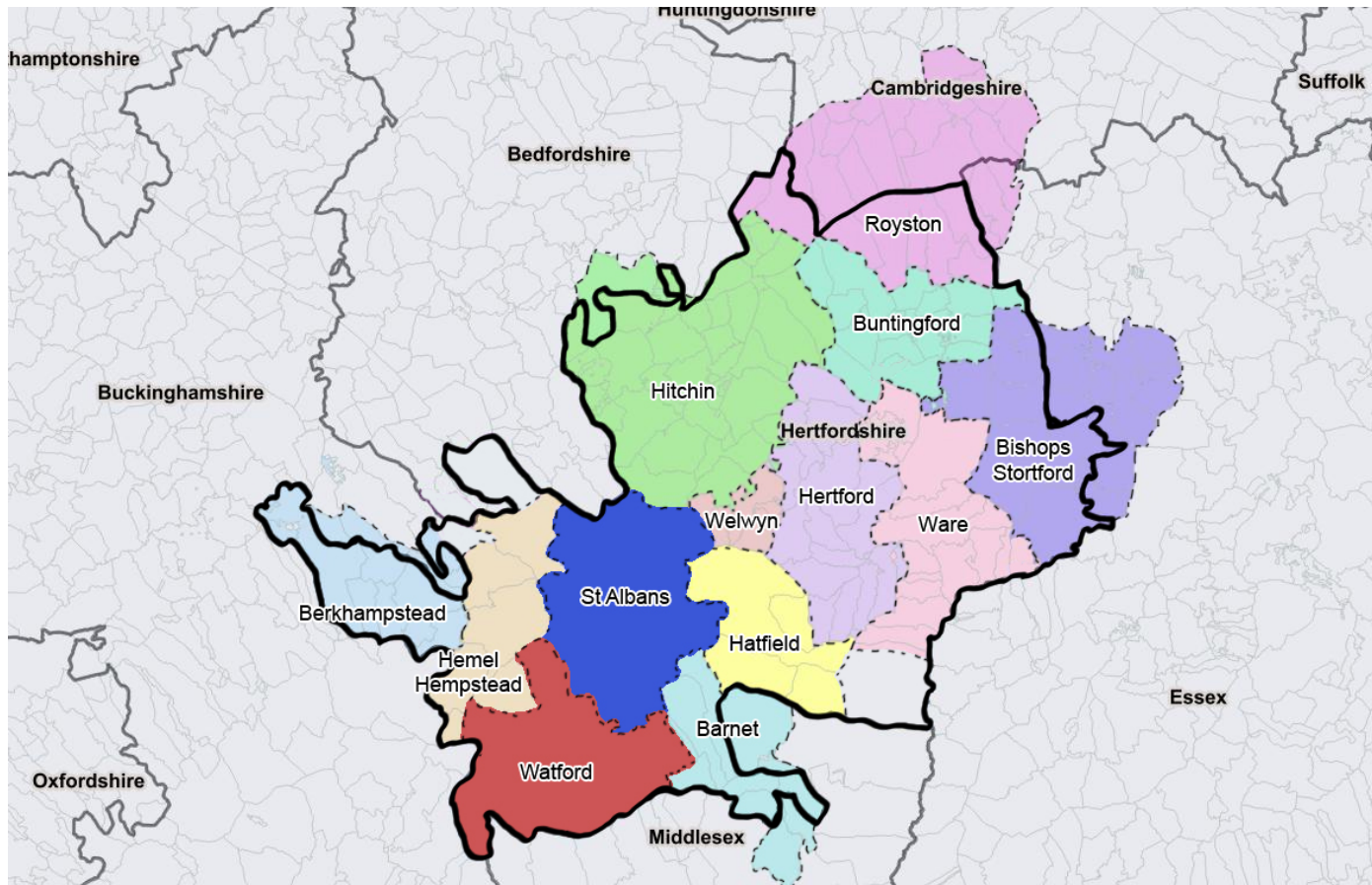
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List of Abbreviations

APLC	Assistant Poor Law Commissioner
BPP	British Parliamentary Papers
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
GMO	General medical Order (1842)
GRO	General Registrar Office
<i>LPS</i>	<i>Local Population Studies</i>
NBI	National Burial Index
NPC	National Probate Calendar
NPL	New Poor Law
OPL	Old Poor Law
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
PLAA	Poor Law Amendment Act 1834
PLC	Poor Law Commission
RO	Relieving Officer
TNA	The National Archives

Maps of the Hertfordshire Poor Law Unions 1835

Map 1 Hertfordshire Poor Law Unions



Map Karen Rothery and Lauren Rothery based on R.J.P. Kain and R.R., Oliver, *Historic Parishes of England and Wales : an Electronic Map of Boundaries before 1850 with a Gazetteer and Metadata* [computer file]. Colchester, Essex: UK Data Archive [distributor], May 2001. SN: 4348.

Map 2 Mid Nineteenth-Century Map of Hertfordshire Poor Law Unions



Original map drawn by R Creighton, engraved by J & C Walker for Lewis' Topographical Dictionary, undated.¹

¹ The map can be dated to 1843-1849 based on the development of the railways depicted. With thanks to Dr. Rudi Newman in dating this map.

Chapter 1

Introduction, Historiography and Methodology

Introduction

The Poor Law Amendment Act (PLAA), more commonly known as the New Poor Law, was introduced in 1834. It was predicated on the Poor Law Report, the result of a Royal Commission of Enquiry held between 1832-1834. This New Poor Law has been described as ‘the single most important piece of social legislation ever enacted’ and it was only fully discarded in 1948 when the modern welfare state and the National Health Service began.¹ The Act marked the end of a number of statutes that had developed since the Elizabethan era and replaced them with new laws designed to reduce the costs of poor relief which was widely seen as escalating unchecked. The elite and rate-paying members of society also supposed that the rules relating to the payment of poor relief encouraged idleness, early marriage and large families and discouraged the poor from taking care of themselves and their families. The Act was designed to impose a new national system of poor relief, directed by a central body, the Poor Law Commission (PLC) and administered by local boards of guardians. This legislation brought about a significant change in local administration and required the establishment of Poor Law Unions formed by groups of contiguous parishes coming together to form larger administrative groups that would manage the poor in accordance with the new Act.

¹ David Englander, *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in Britain: from Chadwick to Booth 1834-1914* (London: Longman, 1998) p.1.

Many historians of the poor laws have focused on the administrative system almost as a faceless body of processes and ideas rather than one shaped by individuals.² Yet at the heart of the New Poor Law were people, not just as the recipients of poor relief who have been the focus of recent literature, but also in large numbers as administrators of the relief system. As policy advisors, as policy makers and as decision makers, the gentry and middle classes were present to drive forward the regional implementation programme. These middlemen were fundamental to the initial implementation process; many more were essential to the on-going management of a new and more complex administration system. Within the extensive historiography scholars have studied those at the centre of government who conceived and administered the policy, whilst more recently attention has shifted to giving voice to those who received poor relief or lived in poverty, but little has been written about those in between who delivered the New Poor Law.³ These middlemen, the local squirearchy, magistrates, clergy, overseers

² George Nicholls, *A History of the English Poor Law* [First published 1854, Revised edition London: Frank Cass & Co., 1967]. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Poor Law Policy* (London: Longman, 1910), *English Poor Law History Part II: the Last Hundred Years* (London: Longman, 1929).

³ Key general works include: Nicholls, *A History of the English Poor Law*. Webb and Webb, *English Poor Law Policy*, and *English Poor Law History Part II: the Last Hundred Years*. Mark Blaug, 'The Myth of the Old Poor Law and the Making of the New', *Journal of Economic History*, 23.02 (1963) pp.151-84. David Roberts, 'How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law?' *The Historical Journal*, 6.01 (1963), pp.97-107. Michael E Rose, *The English Poor Law, 1780-1930* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971). Michael E Rose, *The Relief of Poverty, 1834-1914* (London: Macmillan, 1972). Derek Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: a History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1973). Derek Fraser, *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1976). Anthony Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law: The Politics of Inquiry, Enactment, and Implementation, 1832-1839* (London: Hutchinson, 1978). Anne Digby, *Pauper Palaces* (London: Routledge, 1978). Karel Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty* (London: Routledge, 1981). Keith D. M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900*. Vol. 2. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Felix Driver, *Power and Pauperism: the Workhouse System, 1834-1884*. Vol. 19. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Paul Slack, *The English Poor Law, 1571-1782* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). David Englander, *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in Britain: from Chadwick to Booth, 1834-1914* (London: Longman, 1998). Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Alan Kidd, *State, Society and the Poor in Nineteenth-century England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999).

and others can be regarded as the midwives of the New Poor Law who delivered and nurtured a new system of administration. In common with the obstetric midwife, their role was often unsung but essential; it was fundamental to giving life to the New Poor Law and establishing a new system of governance. That system was ostensibly controlled by the centre and administered by local personnel but as many scholars have shown, local experience of the New Poor Law was regionally diverse and did not always follow the direction of the centre. That diversity may have been due in part to local custom or the agency of the poor themselves, but equally it may also have been due to how the poor law was implemented and managed at a local level. That management may in turn have been influenced by the character, personality and socio-economic background of those at the heart of the local administration. It is on that personal diversity that this thesis will focus.

Outline of the thesis

This thesis examines the implementation of the New Poor Law in Hertfordshire. Through the lens of the four poor law unions of Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans and Watford in particular it considers Hertfordshire's contribution to the development of poor law policy and practice. It fills a gap in the historiography as it considers the roles and responsibilities of the middlemen in relation to implementing and administering the new law in its infancy. It shows how this

Steven King, *Poverty and Welfare in England, 1700-1850: a Regional Perspective* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000). Anthony Brundage, *The English Poor Laws 1700-1930* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002). Barry Reay, *Microhistories: demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800-1930*. No. 30. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Steven King and Alannah Tomkins (eds), *The Poor in England, 1700-1850: an Economy of Makeshifts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003). David R. Green, *Pauper Capital: London and the Poor Law, 1790-1870* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010). Samantha Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-cycle under the English Poor Law, 1760-1834* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011).

group was important and significant in shaping not just local practice but national policy.

In addition this thesis examines how Hertfordshire contributed to the development of the New Poor Law and in particular considers the influence of the second Marquis of Salisbury (1791 – 1868). This thesis argues that Lord Salisbury's role in the development of poor law policy has been overlooked by historians and it uses new sources to show that this leading member of the aristocracy, Hertfordshire resident and landowner influenced the authors of the 1834 Poor Law Report and obtained significant amendments to the legislation as it passed through parliament. Salisbury's ideas were informed by his personal experience of poor relief under the Old Poor Law in Hatfield. His input and Hertfordshire's position as the first county to be fully unionised gave Hertfordshire a significant role in poor law policy development.

Finally, this thesis presents a quantitative analysis of the impact of the New Poor Law in the county by comparing the economic cost of poor relief within Hertfordshire with figures for England and Wales. It demonstrates intra-county differences in both the impact of the changes and the on-going costs. This supports previous work on the regional diversity of the New Poor Law and demonstrates that diversity was more local than such studies have hitherto suggested. In fact it shows that a common and uniform relief system was not achieved under the New Poor Law in this period.⁴

In addition to the introduction and overall aims set out above, this chapter will briefly discuss the key literature on the New Poor Law before detailing the

⁴ King, *Poverty and Welfare in England*. Driver, *Power and Pauperism*. Digby, *Pauper Palaces*.

methodology used in this thesis. The remaining chapters are divided into three sections: the transition from the Old to the New Poor Law, the administrators of the New Poor Law and the legacy of the passing of the New Poor Law. Within the first section on transition is a chapter devoted to Lord Salisbury and his influence in local poor law practice. It describes the system Salisbury implemented in Hatfield and draws on both well used and new sources to show how he shaped some key elements of the new law – retaining the right of paupers to appeal to local magistrates and most importantly persuading the authors of the Poor Law Bill to remove the clause banning all outdoor relief after 1st June 1835. Chapter three continues the theme of transition and looks at the work of the peripatetic assistant poor law commissioners – arguably they were also midwives of the New Poor Law contributing to the delivery of this new social policy, but like Salisbury their work crossed over into areas of policy making. The work of the assistant commissioners has had scant coverage in the literature, but was essential to making the New Poor Law work.⁵ They cascaded down the ideology from the centre and helped make the New Poor Law work in practice. Chapter four focuses more specifically on Hertfordshire and the formation of its thirteen unions. This is the first detailed study of the Hertfordshire unions and demonstrates how, from the very beginning, they were diverse in terms of their physical size, population and economic composition. Chapters five, six and seven drill down deeper into the composition of the unions of Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans and Watford to examine in detail the people who acted as the local administrators of the New Poor Law, and their

⁵ Historians who have written on the work of the assistant poor law commissioners include David Roberts, *Victorian origins of the British Welfare State* (Yale University Press, 1960). Philip Harling, 'The power of persuasion: Central authority, local bureaucracy and the New Poor Law', *The English Historical Review* 107.422 (1992), pp.30-53. Brundage, *Making of the New Poor Law*.

diverse responsibilities and it challenges ideas about the composition and management of the boards of guardians. The chapters in this section draw extensively on local sources to look at how the poor law unions worked *in situ* noting the escalation of bureaucracy, the commitment of individuals, and the beginnings of the professionalization of poor law personnel. The final section looks at the legacy of the New Poor Law. This is the legacy in the sense of the physical evidence of the Hertfordshire workhouses (many of which endure in the landscape today) and the financial legacy in terms of the economic benefit ostensibly delivered by the new regime. In particular it asks whether the New Poor Law saved money and if so to what extent? It also takes a new perspective on the workhouse: for many non-specialists the workhouse defines the poor law, but the focus here is to examine the process the guardians engaged in to commission these institutions, to consider the spatial arrangements therein and examine the regime within them. The final chapter draws together the main findings and suggests ways in which this research might be taken forward. There are a number of appendices (referenced throughout this thesis) that tabulate the data collected in local record offices and elsewhere.

Historiography

The historiography on the poor laws is extensive and ranges from over arching studies of provision over four hundred years, to small focused regional or thematic studies.⁶ Most studies focus on either the Old or the New Poor Law and

⁶ See footnote 2 above, other examples include: John Riddoch Poynter, *Society and Pauperism: English ideas on poor relief, 1795-1834* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969). Geoffrey W. Oxley, *Poor Relief in England and Wales: 1601-1834* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1974).

there is an unresolved debate about the significance of the 1834 Act with historians divided on whether it made a difference to relief practice or whether the continuity of relief administration has been underestimated.⁷ Latterly there have been calls for more local and regional studies to be mapped onto those already undertaken.⁸ This is driven in part by the methodological approaches of influential social and economic historians such as Snell, Reay and King which have revealed significant regional differences in the poor law experience.⁹ Over time, in common with other fields of history, the study of the poor law has moved from being presented as a 'history from above' - that is taking a state-centred approach to the history of poverty and the administration of relief provision - to being presented as 'history from below' examining the social and socio-economic experiences of those dependent on poor law provision. Currently, historians of the poor law research a diverse range of themes including women's experiences, how children were dealt with, provision for the old and medical arrangements.¹⁰ These themes not only

George R. Boyer, *An Economic History of the English Poor Law, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Bernard Harris, *The Origins of the British Welfare State: Social Welfare in England and Wales, 1800-1945* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004). M. A. Crowther, *The Workhouse System 1834-1929: the history of an English social institution* (London: Methuen edition, 1983). Norman Longmate, *The Workhouse: A Social History* (First published 1974, Pimlico: Random House edition, 2003). Peter Wood, *Poverty and the Workhouse in Victorian Britain* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1991).

⁷ Blaug, 'The Myth of the Old Poor Law'. Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law*. Anthony Brundage, 'The landed interest and the New Poor Law: a reappraisal of the revolution in government', *The English Historical Review*, 87.342 (1972), pp. 27-48. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor*. Peter Mandler, 'The making of the new poor law redivivus.' *Past & Present*, 117 (1987), pp. 131-157. Peter Mandler, 'Tories and paupers: Christian political economy and the making of the New Poor Law.' *The Historical Journal*, 33.01 (1990), pp.81-103. Harling, 'The power of persuasion', pp.30-53. Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers*.

⁸ King and Tomkins, *The Poor in England*. Digby, *Pauper Palaces*. Reay, *Microhistories*.

⁹ Snell, *Annals of the Labouring poor*. King, *Poverty and Welfare in England*. Reay, *Microhistories*.

¹⁰ Examples include: Steven King, *Women, Welfare and Local Politics 1880-1920: 'We Might be Trusted'* (Eastbourne, Sussex Academic Press, 2010). Samantha Williams, 'Unmarried Mothers and the New Poor Law in Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, 91 (2013), pp. 27-43. Jessica A. Sheetz-Nguyen, *Victorian Women, Unwed Mothers and the London Foundling Hospital* (London: Continuum, 2012). Alys Levene, *Childcare, Health and Mortality at the London Foundling Hospital, 1741-1800: "Left to the Mercy of the World"* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

reflect developing trends in wider historical research, but they also explore the sources in new ways which continue to enhance and revise our knowledge of poor law policy and the poor law experience in society.

The study of the English poor law was dominated for many years by the work of two historians, Sidney and Beatrice Webb. To describe them simply as ‘historians’ understates the significant presence they exerted on the intellectual, social, political, charitable and educational spheres in which they operated at the end of the nineteenth and in the first half of the twentieth century. Together they wrote four volumes on English poor law policy and history.¹¹ Over half a century later this work was said to ‘constitute the most comprehensive history of the English poor law.’¹² Kidd’s 1987 article - ‘Historians or polemicists? How the Webbs wrote their history of the English Poor Laws’ - reflected back over the sixty years since their work was published with an analysis of when and why they wrote their magnum opus. Kidd argued that the scope and success of the Webbs’ work deterred others from revising their account. The Webbs’ history is essentially the

Eileen Wallace, *Children of the Labouring Poor: The Working Lives of Children in Nineteenth-century Hertfordshire* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2010). Nicola Verdon, ‘The rural labour market in the early nineteenth century: women’s and children’s employment, family income, and the 1834 Poor Law Report’, *The Economic History Review*, 55.2 (2002), pp. 299-323. Alistair Ritch. ‘English Poor Law Institutional Care for Older People: Identifying the ‘Aged and Infirm’ and the ‘Sick’ in Birmingham Workhouse, 1852–1912”, *Social History of Medicine*, 27.1 (2014), pp. 64-85. Samantha Williams, ‘Support for the Elderly during the ‘Crisis’ of the English Old Poor Law’ in *Population, welfare and economic change in Britain, 1290-1834*, ed. by Chris Briggs, Peter Kitson & S.J. Thompson, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), pp.129-152. Martin Gorsky, ‘Creating the Poor Law Legacy: Institutional Care for Older People Before the Welfare State’, *Contemporary British History*, 26:4 (2012), pp.441-465. Kim Price, *Medical Negligence in Victorian Britain: the Crisis of Care under the English Poor Law c1834-1900* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015). Elizabeth T. Hurren, ‘A Pauper Dead-House: The expansion of the Cambridge anatomical teaching school under the late-Victorian poor law, 1870–1914’, *Medical History*, 48.01 (2004), pp.69-94. Peter Bartlett, *The Poor Law of Lunacy* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1999). Robert Ellis, ‘The asylum, the Poor Law, and a reassessment of the four-shilling grant: admissions to the county asylums of Yorkshire in the nineteenth century’, *Social History of Medicine*, 19.1 (2006), pp.55-71.

¹¹ Webb and Webb, *English Poor Law Policy and English Poor Law History, Part I & Part II*.

¹² Alan J. Kidd, ‘Historians or polemicists? How the Webbs wrote their history of the English Poor Laws’, *The Economic History Review*, 40 (Aug 1987), pp. 400–417.

history of an administration, written from the perspective of those who conceived the policy at the administrative centre. Now, almost 30 years later, Kidd's argument has been challenged by the volume and variety of studies that have continued to research the poor law, poor relief, poverty, welfare and other tangential themes.¹³ Whilst it 'remains a prerequisite for all serious students of the poor law to consult the Webbs' history', there is a wider and more diverse historiography which can overwhelm the modern scholar.¹⁴ The Webbs relied heavily on the central administrative records of the Poor Law Commission, Poor Law Board and Local Government Board as well as Parliamentary Papers, and consequently did little to examine the regions or consider regional variations in the operation of the law. The value of the Webbs' study to twenty-first century scholars is less significant than it was, but many of their ideas went unchallenged until the 1960s.

The first challenges to the Webbs' interpretation came in 1963 from economic historian Mark Blaug and social historian David Roberts. Blaug mapped the so-called Speenhamland counties who paid an allowance to top up wages and argued that the 1834 Royal Commission reached its conclusions without making a systematic analysis of the data it had collected.¹⁵ He argued that the evidence did not support the Commission's suppositions about the abuses of the Old Poor Law and concluded that a number of economic factors including structural unemployment and population growth contributed to the rise in poor relief

¹³ Kidd, 'Historians', p. 403.

¹⁴ Kidd, 'Historians', p. 401.

¹⁵ The Speenhamland system (named after the Berkshire village in which it originated) was an allowance system in which the parish supplemented agricultural wages with relief based on family size and the price of bread. Blaug, 'The Myth of the Old Poor Law', pp. 151-184.

expenditure. His analysis showed that the allowance system was not as widespread as was claimed and that Hertfordshire was one of many counties that did not operate the Speenhamland system and did not have a significant rural poverty problem. This study provided important new insight into the pre-1834 situation. One important finding made by Blaug that requires further examination is that ‘despite differences in the administration of the Poor Laws, relief spending *rose and fell more or less simultaneously in all counties*’.¹⁶ (My italics).

At the same time, David Roberts’ article ‘How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law?’ examined the social conditions under which paupers were kept, particularly with regard to workhouse accommodation.¹⁷ Roberts suggested that many reports of workhouse cruelty were overstated arguing that workhouses were physically comfortable but psychologically unpleasant. When Roberts was writing the welfare state had been established for nearly 20 years but the perceived horrors of the Victorian workhouse, which stood in stark contrast to the relative prosperity and innovation of the 1960s, were still within living memory. This was the first of many workhouse histories, but the New Poor Law was about much more than incarceration in a workhouse and historians have continued to examine how the poor laws worked and why in a variety of ways.

One recurring theme in poor law research is its relationship to the welfare state, which Derek Fraser noted was ‘a concept which historians and sociologists alike have found difficult to define’.¹⁸ The term ‘Welfare State’ did not exist until the 1940s, but a number of historians began to focus on the Old and New Poor Law

¹⁶ Blaug, ‘The Myth of the Old Poor Law’ p.166.

¹⁷ Roberts, ‘How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law?’

¹⁸ Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State*, 4th edition. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2009), p.1.

as proto-welfare systems in all but name. One of the first to do so was Derek Fraser; his 1973 book *The Evolution of the British Welfare State: a History of Social Policy since the Industrial Revolution*, is now in its fourth edition, with each new edition (1984, 2003 and 2009) requiring significant revisions to reflect new research and the evolving social policy of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.¹⁹ Covering a period of nearly 400 years, the attention given to the implementation of the New Poor Law is of course limited and in common with most historians at that time, Fraser did not give voice to the poor themselves or the middlemen implementing policy locally. However, the collection of essays on the New Poor Law which he edited offered a slightly different perspective; whilst still largely a history in its traditional form, that is, a history of administration and policy, *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century* presented themed essays with the emphasis on localism not centralisation.²⁰ Anne Digby's chapter on the rural poor law examined practices in the county of Norfolk which strongly emphasised the extent of local variation, drawing comparisons with Brundage's findings in Northamptonshire.²¹ Digby called for further local research to be undertaken to uncover the extent of local variation and went on to extend her research in *Pauper Palaces* (1978) an analysis of the impact of the poor law in Norfolk.²² *Pauper Palaces* was innovative in that it used local sources and attempted to differentiate the theory of how the post 1834 poor law should have operated with the reality of its operation in Norfolk. The title referred to one of the names given to union

¹⁹ Fraser, *The Evolution of the British Welfare State*, first edition 1973, second edition 1984, third edition 2003 and fourth edition 2009.

²⁰ Fraser, *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century*.

²¹ Anne Digby, 'The rural poor law' in Fraser, *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 149-170. Brundage, 'The Landed Interest in the New Poor Law'.

²² Digby, *Pauper Palaces*.

workhouses but the scope of this work went beyond the workhouse and also discussed the provision of out relief. Her use of local county sources in the form of guardians' minute books and local newspapers got her closer to the local situation, but still relied heavily on centralised parliamentary and administrative records. In many ways *Pauper Palaces* was the beginning of a new phase in poor law studies that has since seen regional and thematic diversification.

The workhouse is a theme which has received particular attention; studies include Longmate's narrative account of workhouse history from its beginnings in the Elizabethan period to its post-war dissolution, and Crowther's discussion of the workhouse as 'an embryonic social service'.²³ The latter, like its predecessors, drew upon central government and administrative sources for its evidence; however it was split into two parts 'Administrators' and 'Inmates' in an attempt to find the voices of the poor, whilst acknowledging that 'the words of the inmates themselves are seldom found' in official records.²⁴ This is a constant problem encountered in the fields of social and labour history; historians have had to find innovative ways of reaching the experience of the ordinary working population in textual sources created by the elite and which were not designed to record the experiences of the working classes. Recent scholarship has given voice to the poor through the analysis of pauper letters. Initiated by Thomas Sokoll in 2006 this strand of research is very vibrant as demonstrated by the significant European research project led by Steve King and Andreas Gestrich and the continuing work

²³ Longmate, *The Workhouse*. Crowther, *The Workhouse System*, pp.269-270.

²⁴ Crowther, *The Workhouse System*, p. 193.

by Paul Carter and Kathryn Fox at the National Archives.²⁵ Pauper letters form part of a broader theme in social history that focuses on identifying the experiences and perspectives of ordinary people. Out of this 'history from below' approach another major theme of 'pauper agency' developed in which historians have demonstrated that paupers had power and 'were not helpless victims of elites and the state, but had a certain level of agency available to them.'²⁶ Sources that are mined for the voice of the poor also have the potential to uncover information on the attitudes and behaviours of those administering the poor law but have not been used in this way.

Diverse approaches by historians ensure that the poor law system can be examined from many angles. In 1993 a workhouse study by Driver stated specifically that it was not his aim 'to write a history of the workhouse system from the point of view of the paupers who experienced it.'²⁷ Instead he discussed social policy practice from a geographical perspective; his mapping of developing poor

²⁵ Thomas Sokoll, *Essex pauper letters, 1731-1837* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). *Pauper Letters and Petitions for Poor Relief in Germany and Great Britain, 1770 – 1914*, a project jointly directed by Prof Andreas Gestrich (German Historical Institute London) and Prof Steven A. King (University of Leicester) and supported (2011-2014) by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Art and Humanities Research Council. https://www.ghil.ac.uk/research/solidarity_and_care/pauper_letters_and_petitions.html. Paul Carter and Kathryn Fox, *In Their Own Write: A pauper's life in their own words*, Hertfordshire History Lab workshop, 4 Nov 2015. Kathryn Fox, 'Gentleman you have no idea how the poor is treated by those scoundrels'; *pauper letters from the Basford Poor Law Union 1836-1871*, Before the Welfare State workshop, Centre for Medical Humanities, University of Leicester, 30 April 2016. <http://blog.nationalarchives.gov.uk/blog/paupers-life-words/>

²⁶ Katrina Navickas, 'What happened to class? New histories of labour and collective action in Britain', *Social History*, 36.2 (2011), pp.192-204. Works which explore agency include Williams, *Poverty, Gender and Life-cycle*. David R. Green, 'Pauper protests: power and resistance in early nineteenth-century London workhouses', *Social History*, 31.2 (2006), pp.137-159; Jane Hamlett, and Lesley Hoskins, 'Comfort in small things? Clothing, control and agency in county lunatic asylums in nineteenth-and early twentieth-century England', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 18.1 (2013), pp. 93-114. King and Tomkins (eds), *The Poor in England*. Tim Hitchcock, Pamela Sharpe and Peter King (eds), *Chronicling poverty: the voices and strategies of the English poor, 1640-1840* (Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997). Peter Jones and Steven King, *Obligation, Entitlement and Dispute under the English Poor Laws* (Cambridge Scholars, 2015).

²⁷ Driver, *Workhouse*, pp.2-3.

law practices generally, and workhouse related practices specifically, was illuminating and showed both national compliance *and* diversity. He concluded with a regional study of Huddersfield in the West Riding of Yorkshire, an area of particular significance for the way in which it violently resisted the imposition of the New Poor Law.

The literature that considers the resistance to the New Poor Law is often focused on the popular resistance in the Northern counties of England.²⁸ However it is also acknowledged that there was sporadic opposition in some southern and eastern counties where 'dissent was fuelled by a diligent press campaign'.²⁹ In Hertfordshire resistance to the New Poor Law was limited and found among the rate-payers rather than the working classes. Both Edsall and Driver discuss the involvement of the assistant poor law commissioner Alfred Power in implementing the New Poor Law in Yorkshire and Lancashire where he received a much more hostile reception than he had enjoyed in Hertfordshire.³⁰

The struggle between the centre and the local administrators, and the local administrators and the poor themselves has been the thrust of other poor law studies.³¹ In one sense this marked a return to the 'big picture' approach and a reliance on state-centred administrative sources. However a fuller examination of how relationships worked, and locating the power, authority and tension in the

²⁸ Nicholas C. Edsall, *The Anti-poor Law Movement, 1834-44* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971).

²⁹ Kidd, *State Society and the Poor*, p.30. John Rule and Roger Wells, *Crime, Protest and Popular Politics in Southern England, 1740-1850* (London: Hambledon, 1997).

³⁰ Edsall, *The Anti-poor Law Movement*. Driver, *Power and Pauperism*, pp.199-125 and pp.129-30.

³¹ Driver, *Power and Pauperism*. Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law*. Brundage, 'The Landed Interest in the New Poor Law'. Harling, 'The power of persuasion'. John Benson, 'Poor Law Guardians, Coalminers, and Friendly Societies in Northern England, 1860-1894: Statutory Provision, Local Autonomy, and Individual Responsibility', *Northern History*, 44.2 (2007), pp.159-168. Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers*.

administration necessitates the investigation of local as well as national sources, enabling us to observe the multifaceted relationships which co-existed to allow the poor law to function.

Anthony Brundage's studies in the 1970s argued that the New Poor Law gave additional power to the landowners and rural elite.³² His studies have focused on the south Midlands counties of Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire – counties that share many economic and social characteristics with Hertfordshire. Brundage argued that although the local peers and gentry were not actively involved in the on-going administration of the New Poor Law, their initial presence and participation in establishing the unions enhanced elite power by ensuring poor law union boundaries were mapped onto estate boundaries or other spatial areas under their control. The use of the plural voting system (giving multiple votes to larger land owners) and a property qualification for electors also supported their authority.³³ Dunkley soon challenged this argument with the view that the New Poor Law only consolidated power which already existed and reaffirmed the status quo as the regions resisted 'the bureaucratic threat from London'.³⁴ He also argued that Northamptonshire was not a typical county on account of the high participation in poor law affairs by the ennobled.³⁵ These arguments are part of the unresolved debate on the continuity (or otherwise) of the poor relief system

³² Brundage, 'The landed interest and the New Poor Law', pp. 27-48. Anthony Brundage, 'The landed interest and the New poor Law: a reply', *The English Historical Review*, 90.355 (1975) pp.347-351. Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law*.

³³ Brundage, *Making of the New Poor Law*, p.184. Brundage, 'The landed interest and the New Poor Law'.

³⁴ Peter Dunkley, 'The landed interest and the New Poor Law: a critical note', *The English Historical Review*, 88.349 (1973) pp.836-841, p.839.

³⁵ Dunkley, 'The landed interest - a critical note', pp.839-840.

which pivots on the introduction of the New Poor Law and which is part of the wider historical debate on the 'nineteenth-century revolution in government'.³⁶

It is to the theme of welfare and poverty that historians have repeatedly returned in various ways. In *The Solidarities of Strangers* (1998) Lynn Hollen Lees discussed the Old and New Poor Laws as a 'residualist' system of welfare.³⁷ She took this term from the work of Richard Titmuss a pioneer of the academic discipline of Social Policy. Like Fraser before her, the relationship of poor law policy and administration to welfare was at the heart of her debate however she extended the discussion to look at how poverty was defined within the cultural norms of society. Lees used Parliamentary papers and the annual reports of the Poor Law Commission as her starting point but she also used local material in selected county archives from across England. In doing so she revealed greater agency of the poor themselves and argued that there was a continuing thread of a sense of solidarity within the community. Importantly for this study, she identified the early use of a deterrent workhouse by the Marquis of Salisbury on his estates in Hertfordshire, but did not follow this up in local sources.³⁸ In a work that covers the period 1780 to 1948 it is impossible to use local examples as anything other than illustrative of the whole, so whilst Lees is to be commended for using local sources to give a more rounded picture, she did not produce a regional study of the type that Digby had championed and which have become pre-eminent in on-going studies into the New Poor Law.

³⁶ Oliver MacDonagh, 'The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government: A Reappraisal', *The Historical Journal*, 1.01 (1958), pp.52-67.

³⁷ Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers*.

³⁸ Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers*, p.110.

One of the key works to illustrate the value of the regional approach to social, economic and welfare history was Barry Reay's *Microhistories*.³⁹ Reay's holistic yet microscopic examination of a small Kent community combined the quantitative evidence favoured by econometric historians with the qualitative evidence favoured by social historians. His 'total reconstruction' methodology used nominal linkage— including oral testimony – to construct not only a local history but also a history that explored the interpersonal relationships within families, communities and wider society. Reay argued that 'it is impossible to understand society and culture without examining local contexts.'⁴⁰

The case for a regional approach to research was made again later in Steve King's *Poverty and Welfare in England* where he theorised that

...England did not have a *single* welfare system but a number of *coalescing regional welfare systems* underpinned by deeply ingrained cultural attitudes towards poverty, communal relief and the economy of makeshifts on the part of both the poor and the wider population.⁴¹

He concluded that there was a crude west and north (urban/industrialised) versus a south and east (rural/agrarian) split in attitudes and responses to poverty finding the south to be more generous than their industrialising cousins. He also advanced an argument, which he returned to in a later book with Tomkins, that the majority of those living in poverty were not dependant on the communal welfare system and that the 'economy of makeshifts' was an important factor in household economics. King's work highlighted the importance of the 'economy of makeshifts'

³⁹ Reay, *Microhistories*.

⁴⁰ Reay, *Microhistories*, p.262.

⁴¹ King, *Poverty and Welfare*, p. 10.

(a concept first voiced in the 1970s by Olwen Hufton in a work on the poor in France), and also the importance of regional patterns in the history of welfare.⁴²

The 'economy of makeshifts' was often hidden as it relied on informal relief strategies, strategies that by their very nature leave little or no textual evidence. Personal networking with both kin and community obtained additional resources and concealed the same from those administering poor relief. The importance of this hidden economy is an on-going feature of academic study and is critical in understanding how the poor themselves experienced poverty and welfare. Historians have made subtle refinements to this theme; in 1996 Joanna Innes adopted the term 'mixed economy of welfare' which has also entered the historians' lexicon.⁴³ King and Tompkins' *The Poor in England* (2003) was a collection of thematic essays, which looked at makeshift resources, and it is through focused thematic or regional studies, with increasing diversity, that historians have continued to exploit the vast array of poor law related resources.⁴⁴

Recent scholarship has continued to take a thematic or regional approach to understanding and uncovering information from tapped and untapped archival sources. However, as Michael Rose lamented forty years ago 'A good deal of research remains entombed in unpublished M.A. and PhD. theses.'⁴⁵ Regions examined in this way include: Fylde (Lancashire), southern counties of England, Belper (Derbyshire), Cheltenham (Gloucestershire), Herefordshire, the City of

⁴² Olwen Hufton, *Poor of Eighteenth-century France; 1750-1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974). King and Tompkins, *The Poor in England*.

⁴³ Joanna Innes, 'The "mixed economy of welfare" in early modern England: assessments of the options from Hale to Malthus (c. 1683–1803)', in Martin Dauntton (ed), *Charity, self-interest and welfare in the English past*, pp.139-180, (London: University College London, 1996).

⁴⁴ King and Tompkins (eds.), *The Poor in England*.

⁴⁵ Rose, *The Relief of Poverty*, p.56.

London, Birmingham, Leicester, Bradford (West Riding of Yorkshire) and Llandilofawr (Wales).⁴⁶ Increasing digitisation of research archives is improving access to such studies, but many remain undiscovered and unread. These studies have the potential to contribute to a growing understanding of diversification in poor law management and the experience of poverty over time and space. If consolidated in the way that King did in *Poverty and Welfare in England* they would build a more comprehensive picture of English poor relief as given and received. There are however still many regional gaps in the literature, and many regions and counties, including Hertfordshire, have not been studied or studied in depth.

That is not to say that Hertfordshire has been entirely overlooked however, in 1999 Nigel Goose presented a demographic analysis of the Hertfordshire workhouse population using countywide data from the 1851 census returns.⁴⁷ This quantitative analysis identified the 'under-representation of married people [and a] considerable skew towards men' among the inmates of the Hertfordshire union workhouses.⁴⁸ He found both 'broad similarities' and 'significant contrasts' in the age, sex and marital status profiles of the workhouse population and these findings

⁴⁶ Martin Ramsbottom, *Christopher Waddington's peers: a study of the workings of the Poor Law in townships of the Fylde of Lancashire, 1803 to 1865*, (PhD Thesis, Oxford Brookes University, 2011). Samantha Shave, *Poor law reform and policy innovation in rural southern England, c.1780-1850*, (PhD Thesis, University of Southampton, 2010). Christine Seal, *Poor Relief and Welfare: a comparative study of the Belper and Cheltenham Poor Law Unions, 1780 to 1914*, (PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, 2009). Christopher Powell, *The implementation of the New Poor Law in Herefordshire 1834-1855*, (PhD Thesis, Coventry University, 2000). Andrea Tanner, *The new poor law, 1834-75, with special reference to the City of London*, (PhD Thesis, London University, 1995). Paul Tolley, *The Birmingham, Aston and Kings Norton Boards of Guardians and the politics and administration of the Poor Law, 1836-1912*, (PhD Thesis, DeMontford University, 1994). Kathryn Thompson, *The Leicester Poor Law Union, 1836-1871*, (PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, 1988). David Ashford, *The Poor Law in Bradford c1834-1871. The study of the relief of poverty in mid-nineteenth century Bradford*, (PhD Thesis, University of Bradford, 1979). Geoff Hooker, *Llandilofawr Poor Law Union, 1836 to 1886: 'The most difficult union in Wales'*, (PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, 2013).

⁴⁷ Nigel Goose, 'Workhouse populations in the mid-nineteenth century: the case of Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, 62 (1999), pp.52-69.

⁴⁸ Goose, 'Workhouse populations' p.68.

challenged previous assumptions about the use of workhouses to provide care for the elderly.⁴⁹ Goose used Hertfordshire data again when he followed up this theory and argued that 'poor old men have not been given the attention they deserve' in recent literature and that the options for elderly men were worse after the introduction of the New Poor Law.⁵⁰ Both of these studies focused on the outcomes of New Poor Law policy rather than the administrative process of that policy.

In a more recent study into unmarried mothers and the New Poor Law by Samantha Williams and in contrast to the gender bias identified by Goose, Hertfordshire sources revealed that the New Poor Law adversely affected women.⁵¹ Using workhouse admissions and other local poor law records in Hatfield and Hertford Williams also postulated that some women may have used the workhouse as a lying-in hospital taking advantage of the free accommodation, food and medical care provided. The provision of medical care within workhouses under both the Old and New Poor Law was recently addressed in *Medicine and the Workhouse*, but as the editors Reinartz and Schwarz noted in their introduction it is an under-researched area.⁵² However, this year has seen Kim Price add to this area of growing interest in a book that offers a new history of poor law medical services and how they evolved (not always for the better) over the course of the nineteenth century.⁵³ This thesis will add to this with additional information about medical

⁴⁹ Goose, 'Workhouse populations' pp. 67-68.

⁵⁰ Nigel Goose, 'Poverty, old age and gender in nineteenth-century England: the case of Hertfordshire', *Continuity and Change*, 20.3 (2005), pp.351-384 (p.376).

⁵¹ Williams, 'Unmarried Mothers'.

⁵² Jonathan Reinartz and Leonard Schwarz (eds), *Medicine and the Workhouse* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2013), p.1.

⁵³ Price, *Medical Negligence in Victorian Britain*.

arrangements in Hertfordshire. Price's work on medical men also addresses the role of some of the key middlemen, a group largely absent from the literature in any depth.

The assistant poor law commissioners are also part of this overlooked middle tier of the administration. David Roberts offered the first detailed look at the assistant poor law commissioners – a group almost totally ignored in the Webb history and largely overlooked by historians since. He examined the role of various inspectors – factory, health, prison, education, railway, mining, merchant marine, charity commission inspectors and poor law, lunacy, tithe and emigration commissioners – in the new centralizing Victorian administration.⁵⁴ Harling provided a little more by way of contextualisation of the assistant commissioners' role and that of the workhouse master, relieving officer, clerk and auditor when arguing the case for the continuity of the poor law. However, he argued that those appointed to these positions, and to the assistant commissioner job in particular, trod a careful path 'to secure a modicum of bureaucratic efficiency against the odds'.⁵⁵ This thesis will argue that to the contrary, without their input the Poor Law Amendment Act could not have been implemented and their influence and impact was greater than has been credited.

The most recent work on welfare in Hertfordshire is *A Caring County? Social Welfare in Hertfordshire from 1600*, a collection of themed essays ranged over 300 years.⁵⁶ The chapters in this volume are largely local parish studies, weighted

⁵⁴ David Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*. His Appendix pp.327-333 lists various inspectors and commissioners.

⁵⁵ Harling, 'The power of persuasion', p.53.

⁵⁶ Steven King and Gillian Gear (eds), *A Caring County?, Social Welfare in Hertfordshire from 1600* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2013).

towards Old Poor Law practices and with the exception of Moyle's chapter on 'Madhouses of Hertfordshire, 1735-1903' none cover the period studied in this thesis.⁵⁷ *A Caring County?* examined different localities to the four unions that have provided the micro-data for this thesis.⁵⁸ One common theme shared with this work however is the 'importance of personality' and the extent to which personality was 'an important variable in the character of care and welfare'.⁵⁹ The juxtaposition of *Caring County* and this thesis demonstrates the extent to which many varied local and micro studies can co-exist and continue to offer new perspectives.

Methodology

This thesis is a regional study of the Hertfordshire poor law unions examining how they came into being and how they were administered. It is a countywide study viewed through the lens of four unions in particular: Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans and Watford. These four unions were selected for two reasons: firstly the survival of relevant data is among the best in the county and secondly for their socio-economic diversity. The locations of the four unions are shown in map 1 (page ix) and their different characteristics are described in more detail in chapter four.

⁵⁷ Gary Moyle, 'Madhouses of Hertfordshire, 1735-1903', pp.69-98 in King and Gear (eds), *A Caring County?*

⁵⁸ Carla Herrmann covers the parish of Royston in her chapter 'Caring for the sick and poor in eighteenth-century Royston', pp.45-68 and Helen Hofton looks at Pirton in 'The Old Poor Law in a rural North Hertfordshire parish, 1731-1831', pp.178-202. Both are single parish studies of parishes within the Hitchin union and pre-date the period under examination in this study.

⁵⁹ Steve King, 'Introduction: Hertfordshire in context', pp.1-13 at p.8 in King and Gear, *A Caring County?*

Three main sources provided the starting point for this research: the board of guardian minute books held in the county archives, the correspondence files between the union and the Poor Law Commission (series MH 12) and the correspondence files between the assistant poor law commissioners and the Poor Law Commission (series MH 32) both held at the National Archives.⁶⁰

The board of guardian minute books diarise the activities of the local board and contain the minutiae of the administration at the local level. The minute books survive for all the sample unions in a continuous run from the establishment of each union. The style and content of these volumes varies from union to union and over time as the work of the union developed or as personnel changed. Much of what was recorded in these minutes was routine and repetitive but also included discussion and debate about the execution of the New Poor Law locally. Of particular interest was the correspondence with the Poor Law Commission and the assistant poor law commissioners regarding interpretation and implementation of the law and the boards' response to subsequent directives. Quantitative data, including details of the number of poor relieved, overall expenditure, salaries of union officers and terms of tenders for goods and services can also be found. However, such data was not regular and consistent within the union and across unions creating difficulties with comparative analysis as will be discussed further in chapter nine. The attendees at each board meeting were recorded and this data became the start point for a prosopographical study of the guardians.

⁶⁰ Union correspondence files: Hitchin Union MH 12/4612-4615 (1834-1846), St Albans Union MH 12/4441-4444 (1834-1850), Watford Union MH 12/4679-4682 (1834-1847), the MH 12 series for Hatfield Union does not survive before 1868. Assistant Poor Law Commissioner Correspondence files: Adey, MH 32/5-6 (1834-1840); Hall MH 32/36 (1843-1847); Head MH 32/44 (1836-1841); Power MH 32/63-64 (1834-1847); Twistleton MH 32/72 (1839-1845); Wade MH 32/74-75 (1836-1847); Walsham MH 32/79-81 (1840-1847); Weale MH 32/85-86 (1835-1844).

One of the issues with using the guardians' minute books was that they often record only one half of the correspondence with other agencies, for example, where minutes read 'A letter from the Poor Law Commissioners was read to the Board' with no further details on its content. The minute books did not tell the whole story of the administration of the union, however, when used in tandem with the MH 12 files (discussed below) they offered a unique opportunity to examine how the poor law was implemented and managed at a local level and what changes and variations took place over time. They have not been used extensively by historians, (perhaps in part because of the sheer volume of material) but buried amongst the minutiae were undiscovered quantitative and qualitative clues to the operation of this major social policy.

The second major source was the MH 12 correspondence files between the union and the Poor Law Commission, which have not been used in relation to Hertfordshire before.⁶¹ The rich variety of information in these records is beginning to be realised by historians, but their use is not without issues.⁶² These issues centre on the volume of the series and their condition. There are over 200 extant volumes for Hertfordshire for the period 1834 to 1900.⁶³ Having been poorly stored in the past, many of the Hertfordshire volumes have been deemed not fit for production due to mould.⁶⁴ Those that are accessible contain between

⁶¹ Hatfield: MH 12/4566 – MH 12/4575; Hitchin: MH 12/4612 – 4634; St. Albans: MH 12/4441 -4462; Watford: MH 12/4679 – 4702.

⁶² Paul Carter and Natalie Whistance, 'The poor law commission: a new digital resource for nineteenth-century domestic historians', *History Workshop Journal*, 71. No. 1 (2011), pp.29-48.

⁶³ TNA catalogue last accessed 20/07/2016.

⁶⁴ I am especially grateful to Amy Sampson and the conservation team at TNA who responded to my request to conserve and make available several Hertfordshire volumes during the course of my research.

300 and 1000 folios of mainly manuscript documents.⁶⁵ These documents are not always completely legible due to various factors including the original handwriting, fading ink, dirty or damaged folios, and folded folios which were bound into the spine and could not be opened. Nevertheless, when examined in detail, these records provide details of when the unions were established and questions raised in relation to policy by the local administrators. They contained information and opinion on the character of many union personnel – especially medical personnel, workhouse masters and schoolmasters.

The third major source was the correspondence files between the assistant poor law commissioner and the Poor Law Commission (series MH 32). Unlike the union files these files were personal to a named commissioner rather than a geographic region. Like the MH 12 files, the correspondence was annotated with notes and draft replies and the condition of the documents was similar. Typical correspondence included reports on forming various unions, including maps, data on area and population, meetings that had taken place and activities undertaken by the local boards towards the implementation of New Poor Law. Exchanges between individual assistant poor law commissioners and a named central commissioner were sometimes informal and frank. Eight different assistant commissioners supervised Hertfordshire in the period under review but it was the correspondence of the first two, Daniel Goodson Adey and Alfred Power that was of greatest interest.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ TNA estimate in Carter and Whistance, *Living the Poor Life*, p.7

⁶⁶ The areas of responsibility for the assistant poor law commissioners were constantly changing as the implementation program was rolled out across the country. Daniel Goodson Adey and Alfred Power were responsible for Hertfordshire during the initial implementation period. MH 32/5, MH 32/6, MH 32/63 and MH 32/64.

Quantitative data relating to Hertfordshire and the Hertfordshire unions includes the cost of poor relief and pauper numbers. Information relating to the guardians, their election, attendance and activities was also extracted to provide a database of 366 guardians who served in the sample unions between 1835 and 1847. Material on the other poor law officials was also obtained in this way. Information on named individuals was supplemented by data from a range of other sources including census records, trade directories, local and family histories. This material has been used to establish the age, occupations, social status, length of service and attendance patterns of the guardians. This in turn was used to analyse and draw conclusions about who was involved in implementing and administering the New Poor Law in Hertfordshire and to support the thesis that these middlemen were essential to the process of delivering the New Poor Law in the regions.

The published Parliamentary papers, especially the annual reports by the Poor Law Commission, contain information on annual expenditure in the unions, the county and for England and Wales and provided a benchmark against which the Hertfordshire experience was measured.⁶⁷ The Poor Law Commission used the narrative element of these reports to promote the success of the New Poor Law; however whether this was done objectively is open to question.

The Parliamentary papers were also a useful starting point when researching Lord Salisbury's involvement in poor law policy and practice; however a more intimate picture of his contribution was found in his personal

⁶⁷ British Parliamentary Papers, Annual Reports of the Poor Law Commission 1835-1848.

correspondence, which has not previously been used by historians.⁶⁸ This unique material reveals a closer relationship with the architects of the New Poor Law than was previously known and demonstrates how his local model and personal influence swayed government policy. This was supplemented by additional correspondence between Edwin Chadwick and Lord Salisbury found in the personal papers of Edwin Chadwick held by University College London.⁶⁹

This thesis examines those most closely connected with the New Poor Law in Hertfordshire and it explores the way this important piece of legislation moved from the statute books into the lives of real people. It considers policy makers, policy advisors and administrators with a particular focus on events and processes at a local level and asks how the New Poor Law was implemented in Hertfordshire. It suggests that key individuals and the role they played may have been omitted from the traditional poor law narrative or had their contribution undervalued as historians focused on those at the centre of poor law policy.

⁶⁸ *Hatfield House MSS Collection*. The private papers of James Gascoyne-Cecil, second Marquis of Salisbury are held in the private archive at Hatfield House where the process of cataloguing them has recently begun.

⁶⁹ University College London, *Chadwick MSS Collection*, File 790.

Chapter 2

Lord Salisbury and Poor Law Reform

Introduction

‘... we hope that your Lordship will find that in legislating for Hatfield Workhouse you have been legislating for the whole kingdom.’

Edwin Chadwick to Lord Salisbury, February 1834¹

Edwin Chadwick, one of the principal authors of the Royal Commission into the operation of the poor laws, was putting the finishing touches to his report in February 1834 when he wrote privately to Lord Salisbury, to tell him that the Commissioners would recommend that the successful poor law administration found in Hatfield, Southall, Bingham and Cookham should be reproduced in other parts of the country. This strongly suggests that the Hatfield model, along with the regimes operated in Southall, Bingham and Cookham became the blueprint for the revisions to the poor laws set out in the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. Furthermore, Salisbury’s contribution went beyond providing an exemplar deterrent methodology; he sought and obtained modifications to the bill as it progressed. Yet within the major works in the extensive poor law historiography, Lord Salisbury and Hatfield receive almost no attention and his impact on shaping one of the most important pieces of social legislation enacted in England and Wales has been largely ignored.

¹ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Chadwick to Lord Salisbury, 2 February 1834, 2M/I/1/20/10
I am grateful to Vicky Perry the Archivist at Hatfield House and Robin Harcourt-Williams, retired Archivist, for their help in accessing this source, which has not previously been examined by historians of the poor law.

This chapter examines the influence and impact of James Gascoyne-Cecil, the second Marquis of Salisbury (1791-1868) (hereafter Lord Salisbury) and the parish of Hatfield on poor law reform.² Lord Salisbury was a significant Hertfordshire landowner with influence both locally and nationally. Using Lord Salisbury's personal correspondence with Chadwick and others it demonstrates that Hatfield in Hertfordshire was one of the model parishes used as an exemplar for successful poor relief management. It offers a detailed account of the pauper management system adopted by Lord Salisbury before the introduction of the Poor Law Amendment Act and how it became known to others in government through parliamentary committees and personal liaison. Finally it evidences Lord Salisbury's influence as the poor law bill made its passage through parliament and highlights his hitherto unacknowledged input into shaping New Poor Law policy.

Lord Salisbury in the Poor Law Historiography

The Webbs' influential *English Poor Law History* (1929) undermined Lord Salisbury's contribution; firstly by incorrectly indexing him as 'Cecil, Lord Robert (Marquis of Salisbury)'.³ Robert Cecil (1830-1903) was the third marquis, a talented politician who served three terms as Prime Minister. Here we are concerned with the contribution made by his father James. However talented

² The second Marquis of Salisbury (1791-1868) was born James Brownlow William Cecil, and became known as James Gascoyne-Cecil following his marriage to the heiress Frances Mary Gascoyne in 1820. As heir apparent to the marquisate he was known as Viscount Cranborne when he served in the House of Commons. David R. Fisher, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832*, ed. D.R. Fisher, 2009. <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/cecil-james-1791-1868> [Accessed 18/02/2015].

³ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Poor Law History Part II: the Last Hundred Years Vol. II*, (London: Longmans, 1929) p.1059 and p.1066. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Poor Law History Part II: the Last Hundred Years Vol. I*, (London: Longmans, 1929) p.47.

Robert Cecil was, he was not speaking on poor law reform in the House of Lords in 1831 at just one year old. Secondly the Webbs claimed that the system operating in Hatfield was a copy of the system 'inaugurated by Robert Lowe, the incumbent of Bingham, near Nottingham, in 1821'.⁴ This is incorrect as Lord Salisbury's system in Hatfield pre-dates the Bingham model as it was established one year earlier. As the Webb study was said to 'constitute the most comprehensive history of the English poor law' much of it went unchallenged for decades.⁵ This oversight has probably contributed to Lord Salisbury's continued omission from poor law history. Anthony Brundage mentions Lord Salisbury's opposition to ending all outdoor relief by 1835 and acknowledges that Chadwick and Nassau Senior (who co-authored the Poor Law Report with Chadwick) attempted to gain his support.⁶ However, he makes no mention of Lord Salisbury's actions in Hatfield. In *The Solidarities of Strangers* Lynn Hollen-Lees acknowledged the introduction of a changed regime in Hatfield.⁷ However, she describes the Lord Salisbury's role as 'superintend[ing] the adoption of deterrent workhouses in areas of Hertfordshire near his estate.'⁸ The evidence presented here suggests that he was much more inclusive and 'hands-on'. The literature that specifically deals with the workhouse does not offer any acknowledgement of the Hatfield method and its influence on the deterrent

⁴ Webb and Webb, *Poor Law History Part II*, p.66.

⁵ Alan J. Kidd, 'Historians or polemicists? How the Webbs wrote their history of the English Poor Laws', *The Economic History Review*, 40 (1987), pp. 400–417.

⁶ Anthony Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law: The Politics of Inquiry, Enactment, and Implementation, 1832-1839* (London: Hutchinson, 1978) pp.68-69, 71, 83. Anthony Brundage, *The English Poor Laws 1700-1930* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002) p.68.

⁷ Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers, The English Poor Laws and the people, 1700-1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁸ Lees, *Solidarities of Strangers*, p.110.

workhouse regime introduced by the Poor Law Amendment Act.⁹ No biography of the second Marquis has yet been written, and in a general book on the Cecil family written by his great-grandson it is stated that 'he never made much of a mark in national politics'.¹⁰ In fact he made a greater contribution than both his family and historians have given him credit for.

The Cecils of Hatfield House

The Cecil family have been at the centre of the British political landscape since Elizabethan times. The family seat is at Hatfield, Hertfordshire, in an estate that dominated the parish and reached across into adjacent parishes. The family had substantial landholdings in Hertfordshire and London and also held another large estate in Cranborne, Dorset. Lord Salisbury (the second Marquis) entered parliament in 1813 and contributed to parliamentary debates and committees, especially on country and agricultural matters; he was particularly interested in the reform of the game laws.¹¹ He sat as Viscount Cranborne in the House of Commons as the member for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis from 1813 to 1817 and for Hertford from 1817 to 1823. He sat on the Poor Law committees of 1818 and 1819 and the committee for Agricultural Distress.¹² The poor law committees, chaired by William Sturges-Bourne, examined the operation of the poor law and

⁹ Norman Longmate, *The Workhouse: A Social History* (First published 1974, Pimlico: Random House edition, 2003). Anne Digby, *Pauper Palaces* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978). M. A. Crowther, *The workhouse system 1834-1929: the history of an English social institution* (London: Methuen edition, 1983). Peter Wood, *Poverty and the Workhouse in Victorian Britain*. (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1991). Felix Driver, *Power and Pauperism: the workhouse system, 1834-1884*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Simon Fowler, *The Workhouse: The People, The Places, The Life Behind Doors*, (Kew: The National Archives, 2007).

¹⁰ David Cecil, *The Cecils of Hatfield House* (Constable, 1973), p.196.

¹¹ Fisher, *History of Parliament 1820-1832*, [Accessed 18/02/2015].

¹² Fisher, *History of Parliament 1820-1832*, [Accessed 18/02/2015].

the cost of the poor law nationally. They provided evidence of the escalating cost of poor relief from 1750.¹³ The agricultural committee looked at the price of corn and the administrative process used to calculate the price of corn in the twelve maritime districts set up under the Corn Laws.¹⁴ Salisbury took his seat in the House of Lords when he succeeded his father as the second Marquis in 1823.¹⁵ His most significant parliamentary duty for the purpose of this study was as Chair of the House of Lords Select Committee into the Poor Laws in 1831-32. The Duke of Wellington, who was a family friend, suggested him as a possible Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1834; however the Prime Minister, Peel, revealed something of Lord Salisbury's character when he rejected him claiming he 'had no confidence in his judgement and temper'.¹⁶ Later in life he held the post of Lord Privy Seal in the Earl of Derby's administration of 1852; Derby also appointed him Lord President of the Council in 1858. Locally he was High Steward of Hertford from 1823 and Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex from 1842 until his death in 1868. He was also Colonel of the Herts militia and chairman of the Hertford Quarter Sessions.¹⁷ Lord Salisbury was not without influence either locally or on the national stage.

Lord Salisbury was an 'extreme High Tory, believing wholeheartedly in rank and privilege', but he also retained the notion of paternalistic responsibility, held

¹³ British Parliamentary Papers, *Report from the Select Committee on the Poor Laws: with the minutes of evidence taken before the committee*; 1817 (462) VI.1. BPP, *Report from the Select Committee on the Poor Laws*; 1818 (107), V.1.

¹⁴ BPP, 1820 (255) II.101. *Report from the Select Committee on petitions complaining of agricultural distress*.

¹⁵ R. G. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1790-1820*, ed. R. Thorne, 1986, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/cecil-james-brownlow-william-1791-1868> [Accessed 16/06/2014].

¹⁶ Fisher, *History of Parliament 1820-1832*, [Accessed 12/01/2014].

¹⁷ Fisher, *History of Parliament 1820-1832*, [Accessed 12/01/2014].

<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/cecil-james-1791-1868>

by many in the aristocracy, towards his tenants and the local parish.¹⁸ He promoted elementary education and established a night school for boys employed on his estate.¹⁹ His knowledge of the poor and the workings of the poor law would have arisen from many sources: as a parliamentarian, as a magistrate and as a landlord. This does not mark him out as unique within his class, however several factors suggest a wider experience and understanding than that of his peers: firstly his active participation in addressing the issue of poverty and the cost of poor relief in particular, both at a local level and subsequently by the chairing of a select committee; and secondly his relationship with Chadwick.

Poor Relief Reformers

In common with many other parishes in the early nineteenth century, Hatfield managed its poor through the open vestry system: that is a parochial meeting open to all qualifying rate-paying residents. The cost of poor relief was £773 in 1776 but had increased to £2210 by 1815.²⁰ The cost of poor relief was increasing nationally and contributory factors included an increased population (up by over 57 per cent between 1801 and 1831 in England alone) the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and some contemporaries argued, moral decline.²¹ In Hatfield it was reported that a 'great number of able-bodied men...were allowed to do just as

¹⁸ Cecil, *The Cecils*, p.19.

¹⁹ Lady Gwendolen Cecil, *Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1921).

²⁰ BPP, 1834 (44) XXVII-XXXIX. *Report from His Majesty's commissioners for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws; Appendix (A), Reports of Assistant Commissioners, Part III, Evidence collected by E Chadwick, Esquire, p.61A.*

²¹ The population of England increased by 4,759,571 (57%) between 1801 and 1831; the Hertfordshire population increased by 45,764 (47%) and the Hatfield parish population increased by 1,153 (47%). BPP, 1841 (52) II *Census of Great Britain, 1841, Comparative statement of population 1801-1841*, p.5 and *Poor Law Report (1834)* p.61A.

they pleased; there was very little notice taken of them; there was no systematic mode of keeping the parish books.²² Lord Salisbury believed that the parish was badly managed and in 1820 offered to personally take on the management of the poor relief of the parish.²³ This pre-dates, or is at best contemporaneous with, the 'anti-pauper systems' championed by the 'Nottinghamshire Reformers', which are widely cited as the basis for the New Poor Law system.²⁴ It is more likely that Salisbury, frustrated by rising costs and what he saw as mal-administration, decided to take matters into his own hands. The 'Nottinghamshire Reformers', Becher, Lowe and Nicholls had not yet published on the subject of poor law reform and had only just begun to implement harsher regimes in their own areas. Nicholls wrote his *Eight Letters on the Management of our Poor* in 1822 and Becher published his pamphlet *The Anti-Pauper System* in 1828.²⁵ In his evidence to the Royal Commission John Bridgens, Overseer at Hatfield, confirmed that no other parish had been consulted before the Hatfield system was implemented and that it was a completely new system set up by Lord Salisbury.²⁶

The Hatfield Reforms

Salisbury's scheme advocated a much tighter management of those claiming poor relief. He wanted strong personnel in place who were fully engaged

²² BPP, *Poor Law Report* (1834), p.61A.

²³ BPP, *Poor Law Report* (1834), p.61A.

²⁴ J. D. Marshall, 'The Nottinghamshire Reformers and their Contribution to the New Poor Law', *The Economic History Review*, 13 (1961), pp.382–396.

²⁵ Anthony Brundage, 'Nicholls, Sir George (1781–1865)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20110> and Roberts, M. J. D., 'Becher, John Thomas (1770–1848)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1894>. [Accessed 27 Feb 2015].

²⁶ BPP, *Poor Law Report* (1834), p.67A.

with the task required. A select vestry was appointed which would have given greater voting powers to the larger rate-payers and men of property including Lord Salisbury. It also enabled Salisbury to appoint a paid overseer and to reduce the influence of the local magistracy by requiring two magistrates to overturn any decision made by the local vestry.²⁷ Regulations were drawn up for the management of the poor; these included the duties of the select vestry and detailed rules for the administration of relief.²⁸ (See Appendix I)

One of the principal regulations of the new system in Hatfield was to deny 'relief to all persons out of the workhouse.'²⁹ This was a clear departure from the previous practice when it was customary to pay pensions or permanent allowances to widows and the elderly. Established pensioners were required to attend the select vestry meeting twice a year, failure to do so would result in the forfeiture of any pension. As a result of this measure the annual cost of permanent relief (that is those receiving regular rather than occasional relief) was reduced from £1,100 in 1818 to less than £300 in 1830.³⁰ Stopping allowances to those with larger families made further savings; the only aid offered was the admission of one or two children to the workhouse. In addition medical relief was restricted to those within the 'limits of the attendance of the parish apothecary'.³¹ The annual posting of lists of those receiving parish relief on the church doors 'in large and legible characters'

²⁷ David Eastwood, *Government and community in the English provinces, 1700-1870* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997) pp.44-45. Brundage, *The English Poor Laws*, pp. 50-52.

²⁸ The 1818 Act for the Regulation of Parish Vestries (or Sturges-Bourne Act) allowed for the appointment of a select vestry and the introduction of a plural voting system, which strengthened the hand of major landowners and occupiers by increasing their number of votes.

²⁹ BPP, 1831, (227) VIII.321. *Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to consider of the Poor Laws; with the minutes of evidence taken before the committee, and an appendix and index*, p.267.

³⁰ BPP, 1831, (227) VIII.321. *Reports from the House of Lords Select Committee*, p.267.

³¹ BPP, 1831, (227) VIII.321. *Reports from the House of Lords Select Committee*, p.267.

was introduced; whether this was to humiliate claimants or to allow other parishioners to challenge the need for relief is open to interpretation.³²

Under Salisbury's new scheme there was no easy access to relief for able-bodied men who were unemployed; after applying to the overseer for relief, they were required to obtain the signatures of 20 farmers in the parish, confirming that they could not give the applicant work (pre-printed forms were supplied for this purpose). These men were then employed in parish work. After some initial resistance to the new measures the local farmers complied with this requirement. A man employed by the parish for more than six weeks was required to go around the parish again with a new form. Parish work took the form of task work, usually maintaining and repairing the 43 miles of roads within the parish or digging. In contrast to some other parishes, married and single men were paid the same rate which was five-sixths of the normal rate for the task; but the youngest men were deployed to harder work. Lord Salisbury also provided work on his estate in winter months; clearing the river or undertaking planting. In addition twenty acres of land were rented for spade husbandry, (this was later reduced to five acres). The paupers housed in the workhouse were given only 2 pence in the shilling from their earnings, the balance contributing to their maintenance in the house; however, paupers dismissed from their previous employment for gross misconduct were penalised further and received only half of the normal rate for the job. Paupers worked from 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. in the summer and from 7:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. in the winter. Female applicants for parish relief were only required to obtain one signature in their search for employment and parish work was normally in the

³² BPP, *Poor Law Report*, p.62A.

workhouse. As women were deemed to be in positions of trust, they were given up to 6d per week in payment. Pauper children were also found suitable work; some were employed in silk work in a shed rented by Mr Woolam, a St Albans silk merchant, and 4d per week was paid into a savings bank on their behalf. The children were also taught to read and write but only by 'the best schoolmistress that can be found among the paupers of the house.'³³

The regime in the workhouse was restrictive, but the work done there, or out in the community, was productive rather than punitive. The living accommodation was gendered, with separate day rooms for men, women and children and night wards housing men, boys, women, girls, or the sick. The men's and boy's rooms were 'barrack style' which reinforced the military discipline the workhouse master was pursuing. Married old people had their own ward. Bedtime was 9 p.m. and paupers could not leave the premises without a written pass. The dietary was repetitive, but included meat three times per week (see Appendix II). Unlike Dickens's *Oliver Twist*, the paupers were allowed to eat as much as they liked.³⁴ Chadwick observed that the dietary was 'profuse in some points.'³⁵ The Hatfield workhouse in this period was a deterrent to claimants in that it placed restrictions on the poor relief claimant and practiced the kind of gender separation that was to be a feature of the New Poor Law; but it was not a prison like establishment.

Key also to the operation of the Hatfield system was having strong management. In evidence given to Chadwick for the 1834 Royal Commission

³³ BPP, *Poor Law Report*, p.66A.

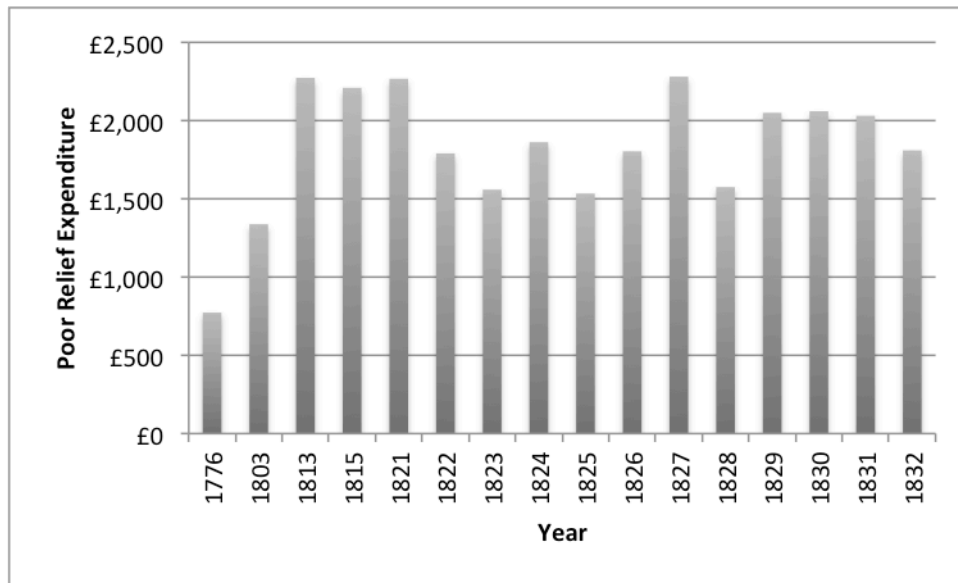
³⁴ BPP, 1831 (227) VIII.321. *Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Lords*, p.272.

³⁵ BPP, *Poor Law Report*, p.70A.

report, John Bridgens the workhouse master stated that Lord Salisbury was 'incessantly engaged in the management and superintendence' of the plan in the first year.³⁶ Bridgens, a former drill-sergeant and paymaster-sergeant in the Coldstream Guards, was brought in by Salisbury as the permanent overseer, to supervise the distribution of relief authorised by the select vestry, to govern the workhouse and act as stone warden (the surveyor of the highways). Salisbury worked closely with Bridgens to establish the new system. There was some resistance to the change at the outset when some farmers discharged their hands as they attempted to prove Lord Salisbury could not manage the parish better than they had done, but they relented and re-engaged the men. Bridgens was a firm but fair taskmaster who refused to accept less than a full day's work from the able-bodied and claimants soon came to understand that he would not pay them any more than they had earned. Both Bridgens and Salisbury were of the opinion that the system needed a firm overseer, supported by influential persons in the district. The new regime in Hatfield produced results; the cost of poor relief and the poor rates were reduced. The cost fell substantially between 1821 and 1826 but began to rise again after 1827 during a period of poor harvests as shown in figure 2.1.

³⁶ BPP, *Poor Law Report*, p.68A.

Figure 2.1 Money Expended on the Relief of the Poor in Hatfield Parish between 1776 and 1832



Source: BPP, *Poor Law Report*, p.66A

Some adjacent Hertfordshire parishes also tried to implement a similar system and Welwyn and Watton parishes had some success. Lord Salisbury also attempted to implement the system in Cranbourne, Dorset where he had a large estate. Whilst not implemented on the same scale as in Hatfield he later told Chadwick, that it was successful as he had removed an allowance system and had instead taken children into the workhouse to assist families. He also told Chadwick that in Hadham, Hertfordshire, he had ‘entirely failed’.³⁷ In private correspondence he later explained that he believed ‘it was mainly owing to my not having devoted sufficient time to overcome the obstacles which offered themselves’.³⁸ It should be noted that Hadham parish was some 15 miles from Hatfield, and was a parish in which Lord Salisbury was not the major landholder nor was he resident. Salisbury

³⁷ BPP, *Poor Law Report*, p.70A.

³⁸ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Draft reply, Lord Salisbury to Chadwick, 12 January 1834, 2M/1/1/20/8.

was thus reinforcing the argument that a strong and closely managed system was the key to successfully controlling the administration of poor relief.

There is no evidence to suggest that Lord Salisbury's experimental regime was communicated more widely outside of Hertfordshire (with the exception of his own estate in Dorset) during the 1820s. Few local reformers, the exception being the 'Nottinghamshire Reformers', received much publicity before 1832.³⁹ However it is clear that Salisbury was an active and early poor law reformer who took personal charge of reform as well as engaging in the increased national discourse on the poor law following the Napoleonic Wars.

The need for national reform

Arguably, by 1830, Salisbury had poor relief in Hatfield under control, but the national debate was still raging and intensifying. The summer of 1830 saw the beginning of a period of agricultural unrest fuelled by low wages, poor harvests, unemployment, the introduction of new technology and the debates on poor relief abolition sparked by Malthus and others. There were no Swing riots in Hertfordshire, but the mood for political and social reform was heightened.⁴⁰ Earl Grey's reforming Whig government was elected in November 1830 and whilst political reform was uppermost on his agenda, calls for poor law reform were echoing loudly in the background. Ideologically, Salisbury was a die-hard Tory, opposed to parliamentary reform, once remarking 'the moment the [reform] bill passed he would remove Lady Salisbury and his children, sell as much of his

³⁹ John Riddoch Poynter, *Society and pauperism: English ideas on poor relief, 1795-1834* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969) p.311

⁴⁰ Carl Griffin, *The rural war: Captain Swing and the politics of protest* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

property as he could, invest it in foreign funds, and would stay in England to fight for the remainder'.⁴¹ Salisbury did not sell up, and he continued to raise questions in parliament with regard to agricultural distress and the poor laws.⁴² Less than a week into Prime Minister Grey's premiership Salisbury had intended to raise a motion regarding agricultural distress, but was persuaded by Grey, to move for a wider inquiry. Grey offered him the chair of a House of Lords Select Committee into the poor laws.⁴³

House of Lords Select Committee 1830-1831

The committee of peers began hearing evidence over 20 days between December 1830 and April 1831. Thirty-three witnesses gave evidence; they included gentry, members of parliament and clergymen, many of whom had regular contact with poor law administration as magistrates; other witnesses included men who were, or had been, overseers. No individual paupers or people with experience of receiving poor relief were interviewed or examined. Three of the witnesses, the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, the Earl Stanhope and the Bishop of Bath and Wells were members of the committee themselves; nine others were clergymen. The penultimate witness, Thomas Chapman Esq. was probably not known to the committee as the first question he was asked was 'What are you?'.⁴⁴ (He described himself as a Land Agent and Surveyor who had worked on 20 or 30

⁴¹ Fisher, *History of Parliament 1820-1832*, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/cecil-james-1791-1868> [Accessed 03/03/2015].

⁴² *Hansard*, HL Deb 29 November 1830 Vol 1 cc687-91.

⁴³ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Earl Grey to Lord Salisbury, 28 November 1830, 2M/1/1/10/42.

⁴⁴ BPP, 1831 (227) VIII.321. *Reports from the House of Lords Select Committee*, p. 334.

Inclosure Bills in the Middlesex and Sussex areas.) The majority of witnesses had experience of rural parishes only. One of the witnesses was the Reverend Faithful, Rector of Hatfield, who described the measures initiated by Lord Salisbury in his parish. A copy of the *'Regulations for the Management of the Poor in the Parish of Hatfield, established in the Year 1820'* was published as an appendix to the final committee report.⁴⁵ (See Appendix I) Thus the successful principles adopted in Hatfield became more widely known.

The committee observed that the lack of accurate accounts was a 'material inconvenience' and called for a Bill for a Return of Parochial Expenditure to be brought forward.⁴⁶ Lord Salisbury appeared to be at odds with some of his committee members; for example the Duke of Richmond held the view that 'the distress' was caused by 'a superabundance of population', which might be relieved by a programme of voluntary emigration to the Colonies.⁴⁷ Salisbury favoured giving small plots of land to the poor that they might use to grow crops or keep a cow providing them with additional resources through their own labour; a solution that would only work in the rural areas and would do nothing to alleviate poverty in the industrial areas. But he was unshaken in his view that better management under the existing law was the key to alleviating dependence on poor relief and reducing the poor rate. Salisbury's opinion was that strong middlemen were the key to successful poor law management.

This select committee did not sit again after the dissolution of Grey's first parliament in April 1831. Its final report to the House of Commons in September

⁴⁵ BPP, 1831 (227) VIII.321. *Reports from the House of Lords Select Committee*, pp. 356-365.

⁴⁶ BPP, 1831 (227) VIII.321. *Reports from the House of Lords Select Committee*, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁷ *Hansard*, HL Deb 04 March 1831 Vol 3 cc10-12.

1831 suggested only that judicial opinion should be sought on three questions relating to the authority of magistrates to order relief. The committee had heard evidence on a wide range of subjects including: housing, allotments, population growth, workhouse management, parish employment, beer consumption, benefits societies and assisted emigration. However, despite 340 pages of minutes of evidence and a further 25 pages of appendices the Committee appear to make no substantive recommendation or comment except to indirectly question the interference of the magistracy in overturning decisions reached in the parish. Consequently, this Select Committee, like Lord Salisbury, is rarely mentioned in the literature. However, much of the testimony therein found its way into the more substantial Royal Commission Report of 1834.⁴⁸ Lord Salisbury's chairmanship of this committee would also have increased his knowledge of poor law practice in other communities.

Royal Commission

Earl Grey's second parliament, formed in December 1831 with a comfortable majority, pressed on with the Reform Bill. Poor law reform still needed to be addressed and the first indication that a Royal Commission might be appointed to examine the poor laws came in the House of Commons debate on 1 February 1832 when John Weyland, MP for Hindon in Wiltshire, asked whether the government intended 'to propose any measure for the amelioration of the Poor-

⁴⁸ At least 19 of the 33 witnesses who gave evidence to the House of Lords Select committee are referenced and cited in the 1834 Report, see Appendix C of the report in particular. Some including the Reverend Faithful of Hatfield, Reverend J T Becher of Southwell and Reverend Thomas Whately gave additional interviews to the Royal Commission.

laws, or of the condition of the labouring classes?'.⁴⁹ Lord Althorp's reply was that having looked at the various reports and evidence produced by different Committees no definite strategy could be taken forward, he also considered that

...all the evidence which had been taken before the different Committees on this subject had been derived from gentlemen who came before those Committees with preconceived opinions on the subject, and who seemed to want a knowledge of the working of the different systems that prevailed in different parts of the country. Such a knowledge as that, was absolutely necessary before they would be justified in bringing forward any measure for the amendment of any portion of the law which might clearly require consideration, but with regard to which any mistake might be productive of much evil.⁵⁰

This statement, whilst not naming names, is damning of the objectivity of Lord Salisbury, the Select Committee and the witnesses they examined. However, Althorp went on to state that the Government had decided to initiate a more wide ranging investigation and inquiry appointing commissioners to establish what different systems existed throughout the kingdom. He also added that he did not think this would take up much time; a prediction that proved a gross underestimate as it was almost two years before the commission reported back. The following day, Lord Salisbury was present when Lord Teynham raised a similar question in the House of Lords.⁵¹ The Lord Chancellor, Lord Brougham, responded that the Government intended to set up 'a Commission for the purpose of inquiring

⁴⁹ *Hansard*, HC Deb 01 February 1832 Vol 9 cc1097-100.

⁵⁰ *Hansard*, HC Deb 01 February 1832 Vol 9 cc1097-100.

Lord Althorp (1782–1845) was the Leader of the House of Commons and Chancellor of the Exchequer in Earl Grey's government. He became the third Earl Spencer on the death of his father in 1834. Ellis Archer Wasson, 'Spencer, John Charles, Viscount Althorp and third Earl Spencer (1782–1845)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26133>, accessed 2 Aug 2016].

⁵¹ *Hansard*, HL Deb 02 February 1832 Vol 9 cc1144-6. Henry Francis Roper-Curson (1768-1842), 14th Baron Teynham and Whig, Obituary *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol.52 (1842), p.551.

into the practical operation of the Poor-laws, and the different modes in which they were acted on in the several parishes throughout the country.⁵² Lord Salisbury stated that the subject was of 'paramount importance' and given the Government's promise to appoint and act upon the findings of a commission he would 'abstain from calling the attention of their Lordships to the subject'.⁵³ In other words, if the Government were actively pursuing an investigation into the poor laws, Salisbury would not continue to press the point. The Lord Chancellor indicated that steps to find suitable commissioners were already underway. The Webbs suggested that the initial idea of a commission and nominations for potential commissioners came from Thomas Hyde Villers, Secretary to the Board of Control, in a letter to Lord Horwick, the son of Earl Grey and Under-Secretary of State in the Home Office.⁵⁴ It is not known whether Lord Salisbury knew beforehand of the plan to set up the commission. However, Lord Althorp's comments to the House of Commons did not disguise the fact that Salisbury's opinion, and the findings of the House of Lords Committee he chaired were considered biased to his own perception and experience of the poor law and would not be used as the basis for framing new legislation. Known to be a man of strong opinions, especially on the subject of agricultural distress and 'an influential voice among the Tory peers', Salisbury was an important authority to have to onside in the ensuing debate - a concept not lost to Edwin Chadwick when he was appointed to the commission in April 1833. He quickly began to solicit Salisbury's opinion.⁵⁵

⁵² *Hansard*, HL Deb 02 February 1832 Vol 9 cc1144-6.

⁵³ *Hansard*, HL Deb 02 February 1832 Vol 9 cc1144-6.

⁵⁴ Webb and Webb, *Poor Law History Part II*, p. 47.

⁵⁵ Brundage, *Making of the New Poor Law*, p.68-69. Hatfield House MSS Collection, Edwin Chadwick to Lord Salisbury, 10 October 1833, 2M/I/1/19/13.

Chadwick's personal letters to Lord Salisbury indicate that he was sharing information coming in to Somerset House (where the Poor Law Commissioners were based) with the peer; indeed in October 1833 he issued an open invitation for Salisbury to visit and view the material coming into the Commission's offices.

As you doubtless take great interest in the subject I trust I shall not be deemed obtrusive in making applications to you with relation to it. The reports in preparation from other districts will be at your Lordships service and all that we have at the office of the Commission will be available to you, and open to your inspection at any time you might honour us with a visit when in town.⁵⁶

What also emerges in the correspondence is that Lord Salisbury was genuinely concerned with the welfare of the poor and did not advocate their absolute subjugation. Chadwick wrote:

Your Lordship states that you consider "that the inmates of a workhouse should not be reduced to the lowest scale of existence" Neither do I (and I may say) nor do any of the Commissioners who are agreed upon the restoration of the pauper to that which is universally admitted to be his proper position; i.e. below the independent labourer of the lowest class.⁵⁷

The Hatfield workhouse may have been a deterrent, but it was not punitive or degrading. Responding to criticism by the Visiting Lunacy Commissioner in 1863 the guardians claimed 'The whole establishment is carried on as nearly as possible upon the principles of a well conducted Farm House.'⁵⁸ Salisbury also held strong views with regard to the role of the magistrate in relation to the administration of

⁵⁶ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Chadwick to Lord Salisbury, 10 October 1833, 2M/l/1/19/13.

⁵⁷ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Chadwick to Lord Salisbury, 4 November 1833, 2M/l/1/19/30-31.

⁵⁸ BG/HAT/11, 16 May 1863.

the poor laws. Much of the dissatisfaction with the operation of the old poor laws centred on the leniency of the local magistrate and their propensity to capitulate to the desires of the poor rather than be subjected to disturbances, or in extremis, incendiarism. Salisbury believed that pauperism could be controlled by the correct administration of the existing laws and favoured personal fiscal penalties for the magistrates or overseers who granted over-generous poor relief.⁵⁹ He wanted to retain the right of appeal to magistrates, but he wanted the magistracy to exercise their power responsibly and be fiscally accountable if they did not. This is further evidence that Salisbury was advocating that responsibility and accountability rested at the local level rather than centrally and was key to successful poor relief management.

The commission did not support this view. Chadwick informed Salisbury that in consultation with magistrates he found that they preferred that 'detailed regulations should emanate from a Central Board whose cattle cannot be maimed or stacks fired', fearing violent reprisals for doing right and ruinous financial penalties for wrong decisions.⁶⁰ Despite violent opposition to poor law reform in other areas, according to Hobsbawm and Rudé Hertfordshire was 'only marginally affected' by disturbances.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Draft reply, Lord Salisbury to John McCowell, Assistant Commissioner, 30 November 1833, 2M/I/1/19/45 and BPP, *Poor Law Report*, pp.70-71.

⁶⁰ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Chadwick to Lord Salisbury, 2 February 1834, 2M/I/1/20/10.

⁶¹ Eric Hobsbawm and George Rudé, *Captain Swing*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin University Books, 1973), Appendix I, Distribution of Disturbances by Counties, 1 Jan 1830 -3 Sep 1832. See also Nicholas C. Edsall, *The anti-poor law movement, 1834-44* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971). Andrew Charlesworth (ed), *An Atlas of Rural Protest in Britain 1548-1900*. (Beckenham: Croom Helm, 1983).

Lord Salisbury and Edwin Chadwick

Chadwick went to some lengths to cultivate Lord Salisbury's support; in addition to the personal correspondence and the sharing of reports, they had some one to one meetings both at Hatfield House and in London. Chadwick's examination of Lord Salisbury was included in the appendix to the final Royal Commission report.⁶² Chadwick also visited Hatfield in October 1833 and interviewed the Rector of Hatfield, Rev Francis Faithful and the Overseer of the parish and workhouse master John Bridgens; again details of these interviews formed part of the final report.⁶³ Both Faithful and Bridgens were effusive about the impact of Lord Salisbury's system and supported the view that the effective management of paupers required the total commitment of those in authority to enforce the rules.

In the letter quoted at the beginning of this chapter Chadwick flattered Salisbury with the idea that the Hatfield system was to be translated into a national system. Salisbury was a man who liked to be right and such flattery, whether genuine or contrived, might have helped ensure Salisbury's support for the final report and secured his lobbying power in the House of Lords. Less than two weeks later, in February 1834, Chadwick sent Salisbury, 'strictly privately', one of only two copies of the final revision of the Poor Law Report prior to publication. Salisbury's draft response suggested that he approved and was supportive of the proposed reforms. His letter concluded: 'It shall be kept totally private. I am most anxious to see the remainder of it and sincerely hope that you may be able to further your

⁶² BPP, *Poor Law Report*, pp.70-71.

⁶³ BPP, *Poor Law Report*, pp. 61-70.

principle into fruition.⁶⁴ Four days later Chadwick sent a proof copy of the remainder of the report, again privately.⁶⁵ Salisbury's reaction to this or the commission's final report to Government is not known, however the exchange of correspondence following the introduction the bill on 18 April 1834 became much more formal in tone. Chadwick's comments also suggest that he personally did not agree with some of the final recommendations to parliament.

My Lord

As I believe you take a degree of interest in the Poor Law bill commensurate with its importance. I venture to forward to you a copy. So far as I can learn I think the great majority of magistrates agree to the jurisdiction of the central Board. There are some material departures from our recommendations, and as I still think those recommendations, sustained as they every one were by the opinions of some of the best practical witnesses whom we had the means of consulting. I do not concur in the propriety of the chief departures. I believe that they impair rather than augment the safety of the measure. This however I venture to share privately.⁶⁶

Salisbury's draft reply reads

I am enty [sic] obliged to you for the copy of the Poor Law Bill which you have been good [cut] to send to me. I am very sorry that I cannot agree with you on the expanding of your Central Board and I much fear that the attempt to carry it will be the death blow to all your improvements. The Bill is barely yet finished in the country.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Chadwick to Lord Salisbury, 15 February 1834, annotated with Lord Salisbury's draft reply, 2M/I/1/20/25.

⁶⁵ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Chadwick to Lord Salisbury, 18 February 1834, 2M/I/1/20/27.

⁶⁶ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Chadwick to Lord Salisbury, 29 April 1834, 2M/I/1/21/40.

⁶⁷ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Chadwick to Lord Salisbury, 29 April 1834, annotated with Lord Salisbury's draft reply. 2M/I/1/21/40. The bill was introduced to the House 18 April 1834. BPP, 1834 (211) III.235. *A bill for the amendment and better administration of the laws relating to the poor in England and Wales.*

Lord Salisbury's Impact on the Poor Law Bill 1834

Salisbury continued to try and influence the final bill and in early July 1834 wrote a lengthy letter to Chadwick in which he suggested meeting to discuss corrections to the bill which might be made in committee. Salisbury had tried to set aside his negative feelings about the establishment of a Central Board of Commissioners, accepting that it might be necessary in the short term; however he clearly wanted to influence Chadwick, writing that he had no desire 'to create or join an opposition'.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, this piece of correspondence does not survive in full and the extant folios end mid-sentence at the point where Salisbury was beginning to discuss his objections.⁶⁹ His principal objection was the fixing of a date when all outdoor relief would end. Salisbury met with Chadwick and Nassau Senior, joint author of the Royal Commission report, two days later to discuss the bill and although Senior did not want to allow the pauper the right to appeal to magistrates he conceded this point in order to keep Salisbury's support.⁷⁰ It seems likely that Senior also conceded the withdrawal of a fixed date for ending all outdoor relief.

Whatever his private misgivings, Salisbury gave his support to the bill. When responding to a letter from Unwin Heathcote of Shephall in Hertfordshire who wrote objecting to the 'unconstitutional and unnecessary commission', denouncing the Chancellor's speech as 'un-Christian, un-English, unmanly production' and urging the Lords to defer the bill 'for the sake of the country and their own sakes' Salisbury took a supportive line and suggested that there was nothing to be gained

⁶⁸ UCL, *Chadwick MSS Collection*, File 790, Letter, Salisbury to Chadwick, 6 July 1834 ff.1-2.

⁶⁹ UCL, *Chadwick MSS Collection*, File 790, Letter, Salisbury to Chadwick, 6 July 1834.

⁷⁰ Senior to Grey, July 1834, Brougham Papers, 10, 171 UCL, cited in Brundage, *Making of the New Poor Law*, p.69.

by delaying the introduction of the bill. He admitted that the appointment of the Commissioners conferred an 'unconstitutional power' but ventured that an aspect of 'dictatorship' was necessary. He highlighted that the 'fixed day when allowances are to cease' had been given up, and that paupers would still have the right of appeal to a magistrate. He also added that 'very few of the peers who understand the subject at all are now against it.'⁷¹

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 received Royal Assent on 14 August 1834.⁷² The process of appointing the three members of the Poor Law Commission and their itinerant assistant commissioners who would oversee the implementation of new law began immediately. Lord Salisbury had recommended Daniel Goodson Adey as one of the assistant poor law commissioners. Adey was the squire of a large estate, Markyate Cell, in the village of Caddington on the Hertfordshire/Bedfordshire borders.⁷³ He was a local magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant of Hertfordshire.⁷⁴ Frankland Lewis wrote to Lord Salisbury confirming Adey had been appointed on 28 August 1834 although his appointment was not formally announced until November when six assistant commissioners were sworn in.⁷⁵ In a satirical article entitled 'The Central Board has hatched its brood of assistant commissioners', *The Times* stated that Adey was 'warmly recommended ... by the Marquis of Salisbury. Need we know or ask more? ... a man of good

⁷¹ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Unwin Heathcote to Lord Salisbury, 26 July 1834, 2M/I/1/22/20, annotated with Lord Salisbury's draft reply, 2M/I/1/22/21.

⁷² *An Act for the Amendment and better Administration of the Laws relating to the Poor in England and Wales* (4 & 5 Will IV c. 76).

⁷³ Richard Hogg, 'The History of Markyate Cell', *Markyate's Past, The Journal of the Markyate Local History Society*, Vol 10, (2010).

⁷⁴ *London Gazette*, 26 Feb 1828, p.388.

⁷⁵ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Frankland Lewis to Lord Salisbury, 28 August 1834, 2M/I/1/22/35. *London Gazette*, 4 Nov 1834, p.1949.

friends'.⁷⁶ Adey was responsible for implementing the New Poor Law in Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Huntingdonshire and was in no doubt that he owed his appointment to the patronage of Lord Salisbury, writing to him twice to thank him for his support and for his 'flattering testimony to the Poor Law Comm[issione]rs'.⁷⁷

With his 'own man' in place locally as assistant poor law commissioner and his own election as Chairman of the board of guardians of the Hatfield Union, Lord Salisbury would continue to wield considerable influence over the constitution of the new unions and the operation of the poor laws in Hertfordshire. Salisbury objected to the constant supervision of the boards by the assistant commissioners and probably did not welcome visits by Adey.⁷⁸ In his quarterly report to the Poor Law Commissioners Adey remarked 'I have not regularly visited this Union [Hatfield] but I know from the information some of its most efficient Guardians have privately given me that it is in a perfect satisfactory state.'⁷⁹ In fact Adey's visits to the Hatfield union were much less frequent than to other unions as will be discussed in chapter four.

Two personal tragedies befell Lord Salisbury soon after the New Poor Law was implemented. In November 1835 there was a devastating fire that destroyed the west wing of Hatfield House and killed his mother, and in 1839 his first wife died after a year long struggle with illness.⁸⁰ These events may have curtailed his

⁷⁶ "The Central Board has hatched its brood of assistant commissioners", *The Times* (London) 13 Nov 1834, p.2. [The Times Digital Archive. Accessed 6 Jan. 2014].

⁷⁷ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Adey to Lord Salisbury, 3 September 1834, 2M/I/1/22/41 and 22 November 1834, 2M/I/1/22/46.

⁷⁸ UCL, *Chadwick MSS Collection*, File 790 Letter, Salisbury to Chadwick, 15 July 1847 f.51.

⁷⁹ MH 32/6, 17 March 1838.

⁸⁰ Cecil, *The Cecils*, p.195 & p.213.

involvement in politics and local affairs. Salisbury's surviving correspondence with Chadwick stops in July 1835, it resumed in September 1836 when Salisbury decided to campaign for changes in the management and relief of vagrants and mendicants. With the consent of the Poor Law Commissioners, he set up a 'ticketing' system that resulted in a reduction in the number of beggars seeking relief.⁸¹ Once this was established he began a correspondence on medical relief but this was cut short by the death of Lady Salisbury.⁸² He continued to be nominally the Chair of the Hatfield Board of Guardians, but gave up attending Board meetings.⁸³ Corresponding with Chadwick in 1847 he admitted that the New Poor Law was 'eminently successful' in its first few years, but he was not convinced that it had done anything to ameliorate the condition of the pauper.⁸⁴ This does depend on how 'success' was being defined – in purely financial terms costs were reduced as will be shown in chapter nine. However here Salisbury seems to be expressing regret that the New Poor Law had not improved the social circumstances surrounding poverty as well as the economic cost.

Conclusion

Lord Salisbury took an active role in poor law management and the care of agricultural workers from his earliest days in parliament. In areas where he had proprietorial influence he put his ideas into action and believed passionately in strong, secure management and administration. His system of poor relief

⁸¹ BPP, 1837 (546.1) (546.11) XXXI.127. *Third Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales; together with appendices (A.) (B.) & (C.)*, p.43, pp.80-82

⁸² Hatfield House MSS Collection, Chadwick to Lord Salisbury, 13 Dec 1839.

⁸³ UCL, *Chadwick MSS Collection*, File 790, Letter Salisbury to Chadwick, 15 July 1847 ff.53-54.

⁸⁴ UCL, *Chadwick MSS Collection*, File 790, Letter Salisbury to Chadwick, 15 July 1847 ff.52-54.

management in Hatfield (the site of his country seat) was admired and used as an exemplar by the Royal Commissioners when they reported in 1834. His chairmanship of the House of Lords select committee into the poor laws empowered him with knowledge of poor law practice in other regions and the hitherto unexplored manuscript sources in the Hatfield House archive show that he was consulted by and influenced Chadwick, who was widely considered to be one of the co-authors of the final legislation.

Yet Salisbury's involvement has rarely been acknowledged and has since been largely omitted from the historiography in favour of the Nottinghamshire Reformers. Today it is the Thurgarton workhouse in Nottinghamshire (later the Southwell Poor Law Union Workhouse) that is most often cited as the template for the workhouse system that followed the Poor Law Amendment Act.⁸⁵ However, unlike the system implemented by the Reverend Becher and George Nicholls in Nottinghamshire it was not Lord Salisbury's intention 'that the inmates of a workhouse should not be reduced to the lowest scale of existence'.⁸⁶

Perhaps most importantly Salisbury saw flaws in the Poor Law Bill as drafted by Chadwick and Nassau Senior and forced two important concessions before the law was enacted. Firstly he lobbied for the continued involvement of the local magistracy thus guaranteeing himself and other elite members of society an on-going role in managing poor relief, and secondly he forced the removal of a fixed date for the ending of all outdoor relief. Indeed 'the crusade against outdoor relief'

⁸⁵ For examples see: <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/the-workhouse-southwell/features/the-workhouse-concept>; <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/connectedcommunities/projects/southwell-workhouse.aspx>; <http://www.historyextra.com/workhouse>; [Accessed 19 Oct 2016].

⁸⁶ Hatfield House MSS Collection, Chadwick to Lord Salisbury, 4 November 1833, 2M/1/1/19/30-31.

did not begin in earnest until after his death in 1868. Outdoor relief continued to be the principle means of poor relief throughout England and Wales.

Lord Salisbury deserves to receive much greater credit on this last point alone; the total abolition of outdoor relief might have produced very different outcomes for both poor law administrators and the poor themselves. Many thousands of paupers owe their right to relief out of the house to his intervention. Salisbury's influence helped shape policy and personnel in the implementation and administration of the New Poor Law in England and Wales.

Chapter 3

A New Administration and the Role of the Assistant Poor Law Commissioner

Introduction

The Poor Law Amendment Act received Royal Assent on 14 August 1834. Central to its operation was the establishment of a new level of local government in the form of new administrative districts known as poor law unions. Geographically these union districts were different to the existing judicial, ecclesiastical and county divisions and consequently created new spatial affiliations in many areas. In addition to a new geography, the poor law unions created a new bureaucracy that significantly increased the number of personnel involved in poor relief management. The establishment of those systems and the foundations they set down has not formed part of the traditional narrative of poor law history, which has focused on policy and the role of the central Poor Law Commission. Understanding the practicalities of that process has the potential to enhance our understanding of how policy was operated and experienced. The administrative changes were important for a number of reasons: firstly the new system impacted on how the poor claimed relief, secondly it created jobs and responsibilities both centrally and locally that had not existed before, thirdly it widened the participation of different social groups in relief administration and finally it created a bureaucratic framework that had an enduring impact on the administrative landscape of England and Wales. Historians have examined the work of the Poor

Law Commission (PLC) but the work of the assistant poor law commissioners, who were key figures in setting up the New Poor Law, has received little attention.

Using the example of Hertfordshire this chapter will consider the practical requirements of the new policy and how it was implemented. Hertfordshire was one of the first counties to begin the process of unionisation; it was the first county to be fully unionised and thus provides a useful case study to examine the early workings of the New Poor Law and those managing the process of implementation. This chapter first explores the administrative differences between the Old and New Poor Law relief regimes; it then looks briefly at the role of the Poor Law Commission and its commissioners before focusing on the role of the assistant poor law commissioner. It argues that their role was significant and presents research on who these men were, their interactions with both the centre and the local unions and the processes they put in place to implement and deliver the New Poor Law in Hertfordshire.

Local Poor Law Administration before 1834

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the basic unit of administration was the parish. There were some variations in the form of manorial rights and municipal corporations, but the governing authorities were essentially local in form. Executive supervision came in the form of the Justices of the Peace of the county or municipal corporations who were drawn from the local elite. The people of England, and specifically the poor of England, were governed, and in times of poverty relieved by, an exclusive and autonomous social group from within their own neighbourhood administering 'according to their own discretion...their own

local affairs'.¹ The structure of the parish relief system under the old poor law was relatively simple, especially in rural areas like Hertfordshire. Each parish appointed an overseer of the poor; he was responsible for assessing a parishioner's entitlement to poor relief and making payment accordingly. Established and wealthy members of the population adopted (often reluctantly) the position of overseer by annual rotation; they made poor relief decisions and reported back to the vestry. As the population grew and migration and urbanisation increased this simple system of statutory relief devised in the Elizabethan era became more difficult to maintain.

