

FARMING AND LANDHOLDING IN A WEALDEN PARISH:  
A STUDY OF FARMERS IN FRITTENDEN 1800-1870

by

Philip Francis John Betts

A thesis submitted to the University of Kent at  
Canterbury for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in  
History in the Faculty of the Humanities

16 August 1999

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Acknowledgements.	i
	Abstract.	ii
	Abbreviations and Conventions.	iii
	List of Tables, Diagrams and Maps.	iv
Chapter 1	<u>Introduction: The Design of the Thesis</u> - An examination of the sources used; the farmer as the focal point, and the choice of the Parish of Frittenden for this thesis.	1
Chapter 2	<u>Parish Characteristics</u> - Geographic, geological, historical and demographic background of the Parish of Frittenden.	19
 <b>PART I</b>		
Chapter 3	<u>Landowners, Owner Occupiers, Tenants and the Number and Sizes of Farms</u> - Patterns of landownership in the parish; the history of land sales and exchanges; the forms of tenancy operating and size of farms.	37
Chapter 4	<u>Rents: A Guide to Farming Prosperity</u> - An analysis of rent movements and arrears and the differential between farms of different categories by size; evidence for the scale of rents for smallholdings, cottages and shops.	66
Chapter 5	<u>Landlords and the Improvement of Agriculture</u> - The influence of landlords on agriculture in the parish.	102
Chapter 6	<u>Agricultural Production and Marketing</u> - Changes in husbandry practices and review of types of crops and livestock; sources for product output before and after the arrival of the railway in 1842.	128

Chapter 7	<u>The Agricultural Labour Force</u> - Factors influencing supply of/demand for labour; elements of the agricultural labour force and course of wages.	176
Chapter 8	<u>Trades and Crafts</u> - The role of the craftsmen and tradesmen in the economy of Frittenden.	239
<b>Part II</b>	<b><u>The Parish</u></b>	
Chapter 9	<u>Introduction: Some Sociological Considerations.</u>	286
Chapter 10	<u>Marriage Alliances, Household Composition and the Role of Kinship</u> - The structure of farmers' households and the use of related labour as a substitute for hired labour; the extent of matrimonial alliances among farming families.	296
Chapter 11	<u>Farmers, the Parish Community, and Farmers' Politics</u> - The voting patterns of farmers and their role in the administration of the ecclesiastical and civil parishes.	324
Chapter 12	<u>The Church, Dissent and 'Social Control'</u> - The Religious profile of Frittenden and the role of Edward Moore, Rector; the non-conformist presence.	354
Chapter 13	<u>The Hickmott Family.</u> - A case study of one family reflecting the main findings of this thesis.	396
Chapter 14	<u>Conclusions.</u>	432
Appendix	<u>Computer Applications and Database Design.</u>	444
Bibliography		457

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the course of my research I have been indebted to many people - archivists, librarians, historians. It is not possible to adequately acknowledge so many individuals. My appreciation of their assistance and kindness is deeply felt. However, I must make special mention of those whose contributions have been vital to the final presentation of this thesis. In the first place, Robert Swift, for discovering the existence of the 1806 Grist Map which set me on this path of discovery. Frittenden Historical Society for access to its archive and for the reproduction of the photographs contained in this thesis. Mr. Phillip Hopkins, Pastor Ebenezer Chapel, Bounds Cross, Biddenden for access to papers relating to the Hickmott family. The staff at the Centre for Kentish Studies have been particularly helpful in guiding me through the County Archive. The members of the former Economic and Social History Department at the University of Kent for their encouragement and advice, even during difficult and distressing times for the department. I am particularly indebted to my Supervisor, Professor Alan Armstrong, who provided inspiration to me as an undergraduate and has been a fount of encouragement and sage advice from the embryonic phase to the completion of this project. Finally, my thanks to my wife, Susan Betts, for supporting me financially and uncritically throughout my academic studies.



## ABSTRACT

The position of the farmer in Victorian agriculture and society is an area largely overlooked in recent historical analysis. This thesis draws the condition of the relatively small farmers in the parish of Frittenden and in so doing describes the significant changes in crop production not obviously in line with Caird's, and indeed subsequent, generalisations of a corn growing east of England.

Chapters 1 and 2 provide the background to the research, the sources incorporated, and provides an outline of the parish of Frittenden.

Part I presents the main body of the Thesis; Chapters 3 and 4 describe the basis of landownership and plot the economic fortunes of the farmers through the rentals payable, together with the history of arrears recorded. Chapters 5 and 6 trace the husbandry and crops in the parish, while chapter 7 outlines the workforce and the course of wages. Chapter 8 outlines the relationship between crafts and trades and the agricultural community.

Part II considers sociological aspects; Chapter 10, considers the role of kinship, marriage alliances and use of related labour particularly as a substitute for live-in labour. Chapter 11 brings out the role of the farmer in the administration of the parish, while Chapter 12 further examines parish administration but in the religious context, particularly the role of Edward Moore. Chapter 13 is a case study, providing support at the family level for the findings for the Parish as a whole.

Chapter 14, outlines the conclusion that small farms continued throughout the period 1800-70, while other farms became larger at the expense of the more moderate sized farm. However, it had been the medium-sized farm that had prospered during the deep and long-run economic depression experienced almost continuously from the Napoleonic Wars until the 1850s. The delayed influence of the railway and London market is also apparent.

The Appendix indicates the methodology used and in particular the various software permutations in the collection and analysis of data. It shows how the database was central to the analysis but that spreadsheets and wordprocessing played a major role, not least in providing additional tools for analysing the database.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Arch.Cant.-	Archaeologia Cantiana
A.H.R.	- Agricultural History Review
C.K.S.	- Centre for Kentish Studies
EcHR.	- Economic History Review
F.H.S.	- Frittenden Historical Society
H.O.L.R.O.	- House of Lords Records Office
J.R.A.S.	- Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society
J.R.S.S.	- Journal of the Royal Statistical Society
P.P.	- Parliamentary Papers
P.R.O	- Public Records Office
T.R.H.S.	- Transactions of the Royal Historical Society

1. In the footnotes and Bibliography, unless otherwise stated, the place of publication is London.

2. When numerous works by one author have been used, in order to avoid confusion, any reference to a work removed from the original citation will be referred to by the date of publication, for example, Mingay, G.E. (1963).

3. Authors who have published numerous collections of articles, such as Mingay, G.E. have their name and year of publication given only when an article from one of their collections is cited, for example, Holderness, B.A. 'The Victorian farmer' in G.E.Mingay (1989), 7-25.

4. With reference to Parliamentary Papers the page number cited refers to the pagination in the volume and not to the page number of an individual Report.

## List of Tables, Diagrams and Maps.

		Page
Map 1i	'Tithe Map' of 1806 for the parish of Frittenden.	2
Map 1ii	Compilation of Tithe Maps in Kent: Location of Frittenden.	5
Map 2i	Farming regions of Kent.	20
Map 2ii	Communications of Kent, 1844.	25
Table 2iii	Population Growth in Frittenden 1801-1871.	28
Table 2iv	5 year average baptismal rates 1799-1873, Frittenden and England & Wales.	33
Table 2v	Population Change in Frittenden, 1811-71.	35
Figure 3i	Ownership of Linton Estate Within the Mann/Cornwallis Family.	39
Map 3ii	Mann/Cornwallis Estate 1814.	41
Map 3iii	Mann/Cornwallis Estate 1841.	42
Map 3iv	Mann/Cornwallis Estate 1857.	43
Map 3v	Mann/Cornwallis Estate 1869.	44
Chart 3vi	Frittenden Estate farmlands in 1814-1869	46
Map 3vii	The land comprising Peasridge Farm 1797 (reproduced by kind permission of the Centre For Kentish Studies, Maidstone).	49
Table 3viii	Number of Farmers in Frittenden Recorded in the Census by Size of Holding.	60
Table 3ix	Numbers of Farmers in Frittenden In Tithe Apportionment By Size of Holding	61
Table 3x	Origin of Occupiers in Frittenden identifiable from Census	64

Table 4i	Average Assessed Rentals Per Acre: Frittenden and National Averages	71
Graph 4ii	Mann/Cornwallis Estate: Frittenden Arrears 1813-1850	73
Graph 4iii	Arrears of 3 categories of Tenant Farmers in Frittenden 1813-50.	89
Graph 4iv	Mann/Cornwallis Estate Arrears: Frittenden Farms Over 100 acres 1813-50.	91
Graph 4v	Mann/Cornwallis Estate Arrears: Frittenden Farms Over 50-100 acres 1813-50.	92
Graph 4vi	Mann/Cornwallis Estate Arrears: Frittenden Farms Under 50 acres 1813-50.	93
Map 5i	Non-contiguous farms in 1806.	104
Map 5ii	Non-contiguous farms in 1841.	106
Map 5iii	Non-contiguous farms in 1857.	107
Map 5iv	Inland Navigation in Kent : After F.W.Jessup, <i>Kent History Illustrated</i> (1966).	123
Map 5v	Railways in Kent: After F.W.Jessup, <i>Kent History Illustrated</i> (1966).	125
Map 6i	Crops in the Parish of Frittenden in 1806	129
Map 6ii	Crops in the parish of Frittenden in 1841.	132
Chart 6iii	Crops on Mann/Cornwallis Estate 1841.	134
Chart 6iv	Patterns of Land Use In Frittenden 1806.	140
Table 6v	Bare Fallow in Frittenden 1806-78.	143
Table 6vi	Percentage of Acreage Under Cereals In Frittenden & Kent 1806-1878.	150
Table 6vii	Root Crops Recorded In Agricultural Returns For Frittenden 1866-78.	155

Table 6viii	Numbers of Cattle recorded in the Agricultural Returns for Frittenden 1866-78.	158
Table 6ix	Numbers of Sheep recorded in the Agricultural Returns for Frittenden 1866-78.	161
Table 6x	Acreage of hops recorded in the Agricultural Returns for Frittenden 1866-78.	169
Table 7i	Structure of occupations and employment in Agriculture, (Absolute Numbers) 1831.	184
Table 7ii	Structure of occupations and employment in Agriculture, 1831 (ratios).	185
Table 7iii	Hired Workforce in Frittenden 1851-71.	186
Table 7iv	Turnover of hired labour force, 1851-71 (Absolute Numbers).	191
Table 7v	Age Structure of Non-related 'Live-in' Agricultural Employees 1851-71.	193
Chart 7vi	Average Weekly Agricultural Labourers' wages	210
Table 7vii	Weekly Wage Rates In Kent 1824-72.	212
Table 7viii	Annual Wages of Farm Servants in the Weald in 1794.	216
Chart 7ix	Wages of live-in farm servants at Lashenden Farm, Frittenden, 1842-1866.	222
Chart 7x	Wages of live-in farm servants at Lashenden Farm, Frittenden, 'Senior' and 'junior servants, 1842-1866.	224
Chart 7xi	Total of weekly wage of live-in servants at Lashenden Farm, 1842-1866.	225
Chart 7xii	Real Per Capita Poor Law Expenditure: Frittenden 1836-34.	231
Chart 7xiii	Real Per Capita Poor Law Expenditure: Frittenden 1837-70.	231

Table 7xiv	Numbers of Poor Relief Recipients: Frittenden 1836-45.	234
Illust. 8i	Wheelwright/forge at Chanceford Corner, Frittenden.	265
Table 8ii	Houses Recorded in Frittenden Census 1801-1871.	270
Table 8iii	Percentage of Families Employed in Various Ways, Frittenden, 1811-31.	280
Table 8iv	Services, Trades and Crafts in Frittenden, Taken from Census Returns, 1841-71.	283
Chart 9i	Origin of Family Income; Derived from Census Occupation 1811-71.	287
Table 10i	Marriage Alliances by Socio- Economic category, 1837-70.	301
Chart 10ii	Some Examples of Endogamous Farmers Marriages 1837-70.	302
Table 10iii	Marriage Contingency Tables for Farmers' Sons.	306
Table 10iv	Marriages Contingency Tables for Farmers' Daughters.	308
Table 10v	Household Composition in Frittenden, 1851.	316
Table 10vi	Mean Number of Persons per 100 Households, 1851 and 1881.	317
Table 10vii	Household Comparison in Frittenden, 1851 & 1881.	318
Table 10viii	Incidence of Servants living-in, per 100 Farmer-headed households, 1851 -1881.	320
Table 10ix	Mean Number of Offspring per 100 farmer-headed households in Frittenden, 1851 & 1881.	321
Illust. 11i	Robert & Mercy Mercer.	329
Illust. 11ii	William & Jane Wildish.	331
Illust. 11iii	Frittenden workhouse by John Preston Neale c1830.	337
Table 11iv	Frittenden Overseers 1830-1850.	339

Table 11v	Frittenden Guardians 1834-70.	341
Table 11vi	In Maintenance and Out Relief: Frittenden 1856-65.	342
Table 11vii	Voting Pattern in the Parish of Frittenden 1865.	351
Table 12i	Frittenden's Religious Profile: Church & Chapel 1851.	357
Illust. 12ii	Edward Moore by Frederick Piercy.	360
Illust. 12iii	Parsonage Farm.	362
Illust. 12iv	'A Farmhouse at Frittenden Church, Kent 1830' by John Preston Neale 1845.	364
Illust. 12v	Frittenden House after redevelopment by Revd. Edward Moore.	366
Illust. 12vi	'Frittenden Church' c1830 by John Preston Neale 1845.	367
Illust. 12vii	'The Church at Frittenden, Kent seen across Parkland' c1830 by John Preston Neale, 1845.	368
Illust. 12viii	Cottages and Church built by Revd. Edward Moore, c1908.	369
Illust. 12ix	National Schools, Frittenden at the turn of the century.	378
Table 12x	Number and Proportions of Children aged 6-14 described as 'scholars' in Censuses, 1851-71, by Socio-Economic Status of Parents.	384
Illust. 12xi	Frittenden's Strict Baptist Chapel and, inset, James Hickmott of Lashenden.	391
Map 13i	Hickmott Landholdings 1806.	397
Map 13ii	Hickmott Landholdings 1841.	399
Map 13iii	Hickmott Landholdings 1869.	402
Chart 13iv	Identified Members of the Hickmott Family.	404-5
Table 13v	Structure of Hickmott households, 1841-1871.	424
Figure I	Areas of Analysis & their Sources	445

Figure II	Sources and Software	448
Figure III	Database Model	450



## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION: THE DESIGN OF THE THESIS

In 1966, Hoskins observed that for many important questions facing the historian, the answers would have to be sought in microscopic studies of particular regions and particular places before it was known how historical changes actually took place.<sup>1</sup> More recently, writing in the *Local Historian*, Edward Royle has outlined the six principles underlying the Conference of Regional and Local Historians (CORAL). Among these was the need for a broad approach as, only by focusing on the local, could political, economic, social, intellectual, cultural, geographical and archaeological aspects of the human past be brought together.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, agrarian historians have universally acknowledged the value of farm and estate records which, in the words of Collins, might permit the bridging of

*the period from the probate inventories of the seventeenth century to the agricultural statistics of the nineteenth century.*<sup>3</sup>

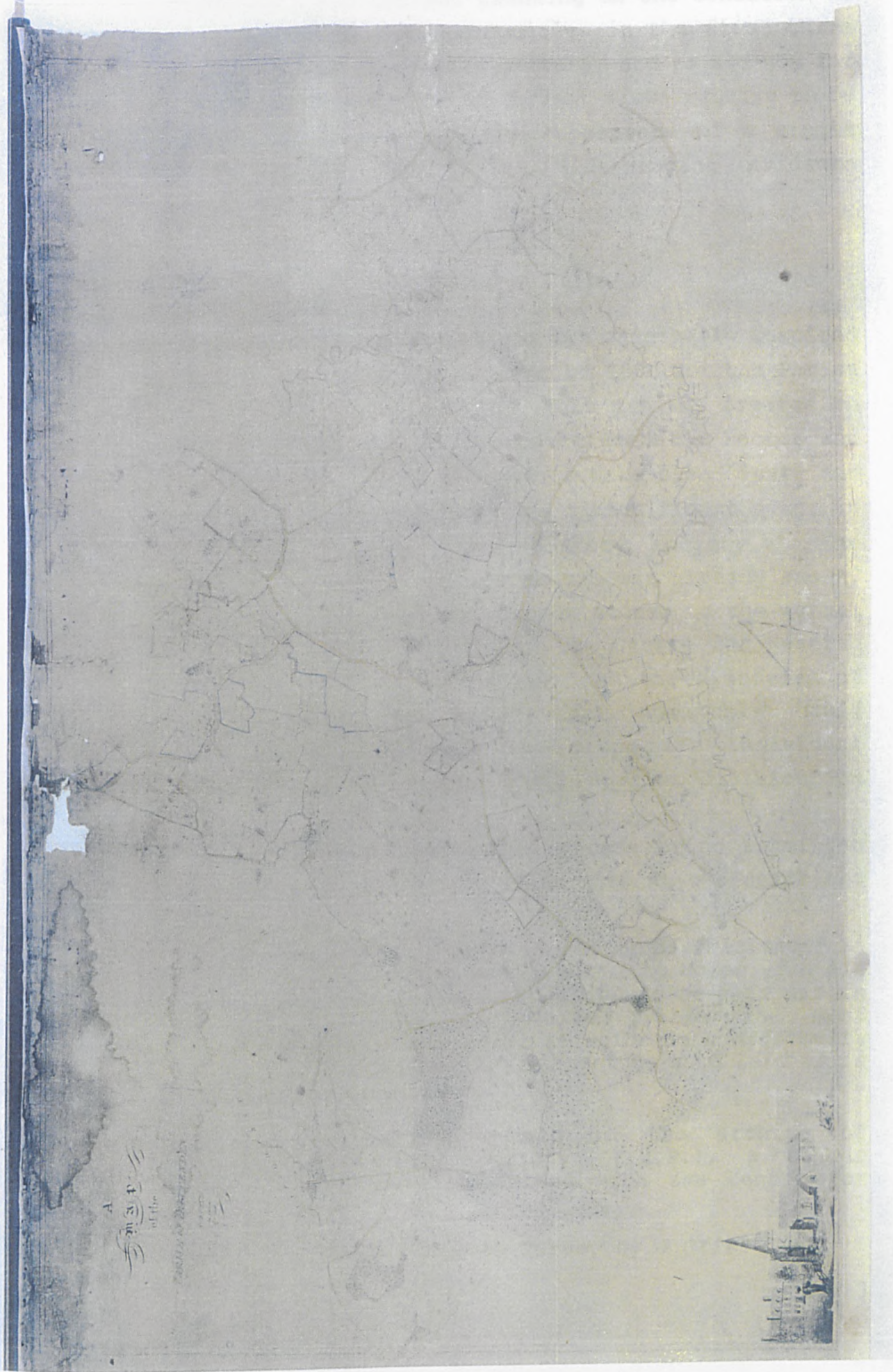
This thesis is a response to both sets of recommendations. While not attempting to quantify output and production *per se*, it seeks to assess

---

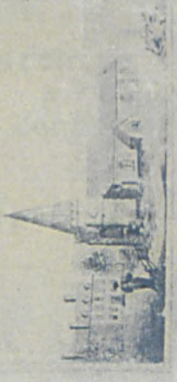
<sup>1</sup> W.G.Hoskins, *English Local History the Past and the Future: An Inaugural Lecture* (Leicester, 1966), p.10.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Royle, 'Local History in context: twenty years of the Conference of Regional and Local Historians (CORAL)', *The Local Historian*, 28, 3 (1998), p.177.

<sup>3</sup> E.J.T.Collins, 'Historical farm records', *Archives*, VII (1966), pp.143-9; E.L.Jones & E.J.T.Collins, 'The collection and analysis of farm record books', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, III (1965), pp.86-9; and for a more recent discussion of the prospects of doing so, see M.E.Turner, J.V.Beckett & B.Afton, 'Taking Stock: Farmers, Farm Records, and Agricultural Output in England, 1700-1850', *A.H.R.*, 44, 1 (1996), pp.21-34.



A  
 of the  
 in the



contemporary and current thinking on the condition of agriculture and rural communities in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, and to see how far the accepted parameters of current views require to be re-drawn to accommodate the experience of a single Wealden parish, for which wide-ranging evidence happens to be available.

#### (I) PRINCIPAL SOURCES

The writing of the thesis was originally inspired by the discovery of a tithe map of 1806 for the Parish of Frittenden [see Map 1i]. This map was created to aid a resolution of a dispute between the Rector and local farmers; it was thought to have been 'lost' and its discovery and purchase was a significant event in the annals of the local history society.<sup>4</sup> The existence of the index<sup>5</sup> to the map was already known, but was of limited value without access to the actual map. That index was held in the Centre for Kentish Studies (C.K.S.) in Maidstone, and the discovery of the associated map meant that not only could individual holdings and the crops for individual fields be recreated, but their spatial distribution could also be revealed.

The dispute resulted in a case being submitted for a decision at Lincoln's Inn when it was described as follows:

*The Revd. Henry Hodges is Rector of Frittenden in the County of Kent and is about to agree with his parishioners for a composition to be paid him in lieu of their respective Tythes the most considerable impediment to which is a difficulty that has occurred with respect to such Land as is*

---

<sup>4</sup> This map is currently held in the archive of Frittenden Historical Society (F.H.S.), a colour negative having been deposited with the Centre for Kentish Studies.

<sup>5</sup> C.K.S./P152/28/6, *Index to Survey by J Grist 1806.*

used for the cultivation of Hops.

The judgement of 7 May 1806 was that

*the Rector is not intitled to the tithes in Kind of Hops but is intitled to those of Wool [ie 4d per acre].<sup>6</sup>*

Thirty years on, the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 also required a field-by-field survey of landownership, occupancy and use in each tithe district.<sup>7</sup> This was recorded on the tithe map<sup>8</sup> and in the tithe apportionment<sup>9</sup>. While details of cropping and descriptions of local agricultural practices were needed for the calculation of rent charges, in the case of Frittenden these have not been preserved in the parish tithe file<sup>10</sup>.

Nevertheless, the existence of Tithe data for 1806 and 1841 means that two snap shots of the state of agriculture in the parish can be made. This has enabled the situation of occupiers, crops, size of

---

<sup>6</sup> C.K.S./P152/3/4, *Case between the Revd.Henry Hodges, Rector of Frittenden and his parishioners for a composition to be paid him in lieu of their respective Tythes - 7th May 1806.*

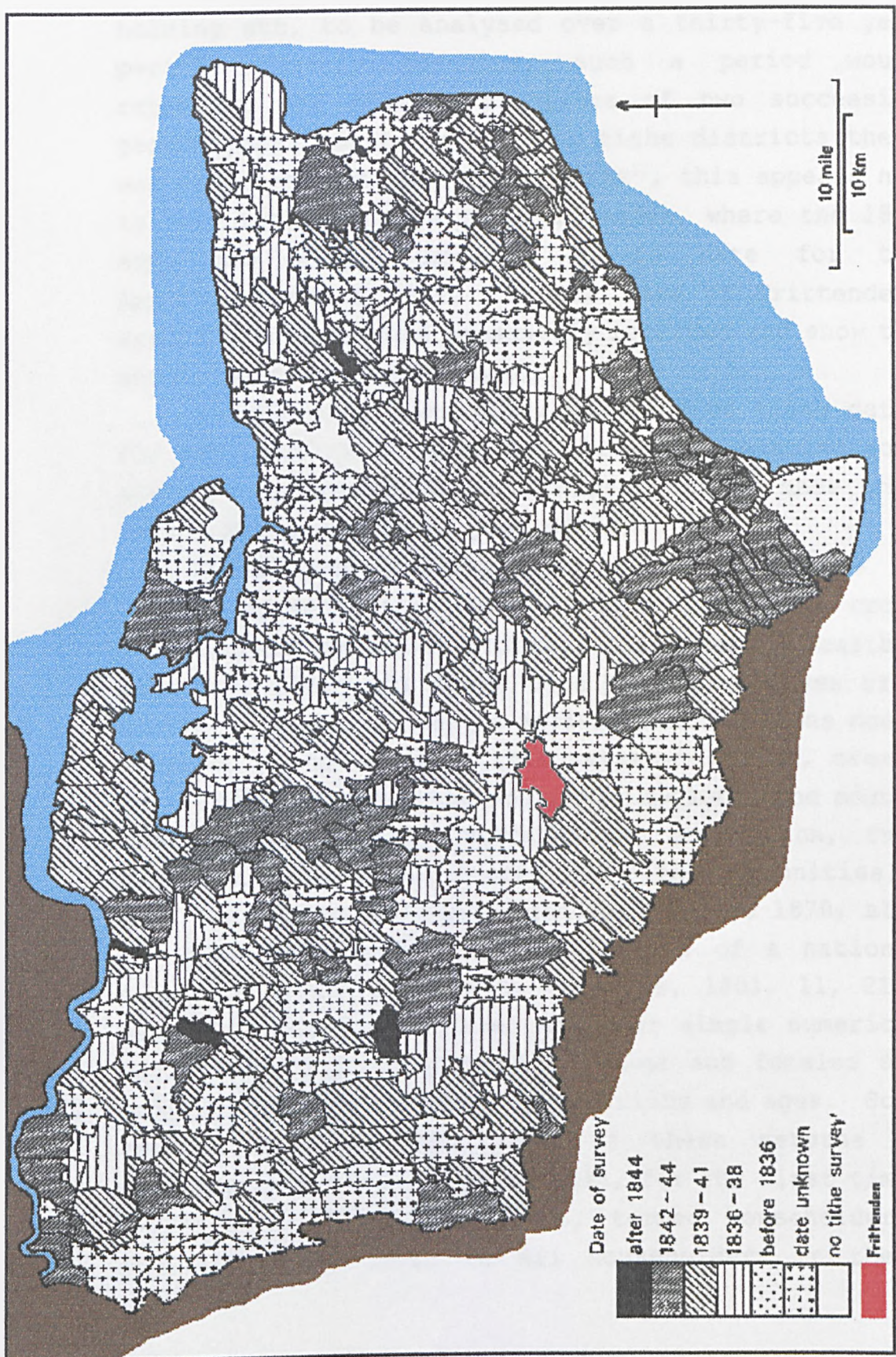
<sup>7</sup> For a full description of the process see H.C.Prince, 'The Tithe Surveys of the mid-nineteenth Century', *A.H.R.*, VII (1959), pp.14-26; R.J.P.Kain and R.R.Oliver, *The Tithe Maps of England and Wales* (1995), p.245; and for Kent in particular see R.J.P.Kain, 'The Tithe Commutation Surveys', *Arch.Cant.*, LXXXIX (1974), pp.101-118.

<sup>8</sup> C.K.S./P152/27/3, *Frittenden Tithe Award Based On Survey made in 1806 By J.Grist, Corrected To June 1839.* Unfortunately the condition of this Map means that it is not possible to reproduce an acceptable copy.

<sup>9</sup> P.R.O./TITH2/103, *Agreement for the Commutation of Tithes pursuant to 6 & 7 Wm.4 C71, Parish of Frittenden, Weald of Kent Dated 19th Day of June 1837.* C.K.S./P152/27/3, *Frittenden Tithe Award Signed February 1837.*

<sup>10</sup> P.R.O./IR/3608, *Frittenden Tithe File.*





From 'The Tithe Commutation Survey' - R.J.P.Kain  
 Archaeologia Cantiana, Vol.LXXXIX (1974), p.103



holding etc. to be analysed over a thirty-five year period: loosely speaking, such a period would represent the farming practices of two successive generations. While in certain tithe districts there was some land not subject to tithe<sup>11</sup>, this appears not to have been the case for Frittenden, where the 1806 map, was simply brought up to date for the Apportionment of 1841. In the case of Frittenden, exempt woodlands were separately recorded and show the amount held by each occupier.

Two further, less detailed, sets of tithe data, for 1857 and 1869, exist and these have enabled some analysis on ownership and occupancy to be made on a common basis over a 63 year period.

While such sources have often been used in isolation, with only some limited degree of cross reference to the other sources, this thesis, possibly uniquely, links all these data through the use of a single database, so that a series of conclusions could be drawn on how closely this parish mirrored, over a seventy year period, the national, regional and county observations made on agricultural production, farm holdings, farm labour forces and rural communities.

The period for consideration, 1800 to 1870, also saw the introduction and development of a national census. In the first four censuses, 1801, 11, 21 & 31, enumerators were asked only for simple numerical information such as totals of males and females and rudimentary information on occupations and ages. Some limited use has been made of these returns at appropriate points. Then in 1841, for the first time, enumerators were given forms, termed householders' schedules, for issue to all householders in their

---

<sup>11</sup> Almost all tithe districts were co-extensive with ecclesiastical parishes - R.J.P.Kain (1974), *op.cit.*, p.102. This was the case for Frittenden, see Map lii.

districts.<sup>12</sup> The enumerators collected these schedules and transferred the information in them to census enumerators' books. After the passing of 100 years these are made available through the Public Record Office and local archive offices.

Frittenden was divided into two enumeration districts. The enumerators were:-

<b>1841</b>	William Spong	50 year old schoolmaster
<b>1851</b>	Edward Murphy	70 year old Postmaster and former schoolmaster
<b>1861</b>	James Hope	50 year old farmer of 5 acres and surveyor
	and	
	John Boorman	29 year old son of Farmer of 150 acres
<b>1871</b>	James Hope	now a farmer of 32 acres and
	Thomas Hollman	32 year old schoolmaster

It would appear that Frittenden's enumeration was undertaken by some of the better educated members of the parish and this gives some confidence in the accuracy, although not necessarily the consistency of the data.

Parish Registers for a large part of the period are held in the vestry of St.Mary's Church.<sup>13</sup> However, for some purposes it was necessary to go some way back into the eighteenth century and these records were held at the C.K.S. in Maidstone. In addition, all

---

<sup>12</sup> D.R.Mills & K.Schürer, 'Communities in the Victorian Censuses: an introduction' in D.R.Mills & K.Schürer, *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (1996), p.1.

This book, together with the various publications under the authorship of Edward Higgs (especially *Making sense of the census: the manuscript returns of the census 1801-1901* (1989), and *A clearer sense of the census. The Victorian censuses and historical research* (1996)), provides excellent insights into the use, abuse and limitations of the census enumerators returns.

<sup>13</sup> The extent of non-conformity in the parish was considerable, but it cannot be ascertained how much this affected the completeness of parochial registers in respect of vital events.

Poor Law records are held at the C.K.S., either as the overseers' books or as part of the Vestry Minutes. The records for the local Idenden Charity are also held at the C.K.S.

In addition there is a valuable series of estate papers. The Mann/Cornwallis Estate was the major landowner throughout this period, and its holding varied over time between one third and one half of the parish acreage. The account records and surveys of that estate permit the history of rents, condition, repairs and improvements of individual holdings to be traced over most of the period from 1814 to 1875. Combined with ad hoc records relating to non-estate lands, a picture of economic pressures on the agricultural sector can be followed.

Finally, so far as records of local provenance are concerned, we have been fortunate that the working notebooks, diary, inventory and other ephemera relating to one particular farm have survived.<sup>14</sup> Turner, Beckett and Afton have expressed concern that those keeping farm records are unlikely to be representative of the class of farmers as a whole, since they will (usually) tend to come from the larger than average holding.<sup>15</sup> However, Lashenden was by no means a large farm, 64 acres in the parish of Frittenden, 134 acres including Farris Farm in adjacent parishes. It was perhaps uncharacteristic, in that it was operated by two brothers, the

---

<sup>14</sup> C.K.S./U1334/F3-4, *Diary of James Hickmott of Lashenden*; F.H.S. Uncatalogued Records; *Lashenden Account Books 1843-1863*; *Last Will and Testament of William Hickmott the Elder of Frittenden*; *For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott*; *Particulars & Conditions of Sale of Lashenden & Farris Farms, July 1888*.

<sup>15</sup> M.E.Turner, J.V.Beckett and B.Afton, 'Taking Stock: Farmers, Farm Records, and Agricultural Output in England 1700-1850', *A.H.R.*, 44, I (1996), p.27.



Hickmotts, as owner occupiers, who were also non-conformists, and who had business interests outside the farm. Even so, their experience provides an insight into the problems facing other farmers in the parish, the type of husbandry likely to have been followed by other local farmers, rates of wages paid to farmworkers and the use of family and kin labour. The records themselves are poorly structured, requiring not so much interpretation as re-ordering, and not typical of those assessed by Turner *et al*, particularly as they are not as comprehensive in their coverage as might be hoped.

Comparative national, regional and county data has come from a wide variety of, mainly secondary, sources. Contemporary views were recorded in the various surveys of agriculture, Parliamentary Papers, county and Wealden histories. Other analyses of certain aspects of individual parishes and modern, mainly national and regional assessments, of various aspects of the agricultural sector have been reviewed. Among these, particular note was made of the various works by Prince and Kain on the tithe data compiled under the Tithe Commutation Act.<sup>16</sup> This is especially worthwhile since Frittenden is one of the few Kentish parishes not analysed in detail by these authors: indeed the Weald is particularly poorly covered in their study.

---

<sup>16</sup> H.C.Prince (1959), *op.cit.*, pp.14-26; R.J.P.Kain (1974), *op.cit.*, pp.101-118; H.C.Prince & R.J.P.Kain, *The Tithe Surveys* (1985); R.J.P.Kain, *An atlas and index of the tithe files of mid-century England and Wales* (1986); 'Extending the Agenda of Historical Inquiry: Computer Processing of the Tithe Survey Data', *History and Computing*, 3, 1 (1991).

## (II) USE OF THE COMPUTER

Given the varied and wide ranging sources available to students of the nineteenth century, the basis of this thesis is information held on a computer database [detailed in the Appendix]. This was designed, and the information loaded, by myself and it incorporates linked records for the census enumerators returns, parish registers<sup>17</sup>, tithe data for 1806, 1841, 1857 and 1869, Poor Law Records<sup>18</sup>, local charity records<sup>19</sup> etc. As a result it has been possible to create a highly detailed picture of the first three quarters of the nineteenth century drawn from this range of data. In addition, the computer was also used for other data, in particular, information relating to one family, the Hickmotts, whose history is used as a case study in this thesis. To supplement the information relating to that family already held on the database, various wills, valuations, diaries etc were transcribed into wordprocessing documents, enabling searches and analysis to be undertaken. Spreadsheets were created to put the various notebooks and quasi-accounts relating to one of the family's farms, Lashenden, into a more comprehensible format which could then be analysed. Spreadsheets were also created for national and regional data to enable comparison to be made with local data, itself downloaded from the database.

Thus, while the computer software developed does

---

<sup>17</sup> C.K.S./P152/8/2, *Vestry Records of St.Mary's Church Frittenden*; P152/11/1,2,3, *Overseers records*; P152/1/2,3,4, *Register of Baptisms St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1770-1812, 1813-44, 1844-79*; P152/1/6,7, *Register of Marriages St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1754-1812, 1813-37*; P152/1/5, *Register of Burials St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1813-75*.

<sup>18</sup> C.K.S./P152/11/1,2,3, *Frittenden Overseers records*.

<sup>19</sup> C.K.S./P152/25/9, *Frittenden Idenden Charity Feoffees Book 1817-1900*.

not form part of this thesis *per se*, it could not have been completed in this form and with this degree of detail without heavy reliance upon that software. The thesis should, therefore, be considered with particular reference to the computing detail outlined in the Appendix. This said, I have sought always to bear in mind the salutary warning well set out by Igartua

*we must resist the temptation of confining the search for explanations to the machine-readable data and of asking the computer to do our thinking for us,*<sup>20</sup>

The advantages, and sometimes the problems of record linkage - whether by use of the computer or manually - have been well traversed by, among others, Janssens, Morris, Winchester, King and Harvey and Press.<sup>21</sup> In this case an automatic linkage of individuals was eschewed in favour of what Morris described as a

*consistent set of principles rather than a closed system of rules.*<sup>22</sup>

This is made possible by the wide range of sources used, which has enabled 'better' judgements to be

---

<sup>20</sup> J.E.Igartua, 'The Computer and the Historian's Work', *History and Computing*, 3, 2 (1991), p.78.

<sup>21</sup> A. Janssens, 'Managing Longitudinal Historical Data: An Example from Nineteenth Century Dutch Population Registers', *History and Computing*, 3, 3 (1991), pp.161-174.

R.J.Morris, 'Nominal Record Linkage: into the 1990s', Editorial in *History and Computing*, 4, 1 (1992), pp.iii-vii. The whole issue is dedicated to the subject of record linkage.

Ian Winchester, 'What Every Historian Needs to Know About Record Linkage for the Microcomputer Era', *Historical Methods*, 25, 4 (1992).

S.King, 'Multiple-source Record Linkage in a Rural Industrial Community, 1680-1820', *History and Computing*, 6, 3 (1994).

Charles Harvey & Jon Press, *Databases in Historical Research: Theory, Methods and Applications* (1996), pp.234-252,

<sup>22</sup> R.J.Morris, *op.cit.*, pp.iii-vii.

made, particularly on the female side, of where links truly existed: it also enabled my own local knowledge to play a significant part in the necessary decisions.

### (III) EMPHASIS ON THE SITUATION OF THE FARMER

John West, in assessing eighteenth and nineteenth century evidence, remarks that social changes experienced in this period were as permanent as changes on the landscape.

*Only the farmer remains... still closely in touch with the basic agrarian process evolved by his mediaeval, Tudor and Hanoverian forefathers, perpetuating the true reason for the village's existence.*<sup>23</sup>

Notwithstanding this continuity, the farmer, particularly the tenant and smaller farmer, remains a much overlooked constituent of nineteenth century community. Writing thirty years ago, Jones considered that, of the three main agricultural classes, it was surprising that, despite its central economic function in the countryside, we knew least about the economic condition of the farmer.<sup>24</sup> Hoskins, in his inaugural lecture at Leicester in 1966, noted the preponderance of history based around social class. Such history approached social class not only in the political but also in the sociological context. In his view, nineteenth century farmers were an indistinct social class, their social standing ranging from something akin to the labourer to the peer of the realm, but were, rather, an enduring vestige of the landed interest as the labourers and land owners metamorphosed into groupings resembling a class structure. Farmers had not, as a group, found a

---

<sup>23</sup> John West, *Village Records* (1962), p.136.

<sup>24</sup> E.L.Jones, *The Development of English Agriculture, 1815-1873* (1968), p.25.

position in this structure.<sup>25</sup>

Little has happened in intervening years to assess the man whose crops and husbandry, employees and landlord have been widely discussed. The idea that the great majority of farms were concerned mainly, or even entirely, with subsistence production for themselves and their families has long since been discarded, according to Professor Mingay; but the same author elsewhere acknowledges that many farmers, especially the smaller ones, were deeply conservative in both their farming and their politics, and highly resistant to new ideas in either sphere.<sup>26</sup> Holderness, meanwhile, has observed that the term farmer was used to describe a rather residual occupational class, i.e. the holders of land who were not labourers, market gardeners, landowners, graziers, millers, innkeepers, etc. Thus

*the standing, wealth, education, and life-style of farmers in different categories bore few marks of uniformity.*<sup>27</sup>

There is an increasing appreciation that 'small-scale owning and farming was not obliterated' writes Beckett, 'but what happened to the people who operated at this level deserves greater attention'. In reality, he continues,

*English rural society became an amalgam of large landlords, large and not so large tenant farmers, smaller owners farming part-time, and a few owner-occupiers. The exact mix varied according*

---

<sup>25</sup> W.G.Hoskins (1966), *op.cit.*

<sup>26</sup> G.E.Mingay, *Rural Life in Victorian England* (1976), p.52; *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1750-1850*, VI (1989), p.952; and 'Agriculture' in Armstrong, W.A., *The Economy of Kent 1640-1914* (1995), pp.75, 82.

<sup>27</sup> B.A.Holderness, 'The Victorian farmer' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, I (1981), p.227, and in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Vanishing Countryman* (1989), p.7.

to the area, and until more is known about this middle group it cannot be definitively outlined.<sup>28</sup>

He also considers that questions of inheritance, migration, recruitment, and upward (or downward) social mobility are difficult to answer from surviving records.<sup>29</sup>

In response to such pleas the principal objective of this thesis is to attempt to analyse, at the parish level, the fortunes of different types of farmers, mainly categorised by size of holding, in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. It will seek to assess their responsiveness to market forces, with a particular eye to the distinctions drawn by Professor Mingay<sup>30</sup>, and to assess their role in the progress or otherwise, of agriculture. The farmer, and his family, are thus placed at centre-stage in this study, although it will also, through their experience, attempt an assessment of the nature of the society within which they operated, to which we may now turn.

#### (IV) PARISH AND COMMUNITY

The principles adopted by CORAL stress that the scope of local history should not be predetermined by traditional administrative units, such as the parish or county, without first questioning the meaning and logic of these units.<sup>31</sup> As already indicated, this thesis restricts itself to the administrative parish of Frittenden. Much like the inhabitants of Myddle in

---

<sup>28</sup> J.V.Beckett, 'The Decline of the Small Landowner' in F.M.L.Thompson (Ed.), *Landowners, Capitalists and Entrepreneurs* (1994), pp.90 & 112.

<sup>29</sup> Holderness (1981), *op. cit.*, p.230 and (1989), *op.cit.*, p.10 .

<sup>30</sup> See page 13 above.

<sup>31</sup> Edward Royle, *op.cit.*, p.177.

the previous century, the people of Frittenden were  
*conscious of their special identity as parishioners of Myddle; though they were familiar with a wider area, the parish was the unit that mattered.*<sup>32</sup>

Obviously landholdings did not recognise parish boundaries nor did labourers seeking work on local farms. The volume of data involved and the fact that, to provide comprehensive data for instances of cross boundary movements and holdings, would require accessing and loading data for no fewer than five adjacent parishes resulted in the decision to restrict this analysis to a single parish. While this self-imposed restriction has inherent limitations, it is a necessary one and, certainly, every effort has been made to place the parish data in context - another of CORAL's six principles.<sup>33</sup>

Moreover, for most purposes there is every reason to believe that Frittenden was, and saw itself, in the nineteenth century as a community, in the sense proposed by Finberg and Skipp:

*Community is a set of people occupying an area with defined territorial limits and so far united in thought and action as to feel a sense of belonging together, in contradistinction from the many outsiders who do not belong.*<sup>34</sup>

This is not to say, of course, that Frittenden was a community of equals. Conventional and generalised descriptions of village society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries usually discern a social hierarchy. At the topmost pinnacle stood the noble owner of a vast acreage. One notch below this level

---

<sup>32</sup> D.Hey (Ed.), Introduction to Richard Gough, *The History of Myddle* (1981), p.20.

<sup>33</sup> Edward Royle, *op.cit.*, p.177.

<sup>34</sup> H.P.R.Finberg, 'Local History' in Finberg & Skipp (Eds.), *Local History: Objective and Pursuit* (1973), p.33.

(in status, if not necessarily in acreage) came the gentry, major or minor, together with the clergy of the established church. The larger farmers, on the next rung of the ladder, also stood to exercise a considerable influence over the affairs of the village. By degrees, these shaded over into the ranks of smaller farmers, along with village tradesmen, and the rear, in such accounts, was made up of labourers, who had little or no part to play in running the community in which they lived, being excluded by poverty even from the meetings of the parish vestry.<sup>35</sup>

Frittenden, as it happened, was not the place of residence of a noble family, for the Mann/Cornwallis seat was 8 miles away at Linton. There were however, a number of persons of acknowledged gentry status, such as Thomas Law Hodges, Henry Hoare, Revd. Edward Moore, while the larger farmers - unless they excluded themselves via their non-conformist allegiances - were well placed to play a prominent role in the Vestry and hence likely to be involved in parish offices, much in the way described by Reay, for the parishes of Dunkirk and Herne.<sup>36</sup> However, as will be seen, the economic position of many of the farmers of Frittenden was little better than that of their labourers. Like the lesser tradesmen, and certainly labourers, who had no

---

<sup>35</sup> See, inter alia, P.Horn, *The Rural World, 1780-1850: Social Change In The English Countryside*, pp.10 & 23; P.J.Corfield, 'The Rivals: Landed and Other Gentlemen' in Harte & Quinault (Eds), *Land and Society in Britain 1700-1914* (1996), pp.1-33; G.E.Mingay *Landed Estates in the Eighteenth Century* (1963), pp.3-16 & 19-49 and *The Gentry* (1976), pp.2-17; and for a contemporary distinction between greater and lesser gentry, J.Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland : A List of all Owners of Three Thousand Acres and Upwards* (1879), pp.xiv-xv.

<sup>36</sup> Barry Reay, 'Sexuality in Nineteenth Century England: the social context of illegitimacy in rural Kent', *Rural History*, 1990, pp.219-247; Barry Reay, *Microhistories: demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800-1930* (1997).



valve through which their grievances might be vented, the presumption (unless we find evidence to the contrary) is that they would have played little role in running the community in which they lived.

To summarize, this thesis seeks to combine elements of economic, agrarian and social history, each viewed from the particular perspective of one category within that society, 'the farmer', in his, and indeed her, many and various forms. It attempts to put into a local perspective the broader debate on the role of large estates, farming methods, wages and output in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century. In many respects, for example shifts in the pastoral and arable mix in the first half of the century, Frittenden ran counter to expectations based on traditionally accepted national, county and indeed regional trends, as we shall see. Employment patterns, contrary to some regional assessments, also displayed the continuation of live-in labour, not only throughout the nineteenth century but well into the twentieth. The role of the extended family and familial alliances through marriage (though not necessarily by 'arrangement'), was also a continuing factor throughout the period for not only the larger farmers but relatively small farmers, be they owner occupiers or tenants.

Very little had been written previously on the parish and it was therefore possible to come to the subject with few preconceptions of the likely outcome of the research. Having said this, I was aware of the suggestion that the Weald, and in particular certain parishes, had experienced extensive and continuous poverty through the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, failing to experience the 'golden age' in farming and in fact merely subsisting through

most of the period to 1870.<sup>37</sup>

How far this was true, and to what extent the problems faced by farmers were transmitted to other elements in the rural community will be a further area of consideration, at appropriate points.

---

<sup>37</sup>

G.E.Mingay, 'Agriculture' in W.A.Armstrong (Ed.), *The Economy of Kent 1640-1914* (1995), p.82.