The Gilbert Act (1782) and Sturges-Bourne Acts (1818 and 1819) changed the landscape slightly.² These permissive pieces of legislation paved the way for tighter control on relief practices. Gilbert's Act allowed workhouses to be set up (often with neighbouring parishes); the Sturges-Bourne Acts allowed a more focused attitude to poor relief management and the beginning of what might be termed the professionalization of the relief system through the appointment of paid overseers.³ Although none were formed in Hertfordshire, 924 parishes had combined with others to form 67 Gilbert Act Unions by 1834, mainly in the southern parts of England.⁴ The select vestry system created under Sturges-Bourne concentrated the management of the poor in the hands of a small group (a select vestry) with the flexibility to appoint a paid officer whose job was solely concerned

¹ Sydney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *English Poor Law History: Part II: The Last Hundred Years. Vol. I.* (London: Longmans, 1929), p.73.

² Samantha A. Shave, 'The Impact of Sturges Bourne's Poor Law Reforms In Rural England', *The Historical Journal*, 56.02 (2013), pp. 399-429.

³ Anthony Brundage, *The English Poor Laws, 1700-1930* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p.51. Shave, 'The Impact of Sturges Bourne's Poor Law Reforms In Rural England', p.400.

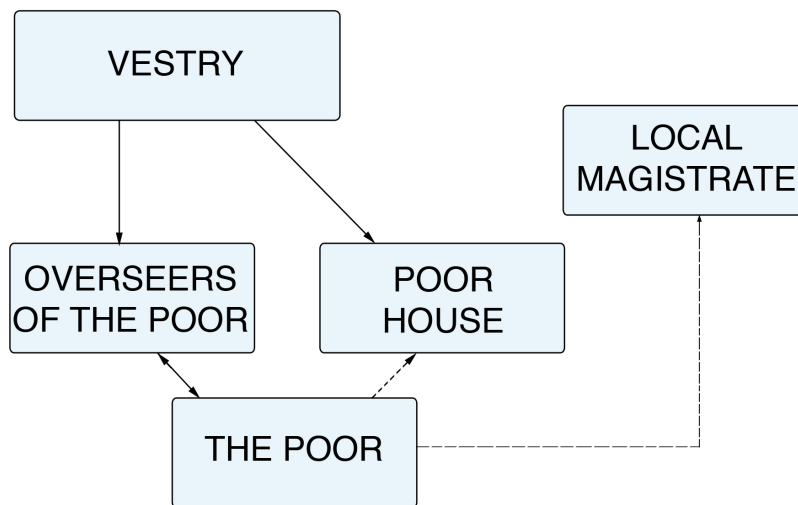
⁴ Brundage, *The English Poor Laws*, p.21.

with poor rate collection, relief assessment and relief distribution. Assessing and distributing poor relief was no longer a task to be added to the existing schedule of a fully occupied local man; it became an occupation in its own right. The new office of paid overseer made relief decisions based on the custom and practice prevalent in the parish and according to the direction and will of the select vestry. More than twenty per cent of parishes had appointed paid overseers before the New Poor Law was introduced.⁵

From the paupers' point of view (whether it was the most basic system of parochial relief or that created within a select vestry) they applied to one local man – the overseer of the poor – for assistance in time of need and received relief from the same source (See Figure 3.1). Relief was normally given to the applicant in cash. The overseer was accountable to the vestry or select vestry and kept his own accounts that then fed into the parochial accounts kept by the parish clerk. Paupers who were dissatisfied with any decision could appeal to the local magistrate who could (and did) order a payment to be made. In the case of select vestries the decision needed to be overruled by two magistrates. This local self-governance, open to interpretation and discretion, coupled with regular changes of overseer created regional disparity in the awarding of relief and was one of the contributory factors in the calls for changes to the poor laws.

⁵ Brundage, *The English Poor Laws*, pp.51-52.

Figure 3.1 Parish Poor Relief Administration before 1834



Local Poor Law Administration after 1834

When the Royal Commission recommended a centralised department which would ensure the uniform application of poor law policy and deliver economic benefit, it was proposing a structure that was radically different from what had gone before and which would impact on the whole community. The New Poor Law created a completely new administration and included new tiers of governance and administration that did not exist before unionisation; those jobs were not just at the executive level but at a local level too. Some posts overlapped or replaced old parochial jobs, but many were new posts in a new structure, these included: workhouse master and matron, workhouse porter, workhouse school master, relieving officer, union treasurer, union auditor, union clerk, union medical officer and a volunteer board of guardians. The new law 'did not abolish any existing Local Authority nor deprive any existing official of his post or salary'

however it did began to create a bureaucratic hierarchy not previously seen in English government.⁶ Some historians have viewed this as the beginning of a 'poor law civil service' and these changes have also been seen as part of a 'Victorian revolution in government'⁷

The new poor law hierarchy was a more complex system for the poor to negotiate, and is illustrated in Figure 3.2. Firstly the parish was grouped with others to form a union based around a market town and an elected board of guardians were appointed to manage the new system. Men could stand for election based on a property qualification and were elected using a plural voting system (which gave larger rate payers additional votes).⁸ This excluded the poor from standing as guardians of their peers or having any voice in who was elected. One or more guardians, who were unpaid volunteers, represented each parish on the board. Each board also had a number of unelected *ex officio* guardians - local magistrates permitted to sit on the board in the union in which they resided. At regular weekly meetings this group decided on the level of relief to be granted; for able-bodied men, the entitlement to relief in the community ceased and relief was only offered in a workhouse. Decisions were made in accordance with the New Poor Law; the sick, the elderly and the recently widowed might be granted relief outside the workhouse, but many found themselves offered nothing more than

⁶ Webb and Webb, *English Poor Law History: Part II*, p.100.

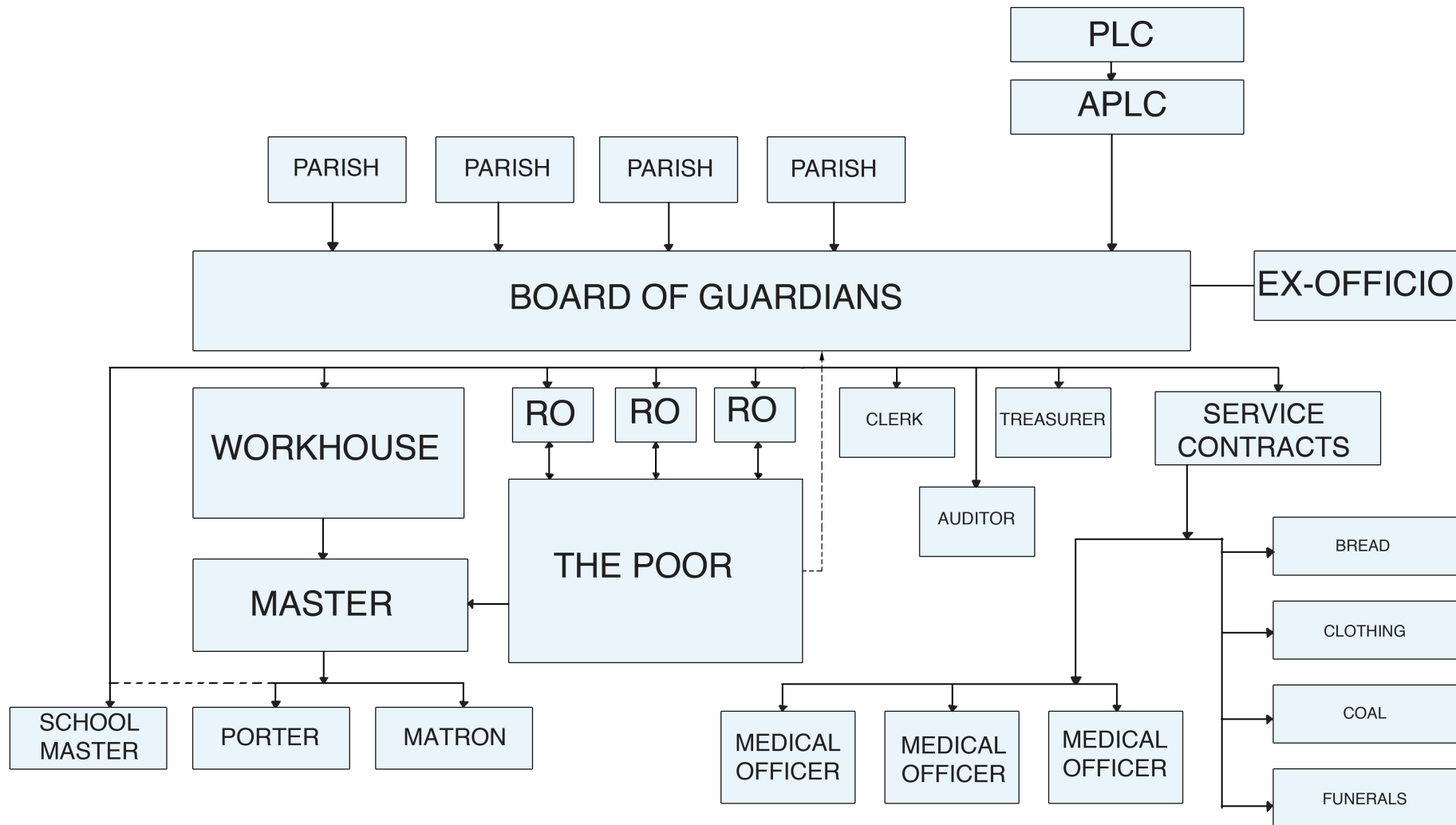
⁷ Brundage, *The English Poor Laws*, p.52. Oliver MacDonagh, 'The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government: A Reappraisal', *The Historical Journal*, 1.01 (1958), pp. 52-67. David Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State* (Yale University Press, 1960). William C. Lubenow, *The politics of government growth: early Victorian attitudes toward state intervention, 1833-1848* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1971).

⁸ The Select Vestry Acts, usually known as the Sturges-Bourne Acts 1818 & 1819. A householder rated at £50 had one vote with one additional vote for each £25 of rateable value up to a maximum of six votes. The effect was to concentrate voting power in the hands of major ratepayers. David Eastwood, *Government and community in the English provinces, 1700-1870* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp.44-45. See also Shave, 'The Impact of Sturges Bourne's Poor Law Reforms In Rural England'.

relief in 'the house'. The board of guardians had many responsibilities regarding the management of the union which will be discussed more fully in chapter five.

The union was much larger than the parish and was divided into sub-districts each with its own relieving officer. It was the relieving officer who had the most regular contact with the poor of the parish. He was the first point of contact for a parishioner wishing to receive poor relief and he was responsible for distributing relief to those not in the workhouse (in much the same way as the overseer of the poor had done). He was expected to know what was happening on his patch and advise the board accordingly. Relieving officers were salaried and were responsible for a number of parishes in the union dependant on the composition of the union. Unlike the former parish overseer, he probably did not live in the parish, but visited once or twice a week; if the applicant was not known to him, the relieving officer may have wanted to make enquiries before giving relief. In an emergency a pauper could apply directly to the union workhouse for admission and to the medical officer for emergency assistance during illness. Relief in cash was discouraged and relief in kind was supplied under contract (often using a ticketing or voucher system) so a pauper might have to visit a designated baker or coal merchant for example to receive some forms of relief. Applicants for relief could also present themselves directly at weekly board meeting but this might be many miles from their home.

Figure 3.2 Parish Poor Relief Administration after 1834



Put simply, under the old poor law relief was local and immediate; the poor approached the overseer of their parish and he made the decision about the granting of relief. Under the new system the poor had to negotiate a new multi-layered system within which there was scope for anonymity and 'buck-passing' in the decision-making. The relieving officer could defer to the board of guardians (where most of the board may not know the applicant) and they too could abdicate responsibility by claiming to act under instruction from the central body. As Apfel and Dunkley observed 'the corporate nature of board management effectively obscured the individual actions and decisions of elected and *ex officio* guardians alike'.⁹ The personal, one to one relationship between the poor and the local overseer or the paternalistic landlord formed by living together in one community, was lost. Instead 'the applicant under the New Poor Law was confronted with an organized assembly of men sworn to economy and dedicated to workhouse discipline'.¹⁰

In addition to creating jobs that formed the emergent poor law civil service, the changes created opportunities for local (and not so local) tradesmen to contract for services required by the new regime. After 1834 there was an institutional building boom that emptied the coffers of the Exchequer Loan Committee within months as many unions obtained loans to build new central workhouses. This building boom and the practicalities of disposing of assets of the existing parish poor houses generated employment and income for solicitors, surveyors, builders and those who supplied a variety of goods, services, materials

⁹ William Apfel and Peter Dunkley, 'English rural society and the New Poor Law: Bedfordshire, 1834–47', *Social History*, 10.1 (1985), pp. 37-68, p.57.

¹⁰ Apfel and Dunkley, 'English rural society and the New Poor Law', p.57.

and equipment. The New Poor Law generated rafts of paperwork and the papermakers of Hertfordshire may have received economic benefit from the increased demand both locally and nationally for paper used in bookkeeping and correspondence. The additional jobs created at the labouring end of the scale may have kept some out of the workhouse. Some men helped to build the very institutions they would later find themselves incarcerated in. There is evidence of pauper labour being used in the construction or repair of the Hatfield, Hitchin and St Albans workhouses.¹¹

There were three stages to implementing the New Poor Law: first the appointment of the central Poor Law Commission; second the appointment of a number of itinerant assistant poor law commissioners and finally a phased programme of implementation facilitated by the assistant commissioners throughout England and Wales.

The Poor Law Commission

Within nine days of the Poor Law Amendment Act being passed the Poor Law Commissioners Thomas Frankland-Lewis (1780–1855), J.G. Shaw Lefevre (1797–1879) and George Nicholls (1781–1865) were sworn in.¹² Edwin Chadwick

¹¹ BG/HAT/4, 19 Jun 1845. The Poor Law Commission approved the use of pauper labour to undertake the building work at the Hatfield workhouse. BG/HIT/2, 18 April 1836, The Hitchin board of guardians agreed that able-bodied paupers in the workhouse were to be employed digging the land around the new workhouse and a 'respectable man' employed to superintend the work. Off Acc 1162, 16 Feb 1838, St Albans union agreed the pauper inmates would be sent to paint the bedsteads at the new workhouse.

¹² Peter Mandler, 'Lewis, Sir Thomas Frankland, first baronet (1780–1855)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16605>, accessed 1 June 2015]. Webb and Webb, *English Poor Law History: Part II*, pp.105-106. Anthony Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law: the politics of inquiry, enactment, and implementation, 1832-1839* (London: Hutchinson, 1978), pp.78-79. M. C. Curthoys, 'Lefevre, Sir John

(1800-1890), who had worked tirelessly in support of Nassau Senior (1790-1864) on the Royal Commission and who co-authored the *Poor Law Report*, was not considered to be of sufficient rank and status to be appointed as a commissioner and was passed over in favour of others and appointed as a secretary to the commissioners.¹³ The Poor Law Commission was set up as a centralised administrative body independent of central government.¹⁴ Like the new law itself the Commission was not universally popular; the three board members held extensive and previously unseen powers of inspection, intervention and authority over local administrators.¹⁵ The Poor Law Commission became the focus of the criticism expressed by those who campaigned against the New Poor Law. The language employed to describe the group and its work was negative and hostile; some used 'international images of tyranny to describe the regime'.¹⁶ For example the commissioners were described as 'the three Bashaws' or 'the three tyrants' of Somerset House and the 'pinch pauper triumvirate' whilst the workhouses became known as 'Bastilles'. The three members of the commission and their secretary were the focus for much vitriol in the press. *The Times* newspaper owned by John Walter, MP for Berkshire, (1776-1847) and under the editorship of Thomas Barnes

George Shaw- (1797–1879)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25275>, accessed 1 June 2015].

Anthony Brundage, 'Nicholls, Sir George (1781–1865)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20110>, accessed 27 Feb 2015].

¹³ Samuel Edward Finer, *The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick* (London: Methuen, 1952), p.109.

¹⁴ Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*, p.133. Felix Driver, *Power and Pauperism: the workhouse system, 1834-1884* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.29.

¹⁵ Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*, p.110. Driver, *Power and Pauperism*, pp.33-34.

¹⁶ Michael Ward, *Beatrice Webb: her quest for a fairer society. A hundred years of the Minority Report*, (The Smith Institute, October 2011), p.18. Other examples include: George Robert Wythen Baxter, *The Book of the Bastilles: Or, The History of the Working of the New Poor Law* (London: J. Stephens, 1841); Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law*, Chapter IV. Webb and Webb, *English Poor Law History: Part II*, p.26.

(1745-1841) was highly critical of the New Poor Law.¹⁷ *The Times* repeatedly criticised the legislation and the operation of the commission even before the law was passed:

The more we consider the provisions of the Poor Law Amendment bill, the more does our astonishment increase that any set of men professing to entertain constitutional principles could have listened for a moment to such a measure. The only excuse we can devise for the introduction of a bill containing such enactments is, that it originated with, and was drawn up under the sole directions of, the Commissioners; that it was not yet prepared when Lord Althorp made his speech about it in the House of Commons; and that neither he nor his colleagues were aware of the real nature of the measure by which the Commissioners were about to ruin their own reputation, and to place that of the Government in jeopardy.¹⁸

Every day and in every quarter, some fresh shock is given to humanity by the working of the New Poor Law. All that was bad in the measure has been made worse by the imbecility of the Central Board, which has not the faculty of making itself understood upon the simplest point.¹⁹

Roger Wells observed that anti-poor law feeling, and the anti-poor law movement in particular, is often perceived as being a northern phenomenon, but there is evidence to suggest that there was significant disaffection with the poor law in southern England as well.²⁰ Regional and anti-poor law newspapers, especially the *Northern Star* (from 1838) and the *Brighton Patriot* were both critical

¹⁷ David Eastwood, *Government and Community in the English Provinces*, p.133. Richard D. Fulton, 'Walter, John (1776–1847)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28637>, accessed 13 Aug 2016]. Gordon Phillips, 'Barnes, Thomas (1785–1841)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1474>, accessed 13 Aug 2016].

¹⁸ *The Times*, 3 May 1834, p.5.

¹⁹ *The Times*, 25 Nov 1834, p.2.

²⁰ John Rule and Roger A.E. Wells, *Crime, Protest and Popular Politics in Southern England, 1740-1850* (London: Hambledon, 1997); Chapter 6, 'Resistance to the New Poor Law in the Rural South' in particular.

of the Poor Law Commission.²¹ However in the Hertfordshire press there appears to have been very little overt resistance to the introduction of the new law.²²

The Poor Law Commission had to forge their own path in setting up and managing the administration as '[t]heir legal and constitutional position was as unprecedented as the task assigned to them.'²³ Having established themselves in offices at Somerset House in London they began to assume responsibility for controlling and directing the management and administration of poor relief throughout England. It was a small team - three commissioners, one secretary, an assistant secretary and three clerks. Almost immediately the amount of correspondence between the centre and the parishes overwhelmed them and they appointed extra clerks who worked through the night.²⁴ By 1840 there were two assistant secretaries, a chief clerk and thirty-three clerks.²⁵ The volume of surviving documentation in the National Archives suggests they were consulted extensively by union and parish officials as well as by the assistant poor law commissioners, but closer examination of the correspondence shows that the commissioners relied heavily on the assistant commissioners for information. The London based poor law commissioners did not visit the provinces themselves but the assistant commissioners often visited Somerset House. Daniel Goodson Adey, one of the first Hertfordshire assistant commissioners, referenced his personal visits in his correspondence and Roberts referred to 'many assistants...often dropping in on

²¹ Rule and Wells, *Crime, Protest and Popular Politics*, p.111.

²² This will be discussed further in chapter four.

²³ Webb and Webb, *English Poor Law History: Part II*, p.110.

²⁴ Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law*, p.80.

²⁵ BPP, 1841 (263) XXI.1. *Poor Law Amendment Act. Return of the total amount of salaries or other payments received in 1840 by the Poor Law Commissioners, secretaries, and others; also amount of printing expenses, as far as the same can be ascertained*, p.1

Chadwick' secretary to the commissioners.²⁶ The assistant poor law commissioners were the eyes and ears of the Poor Law Commission and were essential to the implementation of the New Poor Law around the country yet who they were and how they shaped the New Poor Law in its early years remains largely unexplored.

Assistant Poor Law Commissioners

The Assistant Commissioners are the comets, the traveling prodigies, whose function is to feed the central sun with light.²⁷

The Times 13 November 1834

The central commissioners were initially authorised to employ nine assistant poor law commissioners to implement and manage the New Poor Law throughout the country. This number proved insufficient and they employed a further seven by the end of 1835 and another eight in early 1836. By the middle of 1836 there were twenty-one assistant commissioners under the control of the central Poor Law Commission.²⁸ These assistant commissioners, especially the first nine to be appointed, wielded considerable power and greatly influenced how the New Poor Law was administered on the ground and in shaping the poor law geography of England and Wales. They were essential to the process of implementing the New Poor Law yet, although individuals are written about in local and regional histories, very little is written about them as a collective or as the important layer of administration they became. In their lengthy history of the poor law the Webbs said little about the role of the assistant commissioner and the power vested in them; they commented from a policy perspective on the fact that

²⁶ MH 32/5 and MH 32/6. Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*, p.239.

²⁷ *The Times*, 13 November 1834; cited in Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law*, p.86.

²⁸ Three early appointees resigned and were replaced.

the Poor Law Commission was allowed to directly appoint men as crown employees.²⁹ David Roberts discussed the work and character of the assistant commissioners as part of a comparative study of some of the new central inspectorates (including factory and public health inspectors), which emerged in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.³⁰ More recently Felix Driver outlined the role of the poor law inspectorate as part of the machinery of the poor law administration noting that the assistant commissioners were 'particularly active during the early years of implementation in the 1830s and early 1840s' after which their influence and autonomy declined.³¹ In their history, the Webbs also commented on the fact that only three of the men who served as assistant commissioners on the Royal Commission of Inquiry became assistant commissioners to the new commission.³² But were the two positions comparable? Those who acted as assistant commissioners to the Royal Commission were said to be 'philanthropically minded amateurs...motivated by a sense of the need to do something about the Poor Law.'³³ The authors of the *Poor Law Report* said they were men who had made 'a great sacrifice of time and labour...followed by much hostility, and accompanied by no remuneration.'³⁴ The new position of assistant commissioner was similarly arduous, but it did pay a salary of £700 per annum plus one guinea a day and expenses when away from home. Those appointed to the

²⁹ Webb and Webb, *English Poor Law History: Part II*, p.112.

³⁰ Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*.

³¹ Driver, *Power and Pauperism*, pp.29-31, 33-35.

³² Webb and Webb, *English Poor Law History: Part II*, pp.112-113.

³³ Sydney George Checkland and Edith Olive Anthony Checkland (eds), *The Poor Law Report of 1834* (Penguin edition, 1974) p.30.

³⁴ BPP, 1834 (44) XXVII-XXXIX. *Report from His Majesty's commissioners for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws*, p.1.

new positions were drawn from a pool of over 2000 applicants.³⁵ Clearly the role appealed to a different and wide group of people and as they were essential to the implementation process it is worth exploring who they were and what they contributed.

Character and background

Roberts claimed the assistant commissioners were drawn from the 'upper ranks of the middle classes'.³⁶ Categorising individuals by class is somewhat subjective, but a review of the occupations and backgrounds of these men before and after their appointment as assistant commissioners suggests the majority were well-educated individuals who could have pursued other, more lucrative, careers. In total thirty-three men served as assistant commissioners in England and Wales from the establishment of the Poor Law Commission in 1834 until 1847 when it was replaced by the Poor Law Board.³⁷ They are listed in appendix III, which was compiled from a number of sources and records the dates of their tenure as commissioners as well as their occupations both before and after their employment by the Poor Law Commission. Many were barristers or magistrates, some had military training and some were career civil servants. The first appointment was the colourful Sir Francis Bond Head, a veteran of Waterloo who had travelled extensively; he proved too 'eccentric to make an ideal Assistant Commissioner' and he left after just one year to become the Lieutenant-governor

³⁵ Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*, p.164.

³⁶ Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*, p.132.

³⁷ After 1847 many continued in their posts and were then known as Poor Law Inspectors.

of Upper Canada.³⁸ Another military appointment was Sir William Edward Parry, an intrepid naval explorer who subsequently held a number of senior naval positions including Lieutenant Governor of the Royal Greenwich Hospital.³⁹ More enduring in his appointment was William Henry Toovey Hawley who served as an assistant commissioner (and subsequently as a poor law inspector) for 40 years, working first in southern and then northern districts as well as Ireland. Likewise Edward Gulson, who had previously served as the Director for the Poor in Coventry, was an assistant commissioner in England and Ireland for 37 years. Forty per cent of this group lived lives that have subsequently been recorded in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. This suggests their Victorian contemporaries who compiled this record regarded them as noteworthy individuals. This stands in contrast to Lord Salisbury (the second Marquis), discussed in chapter two, who has no entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* although his father the first Marquis and his son the third Marquis each have an entry. A handful of the assistant commissioners have left little trace of themselves in the surviving records beyond their correspondence files now held in the National Archives. The picture that emerges is of a group of educated individuals who had previously held positions of authority and power in their occupation or home location.

The role of the assistant commissioner was initially a peripatetic one as the Poor Law Commission instigated a programme of unionisation throughout the country. The first nine assistant commissioners were appointed between October

³⁸ Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law*, p.80. S. F. Wise, 'Head, Sir Francis Bond,' in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/head_francis_bond_10E.html. [accessed 25 June 2015].

³⁹ J. K. Laughton, 'Parry, Sir (William) Edward (1790–1855)', Rev. A. K. Parry, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21443>, accessed 17 Aug 2016].

and December 1834 and were deployed to the southern counties of England where pauperism was perceived to be the most heightened. Table 3.1 shows the number and location of the unions formed by the first twelve assistant commissioners by August 1835. Four counties, Hampshire, Sussex, Kent and Hertfordshire, account for over half of the unions formed in seven months - a pattern demonstrated more clearly in table 3.2. Unionisation spread northwards into the Home Counties and South Midlands at a rate of over 3.5 new unions per week. There was no activity in the Southwest, the North or Wales. Two separate assistant commissioners, Daniel Goodson Adey and Alfred Power declared thirteen unions in Hertfordshire.⁴⁰ Based on the date of declaration of the thirteen Hertfordshire unions, Hertfordshire was the first county to be fully unionised.

⁴⁰ Royston Union was initially declared as a Cambridgeshire union but was later reported as a Hertfordshire union. For more on this see chapter 4.

Table 3.1**Number of Unions Formed up to 8 August 1835 by each Assistant Poor Law Commissioner**

APLC	County	Number of Unions Declared		Number of Parishes United	
A'Court	Hampshire	21	21	270	281
	Wiltshire	-		10	
	Berkshire	-		1	
Adey	Hertfordshire	8	13	71	165
	Bedfordshire	4		78	
	Buckinghamshire	1		13	
	Middlesex	-		3	
Gilbert	Buckinghamshire	6	6	145	150
	Oxfordshire	-		4	
	Hertfordshire	-		1	
Gulson	Berkshire	8	11	140	263
	Oxfordshire	3		113	
	Hampshire	-		1	
	Gloucestershire	-		2	
	Warwickshire	-		2	
	Wiltshire	-		2	
	Northamptonshire	-		3	
Head	Kent	14	14	211	211
Hawley	Sussex	11	11	132	132
Mott	Suffolk	4	8	129	198
	Wiltshire	2		25	
	Gloucestershire	1		35	
	Middlesex	1		8	
	Somerset	-		1	
Pilkington	Sussex	5	5	110	112
	Hampshire	-		2	
Power	Hertfordshire	4	10	68	227
	Essex	3		96	
	Cambridgeshire ⁴¹	3		61	
	Huntingdonshire	-		2	
Earle	Northamptonshire	7	7	154	161
	Oxfordshire	-		2	
	Buckinghamshire	-		2	
	Bedfordshire	-		3	
Hall	Berkshire	3	5	45	137
	Oxfordshire	2		81	
	Wiltshire	-		8	
	Buckinghamshire	-		2	
	Hampshire	-		1	
Parry	Norfolk	2	2	68	68
Total Number of Unions Formed and Parishes United 1 Jan 1835 to 8 August 1835 ⁴²			111		2311

Source BPP, 1835 (500), XXXV.107. *First annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, Appendix D, p.252

⁴¹ Includes Royston union see note 40 above.

⁴² The source data reports the totals as 111 unions declared and 2311 parishes united as shown above, however the sum of the columns is 113 unions and 2105 parishes. Given that statistical reporting was generally of a high standard and I can find no explanation for this error.

Table 3.2 Number of Unions and parishes unionised in each county by 8 August 1835

County	Number of Unions	%	Number of Parishes	%
Hampshire	21	19%	274	13%
Sussex	16	14%	242	11%
Kent	14	12%	211	10%
Hertfordshire	12	11%	140	7%
Berkshire	11	10%	186	9%
Northamptonshire	7	6%	157	7%
Buckinghamshire	7	6%	162	8%
Oxfordshire	5	4%	200	10%
Bedfordshire	4	4%	81	4%
Suffolk	4	4%	129	6%
Cambridgeshire	3	3%	61	3%
Essex	3	3%	96	5%
Wiltshire	2	2%	45	2%
Norfolk	2	2%	68	3%
Middlesex	1	1%	11	1%
Gloucestershire	1	1%	37	2%
Somerset			1	0%
Huntingdonshire			2	0%
Warwickshire			2	0%
Total	113	100%	2105	100%

Source – see Table 3.1 above

Management and Supervision of Assistant Commissioners

The assistant commissioners' activities were closely managed through meetings, regular correspondence, ad-hoc reports and the submission of weekly diaries detailing their activities. Correspondence with the centre was very regular, often daily. Prior to the postal reforms of 1839, the Poor Law Commission and its assistants enjoyed the privilege of free post; a practice that was sometimes abused as unions routed mail to other unions through the assistant commissioners rather

than pay postage on direct correspondence.⁴³ Assistant commissioners' salaries were paid quarterly and their expense claims were rigorously scrutinised by Chadwick. In July 1835 Chadwick told the Hertfordshire assistant commissioner Adey to submit a more detailed itemised expense claim suitable to be submitted 'for auditing the public accounts'. In particular Adey was told to travel 'by means of public conveyance'. (Adey had claimed for the hire of a private coach for a return trip to London when he was in poor health and this had displeased Chadwick who knew that the unpopular commission could not be seen to be wasting public money.) Adey made the point that 'posting is the only mode of moving that can be depended on' and that it was impractical for him to cover the necessary mileage otherwise.⁴⁴ Felix Driver has shown the considerable distances travelled by two assistant commissioners by mapping their journeys over a three-month period.⁴⁵ On two separate occasions Adey had claimed his guinea *per diem* for days when his diary entry stated he was 'absent on private business'; his expense claim was adjusted accordingly.⁴⁶ But despite this close scrutiny of their expenses by Chadwick, assistant commissioners had considerable autonomy.

The central commission relied heavily on feedback from the assistant commissioners. When they received communications direct from the union or parish the Poor Law Commission wrote to their assistants for an opinion and the assistant commissioner's reply usually formed the basis of the response to the

⁴³ <http://beta.postalheritage.org.uk/explore/history/rowlandhill/> [accessed 25/06/15]. MH 10/2, 6 Jan 1836, MH 32/5, 27 Dec 1835.

⁴⁴ MH 32/5, 02 Jul 1835 and 04 Jul 1835. Posting was the private hire of horses kept for private hire or mail delivery. "posting, n.2." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2016. [Accessed 24 August 2016].

⁴⁵ Driver, *Power and Pauperism*, p.30, figure 2.1.

⁴⁶ MH 32/5, 09 Feb 1836 and 23 Nov 1836.

parish. There are many examples in the central correspondence files with the union held at the National Archives.⁴⁷ Original letters were date stamped on receipt and were often annotated with draft responses that would then provide the 'office copy' of the correspondence.⁴⁸ Where several opinions have been sought, one letter can be overwritten and annotated in many different hands. An example is given in appendix IV. Eventually, as the central commissioners became more established, this reliance on the assistant commissioners was reduced, but in the initial stages a significant amount of correspondence was referred back to the assistants annotated 'Ask [name of assistant commissioner] for his opinion.' In the early stages at least, policy was not just formed within the walls of Somerset House; the assistant commissioner had the capacity to strongly influence the three 'tyrants' and played a role in the interpretation and evolution of poor law policy and systems.

The various assistant commissioners had their own strengths: Adey was regularly consulted for his pedantic eye for detail on bookkeeping and the standardisation of forms. He often suggested how forms could be improved and made more convenient.⁴⁹ It has been argued that the assistant commissioners were essential in disseminating and embedding the then novel practice of double-entry bookkeeping that became standard practice in centralised government departments.⁵⁰ Power and Gulson were the preferred commentators on medical

⁴⁷ MH 12 series catalogued on a union by union basis.

⁴⁸ Paul Carter and Natalie Whistance, *Living the Poor Life: a guide to the Poor Law Union Correspondence c 1834 – 1871 held at the National Archives*, (Salisbury: British Association for Local History, 2011) p.6.

⁴⁹ MH 32/5, 01 Nov 1835 and 05 Nov 1835.

⁵⁰ Verna Care, 'The significance of a 'correct and uniform system of accounts' to the administration of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834', *Accounting History Review*, 21.2 (2011), pp.121-142, p.138-139.

matters.⁵¹ Kay-Shuttleworth was passionate about education policy and in time became the chief architect of England's education system.⁵²

The geography of the unions

The commissioners and their assistants were in uncharted territory; they had to devise a system for establishing the unions with no framework to follow. Each assistant commissioner travelled to or based himself in the districts he was unionising. It is not clear how they were selected for each area and they often went to areas they were unfamiliar with. The first Hertfordshire assistant commissioner Daniel Adey lived in the centre of the area he initially worked on but was subsequently assigned to Southwest England. His colleague Alfred Power initially worked in east Hertfordshire and Eastern England but later moved to the Northern counties. In a letter to the commissioners Adey wrote of his need to make himself 'acquainted with the habits of the County (many of which are quite new to me)'.⁵³ In their districts the assistant commissioners organised meetings of the local elite, debated the size and location of union boundaries and influenced decisions on the siting of workhouses. Given the limitations on transport and travel in the 1830s this in itself was an arduous task. In Hertfordshire the first railway opened in the west of the county in 1838 and so would not have aided

⁵¹ Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*, p.238.

⁵² Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*, p.239. Richard Johnson, 'Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England', *Past & Present*, 49 (1970), pp. 96-119.

⁵³ Adey's correspondence with Poor Law Commission, TNA, MH 32/5, 14 Sep 1835.

the commissioners in their early work, more likely they would have had to rely on the network of turnpike and parish roads which criss-crossed the county.⁵⁴

The assistant commissioner's work began with an 'inspection of his district'.⁵⁵ On the ground he made enquiries with the local elite including the nobility, gentry and magistrates. He also consulted farmers, overseers and parish clerks. He gathered information from parish records to determine the amount spent on poor relief in each parish in the preceding three years. This calculation was known as 'the averages' and played an important part in apportioning parish liability in the new union. Sometimes simple maps would be drawn to illustrate the geography and juxtaposition of the parishes for a proposed union. At some point the assistant commissioner formed an opinion on which parishes should be united to form a union. The assistant commissioner convened a public meeting after which he recommended to the Poor Law Commissioners that a union should be declared.

In his deliberations the assistant commissioner was lobbied and influenced by both pro and anti-unionists. Historians have disagreed about the extent to which the assistant commissioners were influenced by the local elite. In his study of the Midlands counties and East Anglia, Brundage found that the influence and cooperation of the local elite were important factors in establishing the new unions and particularly with respect to administrative boundaries, which were more likely to follow the landholdings of great estates than established administrative divisions

⁵⁴ Friedrich Rudolf Johannes Newman, *The socio-economic impacts of the coming of the railways to Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, 1838-1900* (PhD Thesis, University of Hertfordshire, 2014) p.71.

⁵⁵ Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law*, p.80.

such as petty sessional divisions.⁵⁶ Dunkley challenged this argument but there is reason to believe that some of the local elite had strong opinions in Hertfordshire as will be discussed in the next chapter.⁵⁷ But it was the assistant commissioner's recommendation alone that went forward to the central commissioners; thus the assistant commissioners began to change the administrative landscape and the social geography of England and Wales. The market town that became the administrative centre of the union had the potential to disproportionately dominate other local market towns by becoming the centre to which the economic activity of the union gravitated. The poor law unions created by the assistant commissioner were also the framework for the registration districts created by the Births and Deaths Registration Act of 1836. Those establishing the first unions could not have anticipated this additional administrative requirement. The 'union' town's place as the location for the registration of births and deaths added to its importance as an administrative hub. In modern society, towns or organisations might lobby or bid for the right to become an administrative centre or focal point, but there is no sense that these market towns of the 1830s were clamouring to adopt the responsibility of hosting the board of guardians' meetings or be the site of a new workhouse. This significant new role was imposed on them as part of a new administrative framework. The oft-cited concept that the poor law unions were centred on a market town appears to be an accidental outcome rather than a planned strategy and derives from the statement in the *First annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*:

⁵⁶ Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law*, chapter V, pp.105-144.

⁵⁷ Peter Dunkley, 'The Landed Interest and the New Poor Law: a critical note', *The English Historical Review*, 88.349 (1973), pp. 836-841, p.839.

The most convenient limit of unions which we have found has been that of a circle, taking a market town as a centre, and comprehending those surrounding parishes whose inhabitants are accustomed to resort to the same market. This arrangement was found highly convenient for the weekly attendances of the parish officers, and some portion of the guardians and other auxiliaries to good management were derived from the town itself.⁵⁸

In smaller unions, which contained only a few parishes, the market town with the social and economic dominance may have been an obvious choice, but in larger unions (such as Hitchin in Hertfordshire) where two or three viable market towns existed the assistant commissioner's decision may have indirectly dictated which towns saw investment and further development in the future. Though beyond the scope of this thesis it would be interesting to examine to what extent the siting of the 'union town' influenced the development of future infrastructure and economic development or decline.

The creation of local unions

In January 1836 Adey wrote an extensive report for the Poor Law Commission on his methodology for the implementation of the new procedures and his strategy for managing poor relief in the transitional weeks from the old system to the new; his report is summarised in appendix V.⁵⁹ In March 1836 the Poor Law Commission issued an instruction to all assistant commissioners

⁵⁸ BPP, 1835 (500), XXXV.107. *First annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales.*

⁵⁹ MH 32/5, 07 Jan 1836.

regarding the necessary timings when forming a new union that followed Adey's model.⁶⁰

This model recommended at least five meetings before the union took on fiscal responsibility for paying relief. The timeline for these meetings was not clear. The amount of business to be transacted was significant and although the agenda for the fourth meeting looked quite light, Adey annotated this with the comment 'It's in general quite enough for the day'.⁶¹ It is possible that the first three meetings took place on successive days; in his notes Adey stated '3rd day' and wrote 'Any other business arising out of the preceding *days*' (my italics), elsewhere he refers to 'meetings'. In his accompanying letter to Chadwick he suggested that the business supposed to be transacted in the first three meetings actually sometimes took six or seven meetings 'for such people as Guardians, tho' the whole business might be done in as many hours by men of business'.⁶² The guardians' inexperience at dealing with the matters before them thus necessitated the continued and regular support of the assistant commissioner however, the pace of the implementation programme gave little time for the assistant commissioners to regularly follow up, nurture and support the guardians. At the inaugural meeting the assistant commissioner would generally take the chair until the chairman and vice-chairman had been elected. Thereafter the assistant commissioner would attend meetings intermittently as part of his inspection routine. Adey's model and his disingenuous comments regarding the guardians' capabilities overlooked the fact that the guardians were taking on new

⁶⁰ MH 10/2, 23 Mar 1836.

⁶¹ MH 32/5, 07 Jan 1836.

⁶² MH 32/5, 07 Jan 1836.

responsibilities – in many cases over and above their normal workload or duties. The board of guardians' responsibilities and their responses to them will be discussed fully in chapter four.

The process for migrating paupers from the old system to the new system was also carefully laid out by Adey and is set out in appendix VI. The process first established existing arrangements and individual eligibility under the new law. There was no instant or overnight change from the old system to the new system; however his process made no mention of giving notice to paupers in receipt of relief that their payments might alter or even cease. For individual paupers the reduction or withdrawal of relief may have been sudden and immediate. The new pauper description book was a key document in determining relief and the union officials grumbled about the amount of time it took to complete. There were up to 20 columns of data to be completed. Adey and another assistant commissioner Charles Mott, assisted in the design of the document, the details of which are set out in appendix VII.⁶³ Adey's transitional timetable indicated that the pauper description book was only to be completed for paupers actually relieved, but the column headings in this document referred to '*applicant*' and calls for the 'initials of presiding guardian *allowing or refusing* relief' and the 'date when *allowed or refused*, if allowed, for what time' (my italics). This suggests that the document was designed to record all applications and their outcomes; indeed the pauper description book contained quite a lot of the information required by the guardians in order to assess an applicant's entitlement to relief. The pauper description

⁶³ MH 32/5, 07 Jan 1836.

books could provide a fascinating insight into the lives of the poor at the point they entered the relief system; unfortunately none have survived for Hertfordshire.⁶⁴

The task of transitioning from the parish system to the union system was substantial and as one of the first areas to unionise, Hertfordshire and its Assistant Commissioners helped lay the foundations for how the process should operate nationally.

The Hertfordshire Assistant Poor Law Commissioners

Hertfordshire was initially under the superintendence of Daniel Goodson Adey (1788-1872) and Alfred Power (1805-1888). During their first year they created thirteen unions in Hertfordshire and eleven other unions across Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex and Cambridgeshire. The Hertfordshire unions are discussed more fully in chapter four.

Power was knowledgeable about poor law matters having previously worked on the Royal Commission inquiring into the Old Poor Law where he 'wrote one of the fullest reports.'⁶⁵ He was a barrister who had worked as a factory inspector in the North of England. After setting up the Hertfordshire unions he went on to form unions in Yorkshire and the North West, where he met with significant resistance.⁶⁶ He went to Ireland in 1843 as an assistant commissioner

⁶⁴ Any surviving Pauper Description Books will most likely be found in county archives. Gloucester, Kent, Somerset and Bedfordshire record offices have a small number.

⁶⁵ Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*, p.162.

⁶⁶ Driver, *Power and Pauperism*, pp.119-125.

and later became the Chief Commissioner of the Irish Poor Law Board; he has been described as 'The Irish Chadwick'.⁶⁷

Adey played a bigger role in Hertfordshire than Power. He began his work in Bedfordshire where he received significant cooperation from the Duke of Bedford at Woburn and the Marquis of Bute in Luton.⁶⁸ By the early part of 1835 he was working on forming the Hertfordshire unions. Originally from Somerset he trained as solicitor in London and by 1825 had bought himself a large estate on the Hertfordshire/Bedfordshire borders.⁶⁹ He was a magistrate who was appointed Deputy Lieutenant of Hertfordshire in 1827.⁷⁰ Adey fits Roberts' description of an assistant commissioner drawn from the 'upper ranks of the middle classes'.⁷¹ Unlike Power, Adey appears to have no history of engagement with the poor (although as a magistrate he would have heard appeals against parochial decisions on poor relief and considered settlement cases). In correspondence with the Poor Law Commission he wrote that he did not live in a 'pauperised district' and was ignorant of the need to provide medical assistance to paupers.⁷² As discussed in chapter two Adey owed his appointment to the influence of Lord Salisbury.⁷³ Adey's personal style did not endear him to all those he worked with. Thomas Bennett, Steward of the Duke of Bedford's estates, complained that he

⁶⁷ W. C. Lubenow, *The Cambridge Apostles, 1820-1914: Liberalism, Imagination, and Friendship in British Intellectual and Professional Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) p.156.

⁶⁸ MH 32/5. Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law*, pp.105-144.

⁶⁹ Richard Hogg, 'The History of Markyate Cell', *Markyate's Past, The Journal of the Markyate Local History Society*, Vol 10, (2010).

⁷⁰ *London Gazette*, 26 Feb 1828, p.388.

⁷¹ Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State*, p.152.

⁷² MH 32/5, 16 Apr 1835.

⁷³ See Chapter 2.

assumed a much more dictatorial manner than was at all relished by many present, however I think that he has found by this time that he has to deal with men of intelligence and that he will not again attempt a like tone. – he certainly did not shew-to advantage, he is a quick off hand man, but I doubt much he is a real man of business.⁷⁴

He also had a major disagreement with Henry Parker, assistant secretary to the Poor Law Commission (and later an assistant commissioner himself) over the drafting of some new documents and had to complete the task with another assistant secretary.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, Adey was committed to the implementation of the New Poor Law and continued working for several months during 1835 when he was ill. He was significantly impeded by an illness that left him largely immobile and only able to travel to London if he could be ‘carried prone in a carriage...received downstairs [at Somerset House] and allowed to lay across two or three chairs’.⁷⁶ He continued working with the aid of a clerk so that ‘no serious loss of time or injury to the cause will be sustained’.⁷⁷ The language and commitment shown here and elsewhere suggest a passionate, ideological belief in the reforms he was enabling. When he was fit and well his work rate was high; he corresponded almost daily with the poor law commissioners. In his quarterly return on the state of the unions under his superintendence in January 1838 he recorded 32 visits to the 24 unions then under his supervision. The only unions he had not visited were Hatfield and St Ives (Huntingdonshire), some unions had two visits in the quarter and St Albans had three.⁷⁸ In the following quarter he was

⁷⁴ Russell Estate Correspondence, Bedfordshire Record Office, R 3/3863, Bennett to W. G. Adam, Duke of Bedford’s London agent, 15 Apr 1835, cited in Brundage, *The Making of the New Poor Law*, p.108.

⁷⁵ MH 32/6 23 Nov 1837, 22 Nov 1837 and 18 Nov 1838.

⁷⁶ MH 32/5, 12 Feb 1835.

⁷⁷ MH 32/5, 12 Feb 1835.

⁷⁸ MH 32/6, 16 Jan 1838.

unable to provide a detailed breakdown of his activity as he lost his memo books but recorded that he visited all but three of the unions in the period. Of Hatfield he wrote 'I have not regularly visited this Union but I know from the information some of its most efficient Guardians have privately given me, that it is in a perfect satisfactory state.'⁷⁹

Adey and Power were the two assistant commissioners who were central to the implementation of the New Poor Law in Hertfordshire and both moved on to bring about unionisation in other areas. Six different assistant commissioners succeeded them during the lifetime of the Poor Law Commission from 1834-1847. In the autumn of 1836 Power left Hertfordshire to work in Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. His four Hertfordshire unions were taken over by Colonel Thomas Francis Wade (1787-1846).⁸⁰ Adey left Hertfordshire in the autumn of 1838 to begin the process of unionisation in Somerset and the South West. His districts of Barnet, Hatfield, Hitchin and Welwyn were added to the four already superintended by Wade taking the number of unions under Wade's management to 41 across seven counties: Bedfordshire (1), Cambridgeshire (10), Essex (16), Hertfordshire (8), Huntingdonshire (3), Northants (1), Suffolk (1).⁸¹ Little is known about Colonel Wade; he was appointed as an assistant commissioner in April 1836 and appears to have taken over those areas already set up in Essex and Cambridge by Power. In November 1840 he handed over his unions to Robert Weale (1799-

⁷⁹ MH 32/6, 17 Mar 1838.

⁸⁰ MH 32/73 30 Jun 1838.

⁸¹ MH 32/74 20 Apr 1839.

1883) and Edward Twistleton (1809-1874) and prepared to take over districts in the Somerset, Dorset, Devon and Cornwall.⁸²

Robert Weale, a former solicitor, took over Berkhamstead, Hemel Hempstead, St Albans and Watford from Adey in 1838 and managed a total of 34 unions in Bedfordshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Northamptonshire. Like Wade he was responsible for a very large area. In his quarterly report written in December 1838 he wrote that he had travelled 1,967 miles between 1 October 1838 and 31 December 1838. Assuming he did not regularly travel on Sundays this means he averaged 25 miles per day; this was not an insignificant distance in this pre-railway period.

This pattern of succession suggests that Wade and Weale were not responsible for creating unions themselves, but superintended unions already established while more experienced assistant commissioners moved on to new territories. This argument is supported by the list of unions declared by each assistant commissioner in August 1835 in which Wade and Weale are not named.⁸³ In Hertfordshire their role was to manage and maintain the unions already set up. That is not to say that the continued management was without challenges, but they were not part of the first wave of assistant commissioners charged with getting the unions off the ground which if replicated elsewhere indicates that only a small number of assistant commissioners were responsible for the implementation process.

⁸² MH 32/74 2 Nov 1840.

⁸³ See table 3.1, p.75.

In April 1841 Weale gave way to Sir Edmund Walker Head (1805-1868) who had previously worked as an assistant commissioner in the London districts.⁸⁴ A few months later Head joined his good friend George Cornwall Lewis as a one of the three poor law commissioners replacing J. G. Shaw Lefevre. It was the position Chadwick had coveted and which marked the end of any hope Chadwick had of becoming a commissioner himself.⁸⁵ Head's tenure as an assistant commissioner was thus only short and Richard Hall and Sir John James Walsham (1805-1874) succeeded him in Hertfordshire.⁸⁶ For a short period, between March 1842 and August 1843, Edward Turner Boyd Twistleton superintended the St Albans union before he went off to investigate the poor laws in Scotland.⁸⁷

This constant change of supervision over ten years coupled with the increased size of the districts under each assistant commissioners superintendence did not allow for very close on-going supervision of the unions and the influence of the assistant commissioner diminished over time. Visits averaged 2-3 per annum unless a crisis or a complaint necessitated the attendance of the assistant commissioner in an investigatory capacity.

⁸⁴ MH 32/44.

⁸⁵ Finer, *The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick*, pp.205-207. A. St Leger, 'Head, Sir Edmund Walker, eighth baronet (1805-1868)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12806>, accessed 22 June 2015].

⁸⁶ MH 32/36, MH 32/79-81.

⁸⁷ MH 32/72, M. C. Curthoys, 'Twistleton, Edward Turner Boyd (1809-1874)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27915>, accessed 22 June 2015].

Conclusion

The administration of the New Poor Law was more multifaceted than the administration of relief under the Old Poor Law and it was also more complex for the poor to navigate. The New Poor Law created a bureaucracy that removed the personal relationship between the poor and those responsible for administering poor relief. It introduced a body of paid officials and put decision-making in the hands of a group personally removed from the individual relief applicant. In doing so it created jobs that had not previously existed and began a process of professionalising work in the poor relief sector.

There was no immediate countrywide impact when the Poor Law Amendment Act was passed in August 1834. A new, and at the time innovative, central department was established before the legislation was gradually implemented throughout the country. This was a significant undertaking and was a task concentrated in the hands of just a few men – the centrally based Poor Law Commissioners and their assistant poor law commissioners. The three poor law commissioners rarely left London whereas the assistant poor law commissioners travelled widely, consulted local gentlemen and elite social groups. The assistant commissioners constantly fed ideas and opinion back to the central Poor Law Commission, which helped shape and refine the embryonic New Poor Law system both locally and nationally. As a result the assistant commissioners were an important element in the process, their activities shaped poor law policy, process and the administrative landscape of England and Wales. Assistant commissioners Adey and Power both transferred to other regions to continue the work of implementing the New Poor Law having learned their craft in Hertfordshire.

Another Hertfordshire assistant commissioner, Sir Edmund Walker Head, later became a poor law commissioner and was one of the commissioners who continued to undermine and exclude Edwin Chadwick - one of the original champions of the New Poor Law.

As one of the earliest adopters of the New Poor Law, Hertfordshire, and those associated with the county, were at the heart of policy development and the process of implementation. Processes developed in Hertfordshire by assistant commissioners, who played a significant role in establishing unions, became the template for others to follow. The following chapter is a detailed examination of the formation of the Hertfordshire unions.

Chapter 4

Union Structure in Hertfordshire

Introduction

A phased programme of implementation, facilitated by the first wave of assistant poor law commissioners, saw the New Poor Law set up in the rural communities in the south of England from late 1834. As discussed in the previous chapter, the work of the assistant poor law commissioners has received little attention and it follows therefore that the methods for establishing the unions are relatively unexplored. This chapter looks in more detail at the process of unionisation as it examines the unionisation of Hertfordshire by two assistant poor law commissioners – Daniel Goodson Adey and Alfred Power. It looks specifically at the composition of the Hertfordshire unions and presents data concerning their physical size, population numbers and poor law expenditure in the lead up to the New Poor Law. It examines in detail the process followed in four different unions: Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans and Watford. This micro-history approach reveals the range of responsibilities imposed on the new tier of administration. It examines the style and approach adopted by the four unions and looks for evidence of when and how the New Poor Law began to impact the paupers in these unions. The detailed examination of the poor law union records made locally and centrally provides evidence of where and how local personnel resisted the implementation of the poor law. As poor law unions were not coterminous with existing administrative units the chapter begins by defining what constituted ‘Hertfordshire’ for poor law purposes.

Defining 'Hertfordshire' for Poor Law purposes

The poor law unions created by the assistant commissioners did not respect county boundaries. Throughout England and Wales, single parishes, or groups of parishes within a county, could find themselves amalgamated with their near neighbours in adjacent counties to form a poor law union. This was the case in Hertfordshire where parishes were distributed across sixteen different unions. Initially, only twelve of these unions were considered to constitute Hertfordshire unions in the parliamentary returns. Royston union - although substantially in Cambridgeshire - was later regarded as a Hertfordshire union. Twelve parishes were placed in unions within the counties of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Buckinghamshire and Middlesex. For the purposes of this study, the thirteen unions of Barnet, Berkhamstead, Bishops Stortford, Buntingford, Hatfield, Hemel Hempstead, Hertford, Hitchin, Royston, St Albans, Ware, Watford and Welwyn will be considered to constitute the Hertfordshire poor law unions. Table 4.1 lists the unions found across the county of Hertfordshire which are also depicted in map 1 page ix.

Table 4.1 Distribution of Hertfordshire Parishes into Poor Law Unions

Union Name	Date Union declared	Number of Parishes from each County						Total Number of Parishes
		Herts	Beds	Bucks	Essex	Cambs	Midsex	
St Albans	23 May 1835	8						8
Barnet	04 Jul 1835	6					3	9
Berkhampstead	12 Jun 1835	8						8
Bishops's Stortford	26 Mar 1835	10			10			20
Buntingford	29 Jun 1835	16						16
Hatfield	04 Jul 1835	4						4
Hemel Hempstead	12 Jun 1835	6						6
Hertford	18 Jun 1835	18						18
Hitchin	15 Jun 1835	27	1					28
Ware	16 Apr 1835	15						15
Watford	23 May 1835	6						6
Welwyn	04 Jul 1835	4						4
Royston	20 Jun 1835	9			3	17		29
Edmonton* (Midsex)	03 Feb 1837	1			1		5	7
Amersham* (Bucks)	25 Mar 1835	1		9				10
Luton* (Beds)	16 Apr 1835	3	13					16
Total Number of Parishes		142	14	9	14	17	8	204

* These unions are normally reported with the county in parenthesis. Royston was initially reported as a Cambridgeshire union but by the third annual report of the PLC it was recorded as a Hertfordshire union.

Source: 1835 (500) XXXV.107. *First annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales.*

Composition of the Hertfordshire unions

The assistant poor law commissioners began work in late 1834 and Abingdon in Berkshire was the first union to be declared on 1 January 1835.¹ The first union declared in Hertfordshire was Bishops Stortford on 26 March 1835. The other unions were declared in quick succession over the next 12 weeks and by 4 July 1835 Hertfordshire was the first county to complete the process of unionisation. By August 1835 over 100 unions had been set up in 16 counties in

¹ BPP, 1835 (500) XXXV.107. *First annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, Appendix D, Number of the Unions formed, with the Agency of each Assistant Commissioner; the Number of Parishes united; and the Average Amount of Poor's Rates, p.241.

southern and eastern England but only Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire were completely unionised during the New Poor Law's first year of operation.² Hertfordshire was (and remains) one of the smallest counties in England, but the determination of Adey in particular to complete the process and the lack of resistance to the implementation of the Poor Law Amendment Act perhaps aided the assistant commissioners in their task.

The unions established by the assistant commissioners Adey and Power varied in respect of population size, physical size and poor rate expenditure as outlined in Table 4.2 The Hertfordshire Poor Law Union, Population, Area and Poor Law Expenditure below. The unions were composed of varying numbers of parishes; both Hatfield and Welwyn had only four constituent parishes whereas Royston had 29 member parishes. The number of parishes in a union had implications for the on-going management of that union, especially as it impacted on the size of the governing body - the board of guardians.³ The physical size of the parishes and the local topography were important factors in establishing the unions; parishes were always coterminous with others in the union. The poor law commissioners established a model whereby the union was centred on a market town. Figure 4.1 shows the location of the union towns and the union workhouses in Hertfordshire.

² BPP, 1835 (500) XXXV.107. *First annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, Appendix D Number of the Unions formed, with the Agency of each Assistant Commissioner; the Number of Parishes united; and the Average Amount of Poor's Rates, p.252.

³ The composition and operation of the board of guardians is discussed in detail in chapter five.


Table 4.2 The Hertfordshire Poor Law Union, Population, Area and Poor Law Expenditure

Parish	Date Union declared	Number of Parishes	Population 1831	Area (miles ²)	No Elected Guardians	No Ex-officio Guardians	Average Expenditure on Poor Relief 1831-1834	Expenditure per Head of Population	Population Density (Per Mile ²)	APLC
Bishops's Stortford	26 March 1835	20	18,012	83	27	9	17,421	0.97	217	Power
Ware	16 April 1835	15	14,654	55	21	14	12,131	0.83	266	Power
St Albans	23 May 1835	8	15,883	54	17	14	8,488	0.53	294	Adey
Watford	23 May 1835	6	15,379	57	16	11	8,473	0.55	270	Adey
Berkhampstead	12 June 1835	8	9,871	39	16	9	7,750	0.79	253	Adey
Hemel Hempstead	12 June 1835	6	9,910	40	14	6	5,672	0.57	248	Adey
Hitchin	15 June 1835	28	20,639	101	36	10	12,315	0.60	204	Adey
Hertford	18 June 1835	18	12,155	53	21	13	8,202	0.67	229	Power
Buntingford	29 June 1835	16	6,327	45	19	4	4,615	0.73	141	Power
Royston	29 June 1835	29	15,671	94	32	6	10,232	0.65	167	Power
Hatfield	4 July 1835	4	5,933	36	8	7	3,177	0.54	165	Adey
Barnet	4 July 1835	9	12,180	40	14	8	5,486	0.45	305	Adey
Welwyn	4 July 1835	4	1,970	10	5	4	1,037	0.53	197	Adey
Total		171	158,584	707	246	115	104,999	0.66	224	

Sources: BPP, 1837-38, (236), XXXVIII.539. *Poor Law Amendment Act. Return, showing the size in square miles of the several unions formed, with the population, and number of guardians*, pp.1-5. 1835 (500) XXXV.107. *First annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, Appendix D, p.239, pp.249-250

Figure 4.1 Map showing the Hertfordshire Union towns and the locations of the union workhouses



 Location of the union workhouse

Poor law union maps also illustrate how geographically small both Hatfield and Welwyn unions were. Welwyn was one third of the size of Hatfield in both acreage and population size and one tenth of the size of Hitchin. The factors that gave rise to this arrangement are not fully explained in the official reports and can only be inferred from the assistant commissioner's correspondence. Adey wanted to pair the Hatfield union with another union but found this was 'objectionable to both'.⁴ Although he did not name the other union, the size and location of the unions adjacent to Hatfield suggest that Adey wanted to combine Hatfield and Welwyn unions into one but refrained when Lord Salisbury objected. This theory is supported by correspondence from William Blake of Welwyn who wrote to Lord Salisbury in May 1835 requesting a meeting to discuss the proposed union of Welwyn with Hatfield. Salisbury declined to meet him and replied:

I am however decidedly averse to an union with Welwyn and that as far as it is in my power oppose it. I had much rather this parish should be left without any interference but an union out of the domain for which we act as magistrates is highly objectionable. Welwyn is besides too dissatisfied with the reforms which you have introduced to act cordially as guardians with us who like the system we have now been living under for twelve years.⁵

A combined Hatfield/Welwyn union would have been the second smallest in Hertfordshire, but Salisbury's reluctance to surrender or share control appears to have kept them apart. Welwyn and Hatfield were eventually combined in 1921.⁶ A detailed analysis of the processes followed in setting up the unions illuminates

⁴ MH 32/5 14 April 1835.

⁵ Hatfield House Manuscript Collection. Letter from Wm Blake and draft reply 10 May 1835, 2M/1/1/25/36.

⁶ Kate Thompson, 'Poor Law Union Boundaries' in David Short (ed), *An Historical Atlas of Hertfordshire* (Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press, 2011), p.18.

some of the other challenges faced by Adey in establishing the poor law unions in Hertfordshire.

St Albans Union

The St Albans and Watford unions were both declared on 23 May 1835. Daniel Adey had already set up some Bedfordshire unions but these were his first in Hertfordshire. St Albans was made up of eight parishes, St Albans Abbey, St Albans St Peter, St Albans St Michael, St Albans St Stephen, Harpenden, Redbourn, Sandridge and Wheathampstead. St Albans was the largest town in the county at the time with a population of 4,772.⁷ A diverse range of businesses, merchants and artisans were found in urban St Albans to support the agricultural economy of the rural hinterland. There was no major industrialisation in the town, which was home to a number of coaching inns and hostelries as it was the first coaching stop on the route from London to the Midlands and Northwest. There was some brewing, silk weaving and hat making in the area, the latter was dependant on a supply of straw-plait which was an important factor in the economy of the area.⁸ Straw-plaiting was a cottage industry found in parts of Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire and it was considered a contributory factor in keeping the poor rate down as it provided employment for women and children who were then able to contribute to the household economy.⁹

⁷ The town comprised the whole of the parish of St Albans Abbey and parts of the parishes of St Peter and St Michael.

⁸ Nigel Goose, *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire in 1851: St. Albans and Its Region. Vol. 2.* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001), pp.70-71.

⁹ Nigel Goose, 'Straw-plaiting and Hat-making', in Short D. (ed), *An Historical Atlas of Hertfordshire.* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2011), pp.90-91; Goose, *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire in 1851: St. Albans and Its Region*, pp.70-71.

Poor relief expenditure between 1830 and 1834 in St Albans was variable as shown in appendix IX. It followed no obvious trend (either upwards or downwards) that might indicate escalating demand for poor relief. The average expenditure per head of population was 10 shillings and 9 pence per head (£0.54). The Abbey parish spent the least money on poor relief at 7s 11d per head (£0.39) and Sandridge the most at 15s 11d (£0.79). Prior to unionisation there were six poor houses or workhouses in the parishes of Wheathampstead, Sandridge, Redbourn, Harpenden, St Stephen and St Peter.¹⁰

The St Albans board of guardians held their first meeting on 26 May 1835, not in the local public house as was common with other unions, but in the council chamber of the St Albans town hall at the invitation of Richard Brabant the Mayor of St Albans.¹¹ This was a new civic building, built in 1831, which dominated the market place.¹² It would have appeared very imposing to any local pauper approaching the board of guardians. The meeting was supervised by Adey and attended by seventeen elected guardians and eight *ex officio* guardians as detailed in appendix VIII table 1. George Marten (an *ex officio* guardian from Sandridge) was elected chairman and Peter Martineau (a local banker and elected guardian for St Albans) became vice-chairman.

Marten was an interesting appointment as chairman of the board of guardians. Six months earlier George Marten had written to Leferve at the Poor Law Commission stating that the Sandridge vestry were opposed to forming a union. The parish had adopted a workhouse system in April 1833 and as a

¹⁰ The guardians interchange the terms 'poorhouse' and 'workhouse' to describe these facilities.

¹¹ Off Acc 1162, 26 May 1835.

¹² Mark Freeman, *St Albans: A History* (Lancaster: Carnegie, 2008), p.207. *Pigots Directory of Hertfordshire 1839*, p.205.

consequence had seen a reduction in the rates from 4 shillings to 2 shillings in the pound and an improvement in the condition and character of the labourers.¹³ Marten wanted a personal meeting with Leferve to put his case. If such a meeting took place the details have not survived however Adey knew that Sandridge could be a problem – when forming the union he wrote to the commissioners and said ‘there is no chance of any opposition’ except in Sandridge which the board know about.¹⁴ Despite this objection, Sandridge became part of the St Albans union and Marten served as the chairman and actively participated in the management of the union until 1847. Thomas Oakley, the elected guardian for Sandridge became the vice-chairman of the board when Martineau moved away. Unable to stop the formation of the union, Marten and Oakley retained influence by placing themselves at the heart of the new administration.

Richard Grove Lowe, a solicitor and former mayor of St Albans was appointed as the Clerk to the union on a majority vote 17:3.¹⁵ This suggests that Lowe, who also acted as the union solicitor, was not a universally popular appointment and that there were tensions among board members from the start. John Samuel Story was appointed Treasurer and Anthony Brown Story was proposed as Auditor. The Poor Law Commission (on Adey’s advice) vetoed this appointment because Anthony Story was John Story’s father and it was considered ‘inexpedient’ to have him auditing his son’s accounts.¹⁶

¹³ Letter from Geo. R Marten to Leferve, MH 12/4441, 29 Sep 1834.

¹⁴ Letter from Adey, MH 12/ 4441, 21 Apr 1835.

¹⁵ Lowe was Mayor in 1832 and again in 1841.

http://www.stalbans.gov.uk/Images/MayoralCount_tcm15-34883.pdf [accessed 15Jul 2015].

¹⁶ Off Acc 1162, 26 May 1835 and 30 May 1835.

The St Albans guardians decided to combine the role of workhouse master and relieving officers rather than create new roles particularly as they believed able-bodied pauperism was very small in the district.¹⁷ The board also agreed the medical districts detailed in appendix VIII at the first meeting. The St Albans board concluded a significant amount of the necessary business at the first meeting; consequently they were ahead of the agenda set out by Adey in his model for setting up a union.

The St Albans board met for a second time just four days after the first meeting and pressed ahead with the business of setting up the union. The wording for the medical contracts (drawn up by Lowe in the intervening period) and the auditor's salary were agreed and they appointed three workhouse masters/relieving officers. They set up a separate committee to review workhouse accommodation and the state of pauperism within the union. They gave notice to the parish overseers to pay the required parochial contributions to the union by 20 June 1835.¹⁸ This suggests they were intending to take on the fiscal responsibilities of the union soon after that date. However, St Albans' swift adoption of the union system was arrested when questions were raised about the eligibility of *ex officio* guardians who sat as magistrates of the Liberty of St Albans rather than the county of Hertfordshire.¹⁹ The St Albans parish was part of the Liberty of St Albans and some magistrates sat on the bench for the liberty and not the county.²⁰

¹⁷ Off Acc 1162, 26 May 1835, 30 May 1835.

¹⁸ Off Acc 1162, 30 May 1835.

¹⁹ Off Acc 1162, 06 Jun 1835.

The wording of section 38 of the Poor Law Amendment Act specified only that 'every Justice of the Peace residing in any such Parish, and acting for the County, Riding or Division in which the same may be situated' was entitled to act as an ex-officio guardian. The question arose therefore as to whether liberty magistrates were entitled to sit as ex-officio guardians. The question was further

Proceedings were halted until the Poor Law Commission had been consulted. The commissioners in turn sought the opinion of legal counsel. To avoid unnecessary delay it was agreed to carry on with implementing the New Poor Law and exclude the Liberty magistrates while a decision on their status was reached centrally.²¹ When it was concluded that the liberty magistrates were not entitled to act as *ex officio* guardians William Mogg Bowen, the Headmaster of the Abbey school and Richard Brabant, the town mayor were excluded from the board of guardians.²² Having offered the town council chamber as the venue for the meetings, Brabant was then unable to participate – officially at least.

Once meetings resumed the board of guardians worked efficiently towards the establishment of the union. Medical contracts were agreed and a review of the pauper population undertaken. The latter found 249 indoor poor throughout the union and a further 404 in receipt of outdoor relief. This represented 1.5 per cent and 2.5 per cent respectively of the population. There were another ten to twelve men maintained under a roundsman system. The committee appointed to review the extent of pauperism reported that they expected 50 of the 249 indoor paupers would leave the house when the new regulations were introduced and would maintain themselves or be helped by their families.²³ If correct this represented an

complicated because some county magistrates were also liberty magistrates and some were only liberty magistrates.

²⁰ St Albans parish was part of the Liberty of St Albans founded on areas owned by the Abbot of St Albans prior to the Reformation. A liberty was an administrative district which sat outside the normal county structure; it had its own court system and hence its own magistrates. *Guide to Old Hertfordshire, The Importance of Understanding Administrative Boundaries*, <http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/places/places-boundary-changes.htm> [accessed 15 Jul 2015].

²¹ Letter from Adey 12 Jun 1836 in Off Acc 1162, 13 Jun 1835. Letter from the PLC, 17 Jun 1835 in Off Acc 1162, 20 Jun 1835.

²² Off Acc 1162, 21 Jul 1835.

²³ Off Acc 1162, 20 Jun 1835.

immediate reduction of 20 per cent in the number of paupers being maintained. The committee recommended that the pensioner list should be 'rigorously examined' and expected that 'very many will be found to be improper objects for Parochial Relief'.²⁴ Here too they forecast that upwards of 100 persons would be struck off and another twelve to fifteen would go into the workhouse.²⁵ This suggests 25 per cent of those receiving outdoor relief would be excluded from such relief in future. With regard to able-bodied roundsmen they considered full employment was achievable for the able-bodied if 'the intervention of the Parish Authorities' was removed.²⁶ The language used here is both assertive and superior. Referring to the poor as 'objects' shows a lack of empathy with the impact of their decisions on those seeking relief. By October 1835 the St Albans board of guardians had exceeded their own expectations and noted the following in their minutes.

From a survey of the whole [union accounts] the Board will derive considerable satisfaction in witnessing the pecuniary advantage derived from its labours even during the short period it has had the management of the poor of the district. It will be found that on comparing the Pension List at the commencement and conclusion of the quarter a decrease of 167 persons has been affected amounting to £18 per week while at the same time the numbers in the workhouse have been diminished from 249 to 156 fully realizing the anticipation held out in the report of a former committee.²⁷

During its first years of operation the principal occupation of the board was to drive down the pauper numbers. The board of guardians minute books

²⁴ Off Acc 1162, 20 Jun 1835.

²⁵ Off Acc 1162, 20 Jun 1835.

²⁶ Off Acc 1162, 20 Jun 1835.

²⁷ Off Acc 1162, 17 Oct 1835.

recorded some refusals and discontinuation of relief payments. From December 1836 the board minutes recorded the weekly amounts of out relief paid out (in kind and in cash) by each relieving officer. From January 1837 the minutes also recorded the amount paid as in-maintenance including the number of days this represented. Thus every week the board of guardians were appraised of the cost of poor relief enabling them to closely monitor any changes in poor relief expenditure.

An initial review of workhouse accommodation in the area recommended the removal of all able-bodied paupers to the Sandridge workhouse and the possible building of a new workhouse in the St Stephen parish. The committee anticipated that with the reduction in pauper numbers two workhouses would be sufficient.²⁸ Children were moved to the existing St Stephens workhouse thus separating them from their parents. The workhouses at Wheathampstead, St Peter, Harpenden and St Albans Abbey were deemed 'quite inefficient and useless as workhouses' and the board sought advice on what to do with them.²⁹ Arrangements were made to transfer five lunatic paupers to an asylum in Bethnal Green.³⁰ It took over a year to agree to erect a purpose-built union workhouse and it was nearly three years before the new workhouse was operational.³¹

The St Albans board opted to use a number of committees to review and report back to the full board on a series of issues regarding the establishment and administration of the union. In addition to the committees that looked at the extent of pauperisation and workhouse accommodation there were committees

²⁸ Off Acc 1162, 20 Jun 1835.

²⁹ Off Acc 1162, 25 Jul 1835, 01 Aug 1835.

³⁰ Off Acc 1162, 20 Jun 1835, 27 Jun 1835, 04 Jul 1835, 18 Jul 1835.

³¹ Off Acc 1162, 14 May 1836, 21 May 1836, 09 Jul 1836, 16 Mar 1838.

who looked at the dietary, made regular workhouse visits, inspected the accounts and visited Mr Warburton's Lunatic Asylum.³² Almost from the outset the St Albans board arranged education for the children; they used a pauper inmate to supervise and educate the children and later appointed a live-in school master and mistress.³³

The St Albans board appears to have operated in an efficient and business like manner. Board members gave notice the week before if they wanted to raise a specific topic, thus guardians would know if a subject of particular interest was due to be discussed. Meetings were held on Saturday, which was also market day; if they could not conclude all the business before 12:30 they adjourned and re-convened in the afternoon.³⁴ A number of issues – especially concerning the erection of a new workhouse were put to a vote and decisions were not always carried unanimously. Once the union was established the St Albans board of guardians met only fortnightly with the approval of the Poor Law Commission.³⁵ This suggests the board were confident they were in control of the situation in their union.

³² Off Acc 1162, 27 Jun 1835, 15 Aug 1835, 29 Aug 1835, 05 Sep 1835, 14 Nov 1835.

Thomas Warburton was the proprietor of lunatic asylums in Hoxton and Bethnal Green in the east-end of London which took pauper lunatics from parishes in London and surrounding counties. <http://www.historytoday.com/elaine-murphy/mad-house-keepers-east-london> [accessed 29 Aug 2014].

³³ Off Acc 1162, 27 Jun 1835, 05 Sep 1835.

³⁴ Off Acc 1162, 15 Aug 1835.

³⁵ Off Acc 1162, 7 Jul 1837.

Watford Union

The Watford Union was declared on the same day as the St Albans union, 23 May 1835. The union was made up of six parishes: Abbots Langley, Aldenham, Bushey, Rickmansworth, Sarratt and Watford. Assistant commissioner Adey had anticipated some resistance from the Abbots Langley parish as one resident William Bagot had organised and submitted a petition which he claimed was from 'nearly all the rate payers who are not labourers' and who were all 'disgusted at the idea of being attached to large towns and great population without over beneficial reasons for so doing.'³⁶ The petition contained 87 names and listed their diverse occupations, which included servant, sack carrier, grocer, blacksmith, lawyer and farmer. Bagot claimed there was no able-bodied pauperism in the parish and that the 21 residents in the poor house comprised two abandoned children and 19 others with an average age over 70.³⁷ This implies that the petitioners of Abbots Langley considered the aged and young children to be legitimate claimants of poor relief who the parish were willing to support. The parish had experienced considerable success in reducing poor relief after Septimus Richard Moate, a local farmer, took over the management of the poor.³⁸ Adey met with Bagot and refused to accept that Abbots Langley should be treated differently to other parishes.³⁹ Adey knew that Bagot had influence in the parish, but believed that others - though they might prefer to keep the parish separate - would ultimately not oppose the setting up of the union and the appointment of

³⁶ MH 12/4679, Letter from W Bagot, 9 May 1835.

³⁷ MH 12/4679, Letter from W Bagot, 8 May 1835.

³⁸ C.W. Clerk, *Abbots Langley Then 1760 -1960, A history of the Village and four miles around* (Cockfosters: 1997). MH 12/4679, Adey to Frankland Lewis, 9 May 1835.

³⁹ MH 12/4679, Adey to Frankland Lewis, 9 May 1835.

guardians.⁴⁰ Adey was proved correct and there is no evidence of on-going resistance in Watford from Bagot or others to the implementation of the New Poor Law.

The parish of Watford was the largest parish in the Watford union in both acreage and population size, it continued to grow and became the fastest growing town in Hertfordshire during the nineteenth century.⁴¹ At the time the poor law was introduced Watford was a modest sized market town, but was less economically advanced than St Albans.⁴² Like St Albans it was on a principal coaching route out of London, but its economic prosperity was derived from straw-plait, silk manufacturing and its access to the Grand Junction Canal.⁴³ There was also an extensive malting industry.⁴⁴ The area along the Gade and Colne valleys was also important for papermaking and it was in the mills there that the first Fourdrinier-type papermaking machines were developed.⁴⁵

This group of parishes stand apart from the unions of Hatfield, Hitchin and St Albans as they experienced a decline in poor relief payments in the final years of the Old Poor Law.⁴⁶ Between 1830 and 1842 relief expenditure was reduced by 16.2 per cent. Poor relief expenditure per head of population averaged 11 shillings (£0.55) per head. In Rickmansworth parish it averaged just 9s 11d (£0.49). The

⁴⁰ MH 12/4679, Adey to Frankland Lewis, 9 May 1835.

⁴¹ Julie Moore, *The impact of agricultural depression and land ownership change on the county of Hertfordshire, c.1870-1914* (PhD thesis, University of Hertfordshire, 2010), pp. 51-52.

⁴² W Branch-Johnson, *The Industrial Archaeology of Hertfordshire* (Newton Abbott, David & Charles, 1970), p138

⁴³ Sheila Jennings, 'The Silk Industry' in Short (ed), *An Historical Atlas of Hertfordshire*, pp. 96-97; Branch-Johnson, *The Industrial Archaeology of Hertfordshire*, p118.

⁴⁴ *Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839*, p.217.

⁴⁵ The Fourdrinier-type paper-making machines transformed the paper-making industry by mechanising paper production and allowing the production of a continuous sheet of paper. Robert Clapperton and Robert Henderson, *The Paper-making Machine: Its Invention, Evolution, and Development*. (Oxford: Pergamon, 1967). Michael Stanyon, 'Papermaking' in Short, *An Historical Atlas of Hertfordshire*, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁶ For a breakdown of poor relief payments in each parish see Appendix X.

smallest parish Sarrett (a wholly rural area) was paying the most, twice as much as the neighbouring parish of Rickmansworth with an average of 18s 2d (£0.91). Sarrett (along with Bushey) did not have a local parish poor house but the other four parishes did. The Watford board of guardians demonstrated their commitment to the principles of the New Poor Law by deciding almost immediately to build a central workhouse.⁴⁷ This was not completed until January 1838 and both the Watford and Aldenham workhouses stayed in use until then.

The Watford union held its first board of guardians meeting on 28 May 1835 at the Essex Arms Inn, Watford with assistant commissioner Adey in attendance. Reporting on the meeting Adey said: 'I found a most respectable set of Gentlemen assembled, of the first class of tradesmen and Farmers.'⁴⁸ (However the occupational analysis detailed in chapter five indicates the majority of this group were men of independent means rather than farmers or tradesmen). The Watford union elected sixteen guardians from its six parishes and another ten men sat as *ex officio* guardians as shown in appendix VIII. One of the *ex officio* guardians, George Alfred Muskett Esq was also an elected guardian for St Albans Abbey parish. He purchased a large estate, The Bury, in Rickmansworth and once resident was eligible to sit *ex officio* as a county magistrate. John Finch Mason, a gentleman from Aldenham and *ex officio* guardian, was elected chairman and Thomas Edward Dyson, elected guardian for Watford parish was elected vice-chairman. Adey was pleased with the composition of this board of guardians. He described Mason as 'the Gentleman to whom the Parishes of Aldenham in this Union and St Stevens in

⁴⁷ BG/WAT/1, 23 Jun 1835. BG/WAT/2, 26 Jan 1838.

⁴⁸ MH 12/4679, Report from Adey, 28 May 1835.

the St Albans Union are indebted for their improved state.⁴⁹ The relieving officer Thomas Wilson was also a particular favourite of Adey. He later tried to recruit Wilson to instruct other relieving officers in his district but Wilson declined the post as he was committed to the task in Watford.⁵⁰ Adey was confident about the ability of the Watford board and reported that 'with his [Wilson] and Mr Mason's assistance I feel assured this Union will soon be on a par with St Albans, where relief to the able bodied except in the workhouse, will very soon be refused.'⁵¹

Watford union appointed just one relieving officer, Thomas Wilson, who was required to travel large distances across the union but for the purpose of medical relief however, the union was divided into three districts as shown in appendix VIII. Wilson took over from the local overseers on 13 June 1835, less than a month after the union was declared and before some other aspects of the administration had been set up.⁵²

Like St Albans, the Watford board set up a separate committee to consider the workhouse arrangements. As an interim measure they sent all able-bodied paupers to Abbots Langley poorhouse, the young and infirm to Rickmansworth and the paupers in Bushey to Aldenham poorhouse.⁵³ The guardians' minutes used the terms 'workhouse' and 'poorhouse' interchangeably so it is not clear exactly what regimes existed in each parish but it is clear that they operated a classification system from the start. This was revised again a month later when all able-bodied

⁴⁹ MH 12/4679, Report from Adey, 28 May 1835.

⁵⁰ MH 32/5, Correspondence, 15 Sep 1835, 27 Oct 1835, 28 Oct 1835.

⁵¹ MH 12/4679, Report from Adey, 28 May 1835.

⁵² BG/WAT/1, 16 Jun 1835, 02 Jun 1835.

⁵³ BG/WAT/1, 16 Jun 1835.

women and children were placed in Watford workhouse and aged married persons were sent to Rickmansworth together.⁵⁴

The guardians of the Watford union did not hesitate to enforce the new regulations. In their review of existing arrangements they stopped or reduced allowances paid to widows and orphans and new relief applicants were often refused relief or offered the workhouse. For example an elderly couple John Moorcroft aged 67 and his wife Rebecca aged 68 were granted 1s 6d per week for 2 weeks, but for further relief they would be admitted to the poor house.⁵⁵ The guardians were also pragmatic so that 'the removal of paupers from the poor house should be made as quietly as possible' they granted 6s each for one month to Joseph Surman aged 75, George Mallard (77) and John Sutton (69) to leave the poor house at Abbots Langley.⁵⁶

Like the St Albans union, the Watford board of guardians operated in an efficient and business like manner. They were committed to the implementation of the New Poor Law and embraced the concept of the central union workhouse from the outset. Considerations of cost and location delayed its construction but they adopted a classification system immediately in existing premises. Weekly reporting of the amounts paid in out relief and the number of inmates in the temporary workhouses ensured the guardians were aware of the expenditure in the union.

⁵⁴ BG/WAT/1, 7 Jul 1835.

⁵⁵ BG/WAT/1, 07 July 1835.

⁵⁶ BG/WAT/1, 14 July 1835.

Hatfield Union

Hatfield Union was declared on 4 July 1835 (along with the unions of Barnet and Welwyn) and was the last of the Hertfordshire unions to be established. It was made up of just four parishes: Essendon, Hatfield, North Mimms and Northaw. Hatfield was a small market town and was also the seat of Lord Salisbury whose estate extended over large parts of the area. Hatfield parish also contained the Brockett estate, the country seat of Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne.⁵⁷ The town was not a major coaching stop like St Albans and Watford, but coaches from London to the North used the Great North Road that ran through both Hatfield and Northaw.⁵⁸ This was mainly an agricultural area and straw-plait was feature of the Hatfield and North Mimms economy but was less prevalent in the parishes of Essendon or Northaw.

Following the implementation of Lord Salisbury's reforms in 1820 Hatfield parish saw a decline in the amount spent on poor relief. Levels of poor relief remained fairly static in the other three parishes. The average amount of poor relief spent per head of population ranged from 8 shillings 11 pence (£0.44) in Essendon to nearly double that amount at 17s 5d (£0.87) in Northaw.⁵⁹ Hatfield's costs at 9s (£0.45) per head of population were only slightly greater than that in Essendon. All of the parishes had their own poorhouse or workhouse with resident paupers but they were all moved into the Hatfield workhouse by the end of

⁵⁷ Lord Melbourne had been Home Secretary in Grey's government from 1830 to 1834 and became Prime Minister in 1834 when Grey resigned. <https://www.gov.uk/government/history/past-prime-ministers/william-lamb-2nd-viscount-melbourne> [Accessed 22 Aug 2016].

⁵⁸ *Pigots Directory of Hertfordshire 1839*, pp.186-187.

⁵⁹ For a breakdown of poor relief payments in each parish see appendix X.

September 1835. Steps were taken to sell the redundant parish workhouses and their contents.⁶⁰

The setting up of the Hatfield union appears to have followed a model of efficiency. The inaugural meeting of the Hatfield board of guardians was held at the Salisbury Arms in Hatfield on 10 July 1835. Lord Salisbury attended and was elected chairman; William Franks Esq, a gentleman and *ex officio* guardian, was elected vice-chairman. The board was made up of just eight elected guardians and four *ex officio* guardians including Lord Salisbury, as detailed in appendix VIII. As Salisbury, (aided by the Reverend Faithful and the workhouse master John Bridgen) had administered poor relief in Hatfield since 1820 the implementation of the New Poor Law in Hatfield was in effect 'business as usual' but with the addition of three small parishes. Hatfield - the only town in the group - was at the centre of the union and the parish workhouse built in 1788 became the union workhouse.⁶¹ Bridgen stayed on as workhouse master and took on the additional duties of relieving officer. The Hatfield union concluded much of the business that Adey had suggested should take place over five meetings in just one meeting. This included electing various officers, (clerk, workhouse master and relieving officer) deciding on the medical districts and agreeing advertisements for medical contracts. By the third meeting the medical officers had been appointed and by the time the board met for the fourth time these medical men had begun reporting. However the board had neglected to get the approval of the Poor Law Commission. The medical contracts were approved, but only after Adey had recommended the midwifery

⁶⁰ BG/HAT/1, 10 Jul 1835, 27 Aug 1835, 03 Sep 1835, 21 Sep 1835.

⁶¹ The Hatfield parish workhouse was built in 1788 'to designs of John Donowell an accomplished architect who was restoring Hatfield House at the time.' Robin Harcourt-Williams, Letter to the Editor, *Welwyn and Hatfield Times*, 2 March 1984.

charges be reduced to 7s 6d 'to make them correspond with the terms of the adjoining unions'.⁶² This is another example of how the assistant commissioners influenced the way that the early unions were established.

Once the Hatfield union was up and running fortnightly rather than weekly meetings became the norm. Adey rarely visited the Hatfield union; he attended the first two meetings of the board of guardians in July 1835 and then only once more in May 1837.⁶³ For the Hatfield parish making the adjustment to the New Poor Law had minimal impact; few paupers were receiving outdoor relief and the practice of 'offering the house' was long established. Lord Salisbury's controlling interest and influence in the area may have further aided implementation.

Hitchin Union

The Hitchin union was the fifth Hertfordshire union formed by Adey and was declared on 15 June 1835. It was the largest union in Hertfordshire consisting of twenty-seven parishes in the far north of the county: Baldock, Bygrave, Caldecott, Clothall, Codicote, Gravely, Great Wymondley, Hexton, Hitchin, Ickleford, Ippollitts, Kimpton, King's Walden, Knebworth, Letchworth, Lilley, Little Wymondley, Newnham, Norton, Offley, Pirton, Radwell, Shephall, St Paul's Walden, Stevenage, Weston, and Willian; and one parish Holwell over the county boundary in Bedfordshire.⁶⁴ It was principally an agricultural region with little manufacturing industry; the three parishes with the largest population were Baldock (population 1,704), Stevenage (population 1,859), and Hitchin (population 2,692). These were

⁶² MH 12/4441, 25 Jul 1835.

⁶³ BG/HAT/1, 4 May 1837.

⁶⁴ Hitchin union was the largest by area 6,150 acres (24.9 km²) and population although Royston union had 28 parishes to Hitchin's 27.

the most urbanised centres in the union and all were market towns that provided coaching stops on the northern route out of London and were where straw-plait was traded. The cottage industry of straw-plait was a major activity in this area. Hitchin and Baldock were also centres for malting and brewing.⁶⁵ Seventeen of the twenty-eight parishes had a population of less than 500 in 1831 and Caldecott parish had a population of just 39. Spending on poor relief varied considerably; in absolute terms Caldecott averaged just £17 per annum between 1832 and 1834, whereas Hitchin averaged over £2,500 per annum. The mean spend per head of population was 13s 1d (£0.66) and ranged from 7s 5d (£0.37) per head of population in the small parish of Newnham to £1 15s 5d (£1.77) in Knebworth.⁶⁶ There was a wide variation in both the actual cost of relief and in the trend of those costs overall. The total spend in the parishes which formed this union had reduced from £11,480 in 1830 to £10,833 in 1834, a decrease of 5.6 per cent.⁶⁷ However, this was not the trend in all parishes: the amount spent on poor relief in Hitchin parish decreased by 22 per cent and spending in Offley increased by 18 per cent. When Adey set up the union he did not see any positive trends in the data and advised the Poor Law Commission that with the exception of Hitchin and two or three smaller parishes, 'all the other parishes are in a state to require the interposition of the Board'.⁶⁸ The Poor Law Report of 1834 had claimed that poor relief payments were increasing and that levels of poor relief in rural areas were of particular concern. As a largely agricultural region it might be expected that

⁶⁵ *Pigots Directory of Hertfordshire 1839*, pp. 172-222.

⁶⁶ For a breakdown of poor relief payments in each parish between 1830 and 1834 see appendix X.

⁶⁷ The 1830 total of £11,480 would be higher as this figure excludes the relief spent in Bygrave, Caldecott, Clothall, Radwell and Holwell as the data is not available.

⁶⁸ MH 12/4612, Letter and map from D G Adey, 9 May 1835.

Hitchin would exhibit those characteristics yet the picture is far more mixed and the overall trend does not suggest a significant or growing problem. Adey's interpretation is inaccurate at best and perhaps explains why some parts of the union objected to their inclusion in the Hitchin union.

This was a significantly larger union than the others examined in Hertfordshire, perhaps because it was not constituted as Adey had originally planned. He wanted to make the magisterial divisions of Baldock and Stevenage separate unions however Lord Dacre and others persuaded him that Hitchin was a more suitable place at which they could conveniently meet.⁶⁹

The first meeting of the elected board of guardians for the Hitchin union took place in The Swan Inn, Market Square, Hitchin on 16 June 1835 under the supervision of Adey.⁷⁰ Thirty-four elected guardians were present, the larger parishes returned multiple guardians but most had just one representative as shown in appendix VIII. The parishes of Shephall, Letchworth and Clothall were not represented at this first meeting. The parish of Clothall had been accidentally omitted from the union when it was legally declared. When Adey discovered his error two weeks later he contacted the Poor Law Commission and Clothall was added in.⁷¹ Two men each represented two parishes and just three *ex officio* guardians also attended: Lord Darce of Kimpton Hoo, Edward Hamson, and the Reverend Frederick Sullivan, Vicar of the parish of Kimpton. The latter was elected as chairman. Adey proposed the election of William Lucas, one of the four elected guardians for the parish of Hitchin and a well respected Quaker philanthropist in

⁶⁹ MH 12/4612, Part of letter from D G Adey, 21 Apr 1835.

⁷⁰ BG/HIT/1, 16 Jun 1835.

⁷¹ MH 12/4612, Letter from D G Adey, 1 Jul 1835.

the town, as the vice-chairman however Lucas declined to accept the post and Thomas Hailey, another Hitchin guardian was elected as vice-chairman. Adey believed Hailey to be a political ally of the disruptive Unwin Heathcote (discussed below) and he probably did not find this appointment agreeable.⁷²

The Hitchin union took longer to set up the administrative infrastructure than the other unions examined. At the first meeting the guardians agreed to meet weekly at the Hitchin workhouse, and appointed a clerk, auditor and treasurer. The board agreed to appoint two relieving officers to serve the union. Six candidates were proposed before James Coleman and John Smith were appointed. (They subsequently decided to have three relieving officers and workhouse master John Manning became the third appointment).⁷³ The relieving districts were agreed and arranged as detailed in appendix VIII and the Clerk was directed to ask overseers of the poor of all parishes for a 'full and accurate return of all persons now receiving relief in their respective parishes'.⁷⁴ The relieving officers were directed to acquaint themselves with their districts and to compile a list of paupers in each district by 27 July. The board appointed another committee 'to enquire into the best system of administering relief in kind as directed by the Commissioners, the manner and time of advertising for and receiving tenders, the articles to be tendered for in administering such relief, and the places in the union at which it will be most convenient for such articles to be delivered'.⁷⁵

The guardians divided the union into five districts for the provision of medical relief and placed advertisements in the local press inviting tenders for each

⁷² MH 12/4612, 10 May 1835.

⁷³ BG/HIT/1, 22 Jun 1835.

⁷⁴ BG/HIT/1, 22 Jun 1835.

⁷⁵ BG/HIT/1, 29 Jun 1835.

of the districts in four local newspapers.⁷⁶ A committee of seven guardians was appointed to consult with the assistant commissioner regarding the workhouse accommodation in the union 'and on the mode of rendering it available at the least expense.'⁷⁷ St Albans and Watford formed similar committees but had not also consulted the assistant commissioner. The extensive use of committees was a feature of the Hitchin board, which with a full complement of elected and *ex officio* guardians in attendance would have numbered around 40 men. This aspect of the administration will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

After four meetings over four weeks, the board of guardians was not ready to take over the administration and manage the union. The chairman and vice-chairman of the board became *ex officio* members of all committees. Whether this was to stimulate activity or to give greater power to these individuals cannot be determined. Seven parishes had not supplied the information requested by the board.⁷⁸ Some of the parishes were slow to respond to requests for information and at various times the board had to threaten legal action in order to get parishes to comply with legitimate requests. Despite the slow progress (and without attending any further meetings) Adey told the Poor Law Commission that '[t]hey are going extremely well at Hitchin'.⁷⁹ Perhaps Adey's expectations of the Hitchin board were lower than that of other unions as they were taking much more time to set up the union than others under his supervision.

Eventually the committees reported back and piece-by-piece the board acquired the information required to implement the Poor Law Amendment Act in

⁷⁶ *The County Chronicle, The County Herald, The County Press, The Reformer.*

⁷⁷ BG/HIT/1, 16 Jun 1835.

⁷⁸ BG/HIT/1, 6 Jul 1835.

⁷⁹ MH 12/4612, Letter from Adey, 1 Jul 1835.

full. The sub-committee looking into relief in kind recommended the use of nominated contractors to supply bread and flour using a ticket system.⁸⁰ The workhouse committee recommended that the Hitchin town workhouse should be enlarged and made the new central workhouse for the union. The guardians then formed two more committees: one to look into the cost of expanding the Hitchin town workhouse and a second to consider the bread contracts.

Reviewing the pauper description lists compiled by the relieving officers was a significant task which took place at four meetings held over eight days. Adey's model for setting up the union had this task taking place in the fifth meeting, and as one of several agenda items for that day but this was clearly a much bigger task in the larger unions. The Hitchin minutes stated only that the Pauper Description lists were 'examined and revised and directions given to the Relieving Officer with respect to the several paupers contained therein.'⁸¹ There is no detailed record of the outcome of these examinations in the board of guardian minutes and the relieving officers' books have not survived but it was at this point that the local overseers were also advised that after 31 July 1835 payments should be made in kind. The union had been in place for six weeks but up to this point individual paupers may not have experienced any change. This was the point when unionisation would start to bite. The guardians also agreed bread contracts, took steps towards bringing legal proceedings against four parishes who had not paid their parochial contribution into the union account and completed the appointment of medical doctors to the districts and the workhouse.

⁸⁰ BG/HIT/1, 13 Jul 1835.

⁸¹ BG/HIT/1, 23 Jul, 27 Jul, 28 Jul & 30 Jul 1835.

It was not until the twelfth meeting almost two months later that the board first considered pauper appeals.⁸² As well as agreeing new allowances, payments were increased or decreased; discretion was afforded to the relieving officers and allowances were withdrawn from those who had family members or benefit clubs to assist them. In the case of Joseph Webster of Hitchin and his wife, provision was made for them to have care at home in the form of 'a women from the workhouse to attend on [them]'.⁸³ Only four of the 32 cases were offered the house, three of these were from the parish of Gravely which prior to unionisation did not have a workhouse in which to relieve its paupers. A transcription of the cases is given by way of example in appendix X.

Was the slow rate at which unionization proceeded in Hitchin a feature of its size or because of an underlying lack of cooperation from its elected guardians? Correspondence with the Poor Law Commission suggests that the amalgamation of the parishes, which formed the Hitchin union, was not universally welcome. Mr Veasey wrote to the newly appointed Poor Law Commission and claimed it would be difficult to adopt the New Poor Law in Baldock because of the small physical size of the parish.⁸⁴ Samuel Mills objected to the proposed union of the parish of Radwell with the town of Baldock. Mills had a significant controlling interest in the parish and claimed there were no problems there. He objected to the Baldock 'system of management' which he considered to be 'very faulty'.⁸⁵ Radwell had an average spend on poor relief of £52 per annum at unionisation, which at 10

⁸² BG/HIT/1, 10 Aug 1835.

⁸³ BG/HIT/1, 10 Aug 1835.

⁸⁴ MH 12/4612, Letter from S. Veasey, 10 Oct 1834.

⁸⁵ MH 12/4612, Letter from Samuel Mills, Russell Square, London, 1 May 1835. Mills claimed to control 633 of the 689 acres in the parish.

shillings (£0.50) per head of population was less than the mean spend of 12 shillings (£0.60) in the area. Mills proposed that in the event that a union had to take place, the parish of Hitchin was more appropriate being the local market town and better managed.⁸⁶ The Poor Law Commission referred his comments to assistant commissioner Adey.

Hitchin parish was no better disposed to unionisation. Members of the select vestry 'determined to resist all union' detained Adey to his 'great annoyance' when he visited in April 1835.⁸⁷ They had prepared a petition to the Poor Law Commission and to Parliament, 'which was to be signed by all the inhabitants' and presented to Adey.⁸⁸ Adey believed he had won over this deputation and that they had left having agreed to the general outline of a union he proposed. However he had conceded some ground as he wrote:

I shall not be able to make the Union quite as I shod [sic] like, but the disarming opposition in so rich and populous a form as this (well managed too) is so great a point gained that I trust the Board will approve my constituting it, when it has been done without any sacrifice of a principle.⁸⁹

A few weeks later the dissatisfied select vestry complained to the Poor Law Commission that Adey had proposed the parish would be at the centre of a union of thirteen parishes, but had since added 'several large, populous, and badly managed Parishes'. They argued that the smaller scale 'compactness' of the original proposition had won over some of those who were 'strongly opposed to any union being formed.' However, they now believed that without the 'cordial co-

⁸⁶ MH 12/4612, Letter from Samuel Mills, Russell Square, London, 1 May 1835.

⁸⁷ MH 12/4612, Letter from Adey, 21 Apr 1835.

⁸⁸ MH 12/4612, Letter from Adey, 21 Apr 1835.

⁸⁹ MH 12/4612, Letter from Adey, 21 Apr 1835.

operation of the principle parishioners...it will be almost impossible to work the Poor Law Amendment Bill beneficially.⁹⁰ Three churchwardens, two overseers and thirteen other members of the select vestry signed it. Despite their protestations about the increased burden of responsibility being thrust upon the office of guardian, many of these signatories would serve as guardians of the poor for the parish and union of Hitchin in the coming years.

When Adey submitted his plan for the Hitchin union to the commissioners in May 1835 he made no reference to these events and was apparently unaware of the strength of feeling it expressed. His letter to the Poor Law Commission stated:

In the course of the week I have seen most of the influential Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood, and I have pleasure in reporting that tho' there may be insulated [sic] cases of opposition, there is no probability of it being of a serious nature, as with the exception of Hitchin itself, which is under "Sturges Bournes' Act" and very well managed, and two or three of the small parishes, where there is hardly any poor, all the other parishes are in a state to require the interposition of the Board.

⁹¹

Adey defended his position. The general tone of his submission was of satisfaction. When he received news of the memorial the following day he immediately wrote to the Commissioners with his own version of events. He claimed: 'The first paragraph is the truth, but not the whole truth.'⁹² He claimed to have spoken with the gentlemen of Hitchin for some hours, and had 'overcome all objections' believing the chief misconception was to the necessity to build a new workhouse when the Hitchin guardians already had a good workhouse. He went

⁹⁰ MH 12/4612, The Memorial of the undersigned members of the Select vestry of the Parish of Hitchin in the County of Hertford, 7 May 1835.

⁹¹ MH 12/4612, Letter and map from D G Adey, 9 May 1835.

⁹² MH 12/4612, Letter from D G Adey, 10 May 1835.

on to explain that he had given no commitment to the Hitchin group and whilst he had originally conceived the idea that the magisterial divisions of Baldock and Stevenage should be a separate union he was persuaded by the 'influential Gentlemen therein' that Hitchin was a more suitable place at which they could conveniently meet. Lord Dacre and the Gentlemen of Baldock supported this decision. Other than 'the Hitchin Gentm. and one or two parishes under Mr. Heathcote's influence,' Adey believed that the majority of the parishes were in favour of his proposals, only objecting to the extension of the union as it would reduce their power.⁹³ He suggested that the main protagonist was one man, 'Mr Hailey, a most violent person and a political friend of Mr Heathcote's, who is probably at the bottom of it.' Heathcote was particularly opposed to the Poor Law Amendment Act; the previous year he had lobbied Lord Salisbury urging the House of Lords to defer the bill 'for the sake of the country and their own sakes'.⁹⁴ Heathcote was an eccentric character, described as 'a stern unbending Tory who could be relied on to oppose innovation. He fought Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, Rural Police and Railways'.⁹⁵ He continued to agitate against the New Poor Law and to disrupt its introduction in the area. Adey cautioned the commissioners against allowing the Hitchin lobby to succeed, believing that it would not be possible to establish an efficient board of guardians elsewhere. The commissioners' response to this correspondence does not survive, however a month later the union was formed on the size and scale recommended

⁹³ MH 12/4612, Letter from D G Adey, 10 May 1835.

⁹⁴ Private correspondence, Unwin Heathcote to Lord Salisbury, 26 Jul 1834, 2M/1/1/22/20, annotated with Lord Salisbury's draft reply, Hatfield House Archive, 2M/1/1/22/21.

⁹⁵ Diary of John Pryor cited by Richard Holton, *Shephall Manor Website*, http://www.shephallmanor.net/chapter_9.htm [accessed 02-07-2014].

by Adey. As one of the first unions to be declared it was important to establish the authority of both the Poor Law Commission and their assistant commissioners.

It was not just the Hitchin vestry which raised objections; just two days after the inaugural meeting the poor law commissioners received a copy of a petition to the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The petition was from 'rate-payers, owners and occupiers of the several parishes ... in the County of Hertford included in the proposed union at Hitchin under the order of the Commissioners of the Poor Law Amendment Act' and was signed by 92 men. They petitioned for exemption from the forced union on the grounds they had moderate and declining rates and a reducing number of surplus labourers. They saw no benefit in the union and they wanted to continue with their own parochial administration. Among the signatories were five guardians of the newly appointed union including the vice-chairman Thomas Hailey, the auditor William Bentley and Unwin Heathcote of Shephall.⁹⁶ The commissioners immediately asked Adey for his comments.⁹⁷

Adey had heard about a petition when he was at the inaugural meeting of the Hitchin guardians, but he assumed it referred to the earlier petition and took no action.⁹⁸ Adey noted that whilst the petition purported to come from all 27 parishes in the union it was in fact signed by 92 persons from just ten parishes. The signatories were heavily skewed towards Hitchin with 80 signatures and 12 petitioners from the other nine parishes. Adey dismissed the value of the petition stating:

⁹⁶ MH 12/4612, 'A copy of Petitions presented to The Right Honourable The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to The Honourable The Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled', undated, stamped 'Received P.L.C. Jun 18 1835'.

⁹⁷ MH 12/4612, Draft letter to P Deline Radcliffe Esq, 18 Jun 1835; Draft letter to Adey, 18 Jun 1835

⁹⁸ MH 12/4612, Letter from Adey, 20 Jun 1835.

In other words in an area of 30,000 acres and a population of 10,000 persons 92 only have signed the Petition of whom 4 are acting Guardians of the Union and out of a greater number of Parishes, an equal area, and an equal population, not a signature is obtained. I should doubt extremely whether the Petition will ever be presented to either house, at any rate it can have little weight.⁹⁹

Perhaps his personal experience of the guardians and other gentlemen of the district allowed him to believe it was mere filibustering, nevertheless the correspondence was annotated: 'Two copies to be made and given to Mr Frankland Lewis who will communicate them to Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell.'¹⁰⁰ These complaints and petitions were minor protests by local landowners with a vested interest; they quickly acquiesced and unionisation went ahead, however one parish, spurred on by one local estate owner did not capitulate so readily.

Resistance and dispute – Shephall parish

All parishes were asked to send information on actual paupers and payments to the board, however one parish, Shephall, did not send any information. The board of guardians summoned the Shephall churchwardens and overseers to their meeting ordering them to provide the information as required under the Act. They were warned 'Herein fail not, as you shall answer at your Peril.'¹⁰¹ Shephall parish had no representation on the board of guardians having

⁹⁹ MH 12/4612, Letter from Adey, 20 Jun 1835.

¹⁰⁰ MH 12/4612, Annotation on reverse of letter from Adey, 20 Jun 1835. At this date Melbourne was Prime Minister and Russell was secretary of state for home affairs. <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/russell-lord-john-1792-1878> [accessed 02-07-2014].

¹⁰¹ BG/HIT1, 13 Jul 1835.

declined to elect a representative.¹⁰² John Pallett (churchwarden) and Thomas Franklin (parish overseer) attended and were questioned by the board. Their vague and evasive responses suggest that they were being as difficult as possible.¹⁰³ The guardians felt that this non-compliance and lack of co-operation by the parish officers of Shephall left them with no alternative but to take legal proceedings. When Adey made the Poor Law Commission aware of the situation, they immediately wrote to the churchwardens and overseers of Shephall parish.¹⁰⁴ They strongly advised the parish 'to obey all legal directions' of the board of guardians of the Hitchin union and demanded an explanation of the 'alleged irregularities' to the commissioners.¹⁰⁵ Shephall's response was swift and defiant.

The Rate Payers of the Parish of Shephall contest that not having appointed any Guardian nor joined any Union they are not bound to place their properties at the disposal of a Board on which they are not represented. That the rates of the Parish are low and that there are no labourers out of employ and also they therefore can reap no benefit but that the parochial charges will be increased in their case by joining any union which they believe can neither be the object of the law nor the intention of the Commissioners. They therefore wish to be let alone to disburse their own outgoings and also their own affairs.¹⁰⁶

The letter contained no opening greeting and ended without the customary pleasantries but was signed by churchwardens Pallett and Chalkley. The commissioners' response was business like but firm; Shephall was part of the Hitchin union and 'their order and direction must be complied with.' A copy of the Poor Law Amendment Act was sent to Shephall and attention drawn to the section

¹⁰² MH 12/4612, Letter from Pallett and Chalkley, 24 Jul 1835.

¹⁰³ BG/HIT/1, 20 Jul 1835.

¹⁰⁴ MH 12/4612, Draft letter to the Churchwardens and Overseers, Shephall, 22 Jul 1835 and draft letter to Hitchin Union 23 Jul 1835.

¹⁰⁵ MH 12/4612, Draft letter to the Churchwardens and Overseers, Shephall, 22 Jul 1835.

¹⁰⁶ MH12/4612, 24 Jul 1835.

of the Act describing the ‘penalties to which you will expose yourself by disobedience to the orders of the Commissioners or of the Board of Guardians of the Hitchin Union.’¹⁰⁷

The issue of Shephall failing to pay its parochial contribution did not resolve itself amicably and the board of guardians took legal proceedings against the parish officers.¹⁰⁸ Mr Unwin Heathcote supported the parish officers and was not keen to give in to the board of guardians or the Poor Law Commission. Adey reported that Heathcote intended to engage ‘counsel to defend the Parish Officers, and to carry the matter on to the Kings Bench if he can.’¹⁰⁹ The case against Shephall was heard at St Albans Petty Sessions and according to Adey ‘created quite a sensation’.¹¹⁰ Heathcote acted as Barrister for the parish officers but despite Heathcote’s ‘numerous frivolous objections’, the case against the parish officers was proven and they were convicted of ‘non-payment of their Quota as ordered by the guardians.’¹¹¹ The parish officers were fined £5 and ordered to pay costs of £1 3s. Adey reported that Heathcote’s ‘language was violent and little credit to him, particularly considering his station in this County.’¹¹² The Poor Law Commission subsequently wrote to the Hitchin board to ‘signify their approbation of the cause pursued towards the Parish Officers of Shephall.’¹¹³

Heathcote remained defiant, he paid the fine but Shephall did not pay the quota to the union as ordered. Further legal proceedings resulted in a second fine

¹⁰⁷ MH 12/4612, Letter from PLC, 27 Jul 1835.

¹⁰⁸ BG/HIT/1, 3 Aug 1835.

¹⁰⁹ MH 12/4612, Report from Adey, 4 Aug 1835.

¹¹⁰ MH 12/4612, Report from Adey, 8 Aug 1835.

¹¹¹ BG/HIT/1, 10 Aug 1835.

¹¹² MH 12/4612, Report from Adey, 8 Aug 1835.

¹¹³ BG/HIT/1, 17 Aug 1835.

of £10 and another order for payment to be made.¹¹⁴ Heathcote changed his approach, he attended the board of guardians meeting and demanded to know how the quota of £11 was calculated. Heathcote also attempted to disrupt the operation of the board of guardians; he threatened one of his tenants with eviction if he continued as a guardian. John Horn the elected guardian for Little Wymondley, resigned from the board and attended no meetings after 28 September 1835.¹¹⁵ Both Adey and Sullivan reported this event to the Poor Law Commission but neither could prevent this abuse of power by a local landowner.¹¹⁶

The pursuit of Shephall through the courts continued until Shephall capitulated in October 1835; the parish paid their quota and the board of guardians agreed to stop any further proceedings.¹¹⁷ The letter sent by the parish officers to the board of guardians has not survived so the reasons given for this capitulation are uncertain.¹¹⁸ Correspondence in the local newspaper suggests that many considered that Heathcote had taken his eccentric behaviour and opposition to the poor law beyond the bounds of reasonableness for a man in his position. Questions were asked as to whether he had overstepped the mark in encouraging violent agitation whilst himself a Commissioner of the Peace and head of the local yeomanry. He lacked the support of his peers and some of the articles questioned his mental health.¹¹⁹ It seems likely that Heathcote was unable to garner enough support to continue his opposition although at the first petty sessions hearing in St Albans he had stated his willingness to go to prison rather than allow the parish to

¹¹⁴ BG/HIT/1, 21 Sep 1835.

¹¹⁵ MH 12/4612, Letter from The Rev. Frederick Sullivan, 28 Sep 1835 and BG/HIT/2, 5 Oct 1835.

¹¹⁶ MH 33/5, Letter from Adey, 3 Oct 1835 and MH 12/4612, Letter from The Rev. Frederick Sullivan, 28 Sep 1835.

¹¹⁷ BG/HIT/2, 5 Oct 1835.

¹¹⁸ BG/HIT/2, 5 Oct 1835.

¹¹⁹ *The Reformer*, 6 Oct 1835, p.2; 13 Oct 1835, p.2 & p.3; 20 Oct 1836, p.2.

enter the union and failing that claimed he would leave the country.¹²⁰ But it was not Heathcote who was indicted and fined, it was the parish officers and it would have been the parish officers who faced imprisonment for any on-going refusal to obey the law. Heathcote did not pay the fine at the second hearing as he had at the first, and when it remained unpaid at the end of the year the Hitchin board instructed solicitors to recover the fine.¹²¹ In addition the £14 16s 10d prosecution costs incurred by the union were charged to Shephall parish.¹²²

The following Spring Heathcote began a new campaign; he continued to object to unionisation with Hitchin and claimed the costs levied on the parish were unreasonable, incorrectly calculated and unfair. Rather than agitating to leave the union he argued, in a calm and moderate way, that Shephall should have been united with the Welwyn union as Adey had originally told the parish officers it would be. He claimed that Welwyn was physically nearer and more accessible than Hitchin and no mention of a union with Hitchin was communicated until after the union was declared.¹²³ Prior to writing the letter, Heathcote had a personal meeting with George Nicholls, one of the poor law commissioners at Somerset House.¹²⁴ Before responding the Poor Law Commission took the familiar route of consulting with Adey on the matter.¹²⁵ Adey did not believe that Heathcote fully understood how the system was to work but he confirmed that Heathcote's account was substantially correct, if coloured by a man pleading his own case.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ *The Reformer*, 25 Aug 1835, p.3.

¹²¹ BG/HIT/2, 28 Dec 1835.

¹²² MH 12/4612, Quarterly abstract of accounts and report from William Bentley, Auditor, 23 Feb 1836.

¹²³ MH 12/4612, Letter from Heathcote to Geo. Nicholls Esq, 29 Mar 1836.

¹²⁴ MH 12/4612, Letter from Heathcote to Geo. Nicholls Esq, 29 Mar 1836.

¹²⁵ MH 12/4612, Annotation on the letter from Heathcote to Geo. Nicholls Esq, 29 Mar 1836.

¹²⁶ MH 12/4612, Letter from Adey, 1 Apr 1836.

Adey refused to accept that the establishment charges were incorrect and would not recalculate them unless specifically instructed to do so by the commissioners thus challenging the Poor Law Commission to support him rather than Heathcote. The Poor Law Commission advised Heathcote that to move from one union to another would require the consent of one union to release the parish and the consent of the other to receive it; and that informal suggestions to this effect had not been favourably received. Nonetheless in April 1836, John Pallett (churchwarden) tendered an application to formally separate the Shephall parish from the Hitchin union.¹²⁷ The application was predicated on the belief that they should have been united with Welwyn union as it was closer and more convenient. The Hitchin guardians were willing to consent to the separation (given the amount of disruption Heathcote had stirred up, this was not surprising) and notified the Poor Law Commission.¹²⁸ The latter contacted Adey for his opinion and his response was emphatic:

The Parish of Shephall is nearly (I believe and quote) surrounded by the Parishes of Hitchin union – The application ought not to be listened to for a moment.¹²⁹

Adey was wrong in this assertion; Shephall was boarded by parishes in the Hitchin union on its north, west and south-west boundaries but approximately one third of the parish, to the east and south-east abutted parishes in the Hertford union. The commissioners used Adey's explanation of the local geography to deny Shephall succession from the Hitchin union. Heathcote pointed out the inaccuracy of the geographical explanation and also claimed that the earlier suggestions that the

¹²⁷ BG/HIT/2, 25 Apr 1836.

¹²⁸ BG/HIT/2, 25 Apr 1836.

¹²⁹ MH 12/4612, Annotation by Adey on reverse of Steven letter, 2 May 1836.

prospect of Shephall moving 'have not been so favourably received as to encourage them [the Poor Law Commission] to proceed with them' was incorrect as the Hitchin board had no objection to Shephall leaving the union.¹³⁰ Again Adey was asked 'to state what answer he w[oul]d suggest'.¹³¹ His short reply was 'Simply, That the P. L. Commrs see no reason for discounting Shephall Parish from Hitchin union on the grounds stated.'¹³² Heathcote wrote directly to Edwin Chadwick and accused the Poor Law Commission of ignoring the facts, double-dealing and deliberately misleading and deceiving the people of Shephall; in particular he stated that he had spoken directly to the Hitchin guardians and none were against the proposed separation which had been alluded to in previous correspondence.¹³³ Frankland Lewis wrote to Heathcote and advised him that it was not the Hitchin guardians that had objected to Shephall leaving but that the Welwyn union had 'without a moments hesitation expressed the most earnest and decided wish that it may on no account be done.' Frankland Lewis's concluding paragraph was particularly direct.

The only conclusion which as a matter of business I can draw from them is that the Guardians of Welwyn Union were abundantly justified in the reluctance they showed to any union with your Parish, and that we decided correctly in protecting them from it.¹³⁴

Perhaps determined to have the last word, Heathcote tracked down the two guardians who Frankland Lewis claimed he had spoken to and wrote back, again setting out his grievance with regard to the size of Welwyn union which the Poor

¹³⁰ MH 12/4612, Letter from Heathcote, 5 Jul 1836.

¹³¹ MH 12/4612, Annotation on reverse of letter from Heathcote, 6 Jul 1836.

¹³² MH 12/4612, Annotation on reverse of letter from Heathcote, 7 Jul 1836.

¹³³ MH 12/4612, Letter from Heathcote, 23 Jul 1836.

¹³⁴ MH 12/4612, Draft letter to Heathcote, 27 Jul 1836.

Law Commission had allowed to be formed of only three parishes whilst the Hitchin union had twenty-seven parishes. He also continued to rage against the 'unconstitutional operation' and the 'legally questionable' proceedings of the poor law commissioners and stated he would put his correspondence in the public domain.¹³⁵ Despite Heathcote's extended campaign of protest Shephall remained part of the Hitchin union and in subsequent years elected a guardian to join the board.

Conclusion

Hertfordshire adopted the New Poor Law at the earliest opportunity and with very little resistance. Two assistant poor law commissioners, Daniel Goodson Adey and Alfred Power, were responsible for grouping the county into thirteen unions. This was achieved by consulting the 'influential gentlemen' of the region before making recommendations to the central poor law commissioners on the size and composition of the unions. The size of the unions, whether measured by the geographical size, population size or number of parishes, was very variable and followed no consistent pattern or model. This suggests there was no central strategy regarding union size.

The assistant commissioners had great influence but were not always able to recommend their preferred combination of parishes. In the case of Hitchin this necessitated some late changes to the composition of the union without consulting all local parties. However the local population was largely passive in their reception of the new unions and isolated pockets of complaint were attributed to

¹³⁵ MH 12/4612, Letter from Heathcote, 30 Jul 1836.

eccentric individuals or parishes who had already begun to address the high cost of poor relief in their area. Any resistance to unionisation came from the local elite members of society and was usually short lived; consequently it did not seriously impair the process of implementation.

The St Albans and Watford unions proceeded in a business like manner and set up the new unions in a relatively short time. Hatfield union had little to do to establish the new administration as it had been operating a similar system for over fifteen years. The largest union in the region took the longest to establish. The board of guardians appeared to lack business expertise and its size resulted in numerous sub-committees slowing down the decision-making and administrative processes. Hitchin also faced some organised resistance that disrupted the administrative process during the first two years and clearly demonstrates the influence one determined and spirited individual could exert on the board of guardians.

The process for implementing the new law was still evolving at the time it was introduced in Hertfordshire. Adey's recommended timetable (discussed in chapter three) was formed as a result of the time spent in Hertfordshire rather than it being a model he followed from the beginning. The time taken to set up the unions varied from a few weeks to several months. Arguably the process was not complete until a single centralised union workhouse had been established and in most cases this took a further two or three years to complete. Nevertheless with thirteen unions declared on 4 July 1835 Hertfordshire became the first county to be fully unionised. How those unions were managed is discussed in detail in the following chapters beginning with the board of guardians.

Chapter 5

The Board of Guardians

Introduction

The board of guardians was a new tier of local government created by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. The boards played a pivotal role in the administration of the New Poor Law from the very beginning, yet historians of the poor law have paid relatively little attention to the poor law guardians themselves. When they are discussed, it is most often as a collective group or a single entity with little consideration of how the boards were constituted or who the guardians were. With the notable exception of Steve King's work on the female guardians in later 19th century Lancashire, few works have studied the poor law guardians as individuals.¹ Moreover, when they are discussed, most historians have followed the generalisation made by Sydney and Beatrice Webb that 'the vast proportion of the 25,000 Poor Law Guardians were, at all times, farmers or retail tradesmen.'² More recently, some PhD scholars have found that shopkeepers, merchants and manufacturers dominated urban boards in Yorkshire, Birmingham and Leicester.³

¹ Steven King, *Women, Welfare and Local Politics 1880-1920: 'We Might be Trusted'* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010).

² Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Poor Law History Part II: the Last Hundred Years Vol. I.* (London: Longmans, 1929), p.229. Other historians who have identified farmers as the majority include Nicholas C. Edsall, *The Anti-poor Law Movement, 1834-44* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), p.66. Michael E. Rose, *The English Poor Law, 1780-1930* (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1971), p.136. Norman Longmate, *The Workhouse: A Social History* (First published 1974, Pimlico, Random House edition, 2003), p.65. Anne Digby, *Pauper Palaces* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978) p.5.

³ Michael E Rose, *The Administration of the Poor Law in the West Riding of Yorkshire* (PhD Thesis, Oxford University, 1965), pp. 141-147. David Ashford, *The Poor Law in Bradford c1834-1871: the study of the relief of poverty in mid-nineteenth century Bradford* (PhD Thesis, University of Bradford, 1979), pp.87-89. Paul Tolley, *The Birmingham, Aston and Kings Norton Boards of Guardians and the politics and administration of the Poor Law, 1836-1912* (PhD Thesis, DeMontford University, 1994),

Through a detailed analysis of the occupational structure of the boards of guardians in four Hertfordshire unions this chapter challenges the Webbs' assertions that the majority of poor law guardians were farmers and shopkeepers and sheds new light on who the guardians were and the role they played in both implementing the New Poor Law and in the on-going poor law administration. It demonstrates that their responsibilities were more complex than the distribution of poor relief and argues that in the process for the selection of guardians parallels with the Old Poor Law persisted. In addition it examines, the mix of *ex officio* and elected guardians, their age profile and their length of service to build a portrait of the men who served as guardians. Significantly it examines the guardians' participation in poor law management by analysing the frequency of their attendance at board meetings. By examining the social background of individual guardians and factoring in their actual participation this chapter shows that elite involvement was the mainstay of the boards and that rather than a committee of guardians it was a few committed individuals who managed the administration of poor relief under the New Poor Law.

Poor law guardians did more than just make decisions about whether a pauper received poor relief or not. Firstly they were fundamental to implementing the New Poor Law as discussed in chapter four. Subsequently they were integral to managing and maintaining the union where in addition to making decisions on poor relief they recruited staff, arranged contracts for goods and services, commissioned and managed the building of new workhouses and managed the

pp.154-169. Kathryn Thompson, *The Leicester Poor Law Union, 1836-1871* (PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, 1988).

finances of the union. Their conduct, whether generous or parsimonious, set the tone for poor relief in the local area and had a big impact on how poor relief was administered and experienced by the local poor. Boards of guardians were composed of a variety of individuals each of whom brought their own personality, commitment, interests and capability to the role. The range of skills and experience these individuals brought to the board had the potential to influence how the board operated and how efficiently the union was managed. Each year over 200 men sat as elected guardians on thirteen separate boards in Hertfordshire and more than 100 others were eligible to sit as *ex officio* guardians by virtue of being local magistrates.⁴ Annually over 300 men were managing poor law policy in the county and yet virtually nothing is known about who they were or how they operated.

The Role and Responsibilities of the Board of Guardians

The Poor Law Amendment Act defined a 'Guardian' as:

any Visitor, Governor, Director, Manager, Acting Guardian, Vestryman, or other Officer in a Parish or Union, appointed or entitled to act as a Manager of the Poor, and in the Distribution or ordering of the Relief of the Poor from the Poor Rate, under any General or Local Act of Parliament.⁵

The responsibilities of the Board of Guardians were not formally defined by the Act, which stated only that:

a Board of Guardians of the Poor for such Union [constituted by the Poor Law Commissioners] shall be constituted and chosen, and the Workhouse or Workhouses of such a Union shall be governed, and

⁴ BPP, 1837-38 (236) XXXVIII.539. *Poor Law Amendment Act. Return, showing the size in square miles of the several unions formed, with the population, and number of guardians*, pp.3-4.

⁵ *Poor Law Amendment Act*, Section 109.

the Relief of the Poor in such Union shall be administered, by such Board of Guardians.⁶

Committees of guardians had been used in poor law administration previously, most notably under Gilbert's Act, so the concept was not new. However, the introduction of boards of guardians throughout England and Wales created a new tier of administration nationally, which uniquely was a body of volunteers. All other poor law personnel from the gatekeeper at the workhouse to the poor law commissioners in London were paid for their services.

This unpaid group of volunteers were instructed in their duties and responsibilities and how to conduct their business by the central Poor Law Commission as each union was declared.⁷ Over time various additional orders and circulars regarding the new administration followed which included specific directions on migration and emigration, the regulation of workhouses and the keeping of accounts.⁸ As discussed in chapter four, the guardians were steered through their responsibilities by the assistant poor law commissioner responsible for establishing the union in each region. New regulations (known as orders) were issued by the Poor Law Commission as the poor law system developed, but there was no single source that defined the role and responsibilities of the poor law guardian until the Poor Law Board (which replaced the Poor Law Commission in 1847) brought together and published details of the guardians' responsibilities in

⁶ *Poor Law Amendment Act*, Section 38.

⁷ 1835 (500) XXXV.107. *First annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, Appendix A, 'Orders and Regulations issued by the Poor Law Commission for England and Wales for the Guidance and Government of the Boards of Guardians of Unions', pp.45-55.

⁸ George Nicholls, *A History of the English Poor Law* [Original text 1854, Revised edition, Volume III], (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1967) pp.166-172.

one volume.⁹ This raises the question of whether there was one universal approach across all unions in the early years of the poor law.

Structure and Content of Meetings

Once a union was established board meetings were supposed to follow a regular agenda which focused on awarding and distributing relief.¹⁰ This prescribed format understated the range of duties undertaken by the guardians. For example it omitted the on-going correspondence with the Poor Law Commissioners including new orders issued by the commission, it took no account of the need to repeat the tendering process for goods and services (usually quarterly or annually) and no time was scheduled to appoint committees or for these to report back to the main meeting. Periodically guardians heard cases against 'refractory' paupers or complaints against union officers; they interviewed and appointed new staff and made administrative changes regarding medical districts and personnel. Workhouses were subject to regular visits and monitoring from committees who reported back to the board of guardians. The workhouses required regular reappraisal and maintenance, which often necessitated debate over further substantial capital expenditure and on-going supervision of building projects. After 1837 the boards of guardians had new obligations to the Registrar General. It was often union clerks and relieving officers who served as local registrars and as a result the clerk's office or the boardroom at the workhouse became the register

⁹ Algernon C. Bauke, *The Poor Law Guardian: his Powers and Duties in the Right Execution of his Office* (London: Shaw & Sons, 1862).

¹⁰ Minute books produced by stationery companies opened with a printed description of how the minutes should be completed with sample wording and forms.

office. Registration districts and poor law unions became convenient administrative units to collect data on a range of social and health matters.

The minutes of local board meetings do not indicate the time taken for each meeting, but the St Albans board found many members unable to stay until the end of the meetings held on Saturday - market day. In August 1835, dissatisfied at meetings running into lunchtime the St Albans board agreed to not sit beyond 12:30 and adjourn until 3:00pm if necessary.¹¹ There is no evidence of prolonged meetings lasting from 9:00am to 8:00pm to accommodate large numbers of relief applications as reported in the Leicester union during times of economic depression.¹² Meeting times were often changed during winter months – presumably to take advantage of the light for those travelling.¹³ The Poor Law Commission stipulated that meetings were to be held weekly at a fixed time, day and place so that it was known within the community. St Albans union however chose to meet on alternate Fridays and Saturdays as neither day suited a majority of guardians. They argued that meeting on market day meant that many did not remain to the end of the meeting and that a weekday meeting ‘would place the business of the union under the management of guardians who live closest’; alternate days allowed individual guardians to ‘chose a day that least interferes with other arrangements’.¹⁴ Although all guardians were required to attend just three guardians constituted a quorum regardless of the size of individual boards and many meetings proceeded with very low attendance. Hatfield reduced the

¹¹ Off Acc 1162, 15 Aug 1835.

¹² Thompson, *The Leicester Poor Law Union*, p.74.

¹³ The St Albans board brought their meetings forward from 12 noon to 10 a.m. from November 1846 to March 1847. Off Acc 1162, 27 Nov 1846.

¹⁴ Off Acc 1162, 31 Dec 1835. MH 12/4441, 7 Jan 1837, 9 Feb 1837.

frequency of meetings to fortnightly within a few months and the Poor Law Commission approved fortnightly meetings for St Albans in July 1837.¹⁵ Hitchin Union met fortnightly during the summer months but otherwise maintained regular weekly meetings.¹⁶ Watford never reached a formal agreement to meet fortnightly but summer meetings were regularly inquorate indicating some informal local agreement to meet only every other week.

In addition to the weekly meetings all of the boards set up a number of committees – particularly during the early period when the unions were establishing themselves. Typically these were: a workhouse building committee, a workhouse visiting committee, a finance committee, committees to examine and report back on tenders for goods and services. Other short-term ad hoc committees might be formed from time to time. Examples included committees for buying a burial cart in Hatfield, setting up an oil cake mill in Hitchin, investigating the need for a Chaplain in St Albans and buying bedsteads in Watford.¹⁷ Hatfield union had a very small board and had few committees whereas Hitchin and St Albans regularly set up separate committees. These required selected guardians to meet again outside of the regular weekly meeting thus increasing the time and commitment required of the guardian. As a result Hatfield union was able to take decisions quickly in the regular meeting but the decision making process was more protracted and drawn out in the larger unions.

¹⁵ BG/HAT/1. Off Acc 1162, 7 July 1847.

¹⁶ BG/HIT/8, 6 Jun 1844. BG/HIT/9, 9 Jun 1846. BG/HIT/8, 4 Jun 1844 & 3 Jun 1845.

¹⁷ BG/HAT/2, 8 Feb 1836. BG/HIT/4, 12 Dec 1837. Off Acc 1162, 8 Jun 1838. BG/WAT/7, 6 Oct 1847.

Election of Guardians

No experience or qualifications were needed to serve as a guardian save that of meeting the property qualification, which was set by the guardians in each union. In the four unions in this sample the elected guardians had to be ratepayers occupying a property worth a minimum of £30 per annum, but values varied throughout the Hertfordshire unions and was as little as £20 in the Buntingford and Hertford unions.

The ratepayers of the parish elected the guardians; but the plural voting system (which gave voters additional votes on an incremental scale determined by the size and rateable value of their property) gave the property holding elite greater influence. This was especially true in rural areas where some individuals held up to six votes.¹⁸ This type of plural voting system had been introduced under the Sturges-Bourne Acts and was retained for the New Poor Law. The elections were held around Lady Day each year with the new board usually taking office at the first meeting held after 25th March. Notice of the election of guardians was given by posting notices on the church doors and some unions placed notices in the local newspapers. Press notices appear to have been abandoned by all the unions except Ware at an early stage.¹⁹ In practice few parishes had contested elections; in a pattern common in other unions, sufficient men were nominated to fill the posts and an election was not necessary. It is likely that men were nominated in rotation to fill the role. In this respect, the parishes had not moved on from the

¹⁸ Anthony Brundage, *The English Poor Laws, 1700-1930* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), p.50.

¹⁹ Notice of elections in St Albans, Ware, Buntingford, Luton, Welwyn, Hertford, Royston and Bishop's Stortford unions appeared on the front page of *The Reformer* newspaper 15 March 1836. *The County Press* newspaper carried notice of elections in Hatfield, Hertford, Luton, Ware and St Albans, 12 March 1836.

Old Poor Law vestry system of nominating local men in turn to act as overseer of the poor. Hatfield union listed the names of those '*chosen*' to act as guardians in the board of guardians minutes in 1836. They may have been *chosen* by election but if so, why this not recorded as 'elected' by the parish?²⁰ Some parishes, especially in rural Hitchin, had such a small population that the pool of both candidates and voters was insufficient to hold an election. The parish of Caldicott had a population of 39, of which just eight were adult males, seven were agricultural labourers and one was an 'occupier employing labourers'.²¹ This employer was probably the only candidate eligible to either stand or vote. Letchworth had only two agricultural employers and one professional man. Bygrave had 35 adult males, 28 were agricultural labourers, two were servants – leaving only five men who may have met the property eligibility criteria.²²

At various times parishes went without representation on the local board of guardians as a result of late nominations, the failure to nominate a guardian or as a result of procedural irregularities. Following an investigation in 1844 assistant commissioner Hall found that procedural flaws had not affected the outcome of an election in St Albans and the result stood.²³ The complainant, the Reverend Philip Vincent Coleman, a Unitarian minister, was one of the defeated nominees and although Coleman entered into protracted and angry correspondence with the Poor Law Commission nothing of these events was recorded in the board of

²⁰ BG/HAT/1, 7 Apr 1836.

²¹ BPP, 1833 (149) XXXVI. *Census of Great Britain, 1831*, Abstract of the answers and returns made pursuant to an Act, passed in the eleventh year of the reign of His Majesty King George IV. intituled, "An Act for taking an account of the population of Great Britain, and of the increase or diminution thereof." Enumeration Abstract. Vol. I. 1831, pp.244-251.

²² *Census of Great Britain, 1831*, pp.244-251.

²³ MH 12/4443, 28 May 1846.

guardian minute books.²⁴ Electoral fraud was not unusual in St Albans, which was known for corrupt parliamentary election practices both before and after the Reform Act of 1832.²⁵ This led ultimately to a parliamentary inquiry and the borough's disfranchisement for gross bribery and corruption in 1852.²⁶ Complaints in Watford centred on the local vestry choosing the guardian without having a public vote. As a result of a challenge the election was declared void and none of the five guardians from the Watford parish sat on the Watford union board for a whole year.²⁷

Individuals did not have to agree to their nomination as guardians and consequently some of those elected by ballot or elected unopposed found themselves holding an office they had no desire to hold. In consequence a number of men refused to serve or did not actively engage in the role of guardian. There were no contested elections in the Hatfield union but in March 1846 three men, F J Archer, James Service and James Nightingale were nominated as guardians for Hatfield but they all declined the office.²⁸ Four men refused to serve in the Hitchin parish in 1844.²⁹ Refusing to serve as guardians and boycotting elections was a tactic employed by anti-poor law activists and sympathisers in some Lancashire and Yorkshire districts to disrupt the establishment of poor law unions in their area.³⁰ There is no suggestion that this was the motivation in Hertfordshire (which displayed almost no organised resistance to the New Poor Law), rather it suggests

²⁴ MH 12/4443.

²⁵ Mark Freeman, *St Albans: A History* (Lancaster: Carnegie, 2008), pp.219-223.

²⁶ <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/constituencies/st-albans>. Freeman, *St Albans: A History*, pp.219-223.

²⁷ BG/WAT/2, 5 Apr 1839, 10 May 1839. BG/WAT/3, 27 Mar 1840.

²⁸ BG/HAT/4, 9 Apr 1846.

²⁹ Printed list of elected guardians, MH 12/4615, Mar 1844.

³⁰ Edsall, *The Anti-poor Law Movement*, pp.79-80, 158, 141.

that the office of guardian was not one undertaken willingly. It is also indicative of a system which (like the Old Poor Law) was controlled by the elite in the local community. The attitude of some could be summed up in a piece written in the local press in April 1836:

We believe that this is the only country in the world in which a contest could arise for the honour of discharging a very onerous, and very unpleasant, though very useful duty, without any sort of remuneration attached to it.³¹

Elected and Ex officio Guardians

Despite the onerous nature of the role 366 men held office as guardians in the sample unions between 1835 and 1847 as shown in table 5.1 below. These guardians were exclusively male. The New Poor Law did not specifically exclude women from serving as guardians; however, there was a property qualification for both eligibility to stand and to vote; as married women could not hold property they could not meet the eligibility criteria. The position of single women and widows is less clear but the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 specifically disenfranchised women.³² Rose states that there was 'no legal barrier to their [women] being elected if they possessed the necessary qualifications' and he found that two female candidates stood (but were not elected) in Huddersfield in 1837.³³ The Municipal Franchise Act of 1869 returned the right of women ratepayers to vote in the election of local councillors, but in 1872 the courts removed the right

³¹ *The Reformer*, 12 Apr 1836.

³² Sarah Richardson, *The Victorian female franchise*, <https://victoriancommons.wordpress.com/2013/03/18/the-victorian-female-franchise> [last accessed 3/9/2016].

³³ Rose, *West Riding of Yorkshire*, p.141.

from married women. The first female guardian, Martha Merrington, was elected to serve in Kensington in 1875.³⁴ Female representation was probably modest until the property qualification was abolished in 1894 after which ‘women came onto the Board of Guardians with a rush’ and although their work met with ‘unqualified approval’ their appointments to rural boards took longer.³⁵ There is no evidence of any female guardians in this early period in Hertfordshire.

Table 5.1

Number of Ex officio & Elected Guardians who served in each Union 1835-1847

Union	No. Elected Guardians	% of union	Guardians who served in both roles	% of union	No. Ex officio Guardians	% of union	Total	% of union
Hatfield	27	67%	1	3%	12	30%	40	100%
Hitchin	130	89%	2	1%	14	10%	146	100%
St Albans	69	80%	4	5%	13	15%	86	100%
Watford	69	73%	1	1%	24	26%	94	100%
Total	295	81%	8	2%	63	17%	366	100%

Source Appendix XI

Sitting alongside the elected guardians were *ex officio* guardians, men who were members of the local magistracy and who lived in the area covered by the union. Although all magistrates were eligible to sit as *ex officio* guardians in the union in which they resided, not all did so. As discussed in chapter three, the role of the magistrate under the Old Poor Law was to hear appeals when relief had been disallowed. This rendered them personally vulnerable to attack if a pauper was dissatisfied with the decision and as a result they became associated with

³⁴ Jane Rendall, ‘The citizenship of women and the Reform Act of 1867’, pp. 119-178 at pp.158-159 in Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland, and Jane Rendall, *Defining the Victorian nation: class, race, gender and the British Reform Act of 1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Webb and Webb, *English Poor Law History, Part II*, p.234.

³⁵ Webb and Webb, *English Poor Law History, Part II*, p.234. King, *Women, Welfare and Local Politics*, p.14.

some of the more lenient practices of that regime.³⁶ Under the New Poor Law participation in poor relief administration became optional and voluntary rather than a regular function of the office of magistrate. Individuals were also less exposed to personal criticism because as Apfel and Dunkley observed 'the corporate nature of board management effectively obscured the individual actions and decisions of elected and *ex officio* guardians alike'.³⁷

Eight men served, at different times, as both elected and *ex officio* guardians. Usually this was first as an elected guardian and later in an *ex officio* capacity. Indeed, the Poor Law Amendment Act was part of on-going changes in local government administration that saw greater participation by the emerging middle classes.³⁸ Rose found that in the larger townships of West Yorkshire a seat on the board was used as 'an introduction to local politics for the ambitious' and that the board of guardians was often a stepping stone to the council chamber'.³⁹ Thompson found that almost one third of men who served on the Leicester union board between 1836 and 1871 also served on the town council and 27 went on to become mayor.⁴⁰ In St Albans four men served one term each as elected guardians before returning as *ex officio* guardians. One man, George Alfred Muskett (1786-1843), served as an elected guardian for St Albans Abbey parish and then became an *ex officio* guardian in Watford union where he had purchased a large estate. In

³⁶ David Eastwood, *Government and community in the English provinces, 1700-1870* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), p.132.

³⁷ William Apfel and Peter Dunkley, 'English rural society and the New Poor Law: Bedfordshire, 1834 - 47', *Social History*, 10.1 (1985), pp.37-68, p.57.

³⁸ William C. Lubenow, *The politics of government growth: early Victorian attitudes toward state intervention 1833-1848* (Newton Abbott, David & Charles, 1971). Eastwood, *Government and community in the English provinces*.

³⁹ Rose, *West Riding of Yorkshire*, p.138.

⁴⁰ Thompson, *The Leicester Poor Law Union*, p.46.

1837 he was elected as the Member of Parliament for St Albans; he served without distinction and lost his seat in 1841.⁴¹ Muskett was an ambitious man whose colourful life story reads like a Dickensian novel; he was probably atypical, however four other guardians later served as Mayor of St Albans: Stephen Smith (1836) Francis James Osbaldeston (1839) John Kinder (1842) and William Langley (1843). The Reverend Francis Faithful (the close associate of Lord Salisbury, who helped set up the Hatfield workhouse in 1820) was an *ex officio* guardian for five years between 1835 and 1843 before becoming the elected guardian for Hatfield parish. This may have been a strategy encouraged by Lord Salisbury to keep the Board loyal to his own ideology and management system and discourage others from seeking election, but it also coincided with the period when others were unwilling to stand.

The ratio of elected to *ex officio* guardians within the sample unions is almost 5:1; however representation varied considerably between the four unions. Potentially this changed the dynamic of the boards with the *ex officio* members drawn from a more elite and authoritarian strata of society. In Hatfield thirty per cent of all the guardians were *ex officio* indicating a very high representation on the boards by the elite, however representation and participation could be very different and this will be explored later in this chapter. It is important to note that this sample shows only those *ex officio* guardians who actually attended any board meeting and it is not indicative of the numbers who were eligible to participate by virtue of their status and residency. In the year 1837-1838 forty-two men were

⁴¹ Judith Hapgood Everet, 'George Alfred Muskett, 1788-1843', *Herts Past and Present*, Series 2, 41, (1996), p.22. Judith Hapgood, *Hapgood Versus Habgood In Chancery*, <https://judithhapgood.wordpress.com/publications/hapgood-vs-habgood-in-chancery/chapter-9-george-alfred-muskett/> [accessed 13 Jan 2016].

eligible to sit as *ex officio* guardians but less than half did so as shown in table 5.2 below.⁴²

Table 5.2 Comparison of eligible and participatory *Ex Officio* Guardians 1837-1838

Union	Number eligible to sit as <i>Ex officio</i> guardians in 1837-38	Number of <i>Ex officio</i> guardians who attended a meeting in 1837-38	%
Hatfield	7	4	57%
Hitchin	10	1	10%
St Albans	14	5	36%
Watford	11	8	73%
Total	42	18	43%

Sources: BPP, 1837-38 (236) XXXVIII.539. *Poor Law Amendment Act. Return, showing the size in square miles of the several unions formed, with the population, and number of guardians*, pp.3-4. Board of guardian minute books: BG/HAT/1-2, BG/HIT/3-4, BG/WAT/1-2, Off Acc 1162.

Hitchin union had active participation from only one *ex officio* guardian, the Rev Frederick Sullivan, who was also the chairman of the Hitchin board. All four boards elected *ex officio* guardians as the chairman. In his study of the West Riding of Yorkshire, Rose also noted that the *ex officio* guardians regularly took on the role of chairman and vice-chairman.⁴³ Hatfield union appointed Lord Salisbury as its chairman until his death in 1868 and similarly the West Riding unions of Rotherham and Wortley ‘welcomed the powerful protection their aristocratic chairmen, Earl Fitzwilliam and Lord Warnccliffe, could give.’⁴⁴ An article in the *Edinburgh Review* (purportedly written by Chadwick) listed three Dukes, five Marquises, nine Earls, two Viscounts, four Lords and several baronets who were acting as chairman of the

⁴² BPP, 1837-38 (236) XXXVIII.539. *Poor Law Amendment Act. Return, showing the size in square miles of the several unions formed, with the population, and number of guardians*, pp.3-4.

⁴³ Rose, *West Riding of Yorkshire*, p.146.

⁴⁴ Rose, *West Riding of Yorkshire*, p.146.

first wave of boards to be established.⁴⁵ In the absence of the aristocracy *ex officio* guardians headed up most boards.

Chairmanship of Boards of Guardians

The Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans and Watford unions all had *ex officio* guardians as chairman. Lord Salisbury was elected chairman in Hatfield, but never attended more than a quarter of meetings in any year and often attended only one or two meetings per annum. In correspondence with Chadwick, Salisbury acknowledged that by 1847 he was only 'the nominal head' of the Hatfield union.⁴⁶

In St Albans George Robert Marten of Sandridge parish was chairman from 1835 to 1847. Marten was an interesting candidate for chairman as he had been opposed to the inclusion of Sandridge parish in any union prior to the creation of the St Albans union.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, he and fellow Sandridge resident, Thomas Oakley (who served as vice-chairman for ten years) were active and regular attendees at the board meetings. Whether they initially acted on the principle that it was better to participate and have influence or they had been convinced of the merits of unionisation is not clear. Marten was returned unopposed as chairman in nine of his twelve terms. Standing against him three times was Henry Joseph Boone Nicholson, Rector of St Albans and *ex officio* guardian. Nicholson attended only four board meetings between 1835 and 1847 so it is difficult to believe he was committed to participating in the management of the poor of the union. His

⁴⁵ 'An article on the principles and policy of the Poor Law Amendment Act', *Edinburgh Review*, 1837 cited in Webbs, *English Poor Law History*, p.229.

⁴⁶ University College London, Chadwick MSS Collection, File 790, Letter, Salisbury to Chadwick, 15 July 1847 ff.53-54.

⁴⁷ Letter from Geo. R Marten to Leferve, MH 12/4441, 29 Sep 1834. See also Chapter 4.

obituary suggests he was rather more interested in astronomy, antiquities, architecture and archaeology than the care of the souls of his parish.⁴⁸ Marten on the other hand embraced his responsibilities. In March 1844 he was ready to stand down as chairman but was re-elected by the new board.⁴⁹ When he announced that other responsibilities would prevent his regular attendance at meetings the board asked him to stay on and they appointed a second vice-chairman to share the workload.⁵⁰ Marten still managed to attend over a third of all meetings in the next three years – significantly more than the five other *ex officio* guardians managed in the same period making him one of the most committed members of the whole board.

The Reverend Frederick Sullivan was the *ex officio* chairman of the Hitchin union for 12 years and he was often the only *ex officio* guardian present; his personal attendance never fell below 50% and in the first year was over 83%. This shows particular commitment on his part as Sullivan was the Vicar of Kimpton - the most distant parish in the union. It was over ten miles from his home at Kimpton Grange to the site of the new workhouse in Hitchin – a minimum three-hour walk - though it is probable that he had a carriage given his wealthy connections.⁵¹ Sullivan might have been motivated to participate in local poor law management by a sense of spiritual duty or as a result of his family connections. He was the son-in-law of Thomas Brand, 20th Baron Dacre (1774-1851) whose seat was at the large

⁴⁸ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 221, (Sep 1866) p.441.

⁴⁹ Off Acc 1162, 22 Mar 1844 and 5 Apr 1844.

⁵⁰ Off Acc 1162, 19 Apr 1844.

⁵¹ Peter Hale, *Noble and Splendid, Scandal, Honour and Duty: the Families of Kimpton Hoo* (Blackmore End: Kimpton History Group, 2008), p.30.

estate Kimpton Hoo located in the nearby parish of St Pauls Walden.⁵² Brand, (as Lord Dacre) was M.P. for Hertfordshire from 1807 to 1819 and sat on the Poor Law committees of 1817, 1818 and 1819.⁵³ During the early nineteenth century his house was a place of great entertainment and hospitality where Earl Grey and Lord Melbourne were both guests.⁵⁴ Furthermore Sullivan's daughter Barbarina married Frederick Grey, son of Earl Grey, who had ordered the Poor Law Commission in 1832.⁵⁵

Sullivan's vice-chairman for the first six years was Thomas Hailey an elected guardian for Hitchin. Hailey was a tenant farmer with one of the largest farms in the district; he farmed 420 acres, employed 15 men and served as a guardian every year from 1835 to 1847.⁵⁶ He was described by the workhouse master Manning, as 'one of our most influential guardians' and by assistant commissioner Adey 'as a most violent person and a political friend of Mr Heathcote's'.⁵⁷ But he had the highest attendance rate of all the guardians – his attendance only once fell below 70% of all meetings. However Hailey failed to endear himself to his fellow guardians. A letter, penned by 'A Guardian' was sent to the local newspaper in October 1840 and complained about Hailey's behaviour:

⁵² Hale, *Noble and Splendid*, p.34.

⁵³ R Thorne (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1790-1820*, <http://www.histparl.ac.uk/volume/1790-1820/member/brand-hon-thomas-1774-1851> [accessed 1 Feb 2016].

⁵⁴ Hale, *Noble and Splendid*, p.2.

⁵⁵ Robert P Dod, *The Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage of Great Britain and Ireland for 1865* (London, 1865), p.299.

⁵⁶ 1841 Census, Highover Farm, HO 107/445/4/9/13. 1851 Census, HO 107/1710/242/26. Hitchin List of Guardians MH 12/4615.

⁵⁷ MH 12/4613, Deposition of John Manning, 7 Aug 1840. MH 12/4612, Letter from D G Adey, 10 May 1835.

...his conduct at the board is extremely irregular and objectionable, tending to bring the whole body discredit with the public, and greatly impair its efficiency. Disgusted with the party spirit and violence that prevails, many guardians at present absent themselves, and it is with difficulty that enough are found to constitute a board. ... even his own followers appear tired with his restless spirit of agitation.⁵⁸

Hailey's manner combined with his regular presence at board meetings probably contributed to some of the lowest attendance rates in the Hitchin union. In 1841, following a series of complaints, accusations and counter-accusations against the workhouse master and the schoolmaster which were stirred up by Hailey, he was replaced as vice-chairman by another farmer George Passingham; but Hailey continued to serve as an elected guardian and to regularly attend board meetings.⁵⁹ Passingham served as a guardian from 1837 and was another committed individual regularly attending more than two thirds of all meetings.

Unusually given the stability of the other unions Watford had three different chairmen in the first seven years: John Finch Mason, Nathaniel Hibbert and Humphrey Harper Burchell. The latter was elected chairman in 1842 and then held the post for the next five years. He stepped down when appointed the county Sherriff and was thanked effusively for his leadership.⁶⁰ He was returned to the board as an uncontested elected guardian for Bushey and was again elected as chairman of the board.⁶¹ In the eight years he served as a guardian he too was a regular attender at board meetings.

⁵⁸ *The Reformer*, 31 Oct 1840, p.2.

⁵⁹ BG/HIT/6, 30 Mar 1841.

⁶⁰ BG/WAT/6, 3 Feb 1847 and 17 Feb 1847.

⁶¹ BG/WAT/6, 14 Apr 1847.

Occupations of Guardians

Understanding the occupational background of guardians provides further insight into the social structure of the boards and the experience individuals took to the role. The occupations of guardians are rarely given in poor law documents and a range of sources were used including census data, trade directories and local and family histories to identify the individual occupations and ages of guardians.⁶²

Classifying occupational data is fraught with difficulty; historians and administrators have used several schemes however, no single scheme for classifying occupations meets all needs. A Hertfordshire project, examining population, economy and family structure in Hertfordshire using 1851 census data, employed four different coding systems to facilitate occupational analysis.⁶³ This is unnecessarily complex for the sample being examined here; instead a relatively simple system, grouping occupations into seven occupational clusters, has been used: agriculture, clergy, gentry, professional, retail, trade and manufacturing and 'others'. Where data could not be found or attributed to a single individual these have been recorded as 'unknown'.⁶⁴ These groups allow for the comparison of data within the sample with the limited data available in other studies. Details of all the guardians and the sources used to compile individual data can be found in

⁶² Exceptionally, 3 printed lists of elected guardians for the Hitchin union 1842/43, 1843/44 & 1844/45 which included each man's occupation were found in the correspondence files between the Hitchin union and the Poor Law Commissioners MH 12/4614 and MH 12/4615 and two were found for the St Albans union 1842/43 and 1843/44, MH 12/4442 and MH 12/4443.

⁶³ These were based on Booth (modified by Armstrong), a second identified social status, a third identified the raw materials used in a trade and finally a fourth code identified the end product of production. Nigel Goose, *Population, Economy and Family Structure in Hertfordshire in 1851: Volume 1 The Berkhamstead Region* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1996).

⁶⁴ The 'unknown' represent 17% of the total examined. They are men whose occupation could not be identified in the sources either because they could not be found by name or because the name appeared too frequently to positively identify the correct individual who sat as a guardian.

Appendix XI while Appendix XII lists the occupations found in each union. Table 5.3 summarises the occupational groups within each union.

Table 5.3 Percentage of guardians in each union within each occupational group

Occupational Group	Hatfield Union		Hitchin Union		St Albans Union		Watford Union		Sample Total	
Agriculture	11	27.5%	74	50.7%	33	38.4%	22	23.4%	140	38.3%
Clergy	4	10.0%	12	8.2%	3	3.5%	4	4.3%	23	6.3%
Gentry	10	25.0%	14	9.6%	14	16.3%	24	25.5%	62	16.9%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.2%	5	5.3%	6	1.6%
Professional	2	5.0%	5	3.4%	10	11.6%	5	5.3%	22	6.0%
Retail	1	2.5%	1	0.7%	4	4.7%	2	2.1%	8	2.2%
Trade & Manufacturing	6	15.0%	16	11.0%	9	10.5%	12	12.8%	43	11.8%
Unknown	6	15.0%	24	16.4%	12	14.0%	20	21.3%	62	16.9%
Union Total	40	100.0 %	146	100.0 %	86	100.0 %	94	100.0 %	366	100.0 %
Employed in agriculture and retail	12	30%	75	51.4%	37	43.1%	24	25.5%	148	40.5%

Source: see Appendix XII

Occupations related to agriculture dominated these Hertfordshire boards of guardians, but they were not in the majority except in the most rural union Hitchin. Of course ‘farmer’ and ‘farming’ are very broad categories covering everything from a small family plot to large owner/occupier estates. Analysis of the 1851 Census suggests that those guardians engaged in agriculture were farmers on larger properties and who employed up to 40 men on their land.⁶⁵ Hooker also found that the majority of the Welsh guardians farmed larger estates.⁶⁶ These men were experienced employers who had personal knowledge of the agricultural labourers most likely to appear before the board as a result of the seasonal peaks

⁶⁵ The farm sizes for 63 guardians are listed in Appendix XIII.

⁶⁶ Geoff Hooker, *Llandilofawr Poor Law Union, 1836 to 1886: ‘The most difficult union in Wales’* (PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, 2013), p.123.

and troughs of the agricultural economy. Very few guardians came from a retail background at this period and this Hertfordshire sample does not support the Webbs' claim that the majority of guardians were farmers or shopkeepers.⁶⁷ In this sample only 40.5% were employed in farming and retail with a slightly higher proportion of 'farmers and shopkeepers' in Hitchin. St Albans, the largest town, had the largest proportion of guardians who were retailers but this was only four in total.

The second largest representation on these boards came from those categorised as 'gentry'. Within this group were those describing themselves as 'gentlemen', 'landed proprietor', and 'of independent means'; this group also included titled members of the nobility. Although this is a loose classification it represents men who were not specifically engaged in any profession or employed by others; men who were more likely to have control over their time and how it was spent. This group was almost certainly educated and literate but their experience of business, budgeting and people management would have varied from individual to individual.

The professional group consisted mainly of those in the legal profession and this group is concentrated in the most urban area St Albans. This union also had three bankers on its board at various times. The legal men may have been the most educated members of the board, and best placed to challenge policy and process and to understand the requirements of the law in relation to paupers and pauperism. The clergy are sometimes classified as part of the professional group but in this sample they have been separated out for independent analysis. Of the

⁶⁷ Webb and Webb, *English Poor Law History, Part II*, p.229.

twenty-three clergy who sat on the boards only one was a non-conformist minister: Rev William Upton of the St Albans Baptist chapel.

The trade and manufacturing sector was a relatively small and diverse group. Brewers and millers formed the two largest sub-groups within this category. St Albans, one of the principle trading centres for straw-plait, had two board members connected to that industry. The growing papermaking industry in the Gade valley had representatives from Rickmansworth and Sarratt on the Watford board. The remaining guardians were individuals representing a variety of crafts trades including: blacksmith, butcher, baker, builder and carpenter.

In the few local studies that exist, Rose, Ashforth and Tolley found urban boards dominated by shopkeepers, merchants and manufacturers.⁶⁸ In contrast, Hooker's single union study of Llandilofawr in Wales, found that with a handful of exceptions all the guardians were farmers.⁶⁹ In this study, the most urban area St Albans, and the nascent urban centre of Watford did not show a propensity to be dominated by the retail, trade and manufacturing groups. In both these unions and in the Hatfield union the occupational composition of the boards was diverse although farming was more dominant in Hitchin union. When comparing two Midlands unions Tolley also noted that the more rural Kings Norton board returned a sizeable proportion of guardians from a farming background.⁷⁰ These diverse findings highlight the local variation in the composition of boards and together suggest the occupational profile of boards was influenced by the economic profile

⁶⁸ Rose, *West Riding of Yorkshire*, pp.141-147. Ashford, *Bradford*, pp.87-89. Tolley, *Birmingham, Aston and Kings Norton*, pp.154-169.

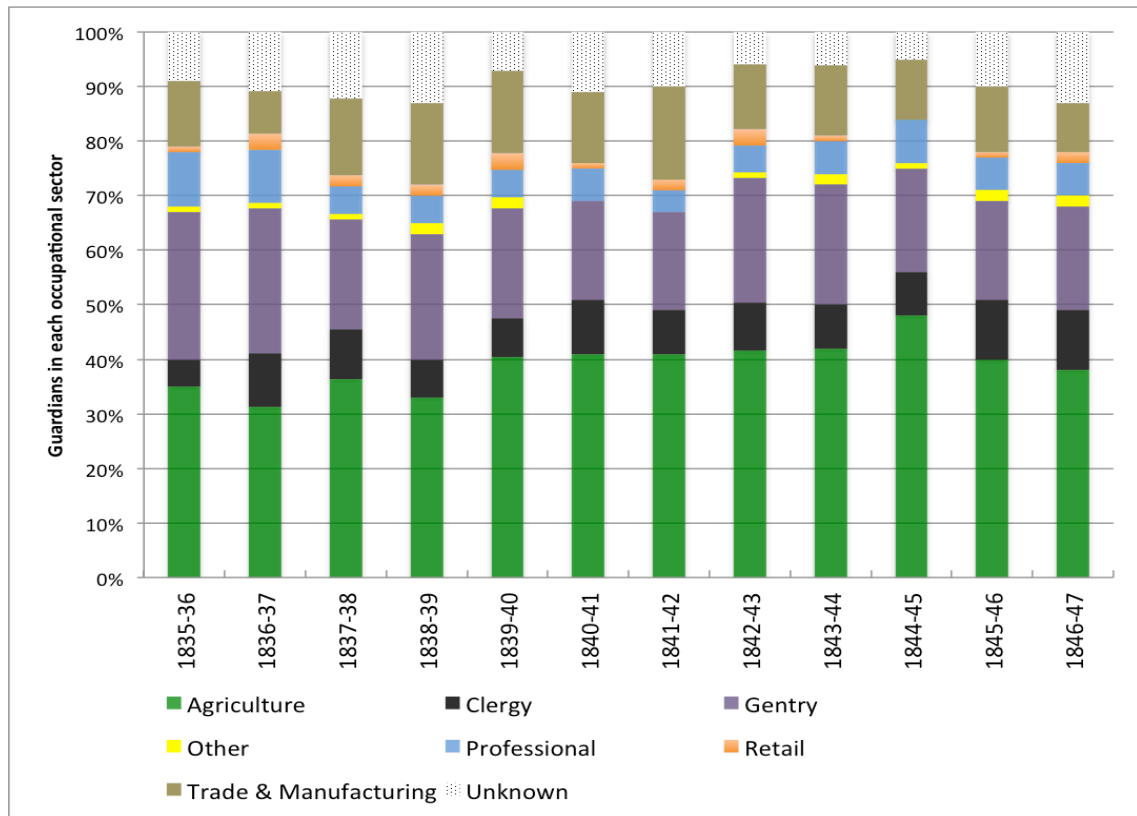
⁶⁹ Hooker, *Llandilofawr Poor Law Union*, p.117.

⁷⁰ Tolley, *Birmingham, Aston and Kings Norton*, pp.154-169.

in the area. Just as the economic profile of an area changed over time, so too did the occupational profile.

Changes in the occupational profile of the sample boards between 1835 and 1847 are shown in figure 5.1. The proportion of those employed in agriculture increased to a peak of 48% in 1844-45, but had begun to decline in the final two years of this sample. At the same time participation by the gentry and professional men went into decline, falling from a combined representation of 37% to just 25%. Meanwhile participation by the clergy doubled from six guardians to twelve in 1846. The number of guardians employed in retail never exceeded three in number. Those employed in trade and manufacturing fluctuated from a low of nine (8%) to a high of 15 (17%) across all four boards. Once the unions were established there was a decline in representation by the gentry and professional sector which left the farming community with a greater voice on the boards. In Hertfordshire at least, the retail and manufacturing sector were not significantly increasing their representation on boards and the increased clergy numbers did not offset the loss of other educated groups of guardians.

Figure 5.1 Guardians in each occupational sector 1835 -1847



Source Appendix XI & Appendix XIV

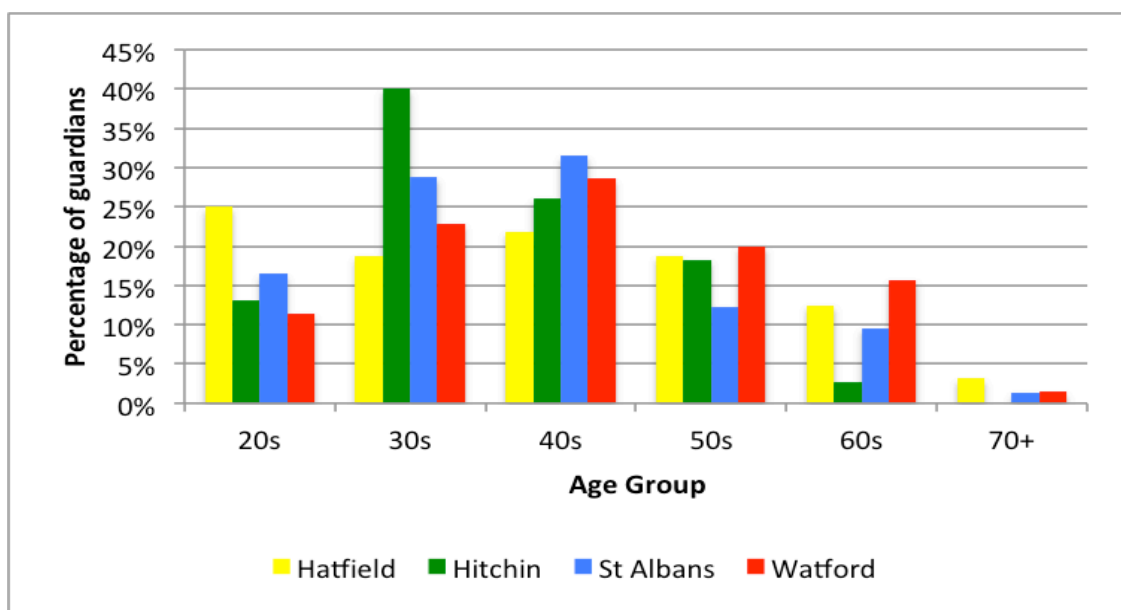
The occupational and social composition of the boards had the potential to affect the skills and experience each board had at its disposal and alter the dynamics of their operation. This argument holds only if there is full and equal participation by all board members however, the level of engagement (or lack of it) with the activities of the board is also an important factor when considering who was managing the union.

Age Profile of the Guardians

When considering the composition of the boards of guardians their age profile is a factor that has rarely been considered. Yet age might also be an

indicator of business knowledge and experience. Figure 5.2 below shows the number of guardians in each union, grouped by their age when they first took office. The majority of the sample group first became guardians in their 30s, but the figures are skewed by the high proportion of Hitchin guardians in the sample. In the other three unions, most guardians took office in their 40s.

Figure 5.2 Age Profile of the Guardians



Source Appendix XI

The mean age for board members of the first boards was 42.4 years, but by 1846/47 this had increased to 47.4 years. Hitchin had the youngest board but over time the average age steadily increased. Watford union had a slightly more mature board than its neighbours, where the average age peaked at 51.1 years. On the whole the boards were composed of men in their 40s. These men were old enough to have witnessed changing patterns of pauperism in their neighbourhood. They were likely to have been heads of families themselves and understood the

changing social needs of growing families or the impact of bereavement and illness. Their maturity also suggests that they would have 20 years or more experience in their own field of business and could take any skills they had acquired to the boardroom table. Recently Hooker made similar findings in Wales.⁷¹

Attendance Rates

The occupational and social composition of the boards is an indicator of the skills and economic interests of the guardians but it is not the whole story. It was one thing being elected to the board of guardians, but quite another actively contributing, every week, to the running and management of the union as an elected but unpaid volunteer. By measuring the frequency of attendance at board meetings it is possible to consider who was contributing to the management of the union, examine whether any particular group or individual was in control, and whether there were differences or similarities between unions or over time. Using the minutes of the weekly board of guardians meetings the annual attendance rates of individual guardians were calculated and are listed in appendix XIV.⁷² This data was in turn used to calculate the weekly and annual attendance rate of the whole board and the elected and *ex officio* subsets of the board that are listed in appendix XV.⁷³ Table 5.4 summarises the annual attendance rate of all guardians in

⁷¹ Hooker, *Llandilofawr Poor Law Union*, p.123.

⁷² Hatfield BG/HAT/1-5. Hitchin BG/HIT/1-10. Watford BG/WAT/1-7. St Albans Off Acc 1162. Individual attendance rates were calculated as the number of meetings attended as a percentage of the total number of meetings held. The number of full board meetings held each year ranged from 25 to 54. Hatfield had the lowest number of meetings at around 26 each year; compared with Hitchin and Watford, at around 50. St Albans had 53 meetings in 1836, but this dropped to around 26 in subsequent years.

⁷³ The annual attendance rate for the union was calculated as the total number of attendances as a percentage of the potential number of attendances had every guardian attended every meeting.

each of the sample unions between 1835-1847 and demonstrates that attendance levels were consistently low.

Table 5.4 Annual Attendance Rates of all guardians 1835-1847

	1835-36	1836-37	1837-38	1838-39	1839-40	1840-41	1841-42	1842-43	1843-44	1844-45	1845-46	1846-47
Hatfield	50%	40%	51%	41%	39%	36%	42%	37%	42%	45%	40%	40%
Hitchin	38%	24%	31%	35%	34%	30%	37%	32%	30%	37%	36%	33%
St Albans	49%	49%	54%	42%	36%	46%	48%	48%	35%	43%	43%	46%
Watford	38%	33%	35%	38%	30%	24%	42%	34%	28%	29%	38%	24%
Mean Attendance Rate	44%	37%	43%	39%	35%	34%	42%	38%	34%	39%	39%	36%

Source See Appendix XV

Such low attendance levels at board of guardians meetings suggest that few guardians were either willing or able to give the required level of commitment to the job. Overall the guardians' attendance rate was nearly always less than fifty per cent of the meetings per annum and in almost two thirds of cases attendance was forty per cent or less. Attendance at the Watford board meetings fluctuated significantly and it had less than 30% attendance in four of the twelve years reviewed. Both Watford and Hitchin unions regularly had attendance below 40%. The number of inquorate meetings logged in the summer months (when the other unions had formal approval to meet fortnightly) skews the Watford totals. There was a marked increase in attendance in 1841/42 a period when there were increased poor relief claims and poor relief spending. Geoff Hooker's study of Welsh guardians observed similar low levels of attendance in the early years of unionisation however he noted a marked rise in attendance rates by elected guardians following the Rebecca Riots in 1845 when attendance rates peaked at

68.7%. After which, in contrast to the findings in Hertfordshire, attendance in Llandilofawr consistently exceeded 50% throughout the 1850s.⁷⁴

In the Hertfordshire sample, elected guardians were more likely to attend than *ex officio* guardians however the attendance rate for both groups fell throughout the period. In Hatfield, St Albans and Watford unions the attendance rate of *ex officio* guardians was significantly lower than that of the elected guardians. There were too few *ex officio* guardians in Hitchin for this measure to be meaningful.

Seasonal Attendance

The number of guardians attending the weekly meetings varied throughout the year. Higher attendance occurred when new staff appointments were being made or when capital expenditure (especially in relation to the costs of building workhouses) was on the agenda. Attendances peaked when a new board was appointed and fell away during the summer months. It was not uncommon for meetings to be postponed because they were inquorate. Even in Hitchin, which had between 36 and 42 board members, a quorum of three could not always be found. Low attendance rates compromised the efficiency of the boards as decisions were sometimes postponed when attendance was low. Hitchin union was in the habit of calling 'special meetings' giving advance notice of important agenda items to increase attendance levels – but this had the effect of increasing the number of meetings guardians were required to attend deterring attendance at 'ordinary' meetings. Hatfield and St Albans had fewer meetings overall than the

⁷⁴ Hooker, *Llandilofawr Poor Law Union*, pp.124-125.

other unions and therefore the scheduling of meetings was less onerous; a guardian was more likely to be able to take time away from his business if he was only required once every two weeks. This is reflected in the data with higher attendance rates found in St Albans and Hatfield who both met fortnightly. The high proportion of gentry on the Hatfield board also suggests a cohort that was more able to take time away from their business. Hatfield parish already had a tightly controlled pauper management system with experienced personnel in place before unionisation. The three smaller parishes which joined it to form the union effectively 'piggy-backed' onto an established administration significantly reducing the initial workload faced by the Hatfield guardians when compared to other unions. The low overall attendance levels show that only a small proportion of the guardians were participating in weekly meetings; in consequence decisions on poor relief and the operation of the union were being made, not by a board, but by a handful of individuals.

Individual Attendance

The attendance rates of individual guardians varied enormously; of the 366 men in the sample, 53 (14.5%) attended more than three quarters of the meetings in a year however far more (36.9%) attended less than a quarter of meetings. Nine men did not attend any meetings and a further 15 who served for more than one year had at least one year when they did not attend.⁷⁵ These may have been men who were elected or nominated yet had no desire to take on the position. Just

⁷⁵ These figures exclude the *ex officio* guardians who chose not to attend meetings despite being eligible to do so however they include Lord Salisbury who was elected as Chairman of the Hatfield board in 1846/47 but did not attend any meetings.

three individuals, John Hickman Binyon, James Smith Nowlson and Samuel Smith achieved 100% attendance in a year; all three were elected guardians. John Binyon was a schoolmaster, elected as a guardian to the inaugural Hatfield board, but in May 1836 he became the clerk to the union and his responsibilities as a guardian ceased.⁷⁶ Samuel Smith was a miller, based at Sopwell Mill in St Albans; he was a guardian for five terms from 1838/39 to 1842/43 during which time his attendance never fell below 88% annually. Nowlson was a farmer with substantial acreage in the Hatfield union; in 1851 he farmed 500 acres and employed 30 men.⁷⁷ He served for eight consecutive years from 1836, his attendance rate at meetings dropped steadily over the eight years and he attended just over a quarter of meetings in 1843/44. Some of the highest individual attendance rates were found among the chairmen and vice-chairmen of the unions who were also some of the longest serving guardians.

Length of Service of Guardians

When the boards of guardians were first established they were a new concept and the falling off in attendance rates shown over time may be indicative of a lack of interest in serving as a guardian or a realisation of the commitment required. However, even when viewed through this relatively small window of twelve years, there is evidence of men serving multiple terms as guardians.

One third of the sample (122 guardians) served for 4 years or more, which suggests there was some continuity in the make up of the boards and that the guardians were building up experience, however this must be tempered by the fact

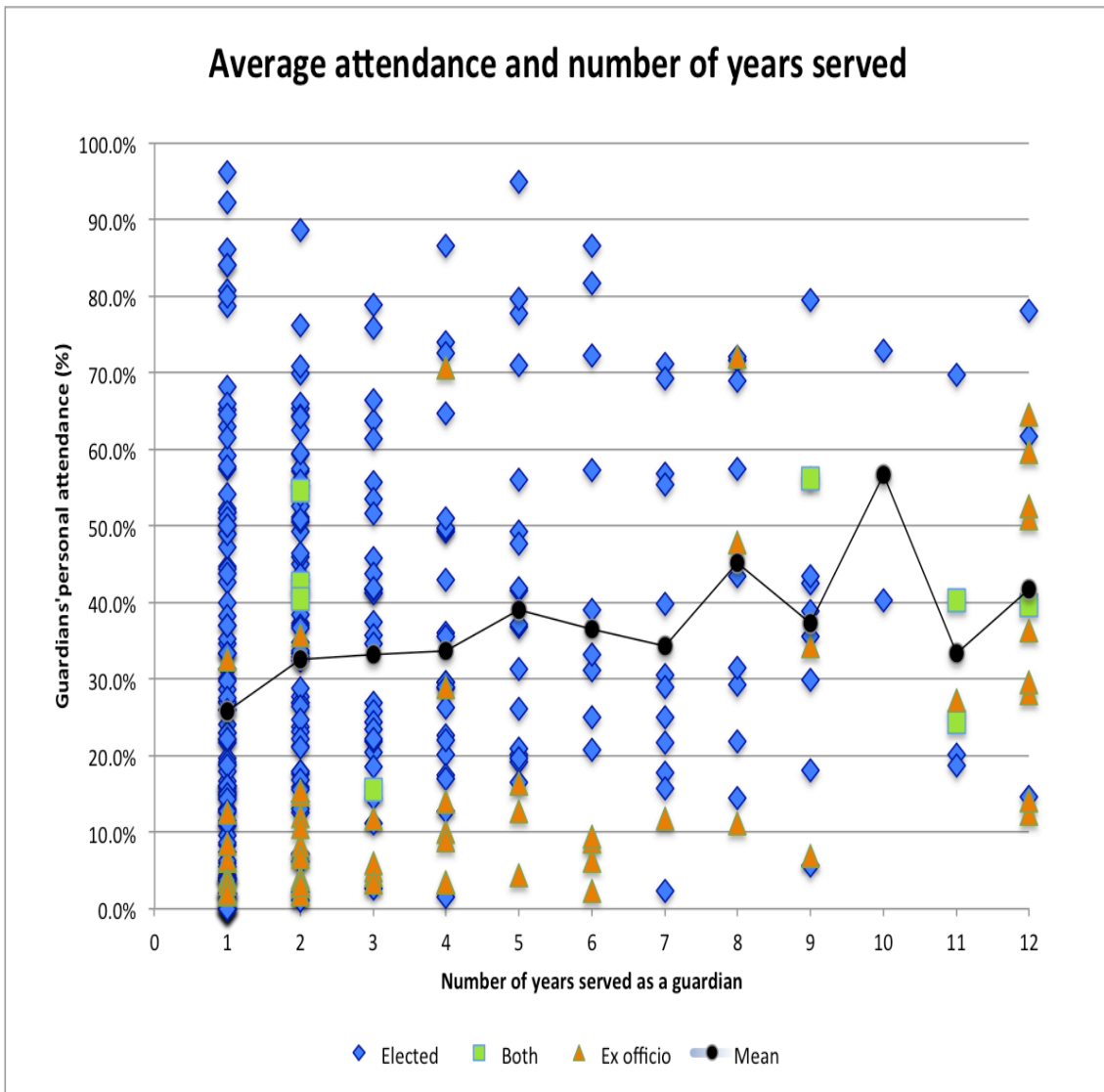
⁷⁶ BG/HAT/1, 5 May 1836.

⁷⁷ 1851 Census, Harperfield Hall Farm, HO 107/1713/321.

that within this group only 35 guardians attended more than half of the meetings, eight of whom were either the chairman or vice-chairman.⁷⁸ Figure 5.3 shows the average personal attendance of individual guardians relative to their length of service. Fewer in number, the *ex officio* guardians split into two clusters – those with low level, infrequent attendance and a smaller cluster with above average attendance over a number of years indicative of a sustained commitment to the role over time. The elected guardians on the other hand had higher attendance rates over shorter terms. This suggests guardians made a commitment for one or two years but then either stepped down or significantly reduced their commitment over time. It may also be indicative of a pattern of rotating the role in much the same way as the job of overseer of the poor had been rotated under the Old Poor Law. What emerges from this data is that in terms of continuity and frequency of attendance, less than 10 per cent of guardians were high contributors – those who served for 4 years or more **and** attended at least half of the meetings in their union. Again this put the control of the poor law boards in the hands of just a few individuals.

⁷⁸ It is of course possible that some of those guardians appointed later in the period went on to serve for longer or that others were reappointed after a break.

Figure 5.3 Average attendance and number of years served as a guardian



Source: Board of Guardian Minute Books at Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies. Hatfield BG/HAT/1-5, Hitchin BG/HIT/1-10, Watford BG/WAT/1-7, St Albans Off Acc 1162.

Further examination of this data which compared the occupational mix of long-serving/high-attending guardians – the high contributors – with the occupational mix of the boards overall (as discussed above and as shown in table 5.5), showed increased participation by the clergy and gentry. Together they accounted for 37.1% of the high contributors - more than those from an agrarian

background who were only 31.4% of the high contributors despite representing 38.3% of the boards overall but. Those in trade and manufacturing also featured in this high participation group. The mix of occupations between the high contributors on the four boards was also quite variable. The Hitchin board was dominated by farmers, and lacked any sustained or regular input from the gentry and professional classes. This is again comparable with Hooker's study of a rural Welsh union.⁷⁹ The gentry and clergy however dominated the Hatfield board whilst St Albans and Watford had no longstanding clergy on their boards. Four tradesmen: a miller, a tailor, a harness and rope maker and a brewer made up the most active members of the St Albans board although none of this group took office before 1837 so were not involved in establishing the union. Eight of this long-serving/high-attending group served as either chairman or vice-chairman. Two of the men who had the highest personal attendance and service record were both opposed to unionisation.⁸⁰

Table 5.5. Occupational Mix of High Contributors

Occupational Group / Union	Hatfield	Hitchin	St Albans	Watford	All
Agriculture	22.2%	44.4%	27.3%	33.3%	31.4%
Clergy	22.2%	22.2%	0.0%	0.0%	11.4%
Gentry	44.4%	0.0%	27.3%	33.3%	25.7%
Professional	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	2.9%
Retail	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	2.9%
Trade & Manufacturing	0.0%	33.3%	36.4%	0.0%	20.0%
Unknown	11.1%	0.0%	9.1%	0.0%	5.7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source Appendix XI and XIV

⁷⁹ Hooker, *Llandilofawr Poor Law Union*, p.117.

⁸⁰ Thomas Hailey was a guardian for 12 years with an average attendance of 78.1% and Thomas Oakley served for 11 years with an average attendance of 69.7%.

This data suggests that there were just a small number of elite men who were committed to the office of guardian and who were responsible for carrying out the work of the board.

Environmental Factors

Other factors that may have impacted on the guardians' attendance include the weather, the economic cycle and the distance they needed to travel to attend meetings. Board meetings were usually held at the central workhouse in the town. For guardians in the outlying parishes (especially in the geographically large unions) this was quite a substantial journey to undertake on a regular basis. The distance of each parish from the union town is shown in table 5.6 below. Hitchin union had seven parishes situated more than seven miles from the town of Hitchin where the board meetings were held and another three parishes were over eight miles distant. The journey would have taken two to three hours each way on foot or at least an hour on horseback or by carriage. Thus becoming a guardian required a considerable investment of personal time. The emerging middle class merchants and manufacturers might have struggled to absent themselves from their businesses particularly if they saw themselves as essential in driving their business forward.

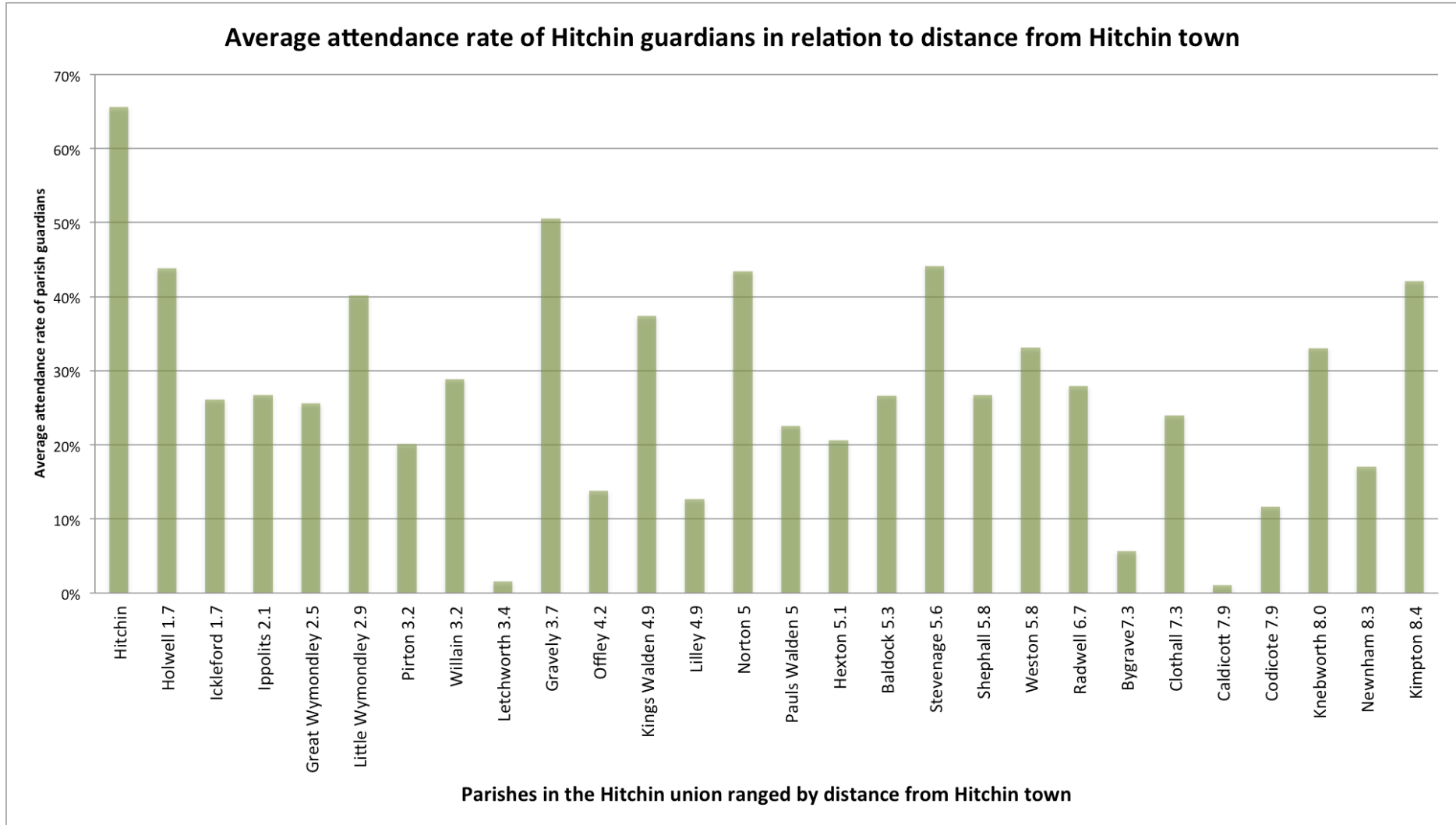
Table 5.6 Distance from each parish to the union town⁸¹

Parish	Distance to union town (miles)	Parish	Distance to union town (miles)
Hatfield Union		Hitchin Union	
Hatfield	-	Hitchin	-
North Mimms	3.6	Ickleford	1.7
Essendon	3.7	Ippollitts	2.1
Northaw	6.1	Great Wymondley	2.5
St Albans Union		Little Wymondley	2.9
Abbey	-	Holwell (Beds)	3.2
St Michael	-	Pirton	3.2
St Peter	-	Willian	3.2
St Stephen	-	Letchworth	3.4
Sandridge	2.5	Graveley	3.7
Redbourn	4.5	Offley	4.2
Harpenden	5.0	King's Walden	4.9
Wheathampstead	5.0	Lilley	4.9
Watford Union		Norton	5.0
Watford	-	St Paul's Walden	5.0
Bushey	2.2	Hexton	5.1
Aldenham	3.6	Baldock	5.3
Rickmansworth	4.2	Stevenage	5.6
Abbot's Langley	4.4	Shephall	5.7
Sarrett	6.0	Weston	5.8
		Radwell	6.7
		Bygrave	7.3
		Clothall	7.3
		Caldicott	7.9
		Codicote	7.9
		Knebworth	8.0
		Newnham	8.3
		Kimpton	8.4

When average attendance rates for elected guardians are compared to the distance of the parish from the town there is a general lowering of attendance in the outlying parishes but there is not an exact correlation. Figure 5.4 shows the pattern for the largest union Hitchin.

⁸¹ Distances between parishes calculated using the parish finder search tool <http://www.parishfinder.co.uk:8080/index.jsp>, except for St Albans where the four St Albans parishes all had territory within the town.

Figure 5.4 Average Attendance Rate by Elected Guardians Relative to the Distance from Hitchin town.



The Hitchin parish guardians (with the shortest journeys) had significantly higher attendance levels than those in the outlying parishes, but high attendance levels by one person such as that by George Passingham of Kimpton (whose attendance over ten years ranged from 66.0 to 82.0% and averaged 72.9%) suggest that something other than distance drove some guardians to regularly participate. Yet in December 1840 the Hitchin board made plans to meet in the town hall because (among other reasons) meeting at the new workhouse half a mile from the town was 'extremely inconvenient' and they believed they would achieve a higher attendance rate.¹ The attendance rate that year averaged just 29.6% at the out of town location and increased only slightly to 30.7% following the change of venue. Again this suggests that distance to the meeting was not an important factor influencing attendance.

Conclusion

The role of the board of guardians was to administer poor relief in the union. In order to do so they were involved in areas of public administration that went beyond making decisions about individual poor relief payments and they set up and managed a small local bureaucracy centred on the union workhouse. The poor relief system under the New Poor Law relied on a committee of locally elected men to regularly and frequently participate in its administration. In reality responsibility fell on the shoulders of the committed guardians rather than the committee.

The occupational and social profile of the four Hertfordshire boards of guardians in this study varied between unions and over time, but despite the rural

¹ BG/HIT/6, 15 Dec 1840 and 5 Jan 1840.

nature of the county, farmers did not (as is most often claimed) dominate the composition of the boards nor had guardians from the manufacturing and retailing sector taken hold of the boards in the urbanising unions. In Hertfordshire at least, the Webbs' statements on guardians, Hooker's findings in Wales and the urban findings of Rose, Ashford and Tolley are not supported by the data. Perhaps in this 'county of small towns' urbanisation and industrialisation had not yet reached a level to give these sectors the critical mass to take control.⁸³ This furthers the argument that poor law administration was regionally diverse and was not the uniform system its creators desired.

The infrequency of elections for the role of guardians suggests the Old Poor Law practice of nominating individuals in rotation to take responsibility for the poor persisted. When election results or nominations for the post were challenged, the outcomes hint at manipulations behind the scenes by vestries or clerks. The presence of *ex officio* guardians also allowed elite members of society to have a continuing influence on the boards and in the decision making process even though many of those eligible to do so took no part in poor law meetings. Although some individual guardians served repeated terms providing continuity on the boards from year to year, only one in ten of the 366 guardians in this sample were high contributors many of whom were drawn from the clergy and gentry. However, the frequency with which the majority of guardians attended to their responsibilities suggests an indifference to actively managing routine matters regarding poor relief.

⁸³ Terry Slater and Nigel Goose (eds), *A Country of Small Towns: The development of Hertfordshire's urban landscape to 1800* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2008).

Ultimately it was a relatively small cohort of middle-aged elite men and clergy who actively participated in the management of the poor law and the implementation and administration of the New Poor Law in Hertfordshire.

Chapter 6

Local Poor Law Officers

Introduction

Those employed in the first few years of the New Poor Law helped to implement and shape how the poor law operated as unions experimented with how jobs were structured. The poor law officers were an essential part of the machinery of poor law administration and as in the case of the individual guardians have been overlooked in the poor law historiography. This group is normally only written about in the context of a breakdown in the execution of their job – in other words when a headline-making scandal such as that of ill-treatment in the Andover workhouse brought them out of the shadows.¹ This chapter presents a more rounded examination of the individuals who helped implement and manage the New Poor Law in Hertfordshire.

Some of the positions within the New Poor Law administration were entirely new; others were similar to jobs previously undertaken at parish level. New positions included the union clerk and the relieving officer; jobs that carried over from the old regime such as workhouse masters and medical officers usually had expanded roles or had altered responsibilities in terms of scope or geography. The workhouse or poorhouse keepers under the Old Poor Law tended to manage quite small premises – housing just a few dozen elderly and infirm paupers - especially outside the metropolitan centres and particularly in rural communities like Hertfordshire. The new workhouse masters (sometimes called governors)

¹ Ian Anstruther, *The Scandal of the Andover Workhouse* (London: Bles, 1973).

supervised the poor in significantly larger union workhouses where they followed a much stricter and more structured regime. The new officers had record keeping and reporting responsibilities which fed into – indeed helped to create – a much larger bureaucracy, one that was to become a feature of Victorian England and Wales. In the absence of a centralised civil service the Poor Law Commission was breaking new ground in how it set up its central administration and managed the constituent provinces where the New Poor Law lived and breathed and where it was required to function with consistency and uniformity. Some local boards accepted direction more readily than others; some were more vocal in resisting a centralised authority and hung on to the threads of autonomy whenever the opportunity to do so arose.

This chapter focuses on the paid poor law officials appointed in the poor law unions - namely the union clerk, the workhouse master and matron, the relieving officer, the schoolmaster and the schoolmistress.² It considers their roles and responsibilities and looks at the similarities and differences between who was employed and how the jobs were structured within the four unions. It examines the relationship between the Poor Law Commission and the board of guardians with respect to who was employed and dismissed. It demonstrates that the board of guardians and the Poor Law Commission were willing to listen to complaints and respond accordingly. This chapter supports Crowther's argument that the new bureaucracy created a career structure for poor law officers.³ It finds evidence of the beginnings of the professionalization of the poor law workforce and

² All of the officers are listed in Appendix XVI Poor Law Officials.

³ M. A. Crowther, *The workhouse system 1834-1929: the history of an English social institution* (London: Methuen edition, 1983). Chapters 5 and 6, pp.113-155.

employment opportunities for women who might otherwise have struggled to support themselves. With a better understanding of how these roles functioned and evolved it is possible to improve our understanding of the challenges of implementing the New Poor Law.

Recruitment

The selection of paid officers in the new unions was the job of the elected guardians, however, all appointments had to be approved by the Poor Law Commission; this meant seeking approval not only for those who were recruited but also the terms on which they were recruited. In theory, this function gave the poor law commissioners the control to standardise practice throughout England and Wales. As most of the active guardians in the initial years of the New Poor Law were elite men who probably employed staff in their own households or businesses they would have been experienced in recruiting and managing staff and there is evidence that they resented the need to have their choices sanctioned by the centre. There was no ready pool of people to take up these positions. Those who had worked as small-scale workhouse-keepers would not necessarily adapt to running the larger, more disciplined deterrent workhouses which were to become a feature of the new regime. Initially there was no direction from the centre on salary or terms of employment; the Poor Law Commission's role was one of veto rather than leadership in this respect. Over time some standardisation was introduced; for example pro-forma questionnaires for each position were in evidence from the mid 1840s. Some survive within the union correspondence files and give some basic information about appointed individuals. These documents

capture some basic biographical details, brief information on previous posts or experience, and the terms on which the individual was employed in the union. From the mid 1860s the Poor Law Board began keeping a central register of paid officials.⁴ For the purposes of this study their use was limited as they were not comprehensive and did not contain all of the office holders in the early period.⁵ Many initial appointments saw the person in the nearest equivalent 'parish' job given the new role. Workhouse keepers continued to manage small parish workhouses, former overseers were appointed as relieving officers, parish doctors became district medical officers. Subsequently, when replacements were needed, positions were advertised and an increasing number of applicants, some of whom had gained experience elsewhere, began to move from role to role. As will be discussed below not all of the appointments were successful but when complaints were made they were investigated and various officers enjoyed the support of their board whilst others were found wanting and removed from office. As with the guardians, we should not lose sight of the fact that these men and women were individuals; the popular concept of ill treatment in the workhouse or at the hand of poor law officers should not dominate the narrative. Certainly there were examples of neglect or cruelty but these were challenged locally and nationally and in most cases they were acted upon swiftly and resolved. It should be remembered that in this early period, many officials, unions and the Poor Law Commission itself

⁴ Now archived at TNA, series MH 9.

⁵ The TNA catalogue *Discovery* lists MH 9 as the 'Registers of Paid Officers 1837 to 1921', however I estimate the registers were set up between May 1864 and Aug 1868. Officers in post when the registers began were included with their original appointment date but there is no record of those who had ceased employment before the mid 1860s. Thus the majority of poor law officers discussed in this chapter and the medical officers discussed in chapter 7 are absent from these registers.

were still finding their way as they implemented this unique and far reaching piece of legislation.

Union Clerk

The first appointment made by many boards of guardians was that of union clerk. This was a paid position and the amount of work involved depended not only on the size of the union but also the level of activity taking place in the union at any given time. The initial workload around the declaration and setting up of the union was particularly high. The clerk took the minutes of the board of guardians' meetings, maintained many of the union records and correspondence files; he corresponded with the centre, the assistant poor law commissioner, other unions and anyone else as directed by the guardians. Clerks acted as returning officers at the annual election of guardians, advertised and received tenders for contracts for goods and services and liaised with the courts in legal matters pertaining to the union. Many clerks were solicitors or had some legal training but it was not essential for the role much of which was routine and repetitious. The guardians made decisions on behalf of the union and were accountable for those decisions but some clerks operated with a high degree of autonomy; others were at the beck and call of both the guardians and the Poor Law Commission. Many found the clerk's job more onerous and demanding than they had anticipated. John Rawley, the first clerk to the Hatfield union resigned after less than a year in the job and was replaced by John Binyon (1797-1879), a schoolmaster and elected guardian. In recognition of the level of work involved Binyon's salary was increased from £30

per annum to £75 per annum in 1837 and to £85 in 1841.⁶ This may have been decreased at a later date as the register of paid officers records his salary as £60. Binyon served for over 30 years until he resigned due to 'increasing infirmity'.⁷ His replacement served for 43 years until 1911. William Stevens (1789-1858) the clerk to the Hitchin Union also described his job as 'onerous', (although Stevens made life hard for himself by sending full copies of the minutes of every board meeting to the Poor Law Commission until they told him to stop).⁸ The Hitchin guardians recognised his heavy workload awarding him an additional £10 'on account of the unexpected amount of his duties.'⁹ Stevens' salary gradually increased from £50 per annum in 1836 to £105 per annum in 1847 by which time he had taken on the additional role of Superintendent Registrar for the Hitchin and Baldock district following the introduction of civil registration in 1837.¹⁰ This was a significant salary for the time, equivalent to c£75,000 today. Stevens was a dedicated clerk and was rewarded with a further bonus for 'long and efficient service' in April 1847. He served until his death in 1858. A long serving and efficient clerk provided continuity between elected boards and over time. The salaries and bonus paid to these clerks suggest that the guardians also valued the work of the clerk and paid them well to retain their services.

The clerks in St Albans and Watford, Richard Grove Lowe (1802-1872) and Richard Pugh (1806-1878), were equally long serving and similarly dissatisfied with their £60 salary. Pugh wrote to the commissioners several times. Assistant

⁶ BG/HAT/1, 5 May 1836 & 27 July 1836; BG/HAT/2, 4 Apr 1841.

⁷ MH 9/8, Hatfield.

⁸ BG/HIT/2, 15 Feb 1836; MH 12/4612, 13 Oct 1835.

⁹ BG/HIT/2, 22 Feb 1836.

¹⁰ Births and Deaths Registration Act 1836.

commissioner Daniel Adey thought that any salary below £80 was too low and he recommended having fixed salaries because there was dissatisfaction among the clerks regarding their remuneration.¹¹ Both men were appointed Superintendent Registrar for their respective districts in 1837. But unlike Binyon and Stevens both Lowe and Pugh found time to take on other roles separate to the union job. Lowe was a St Albans solicitor, who also served as Mayor in 1841 and had five terms as an Alderman between 1849 and 1871.¹² The variety of handwriting in the correspondence files suggests that he engaged others to carry out some of the routine paperwork. He was still actively involved in union business in 1847 and was nominally (at least) the union clerk on the same salary of £60 per annum when he died in 1872.¹³

Richard Pugh did not devote his energies exclusively to the role of clerk to the Watford union; on the 1851 Census form his occupation was given as 'Solicitor, Superintendent Registrar, Clerk to Watford Union, Clerk to Magistrates Watford Division, Clerk of Watford County Court Watford Division.'¹⁴ His multi-tasking did not endear him to the assistant poor law commissioner Richard Hall. Pugh was invited to resign by the Poor Law Commission following Hall's report that Pugh should be 'removed from office' as his correspondence was 'loose and careless'.¹⁵ Pugh argued that he had failed to make timely reports to Hall because of poor record keeping by the relieving officer Mr Bellis. Pugh enjoyed the support of the Watford guardians and his grovelling apology ensured he was spared. He wrote 'If I

¹¹ MH 12/4679, 11 Nov 1835, 1 Feb 1837.

¹² Christopher Finch Reynolds, *The St Albans Council 1835-1912 A listing compiled Christopher Finch Reynolds* (1998) https://www.stalbans.gov.uk/Images/MayoralCount_tcm15-34883.pdf.

¹³ Register of Paid Officers, TNA, MH 9/1 – St Albans.

¹⁴ 1851 Census, HO107/1714/179/13.

¹⁵ MH 12/4681 3 Jan 1841.

should in anyway have given offence to the Commissioners, pray accept my assurance that it was unpremeditated and unintentional and is sincerely regretted.¹⁶ Hall did not entirely accept Pugh's explanation but he did not mention the fact that he had multiple jobs either; something he criticised when investigating Bellis's ability to do his job diligently as relieving officer.

The boards of guardians relied heavily on the clerks to manage the administration of the union and the efficiency of individual unions was, in part, dependant on the diligence and efficiency of the clerk. Much of what they did happened behind the scenes, they rarely had direct interactions with the poor, but their administration underpinned much of the infrastructure of the local union and it is often the records they created which open a window onto poor law history. Historians on the other hand may thank and curse the clerks in equal measure, because although many records compiled by them survive there is little consistency in the data they kept or how their minutes were recorded. For example one clerk might record details of weekly out-relief payments down to the last farthing whilst another might only record the data quarterly, yet another made no record in the minute books but kept a separate ledger, which has not survived. Rarely does data survive in a form that facilitates immediate and direct comparison between unions.