**FRITTENDEN: A PARISH OUTLINE**

## (I) GEOGRAPHY/GEOLOGY

Kent is often described as the Garden of England and is always associated with the growing of fruit and hops. But one must not think of the whole county as a fertile garden. It is a county of contrasts with large stretches of poor, dry, chalk downland and wide belts of wet, stubborn clay. Because of the basic geological conditions, the nature of the soil probably varies more frequently and more abruptly than in any other county of similar size.<sup>1</sup>

South of the Downland escarpment [Map 2i] stretches the vast expanse of the Weald, which is itself divided into the heavy-soiled Low Weald, or Vale of Kent, and the generally light-soiled High Weald based on the sandstones.<sup>2</sup> Although the general anticlinal structure of the surface rocks of the Weald was known to John Farey in 1806<sup>3</sup>, the geology of the Weald, as represented on William Smith's map of 1815, makes it apparent that, except in broad outline, little was known as to the actual outcrops of beds.<sup>4</sup> While these shortcomings were recognised by Sir Charles Lyell in 1833, the work of the Geological Survey in the Weald did not commence until 1855. It

---

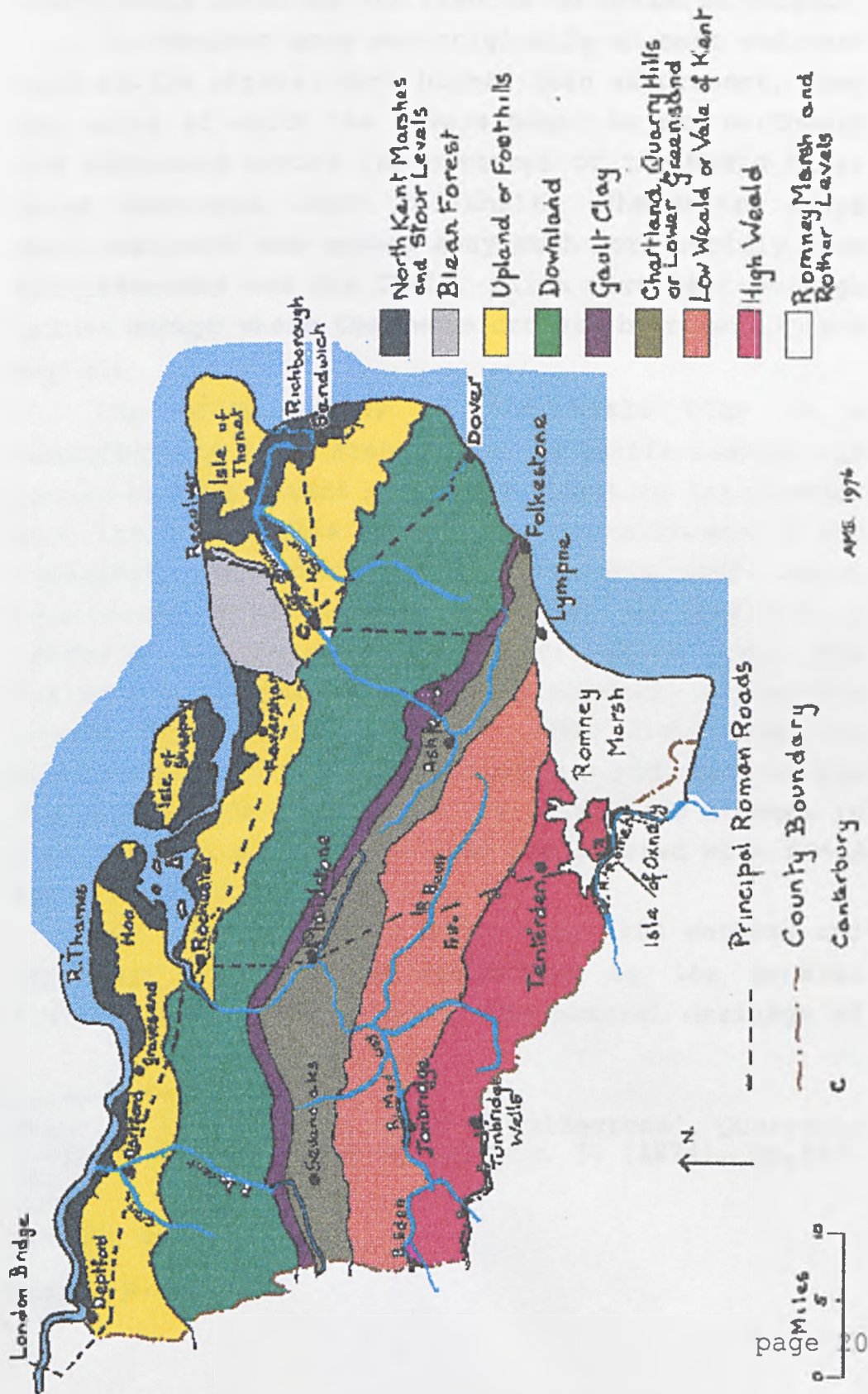
<sup>1</sup> G.H.Garrad, *A Survey of the Agriculture of Kent* (1954), pp.1-2.

<sup>2</sup> A.M.Everitt, 'The Making of the Agrarian Landscape of Kent' in *Arch. Cant.*, XCII (1976), p.7.

<sup>3</sup> J.Farey, *Geological Section of the Country from London to Brighton* (1806).

<sup>4</sup> Gallois, R.W. & Edmunds, F.H., *British Regional Geology: The Wealden District* (4th Edn. 1965), pp.1-3.

REGIONS OF KENT



Source: A.M.Everitt, 'The Making of the Agrarian Landscape of Kent', Arch.Cant. (1976), p8 .

Map 2i

was not until work by F.G.H.Price, in 1874<sup>5</sup> and 1879, that the foundation of present day understanding of the geology emerged. Thus the nineteenth century farmer, even if advanced in agricultural science and technique, had a significant gap in his knowledge which could handicap his efforts to optimise output.

The Wealden area was originally an east and west fold of the strata, much higher than at present, down the sides of which the rivers began to run northward and southward across the outcrops of the Weald Clay, Lower Greensand, Gault and Chalk. The softer clays were weathered and washed away much more rapidly than the Greensand and the Chalk, which were left as high ground except where they were crossed by rivers.<sup>6</sup> [see Map 2i]

The broad valley of the Weald Clay is a comparatively level area with a few gentle undulations caused by thin layers of harder limestone interbedded with the clay. This limestone is usually shelly and represents shell-banks of a freshwater snail which were accumulated at intervals when the Weald Clay formed at the bottom of a deep freshwater lake. The Weald Clay outcrop extends the whole way across the county from west to east. The whole area is comparatively flat and low-lying, and before the Drainage Boards cleaned out the rivers and streams in this century, much of the land was covered with flood water in a wet winter.<sup>7</sup>

The Weald Clay is a heavy clay, the wetness and heaviness of which is aggravated by its general flatness and low elevation. The natural drainage of

---

<sup>5</sup> Price, F.G.H., 'On the Gault of Folkestone', *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, 30 (1874), pp.342-68.

<sup>6</sup> Garrad, *op.cit.*, p.20.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p.23.

the district is very poor. The problem on the Weald is to get rid of surface water. In addition to the stiff soapy character of the clay soil itself, at depths varying between 6 inches and 2 feet it is common to find a layer of irregular ironstone concretions, locally called 'crowstone gravel' or 'cats' brains', not joined up to form a hard pan but effectively preventing the growth of deep-rooted plants.<sup>8</sup>

While the parish of Frittenden as a whole met this description, the village itself occupies high ground between two heads of the Beult. This river rises in the High Weald, near Cranbrook, joins the united Medway and Teise near Yalding before flowing north to Maidstone.<sup>9</sup> This provides the main source of drainage for the parish.

The heaviest and wettest land in the Weald is under woodland. The predominance of extensive woods generally indicates that the soil in that particular locality is abnormally wet and heavy.<sup>10</sup> Even today Frittenden has a large proportion of woodland and, as shown in the tithe maps, this was the case in the early and mid-nineteenth century. However, even these maps understate the extent to which trees formed part of the landscape as they usually constituted a large part of the hedges which were the normal form of boundary between fields and according to commentators were often excessively wide.

## (II) ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY

The parish of Frittenden lies in the Low Weald or Vale of Kent. The village itself sits prominently on a low ridge running east west approximately central to

---

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p.23.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p.20.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.35.



the parish. The ridge is dominated by the church of St.Mary whose spire can be seen clearly from some distance as the village is approached by way of one of the four 'main' roads. Seeing the village today it appears as a single development along the road from Cranbrook to the 'crossroads', by the Bell and Jorrocks Pub (formerly The Bell Inn), and from that junction along the road to Biddenden. However, a glance at the maps of 1806 and 1841 reveals that there were in fact two nuclei, one around the parish church of St.Mary and the other around the Bell Inn and Forge (now the village garage).

Wallenberg notes the first reference to the name of Friddingden (Frittenden) to have been in a charter of 804. He considers the most likely derivation of the name to be associated with the personal name Frip(i) in conjunction with, the locally ubiquitous, 'ingden' place-name ending, which is normally derived from designations for human beings.<sup>11</sup> Thus the name might denote Frip's clearing in the wood [of Andread].<sup>12</sup>

There is some evidence of Roman activity in the area. During the rebuilding of the church in 1846

*several lumps of Roman concrete, compounded with small fragments of brick, were discovered in the foundations of some of the walls.*<sup>13</sup>

Also, in February 1858, R.C.Hussey, architect of the rebuilt church, exhibited to the Archaeological Institute, two large urns which had been found in Leggs Wood, Frittenden, the previous year. These were considered to be of native descent and dated early in

---

<sup>11</sup> J.K.Wallenberg, *The Place-Names of Kent* (1934), p.324.

<sup>12</sup> J.K.Wallenberg, *Kentish Place-Names* (1931), p.95.

<sup>13</sup> Report of General Meeting Held at Cranbrook - 1873, *Arch. Cant.*, IX (1874), p.xci.

the Roman period, to the first century A.D.<sup>14</sup>

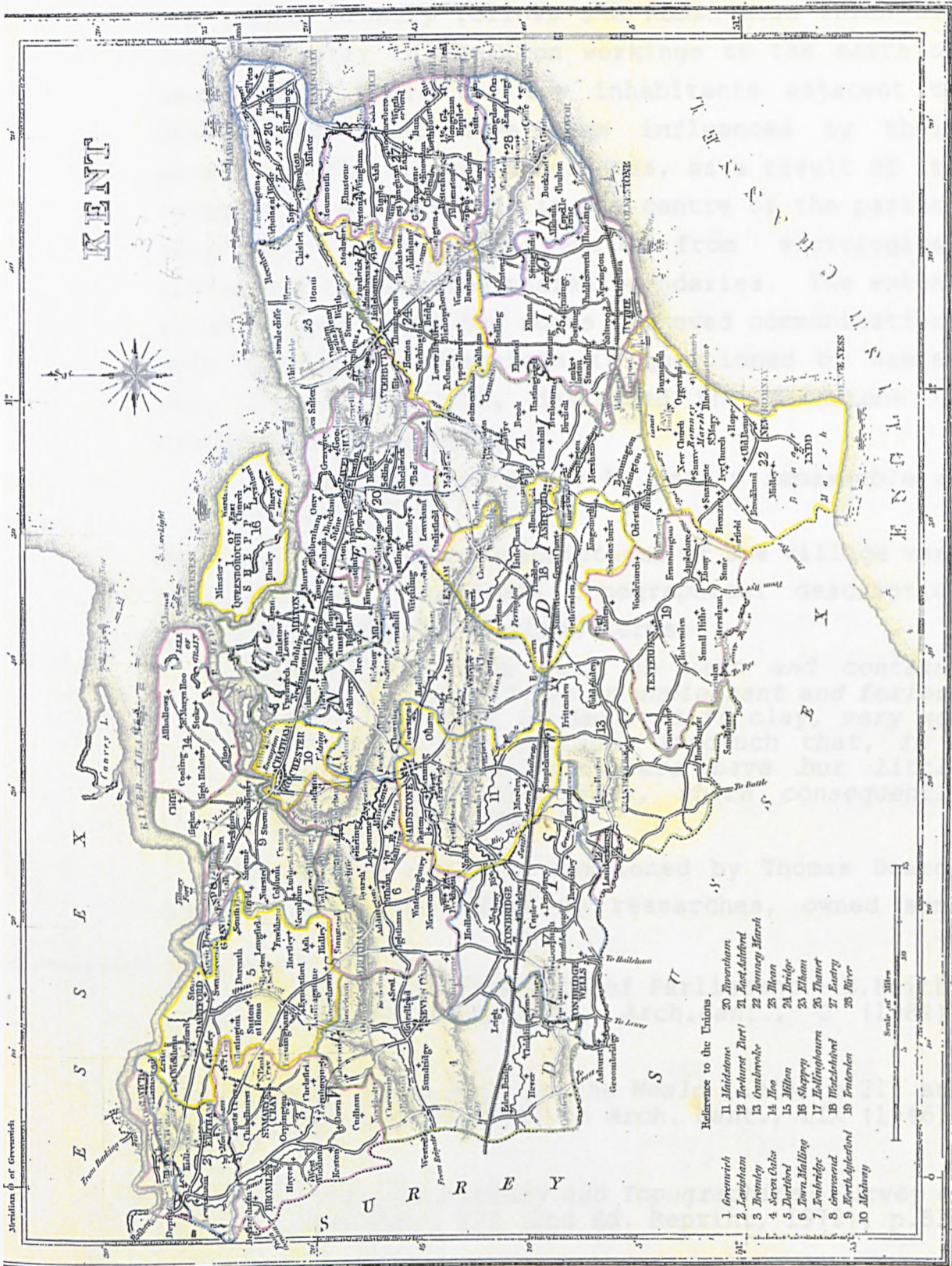
The fact that the parish church of St.Mary is not situated on the river but on the ridge, on almost the highest point in the parish, probably suggests that its foundation is not of the earliest.<sup>15</sup> This supports Everitt's contention that the Weald was essentially a region of detached pasture, where settlement was moulded by the practice of transhumance, and usually originated from relatively distant places on the Foothills and in the Vale of Holmesdale. In this case Frittenden appears to have had links with both Faversham and Leeds. Thus its colonisation arose through the establishment of numerous scattered dens or shielings in the heart of the forest, and the ultimate evolution of these summer pastures into permanent, yet isolated farms. The existence of so many satellite hamlets in the parish of Frittenden, is likely evidence of this mode of colonisation. Everitt also contends that such parishes would not have been so closely integrated into the minster-system and as such may have developed a more independent and insular outlook. Reflecting such origins, the original road system ran south-west/north-east, connecting these satellite settlements with their mother homesteads, later overlaid with turnpikes.

---

<sup>14</sup> *Arch.Cant.*, IX, pp.xc-xc1 (1874) and LXXXIII (1968), pp.263-4.

<sup>15</sup> Everitt, while acknowledging the dangers of generalisation, notes that it is common in Kent to find early churches sited on river banks. The likelihood that St.Mary's is not early is also suggested by its single dedication - Alan Everitt, *Continuity and Colonisation: the evolution of Kentish settlement* (1986), p.260.





Derived from Atlas to Lewis' Topographical Dictionaries of England & Wales (London 1844).

(III) 'MODERN' FRITTENDEN: SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The parish of Frittenden is bounded by a turnpike road to the east, Maidstone to Biddenden (1805), and to the west, Maidstone to Cranbrook (1760)<sup>16</sup> [Map 2ii]. The latter broadly follows the Roman Road which ran from Rochester to the iron workings to the north of Hastings.<sup>17</sup> While the few inhabitants adjacent to these roads must have been influenced by their proximity, the village itself was, as a result of its location on a ridge site in the centre of the parish, relatively physically remote from sociological influences outside the parish boundaries. The extent to which even these new roads improved communications with surrounding districts is questioned by Hasted who, writing in 1798, described the Maidstone to Cranbrook road as being

*so deep and miry as to be nearly impassable in wet weather.*<sup>18</sup>

Nor were contemporary descriptions of the village very complimentary. Hasted's topographical description portrays Frittenden in these terms:

*'very narrow from east to west and contains seventy houses. It has an unpleasant and forlorn aspect. The soil is deep, stiff clay, very wet and unkindly for tillage, insomuch that, in a rainy season, the occupiers have but little produce from their lands, which consequently keeps them very poor.'*<sup>19</sup>

Frittenden was also mentioned by Thomas Dearn, who, it transpires from my researches, owned some

---

<sup>16</sup> Dates relate to the first Act of Parliament - B.Keith-Lucas, 'Kentish Turnpikes', Arch.Cant., C (1984). p.368.

<sup>17</sup> I.D.Margary, *Roman Ways in the Weald* (1948) p.217 and 'Roman Roads In West Kent' in Arch. Cant., LIX (1946), p.34.

<sup>18</sup> Edward Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, VII (2nd Ed. Reprint, 1972), p.52.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.113-118.



land, known as Wren's Nest, in Frittenden. In *The Weald of Kent*, 1814, he describes the parish as 'obscure and inconsiderable'. The village

*consists of a few straggling houses of mean appearance, stands a little more elevated than the lands about it, and nearly in the centre of the parish.*<sup>20</sup>

He mentions that

*north-west of the street is a green called Frittenden Brook, which the occupiers of the houses round it, stock at their pleasure; and on the opposite side of the stream bounding it on the west, is another called Singsted-green.*<sup>21</sup>

The other major nineteenth century work on the Weald, by Furley<sup>22</sup>, confirms the nature of the geology and the fashionable drive to drain the heavy clays of the parish and the Weald in general.

These qualities, i.e. the geo-physical constraints and the remoteness of the place were difficult to alter and in a sense, were abiding features of the parish of Frittenden.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, the village remained overwhelmingly dependent on agriculture as a source of livelihood.<sup>24</sup> However, it would be misleading to assume that nothing changed through the seventy year period covered by this study. Among the developments of note we can include

- i) efforts to improve drainage and land use;

---

<sup>20</sup> T.D.W.Dearn, *An Historical Topographical and Descriptive Account of the Weald of Kent* (Cranbrook, 1814), pp.92-4.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.92-4.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Furley, *A History of the Weald of Kent* (Ashford, 1874), p.658.

<sup>23</sup> As late as the 1950s and 1960s, Frittenden was described in the local press as 'the forgotten village' - F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, undated cutting from *Kentish Express*.

<sup>24</sup> See Chapter 8, below.

ii) the eventual expansion of the Mann/Cornwallis estate, especially after 1850, to the point where it accounted for two-thirds of the land in the parish;

iii) the coming of the railway, which skirted the parish (there were stations at Staplehurst and Headcorn) in 1842.

Each of these developments will be discussed at appropriate points in subsequent chapters.<sup>25</sup> However, there was a further feature of Frittenden's nineteenth century experience that will not admit of such a deferral, and is most appropriately included in this parish profile. This was a significant if somewhat erratic increase in population, as set out in table 2iii.

#### **Population Growth in Frittenden, 1801-71**

	1801	11	21	31	41	51	61	71
Total Pop.	551	593	799	816	804	908	898	949
% increase	+7.6	+37.7	+2.0	-1.4	+12.9	-1.1	+5.7	
Overall % Increase, 1801-71								+72.2

Source: Population censuses, at dates stated. Note that there is no comment, in the 1821 return, to explain why the population increase for 1811-21 was so substantial.

**Table 2iii**

#### (IV) DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENTS, c1801-1871

So impressive has been the advance of historical demography that, today, no local or regional study can be considered to be complete without some reference to population trends. In this section, we shall look at mortality levels, the mean age at marriage, fertility rates, natural increase and migration. The analysis offered is by no means sophisticated, judged by the

---

<sup>25</sup> See Chapter 5, pp.108-14; Chapter 3, pp.40-7; Chapter 6, pp.175-9.

most exigent standards of modern historical demography, since this would require a thesis in its own right.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, even an elementary sketch has a useful part to play as a preliminary to what follows in later chapters.

(a) Mortality

Mortality rates in the district were generally low, by contemporary standards. For the years 1848-54 we are fortunate to have readily available an indication of the death rates ruling in the Cranbrook registration district, which included Frittenden. A comparative table drawn up by a contemporary, E.H.Greenhow, gives the mid-nineteenth century Cranbrook death rate as 19.0, which was somewhat lower than that of the south-eastern counties in general (20.0) and very distinctly below that of England and Wales as a whole. Furthermore, in his comparison embracing 105 English and Welsh registration districts, both urban and rural, the Cranbrook figure was bettered in only fifteen instances (and equalled in three more); this, despite the fact that poverty (as measured by the proportion of paupers per thousand persons) at Cranbrook was exceeded in only three of these districts.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, a recently published suite of maps indicates life expectancy at birth in the Cranbrook district to lie in the range 40-44.9 (1861-3); 43-47.9 at age 20; and as well,

---

<sup>26</sup> I have in mind especially the approach via family reconstitution, which enables a community's demographic history to be examined with greater precision than any other method, including, for example, age-specific mortality and marital fertility, birth intervals etc.

<sup>27</sup> E.H.Greenhow, *Papers Relating to the Sanitary State of the People of England*, 1858 (1973 Reprint), p.162.

(comparatively) low infant and child death rates.<sup>28</sup> There is no reason to suppose that Frittenden would have experienced mortality rates that were significantly above the Cranbrook average, even among farmworkers: indeed, their longevity is hinted at in some data I have collected locally: among 25 individuals present at each of the three censuses, 1851-71, two were in their seventies in 1871 and four in their sixties, suggesting, a possible working life of 60 years or more if their health and strength were maintained. Thus, without going into excessive detail, it is virtually certain that Frittenden at mid-century enjoyed comparatively favourable mortality rates, and it had probably done so for a long time.<sup>29</sup>

#### (b) Marriage and Fertility

Recent work has suggested that rising fertility rather than falling mortality was the mainspring of population growth at the national level, and that the principal factors lying behind increasing fertility were changes in the age at and incidence of marriage, according to Wrigley and Schofield. Their figures suggest that the mean age at first marriage (nationally) was for males 25.3 and for females 23.4, in the period 1800-49.<sup>30</sup> Meanwhile, in rural areas, a lowering in the age at first marriage has been associated by historians with the move away from 'traditional' agriculture and more specifically with the decline in farm service which had hitherto acted

---

<sup>28</sup> R.Woods & N.Shelton, *An Atlas of Victorian Mortality*, (1997), pp.29, 30 & 49.

<sup>29</sup> M.Dobson, 'Population: 1640-1831' in A.Armstrong (Ed.), *The Economy of Kent 1640-1914* (1995), pp.27-8.

<sup>30</sup> E.A.Wrigley & R.S.Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (1981), p.255.

as a constraint on marriage and hence on procreation.<sup>31</sup>

Very little work of this nature has been carried out on the parish registers of Kent. However, what we have suggests that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Kentish rural couples were by no means backward in joining the trend towards earlier marriage. At Dunkirk and at Hernhill, the mean age at first marriage for males was 25.5 and 24.6 respectively, and for females, 22.3 and 21.6.<sup>32</sup> At Ash in East Kent, the ruling (median) age at marriage in 1780-1840 was 24 for males and 22 for females.<sup>33</sup> At Frittenden, the indicators are very similar, in fact; a survey of 48 marriages in the parochial register of St.Mary's through 1792-1837 shows the husbands averaged 24.5 years of age and their brides, 21.9.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Anderson considers that marriage patterns were influenced by structural factors which, in the more agricultural areas (ie 40% or more of the male population engaged in agriculture), could be relatively stronger and differ in their mode of operation from that of the more urban areas - Michael Anderson, 'Marriage Patterns in Victorian Britain: An Analysis Based on Registration District Data for England and Wales 1861', *Journal of Family History*, 1, 1 (1976), p.76-7.

Hinde considers that with mechanisation in agriculture, work in the fields became scarcer, which combined with the fact that for male agricultural labourers earnings reached their peak at a fairly young age, should have meant that marriage in the Victorian countryside occurred at an early age for both sexes - P.R.A.Hinde, 'The Marriage Market in the Nineteenth Century English Countryside', *The Journal of European Economic History*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1989), p.384-5.

<sup>32</sup> Barry Reay, 'Sexuality in Nineteenth Century England: the social context of illegitimacy in rural Kent', *Rural History*, 1, 2 (1990), p.219-247.

<sup>33</sup> A.E.Newman, *Old Poor Law in East Kent 1606-1834: A Social and Demographic Analysis* (Unpublished Thesis University of Kent 1979), p.323

<sup>34</sup> C.K.S./P152/1/6,7, Register of Marriages St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1754-1812, 1813-37. Ages in the 1841 census were recorded only in bands of

Thereafter, the all-important female age at first marriage was beginning to show signs of rising, if not in any consistent fashion from one decade to the next. From the same marriage register, it can be ascertained that ages at first marriage were, for males, 26.5 (1841-50), 24.8 (1851-60) and 26.6 (1861-70); and for females, 25.1, 22.2 and 24.2.<sup>35</sup> Both sexes nevertheless, appear to have continued to marry somewhat younger than in the Kent population at large, during these decades<sup>36</sup>, and, looking across the seventy years as a whole, there can be no doubt that these patterns of nuptiality were sufficiently high to sustain a brisk rate of procreation.

There are, of course especially fierce difficulties involved in calculating fertility rates at the parish level. Even the advent of civil registration in 1837 does not help in this respect<sup>37</sup>, and, of necessity, we have to rely on the local baptismal register. Even so, some broad inferences can be drawn which may be deemed sufficient for our

---

5 years. Where the individuals appeared in later census that age was used to compute their age at marriage.

<sup>35</sup> The numbers on which this is based are 56 (note the church was being rebuilt for about 18 months during this period), 78, and 77, in the three successive decades.

<sup>36</sup> Going from Armstrong's county figures as reported in W.A. Armstrong, 'The Population of Victorian and Edwardian Kent: (II) Natural Increase: Births, Marriages and Deaths', *Arch. Cant.*, CXIV (1994), p.29, the county marriage ages were (for males) 27.4 in 1851, 27.2 in 1861 and 27.2 in 1871; and for females 25.3, 24.7, and 24.6 respectively. Note though, that Armstrong's figures are derived in a different way (SMAM), i.e. from censuses rather than directly from parish registers.

<sup>37</sup> Because data on vital events was not published at parish level in the Registrar General's Annual Reports, and access to original certificates remains, at present, severely restricted.



present purposes.

#### Five year average baptismal rates

Period	Frittenden	England & Wales
1799-1803	28.68	29.84
1809-1813	32.38	29.91
1819-1823	33.29	29.58
1829-1833	31.86	27.91
1839-1843	31.59	n/a
1849-1853	22.03	n/a
1859-1863	27.62	n/a
1869-1873	19.60	n/a

**Source:** Frittenden: C.K.S./P152/1/2,3,4, Register of Baptisms St.Mary's Church, Frittenden, 1770-1812, 1813-44, 1844-79. England & Wales: Mitchell & Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, (Cambridge 1962), p.28.

#### Table 2iv

Table 2iv shows the changes in five year average of baptisms suggesting that the birth rate may have peaked in the immediate post Napoleonic period. If we relate the Frittenden baptisms to the enumerated population at successive census dates (1811, 1821, etc.) and make the same calculation for England and Wales as a whole, it would appear that during the early decades of the nineteenth century, fertility rates in Frittenden were initially broadly on a par with the corresponding national figure. Subsequently they showed some divergence from national figures, higher fertility rates through to 1829-33. Continuing this type of calculation, but now only for Frittenden, baptismal rates show that the peak had passed, with a small reduction as early as 1839-43. This, perhaps, was to be expected in the light of the marked increase in the female age at marriage (see above) and, perhaps, the effects of emigration, yet to be traced, rather than to the introduction of a tighter regime of

birth control.<sup>38</sup>

(c) Natural Increases and Migratory Outflows

A combination of brisk rates of procreation and comparatively low rates of mortality points inevitably to high rates of natural increase. There was a surplus of baptisms over burials in every decade through 1811-21 to 1861-71 and in the aggregate the number of baptisms through 1811-71 was 1,412 and of burials, 755.<sup>39</sup> This is not to say that there were no years when burials exceed baptisms. Such an event occurred on six occasions. On two occasions the disparity was significant: in 1839, when the highest rate of mortality was for 5 year olds and younger, and 1859 when baptisms were particularly low. Taking the figures for the whole period at face value, they suggest that at a minimum, the natural increase of the parish was of the order of 657 souls across the sixty year period. In fact, as already shown, the actual increase according to the censuses was less than this, being 356 for 1811-71.<sup>40</sup>

From the same body of data, it is possible to apportion the changes on a decade by decade basis.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> The Princeton studies suggest that a noticeable lack of time-series variations in marital fertility across Europe as a whole is good evidence that there was no deliberate control of births in 'pre-transition' populations. See A.J.Coale and S.C.Watkins, *The Decline of Fertility in Europe* (Princeton, 1986), p.31-181, and, for Britain, M.S.Teitelbaum, *The British Fertility Decline* (Princeton 1984), p.122.

<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, the burial register for 1801-10 is missing which is why we start, in this calculation, from 1811. Note also that for a single year, 1813, information is missing and a figure has been interpolated, 17, being the average number of burials in the decade 1811-20.

<sup>40</sup> See Table 2iii above.

<sup>41</sup> In preparation of these figures, any adult baptisms (few) have been transferred to decade of birth.

From these figures, it is striking that between 1811-21 Frittenden appears to have made a significant net gain by migration, on top of its self-generated natural increase. It may be noticed, in passing, that

**Population change in Frittenden, 1811-71**

Decade	(A) Popn Change (Census) - absolute nos	(B) Natural Change (baptisms - burials)	(C) Imputed (net) migration A-B
1811-20	+206	+121	+ 85
1821-30	+ 17	+129	-112
1831-40	- 12	+104	-116
1841-50	+104	+119	- 15
1851-60	- 10	+ 58	- 68
1861-70	+ 51	+127	- 76

**Source:** Census (as Table 2iii): and for natural increase, St.Mary's Parish Register.

**Table 2v**

an aggregate population increase of 45 per cent in the years 1801-21 was by no means fully matched by commensurate increase in the size of the housing stock suggesting, in all probability, a considerable increase in the density of occupation of dwellings.<sup>42</sup> Thereafter, through 1821-41, the table attests to a heavy net loss by migration, so that the population of Frittenden was virtually the same, in 1841, as had been the case twenty years earlier. As we shall see in due course, this out-migration included a fairly substantial amount of overseas migration.<sup>43</sup> Through 1841-51, on the other hand, the greater part of Frittenden's natural increase was retained and population growth resumed, though not on the scale of

---

<sup>42</sup> According to successive returns the number of separate houses in Frittenden showed no change between 1801 and 1811 (97 in 1801, 95 plus one unoccupied in 1811; and reached 116 (plus one unoccupied) in 1821). Overall, therefore, the increase in houses in twenty years was of the order of 22% only.

<sup>43</sup> See below, Chapter 7, p.188-90.

1811-21. Finally, in 1851-61 and 1861-71 the position did little more than stabilize, for in these years renewed out-migration siphoned away all (in 1851-61) or the greater part (1861-71) of Frittenden's natural increases, the outcome being an enumerated population, in 1871, that was greater by only 41 souls (or 4.5%) than twenty years earlier.

This, in outline, was the demographic experience of Frittenden during the seventy years under consideration. The relationship between population and economic and social change is surely symbiotic; neither story is intelligible without the other, and demographic change can be both a determinant and a consequence of a variety of changes in economy and society. Thus far, these links and interactions have yet to be traced; and the same applies to a wide range of issues raised in this and the preceding chapter. Both of these are merely preparatory, and designed to whet the reader's appetite for more detailed chapters which follow.

### Chapter 3

#### LANDOWNERS, OWNER OCCUPIERS, TENANTS AND THE NUMBER AND SIZES OF FARMS

The history and development of landed estates in England is well-documented and continues to attract scholarly attention.<sup>1</sup>

*For as long as the horse and carriage were the symbols of social standing, and possession of stables and grooms the sign of a prosperous competence, the English landed aristocracy retained its predominant place.*<sup>2</sup>

If there was a weakening in the position of the landed interest during the half-century 1830-80, it was more a matter of its changing relationship with the rest of society, rather than the erosion of landed power within its own rural setting, and it was only with the coming of the 'Great Depression' that there were notable signs of the decreasing attractiveness of landed estates.<sup>3</sup>

Territorial landowners did not in general farm their lands, although the owners of a few hundred, or a thousand acres might well prefer to run a 'home farm' to supply a range of their needs; most land was let out to tenants, and it is customary in the English case, to think of the characteristic farmer as a tenant.<sup>4</sup> These ranged from what Mingay describes as

---

<sup>1</sup> G.E.Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1963); F.M.L.Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1963); J.V.Beckett, 'English landownership in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the debate and the problems', *ECHR.*, 35 (1977), pp.567-81; *ibid.* 'The pattern of landownership in England and Wales, 1660-1880', *ECHR.*, 37 (1984), pp.1-22.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson (1963), *op.cit.*, p.1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.273 & 324.

<sup>4</sup> G.E.Mingay, *Land And Society In England 1750-1980* (1994), p.144.

the big tenant farmer who was 'a capitalist in his own right', down a scale to those tenantry only small-holdings. Landlords, their tenantry, and the labourers who worked for them, are often envisaged as the three elements of a 'tripartite system' which differentiated English rural society from that of Continental Europe.

But owner-occupiers, difficult to fit into this framework, survived in England in reasonably large numbers throughout the period. Mingay suggests that somewhere between one-seventh and one-tenth of the cultivated acreage lay in the hands of freeholders at the end of the eighteenth century and suggests that this proportion did not change appreciably in the following hundred years. He points out that the first official statistics (for 1887-91) indicate that around 18% of occupiers were owners (14% owning all the land they were farming) and that some 15% of the farmland was still owned by occupiers, some of these renting, as well as owning land.<sup>5</sup>

Whether their holdings were freehold, or tenanted, all occupiers were referred to, by Victorian times, as 'farmers', and as Holderness points out, their standing, wealth, and lifestyle bore few marks of uniformity.

*At the top, farmers and their families almost, but not quite, merged with the professional classes and even with the lesser country gentry; while at the lowest level, the condition of the poorest farmers differed little from that of the better-off labourers and small village tradesmen.*<sup>6</sup>

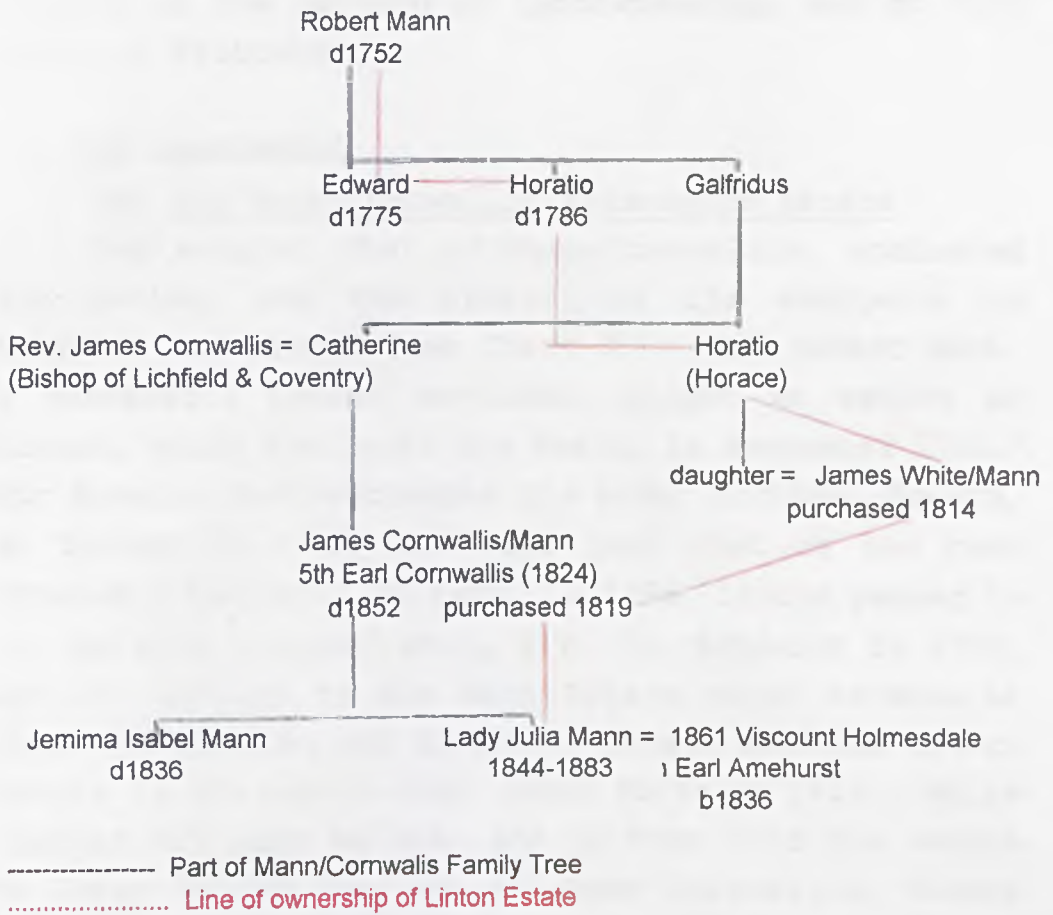
It is, therefore vital to distinguish not just between freeholders and tenants, but between the categories of

---

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p.145.

<sup>6</sup> B.A.Holderness, 'The Victorian farmer' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, I (1981), p.227 and in G.E.Mingay, *The Vanishing Countryman* (1989), p.7.

Ownership of Linton Estate Within The Mann/Cornwallis Family



'large', 'middling' and 'small' farmers<sup>7</sup>, which is usually done by reference to farm sizes.

Against this background, we shall look in this chapter at the pattern of landownership, and at farm sizes in Frittenden.

#### (I) THE LANDOWNERS

##### (a) The Mann/Cornwallis/Holmesdale Estate

One estate, that of Mann/Cornwallis, dominated the parish, and the history of its emergence is somewhat convoluted [see Chart 3i]. Sir Robert Mann, a successful London merchant, bought an estate at Linton, which overlooks the Weald, in September 1751.<sup>8</sup> Sir Horatio Mann succeeded his elder brother, Edward, at Linton in 1755, the same year that he had been created a baronet. In turn, in 1786, Linton passed to Sir Horatio (Horace) Mann, M.P. for Sandwich in 1790, and who brought to the main Estate other estates at Boughton Malherbe and Egerton. Horace sold the entire estate to his son-in-law, James White in 1814. White changed his name to Mann and in turn sold the estate to James Cornwallis, son of James Cornwallis, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in 1819. He too changed his name to Mann and succeeded to the Earldom of Cornwallis in 1824. After his death in 1852, the estate passed to his surviving child, Lady Julia Mann Cornwallis, who married Viscount Holmesdale.

Apart from a partial disposal in 1805<sup>9</sup> when that part of the estate not entailed appears to have been for sale [only partially successfully], the estate appears to have increased its Frittenden landholdings

---

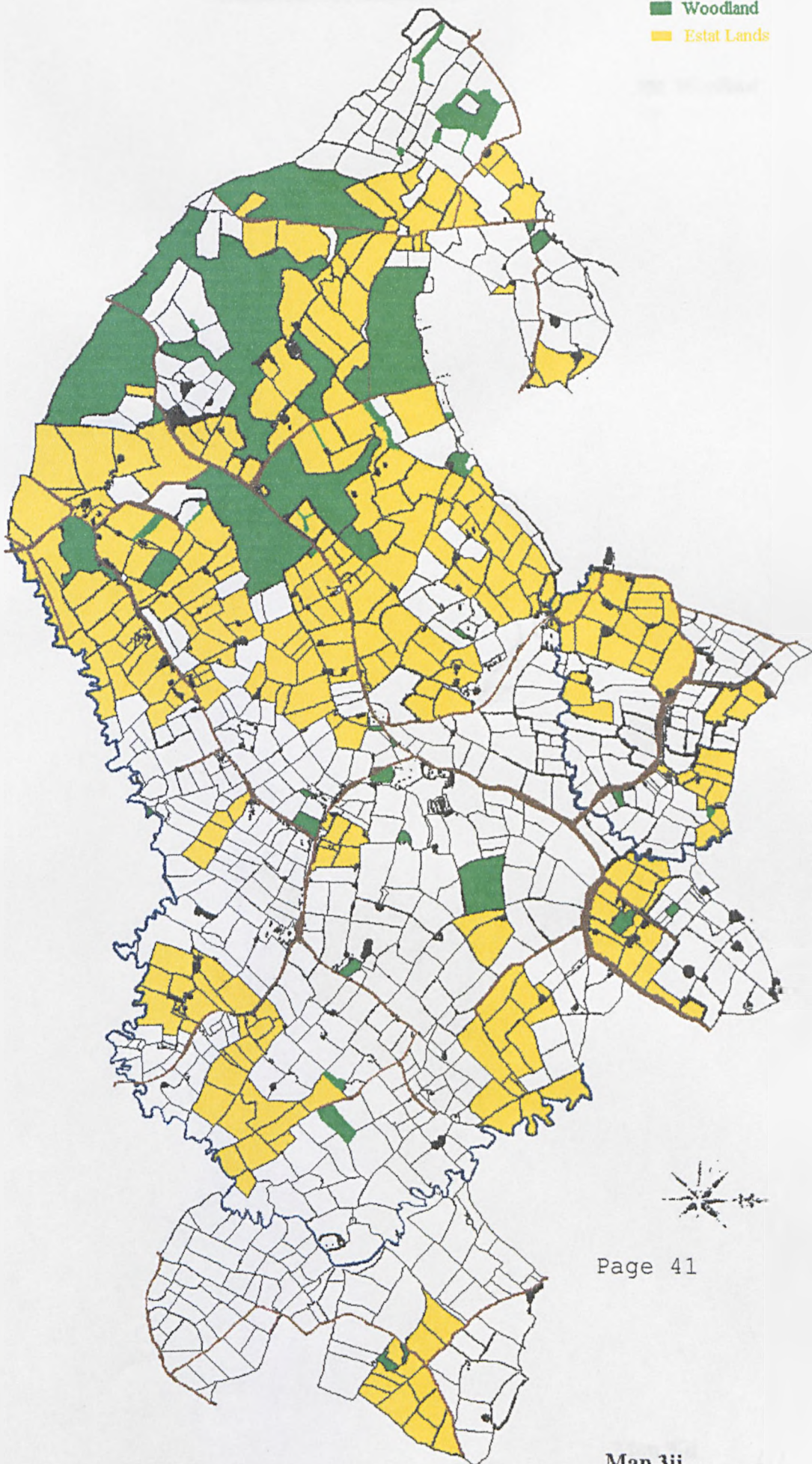
<sup>7</sup> Mingay (1994), *op.cit.*, pp.148-61.

<sup>8</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, 13 (1996), p.926.

<sup>9</sup> C.K.S/U24/T4, *Particulars and Conditions of Sale of a very capital and Elegant Freehold Mansion House, called Linton Place, ... and also Divers Farms Messuages, and Lands ... in Frittenden ... 1805-6.*



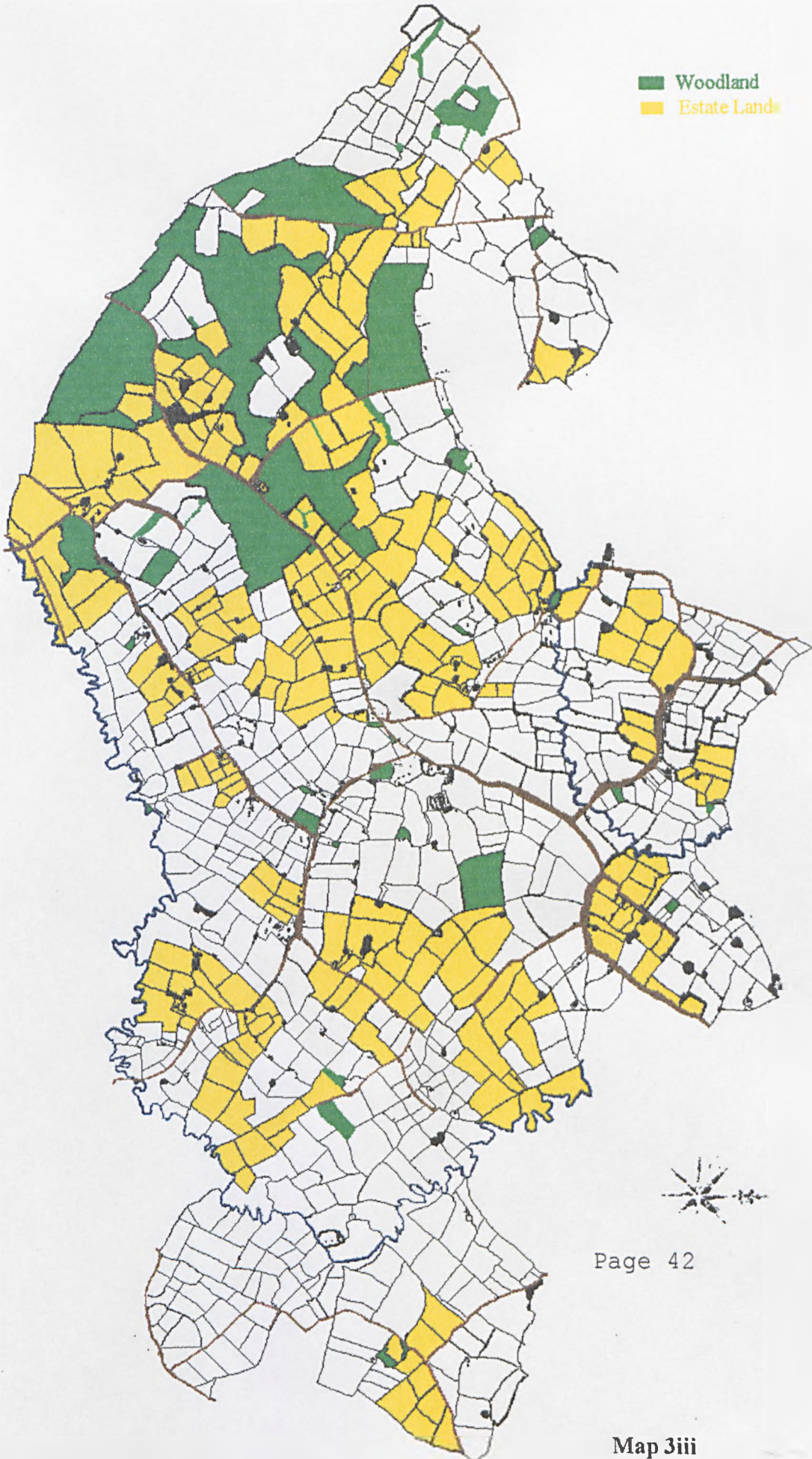
Mann/Cornwallis Estate 1814



Woodland  
Estat Lands

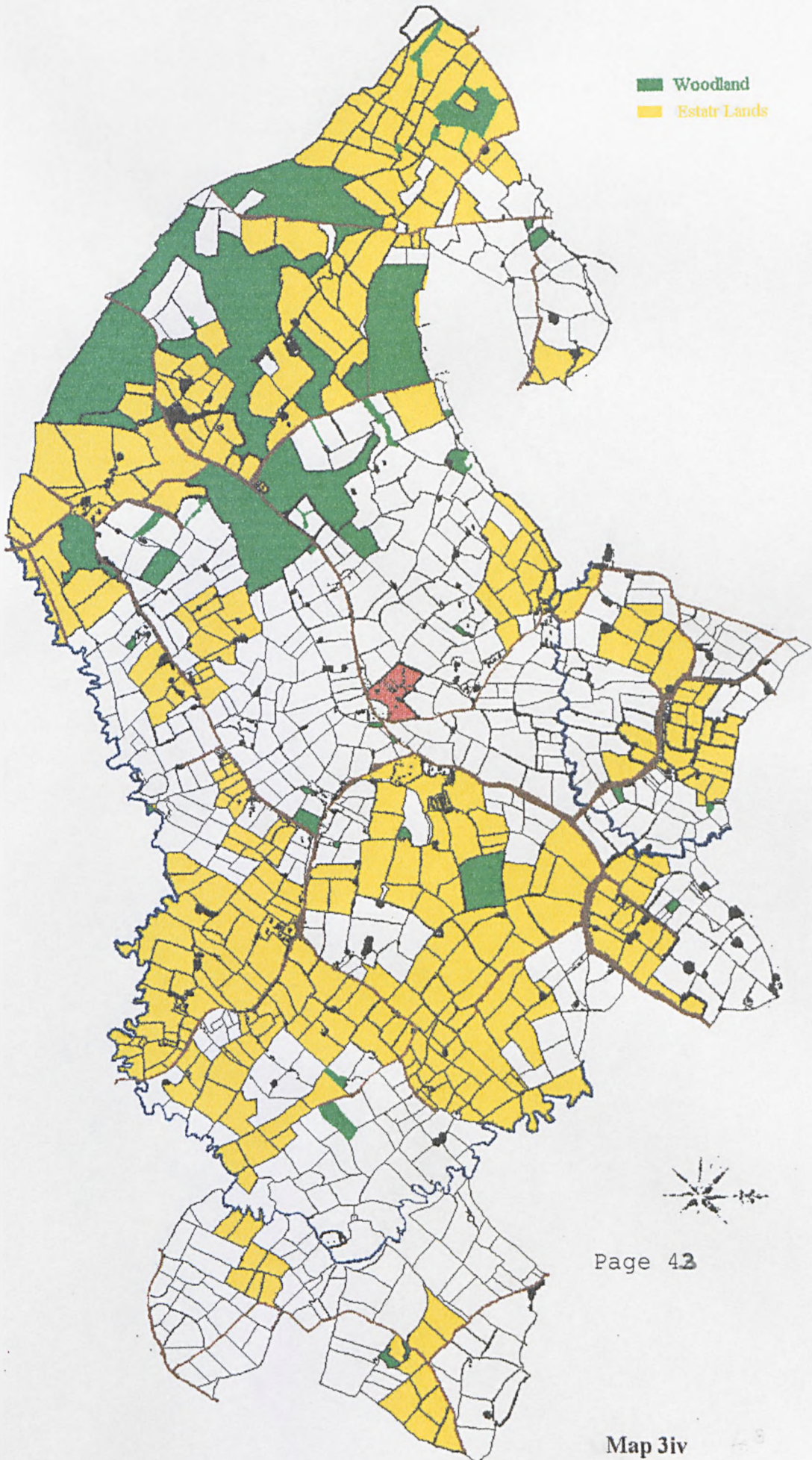


Mann/Cornwalls Estate 1841



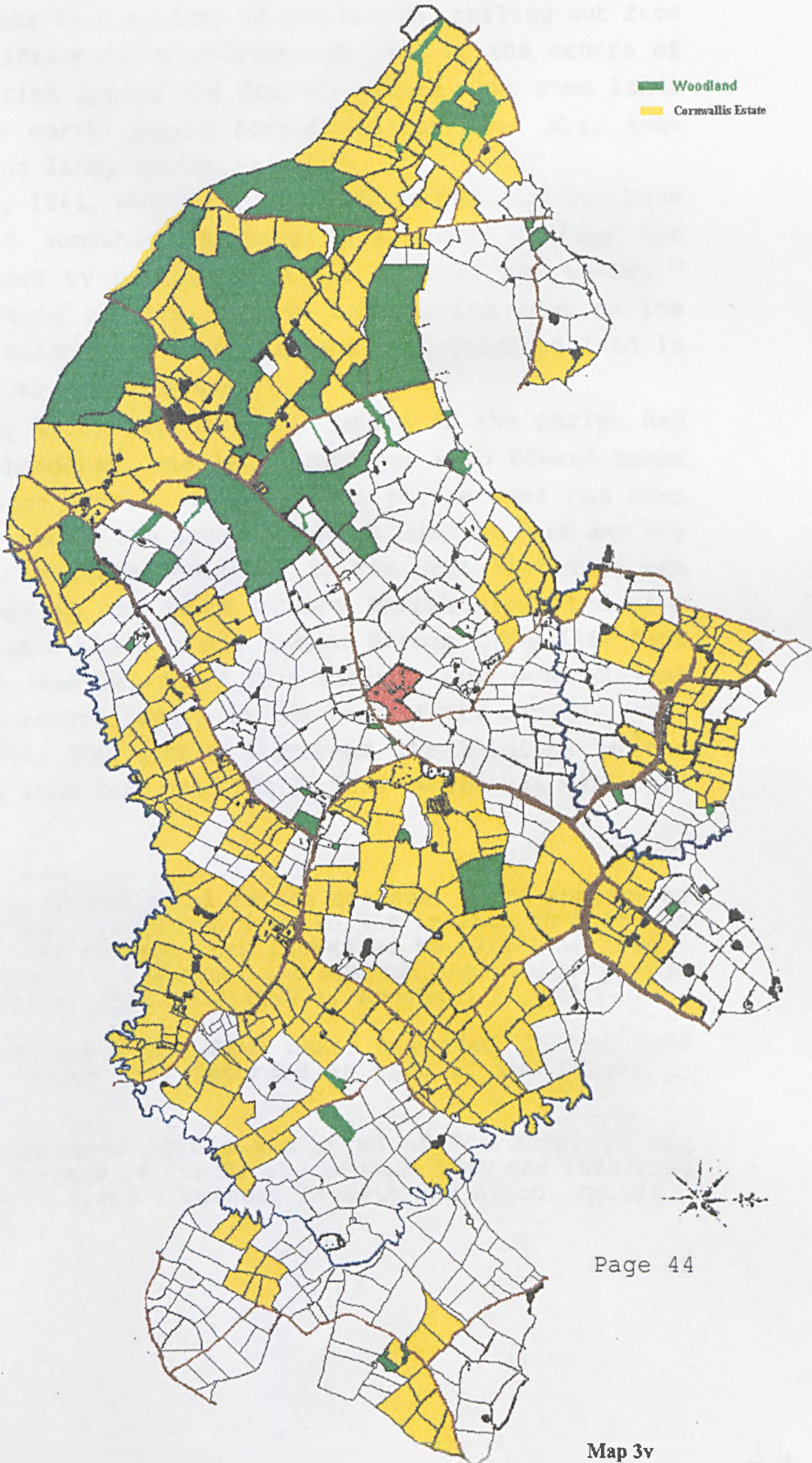


Mann/Cornwallis Estate 1857





Mann Cornwallis Estate 1869



over the whole period but particularly between 1841 and 1857.<sup>10</sup> Map 3ii shows the extent of the Mann/Cornwallis estate in Frittenden in 1814.<sup>11</sup> The land owned by the estate was principally to the west (i.e. the Linton side) of the parish, rolling out from the Maidstone-Linton-Cranbrook road to the centre of the parish around the Church. There were some lands to the north (again towards Linton) and also some outlying lands to the east.