Workhouse Master, Matron and Relieving Officer

Other key appointments within the union were the workhouse master and the relieving officer. These jobs had the greatest degree of interaction between the authorities and the poor – both in and out of the workhouse. The jobs were

¹⁶ MH 12/4681, 13 Jan 1845.

often (but not always) combined; the Hertfordshire sample unions offer examples of both individual and joint appointments.

The workhouse master (usually with his wife working as the matron) was responsible for the union workhouse and the personnel and paupers within it. His job involved running the workhouse in accordance with the rules and regulations set down by the Poor Law Commission and any local modifications. He was responsible for admitting and discharging inmates and for their care, discipline, employment and moral welfare whilst in the house. The relieving officer was the union official responsible for the paupers outside the house. He was the first point of contact for those seeking relief, whether that was short or long term relief, assistance in or out of the workhouse or temporary medical care. In cases of 'sudden and urgent necessity' other parish officials and magistrates could order relief to be given, but this was exceptional. Paupers were allowed to approach the board of guardians directly at the weekly board meeting, but many boards would not consider such applications unless a request had already been made to the relieving officer. The relieving officers were the guardians' eyes and ears on the ground and would make enquiries into individual circumstances when relief applications were made. The larger unions were divided into districts to make the relieving officer more accessible.

The smallest union, Hatfield, initially combined the role of workhouse master and relieving officer and employed John Bridgens (1781-1842) who had successfully managed the Hatfield parish workhouse and acted as overseer of the poor under the direction of Lord Salisbury. Bridgens was a former drill-sergeant and paymaster-sergeant in the Coldstream Guards who was highly regarded by

Salisbury. His role was extended and he became workhouse master and relieving officer for the whole union. However, within a year, he stepped down as relieving officer in favour of Mr Saunders but continued as workhouse master with his wife in the role of matron.

In contrast, the Watford union kept the two roles of workhouse master and relieving officer separate from the start. They employed John Hilditch (1791-1847) the former master of the Aldenham workhouse as the union workhouse master and Thomas Wilson (1801-1843), the former vestry clerk and overseer for Rickmansworth, as the relieving officer. Wilson was highly regarded by his own board and by the assistant poor law commissioner Daniel Adey who described Wilson as 'far too good to be a relieving officer' and attempted to recruit him as a trainer and instructor of other officers in the unions Adey was establishing.¹⁷ Wilson was temporarily retained as the workhouse master for Rickmansworth workhouse until the larger new central workhouse was built. He was paid £100 per annum which was soon increased to £130 per annum; and he was allowed a horse and 'horse-keep' in recognition of the large distances he needed to travel in order to distribute relief to the poor throughout the union. When the Watford union found itself with insufficient funds to pay the builder erecting the new workhouse, Wilson stepped in and loaned the treasurer £170.¹⁸ Wilson and the other early workhouse masters and relieving officers were all former service men. Ex-service men, '...officers or superior non-commissioned officers in the army and navy' were favoured for being disciplined, commanding and well organised.¹⁹ Men discharged

¹⁷ MH 32/5, Sep & Oct 1835.

¹⁸ BG/WAT/1, 9 May 1837.

¹⁹ MH 32/3 – cited in Anstruther, *The Scandal of the Andover Workhouse*, p.76.

from the army would be in want of accommodation and the master's job had accommodation and board provided (albeit in the workhouse) for the master, his wife and dependant children making it an attractive opportunity. Wilson died suddenly in 1843 whilst out distributing relief and his replacement William Michael Bellis was a departure from the ex-military appointees. Bellis was a local surveyor and superintendent of the gas works.²⁰ He was not as efficient as Wilson and his failure to keep his accounts up to date caused difficulties between him and Richard Pugh, the union clerk. The latter almost lost his job as a result and Bellis put his own position at risk because of his repeated failure to keep his books up to date. The assistant poor law commissioner wrote 'Mr Bellis, though he has his good point [sic], is not competent to discharge the duties of sole Relieving Officer.'²¹ He was given three months to improve and comply at the end of which, the board of guardians wrote to the poor law commissioners stating they found him competent to do the job.²² This seems to illustrate two things – the job of relieving officer was more demanding than had been anticipated by the applicant and the guardians and that the board of guardians were not willing to submit to the counsel of the assistant commissioner.

Some unions were too large to be under the supervision of one relieving officer and both Hitchin and St Albans divided the unions into districts and employed multiple relieving officers. Hitchin employed John Manning as both workhouse master and relieving officer in the Hitchin town area and two other relieving officers – James Coleman (1797-1849) and John Smith (1799 - ?) for the

²⁰ BG/WAT/4, 29 Sep 1843.

²¹ MH 12/4682, 3 Mar 1847.

²² MH 12/4682, 13 Apr 1847 & 7 Sep 1847.

outlying areas. Their salaries included 'horse-keep' but not a horse. They followed a regular route for visiting the parishes so that the parishioners would know when and where to find them in order to receive or apply for relief. The Hitchin relieving officers waited 30 minutes at each agreed meeting point (often the porch of the parish church or a long term pauper's house) and allowed one hour for each six miles travelling time.²³ In addition to the parish visits the relieving officers were required to attend the weekly board meetings to discuss new applications for relief and receive instruction from the guardians.

The rank and status of individuals was also a consideration when making appointments. Until the new central workhouse was built, St Albans had two districts centred on two workhouses. Each district had a joint workhouse-keeper/relieving officer employed on equal terms – a salary of £80 per annum plus an additional £25 per annum for a horse.²⁴

Once a new central workhouse was built at Oyster Fields, William Weir (1791-1870) and his wife were appointed as workhouse master and matron and James Greenwood (1792-1853) became the sole relieving officer. The position of workhouse master was a 'live-in' job and came with accommodation, rations, coal and candles. The relieving officer lived independently and was paid £130 per annum from which he was expected to purchase and keep a horse. The workhouse master's job was also seen as the more senior position even though both positions reported independently to the board of guardians. Weir had been the senior officer when both men were in the army; he had brought Greenwood to the union and Adey and the commissioners believed that he should have first option on the

²³ BG/HIT/3, 24 April 1837.

²⁴ Off Acc 1162, 2 Jul 1836.

master's job.²⁵ The workhouse master's position had been offered to Greenwood by the board of guardians, but this was not sanctioned by the Poor Law Commission (on the recommendation of Adey) on account of Weir's superior rank and because Adey saw Weir as the better man for the job.²⁶ Questions were also raised about Greenwood's character following an accusation of improper conduct with a female pauper. This accusation was not investigated at the time and the board of guardians decided that due to the elapsed time the evidence was not conclusive and they decided to take no action.²⁷ This incident stands out because many other incidents were followed up and investigated promptly.

The Hertfordshire records provide several examples of complaints against workhouse masters and relieving officers, some were made to the local board and others directly to the Poor Law Commission. Sarah Hickman, a local rate-payer, complained about relieving officer Coleman in Hitchin.²⁸ The board of guardians admonished him for his 'incivility' and the poor law commissioners recommended only that he was more courteous in future.²⁹ However a few years earlier the commissioners recommended the dismissal of his fellow relieving officer John Smith following an investigation into the case of a pauper Samuel Johnson by assistant commissioner Sir John Walsham. In Smith's case the board of guardians successfully argued that Walsham's interpretation of the case was too harsh and that as he had been 'an active, intelligent and useful officer from the formation of

²⁵ Off Acc 1162, 8 Dec 1837.

²⁶ MH 12/4441, 18 Nov 1837.

²⁷ Off Acc 1162, 16 Dec 1837.

²⁸ BG/HIT/10, 20 July 1847.

²⁹ BG/HIT/10, 20 July 1847 & 31 Aug 1847.

the Union' that he should be reinstated.³⁰ The Poor Law Commission agreed to his re-appointment as relieving officer but the Registrar General refused to re-appoint him as the registrar for Baldock another public office from which he had also been dismissed.³¹

There is further evidence of the Hitchin board supporting and defending their staff and challenging the instructions of the Poor Law Commission in a case that illustrates both how individual guardians could influence and disrupt the operation of the board and the lack of clarity over the boundaries of responsibility between different poor law employees. John Manning was master of the Hitchin town workhouse, he moved into the new union workhouse on the outskirts of the town and the guardians retained the old town workhouse as the children's workhouse and school. Thomas and Eliza Simpson were appointed as schoolmaster and mistress responsible for the children in January 1838. All appeared well until August 1840 when Manning made a complaint about Simpson and his wife that resulted in their dismissal.³²

Thomas Hailey (the guardian for Hitchin and vice-chairman) then alleged that Manning had failed in his duties by not providing adequate supervision of the second workhouse and the conduct of Mr and Mrs Simpson; as a result the poor law commissioners decided that Manning should also be dismissed. Manning argued that he was not responsible for the second workhouse and that the Simpsons did not report to him.

³⁰ BG/HIT/8, 14 Jan 1845.

³¹ BG/HIT/8, 21 Jan 1845.

³² BG/HIT/5, 16 Sept 1840. The Simpson case is discussed further later in this chapter.

Many of the guardians and local rate-payers gave significant support to Manning and lobbied the Poor Law Commission in his favour, however a small faction, led by Hailey, agitated aggressively for his dismissal. Over 120 rate-payers signed a letter to the poor law commissioners stating ‘the order dismissing John Manning from his office has been received with a general feeling of surprise and regret and has excited the public sympathy strongly in his favour’ and asked for the decision to be re-considered.³³ Another letter claimed the signatures on the petition had been obtained by falsely claiming ‘that all Manning had done was merely an oversight an unintentional error’.³⁴ William Lucas Jnr (Hitchin guardian) complained that Hailey had tried to pack the board meeting with his own supporters by writing to selected guardians some of whom had ‘never taken any part in the proceedings of the Board’.³⁵ The matter went unresolved for several months during which time Hailey continued trying to press ahead with finding a replacement master.³⁶ Those in favour of Manning proposed a compromise in which he stayed on as workhouse master but stepped down from the position of relieving officer but the Poor Law Commission turned this down and claimed to have written evidence to support their decision to dismiss.³⁷ Robert Weale the assistant poor law commissioner re-examined the case. Weale spent three days interviewing witnesses including several paupers after which the Poor Law Commission confirmed that the decision to dismiss would stand. Manning stayed in post until his replacement was appointed in May 1841.

³³ MH 12/4613, [undated but received by Poor Law Commission 20 Nov 1840].

³⁴ MH 12/4613, letter from J. Stort [?] to Poor Law Commission, 20 Nov 1840.

³⁵ MH 12/4614, Letter from Lucas to PLC, 21 Jan 1841.

³⁶ BG/HIT/5, 17 Nov 1840.

³⁷ BG/HIT/6, 22 Dec 1840.

Manning was not the only Hertfordshire workhouse master to be dismissed from office, the Watford master John Hilditch was removed due to ill-health.³⁸ Several paupers had written to the Poor Law Commission claiming he was insane.³⁹ The complaint was initially investigated and refuted by the board, the assistant poor law commissioner and the medical officer but he was later asked to leave.⁴⁰

Many of those first appointed to the position of workhouse master were already in post as parish workhouse-keepers prior to the introduction of the New Poor Law, but as the New Poor Law became established there was no shortage of applicants for vacant workhouse master positions. Following the sudden death of the Hatfield master in 1842 there were 23 applicants for the position. James Gatland, a former soldier, and his wife Mary were appointed as master and matron.⁴¹ When they resigned due to Mary's ill-health there were eight applicants for the position and people with previous experience in poor law jobs were beginning to emerge. The Hatfield guardians appointed Hungerford Luttrell (1801-1855), an experienced workhouse master and his wife Maria who were then the incumbents at Pembroke workhouse.⁴² Luttrell and his family were part of an emerging group of poor law career professionals. They had been governor and matron at Croydon workhouse and from Hatfield they moved to Bishops Stortford workhouse where their daughter was also appointed as schoolmistress.⁴³ They were subsequently appointed as governor and matron of the Taunton union

³⁸ BG/WAT/6, 15 Apr 1846.

³⁹ BG/WAT/5, 13 Aug 1845.

⁴⁰ BG/WAT/6, 15 Apr 1846.

⁴¹ BG/HAT/3, 9 Apr 1842.

⁴² BG/HAT/4, 15 Jan 1846.

⁴³ 1841 Census, HO 107/1078/12/1. MH 12/4538/391. 28 Nov 1846. MH 12/4538/390, 12 Nov 1846.

workhouse.⁴⁴ They were succeeded by other career officials - Edward Kite (1795-1870) and his wife Mary Kite formally the master and matron of the Bethnal Green workhouse.

School Masters and Schoolmistress

At the time the New Poor Law was enacted there was no mass compulsory education for the poor in England and Wales and there was hostility towards a universal education system.⁴⁵ Limited instruction was given in charitable or Sunday schools but in 1835 their reach was still incomplete. The Factory Act of 1802 required employers to give limited instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic to apprentices but no such provision was made in rural communities.⁴⁶ Similar provisions were made within the New Poor Law with regard to children within the workhouse. The Poor Law Commission's workhouse rules stated that children should have a minimum of three hours instruction 'reading, writing, and in the principles of the Christian religion' as well as vocational instruction 'to train them to habits of usefulness, industry and virtue'.⁴⁷ As children outside of the workhouse were only receiving a limited education the rudimentary education offered was potentially in conflict with the 'less-eligibility' principle.⁴⁸ There is no suggestion however that families entered the workhouse in order to educate their children.

⁴⁴ 1851 Census, HO 107/1922/703.

⁴⁵ Derek Gillard, *Education in England: a brief history*, (2011) www.educationengland.org.uk/history [accessed 11/09/16].

⁴⁶ Gillard, *Education in England*.

⁴⁷ *First Annual Report*, p.60.

⁴⁸ Francis Duke, 'Pauper Education' in Fraser, *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1976), pp.67-86.

The workhouse rules did not state that instruction was to be on the premises and many unions did not have sufficient children as inmates to justify employing a dedicated schoolmaster or schoolmistress. Children were instead escorted to a local school for their education. An inventory of the Hatfield workhouse taken in 1836 lists a 'schoolroom' on the ground floor.⁴⁹ Reverend Faithful told the parliamentary select committee that an able pauper was nominated to teach the children under the parish workhouse system.⁵⁰ However there was no discussion about the children's education when the Hatfield union was set up; as little changed in Hatfield at this stage it is reasonable to assume the same 'able-pauper' system prevailed. By 1838 however, the workhouse master's daughter, Miss Bridgens was acting as an unpaid schoolmistress and was rewarded for her work with a £15 gratuity.⁵¹ Children in the Hatfield workhouse were also employed in silk winding using machinery and raw materials supplied by Mr Woolhams, a St Albans silk manufacturer. When Woolhams removed his equipment the guardians asked what was to be done with the 'unemployed children?'⁵² The solution was to send them to two local schools. The older boys were sent to the National school and the infant boys and all girls were sent to Mrs Peile's school at a charge of two pence per child per day.⁵³

⁴⁹ BG/HAT/1, 16 June 1836.

⁵⁰ BPP, 1834 (44) XXVII-XXXIX. *Report from His Majesty's commissioners for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws*, p.66A.

⁵¹ BG/HAT/1, 23 Aug 1838; BG/HAT/2, 15 Sept 1838.

⁵² BG/HAT/2, 19 Mar 1840.

⁵³ The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church was founded in 1811 with the aim of establishing a Church of England school in every parish. They became known as National Schools. Lois Loudon, *Distinctive and Inclusive: The National Society and Church of England Schools 1811–2011*, (London: National Society, 2012). Mrs Peile's school was most probably a private 'dame school'.

The unions of Hitchin, St Albans and Watford also used external schools to educate the workhouse children at various times but they also favoured employing resident schoolmasters and mistress (usually a husband and wife) who then formed part of the growing body of poor law officers. Hitchin union had planned to accommodate the pauper children in a separate building, not because they saw this as beneficial on ideological grounds, but so they could retain the old parish workhouse and build a smaller (and therefore less expensive) union workhouse. The Hitchin schoolmaster was to be responsible for the children in and out of the schoolroom. The boundaries of his responsibilities were not fully understood by either the guardians, the workhouse master or the schoolmaster and this led to a serious complaint, an investigation by the assistant poor law commissioner, heated board meetings and the dismissal of both the workhouse master (discussed above) and the schoolmaster which is discussed below.

Unlike the position of workhouse master, the boards were not inundated with applicants for the schoolmaster's job, it proved one of the more difficult positions to recruit for and the suitability of those who did apply was questionable. The Hitchin board took nearly 18 months to recruit their first live-in husband and wife schoolmaster and schoolmistress – Abraham and Sarah Hughes. They were paid a joint salary of £25 per annum plus rations and accommodation.⁵⁴ The guardians did not raise any issues with their work or the supervision of the children until the visiting committee noticed the excessive consumption of potatoes at the children's workhouse. The workhouse master, supplied an account of all provisions

⁵⁴ BG/HIT/3, 16 May 1837.

sent to Mr Hughes between 1 June and 29 September 1837.⁵⁵ He calculated that 429.5 lbs. of meat had been consumed against an allowance in the diet tables of 343 lbs. – an excess of 25%; and the discrepancy was far greater for the consumption of flour which, at 609lbs, exceed the allowance by 69%. Hughes could not account for the excess usage; the implication was that he and his family had consumed the extra food, but equally he could have offered larger portions to the paupers or even profited by selling the provisions on. At a specially convened board meeting the following was recorded in the minutes:

[The Board] is of the opinion that Mr Hughes, even according to his own statement, has been guilty of great extravagance in his consumption of provisions, and has shown himself unfit for his situation, and therefore recommends him to tender his resignation of his office: - and the Clerk was directed to give Mr Hughes a copy of this minute.⁵⁶

Hughes duly resigned and when Thomas Simpson and his wife were recruited as replacements the new schoolmaster attended a board meeting at which the allowance and scale of provisions were read to him.⁵⁷ Simpson had previously been employed by the Amersham union and is another early example of the 'career poor law officer' who evolved after the passing of the New Poor Law. The board were satisfied with Simpson's conduct and, although they twice refused him a salary increase, they did make additional payments of £5 and £7 as a 'gift' and 'donation' respectively.⁵⁸ A report by the school inspection committee (a sub-

⁵⁵ BG/HIT/3, 17 Oct 1837.

⁵⁶ BG/HIT/3, 14 Nov 1837.

⁵⁷ BG/HIT/4, 5 Dec 1837 & 16 Jan 1838. In correspondence the Amersham board initially reported that Simpson was subject to an investigation - unfortunately the minutes do not record why - but after a second letter from Amersham and one from Lord Russell he was appointed anyway.

BG/HIT/4, 19 Dec 1837 & 2 Jan 1838.

⁵⁸ BG/HIT/4, 12 Jun 1838 & 1 Jan 1839.

committee of the board of guardians rather than national inspectors) in June 1840 found the school was generally satisfactory; its recommendations centred on extending the children's knowledge and learning rather than putting right obvious failings.⁵⁹

A few weeks later John Manning made a formal complaint against Simpson and his wife, which was investigated by assistant poor law commissioner Wade. Manning alleged that Thomas Simpson and his wife frequently quarrelled and used bad language, that the children were neglected and some had become filthy and diseased, that Simpson had allowed children to intermingle 'so that they have become immoral and desolate in their habits', that Simpson had allowed adult males to remain in the school with adult females and that an adult female had been allowed into the male side of the house where 'indecencies' had taken place. Furthermore when Manning had tried to stop this behaviour he was assaulted; the schoolmaster had offered no help and had attempted to induce insubordination by falsely representing what had happened.⁶⁰ Wade found these charges to be substantially correct and the Simpsons were dismissed.⁶¹

As part of the investigation, the 'indecencies' of which Manning complained were found to be the sexual assault of Martha Robottam (otherwise Rowbottom) by her brother and another boy James Farr.⁶² Following Wade's questioning, Joseph Robottam was found guilty of 'the most culpable indecencies towards his sister'. His punishment was to be confined for 24 hours then kept closely at work

⁵⁹ BG/HIT/5, 16 Jun 1840.

⁶⁰ BG/HIT/5, 1 Aug 1840.

⁶¹ BG/HIT/5, 16 Sep 1840.

⁶² BG/HIT/5, 25 Aug 1840 & MH 12/4613. The MH12 correspondence file contains Colonel Wade's detailed report with detailed signed witness statements and interviews with both staff and paupers collected over three days.

with the able-bodied men and a diet of 'no animal food' for two months. Martha, despite her personal testimony which described first an assault by Farr, and repeated incestuous rape by her brother was also found guilty of 'the grossest indecencies with her brother' and was given the same punishment as Joseph.⁶³ The medical officer Oswald Foster considered Farr incapable of any offence being only 11 or 12 years of age.⁶⁴ The case was not referred to the courts. At this date incest was considered a moral sin and could have been punished in the ecclesiastical courts (but rarely was); incest became a criminal offence with the Punishment of Incest Act, 1908.⁶⁵ Wade also found that the workhouse master was in part responsible, however he stopped short of recommending his dismissal as he also found that Manning may have been misled about the extent of his duties at the children's workhouse by the guardians. The Hitchin board did not hesitate in dismissing Simpson.

Hitchin union replaced the Simpsons in October 1840 with Mr and Mrs Geary as schoolmaster and mistress, but they too resigned after complaints by the new workhouse master James Stevenson.⁶⁶ The assistant poor law commissioner Sir Edmund Walker Head investigated the complaint and recommended that Geary leave; the difficulties centred on the relationship between Geary and Stevenson rather than any wrong doing by the schoolmaster. As a parting shot Geary made twelve charges against the workhouse master and assistant poor law commissioner

⁶³ BG/HIT/5, 25 Aug 1840. In the absence of the admission and discharge registers for Hitchin union workhouse it is not possible to accurately identify these individuals but at the time of the 1841 Census, one Martha Robottom was resident. She was 13 years old. There were no other Robottoms/Rowbottems in the house at that time. However James Farr, aged 13 was still an inmate. HO 107/445/4/17-21.

⁶⁴ MH 12/4613, witness statement by Oswald Foster, 13 Aug 1840.

⁶⁵ Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: England 1872-1989* (London: Routledge, 2003).

⁶⁶ BG/HIT/5, 27 Oct 1840. BG/HIT/6, 7 Sep 1841.

Head was called in again to investigate.⁶⁷ Head did not find the charges ‘in substance established’ though he did make some recommendations about the language and temper of the matron.⁶⁸ He also recommended that the union appoint a live-in schoolmistress and a live-out schoolmaster. The ‘couple model’ had not proved very successful in Hitchin. The union accepted this recommendation and recruited Mrs Charlotte Barber as schoolmistress and Mr William Strickland as the live-out schoolmaster. Charlotte Barber was a widow with a young son; she was especially grateful for her a job with accommodation where she could keep and support her son. When answering a survey sent out by the assistant poor law commissioner Sir John Walsham, her answer to the question ‘What are your allowances beside your salary?’ she wrote ‘Permission to have my only child – a little boy with me – a privilege beyond estimation’.⁶⁹ The opportunities for widowed or single women with families to be self sufficient were limited and the workhouse allowed her to survive and keep her child.⁷⁰ When he became schoolmaster Strickland was an inexperienced 19-year-old who had been educated at the local free school in the village of Ashwell.⁷¹ He remained the schoolmaster for at least 10 years before being appointed relieving officer a position he held until his death in 1892.⁷²

The in-house and local school models discussed above were the main vehicles for delivering children’s education, but George Marten, the chairman of

⁶⁷ BG/HIT/6, 10 Aug 1841.

⁶⁸ BG/HIT/6, 24 Aug 1841 – 14 Sep 1841.

⁶⁹ MH 32/86, Schoolmistress Questionnaire, Charlotte Barber, 18 Jan 1847.

⁷⁰ Charlotte Barber was still the schoolmistress at the time of the 1851 Census [HO107/1710/99/45] but by 1861 she was living with her adult son in Wolverhampton where he was a newspaper reporter [RG9/1987/107/21].

⁷¹ MH 32/86, Schoolmaster Questionnaire, William Strickland, 19 Jan 1847.

⁷² 1851 Census, HO 107/1710/99/45. 1861 Census, RG 9/817/50/6. National Probate Calendar, 1892.

the St Albans union, was always keen to pursue the concept of industrial schools – large schools modelled on the school at Norwood which provided education, industrial and moral training for up to 1000 pupils from the London unions.⁷³ The idea was discussed at various times at board meetings, with other unions and with the Poor Law Commission. In 1839 the St Albans board sent the following resolution to the Poor Law Commission:

That it is the opinion of this Board that no good system of industrial education can be sufficiently carried on where the number of children is limited to those of a single Union and that in order to obtain the advantages of such an education as will give the children the habits of industry and enable to gain their livelihood in future it is highly desirable that such children as are likely to be permanently chargeable should be sent from several unions and placed together in a central school for that purpose.⁷⁴

Marten proposed collaborating with other unions to create industrial schools for training workhouse children but after receiving replies from Hatfield, Watford, Luton and Barnet unions the board concluded that it was impractical.⁷⁵ The concept of district schools was considered by the Poor Law Commission, but when they were agreed to in 1844, the restriction that no district could be more than 15 miles in diameter rendered their introduction impractical in rural areas although a handful were formed in the larger towns of Manchester and Liverpool.⁷⁶

⁷³ Duke, 'Pauper Education' in Fraser, *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century*, pp.67-86, p.70.

⁷⁴ Off Acc 1162, 10 May 1839.

This minute was also reported in BPP, 1840 (226) XVII.167. *Report of the Poor Law Commissioners to the Most Noble the Marquis of Normanby, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the continuance of the Poor Law Commission, and on some further amendments of the laws relating to the relief of the poor.*

⁷⁵ Off Acc 1162, 15 Oct 1847 and 12 Nov 1847.

⁷⁶ Duke, 'Pauper Education' pp.67-86; pp.70-72. Ray Pallister, 'Workhouse education in county Durham: 1834–1870', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 16.3 (1968), pp.279-291, pp.279-280.

The St Albans union struggled to find a suitable schoolmaster. Joseph Wyke absconded when the workhouse committee investigated his conduct and found him 'guilty of great irregularities' in December 1836.⁷⁷ The surviving documents do not state the nature of the 'irregularities'. Charles James Fox (b.1807) and his wife Susannah were appointed as schoolmaster and schoolmistress on a joint salary of £25 per annum plus board and lodging.⁷⁸ After nearly four years they moved on to take up the posts of workhouse master and matron at another Hertfordshire union, Berkhamstead.⁷⁹ Twelve applicants put themselves forward as replacements and Thomas Fuller and his wife were appointed.⁸⁰ Within a few months both the workhouse master and the medical attendant alleged that Fuller had hit some of the children. Three young children, Joseph Lilly aged 12, Thomas Carter aged 11 and Samuel Powell aged 7 were summoned before the board who found that the children 'had been punished with improper severity by the schoolmaster'.⁸¹ Following an investigation by the assistant poor law commissioner Weale, the poor law commissioners decided that Thomas Fuller 'had inflicted excessive punishment on the Boys under his care'; they issued an order of dismissal declaring him unfit for the office of schoolmaster.⁸² Like the Hitchin board, the St Albans board was willing to listen to and investigate complaints made against its officers.

The quality of the applicants for the schoolmaster positions at the Watford union was unimpressive. When the position was first advertised none of the three

⁷⁷ Off Acc 1162, 17 Dec 1836.

⁷⁸ Off Acc 1162, 24 Dec 1836.

⁷⁹ Off Acc 1162, 25 Sep 1840.

⁸⁰ Off Acc 1162, 6 Nov 1840.

⁸¹ Off Acc 1162, 15 Jan 1841.

⁸² MH 12/4442, 15 Jan 1841. Off Acc 1162, Letters to the St Albans board dated 20 & 21 Jan 1841.

applicants was appointed.⁸³ When re-advertised it attracted eleven applicants. Mrs Wools was appointed at £20 per annum plus board and lodging. Her duties also included the supervision of the children outside school hours giving her no time off until the children were in bed. The workhouse master Mr Hilditch complained that her supervision was inadequate particularly at meal times and that she should attend to the mending of linen and clothes and the children's cleanliness.⁸⁴ Wools was supervising 29 boys and 24 girls so it was decided to appoint a schoolmaster for the boys age 10 and above.⁸⁵ The Rev. Capel was charged with finding a suitable schoolmaster but instead it was agreed that the boys would attend Mr Henry Broderick's school in Watford at a cost of five shillings per week.⁸⁶ This arrangement continued until the assistant poor law commissioner raised concerns about the efficiency of Mrs Wools.⁸⁷ The guardians decided they needed a younger and more efficient schoolmistress and Mrs Wools was given three months notice.⁸⁸ The exact nature of Mrs Wools inadequacies were not recorded but age seems to have been a factor. Her replacement was a widow Frances Curd who had previous experience in the Hertford workhouse.⁸⁹

Watford continued with indoor instruction for the girls and outdoor schooling for the boys until December 1846 when the board of guardians decided to appoint a couple as schoolmaster and mistress and advertised accordingly. There were several applications and more unusually one came from a pauper

⁸³ BG/WAT/1, 22 Dec 1835.

⁸⁴ BG/WAT/2, 2 Feb 1838.

⁸⁵ BG/WAT/2, 23 Feb 1838.

⁸⁶ BG/WAT/2, 16 Mar 1838.

⁸⁷ BG/WAT/2, 28 Jun 1839.

⁸⁸ BG/WAT/2, 5 Jul 1839.

⁸⁹ BG/WAT/2, 27 Sep 1839.

inmate Thomas Elston (1801-) who was living in the workhouse with his wife and four children.⁹⁰ Elston had been an excise officer in Rickmansworth and was known to some of the guardians who spoke highly of him. He had been dismissed nine years earlier for making an improper entry in his records but his explanation of the circumstances satisfied the guardians who wanted to give him a month's trial as workhouse schoolmaster. The Poor Law Commission made further enquires about his previous employment and the guardians were informed that Elston was discharged in 1838 for

various neglects and irregularities in the performance of his Duty, and especially for having entered in his books the particulars of an alleged survey made by him at a Maltsters when it was subsequently proved that such alleged survey was feigned.⁹¹

Elston had subsequently worked as a servant and his wife as a cook but according to assistant commissioner Hall his wife had 'twice attempted self-destruction.'⁹² Hall did not venture to suggest whether this was because of mental illness, because of shame at their reduced circumstances or for some other reason. As suicide was considered both criminal and morally reprehensible it is likely that Caroline Elston was considered morally weak. Elson was employed for a trial period after which the Chaplain reported that Elston 'has conducted himself exceedingly well and seems to take pains in his duties. I consider him to be a proper person for the office of schoolmaster.' The guardians found that he 'has discharged his duties in a satisfactory manner' and sought permission to make his

⁹⁰ BG/WAT/6, 10 Feb 1847. MH 12/4682, 11 Feb 1847.

⁹¹ BG/WAT/6, 10 Mar 1847.

⁹² MH 12/4682, annotation by Hall 1 Apr 1847.

appointment permanent.⁹³ Elston lived at the workhouse, but his wife and children lived elsewhere in Watford. Elston was still the live-in workhouse schoolmaster when the 1851 census was taken. Alongside Elston the guardians appointed a 39-year-old widow, Charlotte Siddell, as the schoolmistress. Siddell was an experienced schoolmistress who had worked previously in a national school and a parish school.⁹⁴ She stayed on as schoolmistress for at least ten years. For widowed women with children like Charlotte Sidell and Charlotte Barber the position of workhouse schoolmistress gave them a respectable occupation, accommodation, a modest income and most importantly the opportunity to keep their child. At a time when employment opportunities for widows with children without independent income were limited, such employment terms must have been very welcome.

Conclusion

The New Poor Law created a number of new jobs under the immediate control of the board of guardians but with arms length supervision from the central Poor Law Commission. This study of the Hertfordshire unions highlights the variety of practices employed in the recruitment and retention of union personnel and provides further evidence that there was no uniform or consistent approach during the early years of the New Poor Law. Each board of guardians operated autonomously and fought for the right to recruit and retain personnel on their own terms. Salaries and contractual terms varied from union to union as each new administration was created to meet local rather than national requirements. The

⁹³ MH 12/4682, 8 Sep 1847.

⁹⁴ MH 12/4082, 15 Mar 1847.

Poor Law Commission's role was one of veto rather than leadership and coordination.

Complaints against poor law officers – workhouse masters and matrons, schoolmasters and mistresses and relieving officers were generally responded to quickly and decisively. Of course there is no way of knowing whether any other complaints were made, ignored and are unrecorded, but the fact that several serious complaints were acted upon suggests a willingness to respond that sits outside the usual poor law narrative. However the year long fight between the Hitchin guardians and the Poor Law Commission over the dismissal of their workhouse master also demonstrated a loyalty to long serving individual employees and an unwillingness to kowtow to central control if it was considered inappropriate. The investigation of complaints such as those against Simpson and Fuller also gave voice to the experiences of individual paupers.

In the absence of women as members of the boards of guardians for the first forty years it was in the roles of matron and schoolmistress that the involvement of women in poor law administration was first witnessed. Their participation was often as the accompanying spouse to a workhouse master or schoolmaster, however some women were engaged as independent employees in their own right. For some, especially widows, a job that gave them a salary, food and accommodation may have put them on the outside of the workhouse door rather than within the workhouse walls. Charlotte Barber's comment 'a privilege beyond estimation' speaks volumes about the difficulties a young widow with a

child faced and the limited opportunities available to her.⁹⁵ Widowed women enjoyed a degree of independence and autonomy when employed as workhouse school-mistresses – perhaps not as respectable an occupation as an independent governess - but one which enabled them to keep and maintain themselves and a child.

What Charlotte saw as a privilege, others saw as an opportunity to build a career. Looking in detail at who was employed demonstrates that within a short space of time a cohort of poor law personnel emerged for whom the new administrative structure provided a progressive career ladder and experienced poor law officials began to migrate from union to union building up a body of professional poor law officers. Charles Fox and his wife were schoolmaster and mistress in St Albans before they moved on to take up the posts of workhouse master and matron elsewhere. Hungerford Luttrell and his wife carved out a career as master and matron of at least four different workhouses whilst their daughter became the workhouse schoolmistress. William Strickland spent his whole working life as a poor law officer, joining as a schoolmaster aged 19 and progressing to relieving officer. The Watford guardians showed themselves willing to give Thomas Elston a second chance when they offered him the job of school teacher and a way out of the material poverty and social disgrace he faced after his dismissal from his job as an excise officer. Although the schoolmaster's job was of lower status and more poorly paid than other officials it was potentially a stepping stone to other positions of authority in the poor law administration.

⁹⁵ MH 32/86, Schoolmistress Questionnaire, Charlotte Barber, 18 Jan 1847.

These were the 'winners' in relation to the New Poor Law; men and women who got jobs (and sometimes accommodation) that did not exist previously. It took time for guardians to identify the characteristics and competencies that would make successful poor law officials. Staff turnover was high initially in some areas (especially in the role of schoolmaster) but by 1847 some stability was beginning to appear. Application numbers for vacancies rose and there were experienced personnel moving into positions. Between 1835 and 1847 the boards of guardians created and staffed a structure which allowed them to administer the New Poor Law in their own districts and which created employment opportunities for many men and women in a sector that did not exist before 1835.

Chapter 7

Poor Law Medical Officers

Introduction

The medical officer was another poor law official recruited by the board of guardians. This chapter focuses on the different medical arrangements introduced in four Hertfordshire unions and how they changed over the period to 1847. It looks particularly at the initial arrangements each union made and how the boards of guardians responded to the General Medical Order of 1842 (GMO), which imposed more stringent regulations on the employment of medical men. It also considers how the guardians responded to complaints against medical personnel and suggests they were treated more leniently than other poor law officials.

The New Poor Law allowed boards of guardians to recruit licenced doctors to attend the sick poor; these doctors or medical officers were often referred to as 'medical men'.¹ Under the Old Poor Law there was no universal right to medical aid but it had become customary to appoint parish medical men - particularly in south, east and central England.² Under the New Poor Law the sick had to obtain a medical order from the relieving officer before they could receive attention from a poor law medical officer. Historians hold different views about the impact of the New Poor Law on medical care: some believe that there was 'a decline in the scale and standard of medical care' following the introduction of the New Poor Law;

¹ As with all professional appointments in this period such appointments were exclusively male. Details of all the medical men employed in the four unions in this study are given in Appendix XVII.

² Samantha Shave, ' "Immediate Death or a Life of Torture Are the Consequences of the System" The Bridgewater Union Scandal and Policy Change', in Jonathan Reinarz and Leonard Schwarz, *Medicine and the Workhouse* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2013), pp.164-191.

others have argued that the New Poor Law brought about an 'unplanned' and 'spontaneous' expansion in medical provision for the poor.³ Perhaps both are true and the answer lies in the regional variation caused by differing terms of employment and the personalities of the medical men concerned.

With only a limited brief from the Poor Law Commission, each union acted independently to provide medical cover in its own area. As with other poor law officials, the central authority had to approve all appointments but otherwise the guardians were left to draw up contracts for medical services with individual doctors. Contract terms varied from union to union and within unions; some doctors were paid on a case-by-case basis, others were paid an annual salary. Contracts could be for fixed periods or permanent appointments; the board of guardians could determine salaries, or award contracts on an open tender basis. The guardians decided upon the size of the district or the population under the care of each medical man. Initially there was no direction from the centre on the type of contract, the level of remuneration, the size and scope of the districts or the supervision of medical services. Medical men were employees of the union, supervised by the board of guardians. The guardians were highly unlikely to have any medical knowledge and were thus unqualified to assess the appropriateness or otherwise of any treatment (or lack of treatment) offered by the union doctor.⁴ Medical officers submitted reports to the weekly board meetings and were frequently asked to make their reports clearer; both the Hatfield and Hitchin

³ Reinartz and Schwarz, *Medicine and the Workhouse*, p.10. Michael W Flinn, 'Medical services under the new poor law' in Derek Fraser (ed), *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1976) pp. 45-66. Kim Price, *Medical Negligence in Victorian Britain: the Crisis of Care under the English Poor Law c1834-1900* (London, Bloomsbury, 2015), p.10.

⁴ Resident doctors could have served as guardians, but there is no evidence that any did so in Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans or Watford.

boards asked for 'English names' of diseases to be put into the medical reports.⁵ Whether this highlights the ignorance of the guardians or attempts by the medical practitioners to bamboozle the guardians and assert their professional superiority is open to interpretation.

The General Medical Order was introduced in 1842 following adverse publicity reported in the medical press regarding medical competence.⁶ It imposed specific regulations regarding contracts, qualifications and the size of districts.⁷ The key directives of the General Medical Order were:

- Doctors to be paid fixed salaries and tendering for contracts was not allowed
- Qualifications required were specified (all of which were from English institutions)
- Upper limits of medical districts set at 15,000 acres or 15,000 persons
- Medical Officer required to live within seven miles of the whole district
- Imposed a fixed schedule of payments for surgical and midwifery cases, e.g. £5 for amputations and £3 for dislocations of the leg⁸

These directives were not well received by many guardians who did not welcome interference in their local administration.

⁵ BG/HIT/5, 17 Nov 1840; BG/HAT/3, 3 Aug 1843.

⁶ Price, *Medical Negligence*, p.27-28. For a timeline of events leading to the introduction of the GMO see Shave, 'Immediate Death or a Life of Torture', p.171.

⁷ Reinartz and Schwarz, *Medicine and the Workhouse*, p.10.

⁸ BPP, 1842 (389) XIX.1. *Eighth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, pp.75-78.

Cost of Medical Relief

Based on an 1846 survey carried out by the Poor Law Commission the cost of providing medical relief in England and Wales in the years 1843 to 1845 was between 3.2% and 3.5% of the total cost of relief as shown in table 7.1 and averaged 3.4%. In Hertfordshire, medical costs were a much higher proportion of total relief costs averaging 5.8% of the total relief bill. Hertfordshire's average medical relief costs as a proportion of total relief costs was much higher than the neighbouring counties where the costs averaged between 2.6% in Middlesex to 4.8% in Essex.⁹ The survey did not offer any explanation of this disparity. Possible causes are higher salaries being paid to medical staff or a higher number of cases requiring medical relief.

Table 7.1 Medical and Total Relief Costs 1843-1845

	Total Relief Costs England & Wales £s	Medical Relief Costs England & Wales £s	% of total cost	Total Relief Costs Hertfordshire £s	Medical Relief Costs Hertfordshire £s	% of total cost
1843	4,626,356	147,263	3.2%	63,673	3,331	5.2%
1844	4,455,017	152,229	3.4%	60,505	3,623	6.0%
1845	4,474,275	157,409	3.5%	63,338	3,878	6.1%
Average	4,518,849	152,300	3.4%	62,505	3,611	5.8%

Source BPP, 1846 (64) XXXVI.133. *Account of Medical Relief in each County in England and Wales, 1843-45; Return of Amount levied for Poor Rates in England and Wales, 1813, 1824, 1834, 1844, and 1826 and 1841.* p.3.

An earlier survey, which calculated the cost of medical expenses (salaries, midwifery charges and surgical fees) for each union per head of population between 1840 and 1844, found that Hertfordshire spent 4½ pence per head of

⁹ BPP, 1846 (64) XXXVI.133. *Account of Medical Relief in each County in England and Wales, 1843-45; Return of Amount levied for Poor Rates in England and Wales, 1813, 1824, 1834, 1844, and 1826 and 1841.* p.3.

population in 1843-44 against a countrywide average of just 2½ pence.¹⁰ Costs varied within the county and overtime; Hatfield recorded the lowest cost of 1¾d per head of population and Bishop Stortford the highest at 9d per head of population.¹¹ The actual spend in each of the Hertfordshire unions between 1840 and 1844 (a period which straddles the imposition of the General Medical Order) is given in Appendix XVIII. During this period the cost of medical expenses rose from £3,029 to £3,656 per annum (20.7% increase) although rising costs were not the trend in all unions. Following the adoption of the General Medical Order both Hitchin and Bishop Stortford saw a reduction in their total spend.

Qualifications

The New Poor Law did not specify what constituted a qualified practitioner resulting in great controversy within the medical profession who lobbied hard for union doctors to be registered as both surgeons and apothecaries.¹² When the Poor Law Commission reported on the qualifications and experience of the union doctors in 1837 only half those appointed had the double qualification recommended by the profession and 27 (1.5%) were 'Practicing without a Licence or Diploma'.¹³ Those lobbying for the double qualification were successful, as it became a requirement under the General Medical Order of 1842. However only

¹⁰ BPP, 1844 (602) XL.55. 1844. *Return of Name of each Union formed under Poor Law Amendment Act Title: Poor Law*, p.103. Note there are slight discrepancies in the figures recorded in the 1844 and 1846 returns.

¹¹ BPP, 1844 (602) XL.55. 1844. *Return of Name of each Union formed under Poor Law Amendment Act Title: Poor Law*, pp.24-25, 84-85, 103.

¹² Ruth G. Hodgkinson, 'Poor Law Medical Officers of England 1834–1871.' *Journal of the history of medicine and allied sciences*, 11 3 (1956), pp.299-338.

¹³ Hodgkinson, 'Poor Law Medical Officers', p.300. BPP, 1837 (546.I) (546.II) XXXI.127. *Third Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales; together with appendices (A.) (B.) & (C.)*, p.122.

English medical and surgical degrees were acceptable, after some debate Scottish and Irish degrees were permitted from August 1843.¹⁴ The Poor Law Commission noted that the system for licencing medical practitioners in the United Kingdom was unsatisfactory and recommended a uniform medical qualification should be established by Parliament.¹⁵ However, it should also be noted that there was no medical register against which qualifications could be verified until the Medical Act of 1858.¹⁶ There was no name to describe those doctors with the double qualification and after many years of debate the term 'General Practitioner' came into general use as a direct result of the poor law.¹⁷

All those appointed to the post of medical officer were subject to approval by the Poor Law Commission, who like the guardians had no medically qualified person in their midst until 1865.¹⁸ Two professional bodies - the British Medical Association and the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association - argued for schemes that included 'itinerant medical superintendents', a 'medical board with regional officers' or a 'central medical director or commissioner', but without success.¹⁹ The medical historian Kim Price states that Edwin Chadwick 'had a well-known anti-medical-profession philosophy' and argues that the 'medical profession never achieved significant influence within the national authority of the Victorian poor law'.²⁰

¹⁴ BPP, 1844 (560) XIX.9. *Tenth annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners with appendices*, p.12.

¹⁵ BPP, 1842 (278) XXXV.17. *Minute of Poor Law Coms. on Admissibility of Scotch and Irish Medical Practitioners to Union Offices in England*, p.3.

¹⁶ Price, *Medical Negligence in Victorian Britain*, pp.27-28.

¹⁷ Hodgkinson, 'Poor Law Medical Officers', p.301.

¹⁸ Anthony Brundage, *The English Poor Laws 1700-1930* (Basingstoke, 2002) pp.96-97.

¹⁹ Hodgkinson, 'Poor Law Medical Officers', pp.314-315.

²⁰ Price, *Medical Negligence in Victorian Britain*, pp.23-24.

Hatfield union overlooked the need to get Poor Law Commission approval when it appointed two medical officers following a tender process. When they applied retrospectively the Poor Law Commission refused the appointment, but only on economic grounds - they found the fee of 10s 6d for midwifery cases too high.²¹ After the introduction of the General Medical Order the Poor Law Commission questioned the appointment of Mr Terence Benson and Mr Joseph Brockway Ayre in the St Albans union and Mr Thomas Osbaldeston in the Hatfield union because they lacked the specified qualifications. All three had served as medical officers prior to the introduction of the General Medical Order and each union defended their suitability to serve.²² Part of the rationale for keeping Ayre and Osbaldeston was the lack of suitably qualified men living in the rural districts they covered.

Recruitment

The initial recruitment method for medical officers in Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans and Watford was by competitive tendering. Advertisements were placed in the local press and although the advertisements stated that the guardians were not bound to take the lowest bid, in practice they did. An example of the advertisement placed by Hitchin union is shown in figure 7.1. The advertisement was directed to 'Medical Gentlemen' and makes no reference to qualification or how their status as 'Medical Gentlemen' was derived. There was opposition to the tender process from those who believed it compromised the care offered and

²¹ BG/HAT/1, 30 Jul 1835, 27 Aug 1835 & 10 Sep 1835.

²² Off Acc 1162, 23 Sep 1842 & 28 Jun 1844. BG/HAT/3, 13 Apr 1843.

resulted in the posts being filled by junior and inexperienced doctors.²³ However in many districts in Hertfordshire there was no shortage of applicants for the post of district medical officer. Doctors undertaking poor law work did so to supplement and build up their private practice and for the experience they gained.²⁴ In St Albans seven doctors submitted eleven tenders for the three districts - including six separate tenders for the third district. The amounts ranged from £35 per annum in district one to £100 per annum in district three.²⁵ In Hitchin the board of guardians was similarly over subscribed with tenders; in 1835 eight different doctors submitted tenders for the five Hitchin districts plus the workhouse and two doctors each tendered for three separate districts. Tenders were accepted for the third and fifth districts but the Hitchin guardians decided that all the others were too high and re-advertised the positions.²⁶ Four men re-tendered reducing their bids by between ten and 32 per cent and their midwifery charges by between 25 and 47 per cent.²⁷ The Hitchin contracts generally ran for one year and in subsequent years many tenders undercut the previously accepted bids.

²³ Hodgkinson, 'Poor Law Medical Officers of England, pp.301-302. Reinartz and Schwarz, *Medicine and the Workhouse*, p.10.

²⁴ Flinn, 'Medical services under the new poor law', pp. 45-66.

²⁵ Off Acc 1162, 20 Jun 1835.

²⁶ *The Reformer*, 21 July 1835, p.1. BG/HIT/1, 13 July 1835.

²⁷ BG/HIT/1, 27 July 1835.

Figure 7.1 Example of advertisement for medical contracts

BY AND FOR STEPHEN AUSTIN, JUN.		
TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1835.		
<p>SSIONS.</p> <p>at the Ge- nce for the the Shire 9th day of noon, when r Lord the t to be em- Jury must me day, at business re- r Manage- transacted the County the County day, and at which the l all appli- Traverses, , Recogni- ner Matters of the Peace rks, on Sa- nt, and all erk of the ning. All nizances to be present, the matter ised or not. ntion of the</p> <p>at present</p> <p>nd one for</p> <p>the Visiting</p> <p>x the addi- the convey- ,—Appoint of Correc- RY, f the Peace.</p> <p>at the next tion is fixed t, and that t the Town lock in the ck; and at ceed from Trustees, NT, Clerk.</p>	<p>HITCHIN UNION.</p> <p>MEDICAL CONTRACTS.</p> <p>THE BOARD OF GUARDIANS of the Hitchin Union hereby give Notice, that Medical Gentlemen willing to furnish Medical Relief for the period of Twelve Calendar Months, commencing on the First Day of August next, to the paupers of any of the following Districts of this Union: viz.—</p> <p>The 1st District, comprising the Parishes of Hitchin and Ippolitts.</p> <p>The 2nd District, comprising the Parishes of Offley, Lilley, Hexton, Pirton, Holwell, and Ickleford.</p> <p>The 3rd District, comprising the Parishes of Kingswalden, Kimpton, Paulswalden, and Codicote.</p> <p>The 4th District, comprising the Parishes of Stevenage, Knebworth, Shephall, Gravely, Great Wymondley, Little Wymondley, Weston, and the Hamlet of Burley.</p> <p>The 5th District, comprising the Parishes of Baldock, Bygrave, Radwell, Caldecott, Newnham, Norton, Willian, and Letchworth,</p> <p>are invited to tend to Mr. Stevens, Clerk to the Guardians of the said Union, on or before Ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 26th July next, Tenders in writing, sealed up, and indorsed "Medical Tender," to be opened at the Meeting of the Board on that day.—The Tenders to include due and punctual attendance in all Medical and Surgical cases, and all Surgical and Medical requisites, leeches, &c. and vaccination, for all Paupers within such District, whether belonging to any Parish in such District or not, or under suspended orders of removal or otherwise (trusses and midwifery excepted), but the Tender to state a sum per case at which the Medical Gentleman will, on receiving a proper order, attend Paupers in cases of Midwifery, he being allowed to employ Midwives on his own responsibility.</p> <p>The Medical Gentlemen contracted with will be required to give certificates, and to make a return according to the form directed in the regulations of the Poor Law Commissioners (which may be had on application to the Clerk), and, with the exception of the Workhouse at Hitchin, to inspect the inmates of the Workhouse or Workhouses in the respective Districts, at the least twice a week, whether there are any sick paupers therein or not, and to attend the Board of Guardians when summoned.</p> <p>Each District to be tendered for separately.</p> <p>By thus inviting Tenders, the Guardians will not feel obliged to accept the lowest.</p> <p>By order of the Board, W. STEVENS, Clerk to the Board.</p> <p>Hitchin, 16th June, 1835.</p> <p>NOT TO BE PEREMPTORILY RE-SOLD pursuant to an Order of the High Court of Chaucery, made in the cause Casar-major v. Strode, with the approbation of James William Farrer, Esq. one of the Masters of the said Court, on Tuesday the 30th day</p>	<p>HON</p> <p>The Duke on the subject of the Foreign The Earl reading of th A convey the building resolutions d were finally address to h graciously p examine and upon the dif tors for the The Mar questions a Spain. Lo noble lord issued at the</p> <p>The house six was occu tion of a p of the whole member for sured abuse member, ho calumnious Mr. HUM of which he that many the ablest a public good.</p> <p>The Serje rious perso issued his w Mr. GISS when Sir GEOR from three from John H tanner, and go to Belgi gone to Ost as for the p companied b whole exper 20th of A mentioned). privileges of from Arthur norance tha the way, an of the house Clamp, who the house, o Mr. JACK O'Malley, th had nothing days before</p>

Source: *The Reformer*, 23 July 1835, p.1

In the first year of the New Poor Law the cost of the medical officer's salaries (excluding the workhouse and midwifery charges) in Hitchin was £373 per annum, in year two this was reduced to £338 5s and by 1841 the medical officers' salary bill was reduced to £300 per annum. Midwifery rates stood at 7s 6d per case. When the new style contracts were imposed in 1843 as a result of the General Medical Order, the salary bill for the five districts was increased to £305 per annum and the workhouse medical officer was given a fixed annual salary when previously he was paid on a per head basis calculated on the average number of inmates.²⁸ In addition, surgical cases were paid according to the scale of fees directed by the Poor Law Commission, midwifery costs were set higher at 10 shillings per case and vaccinations (previous undertaken gratis in some districts) were set at 1s 6d.²⁹

The Hitchin guardians were very unhappy about the new arrangements and entered into prolonged correspondence with the commissioners to voice their opposition. They argued that the original system worked well, that no change was necessary and that fixed salaries were not competitive; they considered the system of fixed payments for particular operations prejudicial to the poor as it discouraged the labourer from making independent provision forcing the boards to grant relief.³⁰ The Hitchin guardians delayed implementing the General Medical Order by extending the existing medical officers' contracts.³¹ They made clear their resentment of the 'constant detailed control exercised by the Poor Law

²⁸ See Appendix XVII for details of medical officers and their salaries in Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans and Watford.

²⁹ BG/HIT/7, 28 Feb 1843. *The Reformer*, 18 Mar 1843.

³⁰ BG/HIT/7, 6 Sep 1842.

³¹ BG/HIT/7, 4 Oct 1842.

Commissioners' and suggested the order should be reviewed.³² It was almost a year after the order was issued before the Hitchin board finally submitted to implementing it, but in doing so they expressed a clear resentment of the interference by the central authority suggesting that it would deter suitable local men from acting as guardians.

...the Board of Guardians of the Hitchin union submits to it [the General Medical Order] – with a protest against its adoption, and in the hope that a period will come when the Poor Law Commissioners will see the impolicy of systematically carrying out a Law, which depends upon the instrumentality of Board of Guardians in a manner which must render all intelligent and independent men averse to undertaking the irksome duties of Guardians in their respective Parishes.³³

However data supplied to the Poor Law Commission suggests that the overall cost of medical relief was reduced in Hitchin after the introduction of the General Medical Order.

Hatfield union also began by using a tender process in 1835 but introduced payments on a case-by-case basis in 1837. Instead of an annual fee or salary the medical men were paid 12 shillings per case in the first and fourth districts (the outlying rural areas) and 10 shillings per case in the second district (centred around the town of Hatfield and Essendon parish). The third district was the workhouse and this remained a salaried contract at £20 per annum. The Poor Law Commission considered these case rates excessive – the usual rate being two to three shillings per case. They did not like the per case arrangement which, even at this early stage, they claimed to have found open to considerable abuse.

³² BG/HIT/7, 8 Nov 1842. MH 12/4614, 12 Nov 1842.

³³ BG/HIT/7, 21 Feb 1843.

The Hatfield board stood firm and sent a long letter of rebuttal to the commissioners.³⁴ They argued that with only three resident medical men in the Hatfield area they could not use a tender system and that the board considered it their duty to provide paupers who had a legal right to medical advice and medicine with proper care. Furthermore the guardians did not approve of competition in medical tenders believing it to be a system that was unfair to medical men and lead to 'great evil and cruelty'.³⁵ The Hatfield union had set up sick clubs and offered loans if eligibility for care was in doubt. Whilst the Poor Law Commission did not formally approve the arrangement, a letter from Edwin Chadwick suggested they would not take any action.³⁶

The case-by-case arrangement appears to have been cost effective; in the quarter ending Christmas 1837 the Hatfield accounts showed payments for 35 cases at a cost of £16 10s.³⁷ Under the original scheme the doctors would have received £25 for the quarter. However, these costs excluded loans made to paupers and many of the loans were not repaid. When a summary of pauper loans made since Lady Day 1837 was produced in July 1838, only two of the 24 loans made had been repaid. Not all of these loans (which totalled nearly £11) would have been made to cover medical costs, but the exercise highlighted a weakness in the way in which these loans were managed as little action had been taken to ensure the loans were repaid and consequently the repayment rate on these loans was poor.³⁸ When the exercise was repeated in November 1838 again only two

³⁴ BG/HAT/1, 5 Oct 1837.

³⁵ BG/HAT/1, 12 Oct 1837.

³⁶ BG/HAT/1, 2 Nov 1837.

³⁷ BG/HAT/1, 25 Jan 1838.

³⁸ BG/HAT/1, 26 Jul 1838.

loans had been repaid and six were deemed not recoverable for various reasons. Nevertheless, the overseers were actively trying to recover the loans and some repayment terms were negotiated. In one case the overseer was deemed accountable for the debt.³⁹ If the cost of unrecovered loans was added to the medical salaries the total cost of caring for the sick was likely to be higher than previously, but until those loans were written off the union appeared to be spending less on relieving the sick poor.

Another reason for the diminution in medical costs in Hatfield was the failure to approve relief at all. One of the doctors, Mr Ringrose, complained that medical orders were not being issued (either as loans or as relief) when they were needed. When the board of guardians reviewed his complaint it decided that the relieving officer had 'done his duty judiciously and correctly'.⁴⁰ In effect, a medically unqualified man, in the shape of the relieving officer, was operating a triage system deciding who received medical care or not. In Ringrose's opinion, the relieving officer's judgement was flawed. Had all of the Hatfield paupers who needed medical relief been offered it at the expense of the union, it is likely that the medical cost would have been greater than previously, but costs were kept down by restricting the number of medical orders issued and by offering loans rather than relief.

Hatfield union should have adopted the General Medical Order when it was issued in 1842, but the union continued with the case-by-case arrangement with reduced payments to Mr Thomas (eight shillings per case) based on him

³⁹ BG/HAT/2, 15 Nov 1838.

⁴⁰ BG/HAT/1, 6 Sep 1838.

undertaking less travel than his colleagues Ringrose and Osbaldeston.⁴¹ Hatfield union continued with these terms year on year until December 1846 when the Poor Law Commission requested the payments to medical men were expressed as quarterly salaries in the accounts. This was not a direct instruction to conform to the General Medical Order and appoint salaried medical officers, but a means of manipulating the accounts in a way that made it appear that the union was compliant with the order. Not for the first time did the central authorities turn a blind eye to what was happening in Hatfield union and allowed it to operate differently. There is no evidence to suggest Lord Salisbury continued to exert influence over Chadwick and the other commissioners but it received little attention from the central authority.

The St Albans union attracted eleven tenders from seven doctors for its three medical districts in 1835; the central town district received six tenders.⁴² As in Hitchin, some men tendered for more than one district.⁴³ In subsequent years some doctors offered a discounted price for working two or more districts driving down the cost of medical provision still further.⁴⁴ St Albans union repeatedly changed the configuration of the medical districts between June 1835 and May 1840 during which period it paid between £175 and £217 10 shillings in total for its medical provision. Once the districts were settled the total cost of the medical contracts dropped from £165 to £127 – a 42% saving on the £217 10s high – when using the tendering method.

⁴¹ BG/HAT/3, 13 Apr 1843 – 11 May 1843.

⁴² Off Acc 1182, 20 Jun 1835.

⁴³ BG/HIT/1, 20 Jun 1835.

⁴⁴ For examples see: BG/HIT/2, 2 Jul 1836; BG/HIT/3, 23 Jun 1837; BG/HIT/5, 7 Jul 1839 & 19 Jun 1840.

Like the other unions St Albans did not welcome the General Medical Order as they believed the tendering system had been effective and given satisfactory results.⁴⁵ They delayed implementation by extending the active contracts, but when informed by the Poor Law Commission that the order would not be changed, the clerk wrote to the local medical men and asked on what terms they would accept the union contracts.⁴⁶ This was effectively a tendering process except the invitations to tender were not openly advertised. As a result the salary bill was reduced to £115 per annum, with the additional surgical and midwifery costs attracting additional payments as specified in the General Medical Order. When the Poor Law Commission became aware of the methodology used in St Albans it threatened to declare the contracts void and the payments illegal.⁴⁷ The St Albans board delayed acceding to the centre, only finally accepting the order in June 1843.⁴⁸

The St Albans union also failed to comply with another aspect of the General Medical Order– that of the size of the medical districts. The 1842 order set the maximum district size at 15,000 acres and a population of less than 15,000. The Poor Law Commission questioned the arrangement of the second district (containing the ward of Smallford and the parishes of St Peter, Sandridge and Wheathampstead) because it was 2230 acres above the maximum. The St Albans board maintained that there was no more appropriate division of the districts and as the population was only about 7000 it was less than half the permitted

⁴⁵ Off Acc 1182, 22 Apr 1842 & 20 May 1842.

⁴⁶ Off Acc 1182, 26 Aug 1842.

⁴⁷ Off Acc 1182, 10 Feb 1843.

⁴⁸ Off Acc 1182, 2 Jun 1843.

maximum.⁴⁹ On this point the Poor Law Commission capitulated and the district remained intact. The medical men themselves did not see any difficulty in servicing substantial districts having previously tendered for multiple districts with larger total acreages.

The Watford union initially operated a tender process and received nine tenders from seven doctors for three districts in the first year and 14 tenders from nine doctors in the second year. As in Hitchin and St Albans there was no shortage of doctors willing to take on the role. Unusually, when compared to the other unions, the Watford guardians did not always appoint the doctor who made the lowest bid. In 1836 they appointed Mr John Burke as the medical officer for both the first and second districts (Watford and Abbots Langley) in preference to Mr Clement Rose whose tender was £10 less in each district. In the third district they appointed Mr A. C. Kembell at £50 per annum despite a rival bid of just £20 from Mr Turner Bushey. Both Burke and Kembell had served as medical officers in the first year so perhaps the board wanted continuity, however this argument does not hold in the fourth district where Dr Paull (the previous medical officer) was overlooked in favour of Mr Ayres whose tender of £55 was £20 more than that of a third bidder.⁵⁰ It is impossible to know what criteria the board of guardians applied when making this selection as even when challenged by the Poor Law Commission as to why Mr Rose's tender was not accepted they declined to comment.⁵¹

The physicians and surgeons guarded their territories and Kembell was forced to resign his position in March 1837 because he had a verbal agreement to

⁴⁹ Off Acc 1182, 9 Aug 1844.

⁵⁰ BG/WAT/1, 14 Jun 1836.

⁵¹ BG/WAT/1, 26 Jul 1836.

act as Dr Pidcock's assistant in which he had agreed not to practice for anyone else or on his own account within a certain district of Watford.⁵² Pidcock invoked this agreement despite the fact that he had submitted a letter of recommendation to the board when Kembell was appointed and had not tendered for union business himself at this stage.⁵³ Some correspondence ensued between the board and Pidcock (the detail of which is not recorded in the board of guardians' minute books) and Pidcock and his son John Spencer Pidcock were appointed as medical officers to the first district a few months later in May 1837.⁵⁴ Coincidentally this was the date when the Watford union moved away from the tendering system and adopted a fixed salary in each district.

In complete contrast to the drive to keep costs down found in other unions, the Watford guardians increased salaries in three of their four medical districts and appointed the medical men following a vote among the guardians. Pidcock and son were paid £80 per annum increasing to £100 when the new workhouse was finished. His former apprentice Kembell was unanimously appointed to the third district and his salary increased from £50 to £65 per annum. As a result of increases in the other two districts, the Watford union medical officers' salary bill increased from £210 to £275 per annum in 1837 and to £290 in 1838, an increase of 38% between 1836 and 1838.⁵⁵ Thereafter the medical officers were reappointed on an annual fixed salary contract from year to year.⁵⁶ As a result, the imposition of the General Medical Order had no significant impact in the Watford

⁵² BG/WAT/1, 14 Mar 1837.

⁵³ BG/WAT/1, 14 Mar 1837.

⁵⁴ BG/WAT/1, 23 May 1837.

⁵⁵ BG/WAT/1, 23 May 1837.

⁵⁶ Pidcock declined the appointment in 1838 and did not serve again.

union except that the appointment of Mr Drury (who replaced Kemball in 1841) was questioned because he was not a member of the Royal College of Surgeons.⁵⁷ He was allowed to continue and despite complaining that the £60 salary was insufficient in 1843, he and the other officers remained in post with annual renewals of their contracts through to 1847.⁵⁸

Monitoring and Complaints

Once appointed there was no process for monitoring the performance of the medical officer's duties or the quality of their work other than their weekly reports to the board of guardians; men who lacked the necessary skills and knowledge to fully evaluate any medical treatment. As most contracts were for one year there was an annual opportunity to remove a medical officer simply by not accepting a tender or renewing a contract. From time to time complaints were made against various medical men either by the paupers themselves, their families, or others - such as clergymen - protesting on their behalf. The principal nature of complaints against the medical men involved failing to attend a case or failing to attend a case promptly. In most cases the medical officers were able to explain their lack of attendance to the satisfaction of the local board. Occasionally complaints were escalated to the assistant commissioner or originated following a direct complaint to the Poor Law Commission in London.

Two medical officers in this period attracted a disproportionate number of complaints: Robert Innerarity (1809-1848) in Hitchin and Richard Webster (1781-1848) in St Albans. Innerarity was a relatively young and probably inexperienced

⁵⁷ BG/WAT/4, 3 Jun 1842.

⁵⁸ BG/WAT/4, 16 June 1843. BG/WAT/7, 30 Jun 1847.

surgeon when he was appointed aged circa 25 years.⁵⁹ He was subject to at least six complaints between March 1835 and August 1837 and was not re-appointed to his district when new contracts were drawn up in 1837. However he was re-engaged in October 1842 when he replaced George Brereton Sharpe (1814-1900) about whom three complaints had been made between December 1841 and May 1842.⁶⁰ Innerarity's explanations for non-attendance on patients included administrative errors and the 'peculiar circumstances of the season', and were accepted by the guardians.⁶¹ In 1846 a child died, allegedly because he did not respond quickly enough and his failure to attend another child with burns in February 1847 resulted in a report being sent to the Poor Law Commission.⁶² The commissioners merely advised the Hitchin guardians to tell Innerarity to be more attentive in future. The commissioners stopped short of directly admonishing Innerarity although it was within their power to order his dismissal. This instruction came at a time shortly after the Andover workhouse scandal had broken when the operation of the poor laws was subject to increased scrutiny and debate. A dismissal may have drawn further attention to the case and fuelled the fires of those calling for the abolition of the New Poor Law and the Poor Law Commission.

The second medical officer who was often complained about was Richard Webster, the medical officer in St Albans between 1835 and 1844. He was a

⁵⁹ Innerarity died when he contracted an infection after operating on a patient. Newspaper articles describe him as a 'respected practitioner'. *Bedfordshire Mercury*, 22 January 1848, p.3.

⁶⁰ George Brereton Sharpe (1814-1900), L.R.C.S., Edin., 1833; L.S.A., 1834. Practiced medicine in Hertfordshire and elsewhere, (he was the Superintendent of the Norfolk district asylum in 1851) In 1857 he entered St John's College, Cambridge after which he took Holy Orders and became a priest in 1862. He was vicar of Llanellwedd, Wales, 1867-1900. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

⁶¹ BG/HIT/3, 21 Nov 1836 & 30 Jan 1837. The winter of 1836/37 was particularly harsh.

⁶² BG/HIT/9, 21 Apr 1846 & BG/HIT/10, 16 Feb 1847.

former naval surgeon and a prominent citizen in the borough having twice been elected mayor.⁶³ He was politically active and was one of those accused of bribery in the 1841 parliamentary elections. Webster probably delegated much of his responsibilities to junior assistants; nonetheless he was censured for neglect by the St Albans board in December 1841 and was found negligent by the board in another case for which the Poor Law Commission admonished him in November 1842.⁶⁴ In both cases he blamed either his partner or his assistant. It was also rumoured that his unqualified son Frederick Theophilus Webster (1812-1869) had been attending patients in lieu of himself.⁶⁵ In September 1844 Webster's locum, Richard Hastings expressed concern that rumours were circulating attributing the deaths of two paupers to him (Hastings) which he denied any involvement with; by implication Webster was the medical officer responsible. Further allegations of neglect were made against Webster the following month and he resigned in November 1844 claiming the district was too large. This reads as an excuse to save face given that he had previously tendered for and won the contracts for multiple districts in the St Albans union and had thus been responsible for much larger geographical areas and population numbers.

Despite the number of complaints against them neither Innerarity or Webster were dismissed; but as early as October 1836 the Poor Law Commission ordered the St Albans board to dismiss Mr Kingston following a complaint against him. The guardians complied, they sub-divided the large district he managed and

⁶³ He held the position of mayor in 1815 and 1826.

⁶⁴ Off Acc 1182, 17 Dec 1841 & 23 Nov 1842.

⁶⁵ Off Acc 1182, 29 Jul 1842.

reappointed him to a smaller area.⁶⁶ Mr Saunders the medical officer for the Harpenden and Redbourn district was allowed to resign by the Poor Law Commission rather than be dismissed on account of the good testimony presented by the guardians when he was found culpable of neglect in February 1840. Unfortunately for the paupers of this district Mr Webster became the new medical officer.

Innovation and Improvement

Much of the poor law narrative focuses on scandals and neglect but the behaviours and interventions of some medical officers were also positive. Some medical officers did try to provide a good standard of care to the paupers both inside and outside of the workhouse and tried to influence the guardians to improve the standard of accommodation. Reports on workhouse accommodation caused disagreement between the medical men and their employers highlighting the different focus of each group. The Hitchin board appear unconcerned about the plight of the sick poor when they complained that their medical officer 'looked upon the Workhouse rather with respect to its fitness as an Infirmary than a place for the reception of paupers.'⁶⁷ Thomas Able Ward (1795-1862) the Medical Officer in Watford repeatedly advised his board that the workhouse was overcrowded (which they did not remedy) but he was allowed to introduce sulphur baths as a treatment to relieve cases of 'the itch' (scabies) and his recommendation to increase the meat allowance to old and infirm paupers was accepted.⁶⁸ Also his

⁶⁶ His original district was the parishes of Sandridge, St Peter, Wheathampstead and Harpenden and was reduced to Wheathampstead and Harpenden.

⁶⁷ BG/HIT/6, 15 Feb 1842.

⁶⁸ BG/WAT/3, 6 Aug 1841 & BG/WAT/6, 26 Nov 1845.

plan to allow those on out-relief to come into the workhouse to take a warm bath was approved, but the Poor Law Commission vetoed the suggestion that the same facility could be extended to the wider community for a small charge.⁶⁹ They were not willing for a facility paid for from the poor rate to be used as a public bathhouse. John Thomas Lipscomb (1796-1869) eased the plight of the St Albans children a little when he recommended a change of diet and his suggestion that they were allowed to walk outside the workhouse two or three times per week was unanimously accepted by the guardians.⁷⁰ These were small successes to ease the gruelling lives of the Hertfordshire paupers and suggest there was compassion for the plight of the poor and a desire to improve public health.

Conclusion

Medical men were employed in every union as soon as the new unions were set up. At this date, 'medical men' was a more appropriate term than 'doctors' as the qualifications of the incumbents were variable and were not specified until the General Medical Order of 1842. There was no shortage of applicants in most unions; many unions recruited by using a tendering process that drove down the cost of medical provision as practitioners undercut the previous years incumbent. The medical men concerned must still have considered the contracts worthwhile as many returned for repeat terms sometimes in another district.

Attitudes to medical provision differed between the boards of guardians. Hitchin in particular was keen to keep the cost of medical officers' salaries in check

⁶⁹ BG/WAT/6, 3-10 Dec 1845.

⁷⁰ Off Acc 1182, 15 Feb 1839.

whereas Watford worked to some other undeclared criteria that they refused to disclose. All of the boards in this study resisted the imposition of the General Medical Order and its attempt to standardise practice for the employment of medical officers. That opposition was based on both parochial and pragmatic needs as well as a more general resistance to central control. It is probable that all those employed as medical officers would have satisfied the eligibility criteria to stand as guardians themselves – yet none did so within the period studied, nor do they appear as *ex officio* guardians. In theory serving guardians were not eligible to tender for union contracts and this may have deterred applicants, but this was a rule not strictly observed for other commodities. The absence of any medical representation on the boards of guardians left them (as employers) without appropriate knowledge to supervise the specialist staff that reported to them.

Complaints against medical staff were not uncommon and unlike the complaints levelled against other poor law officers (discussed in chapter six) were only briefly investigated and mild reproofs issued. But poor practice was not universal and with regard to the workhouse in particular the medical men were generally a force for good. Medical officers were instrumental in improving conditions in the workhouse: securing changes to diet, access to clean air and the capacity of the accommodation.

Although in a position of authority, the medical officer was not directly controlling the lives of paupers or taking decisions about individual eligibility for relief and in this way is set apart from other poor law officers. In early Victorian Britain it was the cost of care rather than the quality of care that was measured, and to measure the quality of care nearly 200 years on is more difficult. Clearly

there were issues with the standard of care provided by some officers whilst the attention provided by others was acceptable within the parameters of medical knowledge at the time. This study suggests that within this one group of poor law officers there was diversity driven by the personality and work ethic of individuals.

Chapter 8

The Workhouse

Introduction

An essential element in the implementation of the New Poor Law was the provision of a deterrent workhouse in each union. The union workhouse consolidated indoor relief provision under one roof with a regime that was 'less eligible' than life for the poorest working men in the community. Its very presence was designed to discourage the poor from claiming poor relief thus keeping down the cost of the poor rates. Hundreds of new and imposing buildings were constructed, many of which still stand in their local landscape and endure as a visible reminder of the institutions they once represented. The threat of the workhouse has long passed and the fear of the institution is beginning to pass from living memory, yet the image of the dark, foreboding, prison-like, Victorian workhouse persists. There are numerous reminders of the workhouse in popular culture both in classic literature such as Dickens' *Oliver Twist* and *Hard Times* and in film and television where *Oliver Twist* has been repeatedly dramatized.¹

The workhouse is an aspect of poor law studies that has received particular attention in the historiography of both the Old and New Poor Law. Early general histories, which often highlighted the failings of the institution and the cruelty inmates experienced, have now given way to more nuanced themes which include

¹ Films include: *Oliver Twist* (1948) directed by David Lean, *Oliver!* (1968) directed by Carol Reed and *Oliver Twist* (2005) directed by Roman Polanski. TV Dramas include: *Oliver Twist*, BBC Drama (1985), *Oliver Twist*, Meridian Broadcasting (1999) and *Oliver Twist*, BBC Drama (2007).

medicine, children, diet and demography all of which show difference and variation in workhouse practice.²

This chapter examines the workhouse experience in Hertfordshire from the point of view of the implementation of the regime rather than, as is usually the case, examining the experience of the poor 'from below'. It looks specifically at how the guardians implemented and established a deterrent workhouse policy in the sample unions; how they were commissioned, their construction and capacity and the funding of building work. It will show the guardians inconsistent, sometimes misguided, thinking as they tried to establish a union workhouse at the lowest cost. Establishing a workhouse required the guardians to consider diet, clothing and furniture as well as the type of work inmates would undertake. The working regime is not something that has previously been subject to any detailed

² Examples from the general workhouse historiography include: David Roberts, 'How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law?', *The Historical Journal*, 6.01 (1963), pp.97-107. Ursula Henriques, 'How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law?', *The Historical Journal*, 11.2 (1968), pp. 365-371. Norman Longmate, *The Workhouse* (London, 1974). M.A. Crowther, *The Workhouse System 1834-1929: the History of an English Social Institution* (London: Methuen, 1981), pp.269-270. Anne Digby, *Pauper Palaces* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978). Felix Driver, *Power and pauperism: the workhouse system, 1834-1884* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). David Englander, *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in Britain: from Chadwick to Booth, 1834-1914* (London: Longman, 1998). Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers, The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Thematic interpretations can be found in: Alistair Ritch, 'English poor law institutional care for older people: Identifying the 'aged and infirm' and the 'sick' in Birmingham workhouse, 1852-1912', *Social History of Medicine*, 27.1 (2013), pp.64-85. Jonathan Reinartz and Leonard Schwarz (eds), *Medicine and the Workhouse* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013). Frank Crompton, *Workhouse Children* (Stroud: Sutton Pub Ltd, 1997). Alys Levene, 'Children, Childhood and the Workhouse: St Marylebone, 1769-1781', *London Journal*, 33.1 (2008), pp.41-59. Angela Negrine, 'The treatment of sick children in the workhouse by the Leicester Poor Law Union, 1867-1914', *Family & Community History*, 13.1 (2010), pp.34-44. Jean Olwen Maynard, 'The campaign for the Catholic workhouse children, 1834-68', *British Catholic History*, 32.04 (2015), pp.526-556. Ian Miller, 'Feeding in the Workhouse: The Institutional and Ideological Functions of Food in Britain, ca. 1834-70', *Journal of British Studies*, 52.04 (2013), pp.940-962. Nadja Durbach, 'Roast Beef, the New Poor Law and the British Nation, 1834-63', *Journal of British Studies*, 52.04 (2013), pp.963-989. Nigel Goose, 'Workhouse populations in the mid-nineteenth century: the case of Hertfordshire', *Local Population Studies*, 62 (1999), pp.52-69. Christine Seal, 'Workhouse populations in the Cheltenham and Belper Unions: A study based on the census enumerators' books, 1851-1911', *Family & Community History*, 13.2 (2010), pp.83-100. Andy Gritt, and Peter Park, 'The workhouse populations of Lancashire in 1881', *Local Population Studies*, 86 (2011), pp.37-65. Lewis Darwen, 'Workhouse Populations of the Preston Union, 1841-61', *Local Population Studies*, 93 (2014), pp.33-53.

study except in the context of evidencing a degrading or cruel regime. This study finds that there was both productive and punitive employment in the Hertfordshire workhouses and that work that was more wide-ranging than oakum-picking, bone-crushing and stone-breaking. Setting up a workhouse was not an easy task and was one that exposed the limitations and parochial attitudes of the newly formed boards of guardians.

Commissioning new workhouses

Prior to the unions being formed many parishes had small workhouses, poor houses and pest houses. Who occupied these properties and the regime they followed varied from parish to parish under the direction of the local vestry. In most parishes, and in rural parishes in particular, the facilities were too small to serve the expected needs of the new larger unions. One of the first tasks of the newly formed boards of guardians was to review the suitability of the workhouse accommodation and to consider the possibility of creating a new central workhouse. The poor law commissioners recommended that each union should provide sufficient workhouse accommodation to house three per cent of the population.³ Based on this calculation Hertfordshire would have needed to provide over 4700 workhouse beds as shown in table 8.1 below.

³ BG/HIT/1, 13 Jul 1835.

Table 8.1 Workhouse capacity as recommended by the Poor Law Commissioners

Union Name	Population 1831	Recommended Workhouse Capacity (3% of population)
St Albans	15,883	476
Barnet	12,180	365
Berkhampstead	9,871	296
Bishops Stortford	18,012	540
Buntingford	6,327	190
Hatfield	5,933	178
Hemel Hempstead	9,910	297
Hertford	12,155	365
Hitchin	20,639	619
Royston	15,671	470
Ware	14,654	440
Watford	15,379	461
Welwyn	1,970	59
Total	158,584	4,758

Commissioning a substantial new building, which met the criteria set out by the poor law commissioners, was both expensive and beyond the experience of the majority of guardians. The progress of these capital projects when observed through the lens of the board of guardian minute books was by turns slow, cautious, ever changing, challenging, frustrating and inefficient. Mistakes were made, often in an attempt to keep costs down, which resulted in yet more expense being incurred. In Hertfordshire only the Berkhampstead, Welwyn and Hatfield unions did not build a new central workhouse after the introduction of the New Poor Law. The Berkhampstead union and the Welwyn union used their relatively new parish workhouses built in 1831 and 1830 respectively.⁴ Hatfield union adopted the purpose built Hatfield parish workhouse that had been central to Lord Salisbury's poor relief management regime and which had been praised by

⁴ www.workhouses.org.uk/Berkhampstead and www.workhouses.org.uk/Welwyn [accessed 25 Feb. 16]. Kathryn Morrison, *The workhouse: a study of poor-law buildings in England* (Swindon, 1999), p.205.

Chadwick as a model union.⁵ Hatfield union moved all paupers to the Hatfield parish workhouse within six weeks of the union being set up.

Hitchin, St Albans and Watford unions all built new workhouses outside the town on 'greenfield' sites purchased by the union. All scaled back the size of their workhouse believing their union to be 'less pauperised' than their neighbours or because they wanted to save money. These decisions proved to be more costly in the long run requiring additions and extensions to the buildings. Each union appointed a committee of guardians to consult with the assistant poor law commissioner, Daniel Adey, and review workhouse accommodation. Adey always recommended the closure of the existing workhouses and the construction of a new central workhouse. As a first step the unions consolidated paupers into a reduced number of existing poor houses but there followed delays and vacillations before fully functioning union workhouses were operational. Work on the Watford workhouse started in April 1837 and was finished in January 1838. St Albans union began work around July 1837 and the building was finally occupied in March 1838. Hitchin began building a workhouse for adult paupers in April 1836 relocating them in February 1837; here, the guardians retained the old parish workhouse as a children's schoolhouse and workhouse. Thus it was between two and three years after the formation of the unions before the new workhouses became operational.

These three unions all agreed in principle to build new central workhouses soon after the unions were formed, however they were reluctant to embark on large capital projects before the New Poor Law was established and all deferred

⁵ For more discussion on this see Chapter 2.

and revised their projects along the way.⁶ The boards also considered that the workhouse capacity of three per cent of the population recommended by the poor law commissioners was excessive. The Hitchin board concluded that based on Hitchin workhouse admissions in the preceding three years, 400 (rather than over 600) places would be sufficient for the whole union.⁷ In January 1836 the Watford union had only 127 paupers and believed the numbers would reduce further obviating the need to build a new central workhouse housing over 460 paupers.⁸ St Albans anticipated a significant reduction in pauper numbers to less than half of the number of paupers envisaged by the poor law commissioners.⁹ They also considered asking the Luton union to take the St Albans paupers into the Luton union workhouse rather than build a workhouse of their own.¹⁰

Finding a suitable site for a large workhouse was not an easy task. The Watford guardians quickly accepted an offer by the Earl of Essex to sell them two acres of land to the west of the town known as Colney Butts.¹¹ St Albans first considered building on land adjacent to the workhouse in the parish of St Peter but later accepted land offered by Earl Verulum at a site called Oyster Hills to the north of the town. Although not participating as *ex officio* guardians, these elite men were important elements in getting the union established. By offering land they exercised control over the location of the new workhouse buildings that were to dominate in many landscapes. There was no such offer in Hitchin union and the

⁶ BG/HIT/1, 27 Jul 1835. BG/WAT/1, 15 Sep 1835. Off Acc 1162, 20 Jun 1835.

⁷ BG/HIT/1, 13 Jul 1835.

⁸ BG/WAT/1, Extraordinary meeting, 25 Jan 1836.

⁹ Off Acc 1162, 20 Jun 1835. The guardians expected 50 paupers would leave the house and upwards of 100 persons would be struck off the out-relief list when the New Poor Law was implemented.

¹⁰ Off Acc 1162, 21 May 1836.

¹¹ BG/WAT/1, 28 Jul 1835.

committee appointed to consider the workhouse accommodation in the Hitchin union 'and on the mode of rendering it available at the least expense' took a different approach. They recommended the Hitchin town workhouse, situated on the main High Street, was enlarged and made the new central workhouse for the union; an option not favoured by either the local inhabitants or the assistant commissioner.¹² In what might be described as an early example of 'nimbyism', thirty-seven inhabitants of Hitchin wrote directly to the poor law commissioners expressing the view that enlarging the workhouse in its original location

will be a serious nuisance to those who live or have property in the neighbourhood as well as detrimental to the interests of the town at large and moreover from the narrow limits of the Workhouse premises likely to be prejudicial to the health of the inmates.¹³

Assistant commissioner Adey agreed that enlarging the town workhouse would be a nuisance for local residents and he recommended the building of a new workhouse suitable to accommodate 300 to 400 paupers. He was also cognisant of the difficulty in getting this plan ratified. He was aware of tensions among the Hitchin guardians who fell into three 'factions': those willing to adopt his suggestion and build a new workhouse, a group headed by the Hitchin guardians keen to secure the use of the town workhouse that they might derive some financial benefit and Mr Heathcote's group 'who are desirous of throwing any obstacle in the way of the Bill'.¹⁴ Self-interest rather than a desire to restrict spending appeared to be their motive. The second group won out with plans to

¹² BG/HIT/1, 16 Jun 1835 and 13 Jul 1835.

¹³ MH 12/4612, Letter petitioning PLC, 24 Jul 1835.

¹⁴ MH 12/4612, Report from Adey, 4 Aug 1835.

expand the existing town workhouse for a maximum spend of £1000.¹⁵ Adey's assessment of the plans was damning. In his opinion it was not possible to build an efficient workhouse on the High Street site and he recommended that the commissioners did not sanction the alterations, which he considered to be 'a mere waste of money without obtaining the return sought'.¹⁶ Such was his description of the unsuitability of the existing workhouse with regard to its size and location it is surprising that the guardians ever thought it possible to continue to utilise it. His criticisms were extensive and emphasised the need for the spatial segregation of the pauper inmates by gender and age as well as the practicalities of maintaining a large institution capable of operating the regime advocated by the Poor Law Commission.¹⁷ The failure to meet so many criteria suggests that there was no real understanding on the part of the Hitchin guardians about how the workhouse was to operate or that their objectivity was blinkered by self-interest.

When their application was refused the Hitchin guardians proposed a compromise; to retain the existing workhouse for children and build an out of town site for 240 persons at a cost of £2,165.¹⁸ They recorded their resentment at the interference by the commissioners making clear they did not expect the poor law commissioners to come back and make further demands that would cost the union more.¹⁹

¹⁵ BG/HIT/1, 18 Aug 1835 and 31 Aug 1835.

¹⁶ MH 12/4612, Letter from Adey, 10 Sep 1835.

¹⁷ MH 12/4612, Report from Adey, 10 Sep 1835.

¹⁸ BG/HIT/1, 14 Sep 1835 & 28 Sep 1835.

¹⁹ BG/HIT/1, 28 Sep 1835.

Whilst the Poor Law Commission had the power to not sanction a workhouse proposal, it had no power to insist that a workhouse was built or built to a specific design. As with the appointment of personnel discussed in chapters six and seven, the commissioners had the power to veto rather than dictate; as a result workhouse buildings embraced many architectural styles. The most comprehensive study of poor law buildings is found in *The workhouse: a study of poor-law buildings in England* by Kathryn Morrison and the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England.²⁰ For the purposes of this study it is important to note that although workhouse design was not prescribed by the central authority and the unions had considerable autonomy in selecting a design, each design had to encompass certain features which allowed for the spatial segregation of various classes of pauper: male, female, adult, child, aged, infirm and the casual poor. Each workhouse needed to provide secure accommodation for working, sleeping and eating. At this stage the schooling of the children and the spiritual needs of paupers could be met either inside or outside of the workhouse by local arrangement. In addition to the pauper inmates, some live-in staff (notably the workhouse master, matron, schoolmaster and their families) were accommodated. Although they could not dictate the style of workhouse built, the poor law commissioners made available a number of model workhouse plans drawn by a young architect Sampson Kempthorne.²¹ These plans were plain and simple, unlike some of the grand neo-classical and Victorian-gothic town halls; 'workhouses were not symbols of civic pride' but were designed with economy and

²⁰ Morrison, *The Workhouse*.

²¹ Morrison, *The Workhouse*, pp.46-47. Driver, *Power and pauperism*, p.59. Brundage, *The English Poor Laws*, p.77.

efficiency in mind.²² Felix Driver has reported that it 'was widely claimed that Kempthorne had copied his designs from designs for American prisons'.²³ Some unions on the other hand were at pains to ensure that their workhouses were not seen as either comfortable or austere. The Chesterfield union placed an advertisement for tenders to build 'a good, efficient Workhouse which shall not have the appearance of either a prison or a palace.'²⁴

Both the Watford and Hitchin unions obtained copies of the sample plans and costings from the poor law commissioners. Hitchin rejected these plans and drew up plans of their own without professional help.²⁵ Consequently they batted a number of drawings back and forth to the commissioners none of which met with approval. Assistant commissioner Adey expressed his frustration with the Hitchin guardians in a letter to Frankland-Lewis in which he complained the 'Guardians of the Hitchin Union have a happy way of giving unnecessary trouble', and recommended the commissioners put a stop to the on-going correspondence by insisting on properly drawn plans.²⁶ In a subsequent letter Adey suggested that some of the difficulty at Hitchin was caused by one of the guardians being 'an amateur architect' and another 'very willing to throw difficulties in the way of our proceeding.'²⁷ The amateur architect was probably Joshua Ransom a miller of Grove Mill, a member of the influential Quaker family; the obstructive guardian was almost certainly Thomas Hailey.

²² Morrison, *The Workhouse*, p.46.

²³ Driver, *Power and pauperism*, p.59.

²⁴ *North Derbyshire Chronicle and Chesterfield Advertiser*, 28 Apr 1838, cited in Morrison, *The workhouse*, p.53 quoting J.M. Bestall and D.V. Fowkes, *History of Chesterfield*, and A F Watson, 'The Chesterfield Poor Law Union, the first 10 years', *Journal of the Bakewell and District Historical Society*, VIII, Jan 1981, pp.10-20.

²⁵ MH 12/4612, Letter from Wm Stevens and draft reply, 14 September 1835.

²⁶ MH 12/4612, Letter from Adey, 6 Dec 1835.

²⁷ MH 12/4612, Letter from Adey, 11 Dec 1835.

Thomas Smith of Hertford was eventually engaged as the surveyor and architect. He immediately ran into difficulties with the Hitchin board trying to economise on the build when they insisted that the walls of the workhouse were built only nine inches thick [one standard brick].²⁸ Smith considered this practice unsafe and he was also concerned about damage to his reputation should the building collapse.²⁹ Adey shared this communication with the poor law commissioners who sanctioned the workhouse plans with the proviso that the 'external walls of the second story shall not be less than a brick and a half in thickness' without revealing the background communication that had taken place.³⁰

The building work was put out to tender via advertisements in *The Times*, *The Morning Chronicle*, *The Reformer*, *The County Press*, *County Chronicle* and *County Herald*.³¹ Despite its outspoken anti-poor law position, *The Times* was willing to publish (and presumably accept revenue for) advertisements to build the 'Bastilles' it so frequently lambasted in its columns. All the tenders exceeded £3000 - far in excess of the allocated budget causing the guardians to revise their plans and reduce the size of the building and the capacity of the workhouse to 213 persons.³² New tenders were still unacceptably high and the Hitchin guardians renegotiated a third quote with two builders. They eventually awarded the contract to the Executors of William Jeeves for the price of £2800.³³ No doubt the

²⁸ BG/HIT/2, 7 Dec 1835.

²⁹ MH 12/4612, Letter from Thomas Smith to Adey, 3-14 [sic] Jan 1836.

³⁰ MH 12/4612, Draft letter to Hitchin Board of Guardians, 28 Jan 1836.

³¹ BG/HIT/2, 22 Feb 1836.

³² BG/HIT/2, 14 Mar 1836.

³³ BG/HIT/2, 18 Mar 1836 & 28 Mar 1836. William Jeeves was a local Hitchin builder who died in 1832, his wife Maria took on the business and traded as the 'Executors of William Jeeves'. Tony

building committee of the Hitchin board were very pleased that they had succeeded in getting their own way with the poor law commissioners – building a smaller workhouse and keeping the original workhouse for children however they would need to make repeated changes and alterations to the building in the ensuing months and years.

Commissions for workhouse designs constituted a ‘plentiful’ though ‘not especially lucrative’ new business opportunity for many young architects of the 1830s and 1840s.³⁴ The renowned architect George Gilbert Scott, noted that many of his contemporaries employed ‘union-hunting’ – the practice of seeking out workhouse commissions as a specific business strategy in this period.³⁵ Thomas Smith however seems to have only been involved with one workhouse – perhaps his experience of working with the Hitchin guardians coloured his attitude to future commissions.

The Watford guardians first engaged an independent architect called Grover and, like Hitchin, they placed advertisements seeking tenders for the building work in *The Times*, *The Morning Chronicle*, and local papers.³⁶ Five tenders, which ranged from £4,995 to £6,190, were rejected as even the lowest amount was higher than anticipated and Grover was removed as architect.³⁷ Instead the Watford board obtained a copy of the plan known as the ‘Kempthorne 200 pauper plan’, shown in figure 8.1, which was estimated to cost £1900 to

Crosby, Scilla Douglas, et al, *Jeeves Yard, A dynasty of Hitchin builders and brickmakers*, (Baldock, 2003), p.4 and p.33.

³⁴ Driver, *Power and Pauperism*, p.81.

³⁵ Morrison, *The Workhouse*, p.47. Driver, *Power and pauperism*, p.81.

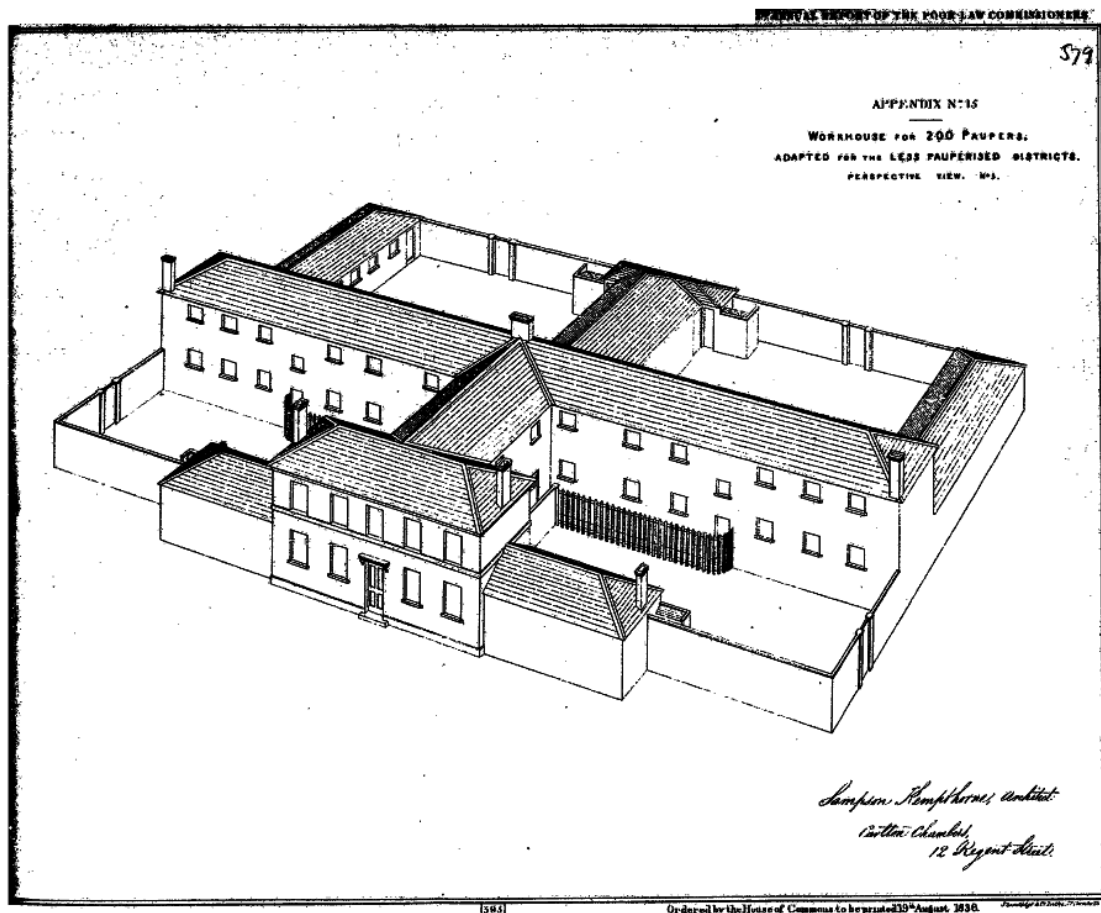
Scott designed a number of workhouses but he is best known for designing the Albert Memorial, the Midland Hotel at St Pancras Station, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London and several ecclesiastical buildings in the gothic revival style.

³⁶ BG/WAT/1. *The Times*, 23 Mar. 1836 p.3.

³⁷ BG/WAT/1, 7 Jun 1836, p.174.

build.³⁸ The Watford board rejected the '200-plan', which they considered 'objectionable' because the beds were put in tiers.³⁹ This 'barrack' style dormitory arrangement is perhaps more indicative of military and prison culture than the sympathetic care of the poor and its rejection suggests a more soft and caring attitude by the guardians.

Figure 8.1 Kempthorne's 200 Plan Workhouse for 200 Paupers adapted for the less pauperised districts



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Source: BPP, 1836 (595) XXIX Pt.I.1, XXIX Pt.II.1. *Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*. Appendix D, p.579.

³⁸ BG/WAT/1, 5 Jul 1836.

³⁹ BG/WAT/1, 2 Aug 1836.

The Watford guardians found a new architect - Mr T L Evans - who agreed to waive his charge if the workhouse he designed could not be built for less than £3300.⁴⁰ Revisions pushed the estimated price up to £3450. There were four rounds of unacceptably high tenders before a price of £4206 was accepted.⁴¹

A proposal to erect a new purpose-built workhouse was initially opposed by some guardians on the St Albans board.⁴² They briefly considered that all the St Albans paupers could be maintained at the Luton workhouse but eventually agreed to build a new workhouse on land adjacent to the St Stephens workhouse.⁴³ They employed Charles Jearrod as the architect and surveyor. Jearrod was another inexperienced workhouse designer, he is best known for his subsequent work in the Regency town of Cheltenham.⁴⁴ After just one round of tendering, the price agreed for building the St Albans workhouse was £3353.⁴⁵ The build progressed smoothly and, unlike Watford and Hitchin, without further revisions. The new St Albans workhouse was completed and occupied in March 1838, however this came at a cost, relative to its size, this was the most expensive of these three workhouses.

⁴⁰ BG/WAT/1, 16 Aug 1836.

Evans was not as successful as some of his peers in getting workhouse commissions; he is credited with the design of only one other workhouse - Bishops Stortford in Hertfordshire - and the extension of the Westbury and Whorwellsdown workhouse in Wiltshire. For a comprehensive list of workhouse architects see 'Appendix 2, Catalogue A: Poor Law Institutions Outside Metropolitan London (post-1834)' and 'Appendix 2, Catalogue B: Poor Law Institutions for Metropolitan London (post-1834)', in Morrison, *The Workhouse*, pp.201-220.

⁴¹ BG/WAT/1, 13 Sep 1836, 27 Sep 1836 & 21 Feb 1837.

⁴² Off Acc 1162, 06 Feb 1836, 13 Feb 1836.

⁴³ Off Acc 1162, 14 May 1836, 21 May 1836, 09 Jul 1836.

⁴⁴ The Jearrod brothers were the architects of Lansdown Terrace, the Queen's Hotel (1838) and Christ Church (1838-40) in Cheltenham. *Information Britain – Cheltenham* <http://ibloadbalancer-108949500.eu-west-1.elb.amazonaws.com/townguide/county25/townguideCheltenham/B&%3BBs> [accessed 9-Aug-2014].

⁴⁵ Off Acc 1162, 9 Jun 1837.

Building costs and funding

The *Poor Law Report* had anticipated that workhouses would cost £10 per inmate to build but this proved a significant underestimate. Morrison found the average cost per head was £18 5s (£18.25) in 1836 and this rose to £19 17s (£19.85) in 1839.⁴⁶ Both the St Albans and Watford workhouse build costs exceeded these averages as shown in table 8.2 below; Hitchin however managed to build its new workhouse at almost two thirds of the average cost nationally. These figures excluded fitting out the workhouses and the cost of subsequent extensions and alterations, which were significant – especially in Hitchin.

Table 8.2 Initial building costs in four Hertfordshire Workhouses

Union	Recommended Workhouse Capacity	Capacity of new workhouse	Loan Amount	Cost of Land	Building Cost	Total Cost (excluding fixtures and fittings)	Cost per head
Hatfield	178			Existing workhouse retained			
Hitchin	619	213	£3000	£304 4s [^]	£2800	£3104 4s	£14 11s 5d
St Albans	476	126	£3300	£200	£3353	£3553	£28 4s
Watford	461	200	£5000	£209 7s 6d	£4206	£4615 7s 6d	£23 1s 7d

[^] Includes £30 paid to remove a sitting tenant.

Source: Board of Guardians Minute Books and Second, Third and Fourth Annual Poor Law Reports.

Problems with the Hitchin workhouse were identified even before the build was completed. Following a site visit in August 1836 Adey sent a report to the poor law commissioners.

The Board adjourned to view the new Workhouse which is nearly finished, The Poor Law Comm[issione]rs will probably recollect that the Plan was any thing but a satisfactory one, and the Guardians (who had given way to the obstenance [sic] of one of their body) are now conseeded [sic] of this and I left

⁴⁶ Morrison, *The Workhouse*, pp.46-48.

them debating how the gross defects are to be remedied which I fear can only be done by considerable additional outlay.⁴⁷

The Hitchin paupers, including the children, moved into the new building in January and February 1837.⁴⁸ It was intended that the children would move back into the town workhouse once a schoolmaster and mistress were appointed to live in at the workhouse.⁴⁹ Due to problems recruiting a suitable schoolmaster the children lived at the main workhouse until June 1837.⁵⁰ In the meantime the building had to be adapted to accommodate the children. Other significant alterations and remedial work were proposed but keen to avoid further expense the guardians opted to reorganise the existing space.⁵¹ In doing so they compromised the gender segregation requirement by creating a men's sick ward on the women's side of the workhouse. The building committee reasoned that as the men would be sick and bed ridden there could be no contact with the women paupers, however they suggested that hoppers could be erected on the windows and a high wooden fence built to prevent all contact.⁵² The total costs of additional works exceeded £1000.⁵³ This sum took the total building expenditure of the Hitchin board to over £4500 or £21 7s per head. This was still less than the costs in Watford and St Albans but significantly more than the national average. Parsimony and an insistence on keeping the town workhouse had cost the ratepayers of Hitchin more, and taken longer, than if they had agreed to build a new workhouse

⁴⁷ MH 12/4612, Report from Adey, 28 August 1836.

⁴⁸ BG/HIT/3, 6 Feb 1837.

⁴⁹ BG/HIT/3, 16 Jan 1837.

⁵⁰ BG/HIT/3, 6 Jun 1837.

⁵¹ BG/HIT/3, 17 Apr 1837 & 2 May 1837.

⁵² BG/HIT/3, 23 May 1837.

⁵³ BG/HIT/3, 23 May 1837, 1 Aug 1837, 22 Aug 1837, 19 Sep 1837, 20 Feb 1838, 8 May 1838, 29 May 1838, 5 Jun 1838 and 31 Jul 1838 and 18 Jun 1839.

at the outset. With the possible exception of Hailey and his supporters the delay in building the new workhouse was not on ideological grounds but on economic grounds that ultimately proved a false economy.

Funding the new workhouses

Although one of the aims of the New Poor Law was to reduce the cost of poor relief, the need to service the loans taken out in the initial phase was an additional cost that the unions had to bear because the funds to build new workhouses and to make alterations and repairs to old properties had to be met by individual unions. Each union was funded by contributions from the component parishes in the form of a poor rate. To find money to commission new buildings the guardians had two choices: to ask the parishes to make significant contributions or to take out a loan and spread the capital cost over a longer period. If they chose the latter, the loan could be sourced privately or through a Treasury scheme. Whichever route was employed, it was essential to have the expenditure sanctioned by the Poor Law Commission as individual guardians could be surcharged for any unlawful expenditure from the rates.⁵⁴ Felix Driver calculated that between 1835 and 1839 the Poor Law Commission authorised over £1.5 million to be spent on the construction of new workhouses in England and Wales; more than £800,000 was also authorised for alterations, buying land and combined alteration/construction projects.⁵⁵ Using different source material Karel Williams

⁵⁴ Driver, *Power and pauperism*, p.75.

⁵⁵ Driver, *Power and pauperism*, p.78.

Driver gives an in depth analysis of workhouse building between 1834 and 1884 in Chapter 5, pp.73-94 using the data contained in the Registers of Authorised Workhouse Expenditure (RAWWE) at the National Archives.

calculated the value of authorised expenditure at £2.1 million.⁵⁶ Both historians point out that this was ‘authorised’ expenditure rather than actual expenditure and both postulate that their figures underestimate the total amount spent. However it is also possible that in some instances authorised expenditure was not followed through. For example the annual reports show that the poor law commissioners authorised spending of £7,020 in Hitchin between 1835 and 1839 but a later return reported that the total spend was £3,100 a figure which is in line with the initial build cost and loan values reported in the union; Hertford union had alteration costs agreed in 1835 before revising its plans and applying to build a new workhouse the following year.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, significant sums were being spent. Between 1835 and 1839 the poor law commissioners authorised over £60,000 of expenditure to build new workhouses or alter existing premises in Hertfordshire. The most expensive was Bishops Stortford, which had £11,585 of spending approved for a 400 person workhouse. These spending approvals are presented in appendix XIX.

Watford applied for a loan of £5000 to build its workhouse, but did not secure the loan before the build began and the guardians found themselves with insufficient funds to make the first instalment to the builder. The relieving officer Mr Wilson stepped in and loaned the funds.⁵⁸ When the guardians applied for a further advance of £927 to build an extension in 1841 the Exchequer Bill Loan Fund

⁵⁶ Karel Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty* (London:Routledge, 1981), p.219. Williams’ figures are derived from the annual Poor Law Reports.

⁵⁷ Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Annual Reports and 1840 (39) XXXIX.309, *Poor Law Amendment Act. Abstract returns of workhouses erected, or purchased; names, salaries, and expenses of the commissioners; and unions to which no order has been sent for withholding out-door relief, &c.*, p.447. See also appendix XIX.

⁵⁸ BG/WAT/1, 9 May 1837.

was exhausted and they were forced to take out a private loan with the Royal Exchange Assurance Company.⁵⁹

The commissioners must have anticipated heavy demand on central funds and encouraged unions to borrow money from private sources from the beginning.⁶⁰ St Albans secured a loan of £3,000 from the Exchequer Bill Loan committee and expected funds from the sale of parish workhouses would help fund the central workhouse; however difficulties and delays with the sale of parish properties forced them to apply for further loans (totalling £2,420), which as in Watford, had to be funded privately.⁶¹

Hitchin did not apply for central funds, possibly in an attempt to keep control; they borrowed £3,000 from one of the elected guardians Mr Legrew Hesse following a tender process. Hesse died soon after the loan was made and when additional loans were required they had to be obtained from elsewhere. The guardians obtained a loan of £1,400 over 10 years from the Treasury in 1843, which they renegotiated to a 20 year term less than a year later. Whilst the Board of Guardians minutes do not explicitly state why, it can be assumed this was to keep repayments down bearing in mind that they were still repaying the original loan to Mr Hesse's estate.

⁵⁹ BG/WAT/3, 4 Jun 1841 and 3 Sep 1841.

⁶⁰ Off Acc 1162, 23 Jul 1836.

⁶¹ Off Acc 1162, 16 Aug 1839 and 5 Nov 1841.

Workhouse capacity

One of the criticisms of workhouses was of overcrowding and cramped conditions. In January 1842 the poor law commissioners asked the medical officers of the various unions to report on workhouse accommodation. These reports (although different in form and detail) provide a useful snapshot of the workhouse accommodation at that time. The ensuing reports also caused some disagreement between the medical men and their employers highlighting the different focus of each group.

Hitchin's Doctor Foster painted a picture of significant overcrowding and unpleasant conditions.⁶² He believed the Hitchin workhouse was suitable for about 200 people although it contained beds for 260. (This was significantly fewer places than the 350 being housed in January 1842.) Foster found there were 33 old women using a day room that measured 16 feet by 22 feet (32.7m²). Other rooms intended for six or eight people had 22 people in them day and night. Boys were sleeping six or seven to a bed - three at the head and three or four at the foot. He described the workhouse as badly ventilated and stated that 'the filthy effluvia which meets one on entering some of the rooms is sufficient to create an infectious disease.'⁶³ This would have been of particular concern to Foster for whom miasma theory was still the recognised method of infection. He wanted to see separate accommodation for the proper and efficient treatment of the sick and the provision of a midwifery ward.⁶⁴ The Hitchin board were unhappy with Foster's report and wrote to the commissioners. They claimed Foster had 'looked upon the Workhouse

⁶² BG/HIT/6, 15 Feb 1842.

⁶³ BG/HIT/6, 15 Feb 1842.

⁶⁴ BG/HIT/6, 15 Feb 1842.

rather with respect to its fitness as an Infirmary than a place for the reception of paupers.⁶⁵ The guardians also pointed out that the poor law commissioners had previously sanctioned the workhouse as suitable for 240 paupers and that the additional school buildings could accommodate 80 children. They acknowledged an unusual increase in the number of paupers in the past three months, which they attributed to 'a consequence of want of employment among Mechanics and Agricultural Labourers through the wetness of the season, with a particular depression of the Straw-plait manufacture'.⁶⁶ Finally they claimed the effluvia was a result of the 'daily habits of the old men.'⁶⁷ Hitchin made further alterations and extensions designed to add 119 places to the workhouse. Foster made another report on workhouse capacity in August 1847 in which he based his calculation on the cubic capacity of air required by each 'sleeper'.⁶⁸ In that report he gave the maximum capacity as 340 paupers. Again the board of guardians submitted their own assessment in which they found capacity for over 400. When the reports are compared side by side, as shown in table 8.3 below, there are several rooms where the board of guardians' figures show an occupation rate which is a third or more higher than that recommended by the medical officer. For example they increased the capacity of one woman's ward from 21 to 28 and the men's infirmary (or room) from 18 to 28.

⁶⁵ BG/HIT/6, 15 Feb 1842.

⁶⁶ BG/HIT/6, 15 Feb 1842.

⁶⁷ BG/HIT/6, 15 Feb 1842.

⁶⁸ BG/HIT/10, 17 Aug 1837.

Table 8.3 Capacity of Hitchin Workhouse August 1847

Room	Capacity calculated by Dr. Foster	Capacity calculated by Board of Guardians
1 st Young women's room		26
2 nd young women's room		26 +6 children
Lying in ward		8 + 8 infants
Young women's room	22	
Young women's room lying in ward	24	
Second lying in ward	8	
1 st Old woman's ward	21	28
2 nd Old woman's ward	11	12
Women's infirmary	18	18
Girls Room	22	22
Girls sick room	9	9
Boys Room	29	30
Boys Room small	7	7
Boys sick room	7	7
1st young men's room	25	25
2 nd young men's room	29	29
Men's Infirmary		18
Men's Room		28
1 st men's infirmary	18	
2 nd men's infirmary	18	
1 st old men's room	18	24
2 nd old men's room	21	24
Sick ward	4	6
Old Receiving ward	6	6
Tramp women's ward	3	4
Tramp men's ward	3	4
Women's receiving ward	8	8
Men's receiving ward	6	6
No 10 *		8
Old laundry*		8
*omitted by Mr [sic] Foster		
	340	405
		(including 14 children and infants)

Source Hitchin Board of Guardians Minute Book BG/HIT/10, 17 August 1847

The Watford workhouse came under pressure during the severe winter of 1840/41. Admissions increased significantly and peaked at 250 inmates (an increase of 45% on the previous year). To create extra capacity the boardroom was used as sleeping accommodation. Two new wings were added in 1841 and 1842,

which increased the capacity from 218 to 373 as shown in table 8.4 below.⁶⁹ No further substantial alterations to the workhouse were considered until May 1847 when high rates of mortality occurred in the workhouse.⁷⁰ The new plans not only increased capacity but also added both a chapel and a separate infirmary creating spaces that addressed the physical and spiritual wellbeing of the community within one discrete and highly supervised environment.⁷¹

Table 8.4 Capacity of the Watford Workhouse November and January 1843

Location description	January 1842	November 1842	January 1843
Men on the first and attic floors of main building and men's sick ward		113	80
In the infirmary ward on the ground floor		6	13
Women on the first and attic floors of main building including sick ward		103	80
In the rooms recently appropriated on the ground floor on the women's side of the house	204	16	26
On the first floor and attic of the wing recently elected on that side of the house		28	
Two receiving wards			8
In 5 attics over Master apartments front & back			16
Pest House	14	14	42
Boys wing			51
Girls wing			57
Total capacity	218	280	373

Source Board of Guardian Minute Book, BG/WAT/4, 4 Feb 1842, 25 Nov 1842, 6 Jan 1843.

When the St Albans workhouse was beginning to fill up during the severe winter of 1840/41 and the guardians asked the Welwyn and Hemel Hempstead unions to take in some of the St Albans paupers. Both declined and the guardians considered hiring extra accommodation on a temporary basis but instead they decided to use one of the schoolrooms as a temporary dormitory.⁷² The board

⁶⁹ BG/WAT/3, 21 May 1841. The PLC wanted both wings built simultaneously, but the Watford guardians refused.

⁷⁰ BG/WAT/6, 12 May 1847. BG/WAT/7, 16 June 1847.

⁷¹ BG/WAT/7, 16 June 1847, 30 June 1847.

⁷² Off Acc 1162, 18 Dec, 26 Dec 1840 & 27 Aug 1841.

discussed building new infirmaries and tramp wards but nothing was done and the following winter the workhouse master used both schoolrooms as dormitories and the boardrooms and hall as schoolrooms.⁷³ In February 1842 the medical officer assessed the workhouse as sufficient for 230 paupers with extra capacity being found in the converted schoolrooms 'without much discomfort or inconvenience'.⁷⁴ (At the time there were 269 inmates of whom 40 were ill, placing the workhouse at the upper limits of its capacity.) At various times the St Albans board discussed the possibility of extending the workhouse but seemed content to resort to using the schoolroom, hall and board room as temporary accommodation to see them through the winter months.⁷⁵

In September 1845 a new medical officer reported the workhouse capacity as 219 plus the hall and board rooms; this time the guardians revised this figure to 240 (although pauper numbers regularly exceeded this amount).⁷⁶ Following discussions with assistant poor law commissioner Richard Hall the poor law commissioners fixed the maximum capacity at 234 (or 264 when the hall was used as a bedroom). But this proved inadequate and in December 1847 the guardians were forced to offer 21 paupers two shillings per week out-relief to leave the house as it had exceeded its maximum capacity. When they began the process of unionisation the St Albans guardians had rather optimistically thought that they would not need a workhouse at all and had built a relatively small workhouse

⁷³ Off Acc 1162, 3 Dec 1841.

⁷⁴ Off Acc 1162, 28 Jan 1842.

⁷⁵ The subject of extending the workhouse or finding other accommodation for some classes of pauper was raised at the following meetings: 2 & 16 Dec 1842, 15 & 28 Jul 1843, 15 Aug 1843, 17 Nov 1843, 19 Sep 1845, 14 Nov 1845, 6 Feb 1846, 7 & 21 Aug 1846, 17 Sep 1847 and 24 Dec 1847.

⁷⁶ Pauper numbers are discussed in more detail in chapter nine.

compared to their neighbours but this proved inadequate. Resorting to paying paupers to leave the workhouse was contrary to the aims of the New Poor Law.

The Hatfield union used an extant workhouse and there is no indication of its maximum capacity before the medical officer's report of 1842. Quarterly summaries of the number of paupers relieved in the house indicate there were just over 100 indoor paupers in 1836, which increased to over 130 in 1837.⁷⁷ The medical officer described the Hatfield union workhouse as being 'in a very healthy state' with 'no disease of any consequence amongst the pauper inmates'; only a few of the most aged were in need of medical attention relating to their advanced age.⁷⁸ He also stated that recent alterations were working well and the classification of inmates was now 'perfect'. There were 126 men, women and children in the workhouse, which he described as 'almost full'.⁷⁹ He later submitted a more detailed breakdown of the workhouse accommodation to the guardians, which set the capacity at 158. This was increased to 188 in November 1842 following some alterations.⁸⁰

Work in the workhouse

The very name 'workhouse' suggests that the building's function was 'work' rather than shelter or social care. The popular perception is that the work undertaken within the workhouse was repetitive, arduous, tedious and akin to hard labour in a prison environment. Oakum picking, stone breaking and bone-crushing are the most well documented types of work given to paupers although the latter

⁷⁷ BG/HAT/1, 24 Jun 1836, 6 Oct 1836, 20 Apr 1837 & 23 Jun 1837.

⁷⁸ BG/HAT/3, 17 Feb 1842.

⁷⁹ BG/HAT/3, 17 Feb 1842.

⁸⁰ BG/HAT/3, 10 Nov 1842.

was forbidden by the poor law commissioners after the Andover scandal of 1845. Work varied in nature from workhouse to workhouse, between adults and children and was often gendered.

A variety of work was undertaken in the Hertfordshire workhouses in this sample. When Lord Salisbury set up his Hatfield workhouse in 1820 all those who were able to work were expected to do so and the work they did was useful and productive. Adult men and boys were 'employed on the parish account'.⁸¹ They maintained local roads or were employed on land rented by the workhouse to grow produce which was used in the house and sold commercially. Women worked on domestic duties in the house and the children were employed in silk-winding in a shed rented by Mr Woollams, a silk manufacturer in St Albans. This continued after 1834. When Woollams removed his machinery in 1840 the then 'unemployed' children benefited as they were then sent to school outside of the workhouse gates.⁸² In contrast, the Watford Board of Guardians refused to allow a young female pauper permission to leave the workhouse to take employment in Mr Shute's silk mill 'it being considered that the silk mills are a bad school for young girls.'⁸³ Shute asked the board of guardians and later the Poor Law Commission to consider a scheme for sending girls aged eight to thirteen years of age to work in his mills.⁸⁴ Both the board and the commissioners decided it was not 'desirable' to send children to work in the silk mills although Shute's proposals were very similar to the arrangements in large northern textile mills.⁸⁵ Instead the

⁸¹ Regulations for the Management of the Poor in the Parish of Hatfield. - See Appendix I.

⁸² BG/HAT/2, 19 Mar 1842 & 16 Apr 1842.

⁸³ BG/WAT/1, 29 Sep 1835.

⁸⁴ BG/WAT/1, 27 Aug 1835; MH12/4679, 1 Nov 1835.

⁸⁵ BG/WAT/1, 3 Nov 1835; MH12/4679, 2 Dec 1835.

girls in the Watford workhouse were taught to sew and the boys were taught to net and knit.⁸⁶ In the Hitchin workhouse children went to school but were also expected to work at certain times of the day. The boys knitted cotton socks and stockings and the girls undertook needlework.⁸⁷ In 1840 the Hitchin guardians school committee recommend the adoption of the timetable for the 'division of labour and occupation'. This timetable – detailed below in table 8.5 shows a mixed programme of domestic chores, education, skills training and outdoor labour with just two hours for play each day for the under tens.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ BG/WAT/1, 3 Nov 1835.

⁸⁷ BG/HIT/4, 8 May 1838.

⁸⁸ BG/HIT/5, 28 Jul 1840.

Table 8.5 Hitchin Workhouse Children's timetable

Day	Time	Boys from 10 to 16 years	Boys under 10 years of age	Girls
Monday and Thursday	6:00 a.m. to 7:30 a.m.	to be employed in <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the folding of bedclothes • scraping the yard • cleaning shoes • brushing clothes • combing and washing themselves and the younger boys 	as per other boys	as per boys
	7:30 to 8:00 a.m.	Prayer		
	8:00 to 9:00	Breakfast		
	9:00 to 12:00	School		
	12:00 to 1:00	Out of door employment In wet weather, play in the yards and sheds under inspection	Play in the yard	Relaxation
	1:00 to 2:00	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner
	2:00 to 6:00	Divided into 2 classes one class under the instruction of Tailor 2 -4 second class under instruction of Shoemaker Change over at 4:00pm	Knitting in school with school mistress Play 5-6	2-5 in school attended by the school master 5-6 Relaxation
	6:00 pm	Prayers	as per other boys	as per the boys
	7:00 pm	Supper		
8:00 pm	Bed			
Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday	6:00 am to 2:00 pm	As Monday		
	2:00	Outdoor employment under the instruction of J Manning [Workhouse master] In wet weather the boys should be partly employed in knitting		
	6:00 to bedtime	As Monday		

Source: Hitchin Board of Guardians Minute Book, BG/HIT/5, 28 Jul 1840

The four sample workhouses used mills of different types for the employment of adult men. Hatfield installed a kibbling mill in 1837 and later

modifications increased the number of men able to work on the mill.⁸⁹ The St Albans union relocated a mill from the old Harpenden workhouse to Sandridge workhouse when the workhouses were consolidated in 1835 although it is not clear if this was moved again when the new workhouse was opened. The Hitchin board erected a mill 'fitted with ranks for 12 men' to grind cattle corn and the able-bodied worked at the mill from 6:00am to 6:00pm.⁹⁰ Nothing suggests that any of these mills were of the treadmill type although in his evidence to a government select committee James Turner opined that standing corn mills were 'as oppressive as the treadmill'.⁹¹ Treadmills were used as part of a punishment regime in prisons but their use was not permitted in workhouses.⁹² In addition to millwork, oakum picking was part of the regime in Hitchin, St Albans and Watford however other forms of employment were tried too. In 1842 the Hatfield board instructed the workhouse master to make enquires about oakum picking, but there is no evidence that it was ever introduced.⁹³ William Dealy, a pauper in the Watford workhouse complained to the guardians 'that picking Oakum effected his eyes.' The workhouse master consulted the medical officer who 'saw no reason why the pauper should not be so employed'.⁹⁴ There is evidence that straw plaiting, a local cottage industry, was undertaken in Hatfield and Hitchin workhouses.⁹⁵ Hatfield specifically bought in wicker so that two blind inmates could be employed in basket

⁸⁹ BG/HAT/1, 23 Mar 1837 & BG/HAT/4, 30 Nov 1843. Kibbling mills were produced in various sizes and were used to crush corn, beans, peas, oats and other cereal crops. They were available as manual or powered models. See 1862 London Exhibition: Catalogue: Class IX.: Hunt and Pickering at *Grace's Guide to British Industrial History*, http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/1862_London_Exhibition:_Catalogue:_Class_IX.:_Hunt_and_Pickering.

⁹⁰ BG/HIT/4, 26 Dec 1837 & 12 Mar 1839.

⁹¹ 1837-38 (246) XVIII Pt.II.93. *Select Committee on Poor Law Amendment Act: Twentieth Report*, p.5.

⁹² 1837-38 (246) XVIII Pt.II.93. *Select Committee on Poor Law Amendment Act: Twentieth Report*, p.5.

⁹³ BG/HAT/3, 10 Nov 1842.

⁹⁴ BG/WAT/3, 10 Sep 1845.

⁹⁵ BG/HAT/3, 9 Dec 1841; BG/HIT/3, 11 Jul 1837.

making. After only a few months their productivity was such that there was an excess of baskets that could be sold commercially.⁹⁶ Hitchin experimented with rope and mat making using machinery transferred from the redundant Offley workhouse and the workhouse master was directed to draw up a profit and loss account for the mat making for inclusion in the quarterly accounts.⁹⁷ Later coconut fibre junk picking was tested – an activity similar to oakum picking.⁹⁸ Watford workhouse tried bristle picking for a brush manufacturer in Drury Lane in 1840 and found boys best suited to the task.⁹⁹ It is not clear whether this was a continuous activity but Mr Wiggell (the brush maker) delivered 42lbs of bristles for picking in 1847 – seven years after the first trial.¹⁰⁰

The adult female paupers performed the domestic tasks in the workhouse, including cooking, cleaning and laundry which varied dependant on the workhouse population at any given time. However in 1846 the Hatfield union authorised the recruitment of a washerwoman in case all the able-bodied women left the house.¹⁰¹ This assumes gender stereotyping of occupations did not allow able-bodied men to be employed in the workhouse laundry.

Those who refused to work in the task assigned them were punished – either with a bread and water diet or were taken before the local magistrate as was the case the Watford pauper Thomas Rogers who refused to work except at his own trade – gardening. He was abusive and assaulted others and as a result was

⁹⁶ BG/HAT/4, 28 Mar 1844 & 9 May 1844.

⁹⁷ BG/HIT/3, 14 Nov 1836, 11 Jul 1837.

⁹⁸ BG/HIT/5, 17 & 24 Mar 1840.

⁹⁹ BG/WAT/3, 7 Feb 1840.

¹⁰⁰ BG/WAT/3, 17 Feb 1847.

¹⁰¹ BG/HAT/4, 4 Jun 1846.

sent to the House of Correction. The magistrate who convicted him was one of the unions *ex officio* guardians the Honourable Reverend William Capel.¹⁰²

It appears there was both variety and profit in the work performed in these four workhouses. Work could be either indoor or outdoor and there is a sense that some of the work was designed to equip the paupers (children especially) to work outside the workhouse. Adherence to a strict working regime and exacting classification were not the only way in which the paupers' lives were controlled, they were also subject to a strict diet and at times a strict dress code.

Workhouse Dietary

The workhouse diet, or rather the insufficiency of the diet, was one of the major criticisms of the workhouse. Through their annual reports the poor law commissioners claimed that inmates were adequately nourished whilst popular writers such as Charles Dickens and pamphleteers talked of starvation. David Roberts argued that many of the stories of inadequate diet published by *The Times* were in fact false.¹⁰³ The workhouse was not a prison and therefore in one sense was not designed to be punitive however nor was it to be superior to life as an independent labourer. One of the areas where life could be made adequate yet inferior was through diet. A recent dietetic analysis of the workhouse diet judged it 'adequate' but 'dreary'.¹⁰⁴ Its repetitive and prescribed nature added to the monotony of workhouse life.

¹⁰² BG/WAT/3, 10 Jul 1841, 6 Aug 1841.

¹⁰³ Roberts, 'How Cruel was the Victorian Poor Law?', pp.97-107.

¹⁰⁴ L. Smith, S. J. Thornton, J Reinarz and A. N. Williams, *British Medical Journal*, [Online version] (2008) 337:a2722.

There are two features of the workhouse dietary which should be commented upon: first this was an area where the central body did take a lead by publishing an acceptable and permissible dietary table and secondly, despite being set up to oversee a uniform approach to poor relief, the central commissioners recognised regional differences in those dietary tables and allowed boards of guardians to select a menu that most closely resembled the diet of the local labourer.¹⁰⁵ Despite this, the Hertfordshire unions looked for further variation in the prescribed diet based on local practice.

Hatfield union wanted to keep the diet sheet that had been in use for 16 years with 'no injurious effects', this was agreed, but the beer allowance was removed.¹⁰⁶ Both St Albans and Watford adopted a dietary originating in the St Georges Hanover Square workhouse, but Watford was concerned about the removal of beer and allowed a half pint of small beer twice a day to those 'as have been in the habit of receiving it' and 'to the women when washing or performing other hard or disagreeable labour'.¹⁰⁷ Breast-feeding mothers were allowed one pint of table beer daily.¹⁰⁸ Tea and sugar were considered luxury foodstuffs and were therefore regarded as privileges that could be withheld as punishment for poor behaviour or poor moral character. Tea was allowed for the aged and infirm in Watford at the discretion of the workhouse master.¹⁰⁹ Food was used as a punishment or reward to control or manage behaviour in the workhouse.

¹⁰⁵ BPP, *Second Annual Report*, p.23, pp.56-59.

¹⁰⁶ BG/HAT/1, 31 Dec 1835, 28 Jan 1836, 10 Mar 1836.

¹⁰⁷ BG/WAT/1, 28 Jul 1835 and 26 Feb 1836.

¹⁰⁸ BG/WAT/1, 11 Apr 1837.

¹⁰⁹ BG/WAT/1, 21 Jul 1835.

Hatfield's policy of withholding the tea ration from single women was explained to the commissioners thus:

... it has been the practice of the board to make this distinction. The number of single women of good character has at all times been very small and has consisted only of women under sickness who have received an extra diet recommended by the Medical Officers. The other single women are those with bastard children, and the distinction between them and the married women is in the opinion of the Guardians clearly necessary.¹¹⁰

Paupers who misbehaved might be put on the 'third class' diet – typically the withdrawal of meat except on Sundays and the suspension of tea rations. At the Hatfield workhouse Ann and Elizabeth Hale repeatedly had their tea and sugar ration withheld for misconduct.¹¹¹ In St Albans paupers who left the workhouse and returned within fourteen days were given a diet of rice and bread for one week on readmission and Watford put boys who absconded on bread and water.¹¹²

On the other hand Watford union consistently provided the paupers with a Christmas lunch of roast beef, plum pudding and beer. Each December the Watford board of guardians instructed the workhouse master to provide this special lunch, even when the poor law commissioners had specifically prohibited the practice.¹¹³ No such instructions survive in the guardians' minutes of the other three unions in this study; given that it was a deviation from the norm and an extra expense it is probable that no extras were provided on Christmas day. However, Hatfield and Hitchin both record providing the paupers with a 'Coronation Dinner'

¹¹⁰ BG/HAT/5, 23 Sep 1847.

¹¹¹ BG/HAT/1, 8 Sep 1836, 8 Mar 1838, 19 Apr 1838, 28 Jun 1838.

¹¹² Off Acc 1162, 14 Aug 1840, BG/WAT/3, 17 Jul 1840.

¹¹³ For a detailed discussion on the provision of celebratory meals in workhouses see Durbach, 'Roast Beef, the New Poor Law and the British Nation'.

to celebrate the coronation of Queen Victoria a practice in keeping with Durbach's argument that not to do so would be considered unpatriotic.¹¹⁴

Workhouse Clothing

Many paupers came into the workhouse with just the clothes they were wearing; as part of the reception process these were taken away and replaced with clothing provided by the authorities. In the Hitchin union the clothing was 'not sufficiently distinguished from the dress of the labouring population of the neighbourhood' resulting in a number of inmates absconding with union clothing.¹¹⁵ Consequently, clothing was marked with the letters **H U** in red paint four inches high on coats and two inches high on other clothing.¹¹⁶ This overt branding of clothing continued until 1846 when the Poor Law Commission issued an instruction to discontinue the external marking of clothing.¹¹⁷ Hitchin union also wanted to put mothers of illegitimate children in distinctive or 'peculiar' dress, however this practice had been disallowed by the Poor Law Commission as early as 1839.¹¹⁸ Photographs from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century show paupers wearing uniform clothing, but in the early years of the New Poor Law this was not necessarily the norm and in Hertfordshire was something achieved progressively over time.

¹¹⁴ BG/HAT/1, 28 Jun 1838, BG/HIT/4 26 Jun 1838. Durbach, 'Roast Beef, the New Poor Law, and the British Nation'.

¹¹⁵ BG/HIT/2, 18 Jan 1836.

¹¹⁶ BG/HIT/2, 18 Jan 1836.

¹¹⁷ BG/HIT/9, 8 Dec 1846.

¹¹⁸ BG/HIT/6, 16 Nov 1841.

The Hatfield paupers made their own clothes and a tailor and a shoemaker were brought in to instruct the boys in these skills.¹¹⁹ The women wore Lindsey gowns but later experimented with a gingham and linen check fabric, which the workhouse master had used in a previous workhouse.¹²⁰ When new bonnets were needed the workhouse master bought in straw so they could make bonnets in the house.¹²¹ This assumes there were sufficient resident plaiters and bonnet makers - an option not available to other unions. Watford union bought in green cotton fabric for women to make the dresses they were to wear and the men wore grey suits, which was later substituted with bought-in corduroy suits.¹²²

Unlike food, clothing was not withdrawn or substituted for bad behaviour. Cultural and moral norms meant that clothing had to be provided even to those who absconded and sold the clothes they were given, but the imposition of institutional clothing, which 'diminished individuality', 'was a prime element of discipline.'¹²³

Conclusion

Attitudes towards the construction of a new workhouse varied from union to union and at times within the same union. In this the Hertfordshire guardians were not alone, a recent article by John Beckett has highlighted how contrasting attitudes and political manoeuvrings among the guardians stalled the construction

¹¹⁹ BG/HAT/3, 30 Nov 1843.

¹²⁰ BG/HAT/2, 28 Oct 1841, 11 Mar 1847.

¹²¹ BG/HAT/2, 9 Dec 1841.

¹²² BG/WAT/1, 17 Nov 1835, 10 Nov 1835. BG/WAT/6, 10 Feb 1847.

¹²³ Crowther, *The Workhouse System*, p.42, p.195.

of the Nottingham workhouse.¹²⁴ The four Hertfordshire unions in this study adopted different methods and routes to the same goal of a central deterrent workhouse. Hatfield continued with its established workhouse - little changed and its workhouse had a layout and capacity that met its immediate needs. St Albans took a business like approach to the question of erecting a workhouse and gave due consideration to the options of not having a workhouse or contracting out the care of paupers to other unions before deciding to build their own small scale workhouse. The St Albans guardians engaged a professional architect and their building project proceeded without incident. Both Watford and Hitchin tried to build modest sized workhouses and were very cost conscious. Hitchin's cost cutting proved a false economy in the long term and the resulting building did not meet their needs and required extensive modifications over the next ten years. The vision for the New Poor Law was a reduction in the poor rate, but the high cost of capital investment required to implement that vision had the potential to increase costs in the short term. Consequently most unions borrowed money over ten to twenty years to provide the necessary injection of cash to put their own union workhouse on the map.

The deterrent objective of the workhouse was achieved in part through parsimonious guardians building institutions of inadequate capacity to meet the pauper numbers they needed to accommodate. The deterrent regime was added to with discriminatory practices in relation to diet and clothing. Diet in particular withdrew 'luxuries' from the 'undeserving' poor – in particular mothers of illegitimate children or paupers who misbehaved in the workhouse. Cyphered

¹²⁴ John Beckett, 'Politics and the implementation of the New Poor Law: the Nottingham workhouse controversy, 1834-43', *Midland History*, 41.2 (2016), pp.201-223.

clothing gave way to workhouse uniforms that continued to brand the paupers by creating a livery that heralded their poverty. To the pauper this may have appeared a return to the badging of the poor introduced in 1697.

The operation of the New Poor Law necessitated the establishment of a national infrastructure of deterrent workhouses. The responsibility and the cost of doing this were delegated to the local executive under the supervision of the central commissioners. The four sample unions took two to three years to establish their workhouses and some made further revisions over the next ten years. Costs and funding were factors that compromised the size and capacity of the workhouses leading to problems of overcrowding - particularly in harsh winters. Commissioning significant civic building projects was a task for which most guardians were without experience and ill equipped to undertake. Sample workhouse plans supplied by the poor law commissioners did not suit local tastes and budgets whilst some guardians felt the need to stamp their own authority on the building projects.

Establishing this infrastructure created opportunities for architects, builders and surveyors and other trades associated with the building trade. At least six different architects were commissioned throughout the county with many more throughout the country as a whole. Many of these were young men starting out in architectural practice and for whom workhouse design was probably not financially or aesthetically rewarding.

The original architectural plans for individual workhouses do not survive in great numbers and the subsequent changes and repeated alterations make it difficult to keep track of the size or spatial layout of each workhouse. Union

workhouses were usually recorded on local maps and the larger scale *Ordinance Survey* maps record the detailed physical footprint occupied by each workhouse although its true impact on the landscape is difficult to ascertain in this two dimensional format. The statistics and descriptions contained in various poor law reports regarding the capacity of the workhouses extend our knowledge of what form the workhouse accommodation took; yet even here the absence of room dimensions makes it difficult to know what the ratio of people to area was. It is unlikely that the numbers conformed to modern occupancy rates that take account of the number of available exits as well as the overall floor space. The medical officers' reports convey a picture of cramped, malodourous and unpleasant conditions.

The forbidding presence of the workhouse in the community endured well into the twentieth century and a 'lingering fear' was vested in the buildings commissioned by the guardians long after their deterrent function was abolished.¹²⁵ Many former workhouses throughout the country were absorbed into the estate of the National Health Service. The Hatfield workhouse became a hospital and later a home for the elderly but was demolished in the 1970s. Hitchin workhouse followed a similar path; some of the buildings survive albeit in a derelict state. St Albans workhouse, once part of St Albans City Hospital, has been developed for residential use whilst the former Watford workhouse now forms as part of Watford General Hospital.

¹²⁵ Harry Gaston, *A Lingering Fear, East Sussex Hospitals and the Workhouse Legacy* (Newhaven: Southern Editorial Services, 2009).

Chapter 9

The Economics of Poor Relief in Hertfordshire

Introduction

One of the key aims of the Poor Law Amendment Act was to reduce the burden of the poor rate by bringing down the cost of poor relief. Lord Salisbury had already succeeded in bringing down poor relief costs in the parish of Hatfield in the 1820s but could his success be replicated at union level and mirrored across the county? Did the implementation of the New Poor Law make an immediate, substantial or sustainable difference to the cost of poor relief in Hertfordshire? Was Hertfordshire a typical southern agrarian county where poor relief was believed to be escalating unchecked in the early nineteenth century? Did the administrative changes bring about a reduction in either pauperism or expenditure or both? To answer these questions this chapter moves from looking at people and places and presents the quantitative picture of poor relief in Hertfordshire. It collates data from a number of local and national sources and discusses poor relief in terms of both expenditure and the number of people who received it. It compares and contrasts the unions with each other, with the county and with the national data for England and Wales. It looks briefly at the cost of poor relief under the Old Poor Law, before moving on to compare and contrast expenditure after the implementation of the New Poor Law. It examines the level of savings made in the Hertfordshire unions, the varying costs per head of population and uses detailed local data to explore the contrast in indoor and outdoor relief. Finally it looks at

pauper numbers by examining the size, composition and change in the workhouse populations of three unions: Hitchin, St Albans and Watford and the number of outdoor paupers in Hitchin.

Expenditure under the Old Poor Law

On the eve of the implementation of the New Poor Law Hertfordshire was spending more than £91,000 per annum on poor relief as shown in table 9.1 below. This was nearly three times the amount spent in the 1780s and over five times the sum spent in the middle of the eighteenth century. Although high, poor relief expenditure had been higher and exceeded £100,000 between 1819 and 1821 (see table 9.1). Both prices and wages had fluctuated during this period as a result of what Boyer calls 'changes in the economic environment' which included the impact of enclosure, the Napoleonic wars and the decline of cottage industry.¹ In the first 30 years of the nineteenth century the cost of poor relief per head of population in Hertfordshire varied between £0.58 and £0.91 per annum. This was consistently higher than the cost per head in England and Wales, which peaked at £0.77 per capita in 1818. This suggests that either there was a greater demand for poor relief in Hertfordshire or that Hertfordshire was more generous than other counties. However, as figure 9.1 demonstrates, poor relief expenditure fluctuated greatly throughout the first half of the nineteenth century and Hertfordshire broadly mirrored the national trend of increasing and decreasing poor relief expenditure.

¹ George R. Boyer, *An Economic History of the English Poor Law, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.31.

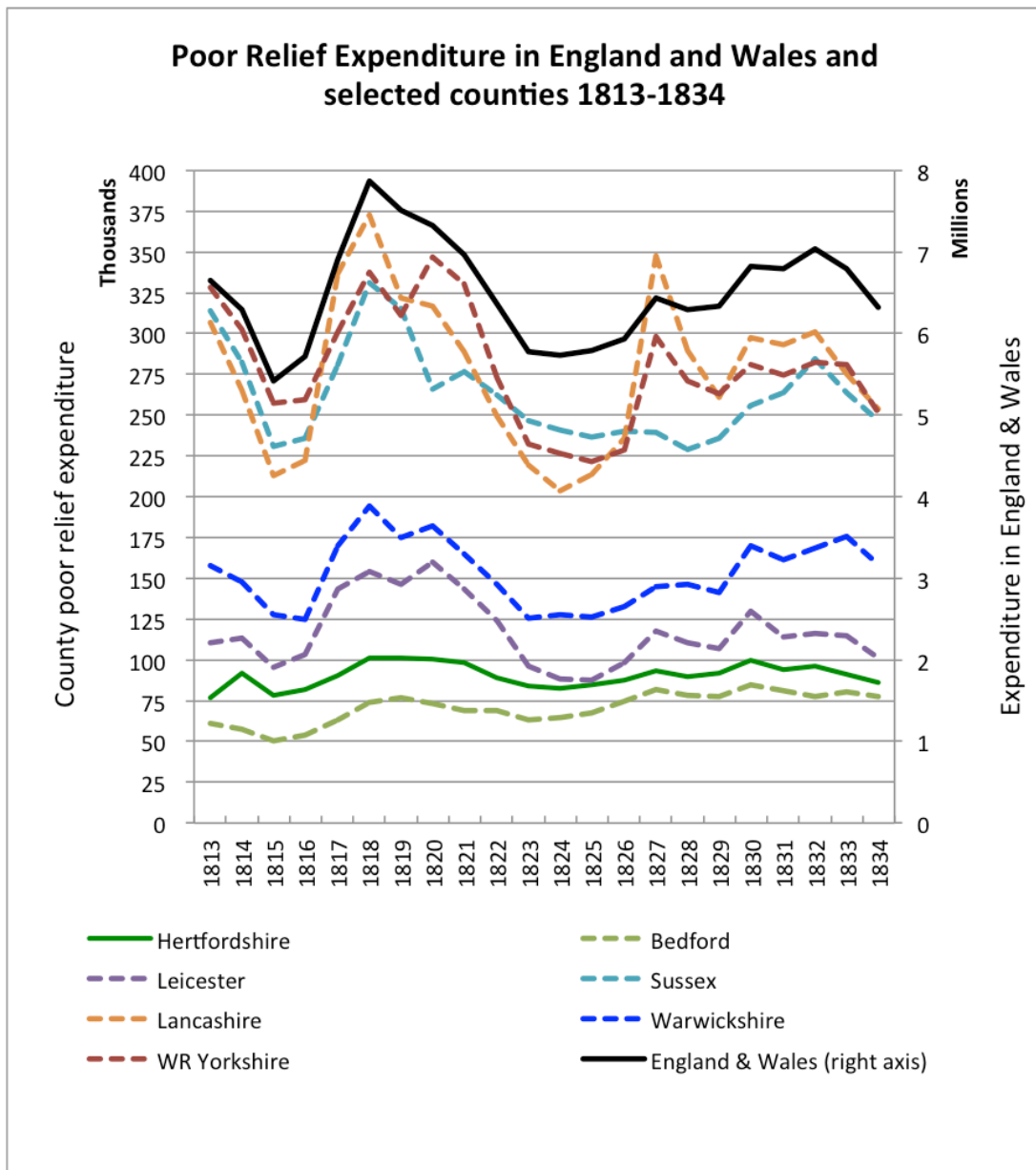
This suggests that fluctuations in poor relief expenditure were driven by national factors that affected the whole country rather than locally specific issues.

Table 9.1
Annual Poor Relief Expenditure and Expenditure Per Head of Population in England & Wales and Hertfordshire c1748-1834

Year	Expenditure in England & Wales £	Expenditure in Hertfordshire £	Expenditure in Herts as percentage of E&W	Expenditure per Head of population E&W £	Expenditure per Head of population Herts £
1748-1750	689,971	16,452	2.4%	-	-
1776	1,530,800	25,486	1.7%	-	-
1783-1785	2,004,239	32,779	1.6%	-	-
1803	4,077,891	56,381	1.4%	0.46	0.58
1813	6,656,106	76,701	1.2%	0.65	0.69
1814	6,294,581	92,164	1.5%	0.62	0.83
1815	5,418,846	77,991	1.4%	0.53	0.70
1816	5,724,839	81,659	1.4%	0.56	0.73
1817	6,910,925	90,583	1.3%	0.68	0.81
1818	7,870,801	101,196	1.3%	0.77	0.91
1819	7,516,704	101,116	1.3%	0.74	0.91
1820	7,330,254	100,667	1.4%	0.72	0.91
1821	6,959,251	98,001	1.4%	0.58	0.76
1822	6,358,704	89,129	1.4%	0.53	0.69
1823	5,772,962	83,835	1.5%	0.48	0.65
1824	5,736,900	82,313	1.4%	0.48	0.63
1825	5,786,989	84,823	1.5%	0.48	0.65
1826	5,928,505	87,804	1.5%	0.49	0.68
1827	6,441,089	93,065	1.4%	0.54	0.72
1828	6,298,003	89,909	1.4%	0.52	0.69
1829	6,332,411	91,796	1.4%	0.53	0.71
1830	6,829,642	99,630	1.5%	0.57	0.77
1831	6,798,888	94,336	1.4%	0.49	0.66
1832	7,036,968	96,044	1.4%	0.51	0.67
1833	6,790,799	91,324	1.3%	0.49	0.64
1834	6,317,254	85,799	1.4%	0.45	0.60

Source BPP, 1837 (546.I) (546.II) XXXI.127. *Third Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, Appendix D, pp.264-265. BPP, 1852-53 (1631) LXXXV clxviii. *Census of Great Britain, 1851, Population tables, I. Number of the inhabitants in 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841, 1851. Vol I.*

Figure 9.1
Annual Poor Relief Expenditure in England and Wales (£s millions) Hertfordshire
and selected counties (£s 000s) 1813 to 1834



Source: BPP, 1837 (546.I) (546.II) XXXI.127. *Third Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, Appendix D, pp.264-265.

Figure 9.1 also shows that poor relief expenditure followed a broadly similar pattern in the agrarian counties of Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire and Sussex to that in the increasingly industrialising counties of Warwickshire and Leicestershire in the Midlands and Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire in the north of England.

In other words, Hertfordshire was not exceptional in incurring increasing costs in poor relief payments; and as one of the smaller counties of England the actual cost of poor relief was relatively low. However, Hertfordshire's expenditure represented between 1.2% and 1.5% of all poor relief expenditure in England and Wales when the county was home to only about one per cent of the population. Poor relief expenditure had risen steeply following the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, and with rapidly increasing population numbers showed no sign of returning to its late nineteenth century levels.² With a smaller rate of increase in population than England and Wales, Hertfordshire may have expected to see a reduction in the proportion of poor relief expenditure it had to meet, but it did not. At the turn of the century almost 14% of the population of Hertfordshire received some form of payment of poor relief; this increasing parish expenditure on the poor would suggest that an increasing proportion of the population were becoming dependant on parish hand-outs.³

Number of paupers relieved under the Old Poor Law

Assessing the proportion of the population who received poor relief is difficult; statistics on the number of persons relieved are both sparse and lacking clear definition. Some received relief permanently or for long periods, others received relief only occasionally or sporadically. Should a person receiving relief for one day have the same weight as a person receiving relief for the whole year? Who did parish officers class as 'a pauper'? Did it include the wife and children of a

² For details of Hertfordshire population see appendix XX.

³ BPP. 1803-04 (175) XIII.1 *Abstract of Answers and Returns under Act for procuring Returns relative to Expense and Maintenance of Poor in England.*

man in receipt of relief or just the man receiving payment? If a family received relief to bury a deceased relative was it the living or the deceased or both who counted towards poor law statistics? Even when instruction was given as to what to record, it was open to interpretation as noted by Karel Williams when he compiled his abstract of the returns discussed below.⁴

In 1803 the government attempted to collect some detailed data on the cost of poor relief and asked each of the parishes in England and Wales to complete a return of the costs of maintaining the poor in their parish; these returns included pauper numbers and the costs of both indoor and outdoor relief. The resulting report gave considerable data on poor relief expenditure and pauper numbers at the level of the parish, hundred, borough and county.⁵ Table 9.2 reproduces the summary data for Hertfordshire and compares it with England and Wales as a whole; it shows that 13,349 people (13.7% of the county population) received relief either permanently or occasionally in Hertfordshire during the year to Easter 1803. In England and Wales as a whole, over a million people received relief which was a slightly lower proportion than in Hertfordshire, at 11.7% of the total. Just 8% received that relief in the workhouse in England and Wales whilst the vast majority (92%) received relief out of the house. In Hertfordshire a high proportion (13.1%) were relieved in a workhouse and a sizeable majority (86.9 %) received relief in the community. Just under half of the 142 parishes in Hertfordshire had a workhouse, which was a far greater proportion than was found

⁴ Karel Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty*, (London: Routledge, 1981), p.152 – specifically note 4 (Section A).

⁵ BPP, 1803-04 (175) XIII.1 *Abstract of Answers and Returns under Act for procuring Returns relative to Expense and Maintenance of Poor in England*.

in the counties of England and Wales as a whole where there was a workhouse in only one in four parishes.⁶ This suggests that Hertfordshire parishes were disposed towards the use of workhouses before the 1834 act. In Hertfordshire the expenditure per person on indoor relief was £12 per head whereas the expenditure for those in the community was just £3 per head; in this respect Hertfordshire spent slightly less per head on those in the workhouse than England and Wales as a whole, but overall spent a higher proportion (36.5%) of its poor relief expenditure on indoor relief than was the average for the country. Hertfordshire's total expenditure per head of the pauper population (excluding vagrants) amounted to £4 6s 7½d (£4.33) which was 11% higher than the national average spend of £3 17s 9½d (£3.90) per head.

⁶ BPP, 1803-04 (175) XIII.1 *Abstract of Answers and Returns under Act for procuring Returns relative to Expense and Maintenance of Poor in England*, p.208 & p.716.

Table 9.2
Expenditure on Poor Relief in Hertfordshire and England & Wales for the year ending Easter 1803

	Hertfordshire	England and Wales
Number of Parishes	140	14611
Number of Parishes with workhouses	70	3765
No. of persons maintained in workhouses	1754	83,468
Expenditure on indoor relief	£21,082	£1,016,445
Expenditure on indoor relief per person	£12 0s 4¾d	£12 3s 6¾d
No. receiving outdoor relief excluding vagrants	11,595	956,248
Expenditure on outdoor relief including vagrants	£35,298	£3,061,447
Expenditure on outdoor relief excluding vagrants	£34,479	£3,042,042
Expenditure on outdoor relief per person excluding vagrants	£2 19s 5½d	£3 3s 7½d
Total no. relieved	13,349	1,039,716
Total Expenditure excluding vagrants ^a	£57,819	£4,093,759
Expenditure on all relief per person excluding vagrants	£4 6s 7½d	£3 17s 9½d
Population	97,577	8,872,980
Percentage receiving relief	14 per hundred [13.7%]	12 per hundred [11.7%]
Rates levied per head of population	£0 14s 7½d	£0 12s 0¾d
Expenditure on poor relief per head of population	£0 12s 0d	£0 9s 7½d

a The total expenditure reported here excludes vagrants but includes other parish expenditure. Subsequent tabulations (including those used in Table 9.1 above) record the sum of indoor relief and outdoor relief including vagrants (£56,381) as the total sum expended on poor relief and exclude these other expenses.

Source: BPP, 1803-04 (175) XIII.1 *Abstract of Answers and Returns under Act for procuring Returns relative to Expense and Maintenance of Poor in England*, p.208 & p.716.

These data raise some important questions about whether Hertfordshire was being more generous in the distribution of its poor relief or whether the higher costs were a product of giving relief in the workhouse that was more expensive. Given the number of variables in determining who was a pauper and how many were short term or long-term recipients of poor relief it is difficult to accurately assess the extent of the poor relief in the county. Nonetheless, this report also showed that Hertfordshire spent 12 shillings (£0.60) per head of population which was 25% more than the amount spent in the whole of England and Wales of 9s 7½d

(£0.48). It should be noted however that the total expenditure reported here excludes vagrants but includes other parish expenditure such as legal and overseers' expenses.⁷

After 1813 central government collected information annually on poor relief expenditure, this included information on pauper numbers but excluded children so it is not possible to accurately determine the number receiving poor relief from centrally published data. Central government preferred expenditure per head of population as their comparative measure with expenditure measured against the population at the last decennial census without reference to any interim increase or decrease in population numbers. Given the large increases in population at the time and the shift in population from rural to urban communities this does render such calculations increasingly flawed as each decade progressed. It was not until the 1850s that the Poor Law Board began to publish data on the number of paupers resident in workhouses on 1st January and 1st July each year.

Expenditure under the New Poor Law

When the New Poor Law was implemented Hertfordshire saw an immediate reduction in poor relief expenditure – as was the intention. In 1836 (the first full year under the New Poor Law) expenditure in Hertfordshire was down by 17% on

⁷ Subsequent reports (including the data used in Table 9.1 above) recorded the sum of indoor relief and outdoor relief including vagrants (in this case £56,381) as the total sum expended on poor relief but exclude other expenses. It is important to be clear about which 'total' is being used in any given set of poor law data and the lower figure which excludes administrative costs appears to be favoured in the reports by the Poor Law Commissioners. After 1853 and the reformation of the central authority as the Poor Law Board, expenditure was sub-categorised to identify sums spent on the maintenance of lunatics, loan costs, expenses relating to officers, but such data is not reported separately in the annual reports of the Poor Law Commission. For a detailed breakdown of expenditure 1840-1930 see Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty*, Statistical Appendix, Table 4.6 and accompanying notes, pp.169-172, pp.177-178.

the previous year and by 31% when compared to the last full year under the Old Poor Law. England and Wales saw a reduction in expenditure of 15% and 25% respectively in the same periods – although not all counties were fully unionised at this time. The county saw a further reduction of 16% in 1837 (14% in England and Wales) before poor relief costs began to steadily rise again in the late 1830s and 1840s as shown in table 9.3. There was a slightly more marked increase in the early 1840s – the time of the ‘Hungry Forties’ – but the fluctuations and increases are less pronounced than the peaks and troughs of expenditure found in the other counties shown in figure 9.2. However expenditure per head remained higher in Hertfordshire throughout the period even though total actual expenditure was more modest relative to the larger counties.

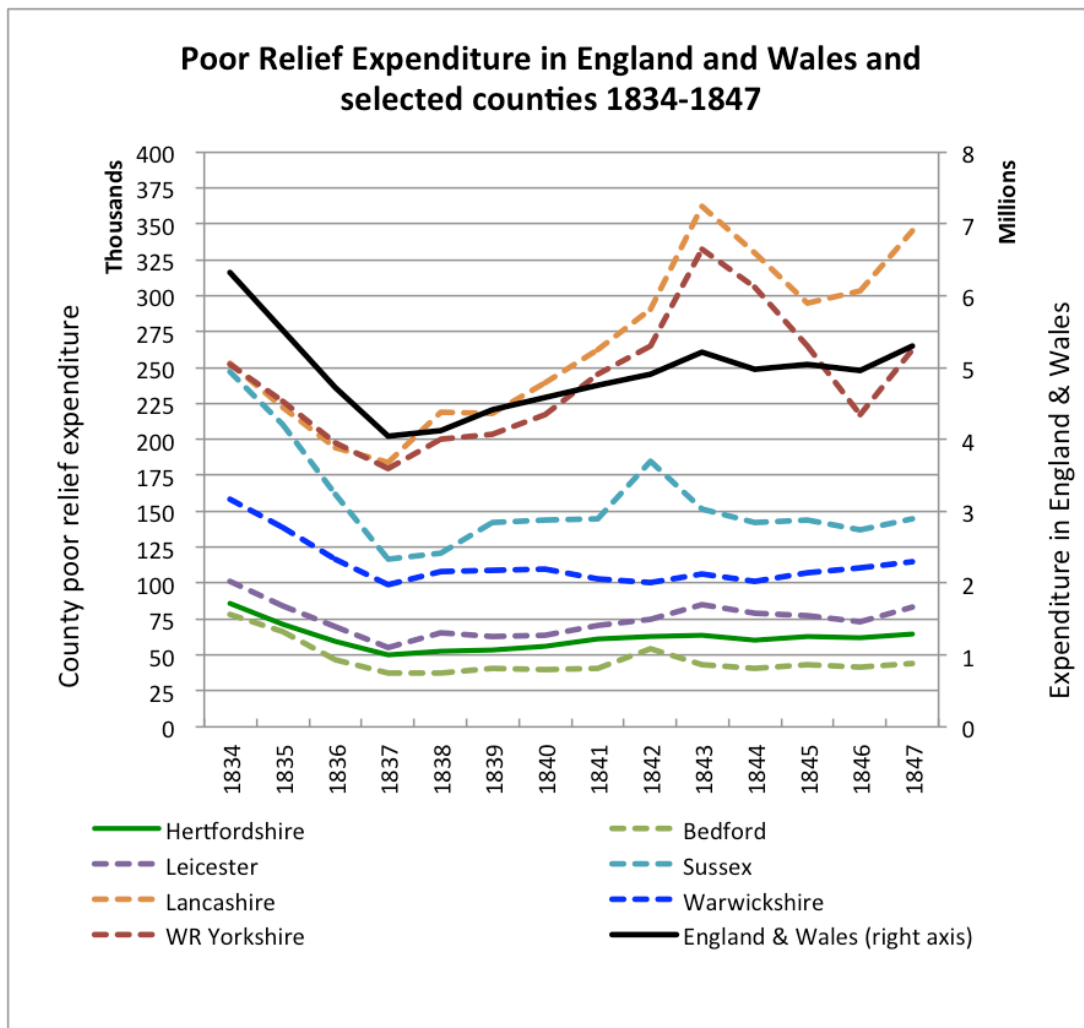
Table 9.3
Annual Cost of Poor Relief and Cost Per Head of Population in England & Wales and Hertfordshire 1834 -1847

Year	England & Wales £	Hertfordshire £	Cost in Herts as percentage of E&W	Cost per Head of population E&W £	Cost per Head of population Herts £
1834	6,317,254	85,799	1.4%	0.45	0.60
1835	5,526,416	70,998	1.3%	0.40	0.50
1836	4,717,629	59,369	1.3%	0.34	0.42
1837	4,044,741	49,670	1.2%	0.29	0.35
1838	4,123,604	52,562	1.3%	0.30	0.37
1839	4,406,907	53,199	1.2%	0.32	0.37
1840	4,576,965	56,125	1.2%	0.33	0.39
1841	4,760,929	61,250	1.3%	0.30	0.39
1842	4,911,498	63,274	1.3%	0.31	0.40
1843	5,208,027	63,573	1.2%	0.33	0.41
1844	4,976,093	60,505	1.2%	0.31	0.39
1845	5,039,703	63,270	1.3%	0.32	0.40
1846	4,954,204	62,016	1.3%	0.31	0.40
1847	5,298,787	64,589	1.2%	0.33	0.41

Sources: BPP, *Annual Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners 1835-1848*. BPP, 1803-04 (175) XIII.1 *Abstract of Answers and Returns under Act for procuring Returns relative to Expense and Maintenance of Poor in England*. BPP, *Census of Great Britain 1851, Population tables, I, Vol.I*. BPP 1852-53 LXXXV (1631) clxviii

Figure 9.2

Annual Poor Relief Expenditure in England and Wales (£s millions) Hertfordshire and selected counties (£s 000s) 1834-1847



Source: BPP, 1837 (546.I) (546.II) XXXI.127 *Third Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, Appendix D, pp.264-265. 1841 (327) XI.291. *Seventh annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, pp.12-13. 1842 (389) XIX.1 *Eighth annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, pp.426-427. 1843 (468) XXI.1 *Ninth Annual Report Title: Ninth annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, pp.296-297. 1844 (560) XIX.9 *Tenth annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, pp.360-361. 1845 (624) XXVII.247 *Eleventh annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, pp.156-157. 1847 (28) XXVIII.1 *Thirteenth annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, pp.222-223. 1847-48 (960) XXXIII.1 *Fourteenth report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, pp.90-91.

As one of the early adopters of the New Poor Law, Hertfordshire could expect to see declining poor law expenditure ahead of other counties who did not implement the New Poor Law until later. Yet although implementing the New Poor Law appears to have had a real and immediate impact in terms of overall

expenditure, the initial decrease in expenditure in Hertfordshire was in line with the decreases experienced elsewhere between 1835 and 1837 in both rural and manufacturing areas. All the counties in the sample given in figure 9.2 (including Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire who had most actively resisted the implementation of the New Poor Law) showed a significant decline in poor law expenditure after 1834. This suggests that the implementation of the New Poor Law was coincidental to a decline in poor law expenditure rather than a principal cause of that decline. This supports the thesis of economic historian Mark Blaug that fluctuations in relief expenditure were tied to the price of wheat and the state of the harvest. Blaug also concluded that the pattern of relief expenditure in agricultural and non-agricultural counties coincided.⁸

After 1834 however, the spikes in poor relief payments were not mirrored across all counties as they were before the implementation of the New Poor Law. The manufacturing districts of Leicester, Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire experienced peaks in expenditure but these occurred slightly later than the rural counties of Bedfordshire, Sussex and Hertfordshire. This fits comfortably with Blaug's explanation of how a deficient harvest impacted on industrial activity as increased grain imports 'put pressure on the money market, leading to a reduction in investment or employment'.⁹ A trend emerges of a one year lag in the uplift in poor relief expenditure in the manufacturing counties against the rural agricultural counties. The Hertfordshire data conforms to this trend. The relative size of the large northern industrial counties skews the aggregated national trend,

⁸ Blaug, 'The myth of the old poor law', pp.151-184.

⁹ Blaug, 'The myth of the old poor law', p.166.

which gives the impression of a slow and steady increase in poor relief expenditure throughout the late 1830s/1840s and disguised regionalised differences in the timing of significant increases and decreases in expenditure

Those tasked with administering the New Poor Law in the regions would have witnessed the declining cost of poor relief in their own area, but may not, initially at least, have been aware of any declining expenditure nationally for poor relief resulting from falling wheat prices. Consequently they may have believed, quite sincerely, that the reduction in expenditure was directly attributable to their own skills as poor law administrators operating a well-disciplined union. There was a self-congratulatory tone to many of the reports submitted to the assistant commissioners and the poor law commission which spoke enthusiastically about the benefits of the New Poor Law; they commented not only on the economic benefits of the new regime but on the moral improvement in the character of local paupers. Many of these reports found their way into the published annual reports of the Poor Law Commissioners.¹⁰ The next section of this chapter looks in detail at the cost of relief in Hertfordshire's newly formed unions and examines the relative costs both of indoor and outdoor relief and the number of paupers receiving relief.

¹⁰ See in particular the reports by the assistant commissioners found in the first and second annual reports of the Poor Law Commissioners. BPP, 1835 (500) XXXV.107. *First annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, Appendix B, pp.104-204. BPP, 1836 (595) XXIX Pt.I.1, XXIX Pt.II.1. *Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, Appendix B, pp.145-444.

Poor Relief Expenditure in Hertfordshire after the implementation of the New Poor Law

The annual amount spent on poor relief between 1837 and 1847 in each of the unions is set out in appendix XXI and shows that all of the unions experienced a significant fall in their poor relief expenditure when compared to their average expenditure in the three years prior to unionisation. Average expenditure in the Hertfordshire unions reduced from over £8,000 per annum to under £5,000 per annum. In purely financial terms these reductions fed back into reduced poor rates in the parishes, which impacted directly on individual parish ratepayers. However, as already demonstrated in chapters four and five the new system required a substantial investment in time from those sections of the community elected as guardians; a commitment not all were ready to give. Following the initial reduction in expenditure there was a steady increase in the average expenditure on poor relief in the Hertfordshire unions until 1844 when eleven of the thirteen unions reduced their annual expenditure to below that of the previous year. Average expenditure rose again in 1845, came down again in 1846 before rising again in 1847. But this see-sawing of expenditure levels was inconsistent between unions perhaps indicating different local factors at play in each union. Between 1838 and 1843 there were intermittent falls in expenditure in individual unions which could reflect local factors or be indicative of boards of guardians reacting to a significant increase in expenditure in the previous year.

The degree of change is set out in table 9.4, which shows the percentage change in expenditure between the three year average prior to unionisation and the amount spent in both 1837 and 1847. It also sets out the percentage change

over the ten years between 1837 and 1847 enabling us to examine whether that change was sustained over time. Expenditure in 1837 was 46% less than that prior to unionisation; the initial reductions in expenditure ranged from 28% in Royston to 57% in Berkhamstead. Ten years later expenditure had increased by 31% over the 1837 figure, but was still 29% less than the average spent prior to unionisation. Many would have seen this as the New Poor Law continuing to successfully control poor law expenditure. In 1847 Berkhamstead was still spending just half of the amount spent under the Old Poor Law. Barnet and Hitchin unions however had seen their savings eroded over time but they continued to spend 16% less than they had before unionisation. Watford had seen an initial reduction of 49% but by 1847 the reduction was similar to Barnet and Hitchin at just 17%. Welwyn and Royston unions both appear very consistent over the 10-year period, but both had experienced higher levels of expenditure in the intervening years.

Table 9.4
Comparison of Poor relief expenditure in the Hertfordshire Unions under the Old Poor Law (OPL) and New Poor Law

Union	Expenditure before Unionisation (OPL)	Expenditure 1837	% Decrease between OPL & 1837	Expenditure 1847	% Decrease between OPL & 1847	% Increase between 1837 & 1847
St Albans	£8,488	£3,910	54%	£4,473	47%	14%
Barnet	£6,983	£4,009	43%	£5,889	16%	47%
Berkhampstead	£7,750	£3,353 ^a	57%	£3,902	50%	16%
Bishop's Stortford	£17,421	£8,417	52%	£13,124	25%	56%
Buntingford	£4,615	£2,468	47%	£3,347	27%	36%
Hatfield	£3,177	£1,640	48%	£2,488	22%	52%
Hemel Hempstead	£5,672	£2,950 ^a	48%	£3,946	30%	34%
Hertford	£8,202	£4,573	44%	£5,161	37%	13%
Hitchin	£12,315	£7,818	37%	£10,335	16%	32%
Royston	£10,233	£7,321	28%	£7,535	26%	3%
Ware	£12,131	£5,925	51%	£7,431	39%	25%
Watford	£8,473	£4,294	49%	£6,991	17%	63%
Welwyn	£1,037	£726	30%	£730	30%	1%
Total	£106,497	£57,404	46%	£75,352	29%	31%
England & Wales	£6,715,007	£4,044,741	40%	£5,298,787	21%	31%

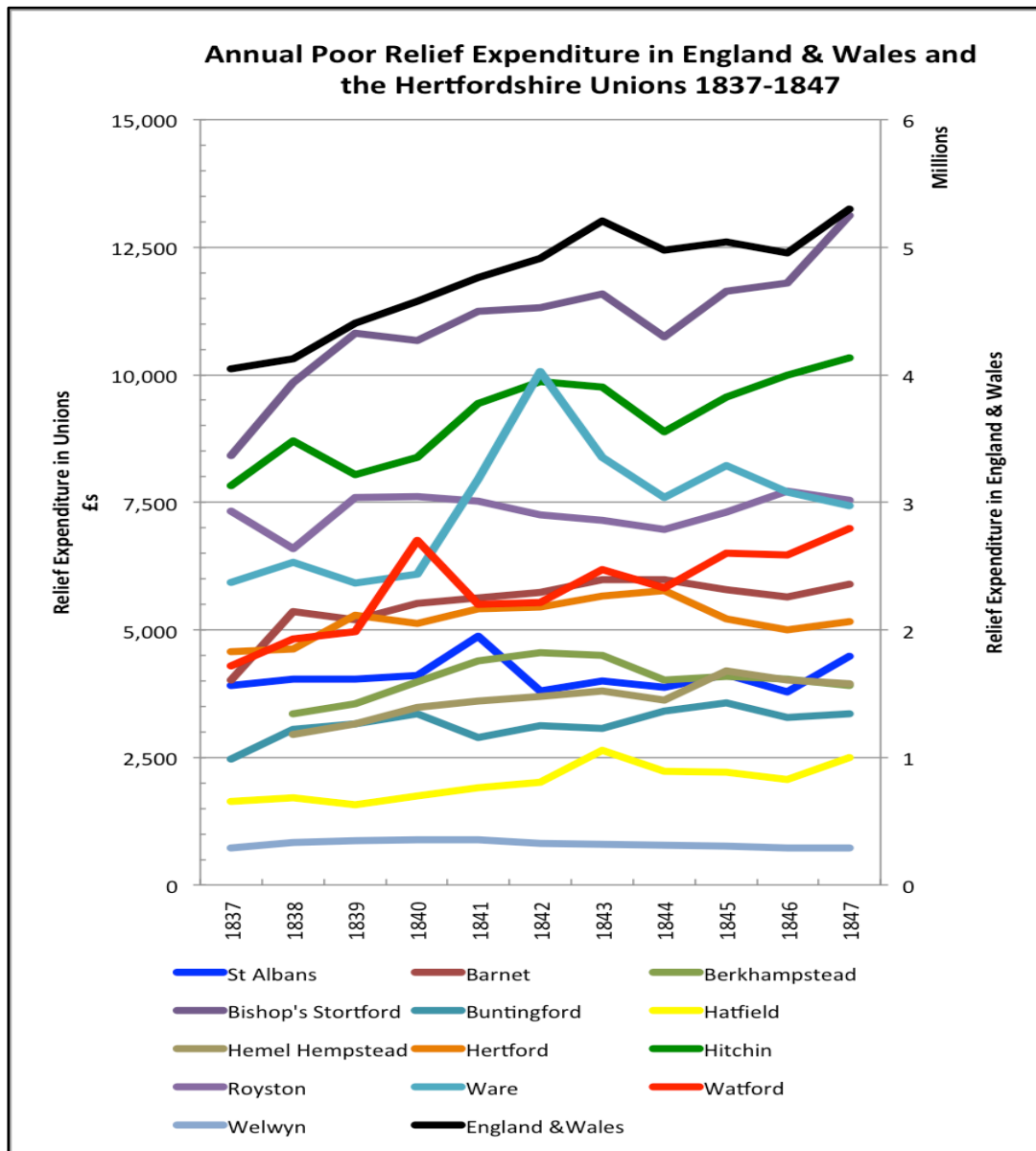
^a This is the 1838 total for Berkhampstead and Hemel Hempstead as data is not available at union level for 1837
Source: See Appendix XXI

These savings continued to be made against a backdrop of increasing population numbers. (Hertfordshire population data is summarised in appendix XX). Although Hertfordshire as a whole experienced population growth below the national average, five union districts – Berkhampstead, Hemel Hempstead, Hertford, Royston and Watford had population change on a par with the national average between 1831 and 1841. By 1851, only two unions – Hemel Hempstead and Welwyn had population growing in line with the national average. There does not appear to be any correlation between population change and any reduction in

poor law expenditure. Costs per head of population and cost per pauper will be discussed below.

There were year-on-year fluctuations in the peaks and troughs of county poor relief expenditure and these fluctuations exhibited similar trends in both the aggregated agricultural areas and industrial areas around the country. Figure 9.3 below sets out the annual poor relief expenditure in each of the unions and compares it with the total expenditure in England and Wales discussed above. At this micro level, there was much less uniformity than was observed in the aggregated county totals. Although there is an overall upward trend in poor relief expenditure, individual unions (all of which would be described as agricultural districts) varied in both the timing and severity of the increase or decrease in poor relief expenditure. This suggests there were very localised differences in either the demands for poor relief or in the local union's response to relief requests.

Figure 9.3
Annual Poor Relief Expenditure in the Hertfordshire Unions 1837-1847



Source: See appendix XXI.

Expenditure per Head of Population

The data discussed above concerns the absolute expenditure in each poor law union, however as unions varied in size both in terms of population and geography the expenditure per head of population provides a useful comparative statistic to analyse union expenditure.

The expenditure per head of population in the Hertfordshire unions is set out in appendix XXII. Expenditure up to and including 1840 is based on the 1831 populations in each union as calculated by the poor law commission; expenditure after 1841 are based on the 1841 population count. No adjustments have been made for population change in the other years as there is no reliable method of calculating this figure. As this data is not adjusted for inter-census population change it is most useful in looking at the intra-union expenditure per head of population and the relative position of the Hertfordshire unions to the national picture.

During the last three years of the Old Poor Law, the poor relief expenditure per head of population in the Hertfordshire unions was £0.67 and ranged from £0.53 in Welwyn to £0.97 in Bishops Stortford. This placed all the Hertfordshire unions above the average expenditure per head of population in England and Wales of £0.48. The substantial spending reductions made by 1837 reduced the average expenditure per head of population in the Hertfordshire unions to £0.32 however there were still wide variations across the thirteen unions. St Albans spent just £0.25 whereas Bishops Stortford and Royston (the most agricultural unions which straddled the Essex and Cambridgeshire borders respectively) had the highest spend of £0.47 per head of population. Only the St Albans union consistently had lower expenditure per head of population when compared with England and Wales. Hatfield had lower expenditure than England and Wales between 1837 and 1840, but thereafter this union saw its expenditure per head of population increase. Measured in this way, Hertfordshire did not control its poor law expenditure as well as other areas, and the situation got worse over time. In

1837 the expenditure per head of population was £0.03 higher (10.7%) in Hertfordshire than England and Wales overall. By 1847 Hertfordshire paid £0.10 (29%) more per head than the average for England and Wales.

When new population numbers were calculated in 1841 there was a reduction in the average expenditure per head of population from £0.43 in 1840 to £0.41 in 1841. This was logical given the population increase that had occurred over ten years, however five unions (St Albans, Hatfield, Hitchin, Ware and Welwyn), which had some of the lowest percentage population increases in the county, all saw a slight increase in their expenditure per head. This suggests that the latter group were either more generous with their expenditure or that the proportion of those needing poor relief relative to the whole population had increased.

Whilst a useful comparative measure, expenditure per head of population does not measure the expenditure or cost per pauper however, as discussed in relation to Old Poor Law data, establishing the number of paupers is difficult. Relief payments comprised both regular amounts for daily subsistence and one-off urgent necessity payments. It is however possible to analyse how expenditure was divided between indoor and outdoor relief.

Indoor and Outdoor Relief Expenditure

One of the main aims of the New Poor Law was to end outdoor relief to able-bodied paupers, yet outdoor relief remained the major proportion of poor relief expenditure. Poor relief expenditure was comprised of two main elements: those receiving relief in the workhouse and those receiving relief out of the

workhouse as out-relief. Out-relief was paid either in cash or in kind. Other costs to be met out of the poor-rate included legal charges, fees to clergymen and registrars, the repayment of loans and loan interest and the cost of running the workhouse including the salaries of paid officials. The published appendices which accompanied the poor law commission's early reports were extensive but did not give details of the breakdown of indoor and outdoor relief at union level despite this being submitted by the union clerks.¹¹ At a national level the amount paid in outdoor relief far exceeded the amount paid in indoor relief. During the 1840s 63% of all relief paid was for outdoor relief, only 18% was for indoor relief while the remaining 19% represented the other costs detailed above. As some of these 'other' costs related to the establishment and administration of the workhouse, arguably they should be attributed to the cost of indoor maintenance however the poor law commission did not analyse their data in this way. In this period they did not break down the costs within their reports and so a retrospective analysis cannot be made at this level. The value of the 'other' costs shown in table 9.5 below were calculated by Williams.¹²

¹¹ The union clerk submitted a detailed breakdown of union expenditure and pauper numbers on a quarterly basis. It was broken-down to parish level and recorded expenditure to the last farthing (1/960th of a pound). The poor law commission aggregated the data at the level of the union or county. According to notes in the published appendices the parish information was bound and kept for future reference but unfortunately for historians of the poor law this has not survived.

¹² Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty*, see Notes (Section C), pp.177-178.

Table 9.5
Indoor and outdoor relief expenditure in England & Wales 1840-1849

Date		Poor Relief Expenditure (£000s)				
Year Ending	Indoor Relief	Outdoor Relief	Other Costs	Indoor Relief %	Outdoor Relief %	Other Costs %
1840	808	2931	838	18%	64%	18%
1841	891	2995	875	19%	63%	18%
1842	934	3091	886	19%	63%	18%
1843	958	3322	928	18%	64%	18%
1844	834	3224	919	17%	65%	18%
1845	845	3273	923	17%	65%	18%
1846	804	3208	942	16%	65%	19%
1847	899	3468	932	17%	65%	18%
1848	1103	3853	1225	18%	62%	20%
1849	1053	3359	1381	18%	58%	24%
Average 1840-1849	913	3272	985	18%	63%	19%

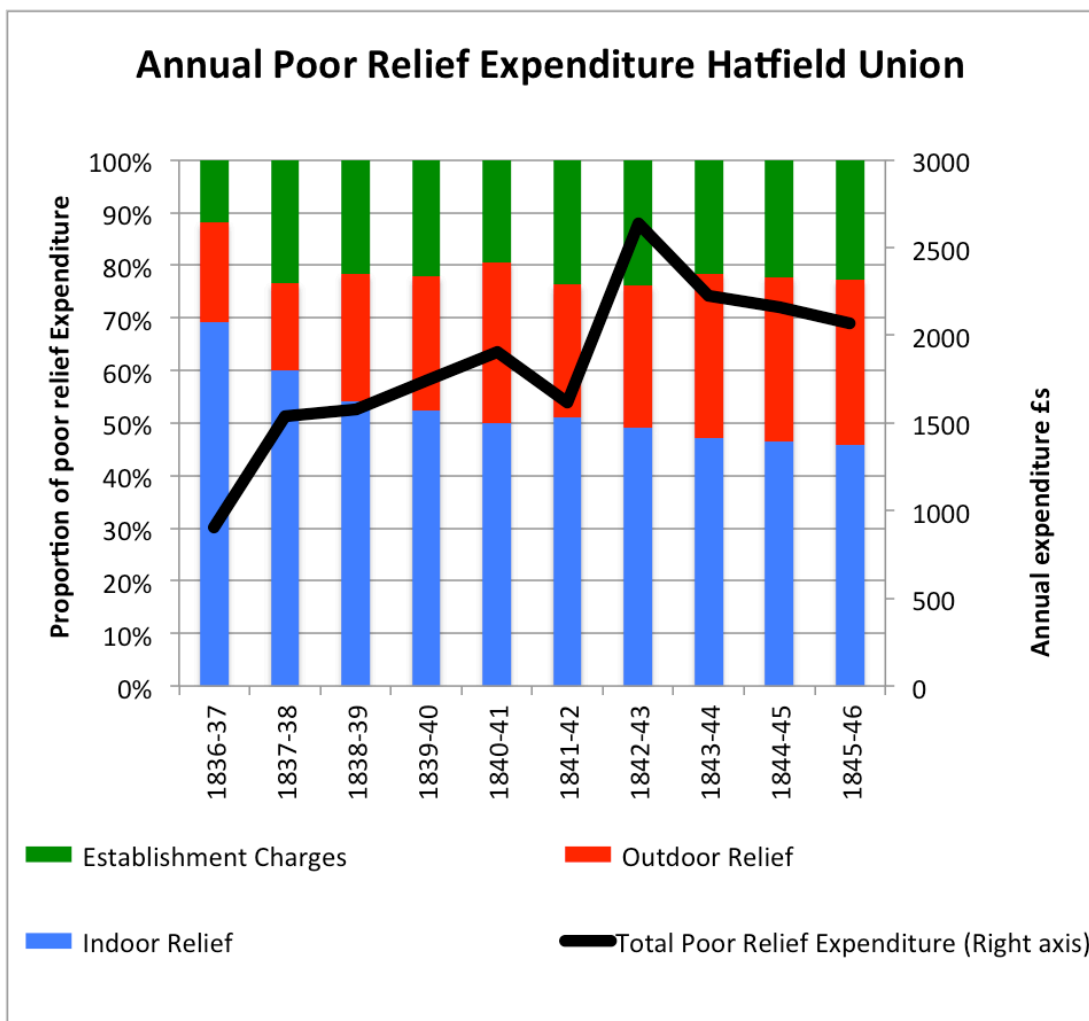
Source: Karel Williams, *From Pauperism to Poverty*, Statistical Appendix, Table 4.6, p.169

Periodically the appendices or other published returns contain data on indoor and outdoor relief or the number of paupers but such data is not presented at either the union level or consistently for long periods. To examine the mix of indoor and outdoor relief at the union level reference must be made to local records. As discussed in chapter seven the records kept by the clerks varied from union to union and no single union records survive completely; however within the board of guardian minutes some useful data survives and in some unions this data presents a picture which is at odds with the ratio of indoor and outdoor relief paid nationally.

In Hatfield half of all poor relief expenditure was incurred as indoor relief, between 24% and 34% was paid as out-relief. Hatfield spent far more on indoor relief than it did on outdoor relief in all years as illustrated in figure 9.4 although this proportion was falling throughout the period. Hatfield's workhouse was well

established and the principle of only giving relief in the workhouse had been established in the Hatfield parish for over 10 years when the New Poor Law was introduced.

Figure 9.4 Annual Poor Relief Payments Hatfield Union

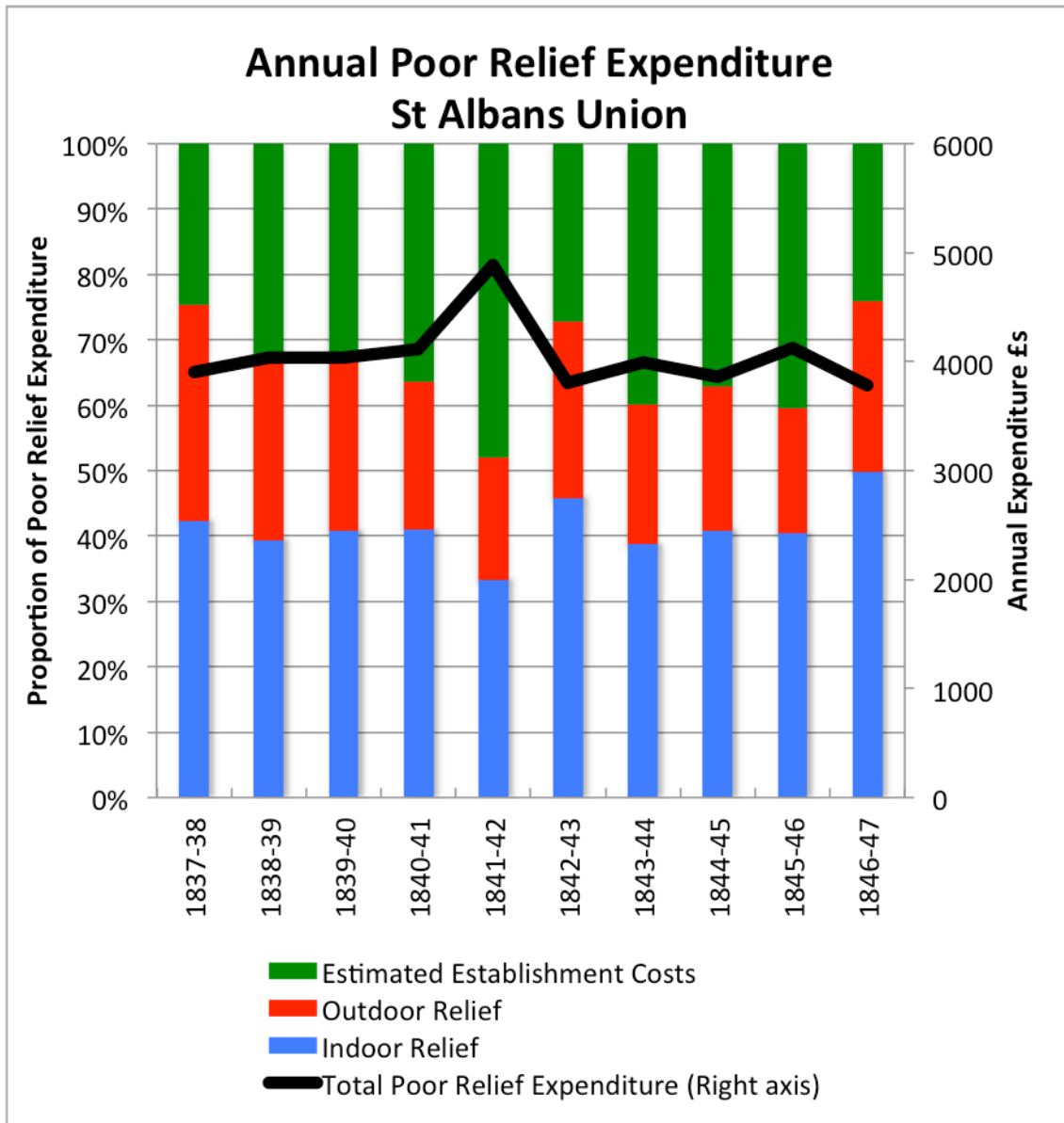


Source: Board of Guardian Minute Books BG/HAT/1 to BG/HAT/5.¹³

¹³ The Hatfield Board of Guardians minute books contain a quarterly report of the cost of indoor relief, outdoor relief and establishment charges. It should be noted that the data for 1836/37, 1837/38 and 1841/42 has some gaps but is complete for all other years.

The St Albans union also saw a much higher than average proportion of relief given in the workhouse than was given nationally – averaging 41% of the total cost on indoor relief and 24% on outdoor relief. The cost of indoor relief is possibly understated here as the clerk recorded ‘provisions delivered to the workhouse’ and ‘provisions consumed in the workhouse’ on a weekly basis. It is not clear if this was just food or if clothing and other consumables were included in these calculations. Figure 9.5 below is based on the provisions consumed figure as this is more representative of the actual usage at any given point in time. The establishment costs were not recorded locally and have been estimated as the difference between the total poor relief expenditure recorded in the poor law commission reports and the outdoor relief and provisions consumed figures reported to the board of guardians.

Figure 9.5 Annual Poor Relief Payments in St Albans Union



Source: St Albans Board of Guardians Minute Books Off Acc 1192.¹⁴

As in the Hatfield union, the St Albans union had readily adopted the use of the workhouse in preference to offering out relief. Assistant poor law commissioner Weale held up St Albans as a successful example of an agricultural

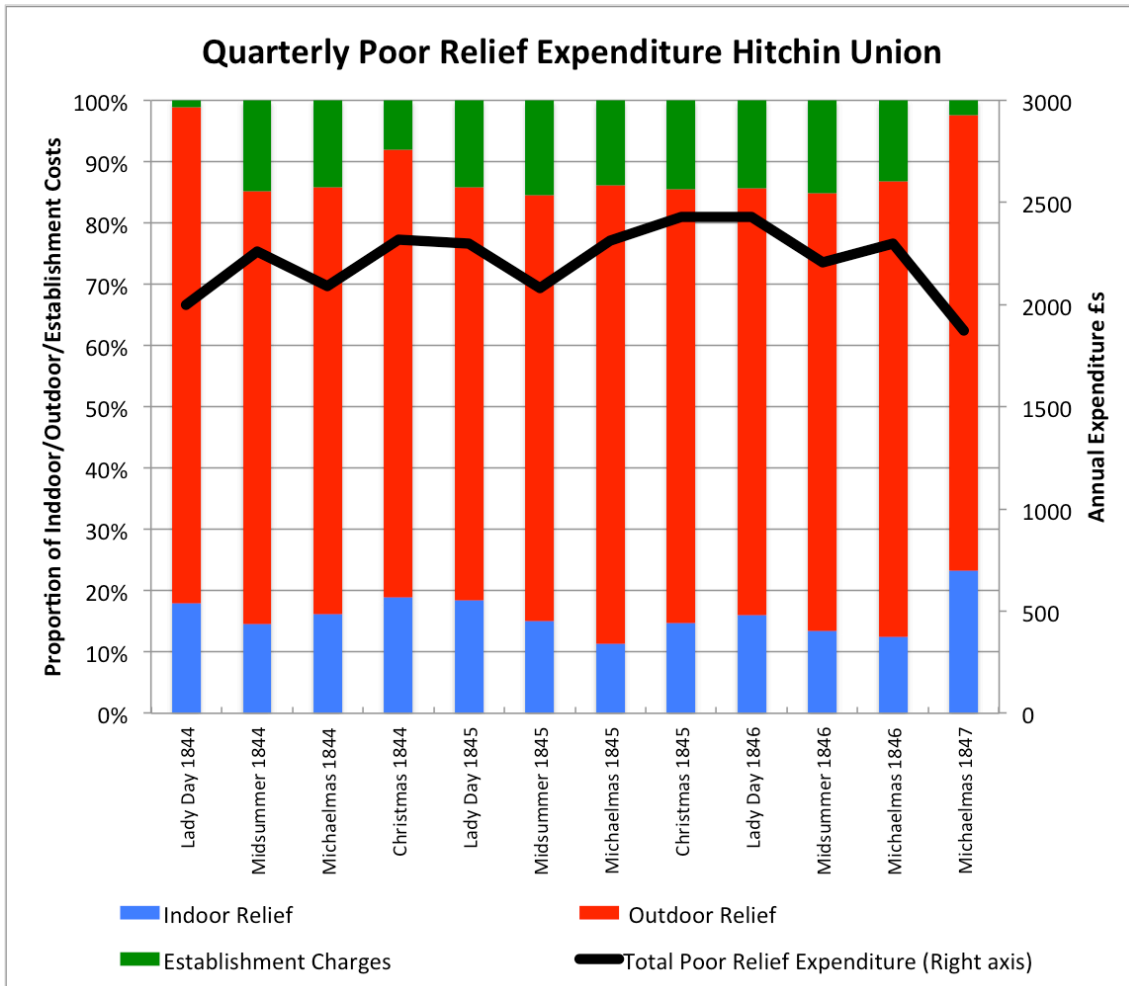
¹⁴ The St Albans Board of Guardian minute books contain weekly reports of the cost of indoor relief, provisions received, provisions consumed and the number of days relief given. It is continuous and complete from December 1836 to March 1848 and was used to present the annual totals detailed here.

union operating the 'principles of the Poor Law Amendment Act'. He noted that the guardians had begun only offering the workhouse before the Poor Law Commission formally issued the prohibitory order.¹⁵ This practice led to overcrowding in the winter months in the St Albans workhouse – even after the erection of a new purpose built workhouse in the town.

The situation in Hitchin union however was quite different; despite the construction of a new workhouse the union continued to pay a significant amount in outdoor relief. During the mid 1840s outdoor relief was, on average over 70% of the union's expenditure whilst indoor relief averaged less than 16%. Proportionately the establishment costs were also lower in Hitchin as shown in figure 9.6. Earlier data (for the period immediately after unionisation) also displays a significantly higher ratio of outdoor relief to indoor relief although the proportion of indoor relief rose steadily. Between the Christmas quarter 1835 and the Lady Day quarter 1839 the Hitchin union spent on average nearly 3.5 times more on outdoor relief (£1180) against an average of £324 on indoor relief.

¹⁵ BPP, *Pauperism. Report of Robert Weale, Esq. assistant poor law commissioner, on the comparative state of pauperism in agricultural and manufacturing unions, 1840* (629) XXXIX.475.

Figure 9.6
Quarterly Poor Relief Expenditure in Hitchin Union March 1844 to September 1847¹⁶



Source: Published quarterly abstracts of poor relief expenditure, BG/HIT/235

Examining annual and quarterly poor relief data enables the study of changes over time, but drilling down further into the data tells another story about poor relief practices. In the St Albans union the ratio of annual indoor /outdoor relief expenditure was consistent across the period, but if weekly out-relief costs are examined, there was a distinct spike in expenditure in week thirteen of every

¹⁶ Data for Lady Day/Midsummer/Christmas 1847 has not survived in this source.

quarter which suggests some relief was being paid quarterly rather than weekly. The Watford union also experienced regular quarterly peaks in out-relief payments. It is extremely unlikely that there was a significant increase in pauper numbers every thirteen weeks so this suggests these payments may have been made to non-resident paupers, those maintained in other institutions or in settlement of bills for those distributing payment in kind. The St Albans data also shows that the cash element of relief was greater than the relief-in-kind element. This suggests old payment practices continued and that relief continued to be given as money rather than in-kind. After August 1840 the St Albans clerk recorded only the total cost of out-relief and did not separate the payments into cash and in-kind. This could disguise any continuing policy to pay out-relief in cash rather than in kind. Cash payments were potentially easier to manage as an in-kind regime required additional contracts to be set up and managed.

Number of paupers relieved

The difficulties of determining how many people were relieved under the poor laws were highlighted above, but quantifying the number of people who received poor relief reminds us that the poor law and poor relief impacted real people – men, women and children - many of whom found themselves enveloped in a cycle of poverty. Data relating to the number of paupers relieved in the workhouse (on a weekly or quarterly basis) has survived for some Hertfordshire unions. This data is significant because there are few studies that draw on detailed pauper numbers over extended periods. Studies of workhouse populations in the existing literature usually draw on the detailed information in the census

enumerators' books to give a picture of the workhouse population at a fixed point in time in the decennial census cycle or consider changing workhouse populations revealed by detailed examination of admission and discharge registers.¹⁷ Detailed weekly data on pauper numbers enables us to consider the seasonality of demand for poor relief and any changes or similarities over time. This section draws on detailed weekly counts of paupers in the Watford workhouse, the number of days' relief given in the St Albans workhouse and the number of paupers relieved each quarter in the Hitchin union.

The data shows that the demand for poor relief was constantly changing. Between 1837 and 1847 the Watford workhouse catered for between 84 and 293 paupers each week and Hitchin workhouse held between 164 and 457 paupers. The workhouse inmates represented between 0.5% and 1.6% of the population of Watford union and between 0.8% and 2.0% of the Hitchin union.¹⁸ In 1834 the Poor Law Commission had recommended that each workhouse should be of a size to maintain 3 per cent of the local population and in this early period both Watford

¹⁷ Examples include Andrew Hinde and Fiona Turnbull, 'The populations of two Hampshire workhouses, 1851–1861', *LPS* 61 (1998), pp.38-53. Nigel Goose, 'Workhouse populations in the mid-nineteenth century: the case of Hertfordshire', *LPS* 62 (1999), pp.52-69. David G. Jackson, 'Kent workhouse populations in 1881: a study based on the census enumerators' books.' *LPS* 69 (2002), pp.51-66. David G. Jackson, 'The Medway Union Workhouse, 1876-1881: a study based on the admission and discharge registers and the census enumerators' books.' *LPS* 75 (2005), pp.11-32. Audrey Perkyms, 'The admission of children to the Milton Union Workhouse, Kent, 1835–1885', *LPS* 80 (2008), pp.59-77. Christine Seal, 'Workhouse populations in the Cheltenham and Belper Unions: A study based on the census enumerators' books, 1851 to 1911', *Family and Community History*, 13 (2010), pp.83-100. Andy Gritt and Peter Park, 'The workhouse populations of Lancashire in 1881', *LPS* 86 (2011), pp.37-65. Karen Rothery, *An Analysis of the Admission and Discharge Records at the Hatfield Union Workhouse 1835-1899* (MA Dissertation, University of Hertfordshire, 2012).

¹⁸ Watford: 84 inmates in July 1837 and 293 inmates in December 1847. The percentages have been calculated against the 1831 and 1841 population numbers respectively. Hitchin: lowest figure was found in the Michaelmas quarter 1839 and the highest in the Lady Day quarter of 1842. The population percentages have been calculated as before.

and Hitchin required less than half this capacity. The number held in the workhouse varied throughout the year and was gradually increasing over time.

Gender of the Workhouse Population

As previously highlighted the focus of the New Poor Law was the diminution of able-bodied adult male pauperism. Figure 9.7 shows the number of weekly paupers in the Watford workhouse by gender over a ten-year period and it clearly shows both the seasonal changes in the workhouse population and the differences in the gender profile of workhouse inmates.

Adult male paupers were the largest group in the workhouse who on average made up 41.9% of the Watford workhouse population whilst adult women accounted for 21.7%. Children were a little over a third of the Watford workhouse population on average at 36.4%. The gender and adult/child mix of the Hitchin workhouse was almost identical - on average 41.8% were men, 22.5% were women and 35.6% were children.¹⁹ These are similar figures to those calculated by Goose when he examined the Hertfordshire workhouse population in the 1851 census and found 40.8% of the workhouse population were adult males, 25.6% were adult females and 33.6% were children.²⁰ However he also found marked intra-county differences in the sex-ratio of the workhouse population which ranged from 105 males per hundred females in Ware workhouse to 215 males per 100 females in Hitchin workhouse.²¹ This census based study also identified further differences in the gender mix when the age profile was taken into account and argued that there

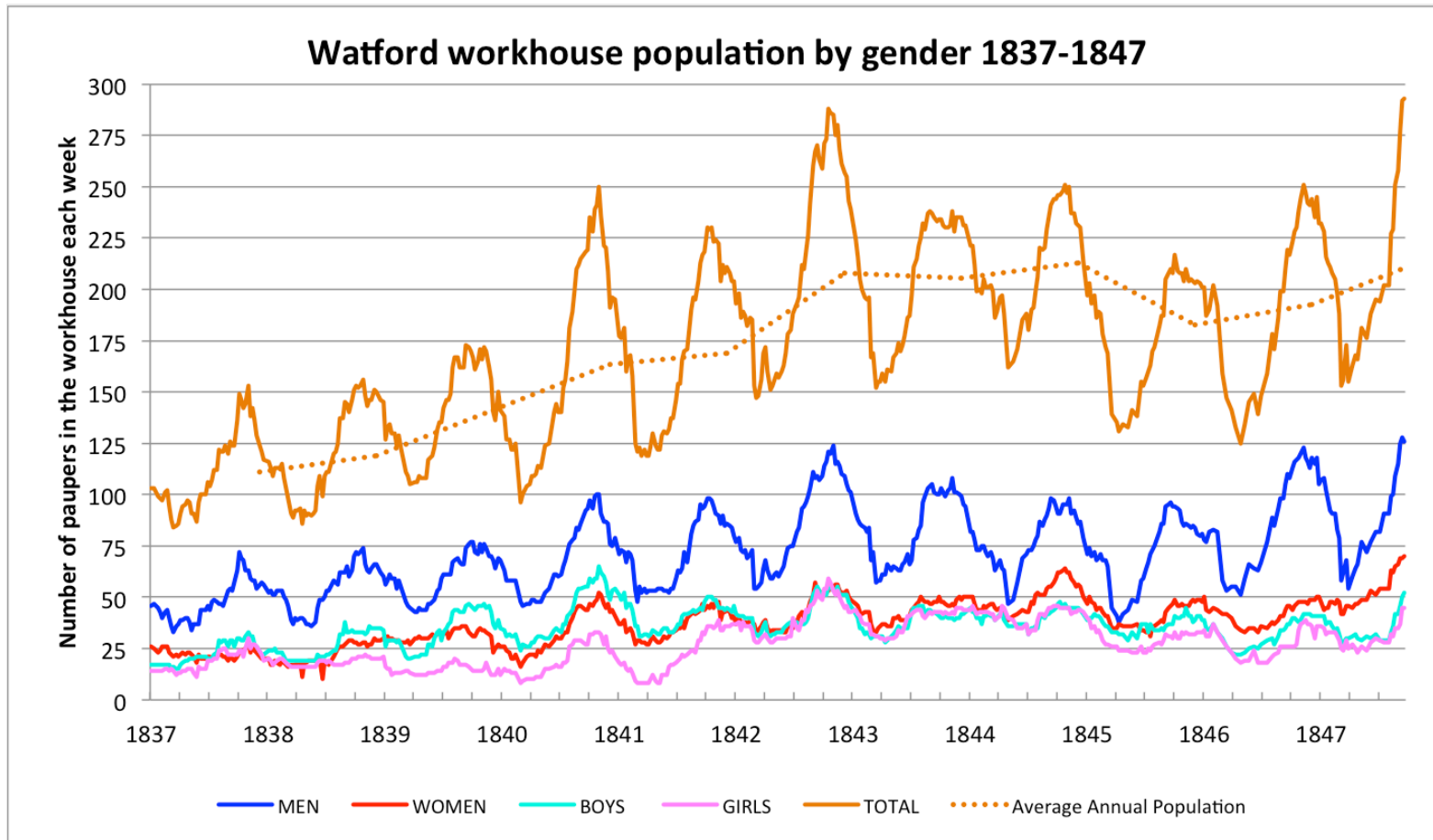
¹⁹ Full details of the workhouse populations can be found in Appendix XXIII.