By 1841, Map 3iii, holdings to the east had been diluted somewhat, although the total acreage had increased by purchases in the west of the parish.<sup>12</sup> The Estate appears to have been buying land on the ridge which runs east-west and relinquishing land in the lower wooded areas.

By 1857, Map 3iv, the centre of the parish had been abandoned, via land exchanges with Edward Moore and Henry Hoare. The holdings to the west had been reinforced by the acquisition of Tolhurst Farm and the vastly increased holdings in the east linked by new holdings in the South of the parish along the more open flood plain of the Hammer Stream. The 1869 Rent Charge, Map 3v, shows only minimal land acquisitions by the estate, again in the east of the parish.

Thus the estate increased its holdings in the parish from just over 33% in 1814 (which may well have

---

<sup>10</sup> In terms of the total estate acreage, there appears to have been a reduction from 10,248 in 1820 to 9,469 in 1840. The acreage then increased to 12,030 in 1890 - M.E.Turner, J.V.Beckett and B.Afton, *Agricultural rent in England, 1690-1914* (1997), Appendix I, p.268.

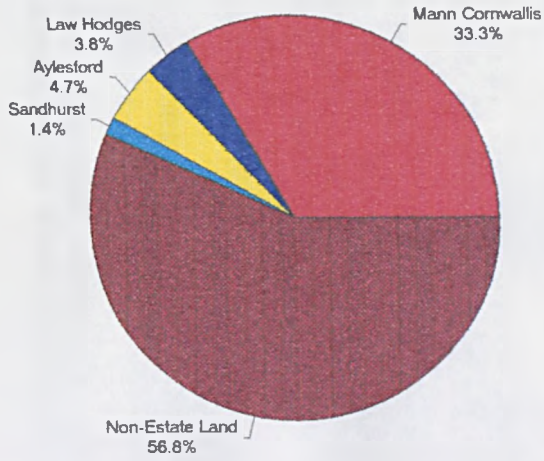
<sup>11</sup> Map 3ii shows the farm units recorded in the 1806 Survey which were recorded as part of the Estate in 1814.

<sup>12</sup> This contrasts with a reduction of 779 acres in the total acreage of the Estate between 1820 and 1840 from 10,248 to 9,469 - Turner, Beckett and Afton, *op.cit.*, p.268.

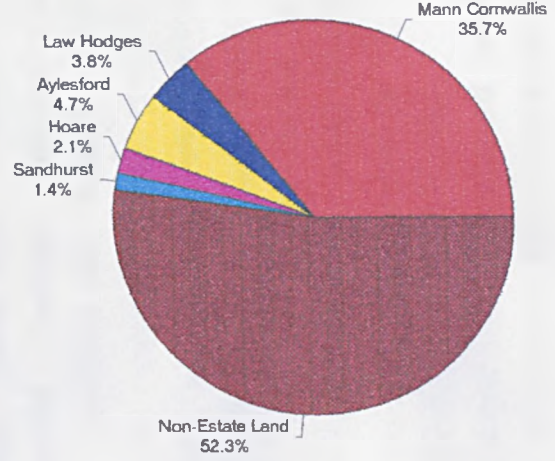


# FRITTENDEN: ESTATE FARMLANDS 1814-1869

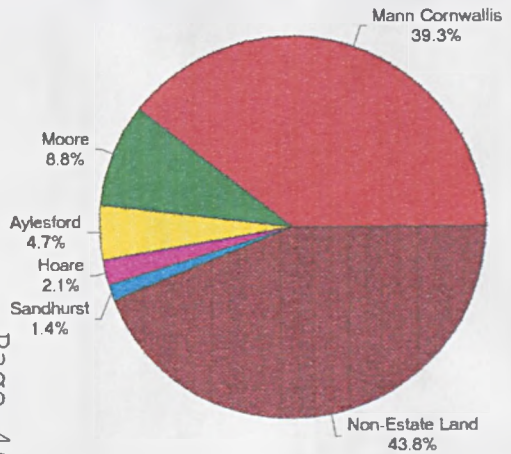
1814



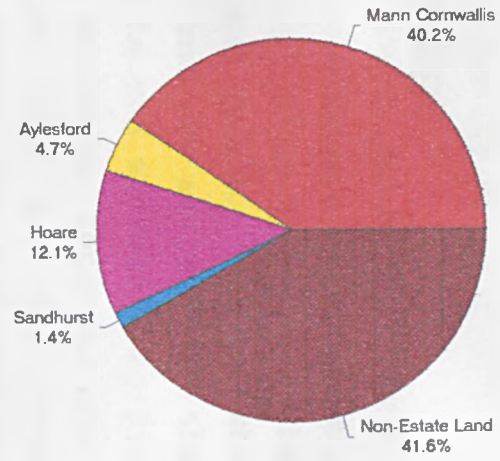
1841



1857



1869



been unchanged from 1806<sup>13</sup> though it is difficult to be sure of this) to just over 40% in 1869<sup>14</sup> (see Chart 3vi). By the end of our period of review, the estate had moved from what Thompson described as one of the 'greater gentry' to a 'great estate'.<sup>15</sup> This was exceptional in Kent if Beastall's view is accepted: he argued that in Kent, as in Surrey, Essex and Middlesex, the creation of really great estates had been prevented by London's purchasing power.<sup>16</sup>

(b) Other Significant Estates

Although dwarfed by the Mann/Cornwallis estate, there were other significant landowners at Frittenden, as shown in Chart 3vi. Chief among these was the estate established by Thomas Hallet Hodges who purchased land in the parish, and the advowson of the living, for his son. In 1801 he was succeeded by his son, Thomas Law Hodges. The advowson, together with Frittenden House, passed in 1842 to the then incumbent, the Revd. Edward Moore, who had married into the aristocracy and was the fortunate beneficiary of a family marriage settlement.<sup>17</sup> These funds enabled

---

<sup>13</sup> It is of note that Hasted records that Sir Horace Mann had owned of more than half of the parish, suggesting the possibility of some land sales during the course of the Napoleonic Wars, E.Hasted, *The History & Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, VII (2nd Edn. Reprint 1972), p.114.

<sup>14</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, 1869 *List of Payers of Rent Charge at rate of original Commutation*.

<sup>15</sup> Thompson (1963), *op.cit.*, Table IV, p.114 & Table II, p.32. Thompson categorises the Greater Gentry as roughly equating estates of 3,000 to 10,000 acres, Kent recording 10th place out of 39 counties, and the 'great estates' as in excess of this figure, Kent being 34th.

<sup>16</sup> T.W.Beastall, 'Landlords and Tenants', in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, II (1981), p.430.

<sup>17</sup> For further details of these clerical landowners, especially Edward Moore, see chapter 12.



acquisition of Mill Farm, from the Cornwallis Estate in 1859, and Brook Farm, from Messrs Usborne, and Cherry Tree Farm, from George Sullivan, in 1861. The 1857 Tithe Apportionment<sup>18</sup> records the Reverend Moore as owning 8.8% of the parish. With the acquisitions outlined above, this would have increased to 12.03%. The whole estate was sold to Mr Hoare in 1867 for £27,400, Moore having expended, from the settlement, in purchase price and costs some £23,900. Mr Hoare, who resided in London and the neighbouring parish of Staplehurst, had been establishing a significant estate over some time. He already owned land in Frittenden and by the time of the Tithe Apportionment of 1869 he had acquired the Moore Estate to own 12.2% of the parish, suggesting the sale of a small proportion (just under 2%) of the Moore holdings in the parish.

Other estates, of more than 1% of the parish acreage, were minor in comparison to those outlined above. The Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Aylesford had been bequeathed, among other property, two farms (Bubhurst 129.39 acres and Hodges 34.08 acres) by Sir William Sedley in the seventeenth century. The Trustees of Sandhurst Chapel owned one farm, Coldharbour, consisting of 49.72 acres.

In the aggregate, the estates so far discussed, including Mann/Cornwallis, had gradually pushed up their share of the parish acreage from 43.2% in 1814 to 47.7% (1841), 56.4% (1857) and 58.4% (1869) - see chart 3vi. Thus it is fair to speak of a creeping concentration of landownership through the period. Nevertheless, as late as 1869, 41.6%, or some 1,460 acres, was in the ownership of others.

---

18

F.H.S., Uncatalogued Papers, *List of Payers of Rent Charge in Novr. 1857 at rate of Original Commutatn.*



Map 3vii  
 Land comprising Peasridge Farm 1797  
 (Reproduced by kind permission of the Centre for Kentish Studies)

c) Absentee or non-resident landowners

In a sense, it would be appropriate to include some of the estate-owners already discussed under this heading. The classic example is the Mann/Cornwallis holding itself: the family had never lived in Frittenden and the proprietor in 1873, at the time of the nationwide *Return of Owners of Land*, Viscount Holmesdale, was the owner of no fewer than 15,162 acres<sup>19</sup> in the county and one of only three possessing more than 10,000 acres. Likewise, Henry Hoare was the owner of 3,287 acres in Kent.

Other land holdings were also held by persons who might, or might not have been the owners of substantial additional holdings elsewhere (we cannot readily tell, because the 1873 Return is confined to each single county); these include, Captain Tylden Pattenson of Biddenden<sup>20</sup>, Miss Cullen who lived at Folkestone and two others living yet further afield: Captain Clifton owner of 63 acres in the county is described as of Bristol, and the Revd. Thomas Curteis (51 acres in Kent), as of Ryde on the Isle of Wight.

On occasion, we have a clear indication of the snapping up of these minor land holdings by the greater estate. Map 3vii<sup>21</sup> shows the lands comprising Peasridge Farm, containing just under 92 acres, shown as in the ownership of William Radley Gent. in 1780. The obverse of this map notes that the farm had been purchased by the Hon. and Rt. Revd. The Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, James Cornwallis, in 1819.

---

<sup>19</sup> This excludes nearly 220 acres recorded in the name of Viscountess Holmesdale - W.E.Baxter, *The Domesday Book for the County of Kent* (1877), p.24.

<sup>20</sup> It is of note that Cook Tylden Pattenson married, Ann Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Law Hodges.

<sup>21</sup> C.K.S./U24/P4, *Peasridge c1797; Map of Peasridge Farm purchased by the Honorable and Right Reverend The Lord Bishop of Lichfield & Coventry 1819.*



Thus, this land also became part of the Mann/Cornwallis estate, but it was not the prelude to systematic transfers of this nature. On the contrary, it is clear that non-resident owners of land in the parish of Frittenden were in evidence throughout the period. This we can infer from poll books, as well as from the tithe apportionments. The numbers of non-residents recorded, ie voting, in the Poll Books between 1790 and 1857 normally varied between 6 and 8, rising to a peak at 8 in 1847, thereafter falling to 4 in 1859 and 3 in 1865. Only two of these non-residents lived outside of the County. One of these, Godfrey of West Hornden in Essex, is later recorded as of Marden, a nearby Wealden parish. All the other non-resident owners are resident in Wealden Parishes. The Tithe Apportionments suggest a slightly different picture. A list by the Commissioners of owners in 1837<sup>22</sup> shows 14 non-resident landowners in total. Apart from the major estates, four are from adjacent parishes, a further two from other Wealden parish.

## II) OWNER OCCUPIERS

The reports to the Board of Agriculture suggest, in general terms and with no statistics, an increase rather than a decrease of small owner-cultivators or of owner-tilled land - it is not always clear which - in the North Riding, Norfolk, Essex, Kent, Hampshire, Central Somerset, Northern Wilts, Gloucester and Shropshire. In Kent there was no great change, though some yeomen had sold out according to a witness to the Select Committee (1833).<sup>23</sup>

While no resident landowner owned more than 100

---

<sup>22</sup> PRO/TITH2/103, *Agreement for the Commutation of Tithes pursuant to 6 & 7 Wm. 4 C71, Parish of Frittenden, Weald of Kent Dated 19th Day of June 1837.*

<sup>23</sup> J.H.Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain: The Early Railway Age 1820-1850* (1930), p.104.

acres of the parish, the number and aggregate acreage of owner occupiers in Frittenden remained perhaps surprisingly stable throughout the period 1800 to 1870. The 1806<sup>24</sup> ownership is not as clear as for the other tithe data. However, the 1802 Poll Book<sup>25</sup> records that there were 16 resident freeholders and comparison with the 1806 Tithe Apportionment suggests that all continued to occupy land. The number of owner occupiers throughout the period varied between 16 and 14 and the acreage reduced from 577 to 519 acres (ie from 16.44% to 14.9%). There was also a fair degree of stability in the integrity of these owner-occupied holdings. Three holdings were split at various times during the period, Appleton and Starvenden, Little Wadd and Little Knocksbridge, and Sinksnorth<sup>26</sup>, but another nine continued in owner-occupation throughout the period.

The stability in the numbers of owner occupiers, and, for the most part, in the holdings themselves, did not of course mean that there was a high degree of continuity on the part of the individual owners, or their families. Few of the late eighteenth century owner occupying families survived as significant

---

<sup>24</sup> C.K.S./P/152/28/6, *Survey by J.Grist 1806.*

<sup>25</sup> IHR/BC25, *1802 Lathe of Scray ... Lower Division, West Kent, Frittenden, The Poll For Knights of the Shire To Represent The County of Kent.*

<sup>26</sup> We are well informed about the last mentioned case. C.K.S./U24/T/228, *particulars and Conditions of Sale of a Valuable Freehold Estate called Sinksnorth Farm, and other lands contiguous thereto, 2nd August 1853.* Following the death of Henry Burden the freehold of Sinksnorth Farm, Castle Land, Lake Land and a further 8 acres of land were sold to Ishmael Gurr for £1,110, or £16.34 per acre in August 1853. Before completion of this sale, Ishmael Gurr sold on Sinksnorth Farm to the Trustees of the Cornwallis Estate for £1,050, i.e. £ 33.48 per acre. Thus, Gurr, a wheelwright, acquired Castle Land, Lake Land and a further 8 acres (some 36.5 acres for only £60, or £1.64 per acre). However, by July 1854 he had sold Lake Land to George Price.

landowners into the late nineteenth century. If surnames are taken as a guide the Poll Books of 1734 to 1790 suggest that the families of Bates, Bunce, Burden, Collins, Daynes, Day, Evenden, Gould, Groves, Hills, Miller, Pain, Pullen, Sotherden were the owner occupiers in the parish. There were a further 12 surnames who were qualified to vote on account of landholdings in the parish but who were not resident there. At the election of the first reformed parliament in 1832, only Bates, Burden, Collins and Day remained as family surnames still enfranchised, although the Pullen family, which had married into the Orpin family, first appeared in the Poll Books after the reform, having been tenants at the time of the 1806 Tithe Apportionment.<sup>27</sup> By 1847 only the Burden, Day and Pullen families continued to be represented on the voting list, the last through the Orpin family. The last of these long standing family surnames, that of Day, disappeared from the voting list after the 1857 election although the family continued in the parish through the Pullingers.<sup>28</sup>

Two of the 14 owner occupiers also held tenancies. Edward Munk, tenant of Great Bubhurst and owner of the adjoining Link Farm, 11 acres, in 1856 and 1869, Robert Orpin, tenant and owner of part of Sinksnorth and the nearby Broadlake in 1857.

---

<sup>27</sup> Only one non-resident surname survived and there is strong evidence that this was in any case a separate family from that recorded previously.

<sup>28</sup> William and Mary Day's daughter Mary, who had married George Poile (a surgeon) had a daughter, Mary-Ann, who had inherited Union House/Beale Farm. She married William Pullinger who continued in owner occupation in 1869, dying in 1882, F.H.S., *Here Lies Frittenden: A Churchyard Survey* (1994), p.127.

### III) TENANT FARMERS

#### (a) Forms of Tenancy

The first available set of data from the Mann Estate, for 1813<sup>29</sup>, gives a valuable indication of the form of tenure under which land was held. One tenancy, held by Peter and Samuel Day at Street Farm, opposite the church, was a 21 year lease quite recently entered into, in October 1812. This land, at 18s 6d per acre was the most expensive holding of more than 25 acres of estate land in the parish. This, however, was an exceptional case, for the rest of the holdings were tenancies-at-will, probably indicating the estate's wish, during the war years, to avoid leases which would restrict its capacity to increase rents to take into account alterations in prices and farming products.<sup>30</sup> The downside of this policy, however, was that in the post-Napoleonic era the estate was unable to peg rents which consequently followed prices and profits down, as we shall see.

Lady Day 1816 saw, in the accounts under 'Expences incidental to Estates', an entry 'Paid Mr Hansard for printing 250 notices to quit 17s 6d'.<sup>31</sup> This was the first occasion at which arrears were recorded in the accounts and Mr Hansard's bill suggests that all the tenants were put on notice. It may have signalled an attempt to put the tenancies on a new footing. However, little appears to have changed subsequently, either to the tenants or the

---

<sup>29</sup> C.K.S./U24/E7, *Sir Horace Mann's Rental Michas 1813.*

<sup>30</sup> The very late date of the Day lease perhaps reflects the conclusion that, for the time being at least, rents in 1812 had reached a peak worth consolidating upon.

<sup>31</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/4, *Mr Groom in Account with James Mann Esqre for half a year's rent of his Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Lady Day 1816.*



form of tenancy.<sup>32</sup>

Tenancies-at-will were the norm not only on this estate but across the whole district, and in 1833 John Neve, a land Agent of Tenterden gave evidence that there had been no leases in this part of the country for the past 15 or 20 years and that most farms were on a year to year basis; a view reiterated by George Buckland who affirmed that

*'in this part of the country ... the majority of tenants hold on yearly tenures'*.<sup>33</sup>

Leases therefore remained quite exceptional throughout the period, which apparently did not inhibit good landlord-tenant relationships.<sup>34</sup> However, there is evidence of the granting of a lease on 11.5 acres of Burnt House land to Ishmael Gurr in the 1853 survey<sup>35</sup>. The 1875-6 survey reiterates the granting of this and also indicates that it was, exceptionally<sup>36</sup>, granted for 99 years. Notwithstanding this, the 1853 survey also shows that tenancy-at-will continued to be the standard form of tenure on the estate.

---

<sup>32</sup> For a full account of rents see Chapter 4.

<sup>33</sup> P.P. 1833 VI. *S.C. on Agriculture*, Questions 5402-4 & 5407-9; George Buckland, 'On the Farming of Kent', *J.R.A.S.E.*, VI (1845), p.297.

<sup>34</sup> At the national level, according to Beastall *on the whole good landlord-tenant relationships were the norm confirmed by the substitution in the second quarter of the nineteenth century of tenancies-at-will or annual tenancies for leases of three, five, seven or twenty-one years.*  
-T.D.W.Beastall, 'Landlords and Tenants' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.) *The Victorian Countryside*, 2 (1981), p.430.

<sup>35</sup> C.K.S./U24/E3, *Copy of Report As To The Estates In Kent & Sussex Of The Trustees Of The Late Earl Cornwallis 1853.*

<sup>36</sup> Mingay considers that leases, more usual for large and valuable properties, were by the nineteenth century commonly for terms of years, perhaps seven years or longer, and renewable by mutual agreement. G.E.Mingay (1994), *op.cit.*, p.163.

Bubhurst and Hodges Farms were also held under lease, by John and later Edward Munk, from the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Aylesford. This charitable foundation may well have had a different, possibly less commercial, attitude to their landholding than the Cornwallis Estate. The lease on these farms was for 14 years at the yearly rent of £135, with covenants for good husbandry.<sup>37</sup> The rent per acre of 19s 6d compares with the 18s 6d per acre of the above-mentioned Day lease of Street farm from the Mann/Cornwallis estate, the most expensive land on that estate. In the event, that lease could not be sustained by the tenants and was taken back by James Mann in 1822, with the rental on the holding reduced by 40%.<sup>38</sup>

Most cottages, too, were let by the Cornwallis Estate along with farms to enable the farmers to house their workmen in close proximity to their work. In addition there is some evidence that non-estate landowners also leased cottages to tenants. The sale details of Henry Burden's land after his death in 1853 indicates that a cottage and garden, amounting to 0.41 acres, had been let on a lease of 20 years at the rate of £2 6s per year.<sup>39</sup>

(b) Turnover of Tenants

To what extent did the arrangements for farm tenancies imply insecurity, or a rapid turnover among

---

<sup>37</sup> P.P.1837, XXIII, *The Reports of the Commissioners Appointed In Pursuance Of Various Acts Of Parliament To Enquire Concerning Charities In England And Wales Relating to The County Of Kent 1819-1837.*

<sup>38</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/17, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1822.*

<sup>39</sup> C.K.S/U24/T/228, *Particulars and Conditions of Sale of a Valuable Freehold Estate, called Sinksnorth Farm, and Other Lands Contiguous Thereto, (Late belonging to, and occupied by Mr HENRY BURDEN, deceased,) to be Sold By Auction ... Tuesday, 2nd day of August, 1853.*

the tenantry? To judge from Lord Ernle's remarks about the period 1813-37, this was a common feature of these years, which he viewed as characterised by agricultural depression:

*'The men who survived the struggle were rarely the old owners or the old occupiers'.<sup>40</sup>*

On the other hand, Buckland at the time took a different view. Notwithstanding yearly tenures, he continued,

*'on many of the large estates particularly, we find farms descending from father to son, and in some cases through several generations'.<sup>41</sup>*

Among modern writers, Beastall (whose remarks were not confined, of course, to Kent), sees a

*'continuity of association with the estate if not occupation of the same holding [which] was achieved by a system of mutual respect, relatively low rents and tenancies at will'.<sup>42</sup>*

while Mingay writes that

*Frequently, a small tenant was succeeded by his son as a matter of course, or even by his widow or daughter. As a result, although small farms were usually let merely on an annual agreement or 'at will' (six months' notice), it was not uncommon for them to remain in the hands of the same families over very long periods, even for a century or more.<sup>43</sup>*

In the case of Frittenden, the evidence on continuity of occupation accords much more closely with the picture drawn by Buckland and by Beastall, rather than with Lord Ernle's impression. On the

---

<sup>40</sup> The Rt. Hon. Lord Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present* (4th Edn. 1927), p.319.

<sup>41</sup> Buckland, *op.cit.*, pp.296-7.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p.432.

<sup>43</sup> Although Mingay suggests a definition of large as 2,000 to 3,000 acres, his comments seem just as appropriate for the differentiation between the larger and smaller farms on this estate - Mingay (1994), *op.cit.*, p.37.

Mann/Cornwallis Estate, of the 15 farming tenants in 1813, 6 were either still in occupation in 1837 or had been succeeded in the tenancy by their sons, who it must be assumed would also have inherited their fathers debts and problems. If the base date is adjusted to 1816, a further two farms can be included and if 1821 is used as the base year, possibly the height of the immediate post war depression, the number increases by a further farm. Thus 40% of the farm tenants on the Mann/Cornwallis Estate in 1813, rising to 60% of those farming at Lady Day 1821, survived the worst years of this agricultural depression. That is not to say that they did not experience extreme difficulties, as indeed the data on individual farms would indicate. While there is evidence that some farms were difficult to tenant when vacated, the occasions when the Estate took them in hand were rare and never extended beyond one rental period.

Nevertheless, the disappearance from the rent rolls of some tenants was inevitable, and could be occasioned by a variety of factors, and obviously gave scope for the appearance of new men, among these George Price, originally from Cranbrook and one of the few individuals to appear in each of the census records from 1841 to 1891. In 1841 he was shown as a married agricultural labourer. By 1851 he was a grocer, presumably at Manchester House, and Innkeeper, at the adjacent Bell Inn. In 1861 he was described as only a grocer and by 1871 a Farmer of 17 acres at Hunt Farm [now Lake House] employing one man.

#### IV) NUMBER AND SIZES OF FARMS

In this section, we seek to assess the number and sizes of holdings in Frittenden, regardless of whether they were owner occupied or tenanted. The objective is to consider whether the aggregate number of

individual farms was in decline as a result of economic or institutional pressures; or whether, as it is increasingly fashionable to argue, they were maintained through the period.<sup>44</sup>

The number of farmers can be deduced from either the Tithe Apportionment or the Census, which, at first blush, appear to give very different results. The first source is more comprehensive than the second with more occupiers captured by the data. However, the acreages recorded (which are not given before the 1851 Census) are restricted to those within the confines of the parish of Frittenden. The residence of the occupier is not necessarily recorded and might be outside the parish. The census on the other hand records the occupation and acreage of the individual farmers residing in the parish, wherever the land is located. The acreage reported by farmers in the Census is thus blind to the parish and Census boundary. The acreages reported should therefore be equal to or exceed those recorded in tithe documents, which relate only to the parish. Similarly, the Census ignores farmers with holdings in the parish but who, for the purpose of the Census, live outside the parish/census boundary.

The Census data is represented in Table 3viii. This provides a picture of stability with respect to the total numbers of farmers. Their stated acreages tended to increase particularly between 1861 and 1871.

---

44

See, e.g. J.V.Beckett, 'The Decline of the Small Landowner in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England: Some Regional Considerations', *A.H.R.*, 30 (1982), pp.97-111; M.Reed, 'The Peasantry of Nineteenth Century England: a Neglected Class?', *History Workshop Journal*, 18 (1984), pp.53-76.

**Number of Farmers Recorded In  
The Census By Size Of Holding**

Farmer <sup>45</sup> by Acreage	Census Year			
	1841	51	61	71
1 <5		1	1	1
Av. acreage		3	3	3
5 <10		1	1	1
Av. acreage		8	10	8
10 <20		5	5	7
Av. acreage		11.8	15.4	15.7
20 <50		10	14	9
Av. acreage		31.6	30.5	27.2
50 <100		8	9	5
Av. acreage		60.5	64.1	66.8
100 <200		10	8	12
Av. acreage		114.2	140.7	122.0
200+		3	2	5
Av. acreage		203.3	258.5	225.0
Unclassified			3	1
Total	42	38	43	41
Av. acreage		69.0	63.6	80.2

**Table 3viii**

The Tithe data shows a different pattern of occupancy of land and is represented in Table 3ix. This suggests that while the numbers of occupiers was similar at the beginning and end of the period 1806-1869, there had been a small growth in their number (from 59 to 66) in the period which had seen the move to arable in the parish, the 35 years between 1806 and 1841. The movements within the categories suggests that in this period the middle range of farmer, ie those farming between 20 and 50 acres<sup>46</sup>, came under pressure with the categories above and below showing

<sup>45</sup> Higgs notes that in 1841 comparatively few instructions were given to enumerators to assist in the completion of the occupations information on the census form. In 1851 the term farmer was to be applied only to the occupier of the land. However, the instructions given failed to define the term 'farmer' - E.Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census* (1989), pp.86-7.

<sup>46</sup> Remembering, of course, that tithe data would omit lands held outside the parish.

increases. The lower category, from 10-20, acres saw

**Numbers of Farmers Recorded In  
Tithe Apportionment By Size Of Holding**

Occupier by Acreage <sup>47</sup>	Tithe Year			
	1806	41	57	69
1 <5	4	7	5	7
Av. acres	2.2	3.1	2.9	2.7
5 <10	1	4	4	2
Av. acres	8.2	7.2	6.1	6.8
10 <20	11	13	11	16
Av. acres	13.3	14.9	14.7	15.7
20 <50	20	14	20	13
Av. acres	33.0	33.9	34.7	31.6
50 <100	17	19	14	11
Av. acres	72.4	65.1	64.6	62.9
100 <200	6	9	7	10
Av. acres	125.7	115.9	124.6	118.9
200+	-	-	1	-
Av. acres			247.0	
Total	59	66	62	59
Av. acres	49.9	44.9	47.2	43.7

**Table 3ix**

an increase in both number and average size, while the higher category, 50-100 acres, saw its peak in numeric terms (19) although a reduction in the average acreage. The ensuing period, 1841-57, saw the position reversing. These 16 years saw the middle range farmers re-establish their numbers (20) and increase the average size of holding to a peak of 34.7 acres. The category above and below both showed reductions in their numbers, those in the 10-20 acres reducing to their former numbers but maintaining the higher average size, while those in the 50-100 acres category reducing in both numbers and average

<sup>47</sup>

The assumption is that any occupier of more than 1 acre could be described as either a farmer or at least a smallholder/nurseryman.



acreage.<sup>48</sup> The final period again saw the diminution of the position of the middle range farmer where the average acreage continued to fall. Noticeably, the smaller categories of farmer were increasing in number and average size of holding.

In terms of acreage, the period 1806-1869 saw the numbers of smaller holdings, under twenty acres, increased from 16 to 25, while the holdings of 20-100 acres was reduced from 43 to 34 with only the larger category, 100-200 acres, increasing in number. The period under review therefore closed with identical numbers of farmers practising in the parish.<sup>49</sup> Notwithstanding the changes apparent in the intervening years, the farmer of 20-50 acres remained the most numerous until the 1869 returns, when the largest by number was the farmer of 10-20 acres. This latter category had also shown the greatest numeric increase, 6 or some 10%, of any category during the whole period. The answer to the question posed at the beginning of the section is, therefore, that there was no significant overall change in the numbers described (or describing themselves) as farmers; but there is some evidence of a tendency for farms to grow in size, late in the period, and mainly at the expense of those in the middling range of 20-100 acres.<sup>50</sup> The two

---

<sup>48</sup> The holding of over 200 acres recorded in this apportionment was the accumulated holding of Edward Moore who, although shown as the occupier, was unlikely to have been farming the land himself.

<sup>49</sup> In this respect at least the Tithe data and the census data agree.

<sup>50</sup> B. Wojciechowska-Kibble, *Migration and the rural labour market: Kent 1841-71*, (unpublished PhD thesis University of Kent at Canterbury, 1984), has also found, for Brenchley (also in the Weald), a noticeable reduction in the numbers of 20-100 acre families. There, they fell (as a percentage of all landholders) from 53% to 41%, 1851-71; see also B. Wojciechowska, 'Brenchley: A Study of Migratory Movements In A Mid-Nineteenth Century Rural Parish' in D. Mills &

sources appear to agree on this point.

#### V) GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS OF FARMERS AT FRITTENDEN

An interesting question is the geographical origins of those who occupied holdings (whether as owners or tenants) in Frittenden. It becomes answerable - to a degree - from the point where birthplace data becomes available in the mid-nineteenth century censuses.<sup>51</sup> At least one of these tenants was born at a great distance. This was Robert Gardiner, hailing from Lincolnshire<sup>52</sup>, and Edward Moore's House Steward at the Rectory at the same time as farming 65 acres of land at the census of 1851. He was employing 5 men at this time. By 1861 he had left the employ of Edward Moore and was described as a farmer of 140 acres at Bank Farm (Buckhurst Farm), part of the Cornwallis Estate. The 1871 census shows Gardiner still at Buckhurst but by this time employing 9 men. Two more farmers, in 1841, had been born in Sussex and one in London<sup>53</sup>, and the 1861 census includes another, Frederick Jenner, born in Spitalfields.

These men were, however, exceptions to the rule, for overwhelmingly the occupier was born within Kent and indeed Frittenden itself was the birth place of

---

K.Schürer, *Local Communities In The Victorian Census Enumerators Books* (1996), pp.263.

<sup>51</sup> It should be borne in mind that the censuses do not include intermediate moves; by comparing birth place with residence at the time of the count, we can only infer what is known as 'lifetime' migration.

<sup>52</sup> Or at least, from those parts. The 1851 and 1861 censuses give his birth place as Beverly in Lincolnshire (there is no such place and the correct location is more probably, Beverley in East Yorkshire); and as 'Derham in Norfolk', 1871.

<sup>53</sup> The 1841 census records only county of birth. However, the three mentioned were still present ten years later, when birthplaces were given in detail.

around half of them, as shown in Table 3x. Perhaps this was a positive feature: it certainly seems to have been regarded as such by contemporaries, for Buckland observed in 1845, that

*it is generally found that those who have been brought up to farming in the Weald succeed much better than strangers.*<sup>54</sup>

**Origin of Occupiers identifiable from census**

	1841 <sup>55</sup>	1851	1861	1871
No. of Occupiers	38	36	36	31
-from Kent	35	33	31	29
-o/w Frittenden	17	20	18	16
- % of total	44.7%	55.6%	50%	51.6%

**Table 3x**

Frittenden, from what has been said, is not easy to categorize, from the angle of landownership and landholding. There was one major owner, the Mann/Cornwallis estate, but of the non-resident kind; and a handful of second-tier, much smaller estate owners. There remained, throughout the period, a sizeable number of freehold owner-occupiers, and for much of the period the numbers of small farmers were upheld.<sup>56</sup> Quite clearly, Frittenden was not a classic 'close' parish, nor was it the polar opposite of this, a well-defined 'open' parish.<sup>57</sup> Everitt has used *The*

<sup>54</sup> Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.285.

<sup>55</sup> The Frittenden farmers shown here are those who are recorded as such in the 1851 Census.

<sup>56</sup> What is to be regarded as 'small' is a moot point. Holderness (1981), *op.cit.*, p.228, thinks in terms of holdings of under 50 acres, whereas Mingay (1994), *op.cit.*, p.144, envisages 100-300 acres as a 'medium sized farm', thereby implying that anything under 100 acres was small. Either way, the statement above holds good for Frittenden (see Table 3viii).

<sup>57</sup> This kind of clear-cut distinction, once thought to be extremely helpful one, appears to be moving out of favour, see especially S.Banks, 'Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model? A new look at

*Imperial Gazetteer* published in 1870 to characterize the division of property in Kent. The county as a whole showed 188 parishes (average acreage 1,811) 'in a few hands', while the 54 characterized as 'subdivided', and the 98 as 'much subdivided', showed much greater average acreages (3,514 and 4,253 respectively). On the 'Weald and Forest' region of his devising, only 19% of parishes were 'in few hands' and 81% either 'subdivided' or 'much subdivided'.<sup>58</sup> Reference to the original source places Frittenden in the much subdivided category.<sup>59</sup> In this respect, therefore, Frittenden, although with only 3,318 acres, was typical of the region of which it formed a part.

---

'open' and 'close' parishes', *ECHR.*, XLI (1988), 1, pp.51-73.

<sup>58</sup> A. Everitt, *The Pattern of Rural Dissent: the Nineteenth Century* (1972), pp.86 & 88: quoted in Mills, *Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth Century England* (1980), p.89.

<sup>59</sup> J.M.Wilson, *The Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales*, I (N.D. c1868), p.740.

## CHAPTER 4

### RENTS: A GUIDE TO FARMING PROSPERITY

For all the expertise that went into farming, and into commentary upon farming, the question of rent levels - however, central it may have been to the business calculations of individual farmers - remained largely unanswered, and sometimes unasked among contemporary observers, according to Turner, Beckett and Afton. The authors noted that attempts to collect rental data were frequently thwarted by the reluctance of farmers to make the information publicly available. Since it was only in the later nineteenth century that the government made any real attempt to collect rental data on a systematic basis the consequence was that contemporaries knew relatively little about rent levels.<sup>1</sup> Using a wide range of estate papers (rather than farmers' records), they have recently produced a new index which, for the nineteenth century, largely confirms existing impressions although on a much sounder footing than was available prior to earlier generations of historians. It shows that, nationally, from about 1790, until a peak in about 1810 to 1815, rents nearly trebled, coinciding with a period of serious and sustained inflation. From 1815 to 1850, apart from the fall in the immediate aftermath of the French wars, rents remained roughly level. From 1850 to c1880 rents increased by about 30% in a remarkably steady fashion.<sup>2</sup>

In Kent, if we are to trust a contemporary impression recorded by Boys, author of the *General View of the Agriculture of Kent*, the average level for

---

<sup>1</sup> M.E.Turner, J.V.Beckett & B.Afton, *Agricultural rent in England, 1690-1914* (1997), pp.37 & 49. Their analysis includes data for the Mann/Cornwallis Estate.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p.150 and Chart 4i.

the county in 1794 was 15s per acre.<sup>3</sup> This figure, if accurate, would put Kent somewhat above the national average figure for the same year (just above 12s, according to Turner, Beckett and Afton<sup>4</sup>). During the war years, it is reasonable to assume that rent levels would have moved upwards to some extent, in line with the national experience, and in the case of one estate at least, this tendency has been well documented: on the north Kent estates of Lord Darnley, in a series of farms purchased in 1790-3 (eleven of them), increases averaged 1.5% per annum (1793-99), 2.0% (1800-4) and 13.5% (1805-11); and on farms acquired a little earlier (in 1788), by 1.6% per annum (1788-99), 1.8% (1800-4) and 5.0% (1805-11).<sup>5</sup>

Clearly, the rent increases of the war years were variable from one estate, and even from one farm to the next, as F.M.L.Thompson has pointed out.<sup>6</sup> And county averages can take us only so far; in the Weald of Kent, as we shall see, rent levels, though no doubt subject to some wartime inflation, remained characteristically lower than in the more favourable districts of the county and on the basis of rent per acre, stood significantly below those ruling in arable

---

<sup>3</sup> John Boys, *General View Of The Agriculture Of The County of Kent* (1796), p.34, quoted in W.Marshall, *The Review and Abstract of the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture* (1968 reprint), p.430. The rather tentative nature of his estimate is clear from his suggestion that the figure 'may not be very wide of the mark'.

<sup>4</sup> Turner, Beckett & Afton, *op.cit.*, p.321.

<sup>5</sup> H.G.Hunt, 'Agricultural Rent in South-East England, 1788-1825', *A.H.R.*, VII (1959), pp.99-100.

<sup>6</sup> F.M.L.Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1971), pp.217-20, who (while stressing great variation between individual estates and farms) puts the average rent increase at around 90% for the war years. See also G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Agrarian History in England and Wales*, VI (1989), pp.621-2.

England and Wales. This remained true across most of the period examined. However, this statement by no means exhausts the interest of the subject. It is important to establish the extent to which adjustments were made reflecting the vicissitudes of agricultural prosperity, including estate policies towards rent arrears; and, so far as possible, to trace the course of rents other than those applying to agricultural holdings.

Our chief source of evidence for this purpose is the Rent Books of the Mann/Cornwallis Estate which give some limited indications for 1784 and 1787, and form a continuous and comparable series from 1814-50. This estate, as we have seen, occupied some 1,200 acres, or almost 35% of the 3,500 acres of the Parish of Frittenden in 1813, and, in turn, the Frittenden holdings accounted for about 12.5% of the Estate's total size. Data after 1850 is not so comprehensive as for 1813-50. It is derived from two surveys, one of them carried out in 1853 at the decease of Earl Cornwallis<sup>7</sup> and the second in 1875, on the instructions of Lord Holmesdale.<sup>8</sup> Otherwise, the only available information on rents is from the Parliamentary enquiry on Charities in Kent 1819-1837 which gave details of tenancies on the Aylesford Hospital holdings, Great Bubhurst and Hodges Farms, and the Idenden Charity's holding now known as Charity Farm.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> C.K.S./U24/E3, *Copy of Report As To The Estates In Kent & Sussex Of The Trustees Of The Late Earl Cornwallis 1853* by Tho. Neve & Sons Benenden, May 1853.

<sup>8</sup> C.K.S./U24/E4, *Report Upon and Rental Valuation of the Linton, Egerton and Sissinghurst Estates, situate in the County of Kent, the property of The Right Honble Viscount and Viscountess Holmesdale 1875-6*, p.VIII.

<sup>9</sup> P.P.1837, XXIII, *The Reports of the Commissioners Appointed In Pursuance Of Various Acts Of Parliament To Enquire Concerning Charities In England And Wales Relating to The County Of Kent 1819-1837*.



Of course, it is a truism to state that the rent capable of being drawn from a given area of land varied not only in accordance with its inherent productivity, but with the prices of agricultural products and harvest yields (of every kind). This said, these relationships were never simple. E.L.Jones has made the point that adverse weather conditions may or may not lead to severe financial consequences, depending on the proportion of output affected and the extent to which scarcity prices could compensate; that a particular set of weather conditions might be adverse for one branch of farm production but favour another ('A mixed farm is its own insurance against the hand of providence'); and in particular, warns against too ready an acceptance of the simple equation; bad weather = bad harvest = high grain prices = downswing in economic activity.<sup>10</sup> These preliminary considerations need to be borne in mind in interpreting the evidence from Frittenden, which lay in a district of mixed farming rather than being given over especially to the growing of cereals.

---

10

E.L.Jones, *Seasons And Prices. The Role of the Weather in English Agricultural History* (1964), pp.48,49 & 58-9.

## (I) THE MOVEMENT OF RENTS AND THE QUESTION OF ARREARS

### a) The War Years and After, to 1837

Data for the period of the wars with France is particularly problematic. However, rentals for the Mann/Cornwallis Estate recorded for 1784 and 1785<sup>11</sup> may give some indication of the scale of rent increases experienced between those dates and 1813. Where the same surnames appear in the rent books, and excluding outriding movements, there appears to have been increases in rentals of between 33.3% and 90% with most between 40% and 60%.<sup>12</sup> These were significantly lower than suggested by Turner, Beckett and Afton<sup>13</sup> and more in line with the figure espoused by Chambers and Mingay<sup>14</sup>. The 1784-5 rentals also disclose some probable Frittenden tenants 6 months in arrears and in the case of William Barham 12 months.

Lord Ernle, as is well known, characterised the whole of the period 1813-37 as one of acute and general agricultural depression, even making the point, in passing, that

*there was scarcely a solvent tenant in the Wealds of Sussex and Kent.*<sup>15</sup>

Modern historians are far less confident in making such sweeping judgements, arguing instead that livestock farmers were less seriously affected and

---

<sup>11</sup> C.K.S./U24/A1, *Half Year Rents Rec'd on behalf of Sir Horace Mann, 1784 and 1785.*

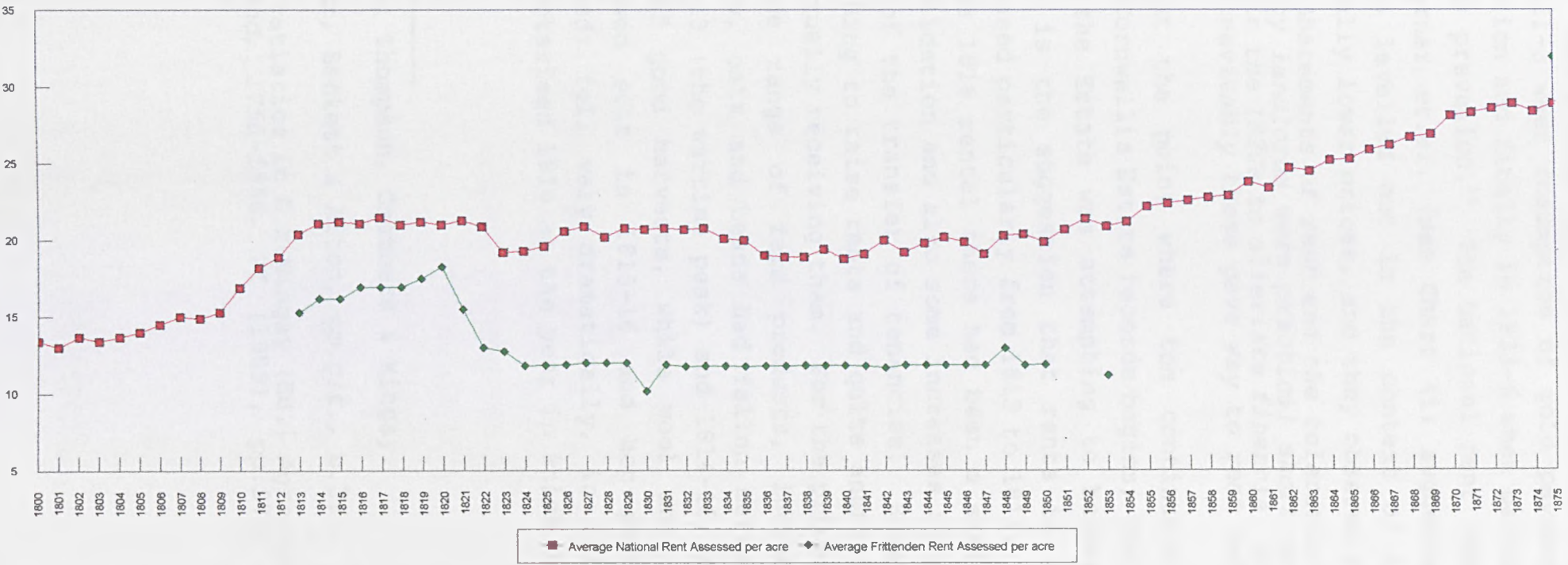
<sup>12</sup> This assumes that these tenancies were in Frittenden, were passed on to descendants and were unchanged in their acreage.