²⁰ Goose, 'Workhouse Populations Hertfordshire', pp.56-57.

²¹ Goose, 'Workhouse Populations Hertfordshire', pp.56-57.

was a lower proportion of young female inmates in those unions 'where the straw-plait and hat industries were primarily located' – Berkhamstead, Hemel Hempstead, St Albans and Hitchin. The Watford data presented in this study does not differentiate on age (except with the less subtle adult /child cohorts) however it does find fewer girls than boys in the Watford workhouse until 1842 after which the numbers are roughly equal. Watford was not a strong straw-plait area, but in the early part of this study period it exhibited an age and sex-profile pattern in the workhouse which Goose speculated was due to one of Hertfordshire's economic characteristics – increased employment opportunities for women and girls in the cottage industry of straw-plait work.

Figure 9.7 Watford Workhouse population by gender 1837-1847



Source Watford Board of Guardian Minute Books, BG/WAT/1-BG/WAT

Seal's survey of the Cheltenham and Belper workhouses in the same period reached a completely opposite conclusion - adult males were a smaller proportion of the workhouse population. Adult men made up only 28% of the Cheltenham workhouse and 19% of the Belper workhouse in 1851.²² The social and economic circumstances of these two areas were very different to Hertfordshire: Cheltenham was 'a fashionable spa town with little industry and was almost wholly reliant on the service and leisure occupations for employment', while Belper union was made up of four towns with 'with an industrial base of cotton mills, coal mines, hosiery and quarries.'²³ These differences support the argument that structural unemployment was the cause of male unemployment in rural communities but as figure 9.7 shows the number of claimants was subject to regular seasonal variations.

Hinde and Turnbull's research on two Hampshire workhouses focused on the age profile of the workhouse population and found an excess of adult females over adult males in the prime working age groups but noted a significant excess of males aged over 45 years and under 20 years contributing to a greater number of male inmates overall.²⁴ The unions in the Hinde and Turnbull study were economically similar to Hertfordshire and were likely to have similar employment patterns. This suggests that higher adult male unemployment was a feature of the agrarian economy and that those in urban and industrial areas experienced less unemployment. Goose, Seal, Hinde and Turnbull have all based their findings on

²² Seal, 'Workhouse populations in the Cheltenham and Belper Unions', p.87

²³ Seal, 'Workhouse populations in the Cheltenham and Belper Unions', p.85.

²⁴ Hinde and Turnbull, 'The populations of two Hampshire workhouses', pp.40-41.

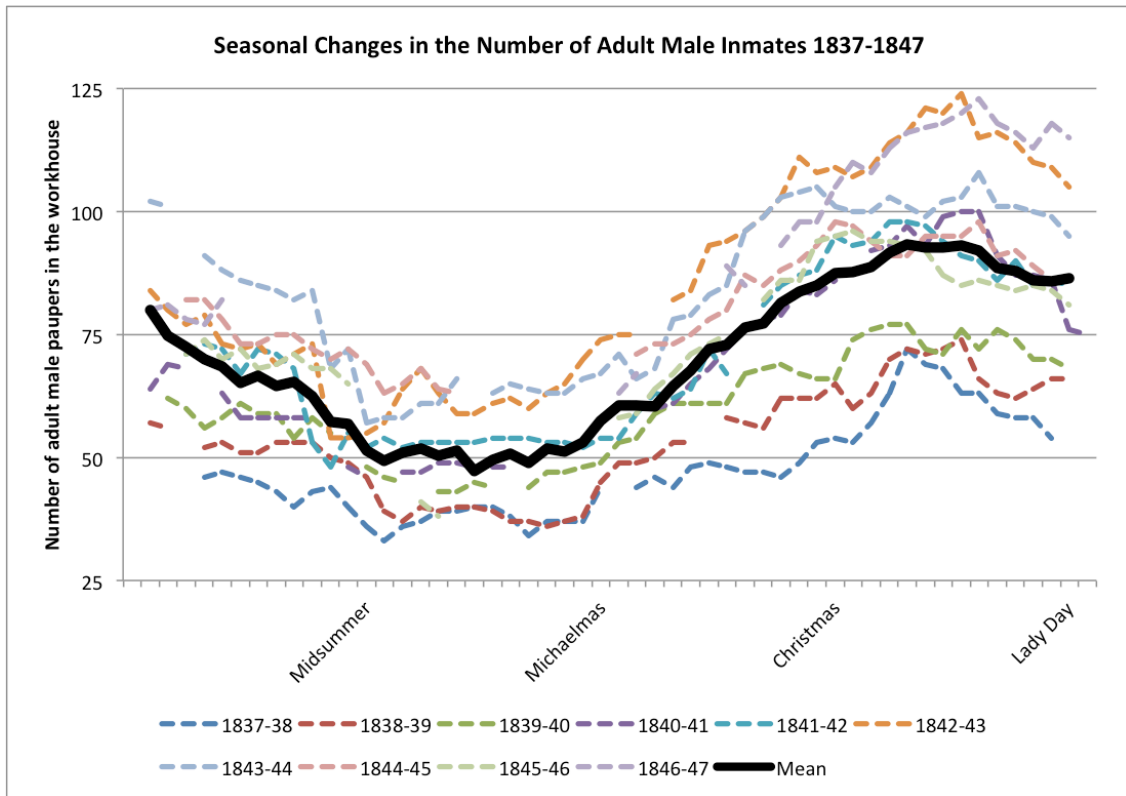
the snapshot of the workhouse population on census night (30 March 1851) and do not reflect any seasonal variations which can be observed in figure 9.7 above.

Seasonality in Workhouse Population

Seasonal demand for labour is characteristic of agricultural regions.²⁵ Typically unemployment among agricultural workers increased between November and February before new hiring and increased employment became available in the spring and summer. Work peaked at harvest time in September or October when even the less able and children were called upon to work. The seasonal fluctuations in pauper numbers can be seen more clearly in figure 9.8 which shows the number of adult male paupers in the Watford workhouse in each year beginning the week after Lady Day each year and the mean number of paupers for the period 1837/38 to 1846/47. Although the number of male paupers changed year on year, the overall pattern of the number of workhouse inmates through the year is remarkably similar – the cycle of workhouse admissions followed the same pattern in good years and bad. This ties the fluctuations in workhouse population very clearly to a seasonal pattern, which - as might be expected in an agricultural community – followed the labour demands of the agricultural calendar. There were fewer men in the workhouse between Midsummer (25 June) and Michaelmas (25 September) each year, but there was a core of circa 50 men who stayed in the workhouse all summer. This suggests these were men too infirm or unfit to undertake work outside the workhouse.

²⁵ Hinde and Turnbull, 'The populations of two Hampshire workhouses', p.45.

Figure 9.8 Seasonal changes in the number of adult male paupers in Watford workhouse 1837-1847



Source Watford Board of Guardian Minute Books, BG/WAT/1-BG/WAT/7

The peak period of unemployment came not in December/January but from late January to early February after which numbers began to decline steeply through March, April, May and June. As Hinde and Turnbull noted when examining the admission and discharge registers of the Winchester workhouse ‘the seasonal cycle makes other patterns in the admission and discharge data hard to discern.’²⁶ The same is true of workhouse population numbers overall. The February peak in workhouse numbers occurs somewhat later than might have been anticipated given the lack of post-harvest employment. Were the poor managing through

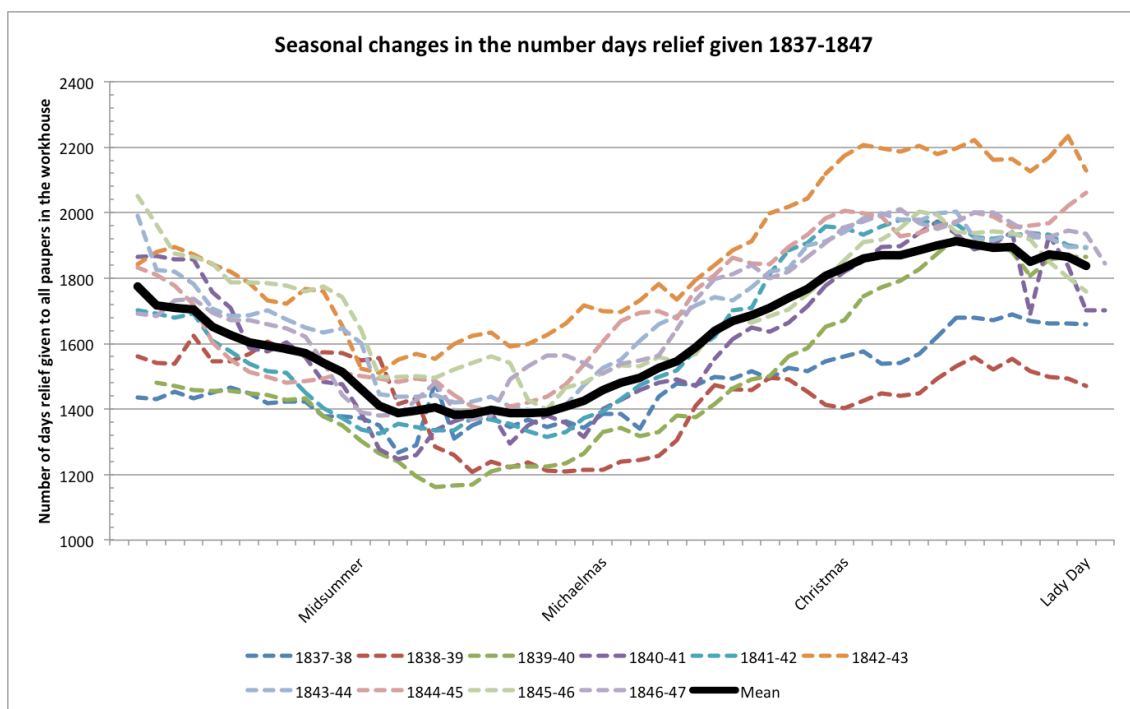
²⁶ Hinde and Turnbull, ‘The populations of two Hampshire workhouses’, p.45.

makeshift or careful budgeting to keep themselves out of the workhouse before being driven to seek shelter in the coldest months?

Noting this February peak is important for historians relying on published data about workhouse numbers because when the Poor Law Board began to collect information on pauper numbers after 1850, they took a count on 1st January and 1st July each year and whilst the mid-year figure will be broadly accurate in determining the lowest or minimum number of paupers in a year, the January figure will under-estimate the maximum number of paupers.

The same seasonal pattern can also be observed in the St Albans union. Data from St Albans comes in a slightly different form; here the board of guardians recorded not individual inmates but the number of days relief given. It was not broken down by age or gender but the Midsummer to Michaelmas low and the February peak are easily identified in figure 9.9.

Figure 9.9 Seasonal changes in the number of days relief given to all paupers in the St Albans workhouse 1837-1847



Source St Albans Board of Guardian Minute Books, Off Acc 1162

The St Albans union gave between 1162 and 2233 days of relief each week. This is the equivalent of between 166 and 319 full-time inmates or between 1% and 1.9% of the population.²⁷ During the summer period there were on average circa 200 paupers or 1.3% of the population still resident in the workhouse. As discussed in chapter eight St Albans did not anticipate high demand for poor relief, but these figures suggest that assumption was misplaced.

When examined quarterly the seasonal fluctuations in the workhouse population seem less dramatic and although only quarterly rather than weekly data is available for the Hitchin union it follows the same pattern. Between 1844 and

²⁷ The lowest figure was found in July 1839 and the highest in March 1843. The population percentages have been calculated against the 1831 and 1841 population numbers respectively.

1847 the Michaelmas quarter (25 June to 25 September) consistently recorded the lowest number of paupers and the highest number of paupers were found in the quarter ending Lady Day (25 March). Like St Albans, Hitchin had a core of c200 paupers maintained in the workhouse through the summer months. Those paupers who continued to be maintained during the summer months were most likely to be those unable to work: the elderly, the sick and the disabled.

St Albans and Watford unions were similar in size; as St Albans union had a higher percentage of its population in the workhouse, it could be argued that it had greater pauperism than neighbouring Watford, however as discussed above, both the amount spent on poor relief overall and the amount spent on poor relief per head of population were lower in St Albans than in Watford which would argue for the reverse to be the case. The fact that St Albans spent more on indoor relief than outdoor relief suggests that the union was more aggressive in 'offering the house' and by keeping out-relief costs down they kept the overall cost of poor relief below both the county and the national average. For the fullest picture of pauperism, data on the number of outdoor paupers is required and this is rarely available.

Outdoor Paupers

Uniquely amongst the four unions examined a short series of published quarterly accounts have survived for the Hitchin union which give a detailed breakdown of poor relief expenditure attributable to each parish in the union and include the number of indoor and outdoor adult male, adult female and child

paupers.²⁸ Between Midsummer 1844 and Christmas 1847 the Hitchin union relieved an average of 2,128 paupers (90%) outside the workhouse compared with an average of 243 paupers (10%) in the house as shown in table 9.6. Whilst the proportion of paupers in receipt of outdoor relief is very high, it is lower than that found in most other studies of a similar period. In the Llandilofawr union the proportion of outdoor paupers was consistently over 93% between 1839 and 1840 and Hooker has claimed that the guardians 'made no serious attempt to force [able-bodied men] into the workhouse.'²⁹ Thompson found over 90% of all paupers received outdoor relief in Leicester during the late 1840s and early 1850s when trade depressions significantly increased the number of applicants for poor relief and in Bradford union 94.4% got out-door relief in October 1838 despite the prohibition of out-relief by the poor law commissioners.³⁰ By exception, Seal reported a lower proportion of paupers on out relief in Cheltenham in selected quarters between 1836 and 1840; here out door paupers represented between 71% and 81% of the total number of paupers.³¹

²⁸ BG/HIT/235, Extract of Quarterly Abstracts Hitchin Union. See also Appendix XXIV.

²⁹ Geoff Hooker, *Llandilofawr Poor Law Union, 1836 to 1886: 'The most difficult union in Wales'*, (PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, 2013), p.87, p.223.

³⁰ Kathryn Thompson, *The Leicester Poor Law Union, 1836-1871*, (PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, 1988), pp.74-99. David Ashford, *The poor Law in Bradford c1834-1871. The study of the relief of poverty in mid-nineteenth century Bradford*, (PhD Thesis, University of Bradford 1979), p.161-162.

³¹ Christine Seal, *Poor Relief and Welfare: a comparative study of the Belper and Cheltenham Poor Law Unions, 1780 to 1914*, (PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, 2009), p.89 – Table 2.6.

Table 9.6 Number of Hitchin indoor and outdoor poor 1844 – 1847

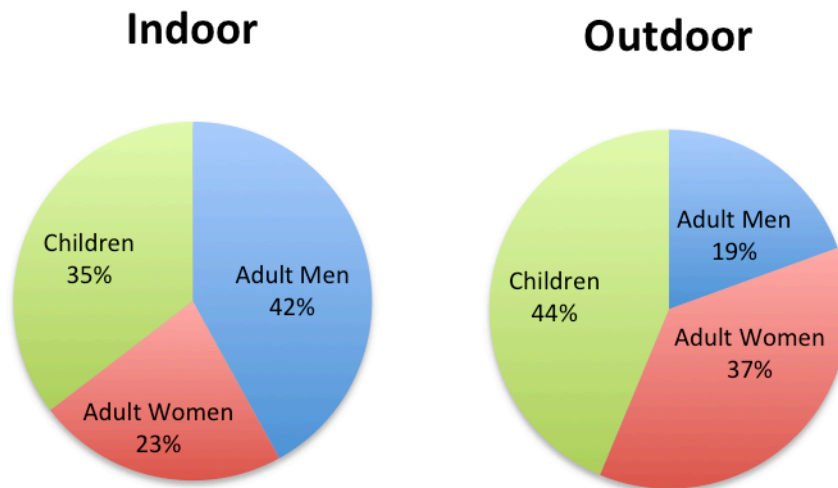
Quarter/Year	No of Indoor Poor	% Indoor Poor	No of Outdoor poor	% Outdoor Poor	Total Number of Paupers	% of Hitchin Population
Midsummer 1844	255	13%	1953	88%	2208	9.9%
Michaelmas 1844	230	12%	1847	89%	2077	9.3%
Christmas 1844	314	16%	1973	86%	2287	10.2%
Lady Day 1845	311	13%	2329	88%	2640	11.8%
Midsummer 1845	254	11%	2230	90%	2484	11.1%
Michaelmas 1845	181	9%	1924	91%	2105	9.4%
Christmas 1845	229	11%	2155	90%	2384	10.7%
Lady Day 1846	250	11%	2221	90%	2471	11.1%
Midsummer 1846	192	9%	2159	92%	2351	10.5%
Michaelmas 1846	177	8%	2092	92%	2269	10.2%
Christmas 1846	219	9%	2354	91%	2573	11.5%
Lady Day 1847	279					
Midsummer 1847	249					
Michaelmas 1847	267					
Christmas 1847	307	13%	2304	88%	2611	11.7%
Average*	243	10%	2128	90%	2372	10.6%

* Excluding Lady Day 1847, Midsummer 1847, Michaelmas 1847.

Source BG/HIT/235, Extract of Quarterly Abstracts Hitchin Union.

In contrast to the gender/age mix of the workhouse, adult men made up only 19% of those receiving outdoor relief. Figure 9.10 below compares the gender/age distribution of the Hitchin cohort receiving indoor and outdoor relief. This strongly suggests that women were much more likely to be relieved in the community whilst adult men found themselves in the workhouse. One interpretation of this data is that Hitchin was enforcing the 'workhouse test' more rigorously than other locations and only offering relief in the workhouse whilst allowing able-bodied women and children relief outdoors.

Figure 9.10 Recipients of Indoor and Outdoor Relief in Hitchin Union



Source BG/HIT/235, Extract of Quarterly Abstracts Hitchin Union. See also Appendix XXIV

The cost of relief in the community was between £0.60 and £0.86 per pauper per quarter and averaged £0.75. This amounts to less than 2d per pauper per day or 1s 2d per week. This small amount suggests that many receiving outdoor relief were not in receipt of regular long term relief as such small sums would not be sufficient to fully maintain a individual pauper; but it is impossible to know to what extent or how frequently this group of 2000 plus paupers were being relieved each quarter. Paupers maintained in the house cost on average £1.46 per person per quarter, the equivalent of 3¼d per day or 2s 3d per week.

The limited data on outdoor pauper numbers also limits the comparisons that can be made with the cost of maintaining paupers in the community and in the absence of any data from the other unions it is impossible to state whether these out-relief payments were within the normal range for the county or country but they stand as a benchmark against which comparisons could be made should data become available from other areas.

Conclusion

Hertfordshire, in common with other counties in England and Wales, experienced increasing poor relief costs from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. The county spent more per head of population than the national average but Hertfordshire was not a 'Speenhamland' county, supplementing wages from the rates. Following the implementation of the New Poor Law all the Hertfordshire unions made immediate and substantial savings to their poor relief costs, however nationally so did all other counties – including those who had yet to fully implement the practices of the New Poor Law. This suggests that factors other than the changed regime contributed to the reduction in poor relief expenditure. Over time, some of the savings began to be eroded, but in 1847 the poor relief bill was still 29% less than it had been under the Old Poor Law. This was achieved against a backdrop of increasing population numbers. Many areas of Hertfordshire did not experience population growth to the same extent as their neighbours and population growth in the county was below the national average; this probably eased pressure on jobs and poor relief.

There was some variation between the unions in the ratio of indoor and outdoor relief. Hatfield and St Albans unions spent significantly more on indoor relief as a proportion of the total relief expenditure than Hitchin union; the absence of data giving actual pauper numbers means that we cannot test for the overall demand for poor relief. Hitchin had substantial numbers of outdoor paupers to whom, on average, it gave very little relief per head. The numbers maintained in Hertfordshire's workhouses were not insubstantial and the workhouse population changed throughout the year. The seasonal variations in

the workhouse population were mirrored year on year in different unions and increases and decreases in workhouse population numbers follow the labour demands of the agricultural calendar.

There are many different ways to quantify poor relief: number of people relieved, amount spent on poor relief, cost of poor relief per pauper, cost of poor relief per head of population, proportion of indoor and outdoor relief. None of these measurements provide the complete picture, collectively they allow the historian to compare and contrast different areas at different times. The gaps in the raw data mean that the picture is always incomplete but the data that we do have points to local contrast and differences. Aggregated data compiled for a wide geography or over longer periods masks the local experience and clouds or misguides our understanding of the economics of the poor law. To really understand changes in the poor law it is the micro study at the union level which will yield the most information.

Conclusion

Hertfordshire has a unique place in poor law history. The concept of a well-managed deterrent workhouse, perhaps the most symbolic element of the New Poor Law, was based on features of Lord Salisbury's Hatfield workhouse; the county was an early adopter of unionisation becoming the first county to be fully unionised and a number of assistant poor law commissioners passed through its borders, honing their skills and giving feedback to the central commissioners which in turn influenced national policy.

This study contributes to the poor law historiography by identifying Hertfordshire's place in poor law history and by supporting the findings of previous studies of other regions of England, which have recognised regional diversity in poor law practice. More importantly it has raised the profile of the middlemen involved in determining and shaping the implementation of the New Poor Law at a local level. It was not just the heavily criticised Poor Law Commissioners who shaped poor law policy and practice; the New Poor Law could not have operated without the cooperation of local personnel whether as volunteer guardians or as paid officers. The complex dynamic of personality, motivation, skills and the challenge of building a new bureaucracy contributed to variations in the local administration; these factors should not be underestimated and provide new insight into how the New Poor Law was implemented and administered.

Opinion about the administrative changes of the nineteenth century and the nature of the State and welfare has diverged over the extent to which there was a 'revolution in government'. This research provides evidence that in the area

of poor relief a more complex bureaucracy was created which required a large number of local personnel to function. This study has drawn attention to the role of two groups in particular within that bureaucracy: the assistant poor law commissioners and the part these men played in developing both local and national policy and practice and secondly the boards of guardians who were essential to both the implementation process and the on-going management of the poor law.

A detailed analysis of the guardians in the four sample unions has challenged the existing scholarship on the socio-economic make-up of the boards, which has suggested that the majority of guardians were 'farmers and shopkeepers'.¹ In contrast to other studies, the analysis of the guardians' occupations presented here found a variety of employments and a broader social mix. Furthermore the occupational structure of individual boards has been shown to be subject to local variation highlighting intra-regional diversity within the county of Hertfordshire.

Further analysis of the operation of the boards of guardians has also demonstrated that not only were the boards varied in their make up, but the commitment to the role of guardian (as evidenced by their attendance at board meetings and their number of years service as guardians) also varied at the individual level. In this period, the most committed guardians were found among the gentry and clergy. This research has found that in effect, the poor law unions were managed not by an elected team of guardians, but by an elite few who had the time and skills to carry out the various tasks assigned to this volunteer body. In

¹ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Poor Law History Part II: the Last Hundred Years Vol. I* (London: Longman, 1929) p.229.

this respect the key decision makers in the administration of the New Poor Law were not significantly different to those of the Old Poor Law.

The chapter on the construction and operation of the workhouses has demonstrated different attitudes to workhouse provision, capital investment and the on going workhouse regime in the sample unions. This research has not found wholesale cruelty or deliberate malpractice; but it has identified an emphasis on economy, a serious underestimation of future accommodation needs and differences in attitude to comfortable and acceptable capacity between medical staff and guardians.

Examining the people and processes required for the on-going management of the unions, this study has revealed that there was variation in how jobs were structured in the four sample unions to meet local needs. These variations contributed to the differences in local practice from the very start of unionisation. Evidence was found of the increasing professionalization of poor law officers as the unions became established. Women were entirely absent as poor law guardians in this period, however a small number of women were employed as matrons and schoolmistresses. It was only as schoolmistresses that women were sometimes employed independently of their husbands.

This thesis has shown the value and significance of a microanalysis of four poor law unions in the early years of the implementation of the New Poor Law. In particular, it has found evidence of intra-regional differences that suggest such diversity began at the local level with disparity between individual unions from the outset. The local, intra-regional diversity demonstrated in this study also highlights

the fact that single union studies, which identify a particular practice in a small area, may overlook alternative practices and policies in neighbouring districts.

However examining the local nature of the New Poor Law has led to unexpected findings about Hertfordshire's connection to the development of this national legislation. Specifically this research has identified the important and hitherto unacknowledged influence of the second Marquis of Salisbury on the New Poor Law. Lord Salisbury's influence manifested itself in two ways: firstly in the adoption of his Hatfield workhouse model and secondly in the forced amendments to the poor law bill which preserved the provision of outdoor relief. Had all outdoor relief been denied after 1835 (as called for in the original bill) the whole system of poor relief and society's response to poverty would have been very different.

Finally this study has collated a large amount of quantitative data on poor relief expenditure and pauper numbers in Hertfordshire. When measured in purely financial terms it could be argued that the county was successful in the implementation of the New Poor Law as it experienced a significant drop in poor relief expenditure after its introduction. However it saw no greater benefit than many other areas of the country - some of which had not yet implemented the new law. The county spent more money per head of population than was the average for England and Wales but countywide figures disguised wide variation in the financial outcomes between poor law unions – again highlighting the very local differences in poor relief practice.

The methodology employed here to study the board of guardians has generated a significant amount of new data to facilitate a detailed analysis of the

guardians and their activities. It has drawn upon local and national poor law records which named individual guardians and, in addition to more traditional local histories, used the increasing number of commercial, searchable, digitised resources including census records, birth, marriage and death records, local name indexes and digitised newspapers to compile biographical profiles of the individual guardians. This methodology could be used to research the composition of the boards of guardians in the same unions during other time periods or guardians in other unions thus building a larger body of data for comparative study. In particular it could be used to track the presence and influence of women in poor law administration.² A study targeted at the 1890s would embrace the period before and after the abolition of the property qualification in 1894 that 'allowed substantial numbers of middle-class women to stand for election'.³ A further study of the unions in the 1920s would shed light on the state of poor law guardianship before the boards of guardians were dissolved in 1930.

As a contribution to poor law research, this thesis adds to the debate about poor law policy and practice with new data and findings on a previously under-researched area of the country. It shines new light on the middlemen of the poor law administration and highlights their contribution to both the implementation process and the on-going management of the New Poor Law. In doing so it suggests a new angle from which to examine the workings of the new regime which

² Steven King, *Women, Welfare and Local Politics 1880-1920: 'We Might be Trusted'* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2010). Steven King, "'We might be trusted': female poor law guardians and the development of the new poor law: the case of Bolton, England, 1880-1906", *International Review of Social History*, 49.01 (2004), pp. 27-46.

³ King, *Women, Welfare and Local Politics*, p.14. Anthony Brundage, *The English Poor Laws 1700-1930* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp.127-130.

might contribute to a new narrative on this much-studied but important piece of social legislation.

Appendices

Appendix I

Regulations for the Management of the Poor of the Parish of Hatfield (1820)

356 APPENDIX to MINUTES of EVIDENCE before Committee of Lords (1830 & 1831)

No. X.

Appendix.
Regulations for the
Management of the
Poor of Hatfield.

REGULATIONS for the MANAGEMENT of the POOR of the Parish of *Hatfield*, established in the Year 1820. (Delivered in by the Rev. *F. J. Faithful*.)

A SELECT VESTRY shall be annually appointed, agreeably to the provisions of the Act of 59 Geo. 3. c. 12. Their duties shall be as follows:—

They shall meet at the Workhouse, or in the Church, once in every fortnight. At their meetings, they shall consider all cases brought before them, and order such relief as they may deem requisite; being, however, guided by the regulations hereafter laid down. They shall further consider and determine upon all matters relating to the parish, as far as the provisions of the 59 Geo. 3. c. 12. will permit.

A Vestry Clerk shall be appointed, at a salary of 15*l.* per annum, with the following duties:—To attend all Vestries,—to enter all minutes of proceedings into the Vestry Book,—to prepare all Rates, Summonses, Examinations, &c. for the use of the parish.

When any particular parochial business is to be transacted, the Vestry Clerk shall send a Notice to all the Members of the Select Vestry.

A medical man shall be appointed, at a salary of 55*l.* per annum, who shall attend all the Poor within the parish, and within four miles of the parish church, and furnish them with medicines; except cases of accident and women in labour.

A permanent Overseer shall be appointed, at a salary of 50*l.* per annum, with board and lodging for himself and family. The sole distribution of relief under the orders of the Select Vestry shall be placed in his hands. He shall also be Governor of the Workhouse. He shall perform all the duties of the annual Overseers, with the exception of the collection of the Rates, which shall be left in their hands. He shall, with the same exception, discharge all the duties of Stonewarden.

The Rates shall be called in Church on the first Sunday after a quarter-day.

Administration of Relief to the Poor.

No pension or permanent allowance shall be granted henceforth to any person out of the Workhouse.

All persons who shall have been established as pensioners before the commencement of this system shall attend at the first meetings of the Select Vestry next after Michaelmas and Lady Days.

All pensioners who shall not attend, or who shall not give a reasonable excuse for non-attendance, shall forfeit their pension.

The Workhouse shall be made sufficient to receive all persons whom the Select Vestry shall deem fit objects for admission.

No relief shall be given to any person on account of the number of his or her family, except by the admission of one or more of the children, as may seem fit to the Select Vestry, into the Workhouse.

No relief shall be granted to any person residing beyond the limits of the attendance of the Parish Apothecary, who shall not bring or send a certificate of his or her illness, signed by the Churchwarden or Overseer of the place where he or she resides, or by a respectable medical man in the neighbourhood.

All relief shall be given in provisions or necessaries, except by especial order of the Select Vestry, when the reason of their order shall be entered in their Minutes.

Relief out of the Workhouse shall be given only in cases of sickness and infirmity; with the following exceptions:—

When the child of a parishioner has been placed in service, out of the parish, and is approved of by his master, he may be clothed at the expense of the parish, in such manner as the Select Vestry may deem fit.

Any sum not exceeding five shillings in provisions or necessaries may be given to women in their confinement, in lieu of providing a midwife, when the Select Vestry may deem it necessary.

Compensation, at the discretion of the Select Vestry, may be made to persons attending others in sickness.

The expenses of funerals may be defrayed by the parish.

Widows or families may, at the discretion of the Select Vestry, receive relief out of the Workhouse for one month after the death of the master of the family, but no longer.

Every case of application for relief, whether granted or refused, shall be entered into the Vestry Book, with the cause of such application.

A list shall be made out annually of all persons who have received parish relief, stating their residence, and the amount which they have each of them received; and copies shall be affixed to the church doors in large and legible characters, on the Sunday immediately after the passing of the annual accounts.

The family of a person sent to gaol for any crime or misdemeanor, or under suspicion of the same, shall not be relieved except by admission into the Workhouse.

Relief

Relief in Sickness.

Appendix.

The form of obtaining relief in sickness shall be as follows:—
Application shall be made by the party to the permanent Overseer, who is bound to give an order for the attendance of the Parish Apothecary, as follows:

Regulations for the Management of the Poor of Hatfield.

“ SIR,
“ You are requested to visit at
“ and if you think that any relief in provisions or necessaries is advisable to be given, you
“ will have the goodness to order it on this paper, and sign it with your name.
“ I have the honour to be,
“ Your obedient Servant,
“ N. B.—It is particularly requested that
“ you will not order money.”

“ Permanent Overseer.”

At all meetings of the Select Vestry a list shall be laid before them of the persons who have applied for medical attendance between their meetings.
The Parish Apothecary may order relief in cases of emergency, until the next meeting of the Select Vestry, when it is his duty to report the case for their consideration.
The hours for distributing relief for sickness shall be on Thursday, from nine till twelve o'clock, except in cases of great emergency.

Providing Labour.

All parishioners wanting work shall, upon application to the permanent Overseer, receive a paper, in the form which follows, to which they shall obtain the signature of twenty of the farmers of the Parish, commencing with the person with whom they last worked, if they were employed within the parish, who is requested to state the cause of their discharge. When they bring back the papers properly signed, they shall be set to such work as the permanent Overseer may think fit, or the Select Vestry may direct.

“ The Bearer of this paper has applied to me for work. It is therefore particularly
“ requested that you will have the goodness to certify your inability to furnish him with it,
“ and also to state if he has refused work of any kind. The person with whom he last worked
“ is requested to sign the paper first, with the cause of his discharge.
“ From your obedient Servant,

“ Permanent Overseer.

“ Dated of 183 ”

NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.	NAMES.	OBSERVATIONS.

“ N. B.—It shall only be required of women who apply for a working paper,
“ that it should be signed by the person who last employed them.”

All persons, except women, employed by the parish, under the age of fifty, shall be employed in task work.
The value of the work done by them shall be calculated at five-sixths of the common rate of wages for such work.
Persons above the age of fifty may be employed in such work as is not capable of being measured, but the wages of their labour shall be one-sixth below the common rate of wages.
The youngest men shall always be put to the hardest work, but no difference whatever shall be made between the wages of a married or a single man on that account.
When any man shall have been discharged by his employer for gross misconduct, it shall be lawful for the Select Vestry to reduce the rate of his wages, whether by task or day labour, to any sum not less than one half of the common rate of wages.
No person shall be employed by the parish for more than six weeks without being again sent round with a paper for signature.
A field of five acres, or not exceed' g twenty, shall be rented by the parish for the purpose of employing the Poor.
A Weekly Labour Book shall be kept according to the annexed Form. (A. *infra* page 360).
227. Y y 3 The

Appendix.
Regulations for the
Management of the
Poor of Hatfield.

The permanent Overseer shall be authorized to contract for the execution of any work for other persons, provided the parish shall receive the profit, and not run the risk of any loss.
The permanent Overseer may set the Poor to any work which he may deem for the benefit of the parish.

WORKHOUSE.

Provisions.

The Paupers in the House shall be fed according to the annexed Table. (B. *infra page 361.*)
Sealed tenders for flour of the third quality shall be delivered once in three months to the Select Vestry.
Only one sack of flour shall remain in the House at the termination of each contract for that article.
Sealed tenders for beef without bone, and mutton with bone, shall be delivered once in six months.
All other provisions and necessaries, of which the consumption is sufficient to make it an object to contract for them, shall be contracted for under the same regulations as meat.
Ten days' notice shall be given in church before such tenders are required.
When two tenders are offered at the same price, the last contractor shall have the preference. In other cases of equal offers fresh tenders shall be required.
The rest of the provisions and necessaries for the use of the parish shall be purchased at wholesale prices.
A list of the prices shall be laid before the Select Vestry at each of their meetings.
A Provision Book shall be kept according to the annexed Form. (C. *infra pages 362, 363.*)

Lodging.

The House shall be divided into the following Wards:

- No. 1.—For Men.
- 2.—For Boys.
- 3.—For Women.
- 4.—For Girls.
- 5.—For married old People.
- 6.—For Sick - - - Male.
 - - - Female.

Day Rooms.

Women's Room.	Men's Room.
Children's Room.	Dining Room.

No person shall be suffered to sleep out of his ward under any pretence, without leave from the Governor of the House.
The rooms shall be divided into berths, each of which shall be furnished with a straw mattress, a straw pillow, two blankets, two sheets, and a rug.
The straw in the mattresses shall be changed as often as required. The bedding of other description which is now in use shall not be replaced when worn out.
The bed-rooms shall be vacated and cleaned by seven o'clock in the morning from Lady-day to Michaelmas, and by eight o'clock from Michaelmas to Lady-day.
No one shall be suffered to return into them until five o'clock in the evening, without the leave of the Governor of the House.
The two last regulations shall not apply to the sick ward.
Fires shall be kept in the day-rooms from Michaelmas to Lady-day, but none in the bed-rooms, except in the sick ward.
All persons shall be in bed by nine o'clock at night.
A porter shall be appointed from amongst the Paupers to attend the gates and keep them locked. None of the inmates of the House shall pass through the gates without the written permission of the Governor, in the following Form:—

The Bearer

is allowed to be absent from the Workhouse,

from till

on the

No person shall enter without his knowledge. No

No person absenting himself from the Workhouse beyond the time for which leave is given to him, or sleeping out without permission, shall be again admitted until the next Vestry, or by order of a magistrate.

No beer or spirituous liquors shall be brought into the House without the approbation of the Governor of the Workhouse.

All men and boys capable of labour shall be employed on the parish account, every day, in such work as may be directed by the Governor of the House. The hours of labour shall be from six o'clock to six from Lady-day to Michaelmas, and from seven o'clock to five from Michaelmas to Lady-day.

They shall receive 2*d.* in the shilling on the amount which they have earned.

The women shall do all the work of the House; and such as are placed in offices of trust shall be allowed a sum not exceeding 6*d.* per week, at the discretion of the Governor.

The children shall be employed in such work as they may be capable of performing.

The Governor of the House shall pay into the Saving Bank the sum of 4*d.* weekly for each of the children employed in the silk work, or other work profitable to the parish, to be applied as may hereafter be directed by the parish. The children employed in that way may be further allowed any sum not exceeding 3*d.* per week, at the discretion of the Governor of the House.

No person neglecting the work or duty which he is appointed to perform shall receive the usual allowance in money.

Whenever any silk-winding shall be carried on in the shed belonging to the parish, rented by Mr. Woollam, all children capable of work shall be employed on it.

The children shall be taught to read and write by the best schoolmistress that can be found amongst the Paupers of the House.

The men and women shall be punished for any minor offence, by reducing them to the second or third class of diet, and depriving them of every indulgence which is allowed to others; such punishment being always reported at the next meeting of the Vestry.

All cases of greater offence shall be brought before the Select Vestry.

These regulations shall be read to every person when admitted as an inmate of the Workhouse.

Casual Relief.

A House shall be kept for the accommodation of such vagrants as may need parish assistance; they shall be lodged and fed, but no money given to them.

Accounts.

The accounts shall be kept according to the Forms annexed. (D. *infra* pages 364, 365.)

The permanent Overseer shall provide the books and papers necessary for the purpose, at the expense of the parish.

The quarterly account shall be invariably audited, and vouchers examined, at the next Vestry after the quarter-day, by a Committee appointed for the purpose. They shall be entered in the Vestry Book.

The yearly accounts shall be submitted to the General Vestry, as by law directed.

Stonewarden's Rate.

The Rate necessary for the repair of the roads shall be placed at the disposition of the permanent Overseer. The whole of it shall be levied in money.

A cart and two horses, and also one for the use of the permanent Overseer, shall be provided, and the keep of the horses paid out of the Stonewarden's Rate.

The remainder of it shall be expended, as much as possible, in labour. It shall not be charged with any labour that is not strictly necessary for the repair of the roads.

It shall be lawful for the permanent Overseer to employ the Paupers in the House upon the roads, at a rate not exceeding the price of their maintenance, and the 2*d.* in the shilling allowed to them upon their earnings.

No person under fifty years of age, unless labouring under some infirmity, shall be employed otherwise than by task work upon the road.

On the application of a parishioner, the permanent Overseer shall furnish a horse and cart for the conveyance of prisoners to gaol.

Any work that may be done by the cart and horses for the parish, otherwise than upon the roads, shall be charged to the parish, and carried to the credit of the Stonewarden's account.

An account of the expenditure, specifying the weekly work, and the place where it has been done, shall be kept according to the annexed Form (E. *infra* page 366), and when passed shall be entered in the Vestry Book.

None of the above resolutions shall be repealed, altered, or amended without notice of an intention to that effect being given at the previous meeting of the Select Vestry, and in church on the Sunday before their next meeting.

Appendix II

Diet Table of the Hatfield Poor House (1831)

Day	Breakfast			Dinner			Supper			Men		Women	
	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children	Men	Women	Children	1 st Class	3 rd Class	1 st Class	3 rd Class
Mon	<i>At Work</i> 1 ½ lbs of bread & 4oz. of cheese is taken with them each day for breakfast and dinner Those at home, milk porridge	1lb. of bread per day, 1oz of tea, ½ lb. of butter & ½ lb. sugar, for the week, for breakfast and dinner each day.	milk porridge	Bread and cheese	Tea, bread and butter	Bread and cheese	Peas or rice soup			Full allowance	Meat only on Sunday	Full allowance	Tea, sugar and butter suspended, during the pleasure of the select vestry.
Tue	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	8 oz. of meat, with potatoes and other vegetables						
Wed	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	Peas or rice soup						
Thur	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	8 oz. of meat, with potatoes and other vegetables						
Fri	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	Peas or rice soup						
Sat	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto	ditto						
Sun	Milk porridge for all the men there being none at work	ditto	ditto	8 oz. of meat, with potatoes and other vegetables.			Bread and cheese	Tea, bread and butter	Bread and cheese				

N.B. – Persons superintending, washing and cleaning the house, those who are very old and infirm, are allowed ale. Men a pint and women a half pint; the other persons have a pint of table beer per diem.

Source BPP, 1831 (227) VIII.321. *Reports from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to consider of the Poor Laws; with the minutes of evidence taken before the committee, and an appendix and index*, pp.270-271.

Appendix III

Assistant Poor Law Commissioners 1834 to 1847

Arranged by date of appointment with Hertfordshire Commissioners highlighted

First name(s)	Surname	Born	Died	Occupation before appointment	Occupation post appointment	Start Date	End Date	TNA Reference	No of Years as APLC	Sources	Comments
Sir Francis Bond	Head	1793	1873	Military, business and travel writer	Lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada Later writer	28-Oct-1834	22-Nov-1835		1	1, 3, 10, 22	
Edward	Gulson	1794	1874	Fellmonger, Quaker and Director of the Poor in Coventry	Magistrate	28-Oct-1834	1871	MH 32/28-30	37	1, 2, 3, 11, 23, 24, 64, 67	Sent to Ireland as APLC 3 Sept 1838 1855 became a Senior Inspector at the Poor Law Board
Daniel Goodson	Adey	1788	1872	Solicitor, Magistrate, Deputy Lieutenant of Hertfordshire	Auditor (Poor Law) Beds & Herts	28-Oct-1834	1840	MH 32/5-6	6	1, 2, 3, 25, 26, 64	Resigned and sort re-appointment in 1841
Col. Charles Ashe	A'Court	1795	1861	Military Briefly MP for Wiltshire	Military Landowner	29-Oct-1834	1842	MH 32/1-4	8	1, 2, 3, 29, 30	Known as Repington after 1855
Henry	Pilkington	after 1785		Son of architect and surveyor	Supported by his brother who was also an architect	06-Nov-1834	03-Feb-1836		2	1, 4, 10, 31	
Charles	Mott	c. 1788	1851	Pauper Farmer and joint proprietor of the Peckham Lunatic Asylum	Proprietor of a Lancashire lunatic asylum.	06-Nov-1834	1837	MH 32/56-57	3	1, 2, 4, 32, 33	Subject of various scandals and became bankrupt in 1847

First name(s)	Surname	Born	Died	Occupation before appointment	Occupation post appointment	Start Date	End Date	TNA Reference	No of Years as APLC	Sources	Comments
Alfred	Power	1805	1888	Barrister and Factory Inspector	Irish poor law commissioner. Chief Commissioner of Irish Poor Law (1849). Head of Irish Local Government Board. "The Irish Chadwick"	06-Nov-1834	1847	MH 32/63-64	13	1, 2, 4, 16, 34, 35, 36, 38	Sent to Ireland 17 April 1843
William Henry Toovey	Hawley	1793	1874	Magistrate and Deputy Lieutenant, Southampton	Remained a poor law inspector	06-Nov-1834	1874	MH 32/38-43	40	1, 2, 4, 11	Sent to Ireland as APLC 3 Sept 1838
William John	Gilbert			From the Isle of Wight		04-Dec-1834	1845	MH 32/26-27	11	1, 2, 5	Roberts names him William James Gilbert
Sir William Edward	Parry	1790	1855	Navel Explorer, Commissioner of the Australian Agricultural Company	Comptroller of steam machinery at the Admiralty (1837-46), captain superintendent of Haslar Hospital, Gosport, Lieutenant-governor of Greenwich Hospital (from 1853)	19-Mar-1835	03-Feb-1836	MH 32/60	1	1, 2, 6, 10, 40, 41	Correspondence in Parker's file. He helped to organize the search for the lost Franklin expedition that finally ended the search for a North-West Passage.
Richard	Earle			Barrister & Landowner Later estate agent for the Earl of Derby		19-Mar-1835	1838	MH 32/21	3	1, 2, 6, 11, 65	Sent to Ireland as APLC 3 Sept 1838
Richard	Hall			Barrister		19-Mar-1835	1857	MH 32/34-37	22	1, 2, 6	
James Phillip	Kay-Shuttleworth	1804	1877	Physician and health campaigner	Educationalist and civil servant	11-Jul-1835	1845	MH 32/48-50	10	1, 2, 7, 42	

First name(s)	Surname	Born	Died	Occupation before appointment	Occupation post appointment	Start Date	End Date	TNA Reference	No of Years as APLC	Sources	Comments
Robert	Weale	1799	1883	Solicitor of Ashfield, Sussex		11-Jul-1835	1854	MH 32/85-89	19	1, 2, 7, 43, 65	
Edward Carleton	Tufnell	1806	1886	Barrister, From a wealthy, educated background.	Educationalist, Inspector of the administration of government grants to workhouse schools	11-Jul-1835	1840	MH 32/69-71	5	2, 7, 44, 65	
Sir John James Garbett	Walsham	1805	1874	Magistrate in Hereford and Radnor	Sheriff of Radnorshire	26-Nov-1835	1868	MH32/76-84	33	1, 2, 46	Roberts names him as Sir John James Walsham
Thomas	Stevens	1809	1888	Church of England clergyman and Tractarian	Rector and squire of Bradfield, educationalist, chairman of Bradfield Poor Law Union	16-Jan-1836	1839	MH 32/68	3	1, 2, 8, 47	
R Digby	Neave	1793	1868	Landed proprietor, son of London merchant, Governor of the Bank of England and High Sherriff of Essex		16-Jan-1836	1848	MH32/59	12	1, 2, 8, 48	Roberts names him Sir Richard Neave File includes correspondence with A Owen
William	Day	1797	1848	Landed proprietor, Poor law reformer Vice -Chair of Uckfield Union	Dismissed following the report into the Rebecca riots in Wales where he was APLC (1844)	18-Jan-1836	Jan-1844	MH 32/14-16	8	1, 2, 8, 49, 65	

First name(s)	Surname	Born	Died	Occupation before appointment	Occupation post appointment	Start Date	End Date	TNA Reference	No of Years as APLC	Sources	Comments
Sir Edmund Walker	Head	1805	1868	Scholar and linguist	Poor Law Commissioner 1841-1847, Lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick [Canada] 1847-1862, Civil Service Commissioners from 1862, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1863, writer	18-Jan-1836	1841	MH 32/44	5	1, 2, 8, 50, 66	Replaced LeFerve as a Poor Law Commissioner in 1841
George	Clive	1806	1880	Barrister, son of Whig MP	Police magistrate, County court judge, Liberal MP for Hereford 1857-69 & 1874 -1880	28-Jan-1836	1839	MH 32/12	3	1, 2, 9, 51, 52	
John	Revens			Secretary to the Royal Commission inquiry		05-Feb-1836	1848	MH 32/65	12	1, 2, 9, 65	Author of <i>Evils of the State of Ireland Their Causes, and Their Remedy - a Poor Law</i>
William James	Voules					05-Feb-1836	1846	MH 32/73	10	1, 2, 9, 11	Sent to Ireland as APLC 3 Sept 1838
Col. Thomas Francis	Wade	1787	1846			18-Apr-1836	1844	MH 32/74-75	8	1, 2, 10, 17, 53, 54, 68	First Appointed 1836, reappointed 1844
Edward	Senior					01-Sep-1838	1847	MH 32/66	9	1, 2, 11	

First name(s)	Surname	Born	Died	Occupation before appointment	Occupation post appointment	Start Date	End Date	TNA Reference	No of Years as APLC	Sources	Comments
Hon Charles Skeffington	Clements	after 1805	1877	Son of Earl of Leitrim, Captain in the Army		15-Sep-1838	1851	MH 32/11	13	1, 2, 12, 55, 56	Roberts names him as Charles Clements Sent to Ireland Aug 1845
Henry Walter	Parker			Assistant Secretary to the Poor Law Commissioners at Somerset House		23-Apr-1839	1845	MH 32/60	6	1, 2, 13	Formally Assistant Secretary to PLC File includes correspondence with W. E. Parry
Edward Turner Boyd	Twistleton	1809	1874	Scholar and barrister, member of several commissions	Commissioner to inquire into Scottish Poor Laws 1843, Chief Commissioner in Ireland 1845, Scholar and member of numerous commissions including Civil Service Commission	03-Jul-1839	1845	MH 32/72	6	1, 2, 18, 57	Re-appointed 25/8/45 and sent to Ireland November 1845
Alfred	Austin			Barrister		10-Apr-1843	1855	MH 32/7	12	1, 2, 15, 58	Sent to Ireland April 1843
George Gre[n]ville Wandisworth	Piggott	1796	1865	Army Officer, Attaché to Wüttenberg embassy, and Danish embassy, MP 1830-1832	Assistant Poor Law Commissioner until 1862	18-Nov-1845	1862	MH 32/61-62	17	2, 19, 59	
John Thomas	Graves	1806	1870	Jurist and mathematician	Mathematician and bibliophile	07-Apr-1846	1870	MH 32/31-33	24	1, 2, 20	
Aneurin	Owen	1792	1851	Historian and Assistant Tithe Commissioner	Scholar and Welsh historian	24-Dec-1846	before 1851	MH 32/59	less than 5	1, 2, 21, 61	Correspondence in Neave's file

First name(s)	Surname	Born	Died	Occupation before appointment	Occupation post appointment	Start Date	End Date	TNA Reference	No of Years as APLC	Sources	Comments
Nicholas Edward	Hurst	1814	1885	Land Tax Commissioner for the town and county of Nottingham.		1847	1867	MH 32/47	20	1, 2	

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Appendix IV

Samples of Union Correspondence

Figure 1 Letter from the Hitchin Union MH 12/4612

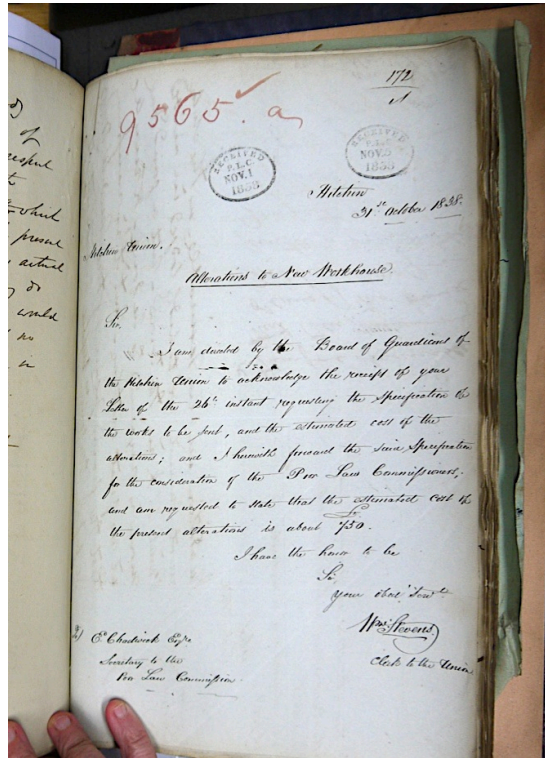
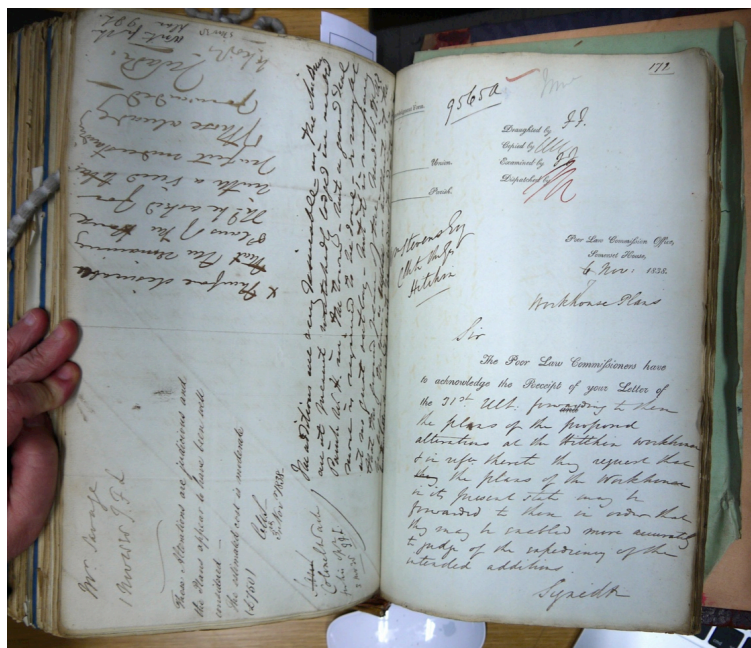


Figure 2 Annotated reverse of letter above and the final reply from the PLC



Appendix V

Adey's recommended process for setting up the union

Meeting/Day ¹	Agenda / Task List
1st Meeting	Verify and list guardians Elect Chairman Elect Vice-Chairman Elect Clerk to the Board of Guardians and agree his salary Agree place, day and hour of Board of Guardians weekly meetings Set up a committee to fix medical and relieving districts and report back Draw up a map of the area and the population of the parishes in the Union Agree the number of relieving officers and their salaries Agree the form of advertisements for post to be advertised
2nd Meeting	Consider workhouse accommodation and make arrangement where possible Workhouse officers to be elected or advertised for Elect Treasurer Elect Auditor Agree auditor's salary Consider any other appointments except Relieving Officers Draw up contracts for out-relief (form of districts arranged) Draw up contracts for supplying workhouse Agree diet table
3rd Day	Elect Relieving Officer Report of committee on relieving and medical districts considered and settled Agree terms of medical contracts and mode of arranging with medical men - advertising etc Amount of warrants on Parishes fixed Date when union officers are to take possession of the parishes fixed and notice given to parish officers and to assist union officers in the interval Any other business arising out of the preceding days
4th Meeting [sic]	Provision contracts for In and Out relief read over and selected

¹ Adey is inconsistent in specifying 'meeting', 'day' and 'week' in this document.

Meeting/Day ¹	Agenda / Task List
5th Meeting	Medical tenders read over and selected Treasurer's book examined and parishes decided to be credited accordingly Parochial pauper lists examined and amount of outdoor weekly relief ascertained Checks [cheques] issued to relieving officers accordingly Relieving officers instructed to pay their first week at the same rate as the parish officers paid in their last week
6th week	The relieving officers first list is compared with the parish lists and examined. Direction given to the relieving and parish officers as necessary. Direction given on making alterations from money in kind as required by the regulations and instructed to pay the following week accordingly.
7 week	Relieving officer's alterations to relief in kind considered and lists amended accordingly by parishes. Changes sanctioned by committee.
8 week	Relieving officer's lists considered by committee and all doubtful cases ordered to attend the next [board of guardian's] meeting.
9 week	Personal examination of pauper for cases under view by the board. And so on till the list is got through.

Source: Adey's Correspondence with the PLC, TNA, MH 32/5, 7 Jan 1836

Appendix VI

Adey's timetable of transitional arrangements for the transfer of a union from the Old Poor Law to the New Poor Law

Week	Arrangements
First week	The relieving officer gets a list from parish officers of each pauper receiving relief. In his first week he pays what was paid before and then starts using new documentation.
Second week	Relieving officer uses new book 22 (Pauper description book) and accompanied by parish officer makes alterations to payments as required to meet the new law.
Third week (or as soon as possible thereafter)	A conference of guardians, aided by the pauper description book, relieving officer and parish officers, make further alterations as necessary and enter them into the new record books which are then signed by the chairman's initials.
Fourth week	Any paupers whose cases require further scrutiny or are doubtful are ordered to attend the board of guardians. Their descriptions in the pauper description book are read to them and further information obtained from the pauper and his reasons for requiring relief. The pauper leaves the room and the guardians debate and decide his case. Their decision is written up and the pauper is brought back in to hear the decision delivered by the chairman of the board of guardians. If out relief allowed, it is recorded accordingly.

The above relates to relief of permanent paupers, new cases or occasional ones are brought before the guardians immediately. These do not go into the pauper description book until relief is allowed.

Source: Adey's Correspondence with the PLC, TNA, MH 32/5, 7 Jan 1836

Appendix VII

Data required in the pauper description book

- Number on outdoor relief book
- Names of applicant, his wife and children under 16 dependent on him
- Parish to which belonging
- Residence, where and with whom
- Age
- Calling
- If adult, whether single, married, widow or widower.
- If child, whether orphan, deserted or bastard
- If able bodied or partially or wholly disabled
- Description of disablement
- If receiving medical relief or any other, and what relief from parish, club, charitable institution or elsewhere
- When first chargeable and present cause of requiring relief
- Observations and names of relations liable under 43rd Elizabeth, and distinguish those apparently capable of assisting the applicant, his earnings and other means, if any
- Present weekly earning of applicant and of each of his family dependent on him
- Initials of presiding guardian allowing or refusing relief
- Date when allowed or refused, if allowed, for what time
- Relief allowed in a week by guardians
 - Money (s.d)
 - Bread - number of loaves, value (s.d.)
 - Other Articles – Quantity, value (s.d.)
- Relief given (if any) in the past week by Officer

Source MH 32/5, 07 Jan 1836.

Appendix VIII

Members of the first boards of guardians and district medical officers Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans and Watford

Table 1 The Guardians of the St Albans Union 1835

Parish	Guardian
St Albans Abbey	Thomas Ward Blagg
	Peter Martineau
	George Alfred Muskett
St. Peter	Francis Bunn
	John Kinder
	Francis Searancke
St. Michael	James Howard
	William Smith Jnr
St. Stephen	John Gomme
	Ralph Smith
Sandridge	Thomas Oakley
Redbourn	John Lavender
	John Stephens
Harpenden	Thomas Fernee
	Robert Sibley
Wheathampstead	John Dorrington
	John House
Ex-Officio	The Right Honourable Earl of Veralum
	Lord Viscount Grimston
	The Honourable Edward Harbottle Grimston
	William Mogg Bowen DD
	John Hawkins
	Joshua Lomax
Geo Robert Marten	
Mayor of St Albans	Richard William Brabant

Source: St Albans Board of Guardians Minutes Off Acc/1162 26 May 1835

Table 2 St Albans Union Medical Districts

Medical District	Parishes to form the medical district
First District	Redbourn, Harpenden
Second District	Sandridge, St. Peter, Wheathampstead
Third District	St Michael, St Alban, St Peter

Source: St Albans Board of Guardians Minutes Off Acc/1162 26 May 1835

Table 3 The Guardians of the Watford Union 1835

Parish	Guardians
Abbotts Langley	John Goodwin
	Septimus Richard Moate
Aldenham	Charles Boulton Esq
	Thomas Smith
Bushey	John Guy
	Bailey Smith
Rickmansworth	James Hilton
	Charles Stevens
	Thomas Weedon
	William White
Sarratt	John Dodd Stevens
Watford	Christopher Dalton
	William Dyson
	Thomas Edward Dyson
	Jonathan King Esq
	William Moore
Ex-Officio	John Falcon
	Rev William Lewis
	Stewart Marjoribanks Esq MP
	John Finch Mason Esq
	Edmund Morris Esq
	George Alfred Muskett Esq
	John Ryley Esq
	John Frances Timins Esq
	Humphrey William Woolrych Esq
George Worthington Esq	

Source Watford Board of Guardian Minutes, BG/WAT/1, 28 May 1835

Table 4 Watford Union Medical Districts

Medical District	Parishes to form the medical district
First District	Watford and Abbotts Langley
Second District	Rickmansworth and Sarratt
Third District	Bushey and Aldenham

Source Watford Board of Guardian Minutes, BG/WAT/1, 28 May 1835

Table 5 The Guardians of the Hatfield Union

Parish	Guardian
Hatfield	James Archer
	George Farr
	Thomas Roberts
North Mimms	Wm Chas Casomajor Esq
	Isaac Watson
Northaw	Jno Hickman Bunyon
	Vincent Walter
Essendon	Benjamin Hooper
Ex-Officio	Lord Salisbury
	Chas John Dimsdale Esq
	Rev F. Faithful
	William Franks

Source: Hatfield Board of Guardians Minutes BG/HAT/1 10 July 1835

Table 6 Hatfield Union Medical Districts

Medical District	Parishes/ District to form the medical district
First District	Northaw, Newgate St, Tylers Causeway
Second District	All others

Source: Hatfield Board of Guardians Minutes BG/HAT/1 10 July 1835

Table 7 The Guardians of the Hitchin Union 1835

Parish	First name	Surname
Hitchin	William	Hainworth
	Thomas	Hailey
	Joshua	Ransom
	William	Lucas Jnr
Kimpton	George	Wilshire
	Joseph	Kingsley
Kings Walden	William	Woollatt
	George Whitbread	Roberts
Pauls Walden	Charles	Butler
	John	Hill
Offley	William	Olney
	Richard	Oakley
Codicote	William	Titmuss
	Thomas	Stratton
Baldock	Robert	Fitzjohn
Norton	Morris	Pryor
Weston	Joseph	Beaumont
	Elisha	Farr
Stevenage	The Rev G B	Blomfield
	Thomas	Cass
Ickleford	William	Crawley
Holwell		
Ippollitts	William Marshall	Proctor
Lilley	Daniel	Gutteridge
Pirton	Charles	Kingsley
Hexton	Thomas	Wilshire
Newnham	William	Daggett
Shephall		
Bygrave	James	Smyth
Caldecote	James	Inskip
Radwell	Alfred	Westley
Gravelly	Legrew	Hesse
Letchworth		
Willian	John	Sworder
Great Wymondley	Samuel/William	Richardson
Little Wymondley	John	Horne
Knebworth	Beaumont	Cole
Ex-Officio ¹	The Rt Hon Lord	Darce
	The Rev Frederick	Sullivan
	Edward	Hamson

Source Hitchin Board of Guardian Minutes, BG/HIT/1, 16 June 1835

¹ Ex-Officio Guardians not present at the first meeting William Whilshire, Thomas Mills and William Sale

Table 8 Hitchin Union Medical Districts

Medical District	Parishes to form the Medical District
District 1	Hitchin, St Ippollitts
District 2	Offley, Lilley, Hexton, Pirton, Holwell, Ickleford
District 3	Kings Walden, Kimpton, Pauls Walden, Codicote
District 4	Stevenage, Knebworth, Shephall, Gravely, Great Wymondley, Little Wymondley, Weston, hamlet of Birley
District 5	Baldock, Bygrave, Radwell, Caldecott, Newnham, Norton, Willian, Letchworth, (Clothall)*

*Clothall was added in July 1835

Source Hitchin Board of Guardian Minutes, BG/HIT/1, 16 June 1835

Table 9 Hitchin Union Relieving Officers' Districts

District	Parish	Relieving Officer
1 st Division	The township of Hitchin The Hamlet of Walsworth	John Manning
2 nd Division	Offley, Lilley, Hexton, Pirton, Holwell, Ickleford, Ippollitts, Kings Walden, Kimpton, Pauls Walden, Codicote, The Hamlets of Preston & Langley	James Coleman
3 rd Division	Shephall, Knebworth, Stevenage, Gravely, Weston, Baldock, Bygrave, Radwell, Caldecott, Newnham, Weston, Willian, Letchworth, Great Wymondley, Little Wymondley, (Clothall)*	John Smith

*Clothall was added in July 1835

Source Hitchin Board of Guardian Minutes, BG/HIT/1, 22 June 1835

Appendix IX

Poor Relief Expenditure 1830 -1834 Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans and Watford

Hatfield Union

Parish	Area (Acres)	Population 1831	Poor Relief to 25 March					Average Poor Relief Declared at Unionisation ¹	Average Poor relief per Head of Population 1831-1834 £s
			1830	1831	1832	1833	1834		
Essendon	2,170	672	276	265	234	292	230	293	0.44
Hatfield	12,700	3,593	2,061	2,032	1,810	1,712	1,802	1,623	0.45
North Mimms	4,910	1,068	724	688	888	686	744	740	0.69
Northaw	3,180	600	374	377	535	412	539	521	0.87
Hatfield Union	22,960	5,933	3,435	3,362	3,467	3,102	3,315	3,177	0.54

¹ Calculated by the assistant poor law commissioners at the time of unionisation based on the relief costs for the previous three years. This figure was important as it was used to calculate the parochial contribution towards the cost of running the union.

Hitchin Union

Parish	Area (Acres)	Population 1831	Poor Relief to 25 March					Average Poor Relief Declared at Unionisation ¹	Average Poor Relief per Head of Population 1831-1834 £s
			1830	1831	1832	1833	1834		
Baldock	200	1,704	1,094	937	1,225	1,100	1,100	1,239	0.73
Bygrave	1,860	145	n/a	72	89	77	44	77	0.53
Caldecott	310	39	n/a	26	21	17	14	17	0.44
Clothall	3,520	444	n/a	392	372	423	429	418	0.94
Codicote	2,580	805	400	382	313	271	408	434	0.54
Gravelly	2,110	331	187	203	178	180	188	194	0.59
Great Wymondley	1,120	321	268	216	214	251	172	190	0.59
Hexton	1,460	294	308	229	178	199	191	179	0.61
Hitchin	6,150	5211	2692	2408	2527	2630	2098	2,588	0.50
Holwell (Beds)	650	167	n/a	n/a	75	57	83	73	0.44
Ickleford	940	502	239	222	200	222	222	220	0.44
Ippollitts	2,970	874	536	452	506	483	519	539	0.62
Kimpton	3,700	944	420	128	369	391	419	398	0.42
Kings Walden	4,180	1,004	524	463	472	436	453	472	0.47
Knebworth	2,740	259	410	526	450	523	390	458	1.77
Letchworth	1,120	76	111	96	153	135	127	130	1.71
Lilley	1,620	451	190	192	160	213	192	193	0.43
Little Wymondley	790	226	135	170	97	109	111	101	0.45
Newnham	810	157	70	68	61	48	50	58	0.37
Norton	1,780	364	219	206	220	239	243	246	0.68
Offley	5,160	967	515	627	656	650	610	729	0.75
Pirton	2,560	758	432	418	540	440	460	440	0.58
Radwell	740	103	n/a	42	55	68	62	52	0.50
Shephall	1,130	217	199	216	170	152	96	131	0.60
St Pauls Walden	3,420	1,058	685	580	637	556	550	619	0.59
Stevenage	4,640	1,859	948	1,157	1,037	1,027	728	978	0.53
Weston	4,530	1,046	714	701	707	755	681	914	0.87
Willian	1,900	313	184	216	226	221	193	228	0.73
Hitchin Union	64,690	20,639	11,480	11,345	11,908	11,873	10,833	12,315	0.60

St Albans Union

Parish	Area (Acres)	Population 1831	Poor Relief to 25 March					Average Poor Relief Declared at Unionisation ¹	Average Poor relief per Head of Population 1831-1834 £s
			1830	1831	1832	1833	1834		
Harpenden	4,920	1,972	1,236	964	865	871	762	837	0.42
Redbourn	4,260	2,047	1,385	1,042	1,331	940	1,184	1,213	0.59
Sandridge	5,680	810	917	788	838	920	828	642	0.79
Wheathampstead	5,140	1,666	731	645	811	702	905	776	0.47
St Albans St Micheal (Part)	190	1,010	n/a	964	1,022	1,133	984	1,205	0.79
Part St Michael within the borough of St Albans		517							
St Albans St Peter (Part)	3,580	772	n/a	1,438	1,320	1,224	1,260	1,398	0.47
St Alban St Peter (Tittenhanger)	2,330	1,038							
Part St Peter within the borough of St Alban		1,163							
St Albans St Stephen	14,010	1,746	n/a	1,309	1,348	1,457	1,210	1,218	0.70
St Albans Borough	320								
St Alban's Union	40,430	15,833	4,269	8,236	8,490	8,313	8,443	8,488	0.54

Watford Union

Parish	Area (Acres)	Population 1831	Poor Relief to 25 March					Average Poor Relief Declared at Unionisation ¹	Average Poor relief per Head of Population 1831-1834 £s
			1830	1831	1832	1833	1834		
Abbot's Langley	5,100	1,980	1,680	1,407	1,381	1,181	830	1,036	0.52
Aldenham	5,830	1,494	919	831	1,125	956	907	1,047	0.70
Bushey	3,130	1,586	857	819	1,101	541	905	1,013	0.64
Rickmansworth	9,740	4,574	2,364	2,083	2,316	2,119	1,808	2,232	0.49
Sarrett	1,660	452	410	359	381	402	397	412	0.91
Watford	10,980	5,293	2,535	2,676	2,580	2,750	2,500	2,733	0.52
Watford Union	36,440	15,379	8,765	8,175	8,884	7,949	7,347	8,473	0.55

Sources

BPP, *First annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales, 1835* (500), XXXV.107 Appendix D, p.249-250.

BPP, *Poor rate returns. An account of the money expended for the maintenance and relief of the poor in every parish, township or other place in England and Wales, for the five years ending 25th March 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833 and 1834, 1835* (444) XLVII.185 pp.75-78

BPP, *Census of Great Britain 1831*, Enumeration Abstract, Vol I, p2 and pp.244-251

Appendix X

Pauper appeals heard by Hitchin board of guardians 10 August 1835

Parish	Pauper Name	Decision
Stevenage	Ann Corks	allowance of 1/6 to be put on
	Mary Well	allowance to be increased from 1/6 to 2/- per week while in
	Sarah Chalkley	widow to be allowed 2/6 per week
	John Cox	accidentally hurt to be occasionally relieved
Weston	Edward Pearce	to be allowed 6/- per week
	Ann Burns and family	to be allowed 2/- per week if relieving officer finds it necessary
	Elizabeth Andrews	to be increased to 1/- per week
Knebworth	Hunt's wife and 2 children	Allowance to be reduced to 2/- per week
Willian	Ann Giles's	allowance to be advanced to 2/6 per week
	Ann Walker and her mother who is bed-ridden	allowance to be increased to 5/- per week
	Sophie London	to be allowed 1/- per week
Clothall	John Emmings and his mother	to be allowed 3/- per week
	George Smith's	allowance of 1/- per week to be discontinued
	Mary Stratton	to be allowed 1/- per week
Gravelly	John Harmer and wife	to be offered the workhouse
	Elizabeth Warboys	to come into the Workhouse at Hitchin
	Mary Warren	her mother being dead, to come into the Workhouse at Hitchin
Newnham	Elizabeth Lucas	to be allowed 3/- per week
Pirton	William Barr	to be allowed 3/- per week
	Daniel Brown	to be allowed 2/- per week
Ickleford	Wilshire's illegitimate child	to come into the Workhouse
	Joseph Street	to be allowed 1/6 per week while he continued ill
Ippolyts	Mary Hipgrave	to be allowed casual relief while ill
Holwell	Mary Chambers, widow and 3 children	to be allowed 2/6 per week
Pauls Walden	Templeton's Child	to be allowed 1/6 per week
Kings Walden	Jemima Anderson	living at Barnet to be allowed 1/- per week
	Ann Lick	allowance to be increased to 2/- per week for attending Crawley
	Mary Joines	– Darley hall to receive nothing
	William Church	to receive no allowance
Codicote	Wren's family be ill	but having an allowance of 12/- per week from a Benefit club – no relief to be given
Offley	Mary Ward	her allowance to be discontinued – her children able to assist her
Hitchin	Joseph Webster and his wife	to have a women from the workhouse to attend on

Source Hitchin Board of Guardian Minutes, BG/HIT1, 10 Aug 1835.

Appendix XI

Guardians of the Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans and Watford Unions 1835-1847

Compiled from board of guardian minute books BG/HAT/1-5, BG/HIT/1-10, BG/WAT/1-7, Off Acc 1835 and supplemented from additional sources as shown

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	James	Archer	Farmer	Agriculture		1781	1848	54	1835	2
Hatfield	Northaw	Elected	Benjamin	Baugh	Farmer	Agriculture	Farmer 96 acres employing 5 labourers Census 1841-HO107/438/13 Census 1851 - HO107/1712/36/19	1822	-	24	1846	1
Hatfield	Northaw	Elected	Jno Hickman	Binyon	Schoolmas ter	Professional	Serves until May 1836 when appointed as Clerk to BOG	1797	1879	38	1835	2
Hatfield	North Mimms	Elected	Wm Chas	Casomajor	Gentry	Gentry	of Spanish descent family settled in Bristol late 18C lived at Potterills, d. 1847 1841 Census - Independent means HO 107/442/1/23	1781	1847	54	1835	12

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hatfield	North Mimms	Elected	Rev J G	Faithful	Vicar North Mimms	Clergy	Son of Rev Francis Faithful Clergy and friend of Viscount Cranbourne http://www.geni.com/people/Rev-James-Grantham-Faithfull/600000009428076638 http://anglicanhistory.org/england/sac/blain_opening2007.pdf	1817	1873	28	1845	2
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	Frederick	Farr	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/436/10	1806	-	36	1842	2
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	George	Farr	Farmer	Agriculture	married Louise Redfern Birmingham 1836 Pigot's 1839 p.187 Miller at Hatfield Mill 1841 Census - Hyde farm west HO 107/436/10/31 1851 Census HO 107/1712/191/5 Miller & Farmer 320 acres 3 millers & 12 labourers	1791	-	44	1835	1
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	T?	Farr	Unknown	Unknown	Could be same as above	NK	-	NK	1844	2
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	John	Faulkner	Farmer	Agriculture	Woodside 1841 Census HO107/436/9/6	1781	-	55	1836	1
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	William	Hall	Builder	Trade & Manufacturing	Hill House, Park St 1841 Census - HO107/439/9/44	1771	1845	69	1840	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hatfield	Essendon	Elected	Benjamin	Hooper	Farmer	Agriculture	Essendonbury Farm 1841 Census HO107/444/13/25	1772	-	63	1835	8
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	George	Langton	Miller	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO107/436/10/28	1791	-	50	1841	1
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	Jno	Nightingale	Farmer	Agriculture	Symonds Hyde 1841 Census HO107/436/11/23	1776	-	64	1840	1
Hatfield	Northaw	Elected	James Smith	Nowlson	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census Harperfield Hall farm, 500 acres HO107/1713/321	1805	-	31	1836	8
Hatfield	Essendon	Elected	William	Pallett	Unknown	Unknown	None	NK	-	NK	1841	1
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	Thomas	Roberts	Miller	Trade & Manufacturi ng	Pigot's 1839 p.187 Lemsford Mill	NK	-	NK	1835	1
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	James	Simkins	Butcher	Trade & Manufacturin g	1841 Census HO 107/436/10/5 Fore St , Pigot's 1839 p.186	1776	-	61	1837	3
Hatfield	North Mimms	Elected	Rev Thomas H	Sotheby	Clergy	Clergy	North Mimms Vicarage 1841 Census HO 107/442/1/21	1811	-	25	1836	9
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	Wright	Stuchbery	Farmer	Agriculture	Cold Harbour, Hatfield 1841 Census Ho107/436/9/7 Tea dealer in Chelsea, London 1851 Census HO107/1472/55/21 Died London GRO Index 1857 June	1794	1857	47	1841	3

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	Samuel	Swannel	Farmer	Agriculture	Holwell Farm, 1841 Census HO 107/436/9/18 - had wife and 9 children 1851 Census HO 107/1712/107 Now a farmer of 770 acres employing 20 labourers Has 4 more children not recorded in 1851	1798	-	38	1836	2
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	Charles	Townsend	Innkeeper	Retail	Innkeeper - Salisbury Arms 1841 Census HO 107/436/9/20	1809	-	28	1837	3
Hatfield	Essendon	Elected	James	Valentine	Unknown	Unknown	Not Found	NK	-	NK	1842	5
Hatfield	Northaw	Elected	R	Walford	Unknown	Unknown	Not Found	NK	-	NK	1845	1
Hatfield	Northaw	Elected	Vincent	Walter	Tailor	Trade & Manufacturi ng	Tailor Pigot's 1839 p.201 1861 Tailor & Victualler @ two Brewers, Northaw RG9 825 f25 1851 @ Two Brewers, Northaw 1841 Census HO 107/438/13/12	1791	-	44	1835	11
Hatfield	North Mimms	Elected	Isaac	Watson	Unknown	Unknown	Not Found	NK	-	NK	1835	2
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	William John	Webb	Millwright	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO107/444/13/11/15	1786	-	52	1838	9
Hatfield	Northaw	Elected	George	Weston	Farmer	Agriculture	Cattle Gate Farm 1841 Census HO107/438/13/2	1806	-	38	1844	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hatfield	Ex- Officio/Ha tfield	Elected & Ex- Officio	Rev Francis	Faithful	Rector of Hatfield	Clergy	1786-1854 d. 21-11-1854	1786	1854	49	1835	9
Hatfield	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Chas John	Dimsdale	Gentry	Gentry	1801-1872 Later the 5th Baron Dimsdale. With seat at Essendon Place 1841 Census HO 107/444/13/8	1801	1872	34	1835	12
Hatfield	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	The Hon. Baron	Dimsdale	Gentry	Gentry	Thomas Robert Dimsdale, 4th Baron Dimsdale of the Russian Empire (1796-1865) Camfield place elder brother of Charles John Dimsdale.	1796	1865	39	1835	2
Hatfield	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	William	Franks (Vice-Chair)	Independe nt Means	Gentry	of Woodside, Herts - Landowner Grid Ref 247063 (Parks in Hertfordshire since 1500. Hugh C prince, p.137) 1841 Census - Woodhill Farm HO 107/436/9/3 1851 Census - HO107/1712/106	1788	-	47	1835	12
Hatfield	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	R W	Gausen	Landed Proprietor	Gentry	Brookmans Park Julie P. Moore, <i>The Impact of Agricultural Depression and Landownership Change on the County of Hertfordshire, c.1870–1914</i> , Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hertfordshire, 2010.	1816	1880	26	1842	5

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hatfield	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Fulke S	Greville	Gentry	Gentry	gentry - later MP www.cracroftspeerage.co.uk /online/content/greville1869 .htm	1821	1883	24	1845	2
Hatfield	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Thomas	Kemble	Landed Proprietor	Gentry	1851 Census - HO107/1712/47/4	1815	-	28	1843	4
Hatfield	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio		Lesley Esq	Unknown	Unknown	None	NK	-	NK	1846	1
Hatfield	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Thomas	Mills	Barrister/G entry	Professional	Lived at Tolmers, Newgate Street, Pigot's 1839 p.191 1794-1862 MP for Totness http://hansard.millbanksyste ms.com/people/mr-thomas- mills [accessed 11-8-2014]	1794	1862	42	1836	5
Hatfield	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Rev R	Orme	Clergy	Clergy	(1760-1843) Clerk of Essendon Will 13-11-1843 Rector of Essendon 52 years Gents Mag Dec 1843	1760	1843	75	1835	4
Hatfield	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	The Right Hon Earl	Rosebery	Nobility	Gentry	4th Earl	1783	1868	55	1838	2
Hatfield	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Lord	Salisbury (Chair)	Nobility	Gentry	2nd Marquis of Salisbury	1791	1868	44	1835	12

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hatfield	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Sir Culling Eardley	Smith	Gentry	Gentry	(1808-1863) Religious Campaigner DNB - believed C of E was corrupted by its connection with the state Was MP for Pontefract 1830- 1831 and took a strong interest in the reform of the poor laws. Liberal - 'but his primary allegiance was defined by his protestant evangelical religious principles" Unsuccessful in fighting Pontefract seat in 1837	1808	1863	27	1835	2
Hitchin	Letchwort h	Elected	The Rev John	Allington	Clergy	Clergy	Foster, Joseph. Alumni Oxonienes: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886, p.15 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615	1795	1864	45	1840	4
Hitchin	Kimpton	Elected	Vincent	Barker	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO 107/1710/527/3 540 acres & 32 Labs Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615	1808	-	31	1839	2
Hitchin	Ippollitts	Elected	Henry	Baron	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 Farmer, Gosmore, Ippollitts	NK	-	NK	1842	2
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	John	Bates	Unknown	Unknown	Multiple possibilities	NK	-	NK	1846	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Pauls Walden & Offley	Elected	William	Bates	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/438/15/19 - Stagenhoe Bottom 1851 Census HO107/1710/485/12 - Stagenhoe Bottom Farm, 363 acres & 13 Labs Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615 Pauls Walden 1842-1844, Offley 1844-45	1799	-	45	1844	8
Hitchin	Weston	Elected	Joseph	Beaumont	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census - HO107/437/10/16/9 1851 Census - Farmer 674 acres - HO107/1709/162/3 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 - Lannock Farm	1778	-	57	1835	8
Hitchin	Kings Walden	Elected	Rev Ralph	Berners	Clergy	Clergy	http://www.orange-tree-valley.co.uk/hnj/rr01/rr01_014.htm	1803	1853	33	1836	1
Hitchin	Codicote	Elected	John Bratt	Bigg	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO107/1710/545/15 493 acres & 22 Labs Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615	1798	-	46	1844	3
Hitchin	Pirton	Elected	William	Brown	Farmer	Agriculture	HO107/1710/306/14 - 200 acres & 10 Labourers Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 - Highdown Farm, Pirton	1792	-	52	1844	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Ippollitts	Elected	Edward	Burr	Miller	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO107/445/8/11/16	1791	-	45	1836	5
Hitchin	Gravelly	Elected	Thomas	Burr	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/436/8/7/10 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 - Gravelly Hall	1784	-	55	1839	4
Hitchin	Pauls Walden	Elected	Charles	Butler	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/438/15/32/10	1801	-	34	1835	1
Hitchin	Kings Walden	Elected	The Rev Jonathan Henry Lovatt	Cameron	Clergy	Clergy	1841 Census HO107/39/1839/282/9 - Vicar West Lavington, Wiltshire 1851 Census HO107/1175/9/4/1 Swollowcliffe, Wiltshire Cambridge University 'Alumni 1261-1900	1808	1888	32	1840	1
Hitchin	Stevenage	Elected	Thomas	Cass	Innkeeper/ Farmer	Retail	Owner of White Swan Inn Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839 p.212 1841 Census Innkeeper - HO107/437/5/37/22 1851 Census Farmer Employing 9 labs HO107/1709/211/1	1791	-	44	1835	5
Hitchin	Weston	Elected	John	Christy	Farmer	Agriculture	Halls Green 1841 Census HO107/445/7/4/2	1786	-	50	1836	6

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Weston	Elected	Richard	Christy	Yeoman	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/437/10/21/1 - Farmer 1851 Census HO107/1709/15/5 - Miller & bone Crusher employing 4 men Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 -Yeoman	1813	-	30	1843	2
Hitchin	Knebworth	Elected	Beaumont	Cole	Farmer	Agriculture	Deards Farm 1841 Census HO107/436/12/3/1 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 1843-address Knebworth, 1844 address Little Wymondley	1791	-	44	1835	9
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	John	Cook	Tanner	Trade & Manufacturing	Hitchin 1841 Census HO107/445/3/45/12 -Tanner	1797	-	40	1837	1
Hitchin	Offley	Elected	William	Cox Jnr	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1836	3
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	John	Crawley	Unknown	Unknown	At least 4 men with this name in the union	NK	-	NK	1846	1
Hitchin	Holwell & Ickleford	Elected	William	Crawley	Farmer	Agriculture	Green Farm HO107/445/7/4/2	1807	-	28	1835	5
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	William	Cumberland	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1838	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Kings Walden	Elected	Thomas Harwood	Darton	Landed Proprietor & Farmer	Gentry	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 1851 Census HO107/1710/247/1 - Landed Proprietor farming 200 acres with 13 labs Lay Green Hill, Kings Walden	1812	-	31	1843	1
Hitchin	Hexton	Elected	William	Davi[e]s	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615 1841 Census HO107/438/10/8/11	1791	-	48	1839	8
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	William	Davi[e]s	Baker	Trade & Manufacturi ng	Pirton (Hitchin) 1841 Census HO107/445/13/5/4	1811	-	27	1838	1
Hitchin	Kimpton	Elected	Henry	Davies	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 Kimpton Park Farm 1851 Census HO107/1710/522/17 Farmer 250 acres with 9 labs	1809	-	35	1844	3
Hitchin	Gravelly	Elected	Thomas Smoothy	Day	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 - Chisfield Farm, Gravelly 1841 Census HO107/436/8/10/14 1861 Census RG9/375/53/10 - Corn Factor Stretham GRO Index 1890	1811	1890	32	1843	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Newnham	Elected	William	Doggett	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/438/12/6/6 1851 Census Farmer 379 acres employing 23 labourers HO107/1709/6/5 CHECK http://www.gravestonephotos.com/public/findfamily.php?name=Doggett&scrwidth=1600 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615	1790	1859	45	1835	12
Hitchin	Elected [Weston]	Elected	The Rev Benjamin	Donne	Clergy	Clergy	1841 Census HO107/437/10/31/21 1851 Census HO107/1709/192/34 Oxford University Alumni 1715-1886p.378 Vicar of Weston 1837-1864	1801	1864	41	1842	2
Hitchin	Elected [Newnham]	Elected	Rev Samuel Valentine	Edwards	Clergy	Clergy	1841 Census HO107/438/12/3/1 1851 Census HO107/1709/6/4 - Vicar of Newnham GRO Index Dec 1891	1808	1891	37	1845	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Ickleford	Elected	Richard	Eve	Farmer	Agriculture	Ickleford 1851 Census Farmer 240 acres +12 labs HO107/1710/286/31 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615 - Ramerick Farm, Ickleford	1791	-	47	1838	7
Hitchin	Weston	Elected	Elisha	Farr	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/10/27/13	1798	-	37	1835	3
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	John	Forster	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 -Preston	NK	-	NK	1841	2
Hitchin	Great Wymondl ey	Elected	John	Foster	Unknown	Unknown	Several possible options	NK	-	NK	1845	2
Hitchin	Holwell	Elected	John	Foster	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 1843 -Holwell 1844 - Deard's End, Knebworth	NK	-	NK	1843	4
Hitchin	Little Wymondl ey	Elected	John	Foster	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615 1851 Census HO107/1709/322/18 - Farmer 330 acres and 21 labs NPC 1872	1799	1872	43	1842	3

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Knebworth	Elected	Thomas	Franklin	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/436/12/8/9 1851 Census HO107/1709/206/20 - Knebworth Lodge Farm - 245 acres 2 indoor and 1 outdoor labourer	1810	-	35	1845	2
Hitchin	Great Wymondley	Elected	James Spalding	Gardner	Farmer	Agriculture	England, Essex Parish Registers, 1503-1997, database, FamilySearch (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QJDW-RNLP : accessed 28 November 2015), James Spalding Gardner, 14 Jun 1821, Christening; citing , Belchamp St Paul, Essex, England, Record Office, Chelmsford; FHL microfilm 1,471,847. Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615	1820	-	24	1844	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Norton	Elected	Thomas	Gardner	Farmer	Agriculture	Standalone Farm <a href="http://www.nortoncommarc
h.com/wp-
content/uploads/2011/01/gr
aveyard_memorials.pdf">http://www.nortoncommarc h.com/wp- content/uploads/2011/01/gr aveyard_memorials.pdf 1841 Census Standalone Farm HO107/438/14/1 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 1851 Census Standalone Farm - 156 acres & 6 men & boys HO107/1709/31/22	1806	-	31	1837	9
Hitchin	Codicote	Elected	Daniel	Garrett	Farmer	Agriculture	Drivers [?] End, Codicote 1841 Census HO107/438/8/24/12 1851 Census, Farmer 190 acres & 10 men, HO107/1710/559/8 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615	1803	-	33	1836	7
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	John Brady	Geard	Brewer	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO107/445/1/5/4 - Brewer 1851 Census HO107/1799/200/10 - Clerk in Iron Foundry in Ipswich	1809	1896	32	1841	1
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	John Warner	Green	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1843	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Gravelly	Elected	Rev Thomas Fordham	Green	Clergy	Clergy	Rector, Gravelly 1851 Census HO107/1709/205/19 Probate Calendar 1869 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615	1797	1869	40	1837	5
Hitchin	Lilley	Elected	Daniel	Gutteridge	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1835	4
Hitchin	Lilley	Elected	William	Gutteridge	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/445/11/8/9 - Lilley 1851 Census HO107/1710/342/7 286acres & 11 labs	1811	-	28	1839	1
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Hailey	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census, Highover, HO107/445/4/9/13 1851 Census Farmer 420 acres 15 labs HO107/1710/242/26 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615	1783	-	52	1835	12
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	William	Hainworth	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/445/10/17/7 1851 Census Farmer 300 acres 20 men & boys HO107/1710/422/1	1793	-	42	1835	4
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	William	Handscombe	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1838	1

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Hitchin	Pauls Walden	Elected	The Rev Charles	Hardy	Clergy	Clergy	Whitwell, St Pauls Walden 1841 Census HO107/438/15/3 1851 Census HO107/1710/461/4	1796	-	41	1837	1
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	William	Hare	Unknown	Unknown	Several possible options	NK	-	NK	1840	1
Hitchin	Codicote	Elected	John	Hawkins	Unknown	Unknown	Several possible options	NK	-	NK	1838	1
Hitchin	Codicote	Elected	William	Hawkins	Miller	Trade & Manufacturi ng	Kimpton Mill 1841 Census HO107/445/9/6/7	1796	-	42	1838	1
Hitchin	Offley	Elected	William	Hawkins	Attorney	Professional	1841 Census HO107/445/2/22	1801	-	37	1838	2
Hitchin	Gravelly	Elected	Legrew	Hesse	Barrister	Professional	PCC Will PROB11/1883/48 Previously known as Obadiah Legrew Hesse	1771	1837	64	1835	2
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	William	Hicks	Unknown	Unknown	Several possible options	NK	-	NK	1839	5
Hitchin	Pauls Walden	Elected	John	Hill	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/438/15/28/1 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4645, Bendish, Pauls Walden	1786	-	49	1835	4
Hitchin	Pauls Walden	Elected	Robert	Hill	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615, Bendish, Pauls Walden 1841 Census HO107/435/15/28/1 1851 Census HO107/1710/489/1 - 600 acres & 21 labs	1791	-	52	1843	1

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Hitchin	Stevenage	Elected	James	Hilton	Farmer	Agriculture	Chells Farm 1841 Census HO107/437/5/17/7 Died in Australia having emigrated after 1841 http://genforum.genealogy.com/hilton/messages/1635.html	1801	1875	36	1837	2
Hitchin	Newnham	Elected	Thomas	Hin[d]e	Farmer	Agriculture	Newnham 1841 Census HO107/438/12/6/6	1791	-	47	1838	3
Hitchin	Radwell	Elected	Thomas	Hine	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615 - Newnham 1841 Census HO107/438/12/6/6 - Newnham	1791	-	49	1840	4
Hitchin	Little Wymondl ey	Elected	John	Horne	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1835	3
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	Robert	Hull	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1837	1
Hitchin	Kings Walden	Elected	Thomas	Hull	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 - Lodge Farm, Kings Walden	NK	-	NK	1842	1
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	George	Hyman	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1838	1
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	S [OR J]	Hyman	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1836	1
Hitchin	Caldecott	Elected	James	Inskip	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/446/4/1	1776	-	59	1835	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Offley	Elected	George	Irons	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 -Offley 1841 Census HO107/445/12/30/3 [Dig Hennel Farm] - Offley 1851 Census HO107/1757/396/10Stopsle y, Ramridge End, Luton, - Farmer out of business	1816	-	26	1842	1
Hitchin	Lilley	Elected	William	Irons Jnr	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/445/11/12/19 1851 Census HO107/1710/352/26 - Mangrove Farm - 600 acres & 31 Labs	1811	-	29	1840	1
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	Richard	Jepps	Independe nt Means	Gentry	Hitchin [Japp] 1841 Census HO107/445/3/41/5	1786	-	50	1836	1
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	Stephen	Keen	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1838	1
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	James	King	Unknown	Unknown	Several possible options	NK	-	NK	1839	2
Hitchin	Pirton	Elected	Charles	Kingsley	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/445/13/8/9 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 - Pirton	1796	1849	39	1835	5
Hitchin	Kimpton	Elected	Joseph	Kingsley	Brewer & Maltster	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO107/445/9/27/3 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 - Kimpton	1806	-	29	1835	6

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Elected [Great Wymondl ey]	Elected	Edward	Kitchener	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/437/12/4/2 - Red Coats Green 1851 Census HO107/1709/332/6 - Landed proprietor & Farmer 6 men 3 boys	1814	-	25	1839	1
Hitchin	Ippollitts	Elected	William	Lake	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 - St Ibb's, Ippollitts 1851 Census HO107/1710/7/7	1810	-	34	1844	3
Hitchin	Little Wymondl ey	Elected	William	Langford	Farmer	Agriculture	Appraizer [Valuer?] 1851 Census HO107/1709/318/11	1779	-	57	1836	2
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	William	Langford, Snr	Upholstere r	Trade & Manufacturi ng	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615 1841 Census HO 107/445/2/23/4	1811	-	31	1842	2
Hitchin	Hexton	Elected	John	Lines	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/438/10/9/12 1851 Census, Farmer 312 acres 10 men, HO107/1710/334/16	1808	-	29	1837	1
Hitchin	Elected [Willian]	Elected	Ellis	Logsdon	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/437/11/6/6	1796	-	49	1845	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	William	Lucas Jnr	Brewer	Trade & Manufacturi ng	The Lucus book http://janelucas.ca/familyhistory/images/LucasBookp3.jpg Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615	1804	1861	31	1835	7
Hitchin	Elected [Radwell]	Elected	Alfred	Marsh	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO107/1709/16/6 Radwell Grange - Joint occupier with brother Raymond 295 acres &10 men	1795	-	50	1845	2
Hitchin	Offley	Elected	Daniel	Marsh	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census Westbury Farm HO107/445/12/18 1851 Census Lodge Tunn, Kings Walden, 380 acres 19 labs, HO107/417/17 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615	1806	-	30	1836	4
Hitchin	Stevenage	Elected	Edward	Martin	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census, Mossbury, Stevenage, HO107/437/5/17/6	1791	-	46	1837	1
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	William M	Nash	Farmer & Miller	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/437/12/3/1 By 1851 he may be recorded as a Landed Proprietor living in a boarding house @69 Pall Mall HO107/1484/344/26	1816	-	30	1846	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Offley	Elected	James	Oakley	Unknown	Unknown	1841 Census EITHER Farmer, Forster End, Kimpton, b1803 OR Grocer, Middle Row, Stevenage, b 1806	NK	-	NK	1838	1
Hitchin	Offley	Elected	Richard	Oakley	Gentleman	Gentry	1851 Census, Gentleman, Kimpton, HO107/1710/508/14	1802	-	33	1835	1
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	James	Olney	Unknown	Unknown	Several possible options	NK	-	NK	1845	2
Hitchin	Offley	Elected	William	Olney	Farmer & Butcher	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/445/12/4/3	1771	-	64	1835	1
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	William	Pallett	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO107/1710/247/1 - 150 acres & 6 labs Temple Farm, Preston	1801	-	45	1846	1
Hitchin	Kimpton/ Lilley	Elected	George	Passingham	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census, Pauls Walden, Farmer 412 acres 17 labs HO107/1710/495/12 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615 1842 - Rudwick Hall, Kimpton 1843 & 1844 Lilley Farm, Lilley	1802	-	35	1837	10

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Kings Walden	Elected	Peter	Plummer	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census, Kings Walden, HO107/445/10/28/9 Moves to Dunstable and becomes an accountant 1851 Census HO107/1757/169/15	1811	-	27	1838	2
Hitchin	Ickleford	Elected	William	Primmett	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/445/7/1 1851 Census HO107/1710/286/31	1789	-	51	1840	1
Hitchin	Ippollitts	Elected	William Marshall	Proctor	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1835	1
Hitchin	Baldock & Norton	Elected	Morris	Pryor	Brewer	Trade & Manufacturing	1841 Census HO107/436/4/14/23 Maltster <i>Pigot's Directory Hertfordshire 1839</i> p.174 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 - Baldock - Esquire	1804	-	31	1835	11
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	Daniel	Putteridge	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1838	1
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	John	Ransom	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census, Hitchin, Farmer, HO107/445/1/14/23 1851 Census, Retired Farmer, HO107/1710/136/6 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615	1788	-	50	1838	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	Joshua	Ransom	Miller	Trade & Manufacturi ng	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615 - Grove Mill House, Hitchin <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire</i> 1839 p.196 1841 Census, Miller, Nr Grove Mill, HO107/445/4/11/16 1851 Census, Miller, Grove Mill, HO107/1710/242/26	1791	-	44	1835	8
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	John	Ransom Jnr	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/445/1/14/23	1791	-	53	1844	3
Hitchin	Great Wymondl ey	Elected	Samuel	Richardson	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/437/12/3/1 1851 Census, Weston, Farmer 318 acres & 14 labs HO107/1709/176/3 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615	1810	-	25	1835	9
Hitchin	Clothall	Elected	Edward	Roberts	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 - Kingswood, Clothall 1851 Census HO107/1710/33/24 - 540 acres 14 outdoor and 5 indoor men	1791	-	52	1843	4
Hitchin	Kings Walden	Elected	George Whitbrea d	Roberts	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/445/10/18/8 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615	1798	-	37	1835	7

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Kings Walden	Elected	James	Roberts	Farmer	Agriculture	Kings Walden 1841 Census, HO107/445/10/14/1 [there are 2 other James Roberts in the area but both are Ag Labs]	1784	-	53	1837	1
Hitchin	Kings Walden	Elected	Richard	Roberts	Farmer	Agriculture	Winch Hill 1841 Census 445/10/28/10 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615	1786	-	50	1836	5
Hitchin	Clothall	Elected	William	Sale	Carpenter	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO107/446/5/6/7	1813	-	22	1835	7
Hitchin	Offley	Elected	Henry Charles	Sawyer	Farmer	Agriculture	Little Offley 1841 Census HO107/445/12/21/7 Landed Proprietor 1851 Census HO107/1710/377/2	1802	-	36	1838	2
Hitchin	Stevenage	Elected	John Warner	Smith	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615 Stevenage Bury Farm 1841 Census HO107/437/5/15/2 - Bury Farm 1851 Census HO107/1709/228/9 NPC - 1886	1811	1886	31	1842	5