<sup>13</sup> They estimate that during the twenty-year duration of the French wars rents increased nearly threefold - Turner, Beckett and Afton, *op.cit.*, p.237.

<sup>14</sup> J.D.Chambers & G.E.Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880* (1966), p.118.

<sup>15</sup> Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present* (4th Edn. 1927), p.324.

### Average Assessed Rentals Per Acre



National Data from Turner, Beckett & Afton 'Agricultural rent in England 1690-1914', Appendix 2, pp.316-7  
 Frittenden data taken from C.K.S./J24/A21-43

that, so far as arable farmers were concerned, they were affected by a series of shorter-term crises, first when prices fell in 1814-15, the most damaging in 1821-3 when resumption of gold payments produced deflation and finally in 1833-6 when particularly low prices prevailed.<sup>16</sup> The national rent index produced by Turner *et.al.* (see Chart 4i) suggests that rent levels levelled out in the context of a regime of generally lower prices, and they observe that

*Abatements of rent and the toleration of arrears by landlords were practical short-term remedies in the 1820s to alleviate financial distress, but inevitably these gave way to rent reductions.*<sup>17</sup>

At the point where the continuous series of Mann/Cornwallis Estate records begins, there are signs that the Estate was attempting to bolster rentals. There is the suggestion that rents in a few cases increased particularly from 1813 to 1814. By the time of the 1816 rental there had been a small amount of consolidation and also some increases in rents at the time of the transfer of tenancies. However, it was one thing to raise rents and quite another to be sure of actually receiving them. For the prices fetched by a wide range of farm products, including wheat, barley, oats and beans had fallen markedly between 1811-13 (the wartime peak) and 1814-15, reflecting a run of good harvests, while wool and meat prices followed suit in 1815-16 and hop production (as excised) fell very dramatically, in 1816.<sup>18</sup> Ernle characterised 1816 as the year in which depression

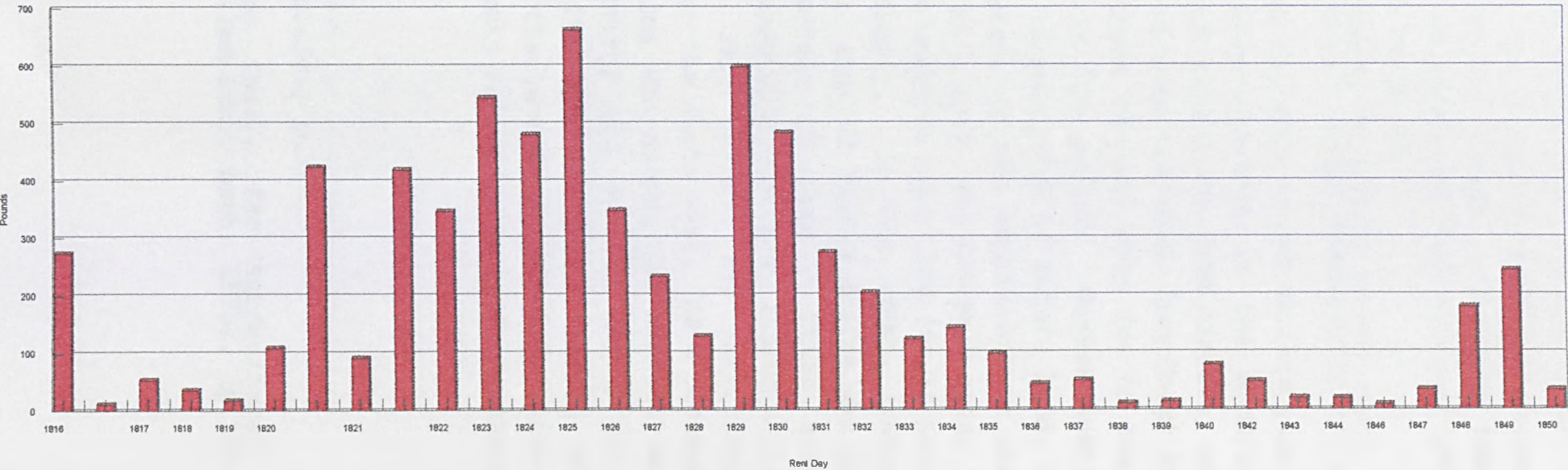
---

<sup>16</sup> Jones, Thompson, Chambers & Mingay.

<sup>17</sup> Turner, Beckett & Afton, *op.cit.*, p.241.

<sup>18</sup> See statistics in G.E.Mingay (Ed.) *Agrarian History of England, 1750-1850*, VI (1989), pp.975, 992, 999 & 1056.

Mann Cornwallis Estate: Frittenden Arrears 1813-1850



Data taken from C.K.S./J24/A2/1-43, Mann/Cornwallis Estate Papers



spread to mixed and grass farms<sup>19</sup> and the Board of Agriculture put in hand a general, county by county enquiry into agrarian distress, published under the title, *The Agricultural State of the Kingdom*, 1816. This enquiry, so far as Kent was concerned, showed a mixed picture, though John Boys remarked on 'the scarcity of money and bad markets' and John Neve of Tenterden wrote of

*a general inability to pay rent, government and parochial taxes, tradesmen's bills etc.*<sup>20</sup>

Significantly, it was in this year that the first arrears were recorded in the Mann/Cornwallis Rent Books, with Frittenden farm arrears, at Lady Day 1816 standing at some £283-10s, [See Graph 4ii]. Fifty per cent of these arrears were due to two of the larger holdings in the parish. Messrs Austin and Co, who held the largest area of estate land, were in arrears to the extent of £65, equivalent to six months rental on Brick Kiln Farm, and probably arose from the taking up of the lease at this time [it is possible that this was a 'fine']. In the event, however - with one exception, that of Thomas Beslee who occupied several small parcels of land - these arrears had been extinguished by Michaelmas, indicating that the income from the 1816 harvest was sufficient to meet the rental for the whole year. As a consequence of a wet, cold spring and summer the harvest was deficient in both quantity and quality and grain prices soared towards the end of 1816, (though not, of course, reaching the levels of 1811-13), while there was also a noteworthy recovery, in 1817, in the prices achieved

---

<sup>19</sup> Ernle, *op.cit.*, p.323.

<sup>20</sup> G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Agricultural State of the Kingdom* (2nd Edn., Bath, 1970), pp.128 & 134.

for wool.<sup>21</sup> Through the years 1817-19 the price variations affecting English agriculturalists were relatively minor, the next crisis occurring in 1820 which heralded a massive collapse in grain prices through 1820-22, accompanied by wool, and meat.<sup>22</sup> At Frittenden, arrears re-emerged by Michaelmas 1820, and continued beyond 1823 to build to a peak at Lady Day 1825 followed by a decline to Michaelmas 1828 at which time the downturn began to merge with the beginnings of Thompson's 1833 crisis (see Graph 4ii).

That 1820 was seen as exceptional is testified by a separate letter from the Agent, Mr Groom, to James Mann highlighting the arrears incurred in the Cranbrook District. This stated that explanation of the arrears

*by letter is impossible - I trust that in most of the cases except the old only there will be no loss, but only delay of payment - The distress here surpasses any thing I could have imagined.*<sup>23</sup>

Total arrears in the District amounted to £1,268-13-10 of which Frittenden accounted for some £282, more than 20% of the total compared with only 12% of the land, having risen from £110 at Lady Day that year. Most rentals in the parish were about 3 months in arrears. However, some of the larger farms were 6 months in

---

<sup>21</sup> Jones (1964), *op.cit.*, p 160; G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *Agrarian History of England*, VI (1989), pp.980 & 992. Note that meat prices, in accordance with Jones's views fell slightly in 1816-17 and 1817-18, perhaps due to reduced consumer demand.

<sup>22</sup> Jones (1964), *op.cit.*, p.160; and also in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *Agrarian History of England*, VI (1989), pp.980 & 992. The grain harvests of 1820 and 1822 were described by Tooke and by Clarke, as 'one of the finest ever known in England' and 'quality universally good'. See T.H.Baker, *Records of the Seasons, Prices of Agricultural Produce and Phenomena Observed in the British Isles* (1911), p.257.

<sup>23</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/13, *Enclosed note from W Groom to James Mann Esq dated Cranbrook 9 Decr 1820.*

arrears, eg Thomas Hope, John Sampson and William Taylor, while the largest farmers, Messrs Austin & Co, who farmed Brick Kiln Farm in Frittenden with the Sissinghurst Castle Farm (the largest single holding), were 18 months in arrears in respect of their Frittenden holding.

In conjunction with a significant amelioration in the arrears, to £92, Lady Day 1821 saw a general reduction in rentals on the Estate. The reduction was not on a percentage but on a farm by farm basis with the figure ranging from £18 for Daniel and Joseph Husmar's 159.5 acres (mostly situated outside of the parish of Frittenden), or 27d per acre, to £1-11-0 for Mrs Pullen's 30 acres, some 12.4d an acre. The exception to this was an apparent attempt to increase the rental obtained from Mrs Cruthall's small holding, which was to become Church Farm, from £15-10-0 to £28-10-0. This proved to be unsuccessful. William Croucher, at Oak Tree, one of two tenants in arrears, showed an increase in indebtedness to £42. The other debtors were the Day brothers, the only leaseholders, who were six months in arrears at Lady Day.

By Michaelmas 1821 arrears were once again climbing with over £382, equivalent to 73% of the rental for the parish of some £522. The rent demanded by the estate saw another general bout of reductions, only six months after the previous round. The largest reduction was that for Mrs Cruthall, 61% to £11 but this was largely the unravelling of the previous attempt to increase the rental on this holding. Even allowing for this, the reduction to £11 represented a cut of 29% while most other reductions were in the 10% to 14% band. The only significant exception to this was the leaseholders, Peter and Samuel Day, at Street Farm, who were unable to secure any relief on their rent charge and were by now one year's rent in arrears.

While arrears were slightly reduced at Lady Day 1822, at £340 they now stood at 83% of the reduced total rental income of £408 for the parish. A further round of rent reductions was recorded. On this occasion most reductions were in the order of 22%-25%. The main exception again being at Street Farm where George Day now took over the tenancy from Peter and Samuel, secured a reduction of 40% in the rental to £30 for the 108 acres (a rental of only 5s 6d an acre) and gave up the lease to Mr Mann. However, George is recorded as being in arrears to the extent of £50 and continued in arrears until Michaelmas 1834, some 12 years later. Another exception was the reversal of the rent reduction of £2 on Beale Farm previously granted to William Dann, despite Dann being £13 in arrears. Smaller holdings tended to attract a smaller reduction in rental. William Croucher's arrears were growing and now stood at £93 on a half yearly rental of £28. The only other arrear of over 1 year was in respect of David Hope, £80 on a rental of £35.

Thus, between Michaelmas 1820 and Lady Day 1822, rents on estate farms in the parish were reduced by between 20% and 45.7%, indeed of the 15 tenant farmers, 10 had reductions of more than 30%. Total rental income to the Estate from the parish was reduced from £760 to £408, a reduction of over 46%. Thompson acknowledges that

*rent reductions varied very much from estate to estate though temporary remissions at least, of the order of 10 to 20 per cent, were very general in 1821-3.<sup>24</sup>*

Frittenden's reductions not only exceeded this level but were permanent in nature, resisting later attempts to re-establish earlier, higher levels.

Arrears on Lady Day 1823 had risen to £560-16s, 135% of the annual rental from the parish. Eight

tenants were now six months or more in arrears. William Croucher was 2 years in arrears and David Hope 20 months. They had reduced only slightly by Lady Day 1824, to £526, still more than the expected annual income from the parish. William Croucher's arrears now reached their peak of £145, more than 2.5 years' rental, while David Hope owed £174, almost 2.5 years' rent. These two tenants accounted for nearly 61% of the arrears in the parish. By Lady Day 1825, William Croucher had managed to stabilise his arrears at £145 but David Hope was now in debt to the estate to the extent of £244, almost 3.5 years' rent. Thomas Hope was also now becoming a significant debtor with arrears of £108-10-0, nearly 18 months' rent. These three accounted for 72% of the estate's arrears in the parish, and overall arrears now amounted to £688, representing 177% of the annual rental income from the parish (see Graph 4ii). The estate does not appear to have collected rent for three rental periods until Michaelmas 1826.<sup>25</sup> Arrears by then had fallen to just below the annual rental from the parish to stand at £377 (97%), although there were three new tenants recording arrears. 1827 saw arrears continue to decrease with some £255 outstanding at Michaelmas, but, against the background of poor harvests accompanied by rising wheat prices (accompanied, it would seem, by rising imports which limited the compensatory effect), and, certainly depressed prices for wool, meat and a remarkably bad year for hops, 1829 turned out to be a very bad year in agriculture.<sup>26</sup>

---

25

This in effect meant that the Estate made a interest free loan to its tenants at a period of extreme economic hardship for them, thereby providing them with working capital sufficient to allow them to work through their problems.

26

Jones (1964), *op,cit.*, pp.164-5; G.E.Mingay (Ed.) *Agrarian History of England*, VI (1989), pp.975, 993, 1017 & 1057.

At Frittenden, Michaelmas 1829 saw an abrupt increase in arrears of £418 to £548 (130% of the annual income from the parish).<sup>27</sup> William Croucher's arrears showed an increase, to £85 or about 18 months' rent. Other large debtors were Joseph Judge (successor to David Hope) £80, Thomas Hope £75 and George Day £59-10s, each being about one year in arrears. Most other farms were more than 6 months in arrears, and in that year levels of arrears increased almost to the level of those of 1825.

Through the remaining eight years considered here, levels of arrears tended to subside gently (see Graph 4ii), and in one case, that of William Dann of Beale Farm, there was an increase at Lady Day 1830 from £13 to £20-10s. However, Joseph Judge's rent for Hungerden Farm was reduced by five pounds to £35, ie to the level which the previous tenant had been paying in 1826. Moreover, Michaelmas 1830 saw a 30% allowance on rent to all the farming tenants in the parish. The allowances accounted for £126-10-0 of a total income from the parish of £414. It is a reasonable assumption that this 'allowance', which was made to the whole estate, was an attempt to placate tenants during the period of the 'Swing Riots'.<sup>28</sup> This interpretation is reinforced by an entry in the accounts which records "William Alchin an allowance for watching agst incendiaries £2". Notwithstanding

---

<sup>27</sup> Cobbett claimed in May 1829 that farmers had then not been able to pay more than 60%, on average, of their Lady Day rents, and that trade in general was in a wretched state - G.E.Mingay, 'Rural war': the life and times of Captain Swing' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Unquiet Countryside* (1989), p.43.

<sup>28</sup> In the week running up to rent day on 12 October there were incidents of breaking threshing machines at Hawkhurst, Goudhurst and Headcorn. The first machine breakers were sentenced 22/10/1830 - E.J.Hobsbawm & G.Rudé, *Captain Swing* (1970), p.106-7.



this allowance, at Michaelmas the arrears of rent stood at £501 (121% of the annual income from the estate holdings in the parish).

At Lady Day 1831 the rentals were restored to their level of Lady Day 1830. By Michaelmas 1831, arrears had fallen £202 to £299 and by Lady Day 1832, total arrears from the parish had fallen a further £81 to £218 (see Graph 4ii). Of particular note was George Day's reduction of £56 to £30, the lowest level for 5 years, while John Sampson reduced his arrears to £37, nearly 8 months' rent, a level which was to be maintained for three years.

At Michaelmas 1833 arrears showed a further fall, of £93 to £125. Within this total William Dann, at Beale Farm, and John Sampson, at Rock Farm, accounted for 75% of the indebtedness. 1834 saw a small increase in total arrears recorded, to £144, mainly as a result of a new arrear of £30 owed by George Day, who had only managed to clear his arrears at the previous Michaelmas (the first occasion Street Farm had been out of arrears since Lady Day 1821).

The decline in arrears resumed in 1835, but one cannot avoid drawing the conclusion that a period of some fifteen years, 1821-35, were for this estate and the tenant farmers who held land from it, undoubtedly years of depression. This is in contrast with the assertion of modern historians that

*those areas with subsistence agriculture plus some sheep and cattle [for that appears to be the case in Frittenden], remained comparatively unaffected by the depression.<sup>29</sup>*

In contrast to the situation on the Darnley estate, where it was found unnecessary to allow rebates after

<sup>29</sup>

G.E.Fussell & M.Compton, 'Agricultural Adjustments After The Napoleonic Wars', *Economic History*, 14 (1939), p.204.

1824,<sup>30</sup> the Mann/Cornwallis estate was unable to re-establish the rents that existed before the round of reductions which began on Lady Day, 1821. The experience of this estate confirmed the impression of John Neve in 1833 that (in extreme cases) land in Wealden Kent let at 6s or 7s per acre in 1837 would have produced three times that rent, or £1 per acre, twenty years earlier in 1813.<sup>31</sup> Thomas Neve in evidence three years later, in 1836, was of the view that rents had been reduced very much in the past 10 or 15 years.<sup>32</sup> In the case of the Darnley Estate, the policy up until to 1824 had been to avoid evicting tenants in difficulty on the basis, says Hunt, that

*the landlord preferred to adopt a realistic attitude rather than see his land withdrawn from cultivation.*<sup>33</sup>

In general, and across a more protracted period, the Mann/Cornwallis estate appears to have taken the same view. From the estate accounts, only one farmer can be shown to have definitely failed. This was David Hope in 1826, the rent book showing a present to him of £249 on quitting, thereby effectively writing off his debt without forcing him into insolvency. David Hope's poor fortune appears to have continued as he is recorded in the list of paupers in the Poor Law Assessment of 1833. Other possible cases of farming failure (though not directly evidenced in this source) include Thomas Beslee and Peter Day, but in the main, tenants struggled through these difficult times with the aid of cost reductions and a more or less sympathetic landlord.

---

<sup>30</sup> Hunt (1959), *op. cit.*, pp.98-108.

<sup>31</sup> P.P.1833 VI. *S.C. on Agriculture*, Questions 5133-5143.

<sup>32</sup> P.P.1836 VIII, *S.C. on Agriculture*, Questions 9410-3.

<sup>33</sup> Hunt (1959), *op.cit.*, p.108.

b) Rent movements through 1837-1853

According to Lord Ernle, 1837 marked a turning point in the fortunes of British agriculture. Changes and improvements in the sixteen years that followed were the prelude to the 'golden age' which, in his analysis, commenced in 1853.<sup>34</sup> There are, however, few signs in these years of returning prosperity to Frittenden despite the arrival in 1842, in the neighbouring parishes of Staplehurst and Headcorn, of the rail link to London which might have been expected to bring about a general increase in economic activity and agricultural development.<sup>35</sup> There was no immediate increase in rent nor even a one-time levy to enable the estate to benefit from any improvement in the tenants' situation.

Writing in 1845 Buckland noted that rents in the Wealden district of Kingsnorth were about 20s.<sup>36</sup> He also stated that

*Farms in the Weald of Kent are commonly small ... many holdings not exceeding 50 acres, and several much less. Some of the smallest lots have within the last forty years been added to larger farms adjoining the expenses of keeping up separate buildings being too disproportionate to the rent. Rents vary from 8s to 18s per acre; but on small estates they are generally higher.*<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Ernle, *op.cit.*, p.370.

<sup>35</sup> R.J.Thompson, 'An Enquiry into the Rent of Agricultural Land in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, LXX (1907) reprinted in W.E.Minchinton (Ed.), *Essays in Agrarian History* (Newton Abbot 1968), II, p.64 noted that 'railways brought remote and inaccessible districts in touch with the Metropolis and the large towns, opened up new markets ... The cost of production was cheapened, farming became more profitable, and the rent farmers could afford to pay consequently increased'.

<sup>36</sup> G.Buckland, 'On the farming of Kent', *J.R.A.S.*, VI (1845), p.284.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p.296.

However, in one respect at least, Frittenden did conform, to a limited extent, to Ernle's picture. He writes that 'drainage became the popular improvement by which landlords endeavoured to encourage tenants'.<sup>38</sup> The Mann/Cornwallis estate assisted to some extent with the limited capital investment required and no doubt benefitted from the small increase in rent directly attributable to that investment. Perhaps not without coincidence, the clay pipes were supplied by the tenants of the Estate at Sissinghurst Castle Farm and Brick Kiln Farm in Frittenden. Thus the estate benefitted both from the production of the pipes and their use. At Lady Day 1846, three of the larger farms, Robert Mercer at Gould Farm, Joseph Judge at Hungerden and James Husmar at Headcorn Place, had their rental increased as a result of the installation of drainage. The payment took the form of a £5 payment at Lady Day and Michaelmas 1846 and a smaller increase in subsequent rentals. This suggests a contribution to the capital investment followed by an increase in the rental value.

Rentals were increased as a result of other estate investment. There were two instances of rent increases at Lady Day 1839. Gould Farm and Mills Farm had new oasts built for which there was an increase of £5 for Gould and £2-10-0 at Mills. This addition continued thereafter until formally incorporated into the rental in 1842.

For the first nine years of this sub-period, arrears were lower than at any point since 1819 (see Graph 4ii). This should not be assumed to signal a major advance in farming fortunes: 1839 saw a wet summer and a poor harvest (and drew in imports on a large scale so that the price increases probably did not fully compensate), while 1840 was a disastrous

---

<sup>38</sup> Ernle, *op.cit.*, p.364. For fuller details of drainage and other improvements see Chapter 5, pp.102-127.

year for hops, and some sheep rot.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps as a consequence, Michaelmas 1840 saw arrears on the estate begin to rise again, to £109. George Day, William Dann and John Sampson all reappeared, suggesting that their farming operations remained financially fragile. Edward Daynes, who had been running a low level of arrears, saw an increase to £15. Thereafter, arrears gradually declined and on occasion it proved possible to raise rents, as when Messrs Levett & Co. saw their rental raised from £38 to £62 at Lady Day and Michaelmas 1847. This may have represented a terminal rental, for when Brick Kiln Farm was tenanted by Messrs Pile, Bates and Oyler at Lady Day 1849 the rental reverted to £38 per half year. In any event, 1848 and 1849 saw a further sharp rise in arrears, to reach £179-9s in Michaelmas 1848 and £271 a year later (see Graph 4ii). This occurred in the immediate aftermath of the Repeal of the Corn Laws when there was a sharp increase in imported wheat (at least, in 1847 and 1849) and the latter year was, again, very bad for hops.<sup>40</sup> At Michaelmas 1848, two farmers, the representatives of Alexander Brakefield and Thomas Usbourn were 12 months in arrears, George Day 8 months and five others about 3 months behind. All these were further in arrears in 1849 and were joined by Thomas Hickmott (6 months) and John Taylor (3 months). By Michaelmas 1850 total arrears had fallen to £72.

It is at this point, 1850, that the annual series of rental accounts ceases, although we do have the comprehensive survey of 1853 to draw upon. The early 1850s are a suitable vantage point from which to assess developments across the period 1813-50.

Farm rentals were, without exception, lower in

---

<sup>39</sup> Jones, *op.cit.*, p.167; G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *Agrarian History of England*, VI (1989), pp.975, 1017 & 1038.

<sup>40</sup> G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *Agrarian History of England*, VI (1989), pp.1017 & 1058.

1850 than those of 1813. This was so, despite the list of improvements and repairs catalogued in the Rent Books throughout the period. The smallest decrease was 15% on the 133 acres of Gould Farm, while the largest was some 60% on the 108 acres of George Day at Street Farm, the only farm to have been held under a lease in 1813. Most reductions were in the 20% to 40% range. In Frittenden, the rent reductions were deep and permanent and must have impacted upon the profitability of the estate, particularly when the value of investment in the farms is taken into consideration. The Mann/Cornwallis estate, being the largest landowner in the area, might have been thought to have influenced other levels of rent, but the only other examples available in the parish of Frittenden, Aylesford Hospital and the Idenden Charity, would tend to suggest that this was not the case.<sup>41</sup> However, these two 'charitable' landlords might not be typical of other small landlords in the area.

The propensity of certain farmers and indeed farms to slip into arrears in difficult years, suggests that they were still operating barely above subsistence level and very dependent upon the patience/goodwill of their Landlord, who in any case might have few other options.

The 1853 survey considers the rental income of the estate to remain under threat, firstly from the due payment of hop duty, payable one year in arrears,

---

<sup>41</sup> The warden and poor of Hospital of the Holy Trinity, Aylesford, were endowed by Sir William Sedley with two farms in Frittenden. These farms were leased as a single unit to Edward Munk and his successors throughout our period.

The Idenden Charity was founded in 1566 under the Will of Thomas Idenden which bequeathed land and property in Frittenden the income from which was to provide funds to the poor of the parish. The Charity to be administered by Feoffees (trustees). The Charity continues today.



in a year when tenant income would be poor on account of low yields (partly resulting from the absence of crop sowing), and secondly because of the bad state of repair of the buildings on the estate. This latter was considered to be all the more disturbing as the estate was unable to require tenants to contribute 'half the expense of workmanship' when repairs or improvements were undertaken. Further concern was shown over the possibility that tenants might catch the 'strong spirit of Emigration' among the Farm Labourers. The dilapidated state of the buildings would

*operate against a reletting to a good Tenant or in fact to any Tenant at all.*<sup>42</sup>

This survey indicated little change during the preceding years in the economic circumstances of either the tenants or the estate, suggesting as it does the need to make a substantial investment in underdraining and buildings.

c) Rent movements through 1853-75

Ernle, as we have seen, characterised 1853-62 as the 'Golden Age' of English Agriculture<sup>43</sup>. He attributes this to a wide variety of international and domestic economic factors together with favourable agricultural circumstances. More recently, Holderness agrees that there was a period of fairly general prosperity from 1853 to 1873<sup>44</sup>, and Turner et.al. infer from their rent index a period of recovery in

---

<sup>42</sup> C.K.S./U24/E3, *Copy of Report As To The Estates In Kent & Sussex Of The Trustees Of The Late Earl Cornwallis 1853* by Tho. Neve & Sons Benenden, May 1853.

<sup>43</sup> Ernle, *op.cit.*, p.370.

<sup>44</sup> B.A.Holderness, 'The Victorian Farmer', in G.E.Mingay, (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, I, 1981, p.235; and also in G.E.Mingay, (Ed.), *The Vanishing Countryman* (1989), p.15.

prosperity for both tenant and landlord.<sup>45</sup> They also note that rents rose more in the pastoral north and west and in grazing counties.<sup>46</sup>

At Frittenden, as we have seen, the death of Lord Cornwallis and the 1853 survey heralded a series of land exchanges with other landlords in the parish which enabled some consolidation and rationalisation of the various estates holdings.<sup>47</sup> A further survey was carried out for Lord Holmesdale in 1875<sup>48</sup> and it is instructive to compare the two.

Most tenancies were now significantly larger, indeed the estate had grown to over 2,000 acres in Frittenden (2/3 of the parish acreage). Whereas in 1853, only 7 tenancies exceeded 100 acres, by 1875, 13 exceeded this figure, of which, 4 were over 150 acres and the largest over 250 acres; an isolated half yearly rental for 1877<sup>49</sup> shows that a further farm, Park, now exceeded 100 acres.

Where tenancies were directly comparable (8 farms) between 1853 and 1875, rentals showed increases ranging from 151% to 328% with most around 200%. The half yearly rental for 1877 confirms that these rents were maintained, with the exception of Tile Barn Farm which showed a reduction of over 22% and Buckhurst, a reduction of almost 11%. Of perhaps greater

---

<sup>45</sup> Turner, Beckett & Afton, *op.cit.*, p.248.

<sup>46</sup> E.L.Jones, 'The Changing Basis of English, Agricultural Prosperity, 1853-73', *A.H.R.*, 10 (1962), pp.118-119 reproduced in W.E.Minchinton, *Essays in Agrarian History*, II, 1968.

<sup>47</sup> These are discussed in Chapters 3 & 12.

<sup>48</sup> C.K.S./U24/E4, *Report Upon and Rental Valuation of the Linton, Egerton and Sissinghurst Estates, situate in the County of Kent, the property of The Right Honble Viscount and Viscountess Holmesdale 1875-6*, p.VIII.

<sup>49</sup> C.K.S./U24/A3, *Half Yearly Rental of the Linton, Egerton and Sissinghurst Estates due 6th April 1877*.

significance is the complete absence of recorded arrears at this date which suggests that farm incomes were sufficient to sustain this high level of rents.

To what extent this was due to additional investment, to the rationalisation of holdings or to the general agricultural upturn cannot be identified from the records. However, the scale of the increase between 1853 and 1875/77 appears to be exceptional, for at the national level, the studies of R.J.Thompson and F.M.L.Thompson agree in putting increases at around 25% for the comparable period, while Turner *et.al.* show a 27% increase from 1850 to 1870.<sup>50</sup> On this evidence it appears fair to conclude that the farmers of Frittenden had not only escaped from barely scraping a living in the years 1813-53, but had moved to a level of relative prosperity.

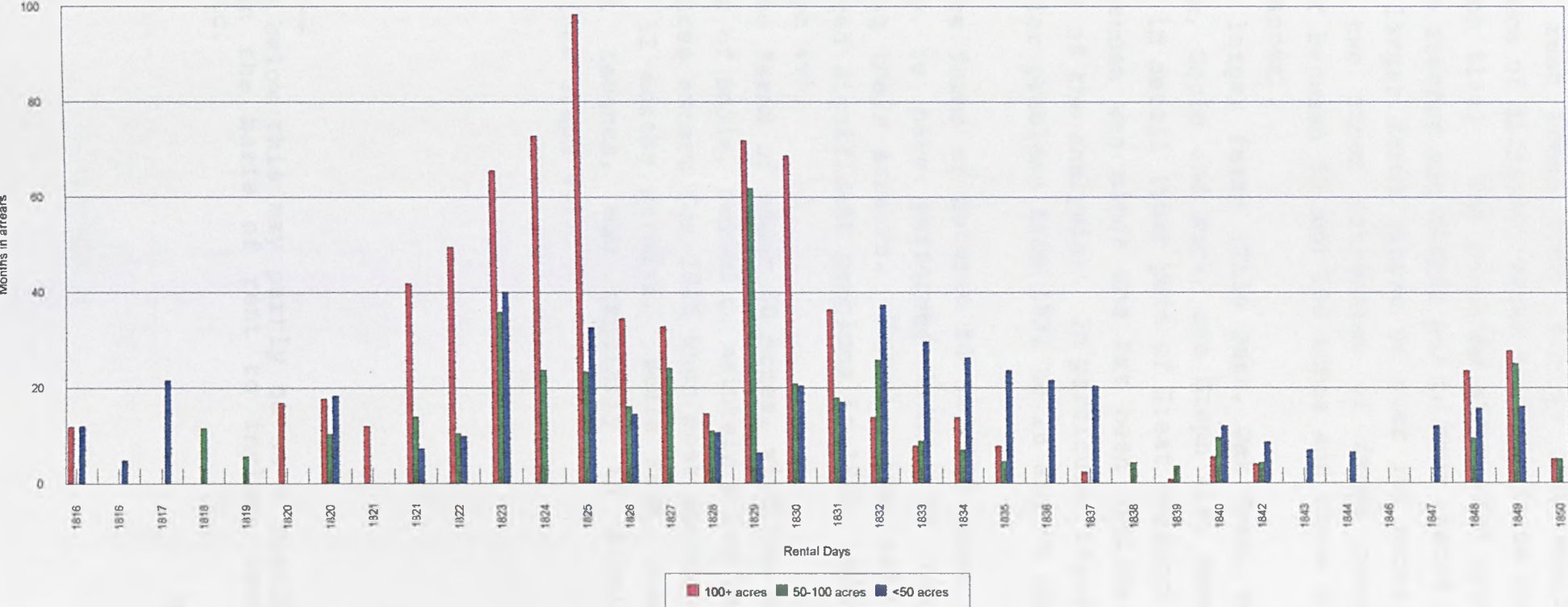
In the round, before 1853 the experiences of tenants and landowners in Frittenden appear to fall within the broad pattern outlined by writers such as Ernle, F.M.L.Thompson and Jones, and where there were departures from the specific patterns portrayed, conditions were normally worse than the general situation described by these writers. By contrast after 1853, the rental figures suggest a significant diversion from the picture portrayed by these writers, but in the direction of relatively greater gains. The 1875 survey<sup>51</sup> of lands in Frittenden produced an average per acre of almost 32s compared with a national figure of just below 30s. For the first time

---

<sup>50</sup> R.J.Thompson, *op.cit.*, p.64; F.M.L.Thompson (1963), *op.cit.*, p.250; Turner, Beckett & Afton, *op.cit.*, p.248.

<sup>51</sup> C.K.S./U24/E4, *Report Upon and Rental Valuation of the Linton, Egerton and Sissinghurst Estates, situate in the County of Kent, the property of The Right Honble Viscount and Viscountess Holmesdale 1875-6*, p.VIII.

Arrears of 3 Categories of Tenant Farmers in Frittenden 1813-50



Data taken from C.K.S/U24/A21-43, Mann/Cornwallis Estate Papers

68 0001

Frittenden rentals exceed the national average.<sup>52</sup>

## II) RENT MOVEMENTS ANALYSED BY FARM SIZE, 1813-50

The rent books from 1813 to 1850 enable the performance of different sized holdings to be compared (see Graph 4iii). The problems after 1820 appear to have been steeper and deeper and to have lasted longer for the larger farms (those of over 100 acres) than for the two other categories of farms considered (those of between 50 and 100 acres and those of less than 50 acres).

Six larger farms (Tile Barn, Oak Tree, Street, Hungerden, Gould and Rock, see Graph 4iv) have been analysed in detail (that part of Great Headcorn Place in Frittenden was minor and has been excluded from this part of the analysis). In particular these farms faced major problems from 1821 to 26 and in 1829 and 1830.

Those farms of between 50 and 100 acres appear generally to have performed better in terms of containing their arrears. However, even this group experienced significant problems in 1823, 1829, 1849 (see Graph 4v).

Those farms of under 50 acres, with the notable exception of Beale, tended to maintain a low level of indebtedness except for 1825 when most approached or exceeded 12 months arrears. Beale Farm, under the different tenants, was regularly in significant arrears (see Graph 4vi).

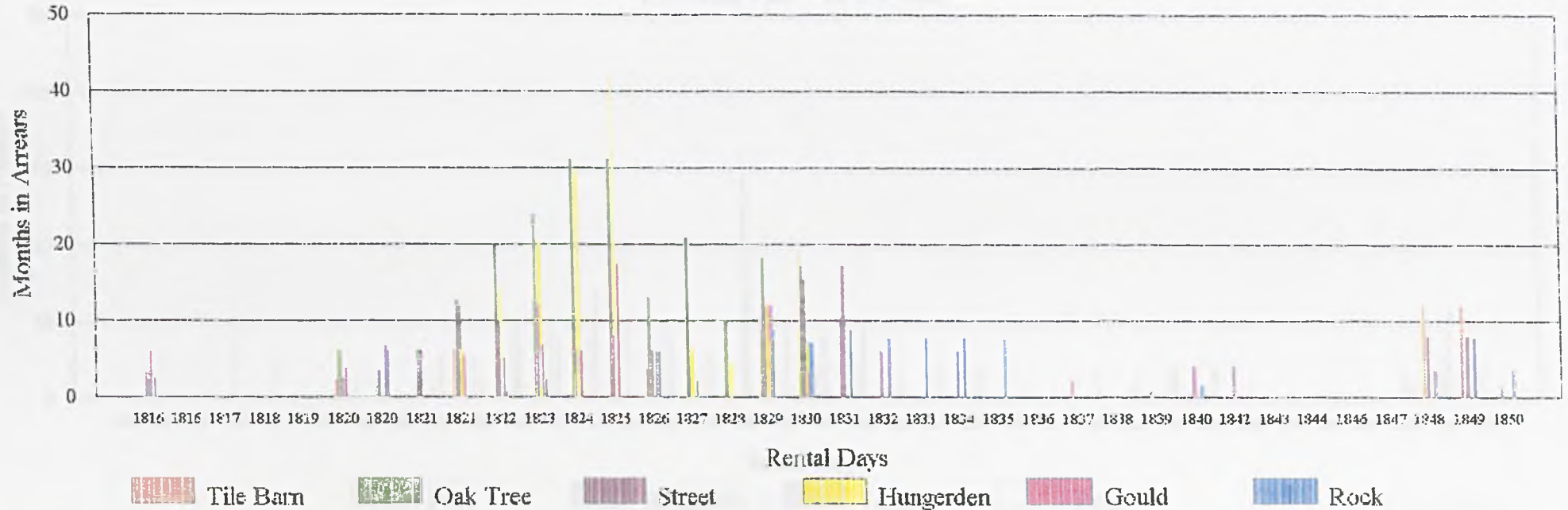
---

52

As noted below this may partly be as a result of a change in the basis of rent to include taxes and tithes etc.

# Mann/Cornwallis Estate Arrears

Frittenden Farms Over 100 acres

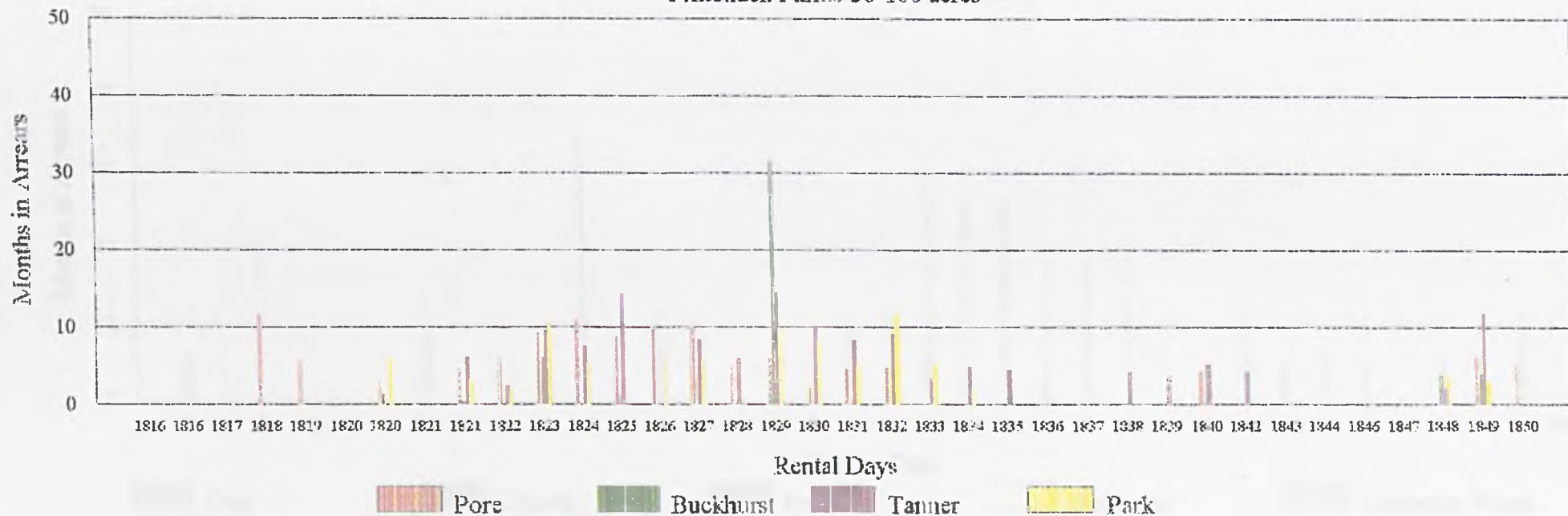


Data taken from C.K.S./U24/A2/1-43, Mann/Cornwallis Estate Papers



# Mann/Cornwallis Estate Arrears

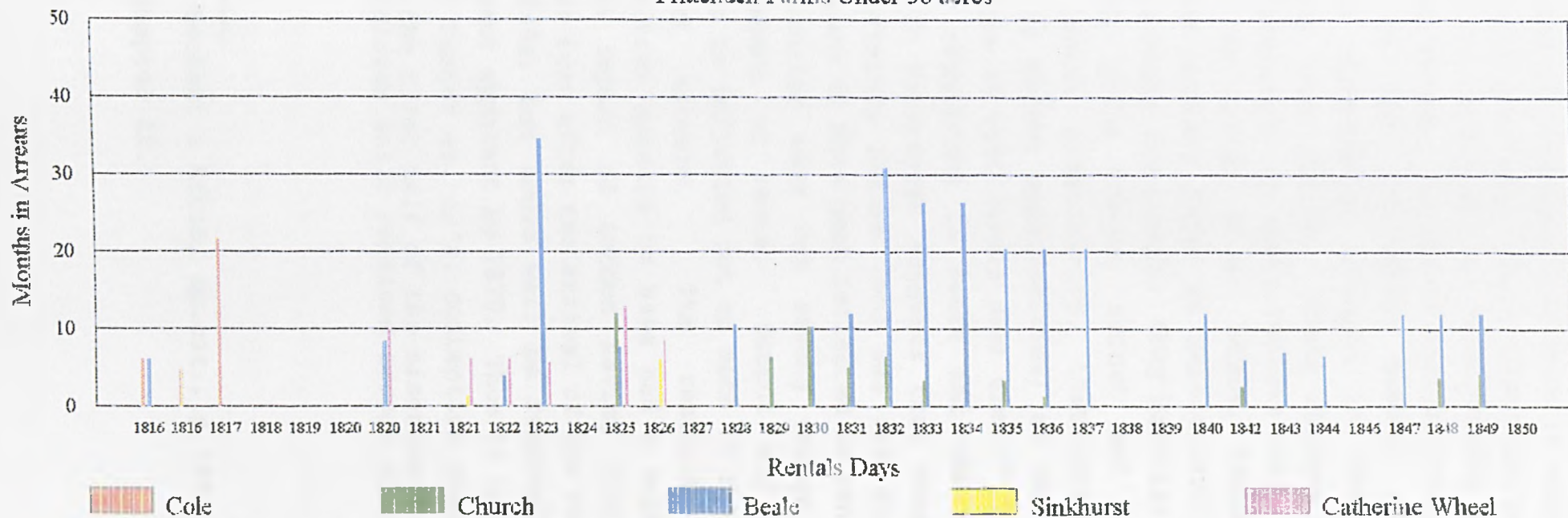
Frittenden Farms 50-100 acres



Data taken from C.K.S./U24/A2/1-43, Mann/Cornwallis Estate Papers

# Mann/Cornwallis Estate Arrears

Frittenden Farms Under 50 acres



Data taken from C.K.S.U24/A2/1-43, Mann Cornwallis Estate Papers

In the creation of their rent index, Turner Beckett and Afton attempt to link it with changes in agricultural practice, and in output and productivity, in order to establish the relationship between rent levels and broader changes in agricultural practices.<sup>53</sup> As will be seen the tenant farmers of Frittenden undertook substantial changes in their husbandry throughout this period. These changes resulted in little alteration in their rentals until after 1853. However, as Turner *et.al.* state, rental data (in particular arrears data) is particularly useful for observing booms and slumps. They identify competition for land, price trends, output and productivity, rising labour productivity, institutional changes (linked to market opportunities) as the main causes for changes in rent levels over time.<sup>54</sup> The extent of arrears, reductions in rents and the stability of tenants in Frittenden suggests that competition for land, certainly before 1853 was not great. Price falls appear to have been reflected in rent reductions but recoveries were not strong enough to support reinstatement of rents. Output and productivity appear to be reflected not so much in rents as in the level of arrears. The reaction to market opportunities appears to have had a substantial lag with the impact of London having little apparent influence even after the arrival of the railway in the early 1840s, but could well be responsible for the improvement apparent by 1870. Thus it is difficult to see that Turner *et. al's.* contention that

*in the first half of the nineteenth century, the landlords still retained enough of the Ricardian*

---

<sup>53</sup> Turner, Beckett & Afton, *op.cit.*, p.199.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter 10.

surpluses<sup>55</sup> to suggest that they had made real gains in the proportion of the income derived from the land<sup>56</sup>

was evident in the Parish of Frittenden.

### III) SMALLHOLDINGS, COTTAGES AND SHOPS

The Mann/Cornwallis Estate Rent Books also provide a picture of the rentals applying to smallholdings, cottage dwellers and shop-keepers and tradesmen. A series of examples may be given.

The 1806 Grist Survey shows that Daniel Bridger had occupied a cottage and a garden totalling 1 rood.<sup>57</sup> The 1813 estate survey records Daniel as occupying a cottage and 1 rood as tenant-at-will paying a rental of £1-10-0 per half year. His widow Mary succeeded him as tenant on Lady Day 1816 at the same rent. She continued as tenant until replaced by John King in Michaelmas 1830. It was he who received an allowance of 15%, at that rent day. This compares with a 30% allowance for the farm tenants. John King continued as tenant at £3 annually in 1853.

William Southon occupied George Field in 1806. This consisted of 3a 1r 24p. The 1813 survey shows him as occupying a cottage and 3 acres as tenant-at-will at a rental of £6 per half year. Lady Day 1821 saw a rent reduction to £5-10-0 and William in arrears to the extent of £2-10-0. A further reduction to £5 was made Lady Day 1822. William Southon showed a

---

<sup>55</sup> The Ricardian surplus defines rent as a form of net product which was left after the deduction of wages for labour and of a capital return and profit for the farmer.

<sup>56</sup> Turner, Beckett & Afton, *op.cit.*, p.208.

<sup>57</sup> C.K.S./P152/28/6, *Survey of the Parish of Frittenden by J.Grist of Canterbury and associated Memorandum between the parishioners and Occupiers of Land in the parish of Frittenden and the Reverend Henry Hodges, Rector dated 2nd August 1806.*

propensity to arrears, with debts recorded in 1823 £2, 1825 £1-2-10, 1826 £7-18-1, 1827 £2-10-0 and in 1829 £4-4-4. Michaelmas 1830 saw William receive an allowance of 15%, £1-10-0 the same value as the arrears recorded for that rental period. He continued in arrears the following year, at £2-19-1. There followed something of a respite for William until Michaelmas 1840 & 1841 when arrears stood at £10. These had reduced to £2-10-0 in 1842. 1843 saw Shem Levett replace William, now shown to be deceased and remaining £2-10-0 in arrears. Levett paid £9 for 'part of a years rent', paying £5 per half year subsequently.

The 1806 survey shows David Southon having holdings of 1a 3r 38p of grassland together with 2r 4p containing a Cottage & Garden. By 1813 he is recorded as occupying a cottage and shop and 1r 10p as tenant-at-will paying £3 per half year. Lady Day 1819 saw an increase in his rental to £7-10-0 followed by a further increase to £12-10-0 Michaelmas 1820. The rent book for Lady Day 1821 shows him as occupying a house and shop and 3a of land previously held by Mrs Cruthall, all for a rent of £11-10-0. These three acres are likely to be those occupied by him in 1806 and would suggest that he sub-let the land from Mrs Cruthall, possibly paying the estate direct from Michaelmas 1820, resulting in the increase in rental at that time. On this assumption the 1821 rental would represent a decrease, in common with other tenants. Further reductions in rent were recorded at Michaelmas 1821, to £11, and Lady Day 1822, to £10-10-0. Lady Day 1825 saw David Southon £13 in arrears, which continued at a reduced level, of £8-10-0 in 1826. He too received a 15% 'allowance' at Michaelmas 1830. Unusually, Michaelmas 1840 saw a rent reduction, of £1-10-0 to £9. At Michaelmas 1847 David Scrace [Screes] was paying a rent of £9-7-6 for

'a house and shop and new built washhouse and 3 acres of land' lately occupied by David Southon. This tenancy continued unchanged at the time of the 1853 survey.

In 1806 Jonathan Waters occupied a cottage and 1r 25p. The 1813 survey records him as occupying a cottage and orchard of 1r 0p for a rent of £3 per half year as tenant-at-will. Lady Day 1816 saw him £3 in arrears and in 1820 he was 8s in arrears. Lady Day 1825 saw his holding having been subdivided into 3 cottages and gardens. As a consequence his rental was reduced to £2-2-0 and the other two cottages were let to Joseph Waters and Shem Levett. At Michaelmas 1826 John (Jonathan) Waters was £1-2-0 in arrears. A year later his tenancy had been taken over by George Hedgcock at the same rental, the new tenant recording arrears of £1-4-0 at that time. At Michaelmas 1826, he received an allowance of 14.3%, less than the normal 15% allowance seen for his peers. Michaelmas 1846 saw Alfred Hope replacing George Hedgcock as tenant at an unchanged rental of £2-2-0. This rental was unchanged in 1853.

Joseph Waters, a sawyer, took one of the newly created cottages resulting from the division of John Waters' holding at Lady Day 1825 at a rental of £2-4-0. He received a 13.6% allowance at Michaelmas 1830, again below the norm. Joseph showed arrears at Michaelmas 1832, £2, and Michaelmas 1840, £2-8-0. He continued as tenant at Michaelmas 1850. The 1853 survey indicates no change in this tenancy.

Shem Levett, a carpenter and later also a farmer, took the tenancy of the third cottage at the same rental of £2-4-0. He also received an 'allowance' of 13.6% at Michaelmas 1830. Michaelmas 1843 saw Shem Levett transfer his occupancy to part of the former holding of William Southon. James Fuggles took up the tenancy of Shem Levett's cottage, paying £1-11-0 for



part of a year's rent. Michaelmas 1844 saw Fuggles paying a half year's rent of £2-10-0, a 6s increase in the rental. Fuggles remained the tenant at Michaelmas 1850. By 1853 George Fuggles occupied this cottage at an unchanged rent of £5 per year.

Joseph Boghurst took the tenancy of a cottage in Frittenden Michaelmas 1841 at a rental of £4. He extended his holding at Michaelmas 1843 by taking on about an acre of land, part of the land taken by the estate from Thomas Dearn, for which he paid a further rental of £2. Michaelmas 1846 saw a further increase in his holding of estate land, 2 acres, being part of Boy Court field in Cranbrook for a further £2-10-0.

A new cottage was built in the village Michaelmas 1844. This was occupied by John Smith at a rental of £2-5-0. He continued in occupation at the time of the survey of 1853 at the same rental. Joseph Smith, probably John's son, occupied a smallholding at the time of the 1875 survey. The cottage rental was £4 and he paid a further £8-0-11 for 3a-0r-21p. A Sarah Smith paid a rent of £4-10-0 for a cottage and field.

Michaelmas 1846 saw Henry Bates take up the tenancy of a cottage, carpenters shop and yard in the village at the rental of £2-10-0. The 1853 survey records Henry Bates as occupying a house and carpenters shop and some 3 acres and paying £20 a year in rent.<sup>58</sup> In 1875, Ishmael Gurr, a carpenter, occupied a cottage and garden at Pound Hill for which he paid £10 rent and land totalling 11a 0r 19p for which he paid a further £23-12-1.

Also at Michaelmas 1846, James Hope took the tenancy of a cottage for £2-5-0: this rental was unchanged at the time of the 1853 survey. By the 1875 survey he is recorded as occupying Old Barn Farm, the cottage and garden of which attracted a rental of £3-

---

<sup>58</sup> This was probably Brickwall Cottage and George Field.

10-0 annually. However, he also had the tenancy of 3 adjacent fields, totalling 32a-2r-7p, for which he paid a further £50-11-7. By 1877 his total rent had been reduced to £35.

The 1877 rental also shows Hiram Hope occupying a cottage and brickyard at the annual rent of £5-4-0, J.Kemp and J.Meopham each a cottage at Sawmill Farm, also paying £5-4-0, and George Morphett having the tenancy of two cottages, at Foxearth for a rental of £5-10-0 annually and at Sawmill Farm, for £5.

The only non-estate cottage for which rental details are available was that owned by the Idenden Feoffees. The house in the Churchyard, which had been purchased by the Idenden Feoffees, had been let at £2 2s a year, was, by 1818 let to the Parish for the Yearly Rent of £4. It was subsequently let to John Fenn for the yearly rent of £4. In 1833 it was let to David Screes 'together with the shop' at the yearly Rent of £4-10-0.<sup>59</sup>

In 1833, according to evidence given to a Parliamentary Committee by John Neve, 'a good cottage and garden could be let for about £4', a figure corresponding roughly with a similar estimate three years later when it was stated that cottages (undifferentiated) were letting at from 1s to 2s a week, most with gardens.<sup>60</sup> On the basis of the illustrations given above, it would appear that the rent of older cottages in Frittenden would fall somewhat below the level of a 'good cottage and

---

<sup>59</sup> C.K.S./P152/25/9, *Memorandum in Frittenden Feoffee Book 1817-1900*.

P.P.1837, XXIII, *The Reports of the Commissioners Appointed In Pursuance Of Various Acts Of Parliament To Enquire Concerning Charities In England And Wales Relating to The County Of Kent 1819-1837*.

<sup>60</sup> P.P.1833 VI. *S.C. on Agriculture*, Question 5927; P.P. 1836 VIII. *S.C. on Agriculture*, Questions 9415-9. (On the second occasion, the information was provided by Thomas Neve).

garden' reported in 1833, while the newer, in this case converted, cottages attracted a slightly better level. But even these conversions, and the new cottages built by the Mann/Cornwallis Estate in the 1840s, were below the upper level reported by Thomas Neve in 1836, although the rent received by the Idenden Charity was at his higher level.

From the available evidence it appears that cottage rents did not fall so far as farm rents during the difficult years, nor do they seem to have increased in the same way as farm rentals after 1853. This no doubt reflects the belief on the part of the landlord that the poor were in a better situation because of the low price of provisions relative to the rate of wages they were receiving.<sup>61</sup> However, the finding is also consistent with what we know about population growth and the numbers of available houses, as recorded in successive censuses. Previous chapters noted that in 1801-21 the rate of population growth outran the provision of housing by a considerable margin. As a consequence of the addition of some 45 dwellings over the next thirty years, some of the backlog, as it were, was made up, but taking the period 1801-51 as a whole, the percentage increase in the number of dwellings (66%) no more than matched population growth (65%). In the final 20 years of the period, 1851-71, the increase in the number of houses (26, or 16%) appears to have been adequate to cope with a population increase limited to 41 souls (or,

---

<sup>61</sup> P.P.1836 VIII. *S.C. on Agriculture*, Questions 9415-9. See also W.A.Armstrong, *Farmworkers* (1988), pp.65-6, who points out that this conclusion is supported by some evidence, but also that under or unemployment could significantly affect the picture.

just 4.5%).<sup>62</sup>

It should also be noted that land attached to cottages was always relatively expensive and, per acre, was not dissimilar to that paid by large farmers though rather less than that asked of the smaller farmers.



---

62

Population and housing figures are invariably given in successive census reports, as listed in the bibliography. At no point in the period did the number of uninhabited houses rise above three.

## Chapter 5

### LANDLORDS AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Mingay observes that

*leading agricultural writers from Harte, Kent and Marshall in the eighteenth century down to Caird in the nineteenth, constantly complained of landlords' indifference to the needs of agriculture and urged them to take a personal interest in their estates.<sup>1</sup>*

On the other hand, the same author (with J.D.Chambers) has also suggested that

*estate agents were generally competent chief executives of the great estates, indeed were the key figures in their development.<sup>2</sup>*

At Frittenden, there is no evidence to suggest that the major landowners, the Mann/Cornwallis families, took a close personal interest in their tenantry; from accounts relating to the biannual or annual rent or audit dinners, there is no evidence that they were ever present.<sup>3</sup> The conduct of the estate lay, rather, in the hands of agents, notably Mr Groom who held the position from 1814 to 1848.<sup>4</sup> This lengthy period of incumbency has had the consequence of the Estate's Accounts being prepared on a relatively stable basis, and which are, as a result, comparable throughout the

---

<sup>1</sup> G.E.Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1963), p.165.

<sup>2</sup> J.D.Chambers & G.E.Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880*, (1966), p.163.

<sup>3</sup> For example, C.K.S./U24/A2/35, Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1842.

<sup>4</sup> There is no evidence that he accorded with the superintendent of the Bridgewater Trust description of agents that  
*if he [the agent] turns stupid and incompetent for any situation, he is sure to remain on our hands.*

Quoted by Eric Richards 'The Land Agent' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, 1981, p.441.

period. Unfortunately little beyond the accounts remain to demonstrate how he administered the Estate, although his letter of 9 December 1820<sup>5</sup> warning of the distress among the tenants, suggests a close and immediate connection with the estate's tenants.

The best way of testing the role and effectiveness of landlords (or their agents) in promoting the development of agriculture is to consider their record - in respect of their policies with regard to,

- (a) the consolidation of farm units;
- (b) land quality improvements, i.e. in this case, drainage;
- (c) the maintenance and improvement of farmhouses and farm buildings;
- (d) the improvement of communications.

#### (I) FARM CONSOLIDATION

By this is meant, either, an active policy on the part of landowners of creating larger farms (but fewer of them) or, efforts to create more compact farms, in situations where they had been previously made up of scattered parcels of land.

As we have already seen, the extent to which larger farms appeared in Frittenden, was very limited and confined to the third quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> The most noteworthy and self-conscious move to establish a large and compact farm was not at the initiative of the Mann/Cornwallis estate at all but was, rather, the work of the second most important landowner in the parish, Edward Moore, who by various purchases of land and subsequent exchanges with other

---

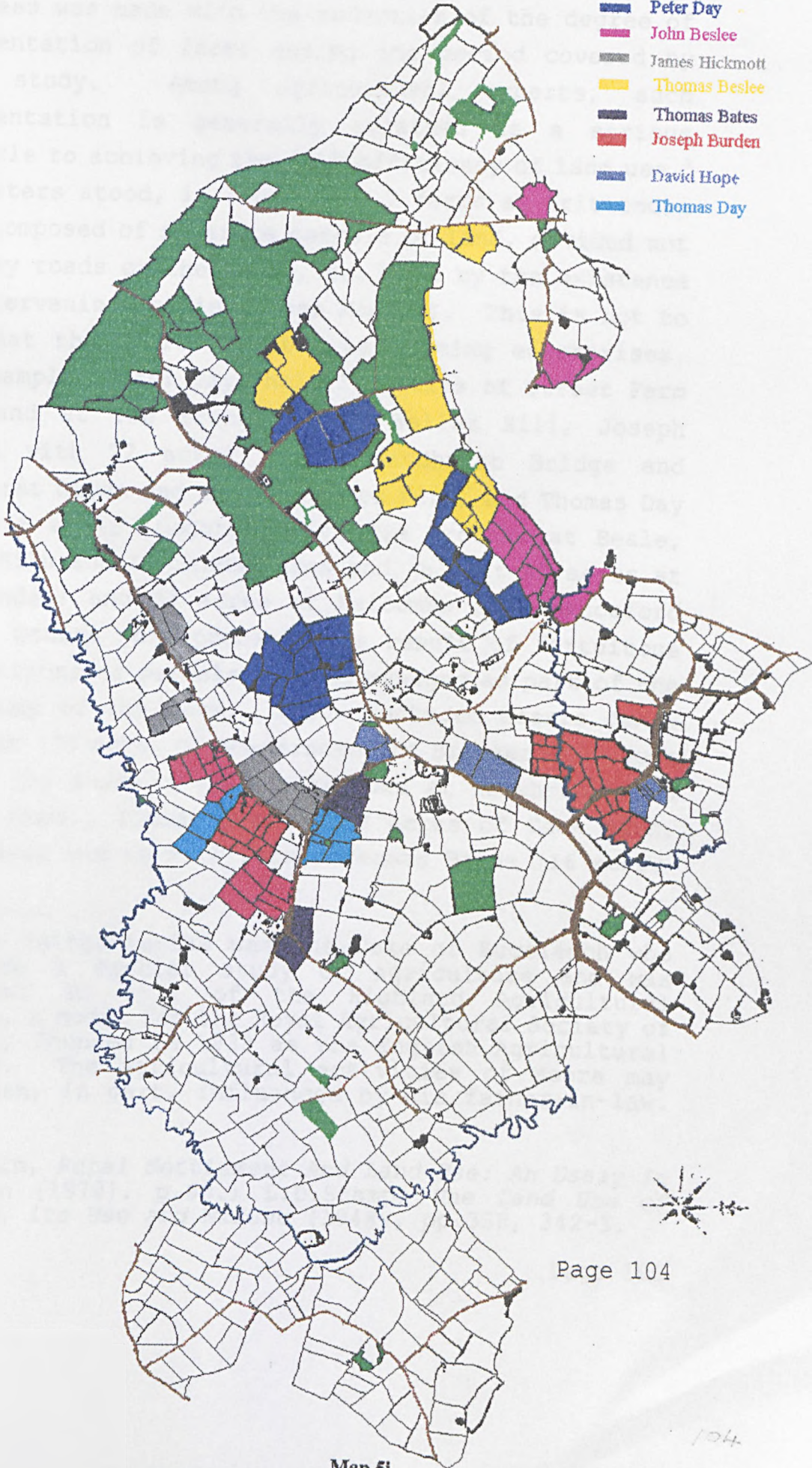
<sup>5</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/13 *Enclosed note from W Groom to James Mann Esq 1820.*

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter 3, pp.58-63.



Dislocated Farm Units 1806

-  William Taylor Snr
-  Peter Day
-  John Beslee
-  James Hickmott
-  Thomas Beslee
-  Thomas Bates
-  Joseph Burden
-  David Hope
-  Thomas Day



104

landowners, the church and charity feoffees was able to establish the largest farm in the parish, at Parsonage Farm.<sup>7</sup> But this is exceptional.

It is likewise clear that comparatively little progress was made with the reduction of the degree of fragmentation of farms during the period covered by this study. Among agricultural experts, such fragmentation is generally regarded as a serious obstacle to achieving the full efficiency of land use.<sup>8</sup> As matters stood, in 1806, some 7 farms at Frittenden were composed of separate parcels of land, divided not only by roads or the river, but also by the existence of intervening holdings (see Map 5i). This is not to say that they were unviable as farming enterprises. For example, Peter Day, held 104 acres of Street Farm and land at The Brook and at Waller Hill, Joseph Burden with 72 acres around Sandhurst Bridge and Sinkhurst Green and at Chanceford Farm, and Thomas Day with 185 acres (together with his brother at Beale, Brick Kiln and Lowlands Farms and almost 65 acres at Whitsunden) and 23 acres of Balcombe and Chanceford Farm. Others were probably the result of fortuitous acquisitions of parcels of land managed as part of the main body of the farm. These included Messrs James Hickmott (33 acres of Weaversden and Brissenden), John Beslee (53 acres of Gould Farm and at Knoxbridge and Little Wadd), Thomas Beslee (83 acres of Cook Barn, Great Wadd and at Park Farm), Thomas Bates (16 acres

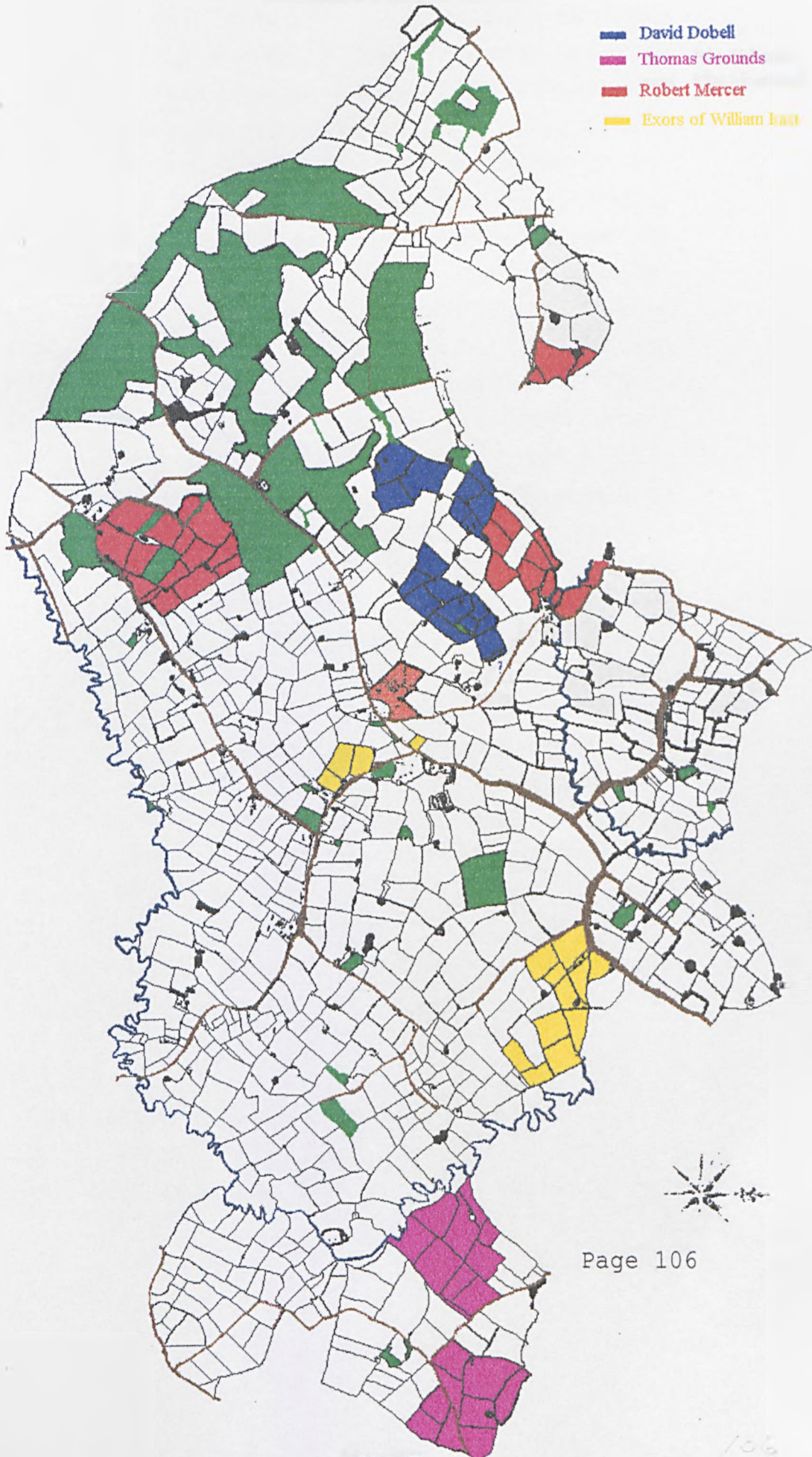
---

<sup>7</sup> Moore's father-in-law was the Duke of Buccleuch who had made a special study of agriculture and was President in 1831 of the Highland Agricultural Society, a model for the Royal Agricultural Society of England, founded in 1838 as the English Agricultural Society. The agricultural activities of Moore may have been, in part, influenced by his father-in-law.

<sup>8</sup> M.Chisolm, *Rural Settlement And Land Use: An Essay In Location* (1970), p.60.; L.D.Stamp, *The Land Use of Britain, its Use and Misuse* (1948), pp.338, 342-3.



# Dislocated Farm Units 1841

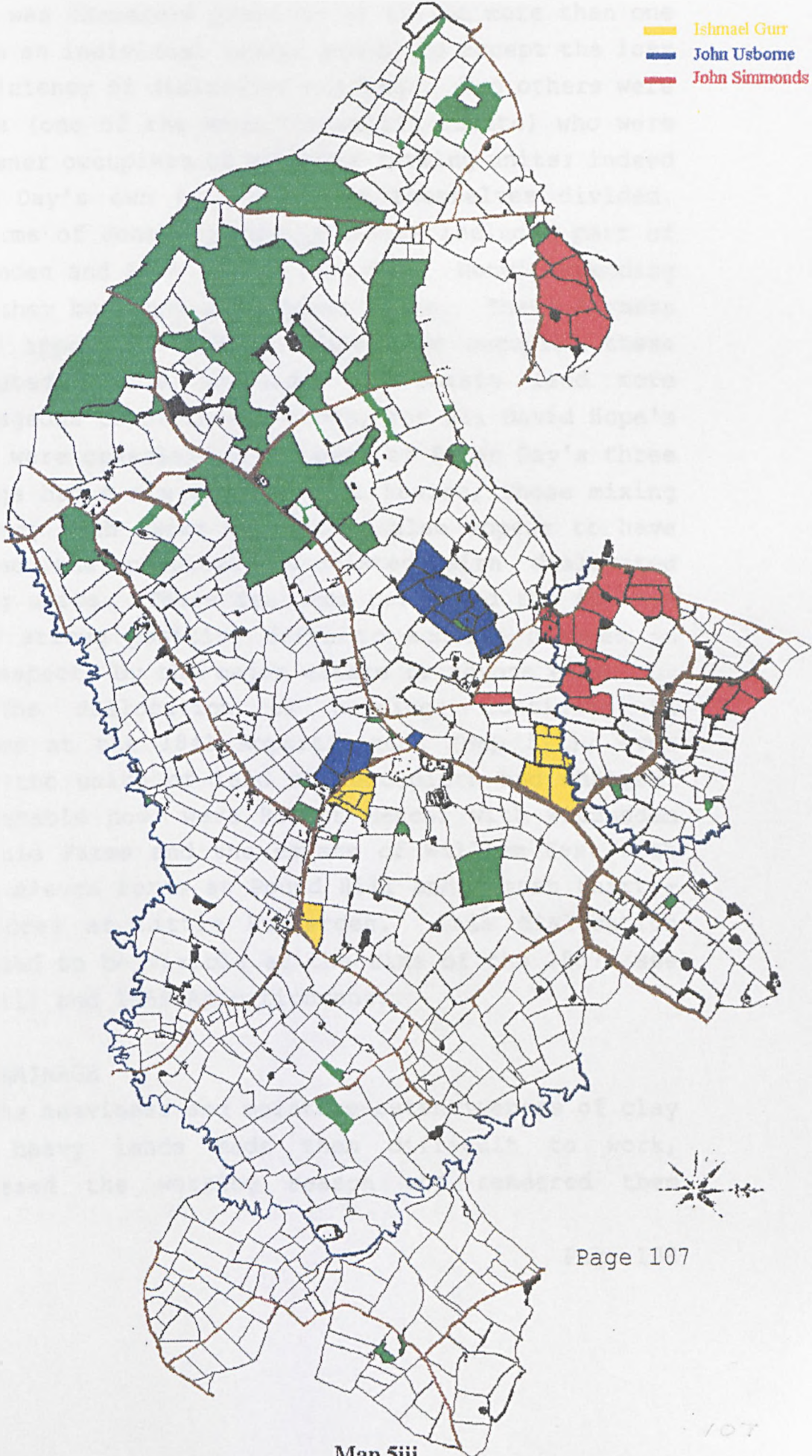


Map 5ii

106



Dislocated Farm Units 1857



Map 5iii

at Pound Hill and Bubhurst Lane), and David Hope Jnr (almost 19 acres in the village and at Sinkhurst Green). Four of these farmers were tenants of the Mann/Cornwallis Estate farming two or more units. The estate was therefore prepared a) to let more than one unit to an individual tenant and b) to accept the loss of efficiency of dislocated holdings. Two others were tenants (one of the Mann/Cornwallis Estate) who were also owner occupiers of separate farming units: indeed Thomas Day's own holdings were themselves divided. The farms of John and Thomas Beslee included part of Frittenden and Staplehurst parishes. Notwithstanding this, they both had dislocated units. These farmers do not appear to have purchased or occupied these dislocated fields in order to obtain land more advantageous to different crops, for all David Hope's fields were grassland while each of Peter Day's three holdings had a mix of crops. Likewise, those mixing a tenancy with owner occupation also appear to have accepted the problems associated with dislocated farming units. These features reflected the absence of any strong positive drive to achieve changes in this respect, by the major estate or anyone else.

The dislocation of holdings continued in evidence at the 1841 Apportionment (Map 5ii), even though the units of land and occupiers had changed. Most notable now, were Robert Mercer with Witsunden and Gould Farms and the estate of William East with nearly eleven acres at Pound Hill and almost thirty-nine acres at Little Hungerden. This dislocation continued to be visible at the time of the 1857 (see map 5iii) and 1869 Apportionments.

## II) DRAINAGE

The heaviness and moisture-retentiveness of clay based heavy lands made them difficult to work, compressed the working season and rendered them

unsuitable for the growth of fodder crops, especially turnips, for feeding stock through the winter. This inhibited the ability to grow fodder crops, prevented farmers on heavy lands adopting the mixed-farming systems of the light lands and limited their development of more profitable enterprises. The technical solution to the problems of the heavy lands was identified as the adoption of underdraining, which aimed at remedying the physical difficulties inherent in such soils and represented a major advance both in efficiency and the conservation of cultivated land over existing methods of surface draining. Besides being a technique to improve the soil water regime, the adoption of efficient underdraining schemes has the potential to lead to economic changes in the agricultural systems practised, providing increases both in the intensity of cultivation and in productivity.<sup>9</sup>

Writing of the Weald, Boys commented in 1794 that surface water could result in late sowing, a backward harvest and that frequently the wheat season was totally lost; and he generally criticised the 'vile neglect of drainage'.<sup>10</sup> John Neeve (sic) was to assert, in 1836, that the Weald of Kent had 'lately been very much improved by drainage'<sup>11</sup> and, latterly, Kain has drawn attention to progress in this respect at Woodchurch, where by 1840, on heavy but drained clays, a 5 course rotation of wheat, oats, clover,

---

<sup>9</sup> The Somerset levels, although on a clay sub-soil, were peat moors and developed a significantly pastoral bias in its husbandry after draining - see M. Williams, *The Draining Of The Somerset Levels* (1970), pp.169-190.

<sup>10</sup> John Boys, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Kent* (1794), pp.91 & 97.

<sup>11</sup> HOLRO, *House of Commons Committee on the South Eastern Railway Bill, 24 March 1836*, Evidence of Mr John Neeve, farmer of Benenden, p.50.



beans and summer fallow was employed.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that neither the extent, nor the effectiveness of under-drainage during the first half of the nineteenth century should be exaggerated. Buckland, writing in 1845, spoke of wood and bushes as the material most frequently employed as materials for draining, and this was, of course, 'of so perishable a nature': he was a strong advocate of drainage as the foundation of all agricultural improvement, favouring the use instead of clay pipes, or tiles.<sup>13</sup>

At Frittenden, the pioneer of under-drainage using modern materials was Thomas Law Hodges. Peasridge farm formed part of a large estate based on Hemsted, now Benenden School. Its owner, was M.P. for Kent and later West Kent. Hodges spoke in the House against freeing Kentish tithes on the basis of valuation on an average tithable produce of the last seven years and which confined commutation to between 60% and 75% of its current value.<sup>14</sup>

Hodges had also been a Governor and Vice-President of the Royal Agricultural Society which had been founded in 1843 and for many years was President of the Cranbrook Agricultural Association<sup>15</sup>. He had produced a tract in the Royal Agricultural Society

---

<sup>12</sup> R.J.P.Kain, *An Atlas and Index of the Tithe Files of Mid-Nineteenth Century England and Wales* (Cambridge 1986), p.113.

<sup>13</sup> G.Buckland, 'On the farming in Kent', *J.R.A.S.*, VI (1845), p.293.

<sup>14</sup> He achieved some measure of success as in certain cases under the Act commutation could be fixed at 50% of current tithes - Julia Andrews, *Political Issues in the County of Kent*, London MPhil Thesis, (1967), p.228.

<sup>15</sup> Cranbrook Museum, *Vox Stellarum Almanack*, 1849 *et. seq.*

Journal on the making of drainage tiles.<sup>16</sup> He later contributed a further article on the making of temporary kilns for the burning [firing] of draining-pipes in order to reduce the cost and hence increase the use of drainage.<sup>17</sup> Furley, writer of the History of the Weald of Kent in 1874, allowed that

*it was at first introduced by the late Mr Thomas Law Hodges, of Hemsted.*<sup>18</sup>

and also noted that Law Hodges had encouraged Mr John Pearson, a tenant of the Cornwallis Estate at Little Peasridge Farm, Frittenden, who, with assistance from Mr Thomas Bridgland of Hunt Farm (a tenant of 6 acres from James Jacobson), had invented a plough to facilitate the cutting of drains<sup>19</sup>. Thus, it is likely that this landlord, Law Hodges, was taking an active interest in the husbandry of his lands and probably influencing other tenants and landowners in the parish. Indeed, there is evidence that Law Hodges'

---

<sup>16</sup> Thomas Law Hodges, M.P., 'On the cheapest Method of making and burning Draining Tiles', *J.R.A.S.*, V, 1845, pp.551-6.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Law Hodges, M.P., 'On Temporary Tile-Kilns', *J.R.A.S.*, IX, 1848, pp.198-9.

<sup>18</sup> Robert Furley, *A History of the Weald of Kent*, II, II (1874), p.657. This suggests that Law Hodges interest in drainage pre-dates the foundation of the Royal Agricultural society. However, Nathaniel Kent had written nearly a century before Furley's publication that "draining is the first improvement that wet lands can receive", quoted by J.V.Beckett, 'Landownership and Estate Management' in G.E.Mingay, (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, VI, 1750-1850, p.599.

<sup>19</sup> Furley, *op.cit.*, II, II, p.658. Furley, quoting Captain Tylden-Pattenson, noted that 'owing to the greater depth at which drains are now generally placed, and the introduction of the circular spade, or graft, hand labour has entirely superseded this plough'.

influence ran over a broad area.<sup>20</sup> Mr Schreiber, of Henhurst Lodge in Woodchurch, improved his estate by the use of Pearson's drainage plough<sup>21</sup>, while Law Hodges' promotion of drainage was in evidence at the far end of the Weald, at Horsham in Sussex.<sup>22</sup>

The Mann/Cornwallis estate is not credited with an innovatory role in this respect, and it is, perhaps, significant that Buckland in his prize essay<sup>23</sup> made no reference whatsoever to what was, in fact, the largest estate in the Weald of Kent<sup>24</sup>. Indeed the estate accounts make no reference to drainage until 1846, the year after the Hodges' tract<sup>25</sup>, when four tenants are listed as receiving drainage tiles paid for by the estate. It is of note that only two, Robert Mercer and James Husmar who between them

---

20 Thomas Law Hodges was also an honorary guardian of Cranbrook Poor Law Union - C.K.S./G/C/AM/1, *Minutes of the Guardians of Cranbrook Poor Law Union 1835-38*.

21 Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.283. Schreiber was the principal landowner in the Parish of Woodchurch, where Thomas Law Hodges was Lord of the Manor - Samuel Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Kent* (1842), II, p.627.

Thomas Neve, of Benenden, not surprisingly extolled the virtues of Pearson's plough when he gave evidence to a Select Committee. He stated that draining had been applied to the land in his neighbourhood about eight years previously. Neve himself had used Pearson's plough for draining - P.P. 1836 VIII. S.C. *on Agricultural Distress, Questions 9436-9447 & 9452-9477*.

22 Siday Hawes, 'Notes on the Wealden Clay of Sussex and on its Cultivation', *J.R.A.S.*, XIX (1858), pp.182-198.

23 Buckland, *op.cit.*, pp.251-302.

24 Although Cornwallis was a patron, together with Viscount Beresford, of the Cranbrook Agricultural Association, this was probably more an honorary role rather than a practical one - Cranbrook Museum, *Vox Stellarum Almanack, 1849 et.seq.*

25 The appearance of a modicum of drainage in 1846 may have been influenced by Hodges' tract.

accounted for 95% of the tiles, are shown as having their rents increased as a direct result. Another tenant Joseph Judge is shown as paying additional rent for drainage although no purchase of tiles via the estate is recorded. The estate's policy appears to have been to levy a capital charge of £10, irrespective of the number of tiles involved, in the year of improvement and an enhanced rental thereafter. Thus James Husmar paid the initial £10, for 11,000 tiles,<sup>26</sup> with an enhanced rent of £1-2s-6d a year<sup>27</sup> thereafter (clearing the cost to the estate in the fourth year) while Robert Mercer also paid £10 for 18,000 tiles, followed by an enhanced rental of 12s 6d annually (clearing the cost in the twenty-first year).<sup>28</sup> These arrangements accorded with the testimony of Benjamin Hatch to the Select Committee on Agricultural Customs in 1848 that in this district the whole of the work relating to draining was done by the tenant. However, 'in some cases the landlord finds the tiles'.<sup>29</sup>

These drainage improvements were not, however, the prelude to a major assault on the drainage problem on the part of the estate, for at the time of the 1853 survey, every estate farm in the parish was described as requiring draining, or being 'very wet', and the report spoke of 'the undrained state of a great

---

<sup>26</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/39, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1846.*

<sup>27</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/40, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1847.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* The increase in rent for the whole estate on account of Drain tiles amounted to only £7.31.

<sup>29</sup> P.P. 1848 VII.1. *S.C. on Agricultural Customs*, Q.3990, p213.

breadth of the land'.<sup>30</sup> There has been some controversy about the rate of progress in drainage in south-east England generally from c1850-1880.<sup>31</sup> On the Mann/Cornwallis estates, possibly with encouragement given by availability of government loans after 1846<sup>32</sup>, further progress appear to have been attempted, perhaps reflecting the passing of the estate to Viscount Holmesdale and, maybe, the passing of Mr Groom as the estate's agent. However, it seems clear that the benefits were far from major, and problems were ameliorated rather than eliminated. At the time of the 1875 report on the Sissinghurst Estate, which included the Frittenden lands, it was observed that

*the greater part of the wet land has been under drained, but after heavy rains, the surface of the Weald lands becomes so puddled as to render it almost impervious ... causing the land in wet Seasons to be waterlogged to the great injury of Autumn cultivation and Winter crops.*<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> C.K.S./U24/E3, *Copy of Report As To The Estates In Kent & Sussex Of The Trustees Of The Late Earl Cornwallis 1853.*

<sup>31</sup> R.W.Sturgess, 'The agricultural revolution on the English clays: a rejoinder', *A.H.R.*, XV (1967), pp.84-5, claims that there was a lack of adequate underdraining in the Weald through 1850-80, but G.E.Mingay, *The Gentry* (1976), p.170, supported by H.C.Prince, 'Victorian rural landscapes' in G.E.Mingay (1981), *The Victorian Countryside*, 1 (1981), p.21, is of the opinion that on arable clay areas of the south and east there had been a 'heavy expenditure on drainage'.

<sup>32</sup> Public Money Draining Act 1846 and 1850. Government loans were at 3½% and repayable over 22 years.

<sup>33</sup> C.K.S./U24/E4, *Report Upon and Rental Valuation of the Linton, Egerton, and Sissinghurst Estates, situate in the County of Kent, the property of The Right Honble Viscount and Viscountess Holmesdale 1875-6*, p.VIII.

(III) FARM BUILDINGS AND REPAIRS

Mingay states that on estates in general  
*tenants, large and small, were expected to ...  
keep the premises in repair (often with the help  
of materials from the estate).*<sup>34</sup>

This system for repairs does not appear to have operated on the Cornwallis Estate, where, in the survey of 1814<sup>35</sup>, the surveyor recorded that more than 37% of the annual value of the properties situated partly or wholly in Frittenden would be required to correct the assessed deficiencies of the farmhouses and buildings. Eight farms required more than 20% of their rental to be assigned to repairs, including one, Mills Farm [Pullen Farm] requiring more than 3 years rent, and another, Hartridge Mill (situated predominantly in the parish of Cranbrook) almost 2 years rental. It is of note that Hartridge Mill, where only £10 outlay on the fabric of the farm buildings was required by the estate, was the subject of a covenant on John Harmer, the tenant, to undertake repairs to the water corn mill to the extent of £230 and to leave the mill in good tenantable repair during his term and at his own expense. Thus the estate retained responsibility for the farming aspects of the holding but relinquished any responsibility for the commercial aspect. This is the only reference to a covenant on the estate.

Of the other farm units in Frittenden surveyed in 1814, two, that of Thomas Beeslee and Mrs Malyon, had no buildings and therefore attracted no repair costs, leaving a further seven farms requiring between 10% and 20% and only one with less than 10% of the rental

---

<sup>34</sup> G.E.Mingay, *Land And Society In England 1750-1980* (1994), p.124.

<sup>35</sup> C.K.S./U24/E1, *Report and Valuation of Sundry Estates in the County of Kent the Property of James Mann Esqr: By R.Allerton (1814).*



required for repairs. While the survey makes no indication as to the responsibility for the cost of repairs the implication is that the estate would meet them.

While the surveyor notes that the nine acres with cow lodge, but no house, occupied by Mrs Malyon should be let with the farm occupied by James [in fact William] Pullen because of her being unable to manage the land, and indeed receiving Parochial Assistance<sup>36</sup>, she was not 'put out' by the estate and died in occupation of the land in 1815 after which it was indeed incorporated into William Pullen's adjacent holding by the time of the Lady Day 1816 rental.<sup>37</sup> This does not suggest a grasping landlord intent on maximising the return of his holding at the expense of an elderly widow. After incorporation, the rent relating to the land formerly occupied by Mrs Malyon was increased from £4-10s to £6-6s, i.e. 40%, per half year.

The accounts running from 1814 to 1850, show no systematic approach to the repairs outlined by the 1814 survey. Many entries on repairs are of a general nature, e.g.

*Thos Day Bill for Bricks used in Sundry places.*  
£3-12-6<sup>38</sup>

while other are more specific, e.g.

*Thos Day Bill for Thatching at the Brick Kiln Farm - 7s.*<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p.82.

<sup>37</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/1,2,3&4, *Mr Groom in Account with James Mann Esqr for rent of his Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex.*

<sup>38</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/3, *Mr Groom in Account with James Mann Esqre for half a year's rent of his Estates in the Counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1815.*

<sup>39</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/33, *Mr Groom in Account with James Mann Esqre for half a year's rent of his Estates in the Counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1839.*

On the whole, and taking account of field observation as well as what appears in the estate accounts, it seems reasonable to conclude that there was a readiness to invest in the improvement of farmhouses and farm buildings in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when Chanceford farmhouse was substantially rebuilt, Pore Farm (Stone Court Farm) underwent major modernisation (possibly as a result of some subsidence or movement in the structure), while Gould Farm received an outshot to increase the ground floor area [possibly to coincide with the new tenant, Robert Mercer, a little later than this in 1832] and Great Peasridge received a two storey addition.<sup>40</sup> The second quarter saw less significant activity in building works on the estate, perhaps unsurprisingly during a period of falling rentals and agricultural depression; however, it did not entirely cease and showed signs of a revival in its final years. In 1839 new oast houses were erected for Robert Mercer and Mrs Pullen, and in 1843 there was a belated attempt to increase the stock of cottages, by the conversion of Wailer Barn and another house to form, altogether, 5 tenements. In 1853 Neve drew attention to an evident backlog. In their overview of the estate (extending, of course, far beyond Frittenden), Thomas Neve & Sons of Benenden<sup>41</sup> estimated that

---

Benjamin Hatch of Tenterden reported in 1848 that the cost of an oast was £100, including everything. With drying rooms and kilns it would cost nearly £200 - P.P. 1848 VII.1. S.C. on *Agricultural Customs*, Questions 4058-4062.

40 K.Gravett & P.Betts, *Unpublished recording of 37 timber framed houses and associated outbuildings in the parish of Frittenden*.

41 Thomas Neve and Sons, probably included George Neve, born 1827 and educated at Wye College, who was to take the lease of Sissinghurst Castle and thus become a tenant of the Mann/Cornwallis Estate - T.Bavington Jones, *Kent at the Opening of the Twentieth Century*:

at a moderate estimate we consider that the cost of putting all the Buildings [on the whole estate] into a tenantable state of repair will amount to at least £20,000 and that to put them into a substantial state ... double that sum would be required.<sup>42</sup>

However, the third quarter, with the new owner of the estate, saw an increase in investment of this kind. Chanceford again attracted attention with a further major update, a Granary being built at Little Brookwood (part of Little Hungerden), a maid's kitchen and other extensions to the north of the main farm house being added to Robert Mercer's tenancy of Gould Farm and a new bay being added to Mills Farm [Pullen Farm], probably for a dairy.<sup>43</sup> At this time, Buckhurst and Great Hungerden were also rebuilt together with associated outbuildings while there had been no improvements on other farms, e.g. Giles, Rock etc. By the 1875 report, houses and buildings were in a fine state of repair.<sup>44</sup>

The two other estates to emerge, those of Edward Moore and Henry Hoare, also undertook improvements, again mainly in the third quarter under the stewardship of Henry Hoare. He undertook substantial improvements at Sandhurst Bridge Farm, with a major programme of improvements to the house and the building of a stable and coach-house and the addition of a roundel to an existing sixteenth century barn which had already been extended in the eighteenth

---

*Contemporary Biographies* (1904), p.188.

<sup>42</sup> C.K.S./U24/E3, *Copy Report As To The Estates In Kent & Sussex Of The Trustees Of The Late Earl Cornwallis, 1853.*

<sup>43</sup> K.Gravett & P.Betts, *op.cit.*

<sup>44</sup> C.K.S./U24/E4, *Report Upon and Rental Valuation of the Linton, Egerton, and Sissinghurst Estates, situate in the County of Kent, the property of The Right Honble Viscount and Viscountess Holmesdale 1875-6.*

century. Cherry Tree Farm, which had passed through the hands of George Sullivan and Edward Moore, and into the ownership of Hoare, had received piecemeal attention. Edward Moore, as we have seen, created Parsonage Farm and built a new farmhouse, see illustration 12iii below, and model farm buildings.<sup>45</sup> He had also added a new block to the south of Hollenden providing a modern section to the house<sup>46</sup> which, at the time of the 1851 census, was occupied by his curate, George Burr, and his female servant. More particularly, prior to his rebuilding of the Church 1846-8, Moore had removed several cottages fronting the main Cranbrook Road, see 12vi, and replaced them with new cottages in similar stone to that of the new church<sup>47</sup>, see 12viii. He also rebuilt the farm house of Church Farm to form Frittenden House which became his rectory, see 12iv and 12v.

The non-resident landlords also invested in buildings during the period under review although, perhaps not surprisingly, to a lesser extent. Cole Farm, owned in turn by Jefferey Cullen and Miss Cullen, received a brick front to the timber framed building in the first quarter while Stephen Bates added a two storey block, including parlour, to Daynes Farm [Corner Farm]. In the second quarter this landlord divided the farmhouse into three cottages.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> So described in the 1923 sale particulars - F.H.S., Uncatalogued Papers.

<sup>46</sup> K.Gravett & P.Betts, *op.cit.*

<sup>47</sup> These houses, described by John Newman as 'Gothic houses, of sandstone, beside the road, one with ecclesiastical tool-shed, are no doubt by Hussey' [R.C.Hussey responsible for the rebuilding of the church 1846-8] - Nikolaus Pevsner (Ed.), John Newman, *The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald* (1988), p.290.

<sup>48</sup> K.Gravett & P.Betts, *op.cit.*

#### IV) LOANS TO TENANTS

The Estate also, in one case, provided finance to a tenant. The Accounts for 1823/4 show Alexander Brakefield, at Tile Barn Farm<sup>49</sup>, making an interest payment of £6-12s on a loan of £132, i.e 5%. While no reason for the loan is recorded, Brakefield had just taken over the tenancy of a farm which had been in hand for 6 months and previously tenanted by Edward Turl. The land itself, 111 acres, farmhouse and outbuildings, attracted a rental of £21 per half year. The loan, therefore, represented more than three years rental.<sup>50</sup>

At the next set of accounts, 1825-6 which covered three half years, Brakefield had reduced the loan to £60, with an interest payment of £3, still 5%.<sup>51</sup> However, he was at the same time £19 in rent arrears, almost 6 months rental. The next two years saw no reduction in the debt but no arrears either. At Michaelmas 1829 the accounts show that the interest had been paid, but that Brakefield was now £31-11s-3d in rent arrears, some 9 months rental<sup>52</sup>, which rose to £67 a year later, equivalent to 18 months rental plus

---

<sup>49</sup> The 1841 Apportionment shows that Brakefield was also a tenant of Edward Munk at the adjacent Link Farm. - P.R.O./TITH2/103, *Agreement for the Commutation of Tithes pursuant to 6 & 7 Wm 4 C71.*

<sup>50</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/18, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for two half year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1823 and Lady Day 1824.*

<sup>51</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/20, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for three half year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1826.*

<sup>52</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/23, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1829.*

one year's interest on the loan.<sup>53</sup> Michaelmas 1832 shows that the interest on the £60 loan had been increased to £4, 6.67%, but Brakefield had extinguished his arrears by this time.<sup>54</sup> This is the final record relating to this loan, which presumably had been extinguished after some eight years. Perhaps the most significant aspects of this loan are, its uniqueness among the Mann/Cornwallis estate tenants, the length of time over which the loan ran, the fact that at 5% or more it represented a better return on the estate's investment than from the estate in general (which experienced reductions in rent and significant arrears during the period), or indeed the funds<sup>55</sup> and finally, the fact that Brakefield received the 15% allowance obtained by other tenants in 1830. Other instances of timely help are known elsewhere in the district. John Neve gave evidence in 1833 that, as a land agent in the Tenterden area, he had 'lent a person £200 to assist him in taking a farm, for which he has paid 4%'.<sup>56</sup> The (very properly) coy nature of

---

<sup>53</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/24, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1830.*

<sup>54</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/26, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1832.*

<sup>55</sup> Half yearly dividend on Bank of England Stock was 4% as was Bank Rate at the beginning and end of the loan, although this did rise to 5% from December 1825 to July 1827 - Sir John Clapham, *The Bank of England 1797-1914*, 2 (1966 Reprint) Appendices A & B pp.428-9. However, this probably overstates the likely return on invested money as Ashton considered that "Bank rate was not yet a mirror of market conditions, and in the early months of 1825 short-term loans were being placed at little more than 2.5%" He also noted that the yield on Consols had fallen from 4.4% in 1820 to 3.3% by 1824, T.S.Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution 1760-1830* (1992 Reprint), p.124.

<sup>56</sup> P.P. 1833 VI. *S.C. on Agriculture*, Questions 5128-9.



this observation suggests that evidence of borrowing on the part of farmers, from whatever quarter, will never be easy to win.