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Baldock	Elected	The Rev John	Smith	Clergy	Clergy	Rector 1832-1870 Discovered the Cypher to Samuel Pepys diary http://www.baldockhistory.org.uk/photo-gallery-church-people.html Monumental Inscription http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Baldock_-_Grave_of_John_Smith.jpg	1813	1887	23	1836	1
Hitchin	Offley	Elected	Thomas	Smoothy	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 - Old Wellbury 1851 Census HO107/1710/381/11 - Old wellbry Farm 381 acres 11 labs GRO Index Dec 1866	1816	1866	28	1844	1
Hitchin	Bygrave	Elected	James	Smyth	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/446/3/1 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615	1801	-	34	1835	9
Hitchin	Baldock	Elected	John	Steed	Gentry/Bre wer	Gentry	Brewer http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/places/places-b/baldock/ans10-030-baldock-star.htm 1841 Census 436/4/29/7 1851 Census 1709/101/20 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 - Gentleman	1793	1877	43	1836	3

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Codicote	Elected	Thomas	Stratton	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census - HO107/438/8/24/13	1791	-	44	1835	1
Hitchin	Offley	Elected	George	Sutton	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 1841 Census HO107/445/12/11/17	1811	1842	31	1842	1
Hitchin	Willian	Elected	John	Sworder	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/437/111/7/9 Will - PROB11/2030/110 Printed List of Guardians MH12/ 4615	1791	1846	44	1835	6
Hitchin	Codicote	Elected	William	Titmuss	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/438/8/10/14	1786	-	49	1835	1
Hitchin	Pauls Walden	Elected	James	Wabey	Butcher	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO107/438/15/12/20 1851 Census HO107/1710/466/15 - Farmer 72 acres 4 men	1778	-	59	1837	1
Hitchin	Baldock	Elected	George Devins	Wade	Solicitor	Professional	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 - Esquire http://www.geni.com/people/george-de-vins-wade/6000000022615804723 1841 Census HO107/436/4/15/25 1851 Census 1709/71/2	1805	-	39	1844	3

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Stevenage	Elected	Thomas	Walker	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615 Rook's Nest Farm, Stevenage 1841 Census HO107/437/5/15/3 1851 Census HO107/1709/235/23-520 acres 19 men 7 boys	1801	-	38	1839	8
Hitchin	Elected [Pauls Walden]	Elected	Samuel	Wellingham	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO107/1710/460/2 - employing 7 men & 3 boys	1808	-	38	1846	1
Hitchin	Radwell	Elected	Alfred	Westley [Wesley]	Miller	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1832 Poll Book	NK	-	NK	1835	1
Hitchin	Codicote	Elected	William	Westwood	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 1841 Census HO107/438/8/1	1801	-	39	1840	3
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	John	Whiting	Fellmonger	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO107/445/1/25/7 1851 Census HO107/1710/69/25 PROB11/2183/141 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615 Fellmonger = dealer in skins & hides	1778	1853	59	1837	5

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Kings Walden	Elected	Joseph	Willmott	Farmer	Agriculture	Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 - Wandon Green, Kings Waldon 1841 Census HO107/445/10/23/1 1851 Census HO107/1713/107/24 - Harpenden 300acres 15 labs	1811	-	33	1844	1
Hitchin	Kimpton	Elected	George	Wilsher	Farmer	Agriculture	Bibbshall Farm 1841 Census HO107/445/9/26/1 [Wilsher] 1851 Census, Farmer 407 acres +23 labs, HO107/1710/527/2 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615 Bibsworth Hall, Kimpton	1801	-	34	1835	6
Hitchin	Hexton / Caldecott	Elected	Thomas	Wilshire	Gentry	Gentry	<i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire</i> p.195	NK	-	NK	1835	3
Hitchin	Kings Walden	Elected	William	Woollatt	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1835	5
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	William	Woolston	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/445/12/12/20 1851 Census HO107/1710/299/1 - 200 acres 9 men & 2 boys	1806	-	34	1840	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Weston/S hephall	Elected	Rev Walter	Wortham	Rector of Shephall	Clergy	Census 1841 HO107/439/3/8/9 1851 Census HO107/1709/289/1Rector Shephall 1837-1877 http://www.shephallmanor.net/chapter_9.htm Printed List of Guardians MH12/4615 - Shephall	1802	1877	34	1836	6
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	George	Wright	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/445/3/40/3 - Pirton Hill, 254 acres & 12 labs	1811	-	34	1845	1
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	Septimus	Wright	Solicitor	Professional	Tile House St, Hitchin 1841 Census HO107/445/2/5/5 HO107/1710/122/20	1803	-	33	1836	2
Hitchin	Pauls Walden	Elected	George	Young	Miller	Trade & Manufacturi ng	Whitwell 1841 Census HO107/438/15/3/3 1851 Census HO107/1710/460/3	1803	-	33	1836	1
Hitchin	Stevenage /Ex- Officio	Elected & Ex- Officio	The Rev G[eorge] B	Blomfield	Rector of St Nicholas [Stevenage]	Clergy	Rector of St Nicholas Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire p.211 1851 Census HO107/1709/228/8	1801	-	34	1835	11

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Baldock/E x-Officio	Elected & Ex- Officio	Robert	Fitzjohn	Gentry / Farmer	Gentry	White Horse St, <i>Pigot's Directory Hertfordshire 1839</i> p.173 1851 Census Farmer 237 acres employing 12 labs - HO107/1709/92/3 Printed List of Guardians MH12/4614 & 4615 - Esquire	1785	-	50	1835	11
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	John	Baron	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1840	2
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	The Rev Dr Miles	Bland	Clergy & Mathemati cian	Clergy	1841 Census HO107/445/11/6/7 - Rector of Lilley 1851 Census HO 107/1710/341/5 - JP Herts & Beds & Rector DND	1787	1867	52	1839	8
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	John	Curling	Independe nt Means	Gentry	1841 Census HO107/445/8/4/3 1851 Census HO107/1710/14/21	1785	-	55	1840	3
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	The Rt Hon Lord Darce	Darce	Nobility	Gentry	Kimpton Hoo <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i> p.195 Formally MP for Hertfordshire http://www.historyofparlia mentonline.org/volume/179 0-1820/member/brand-hon- thomas-1774-1851	1774	1851	61	1835	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	William	Hale	Independe nt Means	Gentry	1841 Census- HO107/445/10/17/7 1851 Census - Landed proprietor & Farmer of 300 acres 17 labs - HO107/1710/422/1	1786	-	49	1835	2
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	J P	Halsey	Unknown	Unknown	Not located	NK	-	NK	1841	1
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Edward	Ham[p]son	Independe nt Means	Gentry	1841 Census, Baldock, HO107/436/4/8/10 Formally Major in the army 1851 Census HO107/1709/84/28 PROB11/2237/460	1788	1856	47	1835	1
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Thomas	Mills	Freeholder	Gentry	1832 Poll Book	NK	-	NK	1835	1
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	John	Pryor	Brewer	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO107/436/4/14/23 1851 Census HO107/1709/72/4 NPC 1861 Clay Hill, Walken	1801	1860	40	1841	2
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Marlboro ugh	Pryor	J.P.	Professional	1851 Census HO107/1709/167/13 JP for Herts, Middex, Liberty of Westminster NPC 1869	1807	1869	37	1844	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Frederick P Delme	Radcliffe	Landed Proprietor	Gentry	1851 Census HO107/1710/205/1 - The Priory, Hitchin, Landed Proprietor 243 acres, Magistrate & Deputy Lieutenant NPC 175	1805	1875	37	1842	1
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	The Hon Frederick D	Ryder	Independe nt means	Gentry	1841 Census HO107/445/7/14/22 - Ickleford House NPC -1882 Cambridge Alumni	1806	1882	36	1842	2
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	The Rev Frederick	Sullivan	Vicar of Kimpton	Clergy	Vicar of Kimpton 1841 Census HO107/445/9/7/10 http://www.thepeerage.com /p30344.htm#i303435	1797	1873	38	1835	12
Hitchin	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	William	Wilshire [Wilshere]	Lord of the Manor MP	Gentry	<i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire</i> p.194-195	1806	1867	29	1835	3
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	Benjamin	Agutter	Tailor	Trade & Manufacturing	Shop & Property ABY/STM/STP <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i> p.207	1810	1862	28	1838	6
St Albans	Redbourn	Elected	Thomas	Aslin	Unknown	Unknown	1841 Census Either Farmer born 1791 - 1841 Census HO 107/438/19/24/3 OR Bailiff born 1811 - HO 107/438/19/23/1	NK	-	NK	1841	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	Rev Marklan d	Barnard	Clergy	Clergy	1841 Census HO 107/438/17/11/16 http://db.theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/persons/DisplayPerson.jsp?PersonID=43099	1803	1895	35	1838	1
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	Luke	Batten	Parish Overseer	Other	1851 Census HO107/1713/271/19 - Alms person Overseer of Parish 1831 http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/constituencies/st-albans	1775	1861	63	1838	1
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	Thomas Ward	Blagg	Solicitor and Town Clerk	Professional	1851 Census HO 107/1713/449/35 Obituary : Thomas Ward Blagg, solicitor and town clerk. Died 31st December 1874, Hertfordshire Almanac page 118, publication date: 01/01/1876	1802	1874	33	1835	1
St Albans	Harpende n/Redbou rn	Elected	Thomas Dixon	Bowman	Landed Proprietor	Gentry	1851 Census -HO 107/1713/391/53 Mayor 1853	1795	1868	42	1837	5
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	Francis	Bunn	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/438/17	1806	-	29	1835	2
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	William	Burgess	Unknown	Unknown	Not identified	NK	-	NK	1836	2
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	William	Cannon	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/438/16/19/9	1771	1841	67	1838	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	John	Capel	Unknown	Unknown	Not identified	NK	-	NK	1839	2
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	John	Clare	Unknown	Unknown	Not identified	NK	-	NK	1836	1
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	Thomas	Clare	Unknown	Unknown	Not identified	NK	-	NK	1837	2
St Albans	Harpende n	Elected	James	Curtis	Brewer & Maltster	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1851 Census HO 107/102/14	1810	-	31	1841	2
St Albans	Harpende n	Elected	William	Davies Jnr	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/441/4/6/7	1801	-	44	1845	1
St Albans	St. Stephen	Elected	Abel	Dickenson	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/439/4/42/9 1851 Census HO 107/1713/560/17 Farmer 165 acres 10 Labs	1797	-	42	1839	2
St Albans	Elected?	Elected	Benjamin	Dickenson	Shoemaker	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO 107/439/45/16	1793	-	46	1839	1
St Albans	Wheatha mpstead	Elected	George	Dickenson	Farmer	Agriculture	Green, Sandridge 1841 Census HO 107/439/1/23/14 Farmer 228 acres 10 labs 1851 Census HO 107/1713/215/4	1812	-	27	1839	2
St Albans	Redbourn	Elected	Ernest	Dixon	Farmer & Miller	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/438/19/27/8 1851 Census HO 107/1713/189/17 Farmer 150 acres 8 labs	1810	-	33	1843	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	Wheathampstead	Elected	John	Dorrington	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/442/8 GRO Death Index March 1846 Vol 6 p313 Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839 p.222	1771	1846	64	1835	2
St Albans	Wheathampstead	Elected	James	Dover	Farmer	Agriculture	Bury Farm Farmer 439 acres 20 labs 1851 Census HO 107/1713/62/35	1810	-	35	1845	3
St Albans	St. Stephen	Elected	Henry	Edwards	Banker	Professional	Banker living on Holywell Hill 1841 Census HO 107/447/6/8/9 Farmer, Great Homestead Farm, 150 acres & 9 men 1851 Census HO 107/1713/542/11 National Probate Calendar 1875	1803	1874	40	1843	1
St Albans	Harpenden	Elected	Thomas	Ferneer	Farmer	Agriculture	National Probate Calendar 15-7-1868	1781	1850	54	1835	2
St Albans	St. Michael	Elected	James	Fitch	Independent means	Gentry	1841 Census HO 107/447/7/16/26 Proprietor of Houses 1851 Census HO 107/1713/407/12	1777	-	63	1840	1
St Albans	St. Stephen	Elected	John	Gomme	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/439/4 St Julian's Farm 1861 Census RG 9/831/80 Farmer 370 acres employing 15 men & 4 boys	1792	1881	43	1835	7

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	Wheathampstead	Elected	William	Gulston	Farmer	Agriculture	Died soon after he was elected a guardian www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/answers/answers-2002/ans-0244-castle-farm.htm	1809	1840	31	1840	1
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	Thomas	Hills	Unknown	Unknown	Not identified	NK	-	NK	1839	2
St Albans	St. Michael	Elected	Thomas	Hollinshead	Farmer	Agriculture	Kettlewells Farm Farmer 287 acres & 6 labs 1851 Census HO 107/1713/512/8 PROB/11/2094/372	1807	1849	33	1840	1
St Albans	Wheathampstead	Elected	John Isaac	House	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/442/8 <i>GC-Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i> p.222	1796	-	39	1835	7
St Albans	Harpenden	Elected	William	How	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO107/441/4/49/22 1851 Census HO 107/1713/89/43 Hammonds End Farmer 335 acres & 12 labs	1806	-	40	1846	4
St Albans	St. Michael	Elected	James	Howard	Farmer	Agriculture	Windridge Farm 1841 Census HO 107/438/11/24/21 Farmer 350 acres & 8 labs 1851 Census HO 107/1713/510/4	1781	1866	54	1835	1
St Albans	Harpenden	Elected	Joshua	Jennings	Farmer	Agriculture	Top Sheet [?] 1841 Census HO 107/441/4/6/6	1791	-	48	1839	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	Harpenden	Elected	William	Kerl Jnr	Farmer	Agriculture	Annabel's Farm - Occupied extensive land in HAR (see Tithe Map) PC681p31-32 By 1851 Annuitant HO 107/1713/122/23	1806	1897	30	1836	3
St Albans	Wheathampstead	Elected	Thomas	Kidman	Farmer	Agriculture	Piggots Hill Farm 1841 Census HO 107/442/8/37/3	1805	-	39	1844	3
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	Thomas	Kinder	Unknown	Unknown	Along with the Searancke family the Kinders dominated brewing in STA http://www.stalbanshistory.org/page_id_493.aspx [accessed 3-11-2014] Also Common Brewer, Mayor 1820,1842,1859 <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i> p.206	1816	1881	20	1836	3
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	William	Langley	Bookseller	Retail	Bookseller 1841 Census HO 107/447/6/9/11 Alderman & Stationer 1851 Census 1713/366/3	1791	-	48	1839	1
St Albans	Wheathampstead	Elected	Charles Higby	Lattimore	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO 107/1713/11/14 Place Farm 273 acres 20 men& 6 boys NPC 1889	1809	1889	30	1839	1
St Albans	Redbourn	Elected	James	Lavender	Unknown	Unknown	Not identified	NK	-	NK	1845	2
St Albans	Redbourn	Elected	John	Lavender	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/438/19	1793	-	42	1835	3

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	St. Stephen/St Michael/A bbey	Elected	Henry	LeJeune	Gentry	Gentry	Freemason, later Bankrupt (1846) Lived in Marlborough Alms houses later in life <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i> p.205	1800	1884	36	1836	4
St Albans	Wheatha mpstead	Elected	James	Mardell	Unknown	Unknown	Not identified	NK	-	NK	1837	5
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	Peter	Martineau	Banker	Professional	Banker and partner in Martineau and Story of STA Uncle of Harriet Martineau? Left St Albans in 1835	1755	1847	80	1835	1
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	Thomas	Mills	Corn Dealer/Pu blican	Retail	Corn Dealer 1841 HO 107/438/14 Publican 1851 HO 107/1713/381/32 Lamb Alley - <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i> p.207	1801	-	35	1836	3
St Albans	Sandridge	Elected	Thomas	Oakley	Farmer	Agriculture	Waterend Farm Also Census enumerator 1841 http://www.sandridgevillage.com/history/history11.htm [accessed26/8/14]	NK	-	NK	1835	11
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	Francis James	Osbaldesto n	Solicitor & Coroner	Professional	1841 Census HO107/447/5/12/17 1851 Census HO 107/1713/407/12 GRO Index Sep 1851	1802	1851	41	1843	3

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	George	Pocock	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census -HO 107/438/16/4/2 Beaumont Farm 1851 Census -Redbournbury Farm Farmer 322 acres 12 labourers	1801	-	36	1837	1
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	Richard	Pocock	Farmer	Agriculture	Extensive land holdings on the tithe map 1840 1841 Census HO 107/438/17 1851 Census HO 107/1713/361/25 Farmer of 549 Acres 22 labourers , 2 servants	1791	1854	45	1836	3
St Albans	St. Michael	Elected	John	Purrott	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/438/11/15/3 Mains Farm 1851 Census HO 107/1713/513/11 Maynes Farm	1792	-	49	1841	6
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	John Pitt	Richardson	Bookseller	Retail	1841 Census HO 107/447/6/10/13 1851 Census HO 107/1713/397/64	1808	-	38	1846	1
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	Thomas	Richardson	Straw Hat Manufactu rer	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO 107/447/8/39/22 Straw Hat Manufacturer 1851 Census HO 107/1713/267/11 Straw Hat Manufacturer & JP NPC 1868	1791	1868	50	1841	6

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	Albinus	Roberts	Chemist	Retail	1841 Census HO 107/447/6/14/22 1851 Census HO 107/1713/381/32	1814	-	28	1842	1
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	Francis	Searancke	Brewer & Maltster	Trade & Manufacturi ng	Owned expensive property in ABY/RED/STM/STP Tithe Awards DSA4/85/1, 79/1, 87/1, 88/1 1851 Census HO 107/1713/483/37 Brewer & Maltster employing 10 men. Born STA <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i> p.206	1810	1885	25	1835	1
St Albans	St. Michael	Elected	Francis Joseph	Searancke	Brewer	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO 107/447/7/16/26 The Angel Brewery 1861 Census RG9/831/19/13 Brewer, Maltster & Spirit Merchant NPC 1889	1810	1889	33	1843	4
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	Samuel	Shrubb	Harness & Rope Maker	Trade & Manufacturi ng	Poll Book (1832) Spicer St 1841 Census HO 107/439/4/1 (as John Shrubb - Spicer St) 1851 Census HO 107/1713/376/23 <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i> p.207	1780	1858	58	1838	9

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	Harpenden	Elected	Robert	Sibley	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/441/4/50/25 Farmer at Kinsbourne Green Farm 1871 Census RG/10/1377/18/27 Farmer, 374 acres, employing 14 men & 4 boys	1811	1889	24	1835	9
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	William	Sibley	Unknown	Unknown	Not identified	NK	-	NK	1840	7
St Albans	St. Stephen	Elected	John Benjamin	Slammers	Unknown	Unknown	Not identified	NK	-	NK	1846	1
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	Alexander Duncan	Small	Farmer / Cattle Dealer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/438/17/11/17 - Napsbury Bankrupt 1834 Bankruptcy superseded 1835	1796	1842	41	1837	1
St Albans	St. Stephen	Elected	Ralph	Smith	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/439/4/27/9 Farmer 1851 Census HO 107/1713/546/19 Farmer at The Wild Farm, unmarried, 300 acres emp.10 men & 5 boys Farmer, 374 acres, employing 14 men & 4 boys	1791	1864	44	1835	1
St Albans	St. Stephen	Elected	Samuel	Smith	Miller	Trade & Manufacturing	Sopwell Mill 1841 Census HO 107/439/4/1 <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839 p.207</i>	1791	-	47	1838	5

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	St. Michael	Elected	Stephen	Smith	Independe nt means	Gentry	1841 Census HO 107/447/7/15/24 Ind 1851 Census HO 107/1713/291/17 - 'JP No Occupation' <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i> p.206	1808	-	28	1836	4
St Albans	St. Michael	Elected	William	Smith	Independe nt means	Gentry	1841 Census HO 107/447/7/15/24 Ind Living in same household as Stephen Smith - probably brothers	1813	-	23	1836	4
St Albans	Redbourn	Elected	John	Stephens	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/438/19/27/9 Farmer at Fish Upper Farm 1851 Census HO 107/1713/546/19 Farmer at The Wild Farm, unmarried, 300 acres emp.10 men & 5 boys Farmer, 374 acres, employing 14 men & 4 boys	1801	1846	34	1835	8
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	Rev William	Upton	Baptist Minister	Clergy	1851 Census HO 107/1713/389/49 Dissenting Minister 1861 Census RG9/296/830/49/38 Baptist Minister of Baptist Chapel	1797	-	49	1846	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	Redbourn	Elected	George	Webb	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/438/19/26/7 Beaumont Hall 1851 Census HO 107/1713/190/18 530 acres & 23 labs	1806	-	34	1840	4
St Albans	St. Stephen	Elected	William Henry	Willmott	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/439/4/4/2 Cuckmans Farm	1768	1842	69	1837	1
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	John	Wingrave	Plait Merchant	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO 107/447/8/5/4	1816	-	23	1839	2
St Albans	St. Stephen	Elected	Jonathan	Wood	Independe nt means	Gentry	Lived at The Holt, STS - Poll Book 1832 Died Sept 1845 - Gentlemen's Magazine p546	1777	1845	59	1836	5
St Albans	St Albans Abbey	Elected	Charles	Young	Independe nt means	Gentry	Holywell Hill 1841 Census HO 107/447/6/5/3 <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i> p.205	1781	-	55	1836	4
St Albans	Sandridge	Elected	George	Young	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO 107/203/12 290 acres & 14 labs	1804	-	42	1846	1
St Albans	St. Peter / Ex-officio	Elected & Ex- Officio	John	Kinder	Farmer / Magistrate	Agriculture	1851 Census HO 107/1713/215 Farmer 700 Acres with 30 labourers Becomes ex-officio Guardian in 1836	1784	1861	51	1835	12

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	St Albans Abbey / Ex-Officio	Elected & Ex- Officio	George Alfred	Muskett	Banker	Professional	http://judithhabgood.wordpress.com/publications/habgood-vs-habgood-in-chancery/chapter-9-george-alfred-muskett/ Bury House Rickmansworth, Banker HO 107/438/22 p.19 Became ex-officio Guardian in 1836 MP for St Albans 1837-1841	1786	1843	49	1835	2
St Albans	Redbourn /Ex- Officio	Elected & Ex- Officio	John Albin	Slack	Land Tax Commissio ner	Professional	Joseph Albin Slack Appointed Land Tax Commissioner 1836 Death in Gentleman's Magazine May 1855 p555 Articled as a Solicitor's Clerk in 1809	NK	1854	NK	1836	2
St Albans	St. Michael / Ex-Officio from 1836	Elected & Ex- Officio	William	Smith jnr	Unknown	Unknown	Found a baptism in STM parish 1801 for William son of William Becomes ex-officio Guardian in 1836	1801	-	34	1835	2
St Albans	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Daniel	Adey	District Auditor	Professional	Formally the APLC	1788	1871	52	1840	3
St Albans	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	William Mogg	Bowen DD	Headmast er	Professional	headmaster of St Albans Grammar School (1803-1845) 1851 Census HO 107/1713/236/11	1768	1857	67	1835	6

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	Ex-Officio (Mayor of St Albans)	Ex- Officio	Richard William	Brabent	Solicitor & Mayor	Professional	Solicitor, DOB/DOD http://caliendi.com/Beal/indil182.html [accessed 31/10/2014] Mayor 1834,1835 List of Mayors of St Albans http://www.stalbans.gov.uk/Images/MayoralCount_tcm15-34883.pdf	1790	1857	45	1835	1
St Albans	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Thomas Foreman	Gape	Landed Proprietor	Gentry	Divorced from wife. http://www.mullocksauctions.co.uk/lot-17077-divorce_-_private_act_printed_document_being_a.html [accessed 3-11-2014] 'Esquire' 1851 Census HO 107/1713/467/5 Alderman & Mayor 1817, 1829 NGC - Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839 p.207	1789	1857	47	1836	3
St Albans	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Lord Viscount	Grimston	Gentry	Gentry	Eldest son of 1st earl Veralum,	1809	1895	26	1835	2
St Albans	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	The Honoura ble Edward Harbottle	Grimston	Gentry	Gentry	Second son of 1st Earl Veralum MP for Borough of St Albans 1835, 1837-41	1812	1881	23	1835	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex-Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupation	Occupational Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	Ex-Officio	Ex-Officio	John	Hawkins	Lawyer	Professional	1841 Census HO 107/441/3 Little Gaddeston	1786	1863	49	1835	12
St Albans	Ex-Officio	Ex-Officio	Joshua	Lomax	JP and landowner	Gentry	Obit: Herts Advertiser p.3 24/3/1866 Childwickbury <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i> p.205	1798	1866	37	1835	1
St Albans	Ex-Officio	Ex-Officio	Geo Robert	Marten (chairman)	Landowner Magistrate	Gentry	Archaeological Solutions Ltd, <i>Capps Cottage, House Lane, Sandridge, St Albans, Hertfordshire, Historic Building Recording</i> , June 2012 http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archiveDS/archiveDownload?t=arch-481-1/dissemination/pdf/archaeol7-143035_1.pdf [accessed 26/08/2014] Obit Hertfordshire Almanac page 132 , Publication date: 01/01/1877	1801	1876	34	1835	12
St Albans	Ex-Officio	Ex-Officio	Henry Joseph Boone	Nicholson	Rector of St Albans	Clergy	1841 Census HO 107/447/6/4/1 1851 Census HO 1713/404/6 Rector of St Albans GRO Index Sep 1866	1795	1866	44	1839	3

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
St Albans	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Robert	Pocock	Yeoman	Agriculture	Occupier new Barnes Mill - Poll Book 1832 p.64 1841 Census 2 men both named POCOCK living in same household in Sopwell Lane, one born 1764 one born 1790 HO 107/447/5/30	NK	-	NK	1836	1
St Albans	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Samuel Reynolds	Solly	Independe nt/Magistr ate	Gentry	1841 Census HO 107/439/4/5/5 Serge Hill, STS 1851 Census HO 107/1713/578/5	1781	1866	54	1835	12
St Albans	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	The Right Honoura ble Earl of	Veralum	Nobility	Gentry	James Walter Grimston, 1st Earl Veralum	1775	1846	60	1835	2
Watford	Bushey	Elected	George	Anderton	Independe nt Means	Gentry	PROB11/2068/329 1841 Census HO107/440/8/24	1796	1848	42	1838	4
Watford	Abbotts Langley	Elected	Robert Hall	Atkinson Esq	Independe nt Means	Gentry	1841 Census HO107/438/1/21 The Law Advertiser Vol 9 (1831) p.278 Partnership Dissolved as Linen & Haberdasher Lived at Trowley House 1832-1851 <i>Abbotts Langley A Hertfordshire Village</i> , Scott Hastie & David Spain, (1993)	1805	-	33	1838	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Abbotts Langley	Elected	Ezekiel	Bailey	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO 107/1714/651/45 221 Acres 15 Labs	1824	-	22	1846	1
Watford	Watford	Elected	Thomas	Barker	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO 107/1714/305/4 224 acres & 8 men	1808	-	36	1844	1
Watford	Sarratt	Elected	Edward Richard Rudd	Barnett	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO107/555/4 Wheelers Farm, Sarratt Farming 26 acres	1804	-	35	1839	3
Watford	Rickmans worth	Elected	Henry	Bateman	Farmer	Agriculture	Tithe - Extensive properties in Rickmansworth- DSA4/80/1 1841 Census Maple Cross Farm, HO107/438/21/42/5 1851 Census - 154 acres, 6 labourers, unmarried HO107/1714/466/2	1796	-	40	1836	5
Watford	Aldenham	Elected	Charles	Boulton Esq	Gentry	Gentry	At Aldenham & Letchmore Heath Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839	NK	-	NK	1835	2
Watford	Watford	Elected	Henry	Catlin	Unknown	Unknown	2 matches Independent HO 107/439/6/26/3 b.1765 Corn Dealer HO 107/439/8/11/16 b.1806	NK	-	NK	1842	2
Watford	Watford	Elected	Thomas	Chapman	Unknown	Unknown	Several found 1841	NK	-	NK	1837	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Watford	Elected	Jonathan	Chater	Druggist	Trade & Manufacturing	1841 Census HO 107/439/7/26/2 1851 Census HO 107/1714/191/9 Chemist & Druggist Pigots Directory 1839 p.219	1810	-	36	1846	1
Watford	Watford	Elected	Leicut Gen Sir Charles	Colville	Army Officer (Retired)	Other	1841 Census HO 107/439/5/44/19 DNB - Vol 4 PP874-5 Pigot's p.218	1770	1843	69	1839	1
Watford	Watford	Elected	Christopher	Dalton	Gentry	Gentry	Watford - Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839	1801	-	34	1835	1
Watford	Aldenham	Elected	Joseph	Dickinson	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/438/3/32/6 Lodge Farm b.1806 HO 107/1714/42/18 Farmer 240 acres + 7 labs (born 1794) RG9/3/832/30/1 (born 1800) Pigot's p.218	1800	-	45	1845	2
Watford	Watford	Elected	William	Dyson	Independent Means	Gentry	1832 Poll Book	NK	-	NK	1835	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Watford	Elected	Frederick	Dyson	Corn Chandler & mealman	Retail	Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839 1841 Census HO 107/439/8/12/18 -Seed Merchant 1851 Census HO 107/1714/207/40 - Proprietor of Houses NPC -1866	1784	1866	52	1836	6
Watford	Watford	Elected	Thomas Edward	Dyson (Vice- Chairman)	Independe nt Means	Gentry	of Tollpitts - Bradshaw's Railway Gazette Vol I p.604 1841 Census - Ind - HO107/439/6/24/1 1851 Census - Landed proprietor, 200 acres & 8 labs, HO107/1714/305/4 Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839	1787	1864	48	1835	7
Watford	Rickmans worth	Elected	Joseph	Edlin	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/438/20/38/12 Farmer Croxley Farm Poll Book Croxley Green 1832 property owner - tithe Map - Watford - DSA4/111/1	1794	1843	42	1836	8

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Bushey	Elected	Michael	Fowler	Farmer & Cattle Dealer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO 107/1714/111/22 150 acres + 5 men +2 boys Pigot's p.220 Importer of Alderney Cows, Little Bushey	1786	-	54	1840	1
Watford	Abbotts Langley	Elected	John	Goodwin	Miller	Trade & Manufacturi ng	Family tree website with dates for John Francis Goodwin of Abbots Langley (1808-1858) & moved to Lancashire?? http://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Goodwin-2080 <i>Abbots Langley Then 1760 - 1960, A history of the Village and four miles around, C.W. Clerk, (Cockfosters, 1997)</i> p.123	1808	1858	27	1835	2
Watford	Bushey	Elected	Abel Sherrell	Gould	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1838	1
Watford	Bushey	Elected	John	Guy	Farmer	Agriculture	Poor Law Report Vol II, App B, p.292	NK	-	NK	1835	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Abbots Langley	Elected	W George/ Charles	Hatley	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census - Hyde Farm - HO107/438/1/35/5 [as George Hatley] Tithe Award - 380 acres of land occupied Farmed Hyde Farm between 1832-57 - 400 acres plus <i>Abbots Langley A Hertfordshire Village</i> , Scott Hastie & David Spain, (1993) p.143	1801	-	35	1836	7
Watford	Bushey	Elected	William	Hawkins	Builder & Carpenter	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO107/440/8/26 Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839	1781	-	56	1837	1
Watford	Rickmans worth	Elected	Daniel	Hills	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1841	2
Watford	Rickmans worth	Elected	James	Hilton	Farmer (Yeoman)	Agriculture	1841 Census, Moor Farm, HO107/438/21/3/1 PROB 11/2060/449	1776	1847	59	1835	10
Watford	Bushey	Elected	Walter	Hodsall (Vice-Chair)	Independe nt Means	Gentry	1841 Census HO 107/440/9/23/16 Pigot's p.218 Rosedale cottage, BUS	1806	-	34	1840	2
Watford	Watford	Elected	John	Holinshead	Independe nt Means	Gentry	PROB11/2025/233 1841 Census HO107/439/8/43 Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839	1776	1845	62	1838	4
Watford	Watford	Elected	John	Holladay	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1844	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Watford	Elected	John	Horncastle	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census - Simmons Farm - HO107/439/5/45 1851 Census - Bursten Farm - HO107/1713/582/13	1801	-	37	1838	4
Watford	Aldenham	Elected	Richard	Horwood	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census Letchworth Heath HO 107/438/3/23/15 1851 Census HO 107/1714/22/6 7 acres	1778	-	60	1838	7
Watford	Watford	Elected	James	Howard	Independ ent Means	Gentry	1841 Census HO107/439/7/3 1851 Census - Fundholder & Landed Proprietor - HO107/1714/164/1 Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839	1781	-	57	1838	1
Watford	Rickmans worth	Elected	David	Keltie	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1837	4
Watford	Watford	Elected	Jonathan	King Esq	Independ ent Means	Gentry	1841 Census, HO107/439/8/30/8 http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/answers/answers-2012/ans12-020-king-watford.htm Watford Place -Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839	1793	1881	42	1835	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Watford	Elected	James	Leach	Miller & Farmer	Trade & Manufacturi ng	PROB11/2127/311 1841 Census HO107/439/5/16 Grove Mill - Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839	1796	1851	41	1837	5
Watford	Watford	Elected	Henry	Lomas	Plumber	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census HO 107/439/7/27/5 - Plumber 1851 Census HO 107/1714/198/23 Plumber & Glazier employing 8 men NPC 1858	1793	1858	50	1843	3
Watford	Abbotts Langley	Elected	Charles	Longman	Gentry	Gentry	Pigot's p.199 - Nash Mills	NK	-	NK	1843	2
Watford	Abbotts Langley	Elected	W	Longman	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1836	1
Watford	Bushey	Elected	Francis	Marshall	Independe nt Means	Gentry	1841 Census, HO107/440/8/38 Bushey -Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839	1779	-	57	1836	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Abbotts Langley	Elected	Septimus Richard	Moate	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census, Little Westwood, HO107/438/1/5 1851 Census, 300 acres & 8 labourers HO107/1714/622/22 <i>Described in Abbots Langley Then 1760 -1960, A history of the Village and four miles around, C.W. Clerk, (Cockfosters, 1997) as ' in his late fifties, of medium height and balding: a sort of John Bull figure, with lively eyes and some air of authority as soon as he rose to his feet.'</i> p.126 When speaking at a vestry meeting in 1815 to discuss the escalating cost of poor relief. He having served the previous year as overseer.	1796	1864	39	1835	4
Watford	Watford	Elected	Charles William	Moore	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO 107/1714/262/14	1800	-	41	1841	3
Watford	Watford	Elected	William	Moore	Farmer	Agriculture	Farmer <a href="http://sjfarrell.com/History
Web/Docs/Callowland_Farm
.pdf">http://sjfarrell.com/History Web/Docs/Callowland_Farm .pdf 1841 Census Callowland Farm - HO107/439/5/35	1806	-	29	1835	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Watford	Elected	John	Neale	Saddler	Trade & Manufacturing	1841 Census HO107/439/7/30 <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i>	1781	1848	56	1837	1
Watford	Bushey	Elected	Bernard Richard	O'Conner	Military	Other	1841 Census HO 107/440/8/42/17	1781	-	61	1842	2
Watford	Bushey	Elected	John	Port Child	Unknown	Unknown	2 possible candidates in Bushey Independent HO 107/440/8/10/14 b.1796 Labourer HO 107/9/5/5 b.1801 Also Pigot's p219 lists a Butcher & Dairyman	NK	-	NK	1844	2
Watford	Sarratt	Elected	Edward	Pritchard	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/439/2/19/8 Rose Hall Farm 1851 Census HO 107/1717/541/28 Layto Hall Farm, Bucks 306 acres +10 labs	1803	-	38	1841	2
Watford	Watford	Elected	Richard	Pugh the Elder	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO 107/1714/219/16	1766	-	75	1841	4
Watford	Bushey	Elected	James	Ramsey	Independen t Means	Gentry	1841 Census HO 107/440/9/6/7 Bushey House 1851 Census HO 107/1714/121/11 Landed Proprietor & Fundholder	1798	-	44	1842	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Bushey	Elected	Robert	Robertson	Farmer	Agriculture	Father & son with same name at same location- assume father is the guardian 1851 Census HO 107/1714/96/28 Farmer 100 acres 3 men	1787	-	58	1845	2
Watford	Watford	Elected	Joshua	Rogers	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1837	1
Watford	Rickmansworth	Elected	James	Sedgwick	Blacksmith & Independent means	Trade & Manufacturing	1841 Census Smith - HO107/438/21/26 Census 1851 Independent means & Blacksmith - HO107/1714/451/19 http://www.sedgwickuk.org/uk/places/hertfordshire/john1725/sedgwick-james1798.html	1798	1868	41	1839	7
Watford	Abbotts Langley	Elected	Charles	Seymour	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1836	1
Watford	Watford	Elected	Thomas Rock	Shute	Silk Throwster Master	Trade & Manufacturing	1841 Census HO 107/439/6/13/3 1851 Census HO 107/1714/292/4 Pigot's p.220	1802	-	39	1841	1
Watford	Abbotts Langley	Elected	John	Slack	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1846	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Aldenham	Elected	Joseph	Slaughter	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census, Patetrets Farm, HO107/438/3/4 PROB11/2103/280 Nov 1849 poor Law report Vol 2 App B p.292	1781	1849	55	1836	1
Watford	Bushey	Elected	Bailey	Smith	Independe nt Means	Gentry	memorial tablet http://www.watfordobserver.co.uk/nostalgia/memories/8399839.A_look_at_Watford_s_architecture/ 1841 Census HO107/439/8/15	1783	1850	52	1835	3
Watford	Watford	Elected	James	Smith	Unknown	Unknown	3 possible men, a shoe-in, a paper manufacturer & a publican	NK	-	NK	1836	2
Watford	Aldenham	Elected	Phillip	Smith	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1837	1
Watford	Aldenham	Elected	Thomas	Smith	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1835	1
Watford	Rickmans worth	Elected	Thomas Deacon	Smith	Veterinary	Professional	1851 Census HO 107/1714/74/23 Pigot's p204	1798	-	48	1846	1
Watford	Rickmans worth	Elected	William	Smith	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO 107/1714/506/10 289 acres & 17 labs	1810	-	32	1842	5
Watford	Rickmans worth	Elected	Charles	Stevens	Papermak er	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1832 Poll Book Occupier Mills & Land 1851 Census HO 107/1715/300/17	1803	-	32	1835	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Sarratt	Elected	John Dodd	Stevens	Paper Manufactu rer	Trade & Manufacturi ng	Papermaker at Sarratt Mill http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/places/places-s/sarratt/sarratt-paper-mill.htm 1851 Census HO 107/1715/300/17 GRO Index Jun 1854	1775	1854	60	1835	4
Watford	Aldenham	Elected	William	Stuart Esq	Gentry	Gentry	At Aldenham Abbey - <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i>	NK	-	NK	1837	9
Watford	Watford	Elected	James	Toovey	Innkeeper	Retail	1841 Census HO107/439/8/46 1851 Census Rose & Crown HO107/1714/257/4	1810	-	28	1838	1
Watford	Watford	Elected	John	Weall Jnr	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1846	1
Watford	Sarratt	Elected	George	Webber	Farmer	Agriculture	1851 Census HO 107/1715/564/5 Farmer employing 5 labs (no acreage given)	1816	-	27	1843	2
Watford	Rickmans worth	Elected	Thomas	Weedon	Paper Manufactu rer	Trade & Manufacturi ng	HO107/438/20/25 PROB11/2150/206	1801	1852	34	1835	2
Watford	Watford	Elected	James	White	Farmer	Agriculture	1841 Census HO 107/439/6/18/12	1796	-	45	1841	1
Watford	Rickmans worth	Elected	William	White	Unknown	Unknown	3 individuals possible , Farmer, Miller, Sawyer	1791	-	44	1835	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Abbotts Langley / Ex-officio	Elected & Ex- Officio	Joseph	Foskett Esq	Army Captain	Other	1841 Census - Capt. H G - HO107/438/1/10 Abbotts Langley Then 1760 - 1960, A history of the Village and four miles around, C.W. Clerk, (Cockfosters, 1997) p.225-226	1799	-	40	1839	3
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Humphre y Harper	Burchell	Barrister & JP	Professional	1851 Census HO 107/1714/74/23 The Grange Bushey Pigot's Directory 1839 p.218 RG4/4660	1795	-	44	1839	8
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	The Hon. Rev William	Capel	Vicar of Watford	Clergy	Vicar of Watford 3rd son of 4th Earl of Essex 1832 dispute about the performance of his duties. - Gents Mag 1855 p215	1775	1854	60	1835	12
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	William	Capel Esq	Independe nt Means	Gentry	1841 Census HO 107/439/5/52/4 Pigot's Directory 1839 p 218 Kytes Farm GRO Index Jun 1876	1804	1876	36	1840	7
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Peter	Clutterbuck Esq	Independe nt Means	Gentry	of Watford . JP Gents Mag Vol 161 -1837 The Clutterbuck Book http://clutterbuckorg.blogspot.co.uk/2004/08/clutterbuck-book.html [Alternatively Peter Clutterbuck 1807-1843]	1782	1837	53	1835	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Robert	Clutterbuck Esq	Independe nt Means	Gentry	1841 Census HO 107/439/7/4/2 1851 Census HO 107/1645/48/56 Landed Proprietor in Brighton	1799	-	44	1843	4
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Mjr Gen Sir Adolphus	Dalrymple	Army Officer	Other	1841 Census HO 107/438/3/1 - Aldenham NPC - 1866 - 'Baronet & General'	1784	1866	59	1843	4
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	The Right Honoura ble Earl of	Essex	Nobility	Gentry	http://thepeerage.com/p1289.htm	1803	1892	37	1840	6
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	John	Falcon Esq	Independe nt Means	Gentry	Extensive property in WAT - Tithe Map DSA4/111/1 Gaston House - Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839 http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/herts/vol2/pp451-464 NBI Watford St Mary's	1767	1846	68	1835	6

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Edmund	Fernley Whittingstal l Esq	Brewer	Trade & Manufacturi ng	1841 Census - Magistrate - HO107/438/5/3 1851 Census HO107/1714/620 Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839 Brewer in Watford & Gentry in ABL Lived at Langleybury. <i>Abbots Langley A Hertfordshire Village</i> , Scott Hastie & David Spain, (1993) p.156	1788	1856	50	1838	4
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Rev Richard	Gee	Clergy	Clergy	1841 Census HO 107/447/6/10/13 1851 Census HO 107/1714/576/1 Vicar Abbotts Langley	1818	-	27	1845	2
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	James	Hayward	Independe nt Means	Gentry	1841 Census HO 107/438/20/25/18 Loudwater House RIK	1811	-	28	1839	6

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Nathania I	Hibbert Esq (Chairman)	Independe nt Means	Gentry	of Munden House http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/places/places-w/watford/watford-munden.htm Son of a West India Merchant & Barrister http://lordbyron.cath.lib.vt.edu/persRec.php?choose=PersRefs&selectPerson=NaHibbe1865 Later High Sherriff of Herts http://www.geni.com/projects/Historical-Hertfordshire/16492 Little Merry Hall - Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839	1794	1865	42	1836	11
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Edward	Hodgson	Clergy	Clergy	1841 Census HO 107/438/22/30/15 - RIK 1851 Census HO 107/1646/60/2 Vicar of RIK Pigot's p.203	1776	1853	60	1836	1
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Rev William	Lewis	Vicar of Abbotts Langley	Clergy	Vicar of Abbots Langley 1841 Census, HO107/438/26/20 <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i>	1806	-	29	1835	9

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Stewart	Marjoribank s Esq MP	MP	Professional	MP & Merchant (Wine & East India Company) Bushey Grove, nr Watford http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/marjoribanks-stewart-1774-1863 Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839	1774	1863	61	1835	8
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	John Finch	Mason Esq (Chairman)	Independe nt Means	Gentry	Aldenham Lodge HO107/438/3/32 Prob11/2174/187 Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839	1771	1853	64	1835	12
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Edmund	Morris Esq	Unknown	Unknown	of Chorleywood [several generations have the same name http://www.mocavo.com/Journals-of-the-Hon-William-Hervey-in-North-America-and-Europe-From-1755-to-1814/701717/80	NK	-	NK	1835	1

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	George Alfred	Muskett Esq	Banker	Professional	http://judithhabgood.wordpress.com/publications/habgood-vs-habgood-in-chancery/chapter-9-george-alfred-muskett/ Bury House Rickmansworth, Banker HO 107/438/22 p.19 Elected Guardian at STA 1835 & became ex-officio Guardian in STA 1836 MP for St Albans 1837-1841 Burry House - <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i>	1786	1843	49	1835	4
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Joseph	Orden	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1842	2
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	John	Ryley Esq	Independe nt Means	Gentry	High Elms, Watford HO107/439/5/33 PROB11/2028/285 [Ryler] <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i>	1786	1847	49	1835	5
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	William	Stuart Esq	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1836	2

Union	Parish	Elected/ Ex Officio	First Name	Surname	Occupati on	Occupation al Group	Other Information and Sources	Birth Year	Death Year	Age when appointed	Date First Appointed	No Years Served
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	John Frances	Timins Esq	Navel Captain & Independe nt means	Other	1841 Census Hillfield House HO107/438/3/24 of Aldenham High Sherriff 1813 PROB 11/1983/163 https://www.bonhams.com/ auctions/11207/lot/58/ <i>Pigot's Directory of Hertfordshire 1839</i>	1767	1843	68	1835	4
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	Humphre y [Henry] William	Woolrych Esq	Lawyer	Professional	Croxley Green 1841 Census HO107/438/20/38	1795	1871	40	1835	9
Watford	Ex-Officio	Ex- Officio	George	Worthingto n Esq	Unknown	Unknown	Not Located	NK	-	NK	1835	0

Appendix XII

Guardians' Occupations in the Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans and Watford Unions 1835 to 1847

Occupation /Union	Hatfield	Hitchin	St Albans	Watford	Total
Agriculture	11	74	33	22	140
Farmer	11	71	29	20	131
Farmer (Yeoman)				1	1
Farmer / Cattle Dealer			1		1
Farmer / Magistrate			1		1
Farmer & Butcher		1			1
Farmer & Cattle Dealer				1	1
Farmer & Miller		1	1		2
Yeoman		1	1		2
Clergy	4	12	3	4	23
Baptist Minister			1		1
Clergy	2	8	1	2	13
Clergy & Mathematician		1			1
Rector of Hatfield	1				1
Rector of Shephall		1			1
Rector of St Nicholas [Stevenage]		1			1
Rector of St Albans			1		1
Vicar North Mimms	1				1
Vicar of Abbots Langley				1	1
Vicar of Kimpton		1			1
Vicar of Watford				1	1
Gentry	10	14	14	24	62
Freeholder		1			1
Gentleman		1			1
Gentry	5	1	3	4	13
Gentry / Farmer		1			1
Gentry/Brewer		1			1
Independent Means	1	5	5	19	30
Independent/Magistrate			1		1
JP and landowner			1		1
Landed Proprietor	2	1	2		5
Landed Proprietor & Farmer		1			1
Landowner Magistrate			1		1
Lord of the Manor MP		1			1
Nobility	2	1	1	1	5

Occupation /Union	Hatfield	Hitchin	St Albans	Watford	Total
Other			1	5	6
Army Captain				1	1
Army Officer				1	1
Army Officer (Retired)				1	1
Military				1	1
Navel Captain & Independent means				1	1
Parish Overseer			1		1
Professional	2	5	10	5	22
Attorney		1			1
Banker			3		3
Banker				1	1
Barrister		1			1
Barrister & JP				1	1
Barrister/Gentry	1				1
District Auditor			1		1
Headmaster			1		1
J.P.		1			1
Land Tax Commissioner			1		1
Lawyer			1	1	2
MP				1	1
Schoolmaster	1				1
Solicitor		2			2
Solicitor & Coroner			1		1
Solicitor & Mayor			1		1
Solicitor and Town Clerk			1		1
Veterinary				1	1
Retail	1	1	4	2	8
Bookseller			2		2
Chemist			1		1
Corn Chandler & mealman				1	1
Corn Dealer/Publican			1		1
Innkeeper/Farmer		1			1
Innkeeper	1			1	2

Occupation /Union	Hatfield	Hitchin	St Albans	Watford	Total
Trade & Manufacturing	6	16	9	12	43
Baker		1			1
Blacksmith & Independent means				1	1
Brewer		4	1	1	6
Brewer & Maltster		1	2		3
Builder	1				1
Builder & Carpenter				1	1
Butcher	1	1			2
Carpenter		1			1
Druggist				1	1
Fellmonger		1			1
Harness & Rope Maker			1		1
Miller	2	5	1	1	9
Miller & Farmer				1	1
Millwright	1				1
Paper Manufacturer				2	2
Papermaker				1	1
Plait Merchant			1		1
Plumber				1	1
Saddler				1	1
Shoemaker			1		1
Silk Throwster Master				1	1
Straw Hat Manufacturer			1		1
Tailor	1		1		2
Tanner		1			1
Upholsterer		1			1
Unknown	6	24	12	20	62

Total	40	146	86	94	366
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Appendix XIII Farm Sizes

Union	Parish	Elected/Ex officio	First Name	Surname	Occupation	Farm Size (acres)	No Employees
Watford	Aldernham	Elected	Richard	Horwood	Farmer	7	0
Watford	Sarratt	Elected	Edward Richard Rudd	Barnett	Farmer	26	NK
Hatfield	Northaw	Elected	Benjamin	Baugh	Farmer	96	5
Watford	Bushey	Elected	Robert	Robertson	Farmer	100	3
Hitchin	Ickelford	Elected	William	Primmett	Farmer	145	7
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	William	Pallett	Farmer	150	6
Watford	Bushey	Elected	Michael	Fowler	Farmer & Cattle Dealer	150	7
St Albans	Redbourn	Elected	Ernest	Dixon	Farmer & Miller	150	8
Watford	Rickmansworth	Elected	Henry	Bateman	Farmer	154	6
St Albans	St. Stephen	Elected	Abel	Dickenson	Farmer	165	10
Hitchin	Codicote	Elected	Daniel	Garrett	Farmer	190	10
Hitchin	Pirton	Elected	William	Brown	Farmer	200	10
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	William	Woolston	Farmer	200	11
Watford	Abbotts Langley	Elected	Ezekiel	Bailey	Farmer	221	15
Watford	Watford	Elected	Thomas	Barker	Farmer	224	8
Watford	Watford	Elected	John	Horncastle	Farmer	225	10
St Albans	Wheathampstead	Elected	George	Dickenson	Farmer	228	10
Watford	Aldernham	Elected	Joseph	Dickinson	Farmer	240	7
Hitchin	Ickleford	Elected	Richard	Eve	Farmer	240	12

Union	Parish	Elected/Ex officio	First Name	Surname	Occupation	Farm Size (acres)	No Employees
Hitchin	Knebworth	Elected	Thomas	Franklin	Farmer	245	3
Hitchin	Kimpton	Elected	Henry	Davies	Farmer	250	9
Hitchin	Elected	Elected	George	Wright	Farmer	254	12
St Albans	Wheathampstead	Elected	Charles Higby	Lattimore	Farmer	273	26
Hitchin	Lilley	Elected	William	Gutteridge	Farmer	286	11
St Albans	St. Michael	Elected	Thomas	Hollinshead	Farmer	287	6
Watford	Rickmansworth	Elected	William	Smith	Farmer	289	17
St Albans	Sandridge	Elected	George	Young	Farmer	290	14
Hitchin	Elected [Radwell]	Elected	Alfred	Marsh	Farmer	295	10
Watford	Abbotts Langley	Elected	Septimus Richard	Moate	Farmer	300	8
St Albans	St. Stephen	Elected	Ralph	Smith	Farmer	300	10
St Albans	Redbourn	Elected	John	Stephens	Farmer	300	15
Hitchin	Kings Walden	Elected	Joseph	Willmott	Farmer	300	15
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	William	Hainworth	Farmer	300	20
Watford	Sarratt	Elected	Edward	Pritchard	Farmer	306	10
Hitchin	Great Wymondley	Elected	Samuel	Richardson	Farmer	318	14
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	George	Farr	Farmer	320	15
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	George	Pocock	Farmer	322	12
Hitchin	Little Wymondley	Elected	John	Foster	Farmer	330	21
St Albans	Harpenden	Elected	William	How	Farmer	335	12
St Albans	St. Michael	Elected	James	Howard	Farmer	350	8
Hitchin	Pauls Walden & Offley	Elected	William	Bates	Farmer	363	13
St Albans	St. Stephen	Elected	John	Gomme	Farmer	370	15
St Albans	Harpenden	Elected	Robert	Sibley	Farmer	374	18
Hitchin	Newnham	Elected	William	Doggett	Farmer	379	23

Union	Parish	Elected/Ex officio	First Name	Surname	Occupation	Farm Size (acres)	No Employees
Hitchin	Offley	Elected	Daniel	Marsh	Farmer	380	19
Hitchin	Offley	Elected	Thomas	Smoothy	Farmer	381	11
Hitchin	Kimpton	Elected	George	Wilsher	Farmer	407	23
Hitchin	Kimpton/Lilley	Elected	George	Passingham	Farmer	412	17
Hitchin	Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Hailey	Farmer	420	15
St Albans	Wheathampstead	Elected	James	Dover	Farmer	439	20
Hitchin	Codicote	Elected	John Bratt	Bigg	Farmer	493	22
Hatfield	Northaw	Elected	James Smith	Nowlson	Farmer	500	30
Hitchin	Stevenage	Elected	Thomas	Walker	Farmer	520	26
St Albans	Redbourn	Elected	George	Webb	Farmer	530	23
Hitchin	Clothall	Elected	Edward	Roberts	Farmer	540	19
Hitchin	Kimpton	Elected	Vincent	Barker	Farmer	540	32
St Albans	St. Peter	Elected	Richard	Pocock	Farmer	549	24
Hitchin	Pauls Walden	Elected	Robert	Hill	Farmer	600	21
Hitchin	Lilley	Elected	William	Irons jnr	Farmer	600	31
Hitchin	Weston	Elected	Joseph	Beaumont	Farmer	674	40
St Albans	St. Peter / Ex officio	Elected & Ex officio	John	Kinder	Farmer / Magistrate	700	30
Hatfield	Hatfield	Elected	Samuel	Swannel	Farmer	770	20
Watford	Sarratt	Elected	George	Webber	Farmer	NK	5
Hitchin	Elected [Great Wymondley]	Elected	Edward	Kitchener	Farmer	NK	9
Hitchin	Elected [Pauls Walden]	Elected	Samuel	Wellingham	Farmer	NK	10

Source 1851 Census – See Appendix XI for full references

Appendix XIV

Annual Attendance Rates of Individual Guardians

Hatfield Union

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
Hatfield	Elected	James	Archer	1835	21.7%	3.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hatfield	Elected	Benjamin	Baugh	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30.0%	1
Hatfield	Elected	Jno Hickman	Binyon	1835	100.0%	14.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hatfield	Elected	Wm Chas	Casomajor	1835	95.7%	60.7%	57.7%	56.0%	42.3%	76.9%	57.7%	61.5%	67.9%	67.9%	55.6%	40.0%	12
Hatfield	Ex-O	Chas John	Dimsdale	1835	56.5%	75.0%	76.9%	64.0%	61.5%	46.2%	65.4%	57.7%	67.9%	39.3%	51.9%	53.3%	12
Hatfield	Ex-O	The Hon. Baron	Dimsdale	1835	13.0%	3.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hatfield	Elected & Ex-O	Rev Francis	Faithful	1835	62.2%	60.7%	46.2%	-	-	-	61.5%	30.8%	53.6%	57.1%	63.0%	70.0%	9
Hatfield	Elected	Rev J G	Faithful	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55.6%	73.3%	2
Hatfield	Elected	Frederick	Farr	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0%	-	-	-	23.3%	2
Hatfield	Elected	George	Farr	1835	65.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hatfield	Elected	T?	Farr	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57.1%	44.4%	-	2
Hatfield	Elected	John	Faulkner	1836	-	28.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hatfield	Ex-O	William	Franks (Vice-Chair)	1835	56.4%	71.4%	69.2%	48.0%	69.2%	53.8%	38.5%	34.6%	28.6%	57.1%	55.6%	30.0%	12
Hatfield	Ex-O	R W	Gausen	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.7%	14.3%	10.7%	22.2%	26.7%	5
Hatfield	Ex-O	Fulke S	Greville	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.4%	23.3%	2

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
Hatfield	Elected	William	Hall	1840	-	-	-	-	-	57.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hatfield	Elected	Benjamin	Hooper	1835	78.3%	67.9%	73.1%	64.0%	73.1%	61.5%	34.6%	7.7%	-	-	-	-	8
Hatfield	Ex-O	Thomas	Kemble	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57.1%	82.1%	70.4%	73.3%	4
Hatfield	Elected	George	Langton	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0%	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hatfield	Ex-O		Lesley Esq	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.3%	1
Hatfield	Ex-O	Thomas	Mills	1836	-	21.4%	19.2%	8.0%	11.5%	3.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Hatfield	Elected	Jno	Nightingale	1840	-	-	-	-	-	3.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hatfield	Elected	James Smith	Nowlson	1836	-	100.0 %	88.5%	84.0%	76.9%	50.0%	57.7%	65.4%	28.6%	-	-	-	8
Hatfield	Ex-O	Rev R	Orme	1835	17.4%	10.7%	-	-	-	3.8%	-	3.8%	-	-	-	-	4
Hatfield	Elected	William	Pallett	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hatfield	Elected	Thomas	Roberts	1835	52.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hatfield	Ex-O	The Right Hon Earl	Rosebery	1838	-	-	-	4.0%	3.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hatfield	Ex-O	Lord	Salisbury (Chair)	1835	8.7%	17.9%	23.1%	16.0%	23.1%	7.7%	7.7%	23.1%	10.7%	3.6%	7.4%	0.0%	12
Hatfield	Elected	James	Simkins	1837	-	-	46.2%	52.0%	26.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hatfield	Ex-O	Sir Culling Eardley	Smith	1835	26.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.8%	-	-	-	-	2
Hatfield	Elected	Rev Thomas H	Sotheby	1836	-	75.0%	73.1%	48.0%	57.7%	65.4%	61.5%	50.0%	35.7%	39.3%	-	-	9
Hatfield	Elected	Wright	Stuchbery	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	61.5%	76.9%	28.6%	-	-	-	3
Hatfield	Elected	Samuel	Swannel	1836	-	35.7%	50.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hatfield	Elected	Charles	Townsend	1837	-	-	38.5%	48.0%	38.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hatfield	Elected	James	Valentine	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	65.4%	82.10 %	89.3%	81.5%	80.0%	5
Hatfield	Elected	R	Walford	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.7%	-	1
Hatfield	Elected	Vincent	Walter	1835	82.6%	-	3.8%	0.0%	0%	0.0%	3.8%	3.8%	14.3%	25.0%	18.5%	53.3%	11
Hatfield	Elected	Issac	Watson	1835	4.3%	0.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hatfield	Elected	William John	Webb	1838	-	-	-	36.0%	19.20 %	38.5%	46.2%	53.8%	53.6%	53.6%	22.2%	26.7%	9
Hatfield	Elected	George	Weston	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%	-	-	1

Hitchin Union

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
Hitchin	Elected	The Rev John	Allington	1840	-	-	-	-	-	2.1%	4.2%	-	-	0.0%	-	0.0%	4
Hitchin	Elected	Vincent	Barker	1839	-	-	-	-	8.0%	-	-	-	6.5%	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	Henry	Baron	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24.0%	2.2%	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Ex-O	John	Baron	1840	-	-	-	-	-	4.2%	2.1%	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	John	Bates	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.9%	1
Hitchin	Elected	William	Bates	1844	-	-	-	46.0%	38.0%	35.4%	33.3%	36.0%	19.6%	20.0%	23.4%	-	8
Hitchin	Elected	Joseph	Beaumont	1835	31.3%	-	-	46.0%	40.0%	25.0%	22.9%	18.0%	28.3%	22.2%	-	-	8
Hitchin	Elected	Rev Ralph	Berners	1836	-	42.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	John Bratt	Bigg	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17.8%	27.7%	25.0%	3
Hitchin	Ex-O	The Rev Dr Miles	Bland	1839	-	-	-	-	52.0%	39.6%	50.0%	50.0%	52.2%	33.3%	55.3%	50.0%	8
Hitchin	Elected & Ex-O	The Rev G[eorge] B	Blomfield	1835	43.8%	27.8%	7.4%	32.0%	28.0%	25.0%	20.8%	8.0%	28.3%	-	31.9%	14.6%	11
Hitchin	Elected	William	Brown	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	71.1%	57.4%	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	Edward	Burr	1836	-	9.3%	37.0%	50.0%	64.0%	25.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Burr	1839	-	-	-	-	26.0%	35.4%	27.1%	2.0%	-	-	-	-	4
Hitchin	Elected	Charles	Butler	1835	14.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	The Rev Jonathan Henry Lovatt	Cameron	1840	-	-	-	-	-	43.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Cass	1835	60.4%	38.9%	-	-	68.0%	47.9%	31.3%	-	-	-	-	-	5
Hitchin	Elected	John	Christy	1836	-	37.0%	38.9%	-	40.0%	29.2%	18.8%	-	-	-	-	70.8%	6
Hitchin	Elected	Richard	Christy	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17.4%	28.9%	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	Beaumont	Cole	1835	50.0%	18.5%	-	26.0%	38.0%	45.8%	41.7%	16.0%	32.6%	51.1%	-	-	9
Hitchin	Elected	John	Cook	1837	-	-	5.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
Hitchin	Elected	William	Cox Jnr	1836	-	1.9%	1.9%	-	-	4.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hitchin	Elected	John	Crawley	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.9%	1
Hitchin	Elected	William	Crawley	1835	47.9%	25.9%	16.7%	10.0%	4.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Hitchin	Elected	William	Cumberland	1838	-	-	-	10.0%	-	-	4.2%	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Ex-O	John	Curling	1840	-	-	-	-	-	6.3%	-	2.0%	2.2%	-	-	-	3
Hitchin	Ex-O	The Rt Hon Lord Darce	Darce	1835	6.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas Harwood	Darton	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37.0%	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	William	Davi[e]s	1839	-	-	-	-	12.0%	20.8%	22.9%	6.0%	8.7%	26.7%	10.6%	8.3%	8
Hitchin	Elected	William	Davi[e]s	1838	-	-	-	22.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Henry	Davies	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.2%	12.8%	20.8%	3
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas Smoothy	Day	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.7%	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	William	Doggett	1835	18.8%	5.6%	14.8%	8.0%	10.0%	16.7%	18.8%	18.0%	6.5%	17.8%	21.3%	18.8%	12
Hitchin	Elected	The Rev Benjamin	Donne	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44.0%	-	-	48.9%	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	Rev Samuel Valentine	Edwards	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.9%	18.8%	2
Hitchin	Elected	Richard	Eve	1838	-	-	-	20.0%	24.0%	-	62.5%	42.0%	6.5%	22.2%	25.5%	-	7
Hitchin	Elected	Elisha	Farr	1835	18.8%	-	-	28.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.6%	3
Hitchin	Elected & Ex-O	Robert	Fitzjohn	1835	56.3%	-	61.1%	44.0%	56.0%	6.3%	37.5%	48.0%	43.5%	28.9%	25.5%	35.4%	11
Hitchin	Elected	John	Forster	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0%	-	-	68.9%	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	John	Foster	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44.0%	34.8%	46.7%	-	-	3
Hitchin	Elected	John	Foster	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46.8%	58.3%	2
Hitchin	Elected	John	Foster	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	65.2%	75.6%	72.3%	77.1%	4
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Franklin	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25.5%	18.8%	2
Hitchin	Elected	James Spalding	Gardner	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51.1%	36.2%	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Gardner	1837	-	-	27.8%	-	32.0%	31.3%	43.8%	48.0%	47.8%	57.8%	40.4%	62.5%	9
Hitchin	Elected	Daniel	Garrett	1836	-	5.6%	1.9%	-	-	2.1%	-	0.0%	-	0.0%	4.3%	2.1%	7

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
Hitchin	Elected	John Brady	Geard	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	64.6%	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	John Warner	Green	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.3%	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Rev Thomas Fordham	Green	1837	-	-	88.9%	64.0%	-	-	-	-	-	73.3%	63.8%	64.6%	5
Hitchin	Elected	Daniel	Gutteridge	1835	45.8%	14.8%	7.4%	2.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Hitchin	Elected	William	Gutteridge	1839	-	-	-	-	4.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Hailey	1835	77.1%	59.3%	83.3%	94.0%	86.0%	83.3%	72.9%	76.0%	71.7%	86.7%	74.5%	72.9%	12
Hitchin	Elected	William	Hainworth	1835	68.8%	-	-	-	24.0%	60.4%	43.8%	-	-	-	-	-	4
Hitchin	Ex-O	William	Hale	1835	2.1%	1.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Ex-O	J P	Halsey	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.1%	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Ex-O	Edward	Ham[p]son	1835	4.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	William	Handscombe	1838	-	-	-	40.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	The Rev Charles	Hardy	1837	-	-	50.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	William	Hare	1840	-	-	-	-	-	18.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	John	Hawkins	1838	-	-	-	6.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	William	Hawkins	1838	-	-	-	24.0%	12.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	William	Hawkins	1838	-	-	-	16.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Legrew	Hesse	1835	89.3%	63.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	William	Hicks	1839	-	-	-	-	4.0%	20.8%	35.4%	16.0%	6.5%	-	-	-	5
Hitchin	Elected	John	Hill	1835	12.5%	-	-	-	28.0%	6.3%	-	4.0%	-	-	-	-	4
Hitchin	Elected	Robert	Hill	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	James	Hilton	1837	-	-	51.9%	60.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Hin[d]e	1838	-	-	-	26.0%	32.0%	-	22.9%	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Hine	1840	-	-	-	-	-	37.5%	-	32.0%	19.6%	26.7%	-	-	4
Hitchin	Elected	John	Horne	1835	18.8%	-	-	-	-	39.6%	54.2%	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hitchin	Elected	Robert	Hull	1837	-	-	1.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Hull	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16.0%	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	George	Hyman	1838	-	-	13.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
Hitchin	Elected	S [OR J]	Hyman	1836	-	3.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	James	Inskip	1835	2.1%	0.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	George	Irons	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	William	Irons Jnr	1840	-	-	-	-	-	2.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Richard	Jepps	1836	-	3.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Stephen	Keen	1838	-	-	-	84.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	James	King	1839	-	-	-	-	56.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	52.1%	2
Hitchin	Elected	Charles	Kingsley	1835	41.7%	16.7%	7.4%	-	-	-	-	24.0%	10.9%	-	-	-	5
Hitchin	Elected	Joseph	Kingsley	1835	16.7%	0.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	37.0%	37.8%	31.9%	27.1%	6
Hitchin	Elected	Edward	Kitchener	1839	-	-	-	-	4.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	William	Lake	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.2%	21.3%	22.9%	3
Hitchin	Elected	William	Langford	1836	-	61.1%	22.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	William	Langford, Snr	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	58.0%	73.9%	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	John	Lines	1837	-	-	7.4%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Ellis	Logsdon	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19.1%	16.7%	2
Hitchin	Elected	William	Lucas Jnr	1835	81.3%	68.5%	-	-	54.0%	70.8%	-	-	-	84.4%	72.3%	66.7%	7
Hitchin	Elected	Alfred	Marsh	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31.9%	35.4%	2
Hitchin	Elected	Daniel	Marsh	1836	-	13.0%	18.5%	-	-	-	14.6%	-	21.7%	-	-	-	4
Hitchin	Elected	Edward	Martin	1837	-	-	1.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Ex-O	Thomas	Mills	1835	12.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	William M	Nash	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	54.2%	1
Hitchin	Elected	James	Oakley	1838	-	-	-	18.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Richard	Oakley	1835	8.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	James	Olney	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.3%	10.4%	2
Hitchin	Elected	William	Olney	1835	31.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	William	Pallett	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.3%	1
Hitchin	Elected	George	Passingham	1837	-	-	70.4%	82.0%	66.0%	68.8%	66.7%	68.0%	73.9%	80.0%	74.5%	79.2%	10
Hitchin	Elected	Peter	Plummer	1838	-	-	-	42.0%	-	-	60.4%	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	William	Primmett	1840	-	-	-	-	-	6.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	William	Proctor Marshall	1835	16.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
Hitchin	Ex-O	John	Pryor	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.1%	-	-	4.4%	-	-	2
Hitchin	Ex-O	Marlborough	Pryor	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.2%	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Morris	Pryor	1835	75.0%	37.0%	11.1%	6.0%	4.0%	2.1%	22.9%	-	2.2%	13.3%	21.3%	27.1%	11
Hitchin	Elected	Daniel	Putteridge	1838	-	-	-	2.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Ex-O	Frederick P Delme	Radcliffe	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.0%	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	John	Ransom	1838	-	-	-	84.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Joshua	Ransom	1835	95.8%	77.8%	81.5%	-	58.0%	79.2%	70.8%	58.0%	52.2%	-	-	-	8
Hitchin	Elected	John	Ransom Jnr	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66.7%	72.3%	60.4%	3
Hitchin	Elected	Samuel	Richardson	1835	22.9%	11.1%	25.9%	10.0%	14.0%	10.4%	-	34.0%	15.2%	-	19.1%	-	9
Hitchin	Elected	Edward	Roberts	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28.3%	22.2%	17.0%	20.8%	4
Hitchin	Elected	George Whitebread	Roberts	1835	54.2%	1.9%	-	54.0%	-	-	58.3%	-	-	55.6%	34.0%	20.8%	7
Hitchin	Elected	James	Roberts	1837	-	-	51.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Richard	Roberts	1836	-	24.1%	7.4%	-	46.0%	-	-	42.0%	37.0%	-	-	-	5
Hitchin	Ex-O	The Hon Frederick D	Ryder	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.0%	-	-	-	2.1%	2
Hitchin	Elected	William	Sale	1835	31.3%	27.8%	35.2%	28.0%	20.0%	14.6%	18.8%	-	-	-	-	-	7
Hitchin	Elected	Henry Charles	Sawyer	1838	-	-	-	24.0%	4.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	John Warner	Smith	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	52.0%	41.3%	46.7%	38.3%	31.3%	5
Hitchin	Elected	The Rev John	Smith	1836	-	1.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Smoothy	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.1%	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	James	Smyth	1835	14.6%	1.9%	5.6%	2.0%	6.0%	2.1%	16.7%	-	0.0%	-	2.1%	-	9
Hitchin	Elected	John	Steed	1836	-	3.7%	-	16.0%	-	-	-	14.0%	-	-	-	-	3
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Stratton	1835	27.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Ex-O	The Rev Frederick	Sullivan	1835	83.3%	55.6%	66.7%	60.0%	76.0%	72.9%	68.8%	72.0%	56.5%	53.3%	51.1%	58.3%	12

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
Hitchin	Elected	George	Sutton	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26.0%	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	John	Sworder	1835	41.7%	27.8%	13.0%	-	-	18.8%	14.6%	-	8.7%	-	-	-	6
Hitchin	Elected	William	Titmuss	1835	18.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	James	Wabey	1837	-	-	25.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	George Devins	Wade	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28.9%	29.8%	14.6%	3
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Walker	1839	-	-	-	-	74.0%	66.7%	79.2%	80.0%	76.1%	57.8%	66.0%	77.1%	8
Hitchin	Elected	Samuel	Wellingham	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.1%	1
Hitchin	Elected	Alfred	Westley [Wesley]	1835	12.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	William	Westwood	1840	-	-	-	-	-	22.9%	14.6%	6.0%	-	-	-	-	3
Hitchin	Elected	John	Whiting	1837	-	-	42.6%	86.0%	-	-	81.3%	94.0%	84.8%	-	-	-	5
Hitchin	Elected	Joseph	Willmott	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.2%	-	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	George	Wilsher	1835	37.5%	7.4%	51.9%	-	-	-	60.4%	30.0%	-	0.0%	-	-	6
Hitchin	Elected	Thomas	Wilshire	1835	81.3%	38.9%	3.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hitchin	Ex-O	William	Wilshire [Wilshere]	1835	25.0%	1.9%	-	-	-	-	8.3%	-	-	-	-	-	3
Hitchin	Elected	William	Woollatt	1835	54.2%	-	-	-	52.0%	2.1%	-	-	-	-	42.6%	33.3%	5
Hitchin	Elected	William	Woolston	1840	-	-	-	-	-	70.8%	70.8%	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	Rev Walter	Wortham	1836	-	48.1%	44.4%	-	-	-	-	-	23.9%	17.8%	27.7%	37.5%	6
Hitchin	Elected	George	Wright	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.9%	-	1
Hitchin	Elected	Septimus	Wright	1836	-	55.6%	59.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hitchin	Elected	George	Young	1836	-	11.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

St Albans Union

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
St Albans	Ex-O	Daniel	Adey	1840	-	-	-	-	-	7%	-	-	-	7%	-	4%	3
St Albans	Elected	Benjamin	Agutter	1838	-	-	-	96.3%	88.0%	-	82.8%	89.3%	71.4%	62.1%	-	-	6
St Albans	Elected	Thomas	Aslin	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	27.6%	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Rev Markland	Barnard	1838	-	-	-	33.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Luke	Batten	1838	-	-	-	59.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Thomas Ward	Blagg	1835	44.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Ex-O	William Mogg	Bowen DD	1835	8.5%	9.4%	8.3%	11.1%	8.0%	7.4%	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
St Albans	Elected	Thomas Dixon	Bowman	1837	-	-	55.6%	51.9%	24.0%	-	-	-	25.0%	51.7%	-	-	5
St Albans	Ex-O	Richard William	Brabent	1835	8.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Francis	Bunn	1835	23.4%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19%	2
St Albans	Elected	William	Burgess	1836	-	69.8%	61%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Elected	William	Cannon	1838	-	-	-	33.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	John	Capel	1839	-	-	-	-	64.0%	25.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Elected	John	Clare	1836	-	66.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Thomas	Clare	1837	-	-	63.9%	-	-	37.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Elected	James	Curtis	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	31.0%	35.7%	-	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Elected	William	Davies Jnr	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Abel	Dickenson	1839	-	-	-	-	24.0%	-	-	-	50.0%	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Elected	Benjamin	Dickenson	1839	-	-	-	-	4.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	George	Dickenson	1839	-	-	-	-	24.0%	40.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Elected	Ernest	Dixon	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28.6%	24.1%	-	-	2
St Albans	Elected	John	Dorrington	1835	55.3%	69.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
St Albans	Elected	James	Dover	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	69%	50.0%	65.4%	3
St Albans	Elected	Henry	Edwards	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.3%	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Thomas	Ferne	1835	46.8%	-	-	-	-	51.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Elected	James	Fitch	1840	-	-	-	-	-	37.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Ex-O	Thomas Foreman	Gape	1836	-	5.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.6%	-	-	3.8%	3
St Albans	Elected	John	Gomme	1835	72.3%	-	-	-	-	51.9%	41.4%	64.3%	-	34.5%	57.7%	65.4%	7
St Albans	Ex-O	Lord Viscount	Grimston	1835	2.1%	3.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Ex-O	The Honourable Edward Harbottle	Grimston	1835	10.6%	3.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Elected	William	Gulston	1840	-	-	-	-	-	3.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Ex-O	John	Hawkins	1835	42.6%	26.4%	30.6%	11.1%	8.0%	11.1%	10.3%	10.7%	3.6%	3.4%	3.8%	7.7%	12
St Albans	Elected	Thomas	Hills	1839	-	-	-	-	92.0%	85.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Elected	Thomas	Hollinshead	1840	-	-	-	-	-	51.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	John Issac	House	1835	59.6%	69.8%	52.8%	0.0%	-	-	10.3%	14.3%	7.1%	-	-	-	7
St Albans	Elected	William	How	1846	-	67.9%	47.2%	33.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0%	4
St Albans	Elected	James	Howard	1835	68.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Joshua	Jennings	1839	-	-	-	-	0.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	William	Kerl Jnr	1836	-	60.4%	36.1%	40.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
St Albans	Elected	Thomas	Kidman	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	58.6%	57.7%	38.5%	3
St Albans	Elected & Ex-O	John	Kinder	1835	85.1%	94.3%	83.3%	55.6%	36.0%	51.9%	41.4%	7.1%	7.1%	3.4%	3.8%	7.7%	12
St Albans	Elected	Thomas	Kinder	1836	-	52.8%	36.1%	14.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
St Albans	Elected	William	Langley	1839	-	-	-	-	24.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Charles Higby	Lattimore	1839	-	-	-	-	16.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	James	Lavender	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46.2%	7.7%	2
St Albans	Elected	John	LAVENDER	1835	40.4%	-	-	-	-	-	34.5%	32.1%	-	-	-	-	3
St Albans	Elected	Henry	LeJeune	1836	-	77.4%	-	-	-	-	58.6%	32.1%	-	-	30.8%	-	4

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
St Albans	Ex-O	Joshua	Lomax	1835	6.4%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	James	Mardell	1837	-	-	30.6%	22.2%	-	-	31.0%	14.3%	0.0%	-	-	-	5
St Albans	Ex-O	Geo Robert	Marten (Chairman)	1835	87.2%	60.4%	72.2%	51.9%	52.0%	48.1%	51.7%	46.4%	57.1%	31.0%	38.5%	34.6%	12
St Albans	Elected	Peter	Martineau	1835	57.4%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Thomas	Mills	1836	-	50.9%	-	-	-	-	72.4%	67.9%	-	-	-	-	3
St Albans	Elected & Ex-O	George Alfred	Muskett	1835	63.8%	45.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Ex-O	Henry Joseph Boone	Nicholson	1839	-	-	-	-	4.0%	7.4%	-	-	3.6%	-	-	-	3
St Albans	Elected	Thomas	Oakley	1835	85.1%	90.6%	75.0%	63.0%	60.0%	77.8%	79.3%	82.1%	53.6%	62.1%	38.5%	-	11
St Albans	Elected	Francis James	Osbaldeston	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42.9%	48.3%	69.2%	-	3
St Albans	Elected	George	Pocock	1837	-	-	44.4%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Richard	Pocock	1836	-	37.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.3%	13.8%	-	-	3
St Albans	Ex-O	Robert	Pocock	1836	-	1.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	John	Purrott	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	96.6%	92.9%	85.7%	82.8%	80.8%	80.8%	6
St Albans	Elected	John Pitt	Richardson	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	96.2%	1
St Albans	Elected	Thomas	Richardson	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	72.4%	67.9%	57.1%	89.7%	69.2%	76.9%	6
St Albans	Elected	Albinus	Roberts	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Francis	Searancke	1835	78.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Francis Josoph	Searancke	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	53.6%	41.4%	42.3%	34.6%	4
St Albans	Elected	Samuel	Shrubb	1838	-	-	-	70.4%	64.0%	88.9%	86.2%	89.3%	78.6%	69.0%	92.3%	76.9%	9
St Albans	Elected	Robert	Sibley	1835	70.2%	-	-	-	44.0%	55.6%	31.0%	35.7%	35.7%	41.4%	34.6%	34.6%	9
St Albans	Elected	William	Sibley	1840	-	-	-	-	-	77.8%	58.6%	67.9%	46.4%	72.4%	88.5%	73.1%	7
St Albans	Elected & Ex-O	John Albin	Slack	1836	-	77.4%	-	-	-	-	3.4%	-	-	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Elected	John Benjamin	Slammers	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	61.5%	1

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
St Albans	Elected	Alexander Duncan	Small	1837	-	-	47.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Ralph	Smith	1835	48.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	Samuel	Smith	1838	-	-	-	92.6%	100.0%	88.9%	96.6%	96.4%	-	-	-	-	5
St Albans	Elected	Stephen	Smith	1836	-	35.8%	25.0%	33.3%	24.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
St Albans	Elected	William	Smith	1836	-	77.4%	47.2%	3.7%	16.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
St Albans	Elected & Ex-O	William	Smith jnr	1835	83.0%	1.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Ex-O	Samuel Reynolds	Solly	1835	48.9%	41.5%	44.4%	14.8%	44.0%	22.2%	17.2%	46.4%	21.4%	6.9%	19.2%	11.5%	12
St Albans	Elected	John	Stephens	1835	61.7%	62.3%	66.7%	59.3%	28.0%	48.1%	-	17.9%	-	-	3.8%	-	8
St Albans	Elected	Rev William	Upton	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	92.3%	1
St Albans	Ex-O	The Right Honourable Earl of	Veralum	1835	4.3%	3.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
St Albans	Elected	George	Webb	1840	-	-	-	-	-	44.4%	-	-	46.4%	20.7%	-	30.8%	4
St Albans	Elected	William Henry	Willmott	1837	-	-	86.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
St Albans	Elected	John	Wingrave	1839	-	-	-	-	12.0%	-	-	-	-	-	57.7%	-	2
St Albans	Elected	Jonathan	Wood	1836	-	69.8%	80.6%	70.4%	-	-	-	-	-	51.7%	7.7%	-	5
St Albans	Elected	Charles	Young	1836	-	88.7%	94.4%	-	-	81.5%	31.0%	-	-	-	-	-	4
St Albans	Elected	George	Young	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	80.8%	1

Watford Union

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
Watford	Elected	George	Anderton	1838	-	-	-	44.2%	33.3%	-	32.7%	-	-	8.0%	-	-	4
Watford	Elected	Robert Hall	Atkinson Esq	1838	-	-	-	9.60%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	Ezekiel	Bailey	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29.8%	1
Watford	Elected	Thomas	Barker	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0%	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	Edward	Barnett	1839	-	-	-	-	21.6%	24.0%	-	-	-	-	-	31.9%	3
		Richard Rudd															
Watford	Elected	Henry	Bateman	1836	-	36.5%	17.6%	5.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.9%	21.3%	5
Watford	Elected	Charles	Boulton Esq	1835	39.1%	35.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Watford	Ex-O	Humphrey Harper	Burchell	1839	-	-	-	-	33.3%	56.0%	88.5%	76.9%	84.9%	88.0%	78.7%	70.2%	8
Watford	Ex-O	The Hon. Rev William	Capel	1835	60.9%	61.5%	56.9%	44.2%	49.0%	36.0%	28.8%	30.8%	26.4%	20.0%	12.8%	8.5%	12
Watford	Ex-O	William	Capel Esq	1840	-	-	-	-	-	10.0%	11.5%	21.2%	22.6%	4.0%	8.5%	4.3%	7
Watford	Elected	Henry	Catlin	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55.8%	-	-	36.2%	-	2
Watford	Elected	Thomas	Chapman	1837	-	-	49.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	Jonathan	Chater	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51.1%	1
Watford	Ex-O	Peter	Clutterbuck Esq	1835	52.2%	19.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Watford	Ex-O	Robert	Clutterbuck Esq	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	39.6%	42.0%	12.8%	21.3%	4
Watford	Elected	Leit Gen Sir Charles	Colville	1839	-	-	-	-	3.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Ex-O	Mjr Gen Sir Adolphus	Dalrymple	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20.8%	12.0%	4.3%	19.1%	4

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
Watford	Elected	Christopher	Dalton	1835	13.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	Joseph	Dickinson	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29.8%	27.7%	2
Watford	Elected	Frederick	Dyson	1836	-	76.9%	80.4%	-	-	-	-	48.1%	35.8%	-	61.7%	40.4%	6
Watford	Elected	William	Dyson	1835	21.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	Thomas Edward	Dyson (Vice-Chairman)	1835	69.6%	65.4%	-	-	33.3%	-	-	63.5%	64.2%	-	61.7%	40.4%	7
Watford	Elected	Joseph	Edlin	1836	-	50.0%	45.1%	42.3%	11.8%	8.0%	5.8%	11.5%	0.0%	-	-	-	8
Watford	Ex-O	The Right Honourable Earl of	Essex	1840	-	-	-	-	-	4.0%	3.8%	7.7%	22.6%	14.0%	-	4.3%	6
Watford	Ex-O	John	Falcon Esq	1835	6.5%	13.5%	9.8%	3.8%	-	2.0%	-	1.9%	-	-	-	-	6
Watford	Ex-O	Edmund	Fernley Whittingstall Esq	1838	-	-	-	1.9%	-	4.0%	-	1.9%	5.7%	-	-	-	4
Watford	Elected & Ex-O	Joseph	Foskett Esq	1839	-	-	-	-	25.5%	-	-	-	-	-	6.4%	14.9%	3
Watford	Elected	Michael	Fowler	1840	-	-	-	-	-	16.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Ex-O	Rev Richard	Gee	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.5%	12.8%	2
Watford	Elected	John	Goodwin	1835	65.2%	-	74.5%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Watford	Elected	Abel	Gould	1838	-	-	-	26.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	John	Guy	1835	10.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	W George/Charles	Hatley	1836	-	9.6%	23.5%	-	-	20.0%	7.7%	13.5%	24.5%	26.0%	-	-	7
Watford	Elected	William	Hawkins	1837	-	-	19.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Ex-O	James	Hayward	1839	-	-	-	-	3.9%	2.0%	-	1.9%	1.9%	-	2.1%	2.1%	6
Watford	Ex-O	Nathanial	Hibbert Esq (Chairman)	1836	-	13.5%	68.6%	65.4%	68.6%	42.0%	1.9%	7.7%	9.4%	8.0%	6.4%	8.5%	11
Watford	Elected	Daniel	Hills	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.7%	-	-	-	-	6.4%	2

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
Watford	Elected	James	Hilton	1835	67.4%	53.8%	47.1%	53.8%	45.1%	38.0%	25.0%	26.9%	28.3%	18.0%	-	-	10
Watford	Ex-O	Edward	Hodgson	1836	-	3.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	Walter	Hodsall (Vice-Chair)	1840	-	-	-	-	-	62.0%	3.8%	-	-	-	-	-	2
Watford	Elected	John	Holinshead	1838	-	-	-	82.7%	68.6%	-	67.3%	40.4%	-	-	-	-	4
Watford	Elected	John	Holladay	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	80.0%	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	John	Horncastle	1838	-	-	-	71.2%	66.7%	-	-	-	-	66.0%	0.0%	-	4
Watford	Elected	Richard	Horwood	1838	-	-	-	26.9%	33.3%	34.0%	28.8%	19.2%	9.4%	0.0%	-	-	7
Watford	Elected	James	Howard	1838	-	-	-	1.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	David	Keltie	1837	-	-	39.2%	34.6%	23.5%	8.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Watford	Elected	Jonathan	King Esq	1835	69.6%	42.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Watford	Elected	James	Leach	1837	-	-	56.9%	-	5.9%	22.0%	38.5%	7.7%	-	-	-	-	5
Watford	Ex-O	Rev William	Lewis	1835	17.4%	50.0%	23.5%	30.8%	47.1%	46.0%	34.6%	25.0%	34.0%	-	-	-	9
Watford	Elected	Henry	Lomas	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67.9%	-	87.2%	72.3%	3
Watford	Elected	Charles	Longman	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17.0%	14.0%	-	-	2
Watford	Elected	W	Longman	1836	-	1.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Ex-O	Stewart	Marjoribanks Esq MP	1835	39.1%	17.3%	-	-	-	-	3.8%	3.8%	3.8%	8.0%	8.5%	4.3%	8
Watford	Elected	Francis	Marshall	1836	-	71.2%	39.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Watford	Ex-O	John Finch	Mason Esq (Chairman)	1835	89.1%	48.1%	45.1%	44.2%	5.9%	52.0%	19.2%	11.5%	5.7%	2.0%	27.7%	4.3%	12
Watford	Elected	Septimus Richard	Moate	1835	26.1%	-	-	65.4%	23.5%	-	-	-	-	-	0.0%	-	4
Watford	Elected	Charles William	Moore	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	38.5%	-	54.7%	38.0%	-	-	3
Watford	Elected	William	Moore	1835	63.0%	55.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Watford	Ex-O	Edmund	Morris Esq	1835	32.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Ex-O	George Alfred	Muskett Esq	1835	4.3%	5.8%	2.0%	-	-	-	-	1.9%	-	-	-	-	4
Watford	Elected	John	Neale	1837	-	-	15.7%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
Watford	Elected	Bernard Richard	O'Conner	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44.2%	22.6%	-	-	-	2
Watford	Ex-O	Joseph	Orden	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.7%	5.7%	-	-	-	2
Watford	Elected	John	Port Child	1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.0%	2.1%	-	2
Watford	Elected	Edward	Pritchard	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	23.1%	19.2%	-	-	-	-	2
Watford	Elected	Richard	Pugh the Elder	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	80.8%	92.3%	81.1%	92.0%	-	-	4
Watford	Elected	James	Ramsey	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23.1%	26.4%	-	-	-	2
Watford	Elected	Robert	Robertson	1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	48.9%	6.4%	2
Watford	Elected	Joshua	Rogers	1837	-	-	33.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Ex-O	John	Ryley Esq	1835	4.3%	11.5%	2.0%	1.9%	2.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Watford	Elected	James	Sedgwick	1839	-	-	-	-	23.5%	18.0%	9.6%	15.4%	17.0%	14.0%	12.8%	-	7
Watford	Elected	Charles	Seymour	1836	-	0.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	Thomas Rock	Shute	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.5%	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	John	Slack	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38.3%	1
Watford	Elected	Joseph	Slaughter	1836	-	34.6%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	Bailey	Smith	1835	93.5%	96.2%	-	-	47.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Watford	Elected	James	Smith	1836	-	51.9%	-	1.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Watford	Elected	Phillip	Smith	1837	-	-	35.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	Thomas	Smith	1835	63.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	Thomas Deacon	Smith	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.8%	1
Watford	Elected	William	Smith	1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51.9%	52.8%	44.0%	46.8%	42.6%	5
Watford	Elected	Charles	Stevens	1835	50.0%	26.9%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Watford	Elected	John Dodd	Stevens	1835	28.3%	17.3%	19.6%	15.4%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Watford	Ex-O	William	Stuart Esq	1836	-	1.9%	-	-	2.0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Watford	Elected	William	Stuart Esq	1837	-	-	13.7%	13.5%	37.3%	30.0%	21.2%	23.1%	34.0%	52.0%	-	44.7%	9
Watford	Ex-O	John Frances	Timins Esq	1835	10.9%	13.5%	11.8%	3.8%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Watford	Elected	James	Toovey	1838	-	-	-	0%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	John	Weall Jnr	1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.9%	1

Union	Elected /Ex-O	First Name	Surname	Date First Appointed	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	Total No Years Elected
Watford	Elected	George	Webber	1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13.2%	22.0%	-	-	2
Watford	Elected	Thomas	Weedon	1835	28.3%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19.1%	-	2
Watford	Elected	James	White	1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	19.2%	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Elected	William	White	1835	15.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Watford	Ex-O	Humphrey [Henry] William	Woolrych Esq	1835	19.6%	19.2%	-	3.8%	-	2.0%	-	1.9%	5.7%	4.0%	2.1%	4.3%	9
Watford	Ex-O	George	Worthington Esq	1835	2.2%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Totals for sample unions Hatfield, Hitchin, St Albans and Watford

	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846
Number of Guardians	110	114	97	96	98	100	100	105	106	100	100	108
Minimum Attendance	2.1%	0.0%	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Maximum Attendance	100.0%	100.0%	94.4%	96.3%	100.0%	88.9%	96.6%	96.4%	85.7%	92.0%	92.3%	96.2%
Mean Attendance	42.2%	35.6%	39.8%	35.9%	34.4%	33.5%	37.6%	34.5%	32.1%	37.6%	35.0%	35.3%

Appendix XV

Summary of Board of Guardians Attendance Rates

Hatfield Union		1835-36	1836-37	1837-38	1838-39	1839-40	1840-41	1841-42	1842-43	1843-44	1844-45	1845-46	1846-47	Highest	Lowest
	No of Meetings	23	28	26	25	26	26	26	26	28	28	27	30	30	23
Ex-Officio	No. Guardians	7	7	5	5	5	5	4	8	5	5	6	7	8	4
Ex-Officio	Percentage of meetings attended	35%	37%	47%	28%	34%	23%	43%	21%	36%	39%	36%	30%	47%	21%
Ex-Officio	Highest Attendance	5	6	5	3	4	3	3	5	4	3	4	4	6	3
Ex-Officio	Lowest Attendance	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Ex-Officio	Mean Attendance	2.4	2.6	2.3	1.4	1.7	1.1	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.6	1.1
Elected	No. Guardians	8	9	8	8	8	8	9	8	8	8	8	8	9	8
Elected	Percentage of meetings attended	63	43	54	49	42	44	41	53	46	49	43	50	63	41
Elected	Highest Attendance	7	7	6	6	5	6	7	7	6	6	7	7	7	5
Elected	Lowest Attendance	2	1	1	6	0	1	1	2	1	2	1	0	6	0
Elected	Mean Attendance	4.8	3.9	4.2	3.9	3.4	3.6	3.7	4.3	3.6	3.9	3.4	3.6	4.8	3.4
Total	No. Guardians	15	16	13	13	13	13	13	16	13	13	14	15	16	13
Total	Percentage of meetings attended	50	40	51	41	39	36	42	37	42	45	40	40	51	36
Total	Highest Attendance	11	4	9	9	9	9	9	12	9	9	10	11	12	4
Total	Lowest Attendance	4	3	4	9	2	2	3	3	3	4	1	2	9	1
Total	Mean Attendance	7.3	6.4	6.6	5.3	5.0	4.6	5.4	6.0	5.4	5.8	5.6	5.7	7.3	4.6

Source: Board of Guardian Minute Books BG/HAT/1-5

Hitchin Union		1835-36	1836-37	1837-38	1838-39	1839-40	1840-41	1841-42	1842-43	1843-44	1844-45	1845-46	1846-47		Highest	Lowest
	No of Meetings	48	54	54	50	50	48	48	50	46	45	47	48		54	45
Ex-Officio	No. Guardians	6	3	1	2	3	5	7	6	4	5	4	5		7	1
Ex-Officio	Percentage of meetings attended	22	20	67	46	52	30	22	26	35	24	41	20		67	20
Ex-Officio	Highest Attendance	4	2	1	2	3	4	6	5	3	4	4	4		6	1
Ex-Officio	Lowest Attendance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0
Ex-Officio	Mean Attendance	1.3	0.7	0.7	0.9	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.4	1.2	1.6	1.6		1.6	0.7
Elected	No. Guardians	35	36	37	34	34	36	34	32	36	35	36	37		37	32
Elected	Percentage of meetings attended	41	25	30	35	33	30	40	34	29	39	35	35		41	25
Elected	Highest Attendance	34	21	24	20	27	28	29	19	22	28	30	26		34	19
Elected	Lowest Attendance	3	4	5	5	3	1	0	1	1	4	1	1		5	0
Elected	Mean Attendance	14.2	10.4	11	11.8	11.1	10.8	13.6	10.8	10.5	13.5	12.6	13.0		14.2	10.4
Total	No. Guardians	41	39	38	36	37	41	41	38	40	40	40	42		42	36
Total	Percentage of meetings attended	38	24	31	35	34	30	37	32	30	37	36	33		38	24
Total	Highest Attendance	37	23	24	22	30	31	33	23	24	28	33	28		37	22
Total	Lowest Attendance	3	4	5	5	5	2	1	2	3	4	1	1		5	1
Total	Mean Attendance	15.5	11.1	11.6	12.7	12.6	12.2	15.2	12.3	11.9	14.8	14.3	14.6		15.5	11.1

Source: Board of Guardian Minute Books BG/HIT/1-10

St Albans Union		1835-36	1836-37	1837-38	1838-39	1839-40	1840-41	1841-42	1842-43	1843-44	1844-45	1845-46	1846-47		Highest	Lowest
	No of Meetings	47	53	36	27	25	27	29	28	28	29	26	26		53	25
Ex-Officio	No. Guardians	9	12	5	5	6	7	5	4	6	5	4	5		12	4
Ex-Officio	Percentage of meetings attended	24	25	48	29	25	22	25	28	16	10	17	12		48	10
Ex-Officio	Highest Attendance	8	7	5	5	4	5	4	3	3	2	2	4		8	2
Ex-Officio	Lowest Attendance	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1	0
Ex-Officio	Mean Attendance	2.2	3.0	2.3	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.5	0.7	0.7		3	0.5
Elected	No. Guardians	17	17	17	17	18	17	17	17	17	17	17	17		18	17
Elected	Percentage of meetings attended	61	66	56	46	39	56	55	53	42	53	49	58		66	39
Elected	Highest Attendance	17	17	16	13	14	14	14	12	13	14	14	14		17	12
Elected	Lowest Attendance	4	4	3	4	3	4	4	5	2	3	2	5		5	2
Elected	Mean Attendance	10.5	11.2	9.3	7.9	7.1	9.5	9.4	9.0	7.1	8.9	8.3	9.8		11.2	7.1
Total	No. Guardians	26	29	22	22	24	23	22	21	23	22	21	23		29	21
Total	Percentage of meetings attended	49	49	54	42	36	46	48	48	35	43	43	46		54	35
Total	Highest Attendance	25	22	21	18	17	18	18	15	15	15	15	18		25	15
Total	Lowest Attendance	6	5	3	4	4	5	5	6	2	4	3	5		6	2
Total	Mean Attendance	12.7	14.2	11.6	9.3	8.6	11.0	10.7	10.1	8.1	9.4	8.9	10.5		14.2	8.1

Source: Board of Guardian Minute Books Off Acc 1162

Watford Union		1835-36	1836-37	1837-38	1838-39	1839-40	1840-41	1841-42	1842-43	1843-44	1844-45	1845-46	1846-47	Highest	Lowest
	No of Meetings	46	52	51	52	51	50	52	52	53	50	47	47	53	46
Ex-Officio	No. Guardians	12	13	8	9	8	11	8	14	14	10	12	13	14	8
Ex-Officio	Percentage of meetings attended	28	21	27	22	26	23	24	14	21	20	15	14	28	14
Ex-Officio	Highest Attendance	9	10	4	6	5	7	7	7	11	6	5	9	11	4
Ex-Officio	Lowest Attendance	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Ex-Officio	Mean Attendance	3.4	2.8	2.2	2	2.1	2.6	1.9	2	2.8	2	1.8	1.8	3.4	1.8
Elected	No. Guardians	16	17	16	16	16	11	13	16	16	15	13	15	17	11
Elected	Percentage of meetings attended	45	43	38	33	31	25	50	51	34	36	60	32	60	25
Elected	Highest Attendance	16	14	15	11	11	6	13	13	14	10	9	12	16	6
Elected	Lowest Attendance	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
Elected	Mean Attendance	7.2	7.3	6.1	5	5	5.4	4.2	5.6	5.5	5.3	4.2	4.8	7.3	4.2
Total	No. Guardians	28	30	24	25	24	22	24	30	30	25	25	28	30	22
Total	Percentage of meetings attended	38	33	35	38	30	24	42	34	28	29	38	24	42	24
Total	Highest Attendance	24	19	16	17	13	12	16	19	25	16	14	18	25	12
Total	Lowest Attendance	4	0	4	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	4	0
Total	Mean Attendance	10.5	10.0	8.3	7.0	7.2	5.4	6.1	7.6	8.3	7.4	6	6.6	10.5	5.4

Source: Board of Guardian Minute Books BG/WAT/1-7

Appendix XVI

Poor Law Officials

Union Clerks

Union	Name	Date employed	Annual Salary
Hatfield	John Rawley	1835- May 1836	£30
Hatfield	John Binyon	May 1836 -	£50 £75 (June 1837) £85 (April 1841)
Hitchin	William Stevens	1836	£50 £60 (Feb 1836) £70 plus accommodation (Feb 1837) £100 and no accommodation (Apr 1840) £25 long service bonus £105
St Albans	Richard Grove Lowe	May 1835	£60
Watford	Richard Pugh	1835	£60 £110 with additional responsibilities as vestry clerk

Source BG/HAT/1-5, BG/HIT/1-10, BG/WAT/1-7, Off Acc 1162

Workhouse Masters and Matrons

Union	Name	Date employed	Annual Salary
Hatfield	John Bridgens	1835- Apr 1842	£100 plus rations and horse-keep (for joint role as Relieving Officer) Reduced to £50 plus rations when he became Workhouse Master only.
Hatfield	James & Mary Gatland	Apr 1842 - Nov 1845	£50 plus 4 rations (required to self fund 2 of his 4 children.
Hatfield	Hungerford & Maria Luttrell	Feb 1846 – Nov 1846	
Hatfield	Edward & Mary Kite	Nov 1846	
Hitchin	John Manning	Jun 1835 - May 1841	Joint position as workhouse master/relieving officer £20 as relieving officer £100 as workhouse master
Hitchin	James and Elizabeth Stevenson	May 1841	£80 plus rations
St Albans	James Greenwood	May 1835 – Marc 1838	£80 plus £25 horse-keep (for joint role as relieving officer/workhouse master. Become sole relieving officer in Mar 1838.
St Albans	William Weir	May 1835	£80 plus £25 horse-keep (for joint role as relieving officer/workhouse master. £80 plus board when workhouse master Mar 1838.
Watford	Thomas Wilson	July 1835 – May 1836	£100 plus horse and horse-keep, £20 for wife as Matron and board and lodging for 3 children in joint role as workhouse master and relieving officer. Became sole relieving officer (Jan 1838)
Watford	John Hilditch	Jul 1835 - Apr 1846	£40 and £20 for Matron
Watford	John & Sarah Long	May 1846	

Source BG/HAT/1-5, BG/HIT/1-10, BG/WAT/1-7, Off Acc 1162

Relieving Officers

Union	Name	Date employed	Annual Salary
Hatfield	John Bridgens	1835- May 1836	£100 plus rations and horse-keep (for joint role as Workhouse Master) Reduced to £50 plus rations when he stepped down from Relieving officer role
Hatfield	Saunders	May 1836 - Mar 1842	£50 increased to £70 when he became rate collector to.
Hatfield	Robert William Mynott	Apr 1842	£75
Hitchin	John Manning	Jun 1835 - May 1841	Joint position as workhouse master/relieving officer £20 as relieving officer £100 as workhouse master
Hitchin	James Colemam	Jun 1835	£105
Hitchin	John Smith	Jun 1835	£105
St Albans	James Greenwood	May 1835	£80 plus £25 horse-keep (for joint role as relieving officer/workhouse master. Become sole relieving officer and paid £130 and require to fund his own horse after Mar 1838.
St Albans	William Weir	May 1835 - Mar 1838	£80 plus £25 horse-keep (for joint role as relieving officer/workhouse master.
Watford	Thomas Wilson	July 1835 – Sep 1843	£100 plus horse and horse-keep, £20 for wife as Matron and board and lodging for 3 children in joint role as workhouse master and relieving officer. £150 as sole relieving officer (Jan 1838)
Watford	William Michael Bellis	Sept 1843	

Source BG/HAT/1-5, BG/HIT/1-10, BG/WAT/1-7, Off Acc 1162

Schoolmasters & Schoolmistress

Union	Name	Date employed	Annual Salary
Hatfield	Miss Bridgens	c1838	£15 gratuity
Hitchin	William Dawson	Jan 1836	8 shillings per week
Hitchin	Abraham & Sarah Hughes	May 1837	£25 plus accommodation and rations
Hitchin	Thomas & Eliza Simpson	Jun 1835	£35 £5 'gift' Jan 1839 Increased to £42 plus £7 'donation' in Dec 1839
Hitchin	William & Elizabeth Geary	Oct 1840 - Aug 1841	
Hitchin	Mrs Charlotte Banks	Oct 1841	£25 plus board and lodging
Hitchin	William Strickland	Nov 1841	£35
St Albans	Joseph Wyke	Aug 1835 - Dec 1836	3 shillings per week plus board and lodging
St Albans	Charles James & Susannah Fox	Dec 1836 - Sep 1840	£25 plus board and lodging
St Albans	Thomas Fuller & wife	Nov 1840 - Jan 1841	
St Albans	Thomas Munday & Elizabeth Munday (daughter)	Feb 1841 - Apr 1841	
St Albans	Robert & Mary Ann Harris	Jun 1841	
Watford	Mrs Wools	Jan 1836 - Sep 1839	£20
Watford	Mrs Frances Curd	Sep 1839 – Nov 1846	
Watford	Joseph Carter	Sep 1846	(Temporary appointment)
Watford	Charlotte Siddall	Jan 1847	
Watford	Thomas Elston(e)	Feb 1847	

Source BG/HAT/1-5, BG/HIT/1-10, BG/WAT/1-7, Off Acc 1162

Appendix XVII

Medical Men

Hatfield Union

Name	District	Annual Salary	Midwifery Rate		Vaccination	
July 1835 to Sep 1836			s	d		
John Ringrose	1	£21	10	6		
William L Thomas	2	£120	10	6		
Sept 1836 to Sept 1837			s	d		
John Ringrose	1	£21	7	6		
William L Thomas	2	£100	7	6		
William L Thomas	Workhouse	£21				
Sept 1837 to Sept 1839			s	d		
John Ringrose	1	12s per case	7	6		Gratis
William L Thomas	2	10s per case	7	6		Gratis
William L Thomas	Workhouse	£20				
Thomas Osbaldeston	4	12s per case				Gratis
Sept 1839 to Sept 1840			s	d		
John Ringrose	1	12s per case	7	6	2	
William L Thomas	2	10s per case	7	6	2	
William L Thomas	Workhouse	20				
Thomas Osbaldeston	4	12s per case			2	
Sept 1840 to Sept 1841			s	d		
John Ringrose	1	10s per case plus fractures at 2 ½ guineas	7	6	2	
William L Thomas	2	8s per case plus fractures at 2 guineas	7	6	2	
William L Thomas	Workhouse	£20				
Thomas Osbaldeston	4	10s per case plus fractures at 2 ½ guineas			2	
Sept 1841 to Mar 1843			s	d		
John Ringrose	1	10s per case plus fractures at 5 guineas	7	6	2	
William L Thomas	2	8s per case plus fractures at 5 guineas	7	6	2	
William L Thomas	Workhouse	£30				
Thomas Osbaldeston	4	10s per case plus fractures at 5 guineas			2	

Name	District	Annual Salary	Midwifery Rate		Vaccination	
Mar 1843						
			s	d		
John Ringrose	1	10s per case plus fractures, amputations etc. at GMO rates ¹	7	6	2	
William L Thomas	2	8s per case plus fractures, amputations etc. at GMO rates ¹	7	6	2	
William L Thomas	Workhouse	£30				
Thomas Osbaldeston	4	10s per case plus fractures, amputations etc. at GMO rates ¹			2	
May 1844						
John Ringrose	1	10s per case plus fractures, amputations etc. at GMO rates ¹	7	6	2	
William L Thomas	2	8s per case plus fractures, amputations etc. at GMO rates ¹	7	6	2	
William L Thomas	Workhouse	£30				
Thomas Osbaldeston	4	10s per case plus fractures, amputations etc. at GMO rates ¹			2	
May 1845						
John Ringrose	1	10s per case 5s per case if on permanent sick list plus fractures, amputations etc. at GMO rates ¹	7	6	2	
William L Thomas	2	8s per case plus fractures, amputations etc. at GMO rates ¹ Refuses to accept reduction to rates for permanent sick and these cases are transferred to Osbaldeston.	7	6	2	
William L Thomas	Workhouse	£30				
Thomas Osbaldeston	4	10s per case 5s per case if on permanent sick list plus fractures, amputations etc. at GMO rates ¹			2	

¹ Except in an emergency the Medical officer was required to obtain 'at his own cost the advice of some Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of London or some Fellow or Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians of London and shall produce to the Board of Guardians a certificate from such Member of the Royal College of Surgeons of London or some Fellow or Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians stating that in his opinion it was right and proper that such amputation or operation should be performed.