#### V) COMMUNICATIONS

A final area where the estates might have influenced the course of agriculture was in the field of communications. Improving the agricultural output of an estate, or exploiting the mineral potential, might be successful if a landowner was prepared to facilitate communications changes.<sup>57</sup> New forms of transport offered advantages in the shape of an extended market, lower costs for farm and household goods, rent inflation in a way no amount of improvement could achieve, and a greater capacity to exploit natural resources. In the case of Frittenden, we have already noted the frequency of comments on the dire state of the roads.<sup>58</sup> One means of achieving an improvement in communications that came into vogue in the previous half of the eighteenth century was the canal. In September 1800 a plan was deposited for a canal to link the rivers Thames and Medway with the river Rother and Rye Harbour. It is of note that Sir Horatio Mann, probably the largest single landowner in the Weald, does not appear to have been at the meeting of promoters of the project in Maidstone 31 July 1801.<sup>59</sup> The chief object of the project was to connect London and Rye by

*avoiding a tedious, circuitous and dangerous passage by sea, and to carry beach, chalk, lime*

---

<sup>57</sup> J.V.Beckett, 'Landownership and Estate Management' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, VI (1989), p.575.

<sup>58</sup> Above, Chapter 2, p.26.

<sup>59</sup> P.A.L.Vine, *The Royal Military Canal* (1972), pp.115-126.



From F.W.Jessup, 'Kent History Illustrated' 1966, p.51

Map 5v

and coal into the Weald, and to bring out timber, hops, corn, wool and agricultural produce'.<sup>60</sup>

The canal would pass through Frittenden and the Hammer Stream would probably have been used to carry water from reservoirs to be built in the grounds of Sissinghurst Castle to join the canal between Union House Farm [Lowlands] and Bettenham just over the border in Biddenden.<sup>61</sup>

Return on capital of the proposed canal was estimated at only about 3% and for some years the scheme lay dormant. Under the guidance of The Weald of Kent Canal Committee a Bill was finally presented to both Houses on 1 February 1811. This was amended to move the point of termination to the Royal Military Canal instead of the Rother (see Map 5v) and a new scheme was reintroduced in April 1812. The Act<sup>62</sup> was passed 5 May 1812 authorising a capital of £320,000 and £160,000 more by mortgage if necessary. Writing on Frittenden in 1814, Dearn considered that

*if the projected Weald of Kent Canal should be carried into effect, the advantages to these parts would be incalculable. Its roads would necessarily be improved, the number of horses kept for purposes of husbandry lessened, and the value of landed property in a few years, more than doubled.*<sup>63</sup>

Large landowners would thus appear to have an interest

---

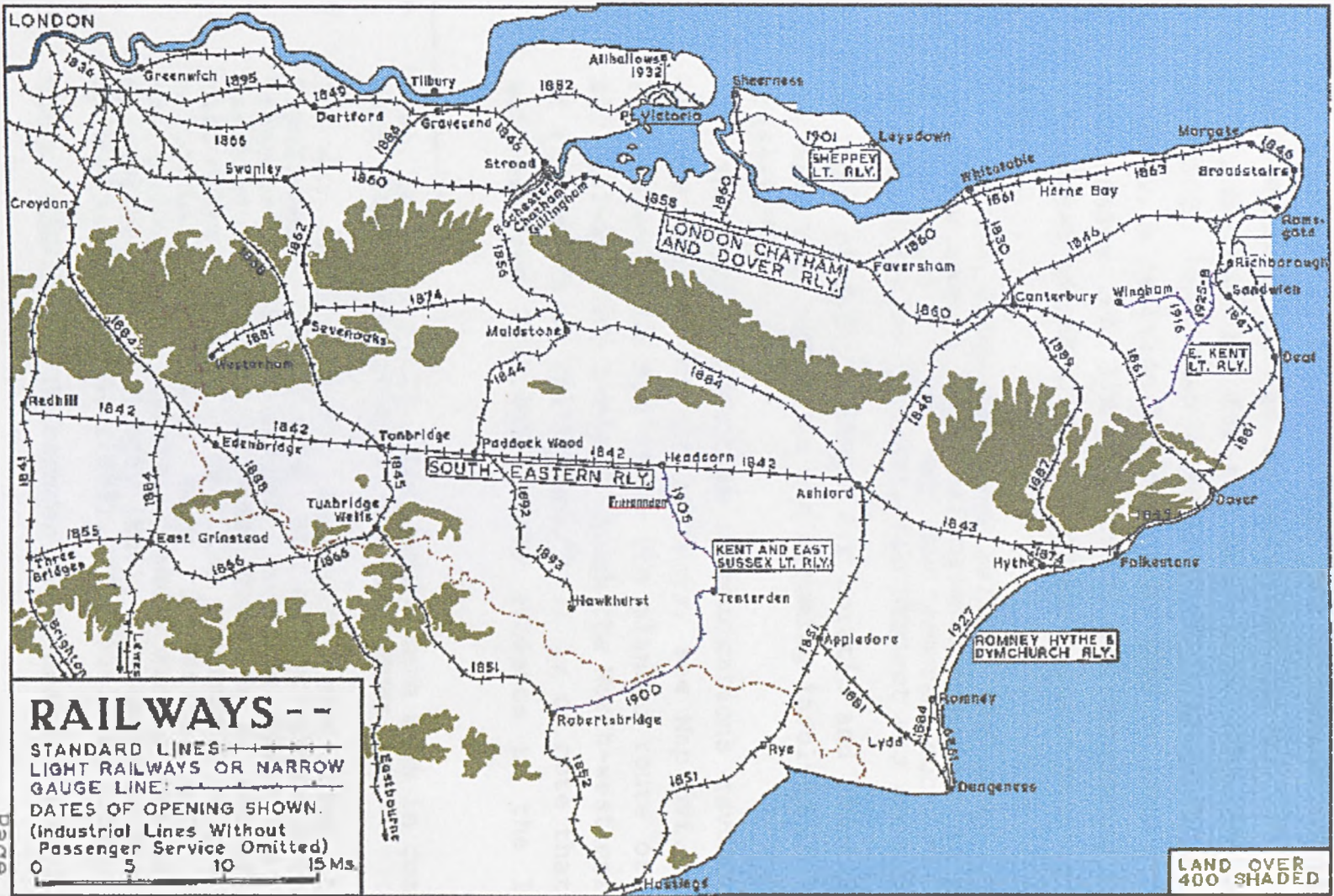
<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.115-126.

<sup>61</sup> Mike Page, 'Another Canal That Never Was', *Bygone Kent*, 8, 11 (1987).

<sup>62</sup> P.P.1812, 52 Geo. III c.70: An Act for making a Navigable Canal from the River Medway, near Brandbridges in the Parish of East Peckham in the County of Kent, to extend to and unite with the Royal Military Canal in the Parish of Appledore in the said County; and also certain Navigable Branches and Railways from the said intended Canal.

<sup>63</sup> T.D.W.Dearn, *An Historical Topographical and Descriptive Account of the Weald of Kent* (1814), p.93.





From F. W. Jessup, 'Kent History Illustrated' (1966), p.53.

Map 5vi

in the construction of such a canal and indeed several of the landowners in Frittenden, Thomas Law Hodges, Mr Mathews and William Tooth appear in the list of petitioners to this Act. Perhaps during the last years of his life, Sir Horatio Mann may not have wished to embark on such a venture, but I have found no evidence to suggest that his successor in 1814, James White/Mann, was any more supportive.

Subscriptions for the project in May 1815 were £103,500, less than one-third of that authorised. However, a petition had been submitted by some of the subscribers of the original Act proposing the withdrawal of their names. Vine concludes that in any event,

*if the money had been raised, the canal would have been a financial catastrophe so that once the end of the war had removed much of the speculative interest, the project was doomed.*<sup>64</sup>

In light of this, perhaps Sir Horatio and James Mann may have been astute in not becoming involved in this project.<sup>65</sup>

The next prospective communications revolution was the arrival of the railways, see Map 5vi. The Frittenden Tithe Map shows the planned route of the SEC railway which passed through the North-west corner of the parish of Frittenden.<sup>66</sup> It is of note that no witness from Frittenden gave evidence to the 1836

---

<sup>64</sup> Vine, *op.cit.*, p.126. This would have been in common with other agriculturally based schemes.

<sup>65</sup> It may also support Beckett's contention that "landowners' reluctance to become embroiled in transport (and industrial) concerns reflected the relative insecurity of these ventures by comparison with other openings". He cites government stocks and mortgages as being more lucrative and safe attractions, J.V.Beckett, 'Landownership and Estate Management' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* (1989), VI 1750-1850, p.585.

<sup>66</sup> C.K.S./P152/27/2, *Frittenden Tithe Award Map 1841*.

Committee on the Railway Bill, while Staplehurst and Headcorn which, in fact, acquired stations opened in 1842, were represented.<sup>67</sup> The Cornwallis Estate appears to have used the coincidence of the arrival of the railway and the death of James Husmar to rationalise the land holdings by splitting Husmar's tenancy between his executors, who retained tenancy of the land to the north of the line, and Robert Orpin, who became tenant of a further 32 acres to the south of the line, and selling 5.41 acres for the railroad.<sup>68</sup>

In general, reviewing the evidence contained in this chapter, it is difficult to see the major landowners undertaking a series of consistent, well directed steps designed to propel the agriculture of Frittenden along a progressive path. It is striking to note how closely the pattern of cropping on the Mann/Cornwallis estate mirrored that of the parish as a whole, hinting that no lead came from the owner or agent of the largest of the estates.<sup>69</sup> This suggests that it was largely left to individual tenant farmers (and, of course, to the owner occupiers) as to how they made shift and adjusted their farming operations to suit changing conditions. How they did this is the subject of the next chapter.

---

<sup>67</sup> Frittenden did achieve its own station when a branch line to Tenterden and Robertsbridge from Headcorn was opened in 1905. Being more than two miles from the village crossroads its existence was not economically based. The final passenger train ran on this line in January 1954, although goods services continued for a further short period.

<sup>68</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/35, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1841.*

<sup>69</sup> See Chapter 6, p.131-6, and the pie chart 6iii.



## CHAPTER 6

### AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND MARKETING

Agriculture is of course not one industry but several; in particular it consists of the two sectors, arable and livestock, whose aims are basically incompatible. There was, in the nineteenth century, a general 'official' view of the importance of corn growing and the desirability, if inexpediency, of protection, paralleled by the persistence in the public mind of a tripartite image of an immutable English agriculture based on 'Squire', 'Giles', and 'Hodge'.<sup>1</sup> However, Fletcher questions whether this adequately represented

*the views and practices of the scores of thousands of farmers throughout the country,*

and, while acknowledging the generalisation, Overton considers that in the nineteenth century most farmland in England was farmed by farmers for whom farming was a business activity as much as a way of life.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the county was considered to contain some of the best arable farming, and, says Prince, it was generally regarded as exhibiting, at the turn of the nineteenth century,

*the most assiduously manicured scenery, with coppiced woodlands, well-pruned orchards, elaborately trained hop-grounds, verdant water-cress beds, the smoothest downs and fields of crops that were the envy of foreign observers and the pride of returning expatriates.*<sup>3</sup>

However, the Weald was considered to be an

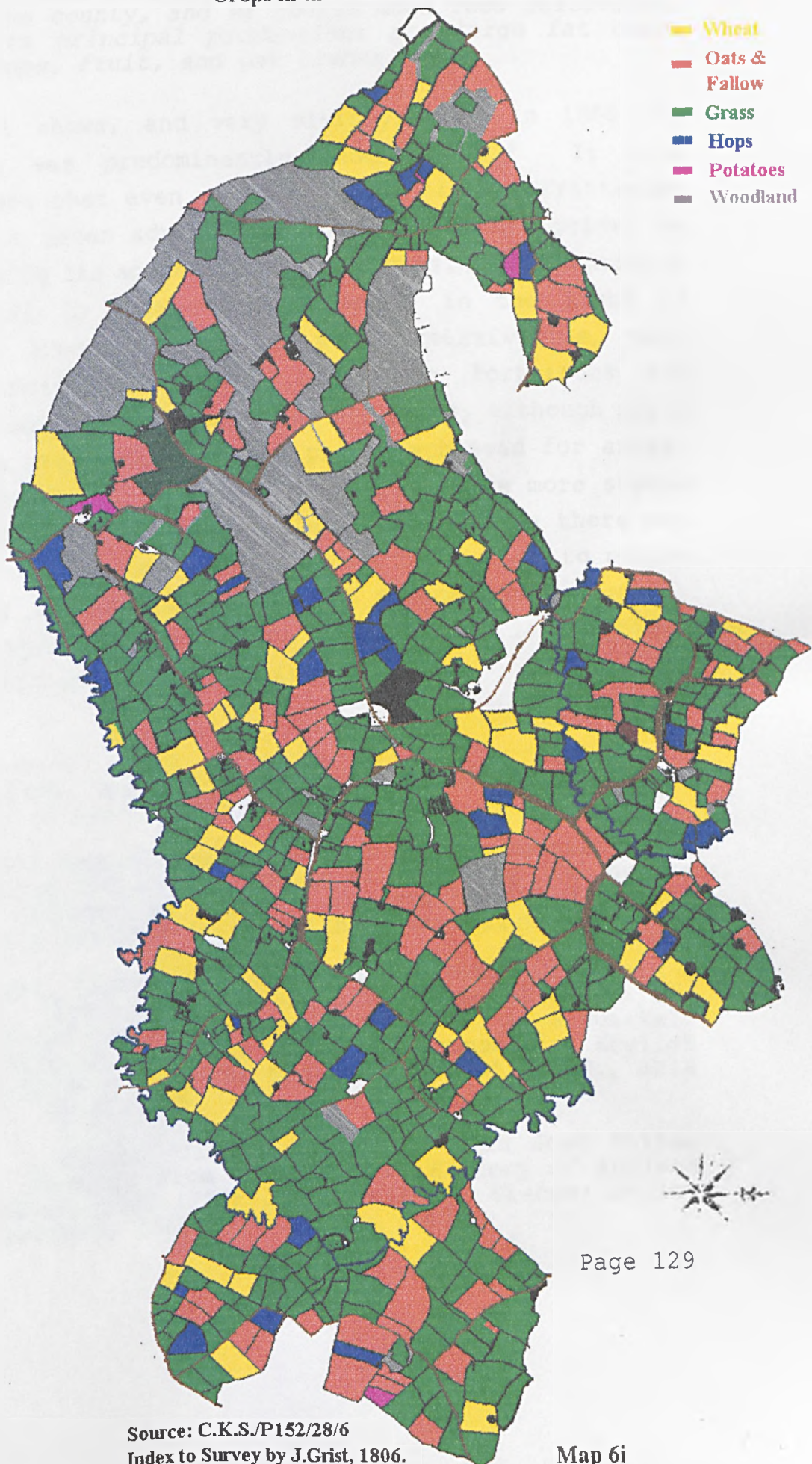
---

<sup>1</sup> T.W.Fletcher, 'The Great Depression Of English Agriculture' 1873-96' in W.E.Minchinton (Ed.), *Essays In Agrarian History*, II (1968), p.248.

<sup>2</sup> M.Overton, *Agricultural Revolution In England: The transformation of the agrarian society 1500-1800* (1996), p.195.

<sup>3</sup> H.C.Prince, 'England circa 1800' in H.C.Darby (Ed.), *A New Historical Geography of England* (1973), p.389.

# Crops in the Parish of Frittenden 1806



exception to this generally favourable picture. Boys, writing in his original report of 1794, noted that it had many small towns and villages

*but was more thinly inhabited than other parts of the county, and of course much less cultivated. Its principal productions are large fat oxen, hops, fruit, and oak timber.*<sup>4</sup>

Map 6i shows, and very vividly, that in 1806 the parish was predominantly under grass.<sup>5</sup> It also suggests that even after 13 years of war, Frittenden had not taken advantage of the high grain prices by adjusting its agricultural base, remaining essentially pastoral in character. However, in the light of recent work on national price relativities, this concentration may have been both fortuitous and advantageous, for during the war years, although grain prices were volatile, the prices achieved for animal products also rose, and, generally, were more stable and therefore more reliable.<sup>6</sup> In addition there may have been some advantage for the tithe payer to remain in, or convert to, grass, as pasture land produced less valuable tithes and, very often, low monetary composition in lieu of tithe.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> John Boys, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Kent* (1794), p.9.

<sup>5</sup> The 1806 Apportionment provided greater detail of the crops and included virtually all the land (fallow has been included as arable, in common with Kain and Prince's analysis of the tithe commutation).

<sup>6</sup> A.H.John, 'Farming in Wartime: 1793-1815', in Jones & Mingay (Eds.), *Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution* (1967), p.30 & G.Hueckel, 'Relative Prices and Supply Response in English Agriculture during the Napoleonic Wars', *ECHR.*, XXIX (1976), pp.401-415.

<sup>7</sup> Eric J. Evans, 'Tithes, 1640-1750', in Joan Thirsk (Ed.) *Chapters From The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1750: 3 Agricultural Change: Policy and Practice, 1500-1750* (1990), p.232.

(I) SUBSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE PATTERN OF LAND USE

(a) From c.1800-1840

On a national basis, Prince considers that after 1800 the arable acreage gained on grassland, and about 1840 the area under arable overtook that under grass, although the ascendancy of arable would last for less than forty years thereafter.<sup>8</sup> In another, more detailed analysis of various sources, Kain and Prince conclude that there is little indication that acreages of land in England and Wales under crops and under grass changed much, relative to one another, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Either the conversion of grass to arable was much less widespread than some historians have believed, or losses to pasture were more than fully compensated by gains from wasteland reclamation. However, the second quarter was different, arable acreage showed a considerable expansion while the grassland acreage showed a corresponding diminution.<sup>9</sup>

This generalised picture is at significant variance with the situation to be found in the parish of Frittenden. Our next benchmark, for comparison with the 1806 Apportionment, is that of 1841<sup>10</sup> which

---

<sup>8</sup> H.C.Prince, 'The Changing Rural Landscape' in G.E.Mingay, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1750-1850*, VI (1989), p.30.

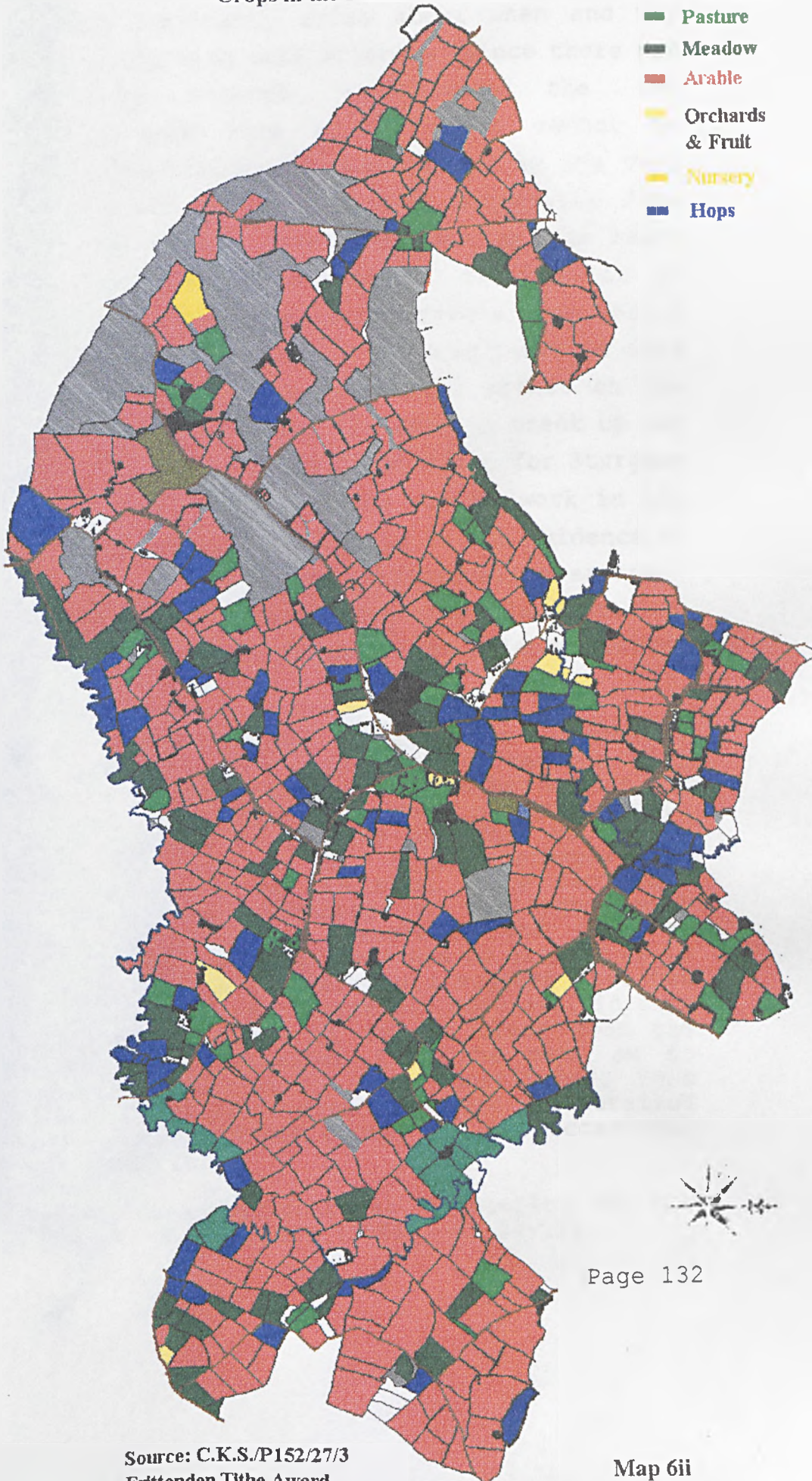
<sup>9</sup> R.J.P.Kain & H.C.Prince, *The Tithe Surveys of England and Wales* (1985), p.173.

<sup>10</sup> The 1837-41 Apportionment omitted some land in its coverage, in particular gardens or non productive land, and was more restrictive in its classification of crops. That of 1806 was signed by all occupiers suggesting that it provided a reasonable record of the situation - (C.K.S./P152/28/6). That of 1837-41 was subject to appeal and the few appeals which were made failed and a few changes subsequent to the original apportionment accepted - P.R.O./IR18/3608, *Frittenden Tithe File Dec. 1 1840, Frittenden Kent Appeal Meeting Nov 25th 1840*. Both may be regarded as valid and reasonably comparable as well as acceptably accurate records.



### Crops in the Parish of Frittenden 1841

- Woodland
- Pasture
- Meadow
- Arable
- Orchards & Fruit
- Nursery
- Hops



shows (Map 6ii) a virtual transformation of the position since the early nineteenth century. The accent was now firmly on arable cultivation, and to an overwhelming extent.<sup>11</sup>

Questions inevitably arise about when and why this occurred, and with what effects. Since there are no intervening records - between the two apportionments used here - the first cannot be answered with any degree of precision. By its very nature, and heavy costs involved, conversion from pasture to arable must have been slow on the heavy clay land and taken many years. However, it is probable that, in the main, Frittenden's move toward arable took place after 1815. Perhaps there is here a local reflection of a more general effort on the part of the farmers of heavy clayland to break up the grassland to cash in on stored fertility, for Sturgess has suggested that this tendency was at work in the early 20s.<sup>12</sup> As we have seen, this is not evidence of any systematic pressure from the Cornwallis estate - the major, but by no means the only, landowner at Frittenden - to effect a change in the balance between

11

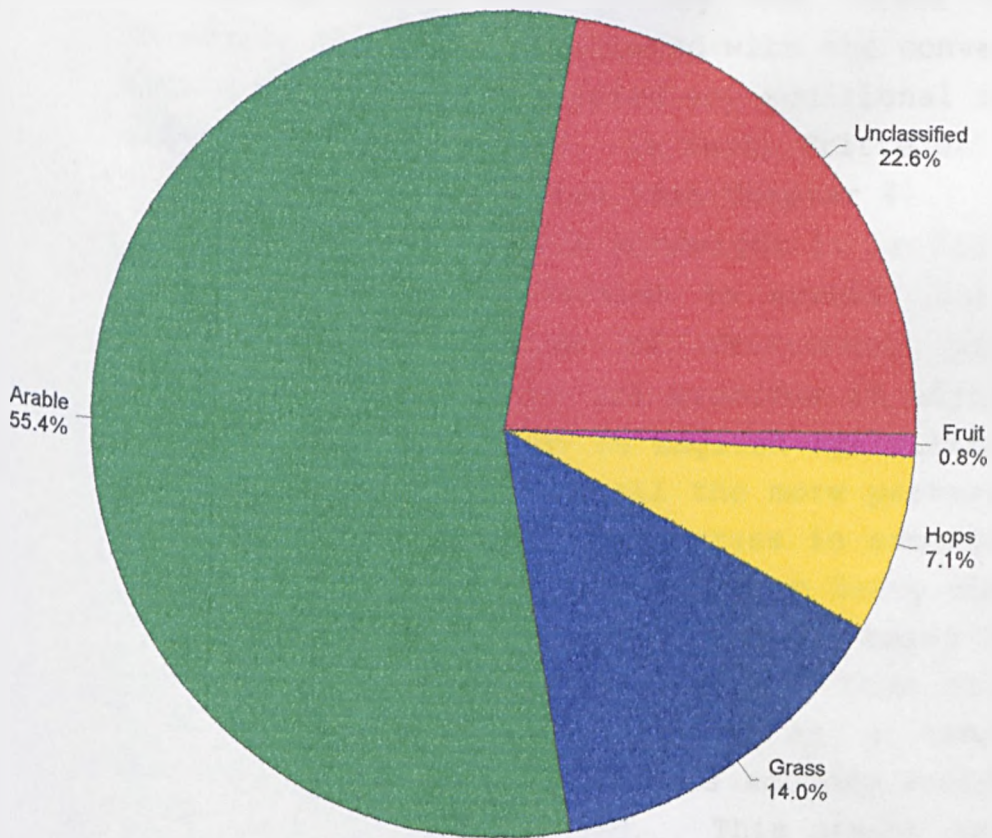
R.J.P.Kain, 'The Tithe Commutation Surveys', *Arch.Cant.* LXXXIX (1974), pp.109-110, records that land which was judged to have been ploughed within the previous three years for crops, rotation grasses, or fallow were regarded as arable; and that we may be fairly sure that it was what local contemporaries would have understood by the term. The fact that there was a pecuniary advantage to the farmer when fields were recorded as grassland, and that at Frittenden's parish meeting there was no dispute as to the categorisation of fields, would suggest that the extent of arable land was reasonably accurate, in this case. Note though, that it is not clear from the apportionment, and therefore from the map, as to whether orchards/fruit were a large constituent. Kain records that crops, apart from hops, are not detailed in the Kent apportionments except for the occasional mention of sainfoin.

12

R.W.Sturgess, 'The Agricultural Revolution on the English Clays', *A.H.R.*, XIV (1966), p.104-121.



Crops on Mann/Cornwallis Estate 1841



Source: C.K.S./P152/27/3, Frittenden Tithe Award

6iii

pastoral and arable, and the cropping mix, on the Cornwallis-owned lands showed no signs of 'leading' the rest (see Chart 6iii). In any event, had any such systematic policy existed, the outcome would have seemed deeply disappointing. While it is true that in the 1790s arable rents had been (in England at large) at least twice as high as pasture rents, by the 1830s and 1840s they were barely one fifth higher.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the costs associated with the conversion to arable may well have negated any additional rent that might have been charged. In fact, Frittenden's rents declined over that period [See Chapter 4].

At all events, with hindsight it is fair to say that the radical conversion to arable that was so marked in the parish of Frittenden must have significantly increased its problems in adjusting to the post-war depression in English Agriculture after 1815. The shift appears all the more perverse given the laying down of arable to grass in some districts following enclosure, particularly on heavy claylands, due to the increased profitability of heavy land for livestock as compared with grain.<sup>14</sup> Thus Frittenden appeared to be putting itself at a competitive disadvantage at a time when its economy would in any event have been depressed. This would have been compounded by the conversion to a form of husbandry likely to increase their liability to tithes. Writing in 1852, James Caird was clearly of the view that many Wealden farmers had defied economic logic, in failing to concentrate as far as possible on

*articles which have shown a ... tendency to increase in value.*

---

<sup>13</sup> M.E.Turner, J.V.Beckett & B.Afton, *Agricultural rent in England, 1690-1914* (1997), p.194.

<sup>14</sup> Alan Harris 'Changes in the Early Railway Age: 1800-1850' in H.C.Darby (Ed.), *A New Historical Geography of England* (1973), p.477.

In Cheshire and Lancashire, he revealed, there were some clays just as stiff and infertile, but tenants (and owners) had fared well by concentrating on cheese and butter: moreover, a large stock of well-fed animals had added fertility to the land and thereby increased arable output. By contrast, as a result of relying heavily on successive corn crops, he suspected that developments in the Weald had caused reductions in the natural fertility of the soil.<sup>15</sup>

(b) 1840-1870

Developments of this period on English claylands in general have been the source of considerable controversy in recent years. An important article by R.W.Sturgess in 1966 maintained that there was an 'agricultural revolution' on such soils during the 'golden age', entailing especially the application to newly drained heavy land of techniques already successfully employed on the lighter soils.<sup>16</sup> Almost immediately, this was countered by Collins and Jones<sup>17</sup>, who questioned both the claims for massive investment at this time and the applicability of 'high-farming' techniques to the more recalcitrant clays. More recently, Overton has written that high farming was by no means ubiquitous and that in some areas, especially on the heavy claylands, wheat, bean and fallow rotations continued much as they had for centuries.<sup>18</sup> In a subsequent article, Sturgess recognised that the Weald had failed to reduce real costs and that large

15 James Caird, *English Agriculture In 1850-1851* (1852), pp.282-3 & 123.

16 Sturgess (1966), *op.cit.*, pp.104-121.

17 E.J.T.Collins & E.L.Jones, 'Sectoral Advance in English Agriculture, 1850-80' in *A.H.R.*, XV (1967), p.65-81.

18 Overton, *op.cit.*, p.194.

areas still required draining in the 1870s, and acknowledged his dependence on mainly Midland evidence. He conceded that, at any rate with regard to south-eastern England, his views and those of Collins and Jones were not far apart.<sup>19</sup> Clearly, the more regional or even local evidence that can be brought to bear on this debate, the better.

A recent contribution by Hunt and Pam investigates the situation in Essex, where much - though not all - of the land consisted of more or less stiff and intractable clays.<sup>20</sup> This searching inquiry concludes that in Essex, where in c1850 three quarters of the farmland was given over to arable, there were 'very few' signs of extensive conversion to pasture - indeed if anything the proportion of pasture-land actually fell, by 1870.

In Essex, the importance of wheat, the main cash crop, was more than maintained. Rental increases, in real terms, were increased only modestly, there was some evidence of outstanding prosperity among farmers, and the level of investment was not high. The most remarkable feature, say these authors, was 'how little' Essex farming changed. However, Essex agriculturalists are at least partially exonerated from charges of ignorance, indolence and inertia, on the grounds that the advantages of applying high-farming innovations, and expensive drainage schemes were by no means obvious on unrewarding Essex clays; the dry climate was ideally suited to cereal-growing; price signals were by no means so unequivocal as is sometimes assumed in this period; while as a result of improving transport, more distant counties were

19

R.W.Sturgess, 'The Agricultural Revolution on the English Clays: a Rejoinder', *A.H.R.*, XV (1967), p.82-87.

20

E.H.Hunt & S.J.Pam, 'Essex Agriculture in the 'Golden Age', 1850-73, *A.H.R.*, 43 (1995), pp.160-177.

able to reach London and thereby erode the advantages of proximity to the capital that Essex had once enjoyed. In the round then, Essex researches appear to support the conclusions of Collins and Jones - rather than those of Sturgess - that innovation and investment on the claylands was not especially impressive during the 'golden age'.

It is against this background that our Kentish findings need to be assessed. The county as a whole enjoyed much the same, relatively dry climate as Essex, though a significantly large part of Kentish soils were chalk - rather than clay - based. The proportion of the county's land given over to arable, c.1840, stood at 67.9%, i.e. significantly above the national average figure of just under 48%.<sup>21</sup> By 1875 this county figure had increased to 76.7%. Even in the Weald, claimed one authority writing in 1858, wheat was 'at all times the main object of the Wealden farmer'.<sup>22</sup>

Therefore, it is a matter for considerable surprise to find that at Frittenden the change in the arable-pasture balance was considerable, and in the opposite direction.

By their nature, the Agricultural Returns do not permit the detailed mapping of land-use patterns which was possible with the Apportionments of 1806 and 1841. Nevertheless, they do permit the overall pattern of

---

<sup>21</sup> Kain & Prince (1985), *op.cit.*, p.174.

<sup>22</sup> Siday Hawes, 'Notes on the Wealden Clay of Sussex and on its Cultivation', *J.R.A.S.*, XIX (1858), p.189.



production in the parish to be assessed.<sup>23</sup> In the pie-chart [6iv] relating to 1870, it can be seen that the proportion of the land given over to arable at Frittenden had declined sharply, to 32.6%, and the proportion given over to grass had risen correspondingly, to reach 39.7%.<sup>24</sup> This kind of adjustment, and its impressive extent, does not sit at all well with, indeed it defies the Kentish trend and the thrust of what Hunt and Pam have to say about Essex. On the other hand, it suggests strongly that Frittenden, despite its Wealden location, was anticipating shifts in price relativities; that it did show, and in quite a marked form, the contraction in arable land that Jones has detected in the national figures from the 1850s; that it went some way towards meeting Caird's contemporary recommendations that adjustments were needed in the pattern of mixed farming; and that it anticipated the move into grass and livestock, market gardens and fruit considered by a modern historian, Mingay, to be the logical response to the sea-change in the market as foreign wheat provided irresistible competition.<sup>25</sup> The search for an explanation, or series of explanations, will lead us

23

The series started in 1866 and the earliest returns are considered somewhat unreliable. Many farmers were wary about disclosing details of their business and the figures often under-represent the actual situation on the ground - Peter Edwards, *Farming: Sources for Local Historians* (1991), p.60.

The limitations of Agricultural Returns were highlighted by J.T.Coppock who, nevertheless, concluded that results can be sufficiently consistent and plausible to suggest that they are a reliable measure of the changes which occurred - 'The Agricultural Returns as a source for Local History', *The Amateur Historian*, 4, 2 (1958/9), pp.49-55.

24

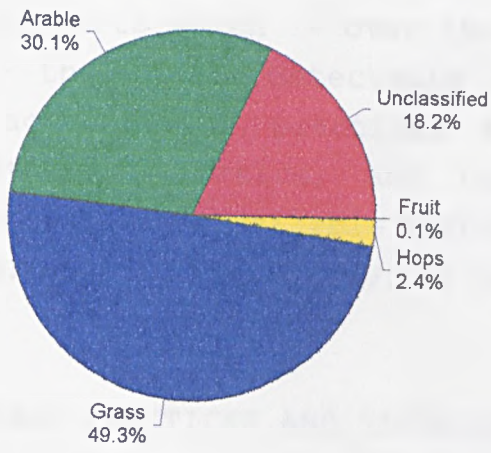
The 'unclassified' category relates predominantly to woodland and to gardens and the large number of ponds to be found in the parish.

25

G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Agricultural Revolution: Changes In Agriculture 1650-1880* (1977), p.67.

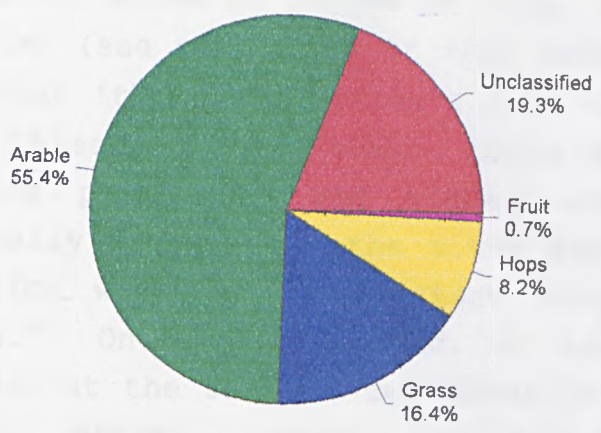
# Patterns of Land Use In Frittenden

1806



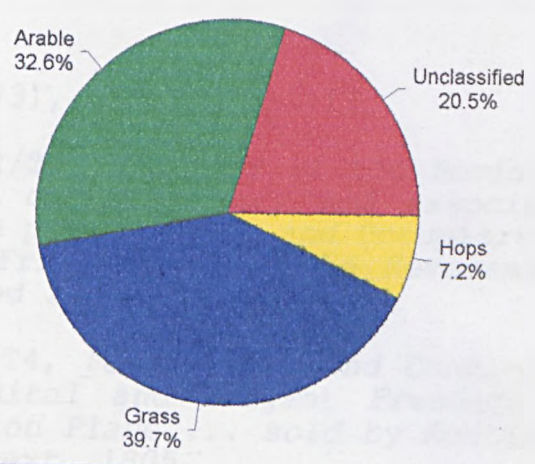
Based on 1806 Tithe Apportionment

1841



Based on 1841 Tithe Apportionment

1870



Based on 1870 Agricultural Returns

in a number of directions, but it is first useful to review the extent to which - over the period 1800-70 as a whole - there were detectable improvements in respect of agricultural practices and techniques, notably rotational practice, and inputs. In the nature of the case, the available information on these points is scanty and fragmentary, it must be said.

## II) AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES AND TECHNIQUES

### (a) Rotations

Kent had no common arable fields, but at the beginning of the nineteenth century, fallowing was generally pursued on cold stiff soils.<sup>26</sup> Frittenden recorded 121 acres of fallow in 1806, or some 3.5% of the parish (see map 6i). At that date, it is quite likely that 'the old practice', i.e. the traditional Wealden three course of wheat, beans and dead fallow was being practised, and indeed some fallow was specifically recorded in the tithe apportionments in conjunction with the appropriate crops for such a rotation.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, it was probably not universal: at the sale of two farms in 1805, the use of oats, barley, seeds, peas(e) and wheat is evidenced.<sup>28</sup>

The speed at which the practice of fallowing retreated from Frittenden, or, for that matter, from the Weald in general, is not easy to determine.

<sup>26</sup> Prince (1973), *op.cit.*, p.417.

<sup>27</sup> C.K.S./P152/28/6, *Survey of the Parish of Frittenden by J.Grist of Canterbury and associated Memorandum between the parishioners and Occupiers of Land in the parish of Frittenden and the Reverend Henry Hodges, Rector dated 2nd August 1806.*

<sup>28</sup> C.K.S./U24/T4, *Particulars and Conditions of Sale of a very capital and Elegant Freehold Mansion House called Linton Place ... sold by Auction ... 13th Day of August next, 1805.*

Buckland, in 1845, considered that

*it cannot be said that anything like system in these respects [i.e. mode of cropping and cultivation] exists,*

and he notes that the 'old practice' of a 4/5 year rotation was 'even now too much followed'.<sup>29</sup> However, he also acknowledges that on the better lands lying in the valley of the Beult, the river passing through Frittenden, a six course rotation<sup>30</sup> was frequent, though with numerous variations, according to differences of soils, seasons, etc. This would almost certainly have applied to some farms in the parish, and it is interesting to note that in the tithe apportionment of 1841, no fallow as such was recorded.<sup>31</sup> However, we can be equally sure that the practice of fallowing was far from defunct. In 1868, the Hickmott Inventory records

*Ploughing &c 5¼ Acres Whole Fallow, 5 times ploughed, 3 times Rolled, Rent & Taxes.*<sup>32</sup>

Perhaps surprisingly, in the 1866 Agricultural Return, the acreage described as under 'bare' fallow was almost identical with 1806, reaching 115 acres. However, this may have been exceptional by this date, and in the ensuing years, as shown in Table 6v, there

<sup>29</sup> G.Buckland, 'On the farming in Kent', *J.R.A.S.*, VI (1845), p.282. By 'the old practice' he has in mind: 1. A year's fallow; 2. Wheat, manured with lime; 3. Oats, or a little barley; Seeds (clover, trefoil, and rye-grass). The seed ley was usually fed off one or perhaps two years, then a naked fallow, and the course returned.

<sup>30</sup> 1. Beans or peas; 2. Wheat; 3. Oats; 4. Tares; 5. Wheat; 6. Clover. Wheat was generally manured with lime, rags, or artificials.

<sup>31</sup> C.K.S./P152/27/3, *Frittenden Tithe Award 1841 Based On Survey made in 1806 By J.Grist, Corrected To June 1839.*

<sup>32</sup> F.H.S., Uncatalogued Papers, *For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott.*

was clearly less recourse to fallowing, the acreage involved falling to (usually) less than one per cent of the parish. On the other hand the amount of land given over to temporary grass (taking here, clover as its equivalent), ranging from 8.1% to 12.9%, according to the year, appears to have been pitched at a somewhat higher level than in the county as a whole.

#### Bare Fallow in Frittenden

	Fallow Acreage	% of Parish	% of Kent	Clover etc for rotation	Not for hay	3+4 as % of parish	% of Kent
	(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)	(5)	
1806	121	3.4					
1866	115	3.3					
1867	80	2.3	1.9		342	9.7	7.7
1870	58	1.7	1.4	298	155	12.9	8.6
1874	34	1.0	1.1	280	43	9.2	7.5
1875	49	1.4	1.0	233	51	8.1	7.3
1877	82	2.3	1.3	309	68	10.7	8.2
1878	47	1.3	1.4		289	36	9.3

**Source:** P.R.O/MAF/68, Agricultural Returns for the Parish of Frittenden.

**Table 6v**

#### (b) Off-Farm Inputs

In the context of his argument that there occurred a second agricultural revolution starting before 1815 and based on manure, Thompson estimates annual consumption of oilcakes in the last five years of the French Wars as about 25,000 tons. There was a small but established import of cakes from Europe of about 1,000 tons a year. By 1856 the home production of cake had risen from 23,000 tons to 190,000 while imported cake had risen to 83,000 tons. However, as was also the case with bones, there was a regional bias toward Lincolnshire, the East Riding and Nottinghamshire for the consumption of this product. The only farmers who mentioned oilcakes with any enthusiasm to the 1836 *Select Committee on Agricultural Distress* were from southern Scotland and

Lincolnshire. The main economic justification of feeding stock with expensive purchased oilcakes was held by farmers to lie in the greatly increased value of cake-based dung over ordinary dung. Bones supplied phosphates and nitrogen enabling light lands to produce heavy crops of roots and grains. From the early 1840's bones met strong competition from guano and from the 1850's imported bones were converted into superphosphates. Thompson also acknowledges that lime was used in considerable quantities, but could identify no source from which quantitative estimates could be made.<sup>33</sup> Mingay has suggested that during the 1840s, the gap between the large progressive farmer using these new materials and the common run-of-the-mill muck farmer remained very great, and indeed was perhaps more marked at this time than ever before or since.<sup>34</sup>

To what extent were Wealden farmers, and those of Frittenden in particular, drawing on such off-farm inputs? In the Weald of Kent some farmers used marl in 1785, and by 1796 Boys was reporting that

*the tenants are bound to lay one hundred bushels of lime per acre on the fallows for wheat; and generally put on double that quantity.*

Chalk lime was applied to the stiff clays and was brought from the chalk hills of 'Middle Kent' some 20 miles from some parishes.<sup>35</sup> At about this time there is a reference in the Frittenden Overseers Books to

---

<sup>33</sup> F.M.L.Thompson, 'The Second Agricultural Revolution, 1815-1880', *ECHR.*, XXI, No.1 (1968), p.67.

<sup>34</sup> G.E.Mingay, *Rural Life in Victorian England* (1976), p.63.

<sup>35</sup> John Boys, 'General View of the Agriculture of the County of Kent' (1796), p.77, quoted in William Marshall, *The Review and Abstract of the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture*, (1968 Reprint of 1817 Edn.), p.438.



the purchase of lime for the parish farm.<sup>36</sup> In 1833 a waggon load applied to approximately one acre, cost 50s without the carriage<sup>37</sup> It was reported in 1836 that the cost when chalk was burnt into lime was

*5 pence or 6 pence per bushel at the kiln .... 5 pence of the agriculturalist for manure.*<sup>38</sup>

Lime was described as the only manure that could be got and this was expensive there being about 12 miles or more of land carriage involved. John Neve, of Benenden, gave evidence that about 3 tons of lime would be applied per acre. However,

*if we had 5 or 6 it would do more good... We don't consider it lasts more than 2 or 3 crops.*

while 40-60 tons of chalk applied to an acre of land would last from 15 to 20 years.<sup>39</sup>

In the light of the expense involved, and the known fact that the efficacy of liming depended upon adequate soil drainage<sup>40</sup>, it is not surprising that farmers were chary of using it too lavishly. The purchase of lime is recorded only once in the Hickmott note books when 10 cartloads were bought from a Mr Brenchly in 1858.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> C.K.S./P152/11/1,2,3, *Frittenden Parish Overseers records*. Mr Pyall was paid £4-16-0 for 'fetching eight Load of Lime for the Poor Farm', 30 September 1800, with a similar sum paid for a further eight loads in October 1801. Payments for lime were £8 in April 1801 and £5 in November and December 1801.

<sup>37</sup> P.P. 1833 VI. *Select Committee on Agriculture 1833*, Q.5272-5277.

<sup>38</sup> HOLRO, *House of Commons Committee Evidence on the South Eastern Railway Bill, 1836*, Vol.36, 21 March 1836, Mr Charles Golden, Harbour Master at Folkestone, pp.156-7.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 March 1836, Evidence of Mr John Neeve, farmer of Benenden, p.254.

<sup>40</sup> Prince (1973), *op.cit.*, p.415.

<sup>41</sup> F.H.S., *Uncatalogued Papers, Hickmott Notebooks 1858*.

Regarding oil cakes, these were certainly not unknown in the district. At the Southern Railway Bill Committee, Thomas Reeves, a farmer and shopkeeper [general dealer] at Benenden, reported that some farmers fattened their beasts with oil cake in his district in order to get good manure, adding that fattening with oil cake was rather an expensive process.<sup>42</sup> At Frittenden, the only reference to oil-cake encountered was from the Hickmott note books from 1848 to 1850, when Mr Witherden, of Biddenden, was paid £1-10s per hundred.<sup>43</sup> Another form of manure was hop-bines and the existence of 'a lump' of them in Hickmott's inventory in 1858 suggests their use for this purpose at that time; however, they were not highly esteemed for the purpose, and the estate survey carried out in 1875-6 reported that 'the produce of the Hop adds very little to the manure made on the farm'.<sup>44</sup>

In the round, therefore, it would seem that farm generated manure was the norm for Frittenden farmers, and that as late as the 1870s there remained, despite the availability of the railway, a lot of scope for the introduction of more off-farm inputs into the district. The 1875-6 Estate Survey recommended that

*a greater quantity of extraneous artificial or other manure brought on to the Farm for the Hop ground.*<sup>45</sup>

In particular, grassland on the Wealden part of the

---

42 HOLRO, *House of Commons Committee on the South Eastern Railway Bill*, 24 March 1836, Evidence of Thomas Reeves, pp.280-1.

43 F.H.S., *Uncatalogued Papers, Hickmott Notebooks*.

44 C.K.S./U24/E4, *Report Upon and Rental Valuation of the Linton, Egerton, and Sissinghurst Estates, situate in the County of Kent, the property of The Right Honble Viscount and Viscountess Holmesdale 1875-6*.

45 *Ibid.*

estate

would be greatly improved by more liberal treatment, and its productiveness vastly increased by the application of Raw Bones, Liming &c. In order to induce this being done, it would be advisable to offer compensation to the Tenant in case of his quitting the Farm within eight years after the date of application.

That such comments could be made as late as 1875 suggests that not too much progress had been achieved in the modernisation of the use of off-farm inputs, certainly in the case of bone and phosphates.

(c) Tools, Machinery etc

Even as late as 1850, the sixteenth century farmer would have recognised most farming operations. For example, ploughing, sowing, weeding and harvesting, were carried out in much the same way on the majority of farms, since mechanisation had not made much headway by the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>46</sup>

Boys records that in the Weald

*for breaking up layers, a foot plough with a turn wrest is used, they cost fifty-five shillings each. For cross ploughing, and every occasion, the Kentish turn wrest plough, it costs five guineas.*

In West Kent, harrows had five beams each with five teeth which were made larger or smaller in proportion to the strength of the soil. Rollers of stone, used to break stiff soils, were drawn by six horses.<sup>47</sup>

Buckland, in 1845, reported that implements employed in this district had undergone, in some instances, considerable improvement of late years and that a few new ones had been introduced. He noted that improved machinery reduced the cost of improving

<sup>46</sup> Overton, *op.cit.*, p.194.