Hitchin Union

Name	District	Salary		Midwifery Rate		Vaccination	
		£	s	s	d		
1835-36							
Watson Perks	1 st	95	0	8	0		
	2 nd	65	0	8	0		
G F Huston	3 rd	80	0	8	0		
Frederick Marshall	4 th	75	0	8	0		
Robert Innerarity	5 th	58	0	8	0		
Oswald Foster & Son	Workhouse	2s per head					
1836-37							
Watson Perks	1 st	95	0	7	6		
	2 nd	65	0	7	6		
Thomas Hicks	3 rd	40	0	7	6		
J B Connell	4 th	68	5	7	6		
Robert Innerarity	5 th	70	0	7	6		
Oswald Foster & Son	Workhouse	2s per head					
1837-38							
Watson Perks	1 st	95	0	7	6		
	2 nd	65	0	7	6		
Thomas Hicks	3 rd	40	0	7	6		
J B Connell (Transferred to James Smith Jan 1839)	4 th	68	5	7	6		
Frederick Marshall	5 th	70	0	7	6		
Oswald Foster & Son	Workhouse	6s 6d per head		7	6		
1838-39							
Watson Perks	1 st	95	0	7	6		
	2 nd	65	0	7	6		
Thomas Butler	3 rd	40	0	7	6		
James Smith	4 th	68	5	7	6		
George Breverton Sharpe	5 th	60	0	7	6		
Oswald Foster & Son	Workhouse	6s 6d per head		7	6		
1839-40							
Watson Perks	1 st	95	0	7	6		
	2 nd	65	0	7	6		
Thomas Hicks	3 rd	40	0	7	6		
James Smith	4 th	68	5	7	6		
Frederick Marshall	5 th	70	0	7	6		
Oswald Foster & Son	Workhouse	6s 6d per head		7	6		
1840-41							
Watson Perks	1 st	95	0	7	6		
	2 nd	65	0	7	6		
Thomas Butler	3 rd	40	0	7	6		
J J B Connell	4 th	68	5	7	6		
George Breverton Sharpe	5 th	60	0	7	6		
Oswald Foster & Son	Workhouse	6s 6d per head		7	6		
1841-42							
Watson Perks	1 st	95	0	7	6	Gratis	
Richard Rickman Shillitoe	2 nd	65	0	7	6	1	6
Thomas Butler	3 rd	50	0	7	6	Gratis	
George Cooper	4 th	63	0	7	6	1	6
George Breverton Sharpe	5 th	42	0	7	6	1	6
Oswald Foster & Son	Workhouse	5s per head		7	6		

1842-43							
Watson Perks	1 st	80	0		7	6	Gratis
Richard Rickman Shillitoe	2 nd	65	0		7	6	1 6
Thomas Butler	3 rd	50	0		7	6	Gratis
George Cooper	4 th	63	0		7	6	1 6
Robert Innerarity	5 th	42	0		7	6	1 6
Oswald Foster & Son	Workhouse	5s per head			7	6	
1843-44 (New contracts implemented)							
Watson Perks	1 st	75	0		10	0	1 6
Richard Rickman Shillitoe	2 nd	60	0		10	0	1 6
Thomas Butler	3 rd	50	0		10	0	1 6
George Cooper	4 th	55	0		10	0	1 6
Robert Innerarity	5 th	65	0		10	0	1 6
Oswald Foster & Son	Workhouse						
1844-45							
Watson Perks	1 st	75	0		10	0	1 6
Richard Rickman Shillitoe	2 nd	60	0		10	0	1 6
Thomas Butler	3 rd	50	0		10	0	1 6
George Cooper	4 th	55	0		10	0	1 6
Robert Innerarity	5 th	65	0		10	0	1 6
Oswald Foster & Son	Workhouse						
1845-46							
Watson Perks	1 st	75	0		10	0	1 6
Richard Rickman Shillitoe	2 nd	60	0		10	0	1 6
Thomas Butler	3 rd	50	0		10	0	1 6
George Cooper (d.July 1845 and replaced by John Griggs Appleton who was in turn replaced by George Hill Smith	4 th	55	0		10	0	1 6
Robert Innerarity	5 th	65	0		10	0	1 6
Oswald Foster & Son	Workhouse						
1846-47							
Watson Perks	1 st	75	0		10	0	1 6
Richard Rickman Shillitoe	2 nd	60	0		10	0	1 6
George Marshall Phillips	3 rd	50	0		10	0	1 6
George Hill Smith	4 th	55	0		10	0	1 6
Robert Innerarity	5 th	65	0		10	0	1 6
Oswald Foster & Son	Workhouse						
1847-48							
William Philson	1 st	75	0		10	0	1 6
Richard Rickman Shillitoe	2 nd	60	0		10	0	1 6
George Marshall Phillips	3 rd	50	0		10	0	1 6
George Hill Smith	4 th	55	0		10	0	1 6
Robert Innerarity	5 th	65	0		10	0	1 6
Oswald Foster & Son	Workhouse						

St Albans Union

Name	District	Salary		Midwifery Rate		Vaccination	
June 1835 to July 1836		£	s	s	d		
Mr Sanders	1	35	0	7	6		
Richard Webster	2	70	0	7	6		
John Thomas Lipscomb	3	70	0	7	6		
July 1836 to Oct 1836		£	s	s	d		
Francis Kingston	1	80	0	7	6		
John Thomas Lipscomb	2	70	0	7	6		
Oct 1836 to June 1837		£	s	s	d		
Richard Webster	1	65	0	7	6		
Mr Thomas Lewis	2	75	0	7	6		
Francis Kingston	3	52	10	7	6		
Mr Saunders	4	25	0	7	6		
June 1837 to June 1838		£	s	s	d		
John Thomas Lipscomb	1	75	0	7	6		
John Thomas Lipscomb	2	75	0	7	6		
Mr Saunders	3	50	0	7	6		
June 1838 to June 1839		£	s	s	d		
Richard Webster	1 & 2	120	0	7	6		
Mr Saunders	3	45	0	7	6		
June 1839 to May 1840		£	s	s	d		
William Burgess	1	60	0	7	6		
Richard Webster	2	55	0	7	6		
John Thomas Lipscomb	3	50	0	7	6		
May 1840 to June 1841		£	s	s	d		
Terence Benson	1	50	0	7	6		
Richard Webster & Fred Jas Scott	2	55	0	7	6		
Richard Webster & Fred Jas Scott	3	35	0	7	6		
June 1841 to Sep 1842		£	s	s	d		
John Thomas Lipscomb and son [John Thomas Nicholson Lipscomb]	1	40	0	7	6		
Terence Benson	2	50	0	7	6		
Richard Webster	3	37	0	7	6		
Sep 1842 to June 1843 GMO Implemented		£	s	s	d		
Richard Webster	1	40	0	10			
Mr Fenwick	2	40	0	10			
Mr Lipscomb Jnr [J T N Lipscomb]	3	37	0	10			
June 1843 to June 1844		£	s	s	d		
Richard Webster Benson appointed Nov 1844 but replaced by Marshall	1	40	0	10			
Mr Marshall	2	40	0	10			
J B Ayre	3	35	0	10			

June 1844 to June 1845		£	s		s	d		
Mr Lipscomb	1	40	0		10			
Mr Marshall	2	40	0		10			
Richard Hastings	3	35	0		10			
June 1845 to June 1846		£	s		s	d		
Mr Lipscomb	1	40	0		10			
Mr Marshall	2	50	0		10			
Richard Hastings	3	35	0		10			
June 1845 to June 1846		£	s		s	d		
J T N Lipscomb	1	40	0		10			
Newland Townsend Cobbold	2	40	0		10			
Richard Hastings & J B Ayre	3	35	0		10			
J T N Lipscomb	Workhouse	25	0					

Watford Union

Name	District	Salary		Midwifery Rate		Paupers outside district
June 1835 to June 1836		£	s	s	s	s
Mr John Burke	1	120	0	10		
Dr Paull	2	40	0	10	5	5
A C Kemball	3	70	0	7	3	3
June 1836 to May 1837		£	s	s	d	
Mr John Burke	1	80	0	10	6	
Mr John Burke	2	30	0	10	6	
Mr A C Kemball	3	70	0	10	6	
Mr Ayres	4	50	0	10	6	
May 1837 to May 1838						
Mr John Pidcock & Mr John Spencer Pidcock	1	80	0	10	6	
Mr Richard Wotton	2	60	0	10	6	
Mr A C Kemball	3	65	0	10	6	
Mr Ayres	4	70	0	10	6	
May 1838 to May 1839						
Mr Charles Sylvester	1	100	0	10	6	
Mr Richard Wotton	2	60	0	10	6	
Mr A C Kemball	3	60	0	10	6	
Mr Ayres	4	70	0	10	6	
May 1839 to Oct 1840						
Mr Charles Sylvester	1	100	0	10	6	
Mr Richard Wotton	2	60	0	10	6	
Mr A C Kemball	3	60	0	10	6	
Mr Ayres	4	70	0	10	6	
Oct 1840 to May 41						
Mr Charles Sylvester	1	100	0	10	6	
Mr Richard Wotton	2	60	0	10	6	
Mr A C Kemball Mr Smith from Feb 1841	3	60	0	10	6	
Mr Ayres	4	70	0	10	6	
May 1841 to June 1842						
Mr Thomas Abel Ward	1	100	0	10	6	
Mr Richard Wotton	2	60	0	10	6	
Mr John Drury	3	60	0	10	6	
Mr Ayres & Mr Thomas William Garlick	4	70	0	10	6	
June 1842 to June 1847						
Mr Thomas Abel Ward	1	100	0	10	6	
Mr Richard Wotton	2	60	0	10	6	
Mr John Drury	3	60	0	10	6	
Mr Ayres & Mr Thomas William Garlick	4	70	0	10	6	

Appendix XVIII

Cost of Medical Relief

Total Amount paid to Medical Officers inclusive of midwifery and surgical fees

Parish	1840			1841			1842			1843			1844		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
St Albans	186	12	6	162	16	0	154	10	0	112	16	6	165	5	8
Barnet	204	12	6	289	6	7	309	18	0	360	8	5	461	0	9
Berkhampstead	196	15	6	193	0	6	194	16	6	207	0	0	208	0	0
Bishops's Stortford	583	19	0	600	13	6	728	11	2	690	11	0	665	11	0
Buntingford	107	13	0	102	1	0	105	9	0	108	7	0	108	7	0
Hatfield	43	17	0	56	6	0	68	14	0	87	12	10	103	12	0
Hemel Hempstead	151	17	6	151	2	6	152	12	6	158	17	6	178	1	6
Hertford	298	10	6	387	7	6	302	9	0	349	6	6	327	5	2
Hitchin	363	11	9	405	1	3	410	6	3	365	5	0	405	10	0
Ware	258	11	0	271	9	0	279	19	6	285	1	9	351	5	4
Watford	300	19	0	303	3	0	295	7	6	327	15	0	334	10	0
Welwyn	40	7	6	40	7	6	40	0	0	41	0	0	43	10	0
Royston	291	3	6	253	15	6	251	18	6	273	18	6	303	18	9
Total for Hertfordshire	3028	10	3	3216	9	10	3294	11	11	3368	0	0	3655	17	2
Total England & Wales	131479			132801			155075			142002			151442		

Source BPP, 1844 (602) XL.55. *Return of Name of each Union formed under Poor Law Amendment Act*, pp.24-25, 84-85, 103

Appendix XIX

Authorised spending on Hertfordshire Workhouses 1835-1839

Union	Second Annual Report			Third Annual Report			Fourth Annual Report			Fifth Annual Report			Sixth Annual Report			Total 1835-1839			
	No. of paupers	New Build £	Alteration Cost £	No. of paupers	New Build £	Alteration Cost £	No. of paupers	New Build £	Alteration Cost £	No. of paupers	New Build £	Alteration Cost £	No. of paupers	New Build £	Alteration Cost £	No. of paupers	New Build £	Alteration Cost £	Total Authorised Spend £
St Albans				126	3,380										2,120	126	3,380	2,120	5,500
Barnet	200	3,757				2,500										200	3,757	2,500	6,257
Berkhampstead																-	-	-	-
Bishops's Stortford	400	10,535							1,050							400	10,535	1,050	11,585
Buntingford	120	2,658														120	2,658	-	2,658
Hatfield																-	-	-	-
Hemel Hempstead	200	3,450				1,800										200	3,450	1,800	5,250
Hertford			350		2,250											-	2,250	350	2,600
Hitchin	250	3,020					250	3,000							1,000	500	6,020	1,000	7,020
Royston	300	6,400														300	6,400	-	6,400
Ware			1,000							300	7,350					300	7,350	1,000	8,350
Watford				200	5,000										937	200	5,000	937	5,937
Welwyn																-	-	-	-
Total	1,470	29,820	1,350	326	10,630	4,300	250	3,000	1,050	300	7,350	-	-	-	4,057	2,346	50,800	10,757	61,557

Source Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth Annual Reports by the Poor Law Commissioners

Appendix XX

Hertfordshire Population Statistics

Table 1 Population of England & Wales and the County of Hertfordshire

Year	Population England & Wales	% increase over previous census	Population Hertfordshire	% increase over previous census
1801	8,892,536		97,393	
1811	10,164,256	14%	111,225	14%
1821	12,000,236	18%	129,731	17%
1831	13,896,797	16%	142,844	10%
1841	15,914,148	15%	156,660	10%
1851	17,927,609	13%	167,298	7%
Total increase from 1801 to 1851	+9,030,224	102%	+69,905	72%

Table 2 Population of the Hertfordshire Poor Law Unions 1831-1851

Poor Law Union	Population 1831	Population 1841	Population 1851	Population Increase 1841 v 1831	Population Increase 1851 v 1841
St Albans	15,833	17,051	18,000	8%	6%
Barnet	12,180	13,751	14,569	13%	6%
Berkhampstead	9,871	11,512	12,533	17%	9%
Bishop's Stortford	18,012	19,380	20,361	8%	5%
Buntingford	6,327	6,799	6,309	7%	-7%
Hatfield	5,933	6,067	6,274	2%	3%
Hemel Hempstead	9,910	11,490	13,120	16%	14%
Hertford	12,155	14,145	15,089	16%	7%
Hitchin	20,639	22,346	24,732	8%	11%
Royston	15,671	18,130	19,366	16%	7%
Ware	14,654	15,528	15,468	6%	0%
Watford	15,379	18,000	18,800	17%	4%
Welwyn	1,970	1,956	2,225	-1%	14%
Total	158,534	176,155	186,846	11%	6%
Hertfordshire	142,844	156,660	167,298	10%	7%
England & Wales	13,896,797	15,914,148	17,927,609	15%	13%

Source: Census of Great Britain, 1851, Population tables, I. Number of the inhabitants in 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841, 1851. Vol I BPP 1852-53 LXXXV (1631) clxviii.

Appendix XXI

Annual Poor Relief Expenditure in the Hertfordshire Unions 1837-1847

Union	Average 1831-1834	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847
St Albans	8,488	3,910	4,040	4,035	4,111	4,884	3,803	3,991	3,865	4,128	3,781	4,473
Barnet	6,983	4,009	5,367	5,193	5,525	5,625	5,730	5,992	5,980	5,792	5,651	5,889
Berkhampstead	7,750		3,353	3,554	3,974	4,385	4,558	4,503	4,020	4,093	4,026	3,902
Bishop's Stortford	17,421	8,417	9,844	10,810	10,675	11,247	11,320	11,592	10,739	11,644	11,803	13,124
Buntingford	4,615	2,468	3,049	3,167	3,354	2,895	3,123	3,064	3,409	3,567	3,287	3,347
Hatfield	3,177	1,640	1,716	1,572	1,737	1,904	2,006	2,643	2,235	2,218	2,073	2,488
H. Hempstead	5,672		2,950	3,156	3,481	3,601	3,687	3,811	3,619	4,198	4,011	3,946
Hertford	8,202	4,573	4,618	5,282	5,127	5,407	5,451	5,659	5,774	5,224	5,009	5,161
Hitchin	12,315	7,818	8,712	8,044	8,377	9,430	9,867	9,762	8,882	9,558	9,998	10,335
Royston	10,233	7,321	6,585	7,597	7,615	7,530	7,255	7,156	6,963	7,311	7,724	7,535
Ware	12,131	5,925	6,323	5,918	6,087	7,948	10,066	8,387	7,596	8,215	7,708	7,431
Watford	8,473	4,294	4,829	4,969	6,759	5,497	5,529	6,181	5,825	6,496	6,469	6,991
Welwyn	1,037	726	841	876	888	891	820	790	784	761	723	730
Total ^a	106,497	51,101	62,227	64,173	67,710	71,244	73,215	73,531	69,691	73,205	72,263	75,352
Average for all unions	8,192	4,646 ^b	4,787	4,936	5,208	5,480	5,632	5,656	5,361	5,631	5,559	5,796

Years in which expenditure was less than the previous year are highlighted in red

- This is the total for the 13 unions and is not the same as the administrative county total shown in table 9.3.
- This average excludes Hemel Hempstead and Berkhampstead

Sources: British Parliamentary Papers, *First annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, 1835 (500), XXXV.107, pp.249-250. *Third Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales; together with appendices (A.) (B.) & (C.)*; 1837 (546.I) (546.II) XXXI.127, 321, p.33. *Fourth annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales; together with appendices A. B. & C.* 1837-38, (147) XXVIII.145.

Appendix XXII

Poor Relief Expenditure per head of population (£s) in the Hertfordshire Unions 1837-1847

	OPL	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847
St Albans	0.54	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.26	0.29	0.22	0.23	0.23	0.24	0.22	0.26
Barnet	0.57	0.33	0.44	0.43	0.45	0.41	0.42	0.44	0.43	0.42	0.41	0.43
Berkhampstead	0.79		0.34	0.36	0.40	0.38	0.40	0.39	0.35	0.36	0.35	0.34
Bishop's Stortford	0.97	0.47	0.55	0.60	0.59	0.58	0.58	0.60	0.55	0.60	0.61	0.68
Buntingford	0.73	0.39	0.48	0.50	0.53	0.43	0.46	0.45	0.50	0.52	0.48	0.49
Hatfield	0.54	0.28	0.29	0.26	0.29	0.31	0.33	0.44	0.37	0.37	0.34	0.41
Hemel Hempstead	0.57		0.30	0.32	0.35	0.31	0.32	0.33	0.31	0.37	0.35	0.34
Hertford	0.67	0.38	0.38	0.43	0.42	0.38	0.39	0.40	0.41	0.37	0.35	0.36
Hitchin	0.60	0.38	0.42	0.39	0.41	0.42	0.44	0.44	0.40	0.43	0.45	0.46
Royston	0.65	0.47	0.42	0.48	0.49	0.42	0.40	0.39	0.38	0.40	0.43	0.42
Ware	0.83	0.40	0.43	0.40	0.42	0.51	0.65	0.54	0.49	0.53	0.50	0.48
Watford	0.55	0.28	0.31	0.32	0.44	0.31	0.31	0.34	0.32	0.36	0.36	0.39
Welwyn	0.53	0.37	0.43	0.44	0.45	0.46	0.42	0.40	0.40	0.39	0.37	0.37
All Unions	0.67	0.32 ^a	0.39	0.40	0.43	0.41	0.42	0.42	0.40	0.42	0.41	0.43
England & Wales		0.29	0.30	0.32	0.33	0.30	0.31	0.33	0.31	0.32	0.31	0.33

Years in which expenditure was less than the previous year are highlighted in red

a. This average excludes Hemel Hempstead and Berkhampstead

Sources: British Parliamentary Papers, *First annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales*, 1835 (500), XXXV.107, pp.249-250. *Third Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales; together with appendices (A.) (B.) & (C.)*; 1837 (546.I) (546.II) XXXI.127, 321, p.33. *Fourth annual report of the Poor Law Commissioners for England and Wales; together with appendices A. B. & C.* 1837-38, (147) XXVIII.145.

Appendix XXIII

Workhouse Populations

St Albans Workhouse Population (weekly)			
Date	Quarter-Week	No. of Days relief paid	Minimum workhouse population
31-Dec 1836	Q4-1	1310	187
07-Jan 1837	Q4-2	1375	196
14-Jan 1837	Q4-3	1376	197
21-Jan 1837	Q4-4	1432	205
28-Jan 1837	Q4-5	1452	207
04-Feb 1837	Q4-6	1447	207
11-Feb 1837	Q4-7	1451	207
18-Feb 1837	Q4-8	1442	206
25-Feb 1837	Q4-9	1445	206
04-Mar 1837	Q4-10	1423	203
11-Mar 1837	Q4-11	1421	203
18-Mar 1837	Q4-12	1400	200
25-Mar 1837	Q4-13	1417	202
01-Apr 1837	Q1-1	1436	205
08-Apr 1837	Q1-2	1430	204
15-Apr 1837	Q1-3	1452	207
22-Apr 1837	Q1-4	1434	205
29-Apr 1837	Q1-5	1450	207
06-May 1837	Q1-6	1467	210
13-May 1837	Q1-7	1449	207
20-May 1837	Q1-8	1418	203
27-May 1837	Q1-9	1423	203
03-Jun 1837	Q1-10	1424	203
10-Jun 1837	Q1-11	1377	197
17-Jun 1837	Q1-12	1377	197
24-Jun 1837	Q1-13	1373	196
01-Jul 1837	Q2-1	1350	193
08-Jul 1837	Q2-2	1267	181
15-Jul 1837	Q2-3	1290	184
22-Jul 1837	Q2-4	1483	212
29-Jul 1837	Q2-5	1311	187
05-Aug 1837	Q2-6	1351	193
12-Aug 1837	Q2-7	1372	196
19-Aug 1837	Q2-8	1344	192
26-Aug 1837	Q2-9	1369	196
02-Sep 1837	Q2-10	1344	192
09-Sep 1837	Q2-11	1363	195
16-Sep 1837	Q2-12	1343	192
23-Sep 1837	Q2-13	1386	198
30-Sep 1837	Q3-1	1386	198
07-Oct 1837	Q3-2	1340	191
14-Oct 1837	Q3-3	1438	205
21-Oct 1837	Q3-4	1479	211
28-Oct 1837	Q3-5	1473	210
04-Nov 1837	Q3-6	1498	214
11-Nov 1837	Q3-7	1493	213
18-Nov 1837	Q3-8	1517	217
25-Nov 1837	Q3-9	1494	213

St Albans Workhouse Population (weekly)			
Date	Quarter-Week	No. of Days relief paid	Minimum workhouse population
02-Dec 1837	Q3-10	1527	218
09-Dec 1837	Q3-11	1515	216
16-Dec 1837	Q3-12	1545	221
23-Dec 1837	Q3-13	1561	223
30-Dec 1837	Q4-1	1575	225
06-Jan 1838	Q4-2	1538	220
13-Jan 1838	Q4-3	1540	220
20-Jan 1838	Q4-4	1568	224
27-Jan 1838	Q4-5	1622	232
03-Feb 1838	Q4-6	1678	240
10-Feb 1838	Q4-7	1680	240
17-Feb 1838	Q4-8	1672	239
24-Feb 1838	Q4-9	1689	241
03-Mar 1838	Q4-10	1670	239
10-Mar 1838	Q4-11	1661	237
17-Mar 1838	Q4-12	1661	237
24-Mar 1838	Q4-13	1659	237
31-Mar 1838	Q1-1	1561	223
07-Apr 1838	Q1-2	1541	220
14-Apr 1838	Q1-3	1538	220
21-Apr 1838	Q1-4	1624	232
28-Apr 1838	Q1-5	1546	221
05-May 1838	Q1-6	1545	221
12-May 1838	Q1-7	1568	224
19-May 1838	Q1-8	1607	230
26-May 1838	Q1-9	1576	225
02-Jun 1838	Q1-10	1565	224
09-Jun 1838	Q1-11	1574	225
16-Jun 1838	Q1-12	1572	225
23-Jun 1838	Q1-13	1548	221
30-Jun 1838	Q2-1	1555	222
07-Jul 1838	Q2-2	1416	202
14-Jul 1838	Q2-3	1432	205
21-Jul 1838	Q2-4	1286	184
28-Jul 1838	Q2-5	1260	180
04-Aug 1838	Q2-6	1208	173
11-Aug 1838	Q2-7	1239	177
18-Aug 1838	Q2-8	1222	175
25-Aug 1838	Q2-9	1238	177
01-Sep 1838	Q2-10	1212	173
08-Sep 1838	Q2-11	1210	173
15-Sep 1838	Q2-12	1215	174
22-Sep 1838	Q2-13	1215	174
29-Sep 1838	Q3-1	1239	177
06-Oct 1838	Q3-2	1245	178
13-Oct 1838	Q3-3	1257	180
20-Oct 1838	Q3-4	1304	186
27-Oct 1838	Q3-5	1411	202
03-Nov 1838	Q3-6	1473	210
10-Nov 1838	Q3-7	1460	209
17-Nov 1838	Q3-8	1459	208
24-Nov 1838	Q3-9	1496	214
01-Dec 1838	Q3-10	1491	213
08-Dec 1838	Q3-11	1454	208
15-Dec 1838	Q3-12	1414	202
22-Dec 1838	Q3-13	1402	200

St Albans Workhouse Population (weekly)				
Date		Quarter-Week	No. of Days relief paid	Minimum workhouse population
29-Dec	1838	Q4-1	1426	204
05-Jan	1839	Q4-2	1447	207
12-Jan	1839	Q4-3	1440	206
19-Jan	1839	Q4-4	1449	207
26-Jan	1839	Q4-5	1494	213
02-Feb	1839	Q4-6	1530	219
09-Feb	1839	Q4-7	1559	223
16-Feb	1839	Q4-8	1521	217
23-Feb	1839	Q4-9	1554	222
02-Mar	1839	Q4-10	1515	216
09-Mar	1839	Q4-11	1498	214
16-Mar	1839	Q4-12	1493	213
23-Mar	1839	Q4-13	1470	210
30-Mar	1839	Q1-1	1481	212
06-Apr	1839	Q1-2	1470	210
13-Apr	1839	Q1-3	1459	208
20-Apr	1839	Q1-4	1456	208
27-Apr	1839	Q1-5	1455	208
04-May	1839	Q1-6	1448	207
11-May	1839	Q1-7	1443	206
18-May	1839	Q1-8	1429	204
25-May	1839	Q1-9	1433	205
01-Jun	1839	Q1-10	1377	197
08-Jun	1839	Q1-11	1350	193
15-Jun	1839	Q1-12	1303	186
22-Jun	1839	Q1-13	1265	181
29-Jun	1839	Q2-1	1239	177
06-Jul	1839	Q2-2	1194	171
13-Jul	1839	Q2-3	1162	166
20-Jul	1839	Q2-4	1168	167
27-Jul	1839	Q2-5	1169	167
03-Aug	1839	Q2-6	1210	173
10-Aug	1839	Q2-7	1224	175
17-Aug	1839	Q2-8	1225	175
24-Aug	1839	Q2-9	1224	175
31-Aug	1839	Q2-10	1235	176
07-Sep	1839	Q2-11	1266	181
14-Sep	1839	Q2-12	1330	190
21-Sep	1839	Q2-13	1342	192
28-Sep	1839	Q3-1	1318	188
05-Oct	1839	Q3-2	1331	190
12-Oct	1839	Q3-3	1381	197
19-Oct	1839	Q3-4	1375	196
26-Oct	1839	Q3-5	1415	202
02-Nov	1839	Q3-6	1462	209
09-Nov	1839	Q3-7	1491	213
16-Nov	1839	Q3-8	1502	215
23-Nov	1839	Q3-9	1560	223
30-Nov	1839	Q3-10	1587	227
07-Dec	1839	Q3-11	1651	236
14-Dec	1839	Q3-12	1671	239
21-Dec	1839	Q3-13	1744	249
28-Dec	1839	Q4-1	1772	253
04-Jan	1840	Q4-2	1792	256
11-Jan	1840	Q4-3	1828	261
18-Jan	1840	Q4-4	1874	268

St Albans Workhouse Population (weekly)				
Date		Quarter-Week	No. of Days relief paid	Minimum workhouse population
25-Jan	1840	Q4-5	1925	275
01-Feb	1840	Q4-6	1905	272
08-Feb	1840	Q4-7	1912	273
15-Feb	1840	Q4-8	1881	269
22-Feb	1840	Q4-9	1807	258
29-Feb	1840	Q4-10	1858	265
07-Mar	1840	Q4-11	1865	266
14-Mar	1840	Q4-12	1865	266
21-Mar	1840	Q4-13	1864	266
28-Mar	1840	Q1-1	1868	267
04-Apr	1840	Q1-2	1858	265
11-Apr	1840	Q1-3	1857	265
18-Apr	1840	Q1-4	1758	251
25-Apr	1840	Q1-5	1710	244
02-May	1840	Q1-6	1587	227
09-May	1840	Q1-7	1577	225
16-May	1840	Q1-8	1605	229
23-May	1840	Q1-9	1559	223
30-May	1840	Q1-10	1483	212
06-Jun	1840	Q1-11	1477	211
13-Jun	1840	Q1-12	1388	198
20-Jun	1840	Q1-13	1277	182
27-Jun	1840	Q2-1	1247	178
04-Jul	1840	Q2-2	1260	180
11-Jul	1840	Q2-3	1336	191
18-Jul	1840	Q2-4	1364	195
25-Jul	1840	Q2-5	1381	197
01-Aug	1840	Q2-6	1390	199
08-Aug	1840	Q2-7	1296	185
15-Aug	1840	Q2-8	1350	193
22-Aug	1840	Q2-9	1381	197
29-Aug	1840	Q2-10	1358	194
05-Sep	1840	Q2-11	1315	188
12-Sep	1840	Q2-12	1401	200
19-Sep	1840	Q2-13	1428	204
26-Sep	1840	Q3-1	1459	208
03-Oct	1840	Q3-2	1481	212
10-Oct	1840	Q3-3	1492	213
17-Oct	1840	Q3-4	1472	210
24-Oct	1840	Q3-5	1554	222
31-Oct	1840	Q3-6	1614	231
07-Nov	1840	Q3-7	1649	236
14-Nov	1840	Q3-8	1636	234
21-Nov	1840	Q3-9	1663	238
28-Nov	1840	Q3-10	1714	245
05-Dec	1840	Q3-11	1776	254
12-Dec	1840	Q3-12	1819	260
19-Dec	1840	Q3-13	1852	265
26-Dec	1840	Q4-1	1894	271
02-Jan	1841	Q4-2	1898	271
09-Jan	1841	Q4-3	1938	277
16-Jan	1841	Q4-4	1974	282
23-Jan	1841	Q4-5	1936	277
30-Jan	1841	Q4-6	1887	270
06-Feb	1841	Q4-7	1904	272
13-Feb	1841	Q4-8	1940	277

St Albans Workhouse Population (weekly)				
Date		Quarter-Week	No. of Days relief paid	Minimum workhouse population
20-Feb	1841	Q4-9	1693	242
27-Feb	1841	Q4-10	1931	276
06-Mar	1841	Q4-11	1837	262
13-Mar	1841	Q4-12	1702	243
20-Mar	1841	Q4-13	1703	243
27-Mar	1841	Q1-1	1701	243
03-Apr	1841	Q1-2	1691	242
10-Apr	1841	Q1-3	1678	240
17-Apr	1841	Q1-4	1693	242
24-Apr	1841	Q1-5	1608	230
01-May	1841	Q1-6	1575	225
08-May	1841	Q1-7	1538	220
15-May	1841	Q1-8	1515	216
22-May	1841	Q1-9	1510	216
29-May	1841	Q1-10	1451	207
05-Jun	1841	Q1-11	1404	201
12-Jun	1841	Q1-12	1372	196
19-Jun	1841	Q1-13	1337	191
26-Jun	1841	Q2-1	1325	189
03-Jul	1841	Q2-2	1355	194
10-Jul	1841	Q2-3	1345	192
17-Jul	1841	Q2-4	1334	191
24-Jul	1841	Q2-5	1336	191
31-Jul	1841	Q2-6	1372	196
07-Aug	1841	Q2-7	1367	195
14-Aug	1841	Q2-8	1354	193
21-Aug	1841	Q2-9	1333	190
28-Aug	1841	Q2-10	1315	188
04-Sep	1841	Q2-11	1331	190
11-Sep	1841	Q2-12	1374	196
18-Sep	1841	Q2-13	1392	199
25-Sep	1841	Q3-1	1431	204
02-Oct	1841	Q3-2	1473	210
09-Oct	1841	Q3-3	1499	214
16-Oct	1841	Q3-4	1519	217
23-Oct	1841	Q3-5	1582	226
30-Oct	1841	Q3-6	1622	232
06-Nov	1841	Q3-7	1702	243
13-Nov	1841	Q3-8	1710	244
20-Nov	1841	Q3-9	1813	259
27-Nov	1841	Q3-10	1886	269
04-Dec	1841	Q3-11	1909	273
11-Dec	1841	Q3-12	1958	280
18-Dec	1841	Q3-13	1953	279
25-Dec	1841	Q4-1	1932	276
01-Jan	1841	Q4-2	1958	280
08-Jan	1842	Q4-3	1978	283
15-Jan	1842	Q4-4	1977	282
22-Jan	1842	Q4-5	1965	281
29-Jan	1842	Q4-6	1966	281
05-Feb	1842	Q4-7	1926	275
12-Feb	1842	Q4-8	1920	274
19-Feb	1842	Q4-9	1931	276
26-Feb	1842	Q4-10	1939	277
05-Mar	1842	Q4-11	1932	276
12-Mar	1842	Q4-12	1900	271

St Albans Workhouse Population (weekly)				
Date		Quarter-Week	No. of Days relief paid	Minimum workhouse population
19-Mar	1842	Q4-13	1893	270
26-Mar	1842	Q1-1	1843	263
02-Apr	1842	Q1-2	1880	269
09-Apr	1842	Q1-3	1895	271
16-Apr	1842	Q1-4	1872	267
23-Apr	1842	Q1-5	1843	263
30-Apr	1842	Q1-6	1821	260
07-May	1842	Q1-7	1784	255
14-May	1842	Q1-8	1731	247
21-May	1842	Q1-9	1723	246
28-May	1842	Q1-10	1766	252
04-Jun	1842	Q1-11	1760	251
11-Jun	1842	Q1-12	1653	236
18-Jun	1842	Q1-13	1523	218
25-Jun	1842	Q2-1	1510	216
02-Jul	1842	Q2-2	1551	222
09-Jul	1842	Q2-3	1568	224
16-Jul	1842	Q2-4	1554	222
23-Jul	1842	Q2-5	1600	229
30-Jul	1842	Q2-6	1625	232
06-Aug	1842	Q2-7	1634	233
13-Aug	1842	Q2-8	1591	227
20-Aug	1842	Q2-9	1599	228
27-Aug	1842	Q2-10	1627	232
03-Sep	1842	Q2-11	1661	237
10-Sep	1842	Q2-12	1717	245
17-Sep	1842	Q2-13	1699	243
24-Sep	1842	Q3-1	1698	243
01-Oct	1842	Q3-2	1732	247
08-Oct	1842	Q3-3	1783	255
15-Oct	1842	Q3-4	1735	248
22-Oct	1842	Q3-5	1794	256
29-Oct	1842	Q3-6	1840	263
05-Nov	1842	Q3-7	1885	269
12-Nov	1842	Q3-8	1914	273
19-Nov	1842	Q3-9	1997	285
26-Nov	1842	Q3-10	2018	288
03-Dec	1842	Q3-11	2044	292
10-Dec	1842	Q3-12	2118	303
17-Dec	1842	Q3-13	2173	310
24-Dec	1842	Q4-1	2207	315
31-Dec	1842	Q4-2	2196	314
07-Jan	1843	Q4-3	2186	312
14-Jan	1843	Q4-4	2204	315
21-Jan	1843	Q4-5	2178	311
28-Jan	1843	Q4-6	2196	314
04-Feb	1843	Q4-7	2221	317
11-Feb	1843	Q4-8	2162	309
18-Feb	1843	Q4-9	2163	309
25-Feb	1843	Q4-10	2126	304
04-Mar	1843	Q4-11	2168	310
11-Mar	1843	Q4-12	2233	319
18-Mar	1843	Q4-13	2130	304
25-Mar	1843	Q1-1	1990	284
01-Apr	1843	Q1-2	1824	261
08-Apr	1843	Q1-3	1820	260

St Albans Workhouse Population (weekly)				
Date		Quarter-Week	No. of Days relief paid	Minimum workhouse population
15-Apr	1843	Q1-4	1782	255
22-Apr	1843	Q1-5	1706	244
29-Apr	1843	Q1-6	1685	241
06-May	1843	Q1-7	1687	241
13-May	1843	Q1-8	1703	243
20-May	1843	Q1-9	1674	239
27-May	1843	Q1-10	1650	236
03-Jun	1843	Q1-11	1634	233
10-Jun	1843	Q1-12	1646	235
17-Jun	1843	Q1-13	1601	229
24-Jun	1843	Q2-1	1446	207
01-Jul	1843	Q2-2	1439	206
08-Jul	1843	Q2-3	1437	205
15-Jul	1843	Q2-4	1442	206
22-Jul	1843	Q2-5	1420	203
29-Jul	1843	Q2-6	1424	203
05-Aug	1843	Q2-7	1437	205
12-Aug	1843	Q2-8	1408	201
19-Aug	1843	Q2-9	1399	200
26-Aug	1843	Q2-10	1390	199
02-Sep	1843	Q2-11	1414	202
09-Sep	1843	Q2-12	1473	210
16-Sep	1843	Q2-13	1525	218
23-Sep	1843	Q3-1	1552	222
30-Sep	1843	Q3-2	1610	230
07-Oct	1843	Q3-3	1659	237
14-Oct	1843	Q3-4	1684	241
21-Oct	1843	Q3-5	1717	245
28-Oct	1843	Q3-6	1743	249
04-Nov	1843	Q3-7	1731	247
11-Nov	1843	Q3-8	1773	253
18-Nov	1843	Q3-9	1820	260
25-Nov	1843	Q3-10	1830	261
02-Dec	1843	Q3-11	1901	272
09-Dec	1843	Q3-12	1912	273
16-Dec	1843	Q3-13	1941	277
23-Dec	1843	Q4-1	1982	283
30-Dec	1843	Q4-2	1998	285
06-Jan	1844	Q4-3	1977	282
13-Jan	1844	Q4-4	1975	282
20-Jan	1844	Q4-5	1997	285
27-Jan	1844	Q4-6	2003	286
03-Feb	1844	Q4-7	1922	275
10-Feb	1844	Q4-8	1916	274
17-Feb	1844	Q4-9	1936	277
24-Feb	1844	Q4-10	1926	275
02-Mar	1844	Q4-11	1924	275
09-Mar	1844	Q4-12	1895	271
16-Mar	1844	Q4-13	1894	271
23-Mar	1844	Q1-1	1832	262
30-Mar	1844	Q1-2	1811	259
06-Apr	1844	Q1-3	1776	254
13-Apr	1844	Q1-4	1720	246
20-Apr	1844	Q1-5	1603	229
27-Apr	1844	Q1-6	1552	222
04-May	1844	Q1-7	1513	216

St Albans Workhouse Population (weekly)				
Date		Quarter-Week	No. of Days relief paid	Minimum workhouse population
11-May	1844	Q1-8	1499	214
18-May	1844	Q1-9	1480	211
25-May	1844	Q1-10	1485	212
01-Jun	1844	Q1-11	1494	213
08-Jun	1844	Q1-12	1511	216
15-Jun	1844	Q1-13	1501	214
22-Jun	1844	Q2-1	1493	213
29-Jun	1844	Q2-2	1483	212
06-Jul	1844	Q2-3	1493	213
13-Jul	1844	Q2-4	1485	212
20-Jul	1844	Q2-5	1444	206
27-Jul	1844	Q2-6	1407	201
03-Aug	1844	Q2-7	1394	199
10-Aug	1844	Q2-8	1407	201
17-Aug	1844	Q2-9	1420	203
24-Aug	1844	Q2-10	1438	205
31-Aug	1844	Q2-11	1477	211
07-Sep	1844	Q2-12	1535	219
14-Sep	1844	Q2-13	1606	229
21-Sep	1844	Q3-1	1669	238
28-Sep	1844	Q3-2	1694	242
05-Oct	1844	Q3-3	1699	243
12-Oct	1844	Q3-4	1676	239
19-Oct	1844	Q3-5	1765	252
26-Oct	1844	Q3-6	1809	258
02-Nov	1844	Q3-7	1863	266
09-Nov	1844	Q3-8	1846	264
16-Nov	1844	Q3-9	1843	263
23-Nov	1844	Q3-10	1894	271
30-Nov	1844	Q3-11	1933	276
07-Dec	1844	Q3-12	1982	283
14-Dec	1844	Q3-13	2006	287
21-Dec	1844	Q4-1	1998	285
28-Dec	1844	Q4-2	1988	284
04-Jan	1845	Q4-3	1927	275
11-Jan	1845	Q4-4	1939	277
18-Jan	1845	Q4-5	1957	280
25-Jan	1845	Q4-6	1974	282
01-Feb	1845	Q4-7	2000	286
08-Feb	1845	Q4-8	1987	284
15-Feb	1845	Q4-9	1955	279
22-Feb	1845	Q4-10	1961	280
01-Mar	1845	Q4-11	1969	281
08-Mar	1845	Q4-12	2021	289
15-Mar	1845	Q4-13	2061	294
22-Mar	1845	Q1-1	2052	293
29-Mar	1845	Q1-2	1963	280
05-Apr	1845	Q1-3	1876	268
12-Apr	1845	Q1-4	1866	267
19-Apr	1845	Q1-5	1846	264
26-Apr	1845	Q1-6	1788	255
03-May	1845	Q1-7	1786	255
10-May	1845	Q1-8	1785	255
17-May	1845	Q1-9	1777	254
24-May	1845	Q1-10	1760	251
31-May	1845	Q1-11	1774	253

St Albans Workhouse Population (weekly)				
Date		Quarter-Week	No. of Days relief paid	Minimum workhouse population
07-Jun	1845	Q1-12	1741	249
14-Jun	1845	Q1-13	1642	235
21-Jun	1845	Q2-1	1498	214
28-Jun	1845	Q2-2	1499	214
05-Jul	1845	Q2-3	1502	215
12-Jul	1845	Q2-4	1495	214
19-Jul	1845	Q2-5	1521	217
26-Jul	1845	Q2-6	1541	220
02-Aug	1845	Q2-7	1562	223
09-Aug	1845	Q2-8	1540	220
16-Aug	1845	Q2-9	1427	204
23-Aug	1845	Q2-10	1399	200
30-Aug	1845	Q2-11	1465	209
06-Sep	1845	Q2-12	1482	212
13-Sep	1845	Q2-13	1512	216
20-Sep	1845	Q3-1	1533	219
27-Sep	1845	Q3-2	1532	219
04-Oct	1845	Q3-3	1559	223
11-Oct	1845	Q3-4	1546	221
18-Oct	1845	Q3-5	1568	224
25-Oct	1845	Q3-6	1644	235
01-Nov	1845	Q3-7	1677	240
08-Nov	1845	Q3-8	1665	238
15-Nov	1845	Q3-9	1684	241
22-Nov	1845	Q3-10	1704	243
29-Nov	1845	Q3-11	1753	250
06-Dec	1845	Q3-12	1797	257
13-Dec	1845	Q3-13	1855	265
20-Dec	1845	Q4-1	1911	273
27-Dec	1845	Q4-2	1917	274
03-Jan	1846	Q4-3	1954	279
10-Jan	1846	Q4-4	2003	286
17-Jan	1846	Q4-5	1992	285
24-Jan	1846	Q4-6	1940	277
31-Jan	1846	Q4-7	1937	277
07-Feb	1846	Q4-8	1944	278
14-Feb	1846	Q4-9	1938	277
21-Feb	1846	Q4-10	1919	274
28-Feb	1846	Q4-11	1849	264
07-Mar	1846	Q4-12	1802	257
14-Mar	1846	Q4-13	1760	251
21-Mar	1846	Q1-1	1692	242
28-Mar	1846	Q1-2	1684	241
04-Apr	1846	Q1-3	1731	247
11-Apr	1846	Q1-4	1736	248
18-Apr	1846	Q1-5	1695	242
25-Apr	1846	Q1-6	1672	239
02-May	1846	Q1-7	1672	239
09-May	1846	Q1-8	1660	237
16-May	1846	Q1-9	1647	235
23-May	1846	Q1-10	1622	232
30-May	1846	Q1-11	1543	220
06-Jun	1846	Q1-12	1442	206
13-Jun	1846	Q1-13	1391	199
20-Jun	1846	Q2-1	1381	197
27-Jun	1846	Q2-2	1384	198

St Albans Workhouse Population (weekly)				
Date		Quarter-Week	No. of Days relief paid	Minimum workhouse population
04-Jul	1846	Q2-3	1428	204
11-Jul	1846	Q2-4	1480	211
18-Jul	1846	Q2-5	1399	200
25-Jul	1846	Q2-6	1368	195
01-Aug	1846	Q2-7	1381	197
08-Aug	1846	Q2-8	1490	213
15-Aug	1846	Q2-9	1530	219
22-Aug	1846	Q2-10	1563	223
29-Aug	1846	Q2-11	1564	223
05-Sep	1846	Q2-12	1541	220
12-Sep	1846	Q2-13	1509	216
19-Sep	1846	Q3-1	1538	220
26-Sep	1846	Q3-2	1548	221
03-Oct	1846	Q3-3	1564	223
10-Oct	1846	Q3-4	1644	235
17-Oct	1846	Q3-5	1735	248
24-Oct	1846	Q3-6	1798	257
31-Oct	1846	Q3-7	1813	259
07-Nov	1846	Q3-8	1840	263
14-Nov	1846	Q3-9	1801	257
21-Nov	1846	Q3-10	1819	260
28-Nov	1846	Q3-11	1865	266
05-Dec	1846	Q3-12	1909	273
12-Dec	1846	Q3-13	1955	279
19-Dec	1846	Q4-1	1974	282
26-Dec	1846	Q4-2	1994	285
02-Jan	1847	Q4-3	2011	287
09-Jan	1847	Q4-4	1967	281
16-Jan	1847	Q4-5	1951	279
23-Jan	1847	Q4-6	1970	281
30-Jan	1847	Q4-7	1001	143
06-Feb	1847	Q4-8	2001	286
13-Feb	1847	Q4-9	1969	281
20-Feb	1847	Q4-10	1935	276
27-Feb	1847	Q4-11	1926	275
06-Mar	1847	Q4-12	1945	278
13-Mar	1847	Q4-13	1936	277
20-Mar	1847	Q1-1	1844	263
27-Mar	1847	Q1-2	1724	246
03-Apr	1847	Q1-3	1709	244
10-Apr	1847	Q1-4	1732	247
17-Apr	1847	Q1-5	1817	260
24-Apr	1847	Q1-6	1858	265
01-May	1847	Q1-7	1839	263
08-May	1847	Q1-8	1867	267
15-May	1847	Q1-9	1847	264
22-May	1847	Q1-10	1773	253
29-May	1847	Q1-11	1705	244
05-Jun	1847	Q1-12	1616	231
12-Jun	1847	Q1-13	1587	227
19-Jun	1847	Q2-1	1652	236
26-Jun	1847	Q2-2	1572	225
03-Jul	1847	Q2-3	1555	222
10-Jul	1847	Q2-4	1584	226
17-Jul	1847	Q2-5	1544	221
24-Jul	1847	Q2-6	1574	225

St Albans Workhouse Population (weekly)				
Date		Quarter-Week	No. of Days relief paid	Minimum workhouse population
31-Jul	1847	Q2-7	1581	226
07-Aug	1847	Q2-8	1627	232
14-Aug	1847	Q2-9	1609	230
21-Aug	1847	Q2-10	1577	225
28-Aug	1847	Q2-11	1634	233
04-Sep	1847	Q2-12	1656	237
11-Sep	1847	Q2-13	1635	234
18-Sep	1847	Q3-1	1629	233
25-Sep	1847	Q3-2	1681	240
02-Oct	1847	Q3-3	1691	242
09-Oct	1847	Q3-4	1702	243
16-Oct	1847	Q3-5	1702	243
23-Oct	1847	Q3-6	1711	244
30-Oct	1847	Q3-7	1766	252
06-Nov	1847	Q3-8	1817	260
13-Nov	1847	Q3-9	1891	270
20-Nov	1847	Q3-10	1987	284
27-Nov	1847	Q3-11	2129	304
04-Dec	1847	Q3-12	2206	315
11-Dec	1847	Q3-13	2170	310
18-Dec	1847	Q4-1	2070	296
25-Dec	1847	Q4-2	2101	300
01-Jan	1847	Q4-3	2084	298
08-Jan	1848	Q4-4	2105	301
15-Jan	1848	Q4-5	2152	307
22-Jan	1848	Q4-6	2213	316
29-Jan	1848	Q4-7	2209	316
05-Feb	1848	Q4-8	2144	306
12-Feb	1848	Q4-9	2078	297
19-Feb	1848	Q4-10	2089	298
26-Feb	1848	Q4-11	2083	298
04-Mar	1848	Q4-12	1973	282
11-Mar	1848	Q4-13	1967	281

Source: Board of Guardians Minute Books. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Off Acc 1162

Watford Workhouse Population

Date	Quarter-Week	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Workhouse Population
22-Apr 1837	Q1-4	46	26	17	14	103
29-Apr 1837	Q1-5	47	25	17	14	103
06-May 1837	Q1-6	46	24	17	14	101
13-May 1837	Q1-7	45	23	17	14	99
20-May 1837	Q1-8	43	24	17	14	98
27-May 1837	Q1-9	40	26	17	14	97
03-Jun 1837	Q1-10	43	26	17	15	101
10-Jun 1837	Q1-11	44	26	17	15	102
17-Jun 1837	Q1-12	40	23	17	14	94
24-Jun 1837	Q1-13	36	22	15	15	88
01-Jul 1837	Q2-1	33	1	16	14	64
08-Jul 1837	Q2-2	36	22	15	12	85
15-Jul 1837	Q2-3	37	21	15	13	86
22-Jul 1837	Q2-4	39	22	17	13	91
29-Jul 1837	Q2-5	39	23	18	14	94
05-Aug 1837	Q2-6	40	22	19	14	95
12-Aug 1837	Q2-7	40	23	19	15	97
19-Aug 1837	Q2-8	38	23	20	15	96
26-Aug 1837	Q2-9	34	22	20	15	91
02-Sep 1837	Q2-10	37	21	20	13	91
09-Sep 1837	Q2-11	37	18	21	11	87
16-Sep 1837	Q2-12	37	22	21	16	96
23-Sep 1837	Q2-13	44	20	21	15	100
30-Sep 1837	Q3-1	-	-	-	-	-
07-Oct 1837	Q3-2	44	20	21	15	100
14-Oct 1837	Q3-3	46	21	20	19	106
21-Oct 1837	Q3-4	44	21	20	19	104
28-Oct 1837	Q3-5	48	20	20	19	107
04-Nov 1837	Q3-6	49	21	22	20	112
11-Nov 1837	Q3-7	48	21	23	20	112
18-Nov 1837	Q3-8	47	22	29	24	122
25-Nov 1837	Q3-9	47	22	28	24	121
02-Dec 1837	Q3-10	46	21	29	25	121
09-Dec 1837	Q3-11	49	21	29	25	124
16-Dec 1837	Q3-12	53	19	26	22	120
23-Dec 1837	Q3-13	54	21	29	22	126
30-Dec 1837	Q4-1	53	20	29	22	124
06-Jan 1838	Q4-2	57	19	26	22	124
13-Jan 1838	Q4-3	63	21	30	22	136
20-Jan 1838	Q4-4	72	23	30	24	149
27-Jan 1838	Q4-5	69	24	29	24	146
03-Feb 1838	Q4-6	68	24	29	21	142
10-Feb 1838	Q4-7	63	25	31	25	144
17-Feb 1838	Q4-8	63	27	33	30	153
24-Feb 1838	Q4-9	59	23	31	25	138
03-Mar 1838	Q4-10	58	26	31	27	142
10-Mar 1838	Q4-11	58	24	27	27	136
17-Mar 1838	Q4-12	54	23	26	26	129
24-Mar 1838	Q4-13					
30-Mar 1838	Q1-1	57	20	22	22	121
06-Apr 1838	Q1-2	56	20	22	19	117
13-Apr 1838	Q1-3					

Watford Workhouse Population

Date	Quarter-Week	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Workhouse Population
20-Apr 1838	Q1-4	52	20	24	20	116
27-Apr 1838	Q1-5	53	17	24	19	113
04-May 1838	Q1-6	51	17	24	17	109
11-May 1838	Q1-7	51	19	25	18	113
18-May 1838	Q1-8	53	18	23	19	113
25-May 1838	Q1-9	53	17	23	20	113
01-Jun 1838	Q1-10	53	19	23	20	115
08-Jun 1838	Q1-11	50	18	21	19	108
15-Jun 1838	Q1-12	49	17	19	18	103
22-Jun 1838	Q1-13	46	16	19	17	98
29-Jun 1838	Q2-1	39	17	19	16	91
06-Jul 1838	Q2-2	37	17	19	16	89
13-Jul 1838	Q2-3	40	17	19	16	92
20-Jul 1838	Q2-4	39	18	19	16	92
27-Jul 1838	Q2-5	40	18	19	16	93
03-Aug 1838	Q2-6	40	11	19	16	86
10-Aug 1838	Q2-7	39	18	19	16	92
17-Aug 1838	Q2-8	37	18	19	16	90
24-Aug 1838	Q2-9	37	19	19	16	91
31-Aug 1838	Q2-10	36	19	19	16	90
07-Sep 1838	Q2-11	37	19	19	16	91
14-Sep 1838	Q2-12	38	19	19	16	92
21-Sep 1838	Q2-13	45	19	22	18	104
28-Sep 1838	Q3-1	49	20	21	19	109
05-Oct 1838	Q3-2	49	10	21	19	99
12-Oct 1838	Q3-3	50	19	21	19	109
19-Oct 1838	Q3-4	53	18	22	18	111
26-Oct 1838	Q3-5	53	17	22	19	111
02-Nov 1838	Q3-6	-	-	-	-	-
09-Nov 1838	Q3-7	58	21	24	17	120
16-Nov 1838	Q3-8	57	23	24	17	121
23-Nov 1838	Q3-9	56	25	27	17	125
30-Nov 1838	Q3-10	62	26	32	17	137
07-Dec 1838	Q3-11	62	26	32	17	137
14-Dec 1838	Q3-12	62	27	38	18	145
21-Dec 1838	Q3-13	65	28	33	18	144
28-Dec 1838	Q4-1	60	29	33	18	140
04-Jan 1839	Q4-2	63	29	34	20	146
11-Jan 1839	Q4-3	70	28	33	20	151
18-Jan 1839	Q4-4	72	28	33	20	153
25-Jan 1839	Q4-5	71	27	33	21	152
01-Feb 1839	Q4-6	72	27	33	21	153
08-Feb 1839	Q4-7	74	28	33	21	156
15-Feb 1839	Q4-8	66	28	32	22	148
22-Feb 1839	Q4-9	63	26	33	21	143
01-Mar 1839	Q4-10	62	27	36	21	146
08-Mar 1839	Q4-11	64	27	35	20	146
15-Mar 1839	Q4-12	66	30	35	20	151
22-Mar 1839	Q4-13	66	29	35	20	150
30-Mar 1839	Q1-1	-	-	-	-	-
05-Apr 1839	Q1-2	62	29	35	20	146
12-Apr 1839	Q1-3	60	30	34	21	145
19-Apr 1839	Q1-4	56	29	26	16	127
26-Apr 1839	Q1-5	58	31	29	15	133
04-May 1839	Q1-6	61	29	29	15	134
11-May 1839	Q1-7	59	30	29	12	130

Watford Workhouse Population

Date	Quarter-Week	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Workhouse Population
18-May 1839	Q1-8	59	29	29	13	130
25-May 1839	Q1-9	54	29	28	13	124
01-Jun 1839	Q1-10	58	29	29	13	129
08-Jun 1839	Q1-11	55	28	27	13	123
15-Jun 1839	Q1-12					
22-Jun 1839	Q1-13	48	28	21	14	111
28-Jun 1839	Q2-1	46	29	20	14	109
05-Jul 1839	Q2-2	45	27	20	13	105
12-Jul 1839	Q2-3					
19-Jul 1839	Q2-4	43	30	21	12	106
26-Jul 1839	Q2-5	43	30	21	12	106
02-Aug 1839	Q2-6	45	31	21	12	109
09-Aug 1839	Q2-7	44	30	22	12	108
16-Aug 1839	Q2-8					
24-Aug 1839	Q2-9	44	30	22	12	108
31-Aug 1839	Q2-10	47	30	27	13	117
07-Sep 1839	Q2-11	47	31	27	13	118
14-Sep 1839	Q2-12	48	32	26	13	119
21-Sep 1839	Q2-13	49	31	30	13	123
28-Sep 1839	Q3-1	53	32	33	14	132
05-Oct 1839	Q3-2	54	33	34	14	135
12-Oct 1839	Q3-3	59	33	29	14	135
19-Oct 1839	Q3-4	61	32	33	16	142
26-Oct 1839	Q3-5	61	34	35	16	146
02-Nov 1839	Q3-6	61	30	37	18	146
09-Nov 1839	Q3-7	61	32	38	18	149
16-Nov 1839	Q3-8	67	34	43	18	162
23-Nov 1839	Q3-9	68	35	44	20	167
30-Nov 1839	Q3-10	69	35	44	19	167
07-Dec 1839	Q3-11	67	35	43	17	162
14-Dec 1839	Q3-12	66	36	43	17	162
21-Dec 1839	Q3-13	66	36	43	17	162
28-Dec 1839	Q4-1	74	36	46	17	173
04-Jan 1840	Q4-2	76	33	47	16	172
11-Jan 1840	Q4-3	77	32	46	15	170
18-Jan 1840	Q4-4	77	31	45	14	167
25-Jan 1840	Q4-5	72	31	44	14	161
01-Feb 1840	Q4-6	71	34	46	14	165
14-Feb 1840	Q4-7	76	35	46	14	171
21-Feb 1840	Q4-8	72	34	46	14	166
28-Feb 1840	Q4-9	76	34	47	15	172
06-Mar 1840	Q4-10	74	33	45	18	170
13-Mar 1840	Q4-11	70	32	46	14	162
20-Mar 1840	Q4-12	70	31	43	12	156
27-Mar 1840	Q4-13	68	23	37	12	140
03-Apr 1840	Q1-1	64	25	35	12	136
10-Apr 1840	Q1-2	69	27	39	15	150
17-Apr 1840	Q1-3	68	26	35	12	141
24-Apr 1840	Q1-4					
01-May 1840	Q1-5	63	26	34	15	138
08-May 1840	Q1-6	58	24	31	14	127
15-May 1840	Q1-7	58	23	32	14	127
22-May 1840	Q1-8	58	20	31	13	122
29-May 1840	Q1-9	58	20	31	13	122
05-Jun 1840	Q1-10	58	22	32	13	125
12-Jun 1840	Q1-11					

Watford Workhouse Population

Date	Quarter-Week	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Workhouse Population
19-Jun 1840	Q1-12	48	16	24	8	96
26-Jun 1840	Q1-13	46	18	27	9	100
03-Jul 1840	Q2-1					
10-Jul 1840	Q2-2	47	21	26	10	104
17-Jul 1840	Q2-3	47	22	26	10	105
24-Jul 1840	Q2-4	49	22	28	10	109
31-Jul 1840	Q2-5	49	22	28	10	109
07-Aug 1840	Q2-6	48	21	30	11	110
14-Aug 1840	Q2-7	48	24	31	11	114
21-Aug 1840	Q2-8	48	23	31	11	113
28-Aug 1840	Q2-9					
04-Sep 1840	Q2-10	52	27	30	15	124
11-Sep 1840	Q2-11					
18-Sep 1840	Q2-12	54	26	30	15	125
25-Sep 1840	Q2-13					
02-Oct 1840	Q3-1	61	29	34	16	140
09-Oct 1840	Q3-2	61	31	35	17	144
16-Oct 1840	Q3-3	60	30	34	16	140
23-Oct 1840	Q3-4	61	30	33	16	140
30-Oct 1840	Q3-5	65	32	37	18	152
06-Nov 1840	Q3-6	68	33	37	18	156
13-Nov 1840	Q3-7	72	33	41	19	165
20-Nov 1840	Q3-8	76	37	42	26	181
27-Nov 1840	Q3-9	78	40	44	27	189
04-Dec 1840	Q3-10	79	43	48	29	199
11-Dec 1840	Q3-11	84	45	52	29	210
18-Dec 1840	Q3-12	83	46	54	29	212
25-Dec 1840	Q3-13	86	46	54	29	215
01-Jan 1841	Q4-1					
08-Jan 1841	Q4-2	92	44	55	27	218
15-Jan 1841	Q4-3	93	44	55	27	219
22-Jan 1841	Q4-4	97	47	59	32	235
29-Jan 1841	Q4-5	93	46	57	32	228
05-Feb 1841	Q4-6	99	48	59	33	239
12-Feb 1841	Q4-7	100	49	59	33	241
19-Feb 1841	Q4-8	100	52	65	33	250
26-Feb 1841	Q4-9	91	51	62	32	236
05-Mar 1841	Q4-10	87	47	60	27	221
12-Mar 1841	Q4-11	87	45	57	31	220
19-Mar 1841	Q4-12	86	47	51	25	209
26-Mar 1841	Q4-13	76	43	49	23	191
02-Apr 1841	Q1-1	75	44	53	24	196
09-Apr 1841	Q1-2	79	41	54	21	195
16-Apr 1841	Q1-3					
23-Apr 1841	Q1-4	71	37	51	18	177
30-Apr 1841	Q1-5	73	37	49	17	176
07-May 1841	Q1-6	72	39	52	18	181
14-May 1841	Q1-7	67	33	45	15	160
21-May 1841	Q1-8	72	34	47	14	167
28-May 1841	Q1-9	71	35	47	15	168
04-Jun 1841	Q1-10	68	33	44	13	158
11-Jun 1841	Q1-11	53	27	36	9	125
18-Jun 1841	Q1-12	48	29	36	8	121
25-Jun 1841	Q1-13	55	29	31	8	123
02-Jul 1841	Q2-1	52	28	31	8	119
09-Jul 1841	Q2-2	54	28	32	8	122

Watford Workhouse Population

Date	Quarter-Week	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Workhouse Population
16-Jul 1841	Q2-3	52	27	32	8	119
23-Jul 1841	Q2-4	53	27	31	8	119
30-Jul 1841	Q2-5	53	29	32	10	124
06-Aug 1841	Q2-6	53	31	34	12	130
13-Aug 1841	Q2-7	53	29	33	9	124
20-Aug 1841	Q2-8	54	28	32	8	122
27-Aug 1841	Q2-9	54	28	32	8	122
03-Sep 1841	Q2-10	54	29	34	12	129
10-Sep 1841	Q2-11	53	31	35	12	131
17-Sep 1841	Q2-12	53	30	35	12	130
24-Sep 1841	Q2-13	52	31	33	16	132
01-Oct 1841	Q3-1	54	33	33	17	137
08-Oct 1841	Q3-2	54	33	33	17	137
15-Oct 1841	Q3-3	59	34	35	18	146
22-Oct 1841	Q3-4	63	35	37	19	154
29-Oct 1841	Q3-5	62	35	37	20	154
05-Nov 1841	Q3-6	64	39	41	22	166
12-Nov 1841	Q3-7	72	35	42	21	170
19-Nov 1841	Q3-8	67	40	42	22	171
26-Nov 1841	Q3-9					
03-Dec 1841	Q3-10	81	42	43	24	190
10-Dec 1841	Q3-11	85	43	44	24	196
17-Dec 1841	Q3-12	87	42	43	23	195
24-Dec 1841	Q3-13	88	43	44	29	204
31-Dec 1841	Q4-1	95	44	45	29	213
07-Jan 1842	Q4-2	93	47	44	33	217
14-Jan 1842	Q4-3	94	44	48	32	218
21-Jan 1842	Q4-4	98	46	50	36	230
28-Jan 1842	Q4-5	98	45	50	36	229
04-Feb 1842	Q4-6	97	47	50	36	230
11-Feb 1842	Q4-7	94	45	49	35	223
18-Feb 1842	Q4-8	91	48	49	36	224
25-Feb 1842	Q4-9	90	48	45	39	222
04-Mar 1842	Q4-10	86	39	45	34	204
11-Mar 1842	Q4-11	90	43	45	34	212
18-Mar 1842	Q4-12	85	43	44	36	208
24-Mar 1842	Q4-13	86	44	45	36	211
01-Apr 1842	Q1-1	85	43	44	36	208
08-Apr 1842	Q1-2	84	40	43	37	204
15-Apr 1842	Q1-3	80	41	46	37	204
22-Apr 1842	Q1-4	77	37	42	37	193
29-Apr 1842	Q1-5	79	40	41	38	198
06-May 1842	Q1-6	73	38	41	34	186
13-May 1842	Q1-7	72	38	41	38	189
20-May 1842	Q1-8	73	38	40	36	187
27-May 1842	Q1-9	69	37	40	36	182
03-Jun 1842	Q1-10	71	39	40	36	186
10-Jun 1842	Q1-11	73	38	40	34	185
17-Jun 1842	Q1-12	54	37	33	29	153
24-Jun 1842	Q1-13	54	33	32	28	147
01-Jul 1842	Q2-1	55	34	31	28	148
08-Jul 1842	Q2-2	57	36	33	30	156
15-Jul 1842	Q2-3	64	38	36	31	169
22-Jul 1842	Q2-4	68	39	38	32	172
29-Jul 1842	Q2-5	63	35	32	30	160
05-Aug 1842	Q2-6	59	33	31	28	151

Watford Workhouse Population

Date	Quarter-Week	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Workhouse Population
12-Aug 1842	Q2-7	59	34	32	28	153
19-Aug 1842	Q2-8	61	34	32	29	156
26-Aug 1842	Q2-9	62	34	33	30	159
02-Sep 1842	Q2-10	60	34	33	30	157
09-Sep 1842	Q2-11	63	34	33	30	160
16-Sep 1842	Q2-12	65	33	35	30	163
23-Sep 1842	Q2-13	70	33	36	30	169
30-Sep 1842	Q3-1	74	36	37	31	178
07-Oct 1842	Q3-2	75	36	38	31	180
14-Oct 1842	Q3-3	75	35	38	40	188
21-Oct 1842	Q3-4					
28-Oct 1842	Q3-5	82	38	38	35	193
04-Nov 1842	Q3-6	84	41	37	34	196
11-Nov 1842	Q3-7	93	43	37	39	212
18-Nov 1842	Q3-8	94	40	37	39	210
25-Nov 1842	Q3-9	96	40	38	44	218
02-Dec 1842	Q3-10	99	44	40	43	226
09-Dec 1842	Q3-11	103	48	45	46	242
16-Dec 1842	Q3-12	111	51	51	47	260
23-Dec 1842	Q3-13	108	57	53	49	267
30-Dec 1842	Q4-1	109	53	55	53	270
06-Jan 1843	Q4-2	107	53	53	50	263
13-Jan 1843	Q4-3	109	51	50	49	259
20-Jan 1843	Q4-4	114	52	51	54	271
27-Jan 1843	Q4-5	116	52	51	54	273
03-Feb 1843	Q4-6	121	53	55	59	288
10-Feb 1843	Q4-7	120	54	55	57	286
17-Feb 1843	Q4-8	124	55	53	53	285
24-Feb 1843	Q4-9	115	56	53	51	275
03-Mar 1843	Q4-10	116	56	55	53	280
10-Mar 1843	Q4-11	114	53	51	50	268
17-Mar 1843	Q4-12	110	52	51	48	261
24-Mar 1843	Q4-13	109	52	51	45	257
31-Mar 1843	Q1-1	105	53	51	46	255
07-Apr 1843	Q1-2	102	50	48	43	243
14-Apr 1843	Q1-3	101	49	46	43	239
21-Apr 1843	Q1-4					
28-Apr 1843	Q1-5	91	47	42	44	224
05-May 1843	Q1-6	88	46	40	42	216
12-May 1843	Q1-7	86	43	35	41	205
19-May 1843	Q1-8	85	42	35	38	200
26-May 1843	Q1-9	84	43	32	37	196
02-Jun 1843	Q1-10	82	43	33	37	195
09-Jun 1843	Q1-11	84	43	32	37	196
16-Jun 1843	Q1-12	68	37	30	32	167
23-Jun 1843	Q1-13	72	34	31	32	169
30-Jun 1843	Q2-1	57	33	31	31	152
07-Jul 1843	Q2-2	58	35	31	31	155
14-Jul 1843	Q2-3	58	36	31	30	155
21-Jul 1843	Q2-4	61	37	31	30	159
28-Jul 1843	Q2-5	61	37	28	29	155
04-Aug 1843	Q2-6	66	36	29	30	161
11-Aug 1843	Q2-7					
18-Aug 1843	Q2-8	63	36	31	30	160
25-Aug 1843	Q2-9	65	40	32	30	167
01-Sep 1843	Q2-10	64	40	34	31	169

Watford Workhouse Population

Date	Quarter-Week	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Workhouse Population
08-Sep 1843	Q2-11	63	41	36	34	174
15-Sep 1843	Q2-12	63	39	35	33	170
22-Sep 1843	Q2-13	66	39	35	33	173
29-Sep 1843	Q3-1	67	39	35	36	177
06-Oct 1843	Q3-2	71	39	35	41	186
13-Oct 1843	Q3-3	66	41	39	41	187
20-Oct 1843	Q3-4	68	44	43	42	197
27-Oct 1843	Q3-5	78	45	45	43	211
03-Nov 1843	Q3-6	79	47	45	44	215
10-Nov 1843	Q3-7	83	48	46	44	221
17-Nov 1843	Q3-8	85	50	46	44	225
24-Nov 1843	Q3-9	96	49	46	41	232
01-Dec 1843	Q3-10	99	48	42	40	229
08-Dec 1843	Q3-11	103	48	44	42	237
15-Dec 1843	Q3-12	104	47	44	43	238
22-Dec 1843	Q3-13	105	47	43	42	237
29-Dec 1843	Q4-1	101	48	43	43	235
05-Jan 1844	Q4-2	100	48	42	43	233
12-Jan 1844	Q4-3	100	50	41	43	234
19-Jan 1844	Q4-4	103	48	40	43	234
26-Jan 1844	Q4-5	101	48	40	42	231
02-Feb 1844	Q4-6	99	47	41	43	230
09-Feb 1844	Q4-7	102	46	40	42	230
16-Feb 1844	Q4-8	103	46	40	42	231
23-Feb 1844	Q4-9	108	47	40	43	238
01-Mar 1844	Q4-10	101	46	39	42	228
08-Mar 1844	Q4-11	101	49	40	45	235
15-Mar 1844	Q4-12	100	50	40	45	235
22-Mar 1844	Q4-13	99	49	42	45	235
29-Mar 1844	Q1-1	95	50	42	44	231
05-Apr 1844	Q1-2	94	50	43	44	231
12-Apr 1844	Q1-3					
19-Apr 1844	Q1-4	82	50	45	44	221
26-Apr 1844	Q1-5	82	50	43	46	221
03-May 1844	Q1-6	78	47	43	44	212
10-May 1844	Q1-7	73	44	40	42	199
17-May 1844	Q1-8	73	44	40	43	200
24-May 1844	Q1-9	75	43	37	43	198
31-May 1844	Q1-10	75	46	41	43	205
07-Jun 1844	Q1-11	72	45	41	43	201
14-Jun 1844	Q1-12	70	46	42	43	201
21-Jun 1844	Q1-13	72	47	41	42	202
28-Jun 1844	Q2-1	69	47	41	42	199
05-Jul 1844	Q2-2	63	45	39	39	186
12-Jul 1844	Q2-3	65	44	40	40	189
19-Jul 1844	Q2-4	68	45	42	41	196
26-Jul 1844	Q2-5	64	45	42	46	197
02-Aug 1844	Q2-6	63	41	39	45	188
09-Aug 1844	Q2-7					
16-Aug 1844	Q2-8	47	39	36	40	162
23-Aug 1844	Q2-9					
30-Aug 1844	Q2-10	49	41	36	39	165
06-Sep 1844	Q2-11					
13-Sep 1844	Q2-12	57	42	37	35	171
20-Sep 1844	Q2-13					
27-Sep 1844	Q3-1	69	44	37	35	185

Watford Workhouse Population

Date	Quarter-Week	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Workhouse Population
04-Oct 1844	Q3-2					
11-Oct 1844	Q3-3	71	43	37	37	188
18-Oct 1844	Q3-4	73	43	32	32	180
25-Oct 1844	Q3-5	73	48	35	34	190
01-Nov 1844	Q3-6	75	47	35	34	191
08-Nov 1844	Q3-7	78	51	36	34	199
15-Nov 1844	Q3-8	80	52	35	39	206
22-Nov 1844	Q3-9	87	51	40	42	220
29-Nov 1844	Q3-10	85	51	41	42	219
06-Dec 1844	Q3-11	88	51	40	41	220
13-Dec 1844	Q3-12	90	54	42	43	229
20-Dec 1844	Q3-13	93	55	42	45	235
27-Dec 1844	Q4-1	98	55	43	45	241
03-Jan 1845	Q4-2	97	57	44	46	244
10-Jan 1845	Q4-3	94	59	45	46	244
17-Jan 1845	Q4-4	91	62	47	46	246
24-Jan 1845	Q4-5	91	62	48	45	246
31-Jan 1845	Q4-6	95	63	45	45	248
07-Feb 1845	Q4-7	95	64	47	45	251
14-Feb 1845	Q4-8	95	62	45	45	247
21-Feb 1845	Q4-9	98	62	45	45	250
28-Feb 1845	Q4-10	91	59	45	42	237
07-Mar 1845	Q4-11	92	57	45	43	237
14-Mar 1845	Q4-12	89	55	45	43	232
21-Mar 1845	Q4-13	86	56	45	44	231
28-Mar 1845	Q1-1	87	55	44	44	230
04-Apr 1845	Q1-2	79	50	42	43	214
11-Apr 1845	Q1-3					
18-Apr 1845	Q1-4	71	47	39	40	197
25-Apr 1845	Q1-5	74	50	40	39	203
02-May 1845	Q1-6	70	48	40	35	193
09-May 1845	Q1-7	72	47	42	36	197
16-May 1845	Q1-8	68	44	41	33	186
23-May 1845	Q1-9	69	45	41	34	189
30-May 1845	Q1-10	71	45	40	32	188
06-Jun 1845	Q1-11	68	43	38	29	178
13-Jun 1845	Q1-12	68	41	36	27	172
20-Jun 1845	Q1-13	65	41	36	27	169
25-Jun 1845	Q2-1					
02-Jul 1845	Q2-2	45	35	33	26	139
09-Jul 1845	Q2-3					
16-Jul 1845	Q2-4	41	35	33	26	135
23-Jul 1845	Q2-5	38	37	32	24	131
30-Jul 1845	Q2-6					
06-Aug 1845	Q2-7	42	36	32	24	134
13-Aug 1845	Q2-8					
20-Aug 1845	Q2-9	44	36	29	24	133
27-Aug 1845	Q2-10					
03-Sep 1845	Q2-11	49	36	33	23	141
10-Sep 1845	Q2-12					
17-Sep 1845	Q2-13	48	37	30	23	138
24-Sep 1845	Q3-1					
01-Oct 1845	Q3-2	58	34	37	26	155
08-Oct 1845	Q3-3	59	34	37	23	153
15-Oct 1845	Q3-4	64	33	37	23	157
22-Oct 1845	Q3-5	67	35	33	25	160

Watford Workhouse Population

Date	Quarter-Week	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Workhouse Population
29-Oct 1845	Q3-6	71	31	37	24	163
05-Nov 1845	Q3-7	73	36	35	26	170
12-Nov 1845	Q3-8	75	36	34	27	172
19-Nov 1845	Q3-9					
26-Nov 1845	Q3-10	82	38	34	28	182
03-Dec 1845	Q3-11	86	39	35	27	187
10-Dec 1845	Q3-12	86	38	34	29	187
17-Dec 1845	Q3-13	94	43	36	32	205
24-Dec 1845	Q4-1	95	45	37	31	208
31-Dec 1845	Q4-2	96	46	37	31	210
07-Jan 1846	Q4-3	94	47	37	30	208
14-Jan 1846	Q4-4	94	49	41	33	217
21-Jan 1846	Q4-5	93	46	40	30	209
28-Jan 1846	Q4-6	92	46	40	30	208
04-Feb 1846	Q4-7	87	47	41	33	208
11-Feb 1846	Q4-8	85	46	41	32	204
18-Feb 1846	Q4-9	86	46	45	33	210
25-Feb 1846	Q4-10	85	46	41	32	204
04-Mar 1846	Q4-11	84	48	41	32	205
11-Mar 1846	Q4-12	85	49	38	32	204
18-Mar 1846	Q4-13	84	48	39	32	203
25-Mar 1846	Q1-1	81	49	41	33	204
01-Apr 1846	Q1-2	80	49	41	33	203
08-Apr 1846	Q1-3	81	48	39	33	201
15-Apr 1846	Q1-4	78	50	39	34	201
22-Apr 1846	Q1-5	77	44	35	31	187
29-Apr 1846	Q1-6	82	43	34	31	190
06-May 1846	Q1-7					
13-May 1846	Q1-8	83	45	37	37	202
20-May 1846	Q1-9					
27-May 1846	Q1-10	82	44	33	33	192
03-Jun 1846	Q1-11					
10-Jun 1846	Q1-12	58	42	30	29	159
17-Jun 1846	Q1-13					
24-Jun 1846	Q2-1	53	42	26	26	147
01-Jul 1846	Q2-2					0
08-Jul 1846	Q2-3	55	40	23	23	141
15-Jul 1846	Q2-4					
22-Jul 1846	Q2-5	55	36	22	20	133
29-Jul 1846	Q2-6					
05-Aug 1846	Q2-7	51	34	22	18	125
12-Aug 1846	Q2-8					
19-Aug 1846	Q2-9	59	33	23	19	134
26-Aug 1846	Q2-10					
02-Sep 1846	Q2-11	66	35	25	19	145
09-Sep 1846	Q2-12					
16-Sep 1846	Q2-13	64	35	26	24	149
23-Sep 1846	Q3-1					-
30-Sep 1846	Q3-2	63	33	25	18	139
07-Oct 1846	Q3-3	67	36	27	18	148
14-Oct 1846	Q3-4					
21-Oct 1846	Q3-5					
28-Oct 1846	Q3-6	77	35	29	18	159
04-Nov 1846	Q3-7					
11-Nov 1846	Q3-8	89	38	30	21	178
18-Nov 1846	Q3-9	85	37	27	22	171

Watford Workhouse Population

Date	Quarter-Week	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Workhouse Population
25-Nov 1846	Q3-10					
02-Dec 1846	Q3-11	93	39	31	23	186
09-Dec 1846	Q3-12	98	41	34	26	199
16-Dec 1846	Q3-13	98	41	34	26	199
23-Dec 1846	Q4-1	105	44	35	26	210
30-Dec 1846	Q4-2	110	46	37	26	219
06-Jan 1847	Q4-3	108	46	37	26	217
13-Jan 1847	Q4-4	113	44	40	26	223
20-Jan 1847	Q4-5	116	46	40	26	228
27-Jan 1847	Q4-6	117	47	39	27	230
03-Feb 1847	Q4-7	118	48	38	34	238
10-Feb 1847	Q4-8	120	48	39	37	244
17-Feb 1847	Q4-9	123	48	42	38	251
24-Feb 1847	Q4-10	118	48	42	39	247
03-Mar 1847	Q4-11	116	47	42	37	242
10-Mar 1847	Q4-12	113	49	42	37	241
17-Mar 1847	Q4-13	118	49	41	36	244
24-Mar 1847	Q1-1	115	49	41	30	235
31-Mar 1847	Q1-2	118	50	41	36	245
07-Apr 1847	Q1-3	105	50	41	36	232
14-Apr 1847	Q1-4	107	48	41	36	232
21-Apr 1847	Q1-5	108	44	41	35	228
28-Apr 1847	Q1-6	102	45	37	32	216
05-May 1847	Q1-7	97	45	38	33	213
12-May 1847	Q1-8	92	48	38	33	211
19-May 1847	Q1-9	91	48	36	33	208
26-May 1847	Q1-10	91	47	34	33	205
02-Jun 1847	Q1-11	83	49	35	31	198
09-Jun 1847	Q1-12	79	48	32	29	188
16-Jun 1847	Q1-13	58	42	28	25	153
23-Jun 1847	Q2-1	62	42	28	24	156
30-Jun 1847	Q2-2	68	46	30	29	173
07-Jul 1847	Q2-3	54	46	30	25	155
14-Jul 1847	Q2-4					
21-Jul 1847	Q2-5	60	45	31	27	163
28-Jul 1847	Q2-6	64	47	32	25	168
04-Aug 1847	Q2-7	66	47	30	23	166
11-Aug 1847	Q2-8					
18-Aug 1847	Q2-9	77	49	29	26	181
25-Aug 1847	Q2-10					
01-Sep 1847	Q2-11	72	49	31	24	176
08-Sep 1847	Q2-12					
15-Sep 1847	Q2-13	77	53	30	28	188
22-Sep 1847	Q3-1					-
29-Sep 1847	Q3-2	82	51	32	30	195
06-Oct 1847	Q3-3					
13-Oct 1847	Q3-4	82	54	29	29	194
20-Oct 1847	Q3-5					
27-Oct 1847	Q3-6	91	54	29	28	202
03-Nov 1847	Q3-7					
10-Nov 1847	Q3-8	91	54	29	28	202
17-Nov 1847	Q3-9	99	63	33	32	227
24-Nov 1847	Q3-10	100	62	36	31	229
01-Dec 1847	Q3-11	109	65	42	35	251
08-Dec 1847	Q3-12	115	66	42	35	258
15-Dec 1847	Q3-13	125	69	46	37	277

Watford Workhouse Population

Date	Quarter-Week	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total Workhouse Population
22-Dec 1847	Q4-1	128	69	50	45	292
29-Dec 1847	Q4-2	126	70	52	45	293
		130	68	48	33	279

Source: Board of Guardians Minute Books. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, BG/WAT/1-7

Hitchin Workhouse Population			
Year	Quarter		Number of indoor poor
1836-37	Q3	Christmas	223
1836-37	Q4	Lady Day	251
1837-38	Q1	Midsummer	204
1837-38	Q2	Michaelmas	178
1837-38	Q3	Christmas	266
1837-38	Q4	Lady Day	347
1838-39	Q1	Midsummer	236
1838-39	Q2	Michaelmas	188
1838-39	Q3	Christmas	204
1838-39	Q4	Lady Day	246
1839-40	Q1	Midsummer	221
1839-40	Q2	Michaelmas	164
1839-40	Q3	Christmas	254
1839-40	Q4	Lady Day	300
1840-41	Q1	Midsummer	270
1840-41	Q2	Michaelmas	195
1840-41	Q3	Christmas	324
1840-41	Q4	Lady Day	448
1841-42	Q1	Midsummer	260
1841-42	Q2	Michaelmas	205
1841-42	Q3	Christmas	399
1841-42	Q4	Lady Day	457
1842-43	Q1	Midsummer	375
1842-43	Q2	Michaelmas	267
1842-43	Q3	Christmas	336
1842-43	Q4	Lady Day	349
1843-44	Q1	Midsummer	275
1843-44	Q2	Michaelmas	181
1843-44	Q3	Christmas	236
1843-44	Q4	Lady Day	294
1844-45	Q1	Midsummer	255
1844-45	Q2	Michaelmas	230
1844-45	Q3	Christmas	314
1844-45	Q4	Lady Day	311
1845-46	Q1	Midsummer	254
1845-46	Q2	Michaelmas	181
1845-46	Q3	Christmas	229
1845-46	Q4	Lady Day	250
1846-47	Q1	Midsummer	192
1846-47	Q2	Michaelmas	177
1846-47	Q3	Christmas	219
1846-47	Q4	Lady Day	279

Hitchin Workhouse Population			
Year	Quarter		Number of indoor poor
1847-48	Q1	Midsummer	249
1847-48	Q2	Michaelmas	267
1847-48	Q3	Christmas	307

Source: Board of Guardians Minute Books. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, BG/HIT/1-10

Appendix XXIV

Extract of Quarterly Accounts Hitchin Union

Year	Quarter	Indoor Poor				Outdoor poor				Total No. Paupers
		Men	Women	Children	All	Men	Women	Children	All	
1844	Q2 Midsummer	93	64	98	255	372	734	847	1953	2208
1844	Q3 Michaelmas	81	56	93	230	350	699	798	1847	2077
1844	Q4 Christmas	139	67	108	314	385	739	849	1973	2287
1845	Q1 Lady Day	141	67	103	311	487	831	1011	2329	2640
1845	Q2 Midsummer	112	55	87	254	428	817	985	2230	2484
1845	Q3 Michaelmas	74	41	66	181	361	699	864	1924	2105
1845	Q4 Christmas	93	52	84	229	409	798	948	2155	2384
1846	Q1 Lady Day	101	55	94	250	425	804	992	2221	2471
1846	Q2 Midsummer	83	44	65	192	419	795	945	2159	2351
1846	Q3 Michaelmas	70	41	66	177	404	776	912	2092	2269
1846	Q4 Christmas	98	45	75	219	478	883	993	2354	2573
1847	Q1 Lady Day				279					279
1847	Q2 Midsummer				249					249
1847	Q3 Michaelmas				267					267
1847	Q4 Christmas	144	68	95	307	455	830	1019	2304	2611

Extract of Quarterly Abstracts Hitchin Union (continued)

Year	Quarter	Expenses of conducting Election of Guardians for the current year			Cost of Persons Emigrating			Repayment of Workhouse Loans and interest thereon			Indoor Provisions			Indoor Clothing			Total Indoor relief			Out Relief			Establishment Charges		
		£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d				£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
1844	Q2 Midsummer	3	7	8	15	3	9	124	0	2	266	4	0	33	5	6	331	6	6	1617	16	1.5	333	18	9
1844	Q3 Michaelmas				15	3	9	81	1	2	287	3	2	50	13	6	337	16	8	1597	1	10	295	8	1.5
1844	Q4 Christmas										304	11	0	133	4	9.75	437	15	9.75	1457	10	11.75	186	4	8.5
1845	Q1 Lady Day										361	9	3	63	15	9	425	5	0	1692	16	3.5	327	10	3.75
1845	Q2 Midsummer							123	4	3	280	18	6	33	1	0	313	19	6	1544	0	1	321	1	10.5
1845	Q3 Michaelmas							74	0	6	223	9	2.75	39	8	8.25	262	17	11	1446	14	0	321	1	10.5
1845	Q4 Christmas										295	2	8	62	2	8	357	5	4	1728	9	0	353	4	0.75
1846	Q1 Lady Day							322	16	3	350	17	8.5	36	18	8.5	387	16	5.25	1716	13	3.75	346	15	7.5
1846	Q2 Midsummer							120	8	0	252	18	4.5	42	3	0.75	295	1	5.25	1693	10	10.25	333	18	9
1846	Q3 Michaelmas							66	19	10	246	2	11.75	38	17	3.75	285	0	3.5	1578	10	4.25	301	16	6.75
1846	Q4 Christmas							0	0	0	286	4	4.5	79	10	1.25	365	14	5.75	1710	1	4.4	481	12	9.75
1847	Q1 Lady Day										361	17	11	54	5	8.25	416	3	7.25				37	18	4
1847	Q2 Midsummer										324	15	10	16	4	9.5	341	0	7.5				37	18	4
1847	Q3 Michaelmas										359	6	0	29	18	10	434	14	10				45	10	0
1847	Q4 Christmas							0	0	0	329	11	0.75	52	0	8.25	381	11	8.5	1391	14	8.75	571	10	11.25

Extract of Quarterly Abstracts Hitchin Union (continued)

Year	Quarter	Maintenance of Lunatic Paupers in Asylum			Total expenditure for the relief of the poor			County and Police Rate			Registration Fees			Vaccination Fees			Total Expenditure including Relief, Registration and Vaccination Fees		
		£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
1844	Q2 Midsummer	0	0	0	2393	15	11.5				18	16	0	45	1	6	2457	13	5.5
1844	Q3 Michaelmas	0	0	0	2327	11	6.5				14	10	0	14	5	0	2356	6	6.5
1844	Q4 Christmas	0	0	0	2081	9	5.25				16	11	0	0	0	0	2098	2	5.25
1845	Q1 Lady Day	82	8	5	3041	17	8				20	0	0	1	11	6	2777	11	5
1845	Q2 Midsummer	82	6	8	2384	12	1.5				18	1	0	11	18	6	2414	11	7.5
1845	Q3 Michaelmas	83	7	3	2188	1	6.5				15	1	0	13	11	6	2216	14	0.5
1845	Q4 Christmas	88	8	0	2527	6	4.75				15	13	6	0	0	0	2542	19	10.75
1846	Q1 Lady Day	126	5	8	2900	7	3.5				18	11	6	0	0	0	2918	18	9.5
1846	Q2 Midsummer	97	1	6	2540	0	6.5				16	14	0				2556	14	6.5
1846	Q3 Michaelmas	103	12	10	2335	19	10.5				14	18	0	10	14	6	2361	12	4.5
1846	Q4 Christmas	1	7	4	2566	15	0				18	1	0	1	19	0	2472	11	5.5
1847	Q1 Lady Day																		
1847	Q2 Midsummer																		
1847	Q3 Michaelmas																		
1847	Q4 Christmas	88	8	0	2433	5	4.5	7	0	7	16	6	0	15	19	6	2472	11	5.5

Source BG/HIT/235, Extract of Quarterly Abstracts Hitchin Union

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MH12/4616	1851	1854

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MH12/4442	1838	1842
MH12/4443	1843	1846
MH12/4444	1847	1850

Watford Union

MH12/4679	1834	1837
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BG/HAT/5	Aug 1846	to	Mar 1849
BG/HAT/11			

Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (continued)

Board of Guardian Minute Books (continued)

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Off Acc 1162	May 1835	1850
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BG/WAT/3	Jan 1840 to Jan 1842
BG/WAT/4	Jan 1842 to Sep 1843
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Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (continued)

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