<sup>47</sup> Boys (1794), *op.cit.*, pp.85 & 95.

the land and gives details of 'Hatcher's Benenden Tile Machine' which had been sponsored by Thomas Law Hodges.<sup>48</sup> In 1871 there is a record of an 'agricultural machine proprietor' resident in the census of Frittenden, at Maplehurst Mill. This was Henry Orpin, a 39 year old widower who was living with his mother at the mill.<sup>49</sup> Quite what he made, or dealt in is not known, but certainly he did not inaugurate a large-scale engineering or contractor's business, for there is no reference to his presence in subsequent censuses. In general, the advance of mechanization was modest. It is of note that it was not until June 1871 that a steam engine was even seen by James Hickmott

*Monday The Steam Engine & Plow past Lashenden this day the first time it was ever know[n] to pass there.*<sup>50</sup>

Given the proximity of Lashenden farm to the main Maidstone-Biddenden-Tenterden road, this is a very significant comment, suggesting that this form of mechanisation took well over a decade to appear in this area, and older tools and equipment long remained in use: Orwin and Whetham have remarked that the Kentish wooden turnwrest plough, which had been subject to criticism even in the eighteenth century, was still to be found at work as late as 1899 on Wealden soils.<sup>51</sup>

48 Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.293.

49 C.K.S./P152/1861/18-19, *Enumerators Returns for the Parish of Frittenden Census 1861.*

50 C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *Diary of James Hickmott of Lashenden.*

The first practicable traction engine was introduced, 1859 while the first reaping-machine was introduced in 1860 - J.M.Stratton, *Agricultural Records AD 220-1968*, (1969), p.112

51 Orwin & Whetham, *History of British Agriculture 1846-1914* (1964), p.348.

(III) REVIEW OF PRINCIPAL CROPS AND LIVESTOCK KEEPING

Although it has never been asserted that small farms, whether owned or tenanted, were seedbeds of agricultural innovation, it is apparent that they were able to adapt their methods and crops in ways which enabled them to survive in an economy dominated by market production and commercial farmers.<sup>52</sup>

Here, we attempt to go behind the aggregate categories ('arable', 'grass') used in the first part of this chapter, to throw more light on the nature of the adjustments, insofar as there is information. It is at some points plentiful, to the point where it is difficult to resist the temptation to give an exaggerated impression of the importance of this or that line of production; at others, extremely rare or non-existent. Frequently, we have to assess the situation via the Agricultural Return, which are available only at the tail-end of the period.

(a) Cereals

From the cropping map of 1806 [Map 6i] it appears that 412 acres of wheat was being grown in Frittenden (11.7% of parish acreage: on the estate lands it was 152 acres). Oats on the other hand accounted for rather more - 517 acres or 14.7% of the parish land area. This finding echoes the situation found in the Weald as early as 1300, for even then, wheat was secondary to oats.<sup>53</sup> However, our concern is with developments post-1806, recalling that the overall arable acreage expanded down to 1840, and later, contracted.

Buckland in 1845 remarked that the soil was not

<sup>52</sup> F.M.L.Thompson (Ed.), *Landowners, Capitalists and Entrepreneurs* (1994), p.13.

<sup>53</sup> A.R.H.Baker, 'Field Systems in Medieval Kent' in A.R.H.Baker & R.A.Butlin (Eds.), *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles* (1973), p.416.

well adapted to growing malting barley and there is no reference to it in this or other sources.<sup>54</sup> He did, however, deal in some detail with the preferred varieties of wheat, not necessarily the same as in other parts of Kent; and acknowledged the importance of oats. It is a great pity that the 1840 Tithe Commutation (and consequently Map 6ii) does not differentiate between the various crops.

The following table shows the percentages of Frittenden's acreage under cereals towards the close of the period under discussion, and just after, with the 1806 details for comparison.

**Percentage of Land Under Cereals: Frittenden & Kent**

	Wheat		Oats		Barley		Total	
	F	K	F	K	F	K	F	K
1806	11.7		14.7				26.4	
1866	15.1	14.6	7.2	7.9	2.1	5.8	24.4	34.3
1870	14.6	15.2	6.9	7.5	1.3	6.2	22.8	35.1
1874	18.9	15.7	8.3	6.7	1.1	5.6	28.3	34.4
1878	13.3	14.2	7.4	7.4	1.1	5.8	21.8	31.9

**Sources:** For 1806, C.K.S./P152/28/6, *Survey of the Parish of Frittenden by J.Grist of Canterbury and associated Memorandum between the parishioners and Occupiers of Land in the parish of Frittenden and the Reverend Henry Hodges, Rector dated 2nd August 1806.*; for 1866 and following years, P.R.O./MAF/68, *Agricultural Returns for the Parish of Frittenden.*

**Table 6vi**

The fact that the shares of the wheat and oats acreages in 1806 and 1870<sup>55</sup> [see Table 6vi] was similar does not signify there was an immutable or fixed

54 Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.285; Orwin and Whetham note that a major reason for South Eastern counties growing of oats than barley was the insatiable appetite for horse fodder of London - Orwin & Whetham, *op.cit.*, pp.122-3.

55 At 22.8 acres of cereals per 100 acres, Frittenden was at the boundary of Smiths categorisation for Kent's arable acreage of between 10.0 to 22.4 acres per 100 acres in 1870 calculated by Smith - W.Smith, *An Economic Geography Of Great Britain* (1949), p.55.



balance. Farmers here as elsewhere were no doubt sensitive to price relativities, during the French Wars<sup>56</sup> and no doubt later. Here and there local sources hint at this. For example, at the time of the 1853 report on the estate it was observed that

*On many Farms no Wheat has been sown, and on very few has half the usual quantity been got in, consequently unless we should have a remunerative crop of Hops (which after the extreme wet season is unlikely) the Tenantry will be very much distressed.*<sup>57</sup>

Conversely in 1868 Hickmott converted an old hop ground at Lashenden to wheat.

Oats continued to feature throughout. Buckland had noted that black and white Tartar oats were among the approved varieties. Twenty years later James Hickmott was sowing this variety.<sup>58</sup> At Lashenden, these were generally sown in April, although sometimes as early as the beginning of March and as late as end May, and harvested in September. The 1868 inventory reveals 4qrs of oat straw and 20qrs of oats in a barn, in one room in the granary there was 1qr of oats, and 18qrs in another room. The only recorded tool specific to the cultivation of oats was an oat sieve.

Finally, the table shows that in 1870, acreages classified to cereals fell well below the average of the county of Kent as a whole, for wheat 14.6 (against 15.2) acres per 100 acres, oats 6.9 (7.5) and barley 1.3 (6.2).

56

Hueckel (1976), *op.cit.*, pp.401-415.

57

C.K.S./U24/E3, *Copy Report As To The Estates In Kent & Sussex Of The Trustees Of The Late Earl Cornwallis 1853.*

58

C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *Diary of James Hickmott of Lashenden, Wednesday April 25 1866 'ended sowing, Tartar Oats [a black winter oat according to the Hope Family, Cherry Tree Farm, Frittenden] this day'.*

(b) Fodder Crops

Boys noted in his original report that only the 'hazel-mould' clay could produce turnips.<sup>59</sup> In addition old meadows were always mown for hay to fatten the oxen which were used on the farm. Buckland, writing at mid-century, noted the recent arrival of tares, swedes, turnips, mangold and white carrot and their impact on the course of cropping.<sup>60</sup>

It is important to emphasise that 'arable cultivation' (as mapped and pie-charted earlier in this chapter) included not just cereals, but crops intended for the feeding of livestock. In the Weald, at the turn of the nineteenth century, only the best soils incorporated turnips into a four course system where

*the turnips are frequently carried off the land, which so exhausts the soil that the clover lays are often ploughed up for a summer fallow.*<sup>61</sup>

The turnip crop was used to fatten wether lambs.

Kent had long been associated with sheep. In the Middle Ages the proportion of Kentish inventories mentioning sheep was around 70%, a figure reflected in the Weald.<sup>62</sup> Speaking of the county as a whole, Buckland in 1845, noted that

*The principal improvements in the agriculture of the county since the elaborate report of Mr Boys in 1805, consist in ... the culture of root and green crops, and the larger number of cattle and sheep that are reared and fattened, and the consequent increase in agricultural produce*

59 Boys (1794), *op.cit.*, p.92.

60 Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.282.

61 Boys (1794), *op.cit.*, p.93.

62 B.M.S.Campbell & M.Overton, 'A New Perspective on Medieval and Early Modern Agriculture: Six Centuries of Norfolk Farming c1250-c1850, Past & Present, 141 (1993), p.80; C.W.Chalklin, *Seventeenth Century Kent: A Social and Economic History* (1965), p.100.

generally.<sup>63</sup>

Looking now to the situation in the Weald, and at Frittenden in particular, clover was grown in considerable quantities in the Weald. A great many farmers also grew clover for seed. The overseers' books record payment to William Taylor for clover in November 1820.<sup>64</sup> The diary of James Hickmott, covering the years 1860 to 1873, records the harvesting of clover hay in 1861 and 1866, suggesting that he followed a five year cycle for this crop.<sup>65</sup>

(c) Beans

These were cultivated wherever soil was stiff, horse work heavy and weeds difficult, as fuel for horses and as a cleaning crop in the rotation, particularly in the south-east (including Kent).<sup>66</sup> In Frittenden this crop appears to have formed part of the annual course of rotation and not as an additional winter crop such as was to be seen on light lands. The diaries of James Hickmott record that his cultivation of beans began by harrowing the land and that sowing involved the 'dip' rather than drill.<sup>67</sup> Beans tended to be the last arable crop to be harvested. Caird highlighted the high labour resource demands and cost of this crop. In addition to the hand 'dibbing', the beans were hand-hoed with a broad

63 Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.300.

64 C.K.S./P152/11/1,2,3, *Frittenden Parish Overseers records*.

65 C.K.S./U1334/F3-4, *Diary of James Hickmott*.

66 Orwin & Whetham, *op.cit.*, p.123; Prince (1973), *op.cit.*, p.415.

67 C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *Diary of James Hickmott of Lashenden*.

Beans were individually dipped, or dibbed, by hand and then hoed in while peas and corn were broadcast - the Hope Family, Cherry Tree Farm, Frittenden.

hoe twice or three times, 'according to the clean or foul state of the land', in Oxfordshire<sup>68</sup>, and five times in Essex.<sup>69</sup> This latter county, probably more akin to the situation in Frittenden, is in particular contrast with Suffolk where the crop could be repeatedly horse and hand hoed<sup>70</sup>, reinforcing the additional costs of farming on heavy soils.

In 1866 the acreage given over to beans was 231, only 20 acres less than that devoted to oats.<sup>71</sup> This remained fairly constant until a halving of the acreage in 1877 and a reduction to only 28 acres in 1878.

(d) Peas:

The Agricultural Returns record only a small acreage of peas in the parish.<sup>72</sup> In 1866 there were only 9 acres which increased to 20 acres the following year before recording nil returns thereafter.

(e) Root Crops:

Wherever they were grown, turnips served a single purpose; they fed stock.<sup>73</sup> On the English claylands generally the mangel acreage increased throughout the 1850's, but by 1865 farmers in many clayland district were finding it cheaper to feed stock on purchased

68 Caird (1852), *op.cit.*, p.9.

69 *Ibid.*, p.138.

70 *Ibid.*, p.155.

71 P.R.O./MAF/68, *Agricultural Returns for the Parish of Frittenden.*

72 *Ibid.*

73 Stuart MacDonald, 'Agricultural Response to a Changing Market during the Napoleonic Wars', *ECHR.*, XXXIII (1980), p.71.

grain than to grow roots.<sup>74</sup> In the inventory of William Hickmott at Lashenden in 1868 20 rods of turnips were recorded in the garden while in 'the platt' was a 'lump' of turnips.<sup>75</sup> This suggests that turnips were fed to livestock cut, rather than being grazed upon in the field. Caird considered that this practice was more beneficial and indeed cost effective.<sup>76</sup>

Table 6vii shows that the acreage devoted to root crops by this time was minimal suggesting the buying of feedstuffs for the livestock also recorded in the Agricultural Returns.

**Root Crops Recorded In The Agricultural Returns<sup>77</sup>**

	Potatoes	Turnips & Swedes	Carrots
1866	9	11	4
1870	6	11	1
1874	7	27	7
1878	2	29	0

**Source:** P.R.O./MAF/68, *Agricultural Returns for the Parish of Frittenden.*

**Table 6vii**

(f) Livestock:

As we have seen, there was a marked reduction in grassland between 1806 and 1841 although it is likely that the number of livestock kept - of which there is no direct record - did not fall commensurately owing to the growing of more fodder crops within the

74 E.L.Jones, 'The Changing Basis of English, Agricultural Prosperity, 1853-73', *A.H.R.*, 10 (1963), p.118.

75 F.H.S., *Uncatalogued Papers, For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott.*

76 Caird (1852), *op.cit.*, p.21.

77 P.R.O./MAF/68, *Agricultural Returns for the Parish of Frittenden.*

enhanced acreage.<sup>78</sup> By 1870, references to the use of oil-cakes (pp.146 &148-9 above) and especially the increased proportion of land given over to grass would strongly suggest that stock keeping was considerably extended.

(i) Cattle

In the 1790s, Boys noted that

*the grazing of the Weald of Kent, is to rear young cattle, which are put out to keep to the Romney-Marsh graziers in the summer.*<sup>79</sup>

However, he noted that there was not the same attention to the choice of bulls and breeding cows as in the midland counties. As a result

*the finest bull of this district would hardly sell for twenty guineas, although he may be very handsome in every respect, and weigh, if killed, fifty or sixty score.*<sup>80</sup>

The later diary and accounts of the Hickmotts at Lashenden confirm the continuity of this mode of cattle management.

*1868 June 1 Monday Afternoon to Appledore with Beast for Lydd, Tuesday morning rose at Appledore between 3 & 4 set off for Lydd had a good journey and returned home arrived at home about five.*<sup>81</sup>

and

*1871 Sep 25 Monday to the Marsh for the Beast.*<sup>82</sup>

Latterly the Hickmotts regularly used the services of Mr Curteis at Tenterden, not quite on the Marsh, for

78 It is also probable that the stock were fed the oats.

79 Boys (1794), *op.cit.*, p.93; Marshall, *The Review and Abstract of the Reports of the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture from the several Agricultural Departments of England; V, Southern and Peninsular* (1968 Reprint), p.446.

80 Boys (1794), *op.cit.*, p.94-5.

81 C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *Diary of James Hickmott.*

82 *Ibid.*



the summer keep of their steers and heifers, particularly the yearlings. However, Curteis was by no means the sole custodian of the Hickmott's cattle, the brothers using, variously, Mr Hague Senior at Cranbrook (a landowner in Frittenden albeit at the other side of the parish from Lashenden), two other local farmers Mr Munn (Frittenden) and C.J Pattenson (Biddenden and Frittenden), Charles Day (Standen Farm Biddenden, and a relative), as well as Robert Gilbert, Mr Selmer at Scotney Land, and Mr Brackenbury at Lydd, the last normally taking 'the beast', the bull. It is of note that in some years Lashenden also stored cattle for others [1860, was a good grass year].

The Hickmott diaries record various types of cattle requiring to be serviced, and most commonly refer to cherry cows, which were probably Sussex cattle.<sup>83</sup> Given that they maintained a bull of their own, it is interesting to see that they used the services of other bulls in the parish; in 1856 that of Mr Boorman and Mr Simmons, both nearby farmers; and in

83

Buckland reported that the breeds of cattle in the Weald were various, but that the 'Sussex' predominated.

*This breed is of a red colour, frequently dark red, of a hardy constitution, and when well kept arrives at a large size. Steers are generally fattened at 3 years old with oil-cake, turnips, and hay, either put into small yards, or tied up in pens or sheds; when well fed they will weigh from 95 to 120 stone. The chief recommendation of the Sussex breed is that they possess a hardy constitution, are good workers, and when fed are much liked by the butcher, affording a large quantity of fat and excellent meat. As to early maturity and other important points, they are decidedly inferior to the improved modern breed; a fact sufficiently indicated by their having been confined so many years within a very narrow district. So valuable is fattening yard manure that hop-planters are induced to fatten for the sake of the dung, when perhaps there is no prospect of a profit on the cattle being realised*

- Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.292-3.

1857 those of Mr Day and Mr Newman. This could hint at an attempt at the more scientific breeding of animals, but it is also clear that they were unlikely to go far to seek the best available sire, and more likely to choose the least inconvenient, local option.

At the time of the Lashenden Inventory in 1868, the farm carried 4 Cows, 1 Calf, 3 Fattening Beasts, 5 Bullocks 2 years old, 4 Bullocks 1 year old. This was possibly an unusually low level of livestock following the cattle plague of 1865.

For the parish as a whole, with the exception of

**Nos. of Cattle recorded in the Agricultural Returns**

	Milk Cows	Cattle 2 years+	Cattle <2 years	Total
1866	100	156	211	467
1867	95	31	83	209
1870	36	45	135	216
1874	178	98	318	594
1875	144	39	245	428
1877	142	99	152	393
1878	134	39	153	326

**Source:** P.R.O./MAF/68, *Agricultural Returns for the parish of Frittenden.*

**Table 6viii**

the years immediately following 'cattle plague'<sup>84</sup> the reduction in the dairy herd in the sixties and early seventies appears to be somewhat in excess of one-third and therefore a significant element of the farmers earning capacity, be it in the form of milk or butter [see table 6viii]. The total number of cattle gives a ratio per hundred acres of over 6 in 1870, compared with 8.4 recorded by the county as a whole.

84

Indeed, it has been suggested that the impetus for the collection of the Agricultural Returns was the outbreak of cattle plague in 1865 and the impact upon livestock numbers - Edwards, *op.cit.*, p.60.

(ii) Sheep

Romney Marsh lambs were taken into keep in the Weald in the Winter to feed on the stubble, old layers, and meadows. Boys reported the cost of keep to be from two shillings to two and sixpence per week. However, he also recorded that

*these lambs are returned the fifth of April, and in bad Winters frequently go home nearly starved, from which they sometimes die in great numbers when they get into good keep. Great losses are likewise often sustained after a wet Autumn, by the rot.*<sup>85</sup>

He also recorded that

*There are hardly any sheep bred in the Weald of Kent, excepting a few for early fat lambs, of the Wiltshire and South-Down sorts.*

*Some of the Wiltshire wethers are bought in to fatten on turnips; and a few South Down wether lambs are bought in the autumn, and kept on the driest parts until they are two years old, and then made fat for sale on turnips or meadowlands.*<sup>86</sup>

In his evidence to the House of Commons with respect to the proposed South Eastern Railway, John Neeve (sic) stated that on his land in Romney Marsh and the immediate neighbourhood, totalling about 900 acres, he generally grazed from 3,000 to 4,000 sheep annually.<sup>87</sup> However, he reported that while some went to Smithfield, that was not his principal market, using more usually 'Country Markets'. Lambs he could not send to Smithfield at all, because of the weight loss in the journey.

According to the Agricultural Returns of 1866, there were more than 730,000 sheep in Kent, or nearly

<sup>85</sup> Boys (1794), *op.cit.*, p.94; Marshall, *op.cit.*, p.450.

<sup>86</sup> Boys (1794), *op.cit.*, p.97; Marshall, *op.cit.*, p.449.

<sup>87</sup> HOLRO, House of Commons Committee on the South Eastern Railway Bill 23 March 1836, Evidence of Mr John Neeve of Benenden, p.260.

200,000 more sheep than people.<sup>88</sup> By 1870 the number of sheep had, perhaps surprisingly, increased to reach 1,120,000, and continued to record around one million during the later years of the century.

Against this background, we can set what local evidence is available. In the mid 1850s the storing of lambs for Mr Curteis of Tenterden is recorded in the Lashenden notebooks, perhaps a quid pro quo for storing cattle.

The sheep rot epidemic of 1860-1861 warranted a memorandum in James Hickmott's diary.

*It being Such a wet cold, Summer and Autumn in 1860 that the Sheep Rot<sup>89</sup> very much in this Locality and in January 1861 in the hard frost and Snow they died very much. so much that we and many others lost near all the flock in possession.*

In 1866 he recorded that

*Monday much taken up & troubled with fly among sheep and lambs.<sup>90</sup>*

By October 1868 an inventory saw 23 Breeding Ewes, 30 Lambs, and 2 Rams at Lashenden.

More comprehensive information, as before, can be obtained from the Agricultural Returns. The parish showed a remarkably stable relationship between the number of year old sheep to under year olds [see table 6ix]. These numbers are considerable: sheep were in 1870 far more numerous than cattle, and well over twice as numerous as people in the parish, echoing Everitt's calculation. Nonetheless, they were rather

<sup>88</sup> A.M.Everitt, 'The Making of the Agrarian Landscape of Kent', Arch.Cant., XCII (1976), p.16.

<sup>89</sup> Sheep rot is not likely to be foot rot but liver fluke, spread by snails on wet ground and fatal unlike foot rot which was curable - the Hope Family, Cherry Tree Farm, Frittenden.

<sup>90</sup> Probably blow fly maggots - the Hope Family, Cherry Tree Farm, Frittenden.

less in evidence here than in the county at large, on an acreage basis. There were 43 per 100 acres compared with 133 for Kent.

**Nos. of Sheep recorded in the  
Agricultural Returns for Frittenden**

	1 year +	%	< 1 year	Total
1866	1064	62.0	651	1715
1867	1266	60.5	826	2092
1870	1519	63.6	871	2390
1874	1541	63.5	887	2428
1875	1341	63.8	761	2102
1877	1096	61.7	680	1776
1878	1237	61.9	763	2000

**Source:** P.R.O./MAF/68, *Agricultural Returns for the Parish of Frittenden.*

**Table 6ix**

(iii) Pigs

Frittenden had been founded on the basis of pannage for pigs in the oak forest of the Weald. It is therefore somewhat ironic that so little reference to this animal can be found in sources of the first half of the nineteenth century. They are referred to in the Hickmott notebooks and in the 1868 inventory. However, the Agricultural Returns record substantial numbers in the parish.<sup>91</sup> In 1866, 203 were recorded and by 1874 this had increased steadily to 339. The following year saw a reduction to 285 before resuming growth to 345 by 1878.

(f) Milk, Butter and Cheese

Boys reported that inferior meadows were stocked first with milking cows to take off the head grass.<sup>92</sup> It is not possible to assess how much of a market there was for milk either before or after the arrival

91

P.R.O./MAF/68, *Agricultural Returns for the Parish of Frittenden.*

92

Boys (1794), *op.cit.*, p.92.

of the railway. But one may suspect that there was not much except for mainly local needs. The reference in the Hickmott inventory probably implies that much of it went into butter.<sup>93</sup>

Unlike many other areas, production in the Weald of butter or cheese was made almost entirely for local consumption, being disposed of chiefly in the markets of the local towns.<sup>94</sup> Lashenden sold its butter on a weekly basis receiving between 9d and 11d per lb between 1853 and 1857, the norm being 10d. Like some near-contemporaries in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire he may well have been surprised to discover that butter was being sold in the large towns for 1s 4d or 1s 6d.<sup>95</sup>

In the dairy at Lashenden at the time of the 1868 Inventory there were recorded *inter alia*

13 milk Pans, 2 Milk Strainers, 2 Scimming dishes, 7 jugs, 9 Basins, Quantity Plates and dishes, 1 Pewter Dish, 1 Butter Platter, Butter Scales, Weights & Prints.

#### (g) The Advance of Hops

Gervase Markham produced a treatise on the husbandry of the Weald in 1625 and made reference to the growing of hops.<sup>96</sup> At the end of the eighteenth

<sup>93</sup> F.H.S., Uncatalogued Papers, *For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott.*

<sup>94</sup> B.A. Holderness, 'Prices, Productivity, and Output' in G.E. Mingay (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, VI 1750-1850* (1989), p.115-6.

<sup>95</sup> F.H.S., Uncatalogued Papers, *James Hickmott's Butter Book 1855.* Receipts for butter appear in James Hickmott's notebooks, which cover the years 1841 to 1868, regularly from 1848 until 1853 when the butter book commences. Before 1853 the price per pound cannot be calculated as the weight is not recorded.

<sup>96</sup> G. Markham, *The Inrichment of the Weald of Kent* (1660), p.18.



century, the hop gardens of the Weald were described as

*dispersed in small fields, ...they are managed as in other parts of the country, but produce less crops, and hops of an inferior quality.*<sup>97</sup>

There is certainly a scattering of hops in the 1806 map (2.4% of acreage) and a good deal more by 1841 (8.2% - see pie chart 6iv). It has been contended that after the Napoleonic Wars hops replaced wheat as the main cash crop in the Kentish Weald.<sup>98</sup> Certainly the increased acreage given over to hops at this period accords with evidence to the *Select Committee on Agriculture* (1833) - suggesting that hops accounted for 5% to 10% of a farmers holding<sup>99</sup>; while the 1836 evidence of Thomas Neve of Tenterden contended that by far the largest proportion of occupiers in the Weald of Kent and Sussex were hop farmers as well as corn farmers<sup>100</sup>; and also sits well with Buckland's assertion that it had been much extended<sup>101</sup>. Evidence to the House of Commons Committee on the South Eastern Railway Bill, which was chaired by Thomas Law Hodges, John Neeve [sic], reported that the general produce of the region was hops and corn. When asked whether there was any part of England that required artificial manuring so much as the Weald, he responded that there was not and that

<sup>97</sup> Boys (1794), *op.cit.*, p.94.

<sup>98</sup> Viscount Torrington, *On Farm Buildings with a few observations on the State of Agriculture in the County of Kent* (1845), p.69 quoted in Sturgess (1966), *op.cit.*, p.106.

<sup>99</sup> P.P.1833 V.1, *Select Committee on State of Agriculture*, evidence of John Neve, 11 June 1833, Q.5148, p.243.

<sup>100</sup> P.P.1836, VIII. *Select Committee on Agricultural State of Agriculture*, Evidence of Thomas Neve, 15 April 1836, Q.9366, p.2.

<sup>101</sup> Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.285.

this was a 'consequence of the great plantations of hops'.

He also explained that the hops went almost entirely to London. They went by land to Maidstone and from thence by water down the Medway into the Thames. Of particular note was his estimation of the costs of carriage, i.e. about 25s a ton from Benenden to Maidstone and about 20s a ton for the carriage by water.<sup>102</sup> The figure contrasts with evidence from Mr John Wilmhurst, a farmer and hop merchant, that the 14 miles from Cranbrook to Maidstone would cost 10/- to 12/- in carriage, and from Maidstone to London about the same.<sup>103</sup> He adds that the journey to Maidstone took 'about 8 or 9 hours' while from Maidstone to London was 24 or 30 hours.

In his later evidence Neve informed the Committee that the principal part of the hop crop was generally sold early in the season.<sup>104</sup>

The abolition of excise duty 1862, a development notable enough to be mentioned in Hickmott's diary<sup>105</sup>, gave further impetus, especially where cultivation had been economically borderline but this legislation also saw the removal of import duty and hence unbridled

---

102 HOLRO, *House of Commons Committee on the South Eastern Railway Bill 23 March 1836, Evidence of Mr John Neeve, farmer of Benenden*, pp.248-250.

103 *Ibid.*, 24 March 1836, *Evidence of Mr John Wilmhurst, farmer of Benenden*, p.130.

104 *Ibid.*, 24 March 1836, *Evidence of Mr John Neeve, farmer of Benenden*, p.3.

105 C.K.S./U1334/F3-4, *Diary of James Hickmott of Lashenden*. James Hickmott diary notes, Tuesday Sept 23 1863, that he rejoiced in the ending of excise duty on his hop crop.

competition from foreign production.<sup>106</sup>

There was an important, and easily overlooked, spin-off from hop cultivation. In consequence of the constant and increasing demand for hop-poles and fire-wood generally, the management of wood-land formed an important feature in the rural economy of this county, more particularly in the hop districts.<sup>107</sup>

Buckland cites the cost of hop poles as 21s per hundred for 14 foot poles.<sup>108</sup> The Hickmotts were paying two differing prices in 1844 for 14 foot poles; From Mr Ceary at 20s per hundred and from Mr Joseph Witherden 15s per hundred. Not only were both prices below that reported by Buckland but the Hickmotts were prepared to pay a major differential for poles in the same season.<sup>109</sup> In later years the standard size of hop pole bought by the Hickmotts appears to have been reduced to 12 feet, costing variously 17s and 24s per hundred in 1867.<sup>110</sup>

Certainly, farmers and agents were very well aware of the value of suitable plantations, in connection with the hop cultivation. The 1853 survey of the Mann/Cornwallis estate records

---

106 D.C.D.Pocock, 'England's diminished hop acreage', *Geography*, XLIV (1959), p.15-16.  
Hickmott's joy at the ending of the tax on hops is in contrast with the views expressed when 'between 5,000 and 6,000 farmers met in heavy rain to hear T.L.Hodges [at that time out of office] ... describe how hard it was to grow hops and how the reduced duty would not benefit the consumer but would seriously hinder those who grew this risky crop'- Julia Andrews, *Political Issues in the County of Kent*, London MPhil Thesis (1967), p.241, quoting from *Maidstone Journal* 31 May 1842; *Kent Herald*, 2 June 1842.

107 Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.290.

108 *Ibid.*, p.286.

109 F.H.S., *Uncatalogued Papers: Hickmott Notebooks 1844*.

110 This compares with a figure of 13s for 12 feet poles in 1845 - Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.286.

It has hitherto been the practise in clearing the Woods of the produce when felled, for the Teams and Carriages to be driven about in all directions whereby much injury is done to the roots of young plants of Chestnut and Ash ... The Underwoods however have been improved by the close cutting of the Timber and by the planting of better sorts of Wood ... It will be advisable to continue the system of well planting the Woods that are not of too barren a soil as they are felled, and to grub up by degrees the inferior descriptions of Wood least calculated for Hop poles.<sup>111</sup>

An interesting indication of income generated as a spin-off from hop-growing is an advertisement of February 1868;

**TO HOP PLANTERS,  
PARSONAGE FARM, FRITTENDEN, KENT  
Messrs H & E BARNES  
Are favored with instructions from Messrs.  
Mercer and Wildish to offer  
FOR SALE BY AUCTION on WEDNESDAY, the 19th FEBRUARY,  
1868, at 12 for 1 o'clock, on the premises, 25,000  
VERY SUPERIOR LARCH FIR POLES,  
of sixteen years  
growth, and good assortments varying from 9 to 16  
feet.  
Particulars and Conditions may be obtained of the  
Appraisers, Staplehurst, and the poles may be viewed  
by applying to Mr Wildish, on the farm.<sup>112</sup>**

On the other hand, in two respects the advantages of hop-growing to Wealden farming were subject to qualification. First, it was said to divert the use of manure away from other crops. Buckland was also concerned by the diversion to hops of inputs to other crops

It is no uncommon thing to see - particularly on the smaller farms in the Weald - the small portion devoted to the growth of hops highly manured and cultivated, while the rest of the land is suffered, year after year, to remain in a foul and exhausted

<sup>111</sup> C.K.S./U24/E3, Report as to the Estates in Kent & Sussex of the Trustees of the late Earl Cornwallis 1853.

<sup>112</sup> Kentish Express & Ashford News, 8 February 1868, 4a.

condition.<sup>113</sup>

And in the 1875-6 estate survey it was still being advocated that 'the use of Home Farm manure for hops should be more restricted'.<sup>114</sup>

Secondly, the business was prone to great uncertainty, arising from numerous pests and diseases; hops fluctuated in yield more widely than any other crop; and the crop was vulnerable to shifts in public policy with regard to excise and import regulations. Indeed, Buckland considered it a lottery.<sup>115</sup> This view was reinforced by Caird in his consideration of the [Sussex] Weald when he wrote that

*The operation of the excise duties gives the business a gambling character.*<sup>116</sup>

These uncertainties were certainly apparent in Frittenden. Lashenden incurred hop duty of £23, apparently for 1847, and £49-8-3, for 1848.<sup>117</sup> As already mentioned (page 87 Chapter 4 on rents) in 1853 there was some apprehension on the part of the Mann/Cornwallis survey that an extremely wet season would lead to hop failures and a consequent inability of many tenants to carry on.<sup>118</sup> By contrast 1863 was much better. James Hickmott recording

*Sept 23 Tuesday noon ended Hop picking. This a year remarkable no Excise on Hops. and a moderate crop. and a good price from 7 to 8 £*

<sup>113</sup> Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.289.

<sup>114</sup> C.K.S./U24/E4, *Report Upon and Rental Valuation of the Linton, Egerton, and Sissinghurst Estates, situate in the County of Kent, the property of The Right Honble Viscount and Viscountess Holmesdale 1875-6.*

<sup>115</sup> Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.289.

<sup>116</sup> Caird (1852), *op.cit.*, p.127.

<sup>117</sup> F.H.S., *Uncatalogued Papers, Hickmott Notebooks.*

<sup>118</sup> C.K.S./U24/E3, *Copy Report As To The Estates In Kent & Sussex Of The Trustees Of The Late Earl Cornwallis 1853.*

per Hundred [ie cwt].

Frittenden was an irregular contributor to the 'Hop Intelligence' report in the *Kentish Express & Ashford News* from 1865. In general the news appear to have been bad although

*16 September 1865 ... Frittenden. - Hop-picking is now general, and a good crop will be realized. There are several gardens losing colour.*<sup>119</sup>

More commonly, in 1867,

*Frittenden - We find the growth is not so good as was expected; the hops in a few of the best grounds came down satisfactorily. The weaker and most blighted grounds did but little. In general they weigh light, and the average growth of this parish will be very short. Picking would be finished this week.*<sup>120</sup>

In September 1871, in a memorandum it was recorded that

*the Hops were struck so early & much with the Fly that twas thought there would be scarce any Hops. Some thought not enough to pay for the tying & some sold before hand to their loss. the fly & lice all died away suddenly wether washed or not [washed off by rain<sup>121</sup>]. and where there was forward bine there was much more Crop than could be expected.*

*When Saint Jame's Day is come and gone There may be Hops and there may be more.*

In fact, the Kentish hop acreage as a whole reached its peak (171,000 acres) in 1878, and it is acknowledged that this expansion was achieved at least in part by planting in less suitable sites.<sup>122</sup> It is possible in the case of Frittenden that much of the new acreage, which was far higher in 1870 than in 1806

---

<sup>119</sup> *Kentish Express & Ashford News*, 16 September 1865, 3d.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 September 1867, 6c.

<sup>121</sup> From the Hope Family, Cherry Tree Farm, Frittenden.

<sup>122</sup> Pocock, *op.cit.*, p.17 and G.Mingay, 'Agriculture' in W.A.Armstrong (Ed.), *Economy of Kent* (1995), p.78.



[see Table 6x], represented this more marginal land.

**Acreeage of hops in Frittenden recorded in the Tithe Apportionment and the Agricultural Returns<sup>123</sup>**

	Acres	% of Parish
1806	84	2.4
1841	287	8.2
1866	327	9.3
1870	293	8.3
1874	406	11.6
1878	385	10.9

**Sources:** 1806 data C.K.S./P152/28/6, *Survey of the Parish of Frittenden by J.Grist of Canterbury and associated Memorandum between the parishioners and Occupiers of Land in the parish of Frittenden and the Reverend Henry Hodges, Rector dated 2nd August 1806.* 1841, C.K.S./P152/27/3, *Frittenden Tithe Award 1841 Based On Survey made in 1806 By J.Grist, Corrected To June 1839;* 1866 et.seq. P.R.O./MAF/68, *Agricultural Returns for the Parish of Frittenden.*

**Table 6x**

(e) Fruit

Surprisingly, the Agricultural Returns record only 59 acres of orchards in the parish.<sup>124</sup> Other references to fruit are scarce. In May 1860 James Hickmott wrote

*Friday Memorandum we have had about a week of fine warm still and growing weather and the Grass, Flowers, Hedges, Trees, Corn, Hops and the abundant Bloom of Pears and Apples. Present a beautiful and charming appearance.*<sup>125</sup>

It may very well be that fruit growing had yet to make any significant impact in this district. Mingay has indicated that while hops and fruit had hitherto been

123

It is of note that Bagshaw records the hop acreage of Frittenden as being 230 acres - Samuel Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Kent, 1848, II, p.652.*

124

P.R.O./MAF/68, *Agricultural Returns for the Parish of Frittenden for 1874 & 75.*

125

C.K.S./U1334/F3-4, *Diary of James Hickmott of Lashenden, 25 May 1860.*

planted together, later in the nineteenth century orchards were to replace hops.<sup>126</sup>

#### (IV) MARKETING

Over time, changes occurred in the efficiency with which the market operated, in the size and composition of demand, and in the degree to which farmers participated in the market both to obtain farm inputs and to dispose of their produce.<sup>127</sup>

The farmer could sell to (a) higglers calling at the farm gate, (b) local shops or dealers, (c) at markets such as Maidstone, Ashford, (d) to factors, (e) direct to manufacturing food processors. In principle this would depend on the commodity and the period.

It is a moot point whether it would be appropriate to describe the smaller farmers of the Kentish Weald in this period as 'peasants'.<sup>128</sup> What is certain is that they were not subsistence farmers. Holderness, speaking of the national situation, records that

*subsistence farming in the full sense scarcely existed by the second half of the nineteenth century, although it is probable that half or more of Victorian farmers consumed more of their own produce than they sold.*<sup>129</sup>

The pattern of production, even on the smallest farms,

---

<sup>126</sup> Mingay (1995), *op.cit.*, pp.71, 74 & 77.

<sup>127</sup> Campbell & Overton, *op.cit.*, p.101.

<sup>128</sup> Reed opened a debate in 1994 by asserting that whether groups were subsistence producers or simple commodity producers should not affect their classification as peasants - Mick Reed, 'The Peasantry of Nineteenth-Century England: A Neglected Class?', *History Workshop Journal*, 18 (1994), p.53-76.

<sup>129</sup> B.A.Holderness, 'The Victorian farmer', in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, 1, 1981 p.228, and in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Vanishing Countryman* (1989), p.7.

was dictated by anticipations about what would sell, and in what sort of quantities. Therefore, it is necessary to assemble as much information as possible on markets.

(a) Marketing before the coming of the railway

Boys considered that the chief part of Kent's agricultural commerce was the export of corn to the London markets, stressing that very little was sent to foreign ports directly from Kent, most of the sales being achieved via the Mark Lane market. Perhaps more notable was that

*the soil and climate ... being better adapted to the growth of corn than of grass, no cheese or butter is made for exportation, nor a sufficient quantity for the consumption of the inhabitants.*<sup>130</sup>

Long before this, however, Defoe reported of the Weald of Kent and Sussex as being a region

*where the corn is cheap at the barn because it cannot be carried out; and dear at the market because it cannot be carried in.*<sup>131</sup>

Boys confirmed this, noting that the Weald had perhaps the worst turnpike-roads in the kingdom.<sup>132</sup>

Mingay considers that breeding and fattening of cattle and sheep were 'the main business' in the seventeenth century Weald.<sup>133</sup> Marshall found sophisticated arrangements in Kent for the marketing of fatstock. Butchers from the major towns in the

<sup>130</sup> Marshall (1968), *op.cit.*, p.427.

<sup>131</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1971), p.441.

<sup>132</sup> Boys (1794), *op.cit.*, p.98. However, Dennis Baker's work suggests that it was north west Kent, not the Weald that supplied London in 16c-18c, benefiting from coastal links - D.Baker, 'The Marketing of Corn in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', *A.H.R.*, 18, 2 (1970), pp.126-150.

<sup>133</sup> Mingay (1995), *op.cit.*, p.60.

county as well as London would attend the four important markets held in Tonbridge (stock market first Tuesday in the month), Maidstone (second Tuesday), Sevenoaks (Third Tuesday) and Rochester (fourth Tuesday). Maidstone was the nearest of these to Frittenden with a major road from both the east and the west of the parish permitting animals to be driven there. John Neve, in 1836, considered that Tunbridge [sic], Sevenoaks and Ashford were the largest markets in the Weald, followed by Cranbrook and then Tenterden.<sup>134</sup> However, unlike Cranbrook which was a stock and corn market, Tenterden was only a corn market.

There are, however, clear signs that the traditionally bad road transport was improving, even before the coming of the railway. Although in 1800 the Weald of Kent turnpikes were 'as bad as can be imagined', the common roads, although neglected, were not so inferior.<sup>135</sup> Moreover, as the trans-Wealden routes between London and the coastal resorts grew in importance after 1800, for example, several new turnpike roads were constructed and a number of old ones re-aligned.<sup>136</sup>

Although the construction of the Weald of Kent Canal was, as we have seen, abortive, it was certainly the impression of contemporaries that the road network continued to improve. As we shall see, by 1845 Buckland was reporting

*an astonishing change ... so that there are few*

134

HOLRO, House of Commons Committee on the South Eastern Railway Bill 24 March 1836, Evidence of Mr John Neeve of Benenden, pp.37-8.

135

Prince (1973), *op.cit.*, p.454.

136

H.C.Darby, A New Historical Geography of England (1973), p.502 quoting G.J.Fuller, 'The development of roads in the Surrey-Sussex Weald and coastlands between 1700 and 1900', *Trans. and Papers, Inst. Brit. Geog.*, XIX (1954), p.46.

parts of England which now possess better roads than some portions of the Weald of Kent.<sup>137</sup>

(b) The effect of the railway

With the arrival of the railway in 1842 Sevenoaks and Tonbridge became readily accessible to Frittenden as did Ashford (stock market first and third Tuesday of the month), in 1843, which now rivalled the other markets.<sup>138</sup>

Local markets<sup>139</sup> operated weekly at Maidstone (Thursday and Saturday), Ashford (Saturday), Cranbrook (Saturday), Goudhurst (Wednesday), Smarden (Friday), Tenterden (Friday), providing an outlet for produce for three of the six working days of the week. More locally, Hasted recorded a fair being held yearly in Frittenden on 8th September for toys ribbons etc.<sup>140</sup>, Bagshaw reported that a 'fair for pedlery is held April 5th'<sup>141</sup>

Perhaps, therefore, change was coming even before this was constructed.

Speaking generally of the Weald, Buckland agreed that the railways made a difference - and maybe it made more than he expected, given that he was writing so soon after its opening.<sup>142</sup> In the longer run Mingay sees them as breaking down the 'isolation' of the Weald, making it possible to get perishable products to market more quickly, and was especially important

137 Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.282. The impact on the carrier services is considered in Chapter 8, pp.259-262.

138 Market details have been extracted from Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, II, endpaper.

139 *Ibid.*

140 Edward Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, VII (1973 reprint), p.114.

141 Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, II, p.652.

142 Buckland, *op.cit.*, p.282.

for fruit, milk and butter.<sup>143</sup> However, local references at the parish level that directly link the marketing of butter, fruit and other perishables with the coming of the railway are almost non-existent and, where they exist at all, seem to support the idea that local markets continued to be important to Frittenden's farmers. For example Mr Osborne, a local butcher, appears to have been a regular purchaser of Hickmott's cattle.<sup>144</sup> And both local and more distant outlets were found for an important non-perishable cash crop, the hops: Frittenden's producers can scarcely fail to have been represented at the Staplehurst hop fair<sup>145</sup>, but equally, James Hickmott recorded in his diary for 1871,

*Monday morning to London to see my Hop Factor.  
Walked over the Hop & Malt Exchange.*<sup>146</sup>

Despite the paucity of direct references, the major shift towards pastoral which we have detected creates a strong, *a priori*, presumption for taking the view that the coming of the railway did, indeed, reduce isolation and put the Weald, including Frittenden, more closely in touch with wider markets where, in any case, price relativities were generally moving in such a way as to favour the livestock side. It became easier to despatch livestock to market without the serious weight losses incurred by sending them 'on the hoof', and to pick moments at which to sell. As a consequence rearing districts made rapid financial strides. Mixed farms fared at least satisfactorily. Any success was, however, not due to

143 Mingay (1995), *op.cit.*, p.75.

144 F.H.S., Uncatalogued Papers, *Hickmott Notebooks 1843-1863*.

145 *Kent Express and Ashford News*, 5/10/1867, 7e.

146 C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *Diary of James Hickmott*, 9 January 1871.



receipts from wheat, but increasingly on the boost from the fatstock enterprises within the system.<sup>147</sup> While this is a 'national' judgement, it may be said to apply to Frittenden.

Frittenden appears therefore to have benefited from the later 'revolution' on the clays and the shift towards stock farming using grain as feed meant that its farmers were probably in a better position to face the price fluctuations of the 'Great Depression' of the last quarter of the nineteenth century than their forebears had been in the post-Napoleonic depression.<sup>148</sup>

---

<sup>147</sup> E.L.Jones, *The Development of English Agriculture, 1815-1873* (1968), p.20.

<sup>148</sup> R.W.Sturgess (1966), *op.cit.*, p.121.

**THE AGRICULTURAL LABOUR FORCE**

*The relationship between types of farming, crops raised, farm size ... and the total and seasonal inputs of labour into agriculture, are ... difficult to appraise.*

So writes Higgs, in a recent article, before going on to advocate micro-level studies in conjunction with census data, drawing on 'suitable wage books, diaries, local histories, journals and so on'<sup>1</sup> The uses, and the drawbacks of the census enumerators' books have since been appraised in more detail by Mills, who nevertheless concludes that

*'Despite all the problems ... the CEBs constitute a valuable and essential tool for the understanding of rural social structure in the Victorian period.'*<sup>2</sup>

In this chapter we shall start from the mid-nineteenth century enumerators books and the selected details set out in earlier censuses to seek to delineate the size and composition of the agricultural workforce in Frittenden. As would be expected in a district largely composed of farms that by national standards were on average rather small<sup>3</sup>, the farmer himself, and his family, accounted for a substantial share of labour input. But we also have to reckon with the hired labour force, which turned out to feature strong indications of the survival of indoor farm service, as well as those employed, either

<sup>1</sup> E.Higgs, 'Occupational censuses and the agricultural workforce in Victorian England and Wales', *ECHR.*, XLVIII (1995), p.713.

<sup>2</sup> D.& J.Mills, 'Farms, farmers and farm workers in the nineteenth-century census enumerators' books: a Lincolnshire case study', *The Local Historian*, 27, 3 (1997), p.142.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Chapter 3, pp.58-62.

regularly or casually, within the category classed in the census as 'agricultural labourer (outdoor)'. Women and children also formed part of the casual labour force, when and as the need arose. Finally, in the last part of the chapter, an attempt at assessing wages and welfare of these wage-earners will be made.

(I) CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF THE AGRICULTURAL WORKFORCE

(a) Farmers and their Families

As Armstrong and others have pointed out, farmers themselves, and co-residing members of their families made up a substantial proportion of the workforce: the 1851 census enumerated, nationally, 1.734mn persons in the relevant occupational 'order', and of these farmers were 14.4%; and farmers relatives (i.e. those described as farmer's son, daughter, brother, nephew, niece, etc.) were a further 12.5% making together, over one-quarter of the total workforce.<sup>4</sup> A similar calculation, using the same categories in the same census year, can be made for Cranbrook registration district.<sup>5</sup> The outcome is that farmers accounted for 13.4% and their relatives (again excluding wives) for 7.1% of the agricultural occupational order, showing that the proportion of the agricultural labour force provided by farmers and their families in the Weald was rather lower than the national proportion stated by Armstrong.

At the parish level, we have to turn to the

<sup>4</sup> W.A. Armstrong, *Farmworkers: A Social and Economic History 1770-1980* (1988), p.94. N.B. this excludes another 164,618 included under the heading 'Farmer's wives' [11 were so returned in the case of Frittenden].

<sup>5</sup> Cranbrook Registration District comprised the parishes of Cranbrook (including Sissinghurst), Benenden, Goudhurst, Hawkhurst and Frittenden.

original enumerators' returns, and at Frittenden farmers, six of whom had multiple occupations, accounted for 16.7% of the agricultural order and their relatives (again excluding wives) for 14.2%. That is to say, farmers and their families accounted for one-third of the total workforce, a figure much higher than the pattern in the district at large, and, in fact, the national average put forward by Armstrong. Of particular note is the fact that 17 out of 23 (73.9%) of all females engaged in agriculture were farmers' relatives; there was an almost total absence of other female labour.

The other categories of farm employment at Frittenden in 1851, making up the remaining two-thirds were bailiffs (3, or 1.7%) and hired labour (155 males and 4 females). The latter category included 33 farm servants (31 male) and 126 agricultural labourers and shepherds (124 male).

That was the position in 1851. In the sections which follow, each of these categories is discussed in turn, reaching back wherever possible to earlier decades to trace how these patterns had evolved. We begin with a statistically insignificant but nevertheless interesting small group, the bailiffs.

#### b) Bailiffs

Ten thousand of these were recorded nationally at the time of the 1851 census: they made up 0.8% of all persons enumerated in the agricultural sector, or 0.9% if farmers' male relatives are left out of account - either way, a small minority.<sup>6</sup> The term 'bailiff' meant a variety of things in the nineteenth century, but 'bailiff in husbandry', the sort that we shall meet, were defined in an authoritative agricultural dictionary as an

---

6

W.A.Armstrong (1988), *op.cit.*, p.94.

*officer belonging to private persons of property, who superintended the inferior servants, regulate their labour, &c.*<sup>7</sup>

As this definition implies, they were at once employees, but also from another angle, that of their men, were also bosses.<sup>8</sup> The Fussells wrote that

*a bailiff was only necessary on the largest farms where the master was largely occupied in management and required someone to oversee the detailed every day work.*<sup>9</sup>

Our evidence on the use of bailiffs is entirely confined to the period after 1851, where such individuals can be identified in the census enumerators' books. Out of some 68 farms, three were being currently managed by bailiffs in 1851, seven in 1861, and five in 1871.

The Fussells' suggestion that they would usually be found only at the largest farms<sup>10</sup> is certainly reflected in one case; that of Robert Mercer, tenant of the Cornwallis Estate at Gould Farm. Around 1871 Mercer was expanding his acreage from 317 acres to 500 acres as well as his household and farmhouse. The 1871 and 1881 censuses record a second household on Gould Farm, that of Thomas Foord, bailiff, who, being married at the 1871 census and with two children by the time of the 1881, may well have met one of the Fussells' criteria of being 'a married man with an

7  
Rev. J.M.Wilson, *The Rural Cyclopedia*, Edinburgh, 1851, I, p.313. This refers to 'bailiffs or foremen' and this is perhaps a closer approximation to the correct position of bailiffs in the labour strata - at least in Frittenden.

8  
9  
G.E. & K.R. Fussell, *The English Countryman: His Life and Work: A.D. 1500-1900* (1955), p.129.

10  
Ibid., p.129.

Ibid., p.129.

honest and thrifty wife'<sup>11</sup>. Mercer worked the largest acreage in the parish until sometime between 1871 and 1881 and was the largest employer, ranging in number between 10 and 15 - including the bailiff - between 1851 and 1881.

While there is little evidence of the direct employment of bailiffs by the Cornwallis and Hoare estates, they are recorded on 10 farms in Frittenden at various dates in the period 1851 to 1871. One farm, Appleton, unusually, used a bailiff, James Goodwin of Smarden, continuously from 1861 to 1891. This farm, of 75 acres, was owned and, according to tithe records, occupied by John Hague and his son, both from Cranbrook who owned, between them, 679 acres in Kent.<sup>12</sup>

At Buckhurst, or Bank Farm, a bailiff was in residence in 1861 at the time when Robert Gardiner, occupier in the 1857 Tithe Rent Charge<sup>13</sup>, was tenant of the Mann/Cornwallis Estate. At the 1851 Census Gardiner had been house steward to Edward Moore at Frittenden House (his wife Sophia being the housekeeper), and was also described as a farmer of 65 acres. It seems likely, therefore, that Gardiner, rather than the estate, employed the bailiff, George Baker, himself. By 1861 Gardiner was also living at Buckhurst and by 1871 Gardiner appeared to be managing the farm by himself, Baker, meanwhile, having reverted to the status of agricultural labourer.

Beale Farm, another Mann/Cornwallis tenancy, is recorded as having a bailiff, Edward Cook in 1861 as well as the occupier, John Cox aged 39, who had been

11

*Ibid.*, p.74.

12

John Hague also owned nearly 39 acres at the nearby Little Hungerden Farm in Frittenden.

13

F.H.S., Uncatalogued Papers, *List of Payers of Rent Charge in Novr. 1857 at rate of Original Commutatn.*



occupying the adjacent Old Mill Farm in Sand Lane [sometime known as Wheeler Street] at the time of the previous census. Cook was described as a servant of John Cox, who having increased his acreage from 79 acres to 100, may have initially employed Cook to manage the additional land. Cook, born in Smarden, appeared in no further Frittenden Census. This seems a particularly small holding to employ a bailiff, especially when the census reveals Cox as employing only four men, one of whom appears to be the bailiff.

Lewis Smith was Bailiff at Pond/Giles Farm at the 1861 Census, and again Smith is described as a servant to the head of the household, William Croucher. This was at the time of the transfer of Croucher's tenancy from Brook Farm to Pond Farm following the exchange of the Brook Farm acres and the acquisition of Giles Farm by the Mann/Cornwallis Estate. Although William Croucher was 80 at the time of the 1861 Census, his son James, together with James' wife, were also living at the farmhouse. The acreage of the two holdings was comparable, at about 100 acres, and again appears to be small to warrant the use of a bailiff. However, as the bailiff was no longer resident in the parish by the 1871 census, the farm now in the hands of another of William's sons, perhaps he had been employed to oversee the transfer, as a temporary measure.

A Scot, James Ewing, was employed as bailiff at Street Farm at the 1861 Census and was living with his wife and two children at the farm house [now demolished]. This again was at about the time of the reduction of Street Farm following the land Exchanges outlined above and Ewing may have been put in place to oversee Edward Moore's holdings, prior to consolidation into Parsonage Farm, which are shown as in hand in 1857 and totalling over 274 acres.

The census of 1861 saw two bailiffs residing at Pullen Farm which was occupied by Elizabeth Pullen,

widow of Robert, as tenant of the Mann/Cornwallis Estate. One of the bailiffs, Wallace King came from another Wealden Parish, Woodchurch, and his family became established in the parish. Frittenden was the birth place of the other bailiff, Thomas Merral, whose family continue in the parish today. By 1871, Elizabeth was recorded as an annuitant and the farm was in the occupation of Elizabeth's daughters Jane and Susanna, described as farming jointly 100 acres and who also had a bailiff in their employ, Edward Harris, born in Biddenden. The situation on this farm may reflect the problems faced by 'gentle' women in directly managing farming activities.

William Pearson is described as a Farm Bailiff of 90 acres at Peasridge in the census of 1851.<sup>14</sup> His father, John, was tenant of the Mann/Cornwallis estate at [Little] Peasridge at the time of the 1841 Tithe when William had been described, in the Census of that year, as an agricultural labourer. William was described as farm bailiff, apparently for his father who was still recorded as the occupier although living elsewhere, probably at Biddenden. After the death of John, his eldest son, James, succeeded as occupier while his son, also a William, became farm bailiff at Little Peasridge by the time of the 1861 census. This situation continued until 1871 when William was still bailiff. However, James died in that year, at Manor Farm, Kennardington, and William appears in turn to have succeeded to the occupancy of Little Peasridge. In 1881 he was recorded as a grazier and at 1891 as a Farmer.

Other instances of the use of bailiffs were, at Great Ayleswade [Alesward] where Charles Davis was bailiff for 120 acres in the 1851 census, and George

---

14

This paragraph is based on Census Enumerators' Records and the research into his family of Mr Brian Hennessy of Reigate, Surrey.

Hedgcock, bailiff at Brickwall Farm, owned by Henry Hoare in 1851.

There are few truly striking conclusions that can be drawn from so small a number of cases. It is, however, interesting to note that the occupation or designation of bailiff implied some degree of mobility, upward and downward; and that the acreage for which they were responsible was moving up (from 214 acres or 6% of the parish) in 1851 to 670 (19%) in 1861 and 719 (20.5%) in 1871). The apparent ability of owners and tenants alike to employ bailiffs as the occasion arose, may be a sign of improving agricultural prospects in Frittenden.

(c) Hired Labour (i) Aggregate Numbers

The 1801 Census counted 170 persons as engaged in agriculture in the parish of Frittenden. If, from this figure we deduct the number of farming occupiers present in the 1806 tithe survey, we can deduce that there were, at that date, 111 non-farmer agricultural workers.<sup>15</sup> In 1811 and 1821, unfortunately, the censuses go over to the enumeration of 'families' occupied in agriculture and there is no basis for making a similar, residual estimate of the size of the hired labour force. At the next census, that of 1831, there was a signal improvement. In the first place, the return for Frittenden gives a figure for 'Labourers in Agriculture' which is identical to that of 1811, i.e. 111. The coincidence may be too good to be true; on the other hand, if correct, the comparative stability of the numbers of hired workers

15

There were in all 59 occupiers, and among these were a dozen names which do not appear in the other parish records, suggesting that they may have resided outside the parish. A correction for this factor would reduce the number of occupiers to 47, and thereby increase the number of non-farmer agricultural workers fractionally, to 123.

in these years would accord with recent calculations

**Structure of occupations and employment in  
Agriculture, 1831 (Absolute Numbers)**

	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
	All Families in Agric.	Agric. Occupiers who hired no labour	Agric. Occupiers who hired labour	Labouring families A-(B+C)
G.B. (Clapham)	961,000	144,600	130,500	686,000
Cranbrook/ Marden Hundred	1,274	83	216	975
Cranbrook R.D. Parish of Frittenden	1,143 110	56 0	197 35	890 75

**Sources:** 1831 Census (Cranbrook figures include Frittenden); J.H.Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain: The Early Railway Age 1820-1850* (2nd Edn. 1930), p.113.

**Table 7i**

by Wrigley, who, at the national level, contends that contrary to what most writers have hitherto assumed, the numbers of agricultural workers were not significantly increasing at this time.<sup>16</sup> The 1831 Census also lends itself, as Clapham appreciated long ago, to an overview of the ratio of patterns of employment at the 'family' level. Somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, his procedure never seems to have been followed up at the regional, district, or parish level, even though it is easy to do this. In Table 7i we present Clapham's national figures (for Britain): those applicable in the district to which Frittenden belonged, defined in two ways<sup>17</sup>; and then

<sup>16</sup> E.A.Wrigley, 'Men on the Land and Men in the Countryside: Employment in Agriculture in Early-Nineteenth-Century England' in L.Bonfield, R.M.Smith & K.Wrightson (Eds.), *The World We Have Gained* (1986), pp.303-4 & p.324.

<sup>17</sup> The Cranbrook Registration District, as defined in note 5 above; and aggregate of Cranbrook/Marden hundreds, which comprise Cranbrook and Marden Hundreds comprised Cranbrook, Goudhurst, Staplehurst, Marden

for the parish itself. And, from the above absolute numbers, a number of revealing ratios and percentages can be created.

**Structure of occupations and employment in Agriculture, 1831 (Ratios)**

	% of occupying families (B+C) to all fams. in agric.	% of all occupying families hiring no labour	Ratio: Labouring families to all occupying families (D:(B+C))	Ratio: Labouring families to occup. farms empl. lbr (D:C)
G.B. (Clapham)	0.29	53	2.5	5.3
Cran./Marden	0.23	28	3.3	4.5
Cran. R.D.	0.22	22	3.5	4.5
Frit.	0.32	0	2.1	2.1

**Source:** derived from table above.

**Table 7ii**

There is good agreement between the district figures, however defined. Occupying families were rather less numerous than in Britain at large<sup>18</sup>, and, correspondingly, the ratio of labouring families to all occupying families was noticeably higher. However, since quite a few of these Wealden occupiers employed no labour, the final ratios - of labouring families to occupying families are no higher and indeed somewhat lower, than in the nation at large. These patterns are, perhaps, to be expected in the Weald, given that it was noted for the prevalence of smallish farms.<sup>19</sup> However the figures for Frittenden

and Frittenden (Marden and Staplehurst were in the Maidstone Registration District).

<sup>18</sup> Clapham's figures include Scotland, of course. Unfortunately it is not possible to disaggregate figures for England from the data published by Clapham.

<sup>19</sup> Zell remarks that the farm of 125 acres in the Weald was exceptional - M.Zell, *Industry in the countryside* (1994), p.89. See also G.E.Mingay, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, VI 1750-1850*, pp.853 & 949 and 'The Size of Farms in the Eighteenth Century',

are by no means a good fit with the district of which it formed a part. It appears that a higher proportion of all families in agriculture were occupiers and one that came close to the national figure. On the basis of the figures given, all Frittenden's occupiers were employers and the ratios of labouring families to all occupying families, and labouring families to occupying families employing labour, were thus identical. This, at face value would suggest that the (rather numerous) occupying families universally employed labour, but did so rather sparingly. How far Frittenden differed from the district norm in this respect depends, of course, on the accuracy of the nil return for agricultural occupiers employing no labour. Some scepticism is perhaps appropriate on this point, which is a shame, for in many English parishes, the extension of Clapham's method, in this way, would appear to have some useful potential.

**Hired workforce in Frittenden 1851-71**

1851	165
1861	186
1871	190

**Source:** Census Enumerators Books for Frittenden

**Table 7iii**

In the next, 1841 Census, the occupational returns reverted to the enumeration of individuals, rather than families, and the number in Frittenden described as agricultural labourers was 175.<sup>20</sup> Thereafter, a more settled census procedure evolved,

ECHR., XIV, 3 (1962), pp.473-9.

20 C.K.S./P152/1841/11, *Enumerators Returns for the Parish of Frittenden Census 1841*. Data for 1841 gives a total of 160 agricultural workers with a different surname from the apparent head of household, relationships are not recorded. A further 44 female servants are also recorded, some of which may have performed agricultural duties.



which continued to apply through the period with which we are concerned. Occupational returns were not published at a level below that of the registration district; however, we can assemble data on Frittenden from the enumerators books for 1851-71

These figures embrace all those described as 'agricultural labourer', labourer, 'farm servant', carter or waggoner. We cannot know exactly how the raw data was processed at the census office before aggregation into such larger units as the registration district or county. However, we can at least claim that at the local (Frittenden) level, they have been consistently treated. The upshot of this section, weaving its way through published returns and the enumerators' books, is to suggest that there was continuous growth in the hired labour force throughout the period, but such growth slowed down in the 1850s and especially 1860s.

The figures given are, of course, the outcome of interplay between supply and demand, and the local factors bearing on this may be briefly summarized.

- (i) The reduction in the pastoral acreage in the parish between 1806 and 1841, evidenced by the Tithe apportionments of those dates and discussed above<sup>21</sup> would - other things being equal - tend to increase the demand for labour. The subsequent restitution of pasture, at the expense of arable, would tend to have the opposite effect.
- (ii) Mechanisation, also discussed elsewhere.<sup>22</sup> This factor can have had little effect on the aggregate demand for labour. Indeed, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, it is reasonable to believe that, far from making

---

21

See above, Chapter 6, pp.131-6.

22

See above, Chapter 6, pp.147-8.

labour redundant, it was usually resorted to as a response to 'shifts in the labour market'. This is the view espoused by Collins, and we have found no evidence for Frittenden that would refute it.<sup>23</sup>

On the supply side, we have already noted that Frittenden tended to lose its self-generated natural increases, on a net basis, after 1821, and that the outflow was particularly large in 1821-41.<sup>24</sup> As we have seen, the number of hired employees in 1841 was significantly higher than in 1811, possibly as a result of the shift toward arable, but slightly lower than the rise in the population of the parish. The farmers of Frittenden were chary, in these difficult years, of employing any more hired labour than was deemed absolutely necessary. This in turn, provided a motive, among the labouring population, to move away. Not that there is any sign that they would be missed. On the contrary, there is evidence of the active promotion of emigration as a solution to what was probably perceived of as an 'excess' of labour. It is well-known that Kent, and notably the Weald was organising large parties of emigrants without any encouragement from the national government.<sup>25</sup> In the era of the New Poor Law, the Commissioners were keen

---

23 E.J.T.Collins, 'The Rationality of 'Surplus' Agricultural Labour: Mechanization in English Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century', A.H.R. (1987), pp.36-46.

24 See above, Chapter 2, p.34.

25 H.J.M.Johnston, *British Emigration Policy 1815-30: 'Shovelling out Paupers'* (1972), p.101. Emigration from the parish of Benenden, mostly in 1827 and 1828, lowered the poor rate from 18s to 10s. Thomas Law Hodges, the largest landowner in the parish and an opponent of the New Poor Law, apparently encouraged such emigration - Julia Andrews, *Political Issues in the County of Kent*, London MPhil Thesis (1967), p.210.

to promote emigration and in 1836-47 Kent accounted for as many as 2,451 of the 9,504 assisted passages from the whole of England and Wales, mainly to Australia and Canada.<sup>26</sup> The likelihood is that for Kent and for the nation as a whole, most private departures were to the United States.<sup>27</sup> This was certainly the destination of some of the parish sponsored emigrants from Frittenden.<sup>28</sup> The Vestry records regularly show consideration of methods of funding emigration during this period. In May 1834, £10 was advanced to Horatio Ottaway towards paying his passage to 'Newyork' and to advance him a further sum of £5-17-6 on sundry bills which the overseers had the power to collect. In May 1838 the Vestry agreed to assist 57 inhabitants to 'america' and in 1839 the parish met the expense of sending out seven families, a total of 39 people, to the USA at a cost of £5 12s 10d per head plus other expenses at a total cost to the parish of £273 3s 0d raised by a special rate.<sup>29</sup> The 1840s saw ten persons assisted to go to New Zealand at a cost of £3 per head (1840-1) and 13 to

26 W.A.Armstrong, 'The Population of Victorian and Edwardian Kent: (I) Growth Migration, Distribution', *Arch.Cant.*, CXII (1993), p.5.

27 W.A.Armstrong, 'Population, 1831-1914' in W.A.Armstrong (Ed.), *The Economy of Kent 1640-1914*, (K.C.C. 1995) p.32-3. Armstrong also notes the annual assistance of emigration from the adjoining parish of Headcorn after 1823. This was funded by borrowing money against the rate income - W.A.Armstrong (1988), *op.cit.*, p.69.

28 Others included, Canada, Sydney and, perhaps unusually Jamaica - C.K.S./G/C/AM/1-12, *Minutes of the Guardians of Cranbrook Union*.

29 C.K.S./P152/8/2, *St.Mary's Church Frittenden, Vestry Book 1830-1860*.

Canada (1843), at £5-13s-4d.<sup>30</sup> This must have been a particularly difficult period. Apart from various individual cases, the Minutes of the Guardians of the Poor Law record an order for the Parish of Frittenden to borrow the Sum of £13 to be applied for the purposes of Emigration in February 1842 and this was followed in September by the Overseers of Frittenden reporting that they had, under the authority of the Poor Law Commissioners, raised the sum of £30. This sum was to be credited to a separate "Frittenden Emigration account". Perhaps the last large funding of emigration occurred in April 1844 when the Clerk laid before the Guardians copy resolutions transmitted by the Parish Officers of Frittenden to raise £63 to be applied for Emigration purposes<sup>31</sup>.

It is not clear that Frittenden was exceptionally energetic in pursuing this policy by comparison with its neighbours. Indeed, the opposite may be true.<sup>32</sup> But it should be kept in mind that it was only the assisted passages which came within the purview of these records. Most privately-funded emigration from Britain, it is generally agreed, was directed towards the United States, and in the round, it was estimated by the Revd. Moore in 1851, 'some 200 souls' must have emigrated to America from Frittenden during the course of the previous 30 years.<sup>33</sup>

An echo of these movements, and one which might

30 P.P. 1847-8 XLVII, *An Account of Persons who have been Aided in Emigration from England & Wales under the Provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act.*

31 C.K.S./G/C/AM/1-12, *Minute Books of the Board of Guardians of Cranbrook Union*, 16/2/1842, 21/9/1842, 10/4/1844.

32 *Ibid* Cranbrook appears to have assisted nobody between 1836-44, Benenden 131 persons, Goudhurst 118, Hawkhurst 105, Sandhurst 150, compared to 23 at Frittenden.

33 Frittenden P.C.C., *Parish Book.*

suggest that they were not always permanent came in 1867 when Hickmott's diary records

*As I was going home unexpectedly met with one of my old school fellows. namely George Relf. whom I had not seen for more than, Forty Years as he had left this Land in youth and Emigrated to America but now returned.*<sup>34</sup>

By this time, however, the scale of the exodus had somewhat abated, suggesting that, probably, the supply of, and demand for, labour had moved closer to equilibrium; as we have seen, the aggregate number of hired workers was just over 19% higher in 1871 than in 1841, again broadly in line with the growth in population. This, however, should not be taken to signify a labour force that was in any sense immobile. The net losses recorded in table 2v<sup>35</sup> are just that; they are the outcome of balancing rather larger gross outflows against rather smaller inflows by migration.

**Turnover of hired labour force, 1851-71**  
**Absolute Numbers**

	1851	1861	1871
(A) Frittenden:Hired labour force	162	186	190
No. & % born in F.	71 (43.8)	72 (46.2)	75 (39.6)
born in adj.parishes	46 (28.4)	51 (27.4)	61 (32.1)
born elsewhere	45 (27.8)	63 (33.9)	54 (28.4)

**Source:** C.E.B's. Adjacent parishes covered are Biddenden, Cranbrook, Headcorn, Smarden, Staplehurst.

**Table 7iv**

This must have been true even in the direst years, 1821-41, but it is only when we can access the census enumerators books, where birth places are itemised in detail, that we can throw much light on turnover. What then emerges is that movement was quite lively,

<sup>34</sup> C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *Diary of James Hickmott, June 16 1867.*

<sup>35</sup> See above, Chapter 2, p.35.

but for the most part, largely local. This is apparent from Table 7iv. The birthplace distribution of farmworkers was thus very little different from the pattern shown by their employers<sup>36</sup>, and the conclusion that around half of both employers and employees were, in the mid- nineteenth century, born in the parish itself, closely corresponds to the figures emerging from earlier researches, on Brenchley, also in the Weald.<sup>37</sup> Then again, half were not, and showed some, albeit usually limited, geographical mobility.

Census sources, used in this section to delineate the overall size of the hired farm labour force can all too easily obscure different categories of hired agricultural workers, and will certainly under-count seasonal or casual workers. Therefore, the next phase of the chapter is concerned with making these distinctions, so far as the sources allow.

(d) Hired Labour (ii) Living-in Employees

A decline in the practice of boarding and lodging indoor farm servants was much commented upon by contemporary writers. It was frequently cited as a source of ill-feeling between masters and employees and has, indeed, been cited by Chambers and Mingay as a source of worsening social relations in the years leading up to the 'labourers revolt' of 1830.<sup>38</sup> More

36

See above Chapter 3, p.63.

37

B.Wojciechowska-Kibble, *Migration and the rural labour market: Kent 1841-71*, (University of Kent unpublished PhD. Thesis, 1984), shows percentage of 16-70 year olds born in parish 52% (1851) falling to 44% 1871. See also B. Wojciechowska, 'Brenchley: A Study of Migratory Movements In A Mid-Nineteenth Century Rural Parish' in D.Mills & K.Schürer, *Local Communities In The Victorian Census Enumerators Books* (1996), pp.253-266.

38

J.D.Chambers & G.E.Mingay, *The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880* (1966), p.144; see also E.J.Hobsbawm & G.Rudé, *Captain Swing* (1969), p.43.



recent, and more detailed work on the subject suggests that it was after, rather than during the French wars, that the decline in the incidence of farm service progressed most rapidly across south-east England. Such is the view of Ann Kussmaul, although as her distribution maps for 1831 and 1851 show, and as she herself acknowledges, there were parts of the south-east where the institution was relatively well upheld - chiefly in the counties of Kent and Sussex.<sup>39</sup>

**Age Structure of Non-related 'Live-in'  
Agricultural Employees 1851-71<sup>40</sup>**

	1851	1861	1871
Age			
<14	3	0	0
14-<20	15	15	18
20-<25	9	12	6
25-<30	4	3	1
30+	2	5	3
Total	33	35	28
% of hired			
Ag labour force	20.4	18.8	14.7

**Table 7v**

Evidence from Frittenden accords with this view. We may start with the 1851-71 census enumerators' returns. To be sure, there are few persons described neatly in these returns as 'farm servant (indoor)', but we can readily infer the continuation of the practice from the presence of co-residing, but non-

<sup>39</sup> A. Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (1981), p.122 & 130.

<sup>40</sup> The descriptions embraced in the hired labour force are agricultural labourer, agricultural servant, carter, carter's mate, dairy maid, farm labourer, farm servant, servant in husbandry, waggoner's mate and one each of 'bailiff boy' and yard boy. The figures for 1841 Agricultural Labourers were <14 2, 14-<20 25, 20-<25 15, 25-<30 7 and 30+ 12, giving a total of 61. However the differing basis of collection make these figures of questionable comparison.

related individuals in farmers' households.<sup>41</sup> Their numbers, age-composition, and the proportion they made up of the total agricultural labour force are shown in table 7v. Without information of the same nature for earlier census years we cannot be sure that there had not been some decline in farm service during preceding decades, yet it is reasonable to draw the conclusion that farm service was not merely still extant, but holding up rather well in the final twenty and possibly thirty years of our period.<sup>42</sup> Other evidence supports this view, and the Hickmott (Lashenden) material gives a particularly vivid view. The usual form of contract under which farm servants were engaged was a 6-month one<sup>43</sup>, and it is helpful to distinguish, in these records, what we might appropriately term the 'senior' and 'junior' servants, basing this on their age and experience.<sup>44</sup>

George (H)orton remained as a senior servant for 8 years, while William Pope<sup>45</sup> was a senior servant for 6 years, the two overlapping for four years (April 1851 to April 1855). These two men were the exception

41 B.Short, 'The Decline Of Living-In Servants In The Transition To Capitalist Farming: A Critique Of The Sussex Evidence', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 22 (1984), p.161.

42 Perhaps better than in other Wealden parishes. At Brenchley the numbers of farmworkers domiciled with their employers fell in absolute terms from 56 in 1851, 11.9% of the total agricultural labour force, to 18, 3.2% in 1861 and to 10, 1.8%, in 1871 - B.Wojciechowska-Kibble (1984), *op.cit.*; *ibid.* (1996), p.262.

43 Probably, to avoid any question of settlement arising which was highly relevant prior to the Union Chargeability Act of 1865. See Short (1984), *op.cit.*, p.160. However, these short contracts were renewable.

44 This distinction, one of our own making, is very useful when analysing wage data, see page 220 below.

45 The younger of two William Popes recorded in the Hickmott notebooks.

to the general rule at Lashenden, being in their twenties/early thirties. Where their age is known, the other employees, whose term on the farm was generally six months but could range up to five years (in six monthly contracts), were all in their teens. The youngest were aged 12, but most were between 16 and 19.

The norm for the number of hired hands for the winter/spring period was two, although only one was recorded in the notebook for October 1852 while October 1856 saw four recorded. The summer hiring was significantly more variable with two being the norm from 1843 to 1845 after which it rose to three until 1851 when it increased to four for three years, until April 1854 when a peak of six was recorded. The norm then fell back to 3 until 1859 when it was reduced to two and then to one from 1860.<sup>46</sup>

Of the 48 men recorded as being hired at Lashenden, only 10 were recorded in the Frittenden census returns. This is not surprising given the farm's situation at the conjunction of the parishes of Frittenden, Headcorn, Smarden and Biddenden together with the short-term nature of their employment.

However, Lashenden was owner occupied, and the use of live-in labour may have had a moral aspect to

---

In an assessment of the system of farm service, Counce highlighted the basis of the Yearly contract was that the agreed wages would only be a fair rate 'if a winter's short hours balanced a summer's long ones'. Where six-month contracts prevailed in recent times, winter and summer duties and wages were regarded by both sides as being quite different, noting that, by the twentieth century, a yearly cycle was probably appropriate to agriculture alone of the major employment sectors - Stephen Counce, 'Farm Servants and the Development of Capitalism in English Agriculture', *A.H.R.*, 45, 1 (1997), p.53.

it, in that James Hickmott was a deeply religious man.<sup>47</sup> It is, therefore, pertinent to ask whether living-in remained on the tenanted, and indeed on other owner-occupied farms. Evidence of various kinds, including field observation, suggest that it was common. In the 1851 census, apart from the Lashenden staff already identified, servants 'in husbandry' or 'in agriculture' were recorded at Alesward, Beal Farm and Street Farm. Alesward and Street Farm farmhouses have now been replaced or demolished, but Beal Farm certainly had accommodation for live-in labourers. Other farms where farm labourers or farm servants were living in farmhouses as servants were Bubhurst, Catherine Wheel, Cherry Tree, Gold [Gould], Hungerden, Mill Farm, Old Mill, Park Farm, Rock Farm, Sandhurst Bridge, Sinks North, Toll Hurst [Tolhurst] and Water Mill [Maplehurst]. While some houses have disappeared, most of these buildings, which had originated in the 16th and 17th century, have attic accommodation for workmen, as did Rock Farm, an 18th century building, and the even more recent constructions such as Hungerden.<sup>48</sup> The majority

47

In the late eighteenth century Arthur Young had maintained that allowing board wages, in place of living-in, was one cause of

*an increased neglect of the Sabbath and looseness of morals; they are free from the master's eye, sleep where and with whom they please, and are rarely seen at church;*

- A. Young, *Agriculture of Norfolk*, quoted in W.A. Armstrong (1988), *op.cit.*, pp.59-60. This view was supported by the Labourers' Friend Society which considered that

*this good old custom ... is almost out of fashion ... the labouring population ... being deprived of this shelter, and the wholesome control of the farmer.*

- *The Labourers' Friend: A Selection From the Publications of The Labourers' Friend Society, Showing the Utility and National Advantage of Allotting Land for Cottage Husbandry* (1835), pp.233.

48

K.Gravett & P Betts, *Unpublished recording of 37 timber framed houses and associated outbuildings in the parish of Frittenden.* M.W.Barley, *The English* page 196

of these farms were, by Frittenden standards, large farms, ie more than 100 acres, although there were a few exceptions, e.g. Sandhurst Bridge Farm, 37 acres, and Beal 47 acres.

In 1861 no 'servants in husbandry/agriculture' were recorded as such in the occupational column. However, some agricultural workers and farm servants were simply recorded as servants in the household. Horse Shoe [Chanceford], Hungerden, Lake, Lowland, Tolhurst and Witsunden Farms, again dating from the 16th and 17th century, had accommodation in the attic for workmen. Ivy House, like Hungerden, was 'new' and had been built with workmen's accommodation. At the next census, there were altogether 18 farms with live-in farm servants and, rather surprisingly, more farms (10) of less than 100 acres with live-in workers than there were with more than 100 acres.<sup>49</sup> These included Balcombe, Friends, Little Bubhurst, Mills, Peasridge, Pond, Pore and Poundhill, and although some of these were small farms, all are (from observation) 16th and 17th century buildings and have attic accommodation.<sup>50</sup> Arguably, the continuation of farm service and particularly its use by smaller farmers could suggest that there was no great social differentiation between the workman and his employer.

Unfortunately, harmonious relationships leave no records, and beyond their appearance in censuses, the

---

*Farmhouse And Cottage* (1961), p.248, notes that 'by 1690 nearly every Kentish yeoman's house had a servants' chamber, though they were rare in 1660'.

49 Howell would suggest that the small farm was not, in itself an obstacle to the hiring of farm servants. They were the majority in Wales - D.W.Howell, *Land and People in Nineteenth-Century Wales* (1977), p.68.

50 K.Gravett & P. Betts, *op.cit.* Short makes the point that sizeable farmhouses, of the kind quite common in the Weald, made it possible to have live-in servants but at the same time, ensure privacy for the occupier and his family - Short (1984), *op.cit.* p.161.

farm servants rarely emerge into the written record. When they do, it is because they had given some cause for complaint. In May 1866 we encounter a newspaper report of a case of 'leaving service'

*James Dobson was brought before Geo. French, Esq on Saturday, charged with absconding from the service of Mr. John Cox, of Frittenden, farmer. The accused agreed with Mr. Cox, in October last year, to serve him as a waggoner for twelve months, for 5s per week and board and lodgings. On the 11th May the man left without permission. He did not dispute the agreement, and as no arrangement could be come to for him to go back and serve his time, he was sent to gaol for 14 days' hard labour.*<sup>51</sup>

Likewise Hickmott records

*Wednesday morning to Tenterden to seek James White [not recorded in the Hickmott notebooks] that left on 23 without leave on account of sore feet. I found him and got a promise to return on the next morning and do the best he could.*<sup>52</sup>

Finally, we can consider the continuity, or otherwise, of live-in labour on individual farms. Virtually without exception, all the farm servants were unmarried<sup>53</sup>, and this enhanced the flexibility with which they could be acquired, or disposed of when no longer needed. Much depended on whether or not the 'core' needs of a farm could be discharged by members of the occupiers immediate, or perhaps extended,

---

<sup>51</sup> Kentish Express & Ashford News, 26 May 1866, 7c. The figure of 5s roughly equates with the weekly wage of a senior servant at Lashenden.

<sup>52</sup> C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *Diary of James Hickmott*, 30 January 1867. Although the Master and Servant Act 1867 repealed all previous laws relating to contracts between master and servant, in 1872 there were 17,100 prosecutions and 10,400 convictions. The option of imprisonment was severely curtailed by the new act but abatement of wages or enforcement of contract remained significant deterrents to the servant leaving service.

<sup>53</sup> The only exceptions were John Sharp, a 65 year old in 1851, and Henry Hardy, a 24 year old in 1871, who were both widowers.



family. For example, William Croucher and his son, also William, although having moved farms within Frittenden, farmed essentially the same number of acres from the 1841 census to that of 1871. In 1851, while farming at Broad Oak, he employed his son, James, and two grand-sons as labourers, his daughter and grand daughter appear to have helped with household duties. No other farm labour is shown as living in the farmhouse or, indeed, employed by Croucher. By 1861, William had moved to Pond Farm, where two men had lived-in at the time of the 1851 Census. Only one son, James, remained living with his father in 1861, but two men, a bailiff and a carter, were living-in. By 1871, the elder William had died and his son William was employing his own two sons on the farm. Only one man, a waggons mate, was living-in at this time. Thus the labour force for about 100 acres was consistent throughout the period, although the mixture of family and living-in men varied.

At Park Farm, although recording no employees in the 1851 Census, John Taylor had one son, also John, living in the farmhouse, as did one farm labourer. By 1861, while still recording no employees, Taylor had one adult son on the farm and two live-in workmen, a carter and his mate. In 1871, recording 10 employees on a much enlarged farm, three adult sons were on the farm and no workers were living in. By this time some workers' housing had been built on the farm. At Tolhurst, Pore, Witsunden and Hungerden farms the pattern of live-in labour and adult sons being interchangeable can also be seen. It also finds a reflection in the census returns. The number of sons over 14 years of age and not described as scholars, available to their fathers doubled, from 14 to 27 between 1851 and 1861. This exactly offset the reduction of live-in farm servants on these farms, from 50 to 37. However, neither category was

indispensable. The next decade saw a reduction in both the number of sons, falling to 18, and live-in workmen, to 33. With the number of farmworkers increasing by four in this decade, this suggests that the labour force was now being dispersed to associated tied cottages.

The numbers of farmers' daughters residing at home showed a small but steady increase from 20 in 1851 to 23 in 1861 to 27 in 1871. Their role in the farm operation, or indeed in the management of the house, is not obvious but, not least because of their number, must have been of some economic importance. In several cases daughters came to manage and later inherit the farms. Susannah and Jane Orpin jointly ran the 100 acres of Mill Farm, while Jane Hickmott ran the more modest 17 acres of Friends Farm.

(e) Hired Labour (iii) 'Outdoor' Employees

The number of employees living-in at any one time was small in comparison to the labourers living in cottages, both attached to farms and detached. They are generally consigned en masse to the category 'outdoor labour' in the published census reports, although conceptually it is possible to distinguish between:

- a) workers with whom some form of contract existed. They were sometimes referred to as 'constant men'. It is likely that they would have been housed in tied cottages,
- b) workers with a specialist skill, using it for a variety of employers, eg Joseph Arch (a hedger). They were likely to be living independently, in their own cottage or one rented direct from a landlord,
- c) men depending on weekly arrangements, or even hired by the day, or by the piece. These were less likely to be in the employer's tied cottage,

and were the 'ordinary agricultural labourer',  
d)casuals in the usual sense of the word, hired  
in at peak seasons, normally harvesting,  
e)most children (of school age) and most women  
(unless in service, living-in) would be part of  
this casual labour force. Their husbands/fathers  
could come from (a), (b) or (c).

Neat though these distinctions may be, in the muddy  
world of historical reality and imperfect sources,  
only category (e) can be clearly distinguished and  
accorded a separate heading.<sup>54</sup> Categories (a), (b),  
(c) and (d) are not readily distinguishable in the  
sources, and it is quite probable that the proportions  
in any case would have varied over time; men hired by  
the day, or the piece, were not, in difficult times,  
clearly differentiated from casual workers.

'Specialist' occupational labels appear to have  
been rarely used in the records relating to  
Frittenden. Where they do occur, it is among the  
live-in workers, as waggoners, and more commonly as  
carters, or maids. Only one farm-worker who might be  
described from his occupation as a 'specialist' and  
who was not living-in has been found, in the notebooks  
of James Hickmott. This was Edward Drewry [Durey],  
recorded in the 1861 census as a carter, aged 15. He  
was hired in April 1858 at 1s 2d per week. He appears  
to have been hired only for the spring/summer period  
for each year from 1858 to 1862. Wages varied  
significantly each year peaking in 1859, 2s 4d, and  
1861 at 2s 8d.

Some kinds of work - of the kind that today might  
be fulfilled by contractors - were at times offered by  
farmers to their own kin. Thus at Lashenden in 1842,  
Stephen Hickmott undertook ploughing, stoning,  
harrowing, fetching wood or hoppoles etc. for James

and William Hickmott. The implication is that Stephen used his own equipment, for the records in the notebooks say that he received 12s per day's work, a figure far in excess of the usual daily rates applying in respect of 'casual' work.<sup>55</sup>

For the most part, though, we can only surmise about the pattern of work offered to and accepted by the majority of male labourers in agriculture in Frittenden. Employment by the day, or week, or by the piece must have been common, as it was in Kent generally, and particularly during the period when there was a concentration on arable farming. Apart from the harvest, casual workers would have been required for a wide variety of tasks. Such work would have been made available to workers when the regular workforce were fully employed or when a particular 'expertise' might be required.<sup>56</sup> The sorts of tasks involved would have included the hoeing corn crops (including beans and peas), cabbages and potatoes; hoeing and singling of turnips, swedes and mangolds; turnip pulling with topping and tailing, mangold pulling, mowing clover or other seeds, and lifting potatoes. Other operations for which casual or piecework would have been used, sometimes in assisting a more skilled labourer, were ploughing, manure spreading, draining, hedge cutting, cleaning ditches, turning, gathering, cocking and carting hay, threshing, thatching, washing and shearing sheep.

Prices for casual or piecework would of course have varied to a large extent on the character of the

55

F.H.S., Uncatalogued Papers, *Hickmott Notebooks*.

56

This 'expertise' might not be of a high skill but of technique. Also, the loss of a skilled man, through accident or injury when undertaking an inappropriate task, might suggest the use of other labouring resources.

crops and their condition.<sup>57</sup> The character of the soil would also greatly influence the price paid for ploughing and draining. In Kent, including Frittenden, the piecework available in connection with the growing of hops, and to a lesser extent fruit, would have a significant effect on earnings for casual workers.

Agricultural workers suffered a sharp decline from relatively short hours in the eighteenth century to the point where, in 1840, they were 'as much tied to regular hours as the factory labourer'.<sup>58</sup> Prior to 1870 the working day was 2 hours longer than after. Men worked extra time when asked and worked a full day on Saturday (reduced by the end of the century to a finishing time of 5.30pm<sup>59</sup>).

(f) Hired Labour (iv) Women and Children

Such evidence as exists suggests that any farm work available to children was at best casual and intermittent, and often only in the summer; few could earn anything before the age of eleven.<sup>60</sup> Cunningham concludes that in purely agricultural districts, as nineteenth century Frittenden was, it is plausible to argue that children below the age of thirteen or fourteen were under- or unemployed.<sup>61</sup> Even should

57 For example, an important factor in mowing hay would be whether the crop was heavy or light and whether it had been laid by storms.

58 H. Cunningham, 'Leisure and Culture', in F.M.L. Thompson, *The Cambridge History of Britain 1750-1950*, 2: People and their Environment (1990a), p.281.

59 P.P. Cmd. 346 1900, Report By Mr Wilson Fox On *The Wages and Earnings of Agricultural Labourers In The United Kingdom*, p.239.

60 H. Cunningham, 'The Employment and Unemployment of Children in England c1680-1851', *Past & Present*, 126 (1990b), p.124.

61 *Ibid.*, p.125.

child labour be perceived as desirable, was it in fact obtainable.

The Overseers records provide evidence of the parish binding people for one year as farm servants, notably young boys, but no recording of a formal apprenticeship. Unfortunately, Frittenden appears not to have responded to the questionnaire preceding the Poor Law Act of 1834 which would have thrown light onto the employment of both women and children. Cunningham's assessment of the situation in Kent as portrayed by this questionnaire confirms that only manufacturing industry could provide constant, or even any, employment for women and children.<sup>62</sup> In any event in agricultural districts two generalisations held true: there was less for girls than for boys, and there was less in winter than in summer.

It is generally agreed that censuses, taken in March/April, seriously discount the labour input of women and children, which tended to be seasonal.<sup>63</sup> The evidence is, therefore, fragmentary and impressionistic, rather than systematic. Armstrong has observed that the 1843 Report on Women and Children in Agriculture is remarkable for the varieties it shows in the extent to which female and child labour was used, the type of work performed, not only between regions but even among parishes in the same locality.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, Vaughan reporting on the Counties of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, wrote that

*about Tunbridge Wells, women are rarely employed in opening the hills in the hop-grounds. At Maidstone and Farnham it is their common occupation... In some places the woman does not*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p.134. However, Cunningham emphasises that this lack of employment probably reflected that there was no wage-earning work, not that there was no work, p.139.

<sup>63</sup> E.Higgs, *Making sense of the Census* (1989), p.80.

<sup>64</sup> Armstrong (1988), *op.cit.*, pp.79-80.



*bind the corn, but only makes the bands; in others the binding is generally assigned to her.*<sup>65</sup>

According to the returns of the 1851 Census, 'activity rates' among women and children in Kent were decidedly below the national norm, in 1851.<sup>66</sup> It shows Kent (along with Middlesex, Surrey, London, Westmorland, Cumberland, the North and East Ridings and Northumberland) as recording about half the population of boys at school and where there was low employment.<sup>67</sup> However, nationally agriculture, particularly if farm servants are included, was by far the biggest provider of employment. A similar picture may be seen for girls. While most ten- and eleven-year-olds were unemployed, most thirteen and fourteen-year-old boys, and many of the girls, were in employment. However, there were clearly substantial numbers who became employed only after they were fifteen.

By 1868 it was reported, in line with a great many other scattered comments of the same nature<sup>68</sup>, that the volume of work contributed by women had subsequently declined. Emerging from a meeting intended to assemble evidence for the Royal Commission on Children and Women in Agriculture, attended at Frittenden by Revd.Moore, Revd.Blyth, Mr John Honess, farmer, and W.J.Hollman, schoolmaster, from where Stanhope reported that

<sup>65</sup> B.P.P. 1843, *Report on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture*, p.133

<sup>66</sup> E.H.Hunt, *Regional Wage Variations In Britain 1850-1914* (1973), Table 3-2 Occupied Females (Age 15 and over), p.127, and Table 3-3 Occupied Children, p.128. His figures are (for England and Wales) 39% and 28%, and (for Kent) 31% and 18%.

<sup>67</sup> Cunningham (1990b), *op.cit.*, p.143.

<sup>68</sup> Armstrong (1988), *op.cit.*, p.97, gives examples from Norfolk, Bedfordshire and Sussex.

women work much less here [Frittenden] than formerly, partly because they are so much better off than they used, for the employment of the men is now more regular. There is, however, a good deal earned by them at hoptying and picking... The girls, who generally go with their mothers, help in weeding, hoptying and picking.<sup>69</sup>

How seriously we should take this alleged decline in the contribution of women to agriculture is a moot point; there is no evidence with which to test that kind of impression.<sup>70</sup> Certainly, child labour continued to be the feature of life in the countryside generally, and, we must assume, at Frittenden. There is, in the same body of evidence, an acknowledgement that some boys would manage 'a few days work' with horses, even though the hours were long (6.30am-8pm) while it also gives evidence to the effect that

*boys, girls, and women are sometimes hired to pull up 'kilk'<sup>71</sup> (ketlocks)... we see no objection to this system. Before 12 years of age children are not essential to the farmer, but are largely employed in piece work and in other ways by their parents...<sup>72</sup>*

Further evidence of the continuing use of child labour in Frittenden comes from an entirely independent source. From school records, of the second half of the nineteenth century, it is clear that seasonal work on the land meant that attendance at the school could

69 P.P. 1867, XVII.1, *Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture (1867): Evidence accompanying Mr Stanhope's Report*, p.104 - Notes of meeting, August 14, 1868.

70 Higgs (1989), *op.cit.*, pp.81-2. C.Miller, 'The Hidden Workforce: female field workers in Gloucestershire, 1870-1901', *Southern History*, 6 (1984), pp.139-155.

71 Kilk is a Wealden term for wild mustard or sharlock, known in East Kent as Kinkle - the Hope family, Cherry Tree Farm, Frittenden.

72 P.P., 1867, XVII.1, *op.cit.*, p.104.

run at 40% or 50% of the roll-call.<sup>73</sup> The log book records as reasons for absence: hop poling, hop tying, hop picking, potato picking, acorn picking, mango wurzel pulling, hay making, fruiting, harvesting and beating in the woods. Some children were recorded as absent in the mornings because they had to carry their father's dinner.

## (II) AGRICULTURAL WAGES

To judge from the continuing debate on the level of money and real wages, which forms part of the standard of living debate, this is a particularly difficult area of investigation at a national level. In an ideal world, no doubt, we would be able to bring to bear appropriate price indices to adjust the available wage data to real terms, identify and correct for variations in un- and underemployment, and take account of the contribution of ancillary (that is, wives' and children's) contributions to the household income. The localised study of wages faces all these problems, and is quite savagely curtailed by shortages of data, while what is available may be partial and not necessarily representative. It is the intention here to proceed by outlining the course of money and real wages at the national level, moving on to the county, then the Wealden district before finally arriving at Frittenden itself.

### (a) The National Picture

Notwithstanding the problems referred to above, there have, at the national level, been some heroic attempts, notably by Bowley<sup>74</sup>, to give a view of the

<sup>73</sup> Bill & Brenda Grogan, *Frittenden School: The First Hundred Years*, p.5.

<sup>74</sup> A.L. Bowley, originally in *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (1900), later in *Wages and Income in the U.K.* (1937) and reprinted - as a

course of agricultural wages in this period which has a reasonably wide acceptance. Bowley's wage indices are based on the linking together of 'spot references' from a variety of sources, from which averages are then drawn. In England, money wages in agriculture show an increase of the order of 100% between 1790 and 1810, and, argues Flinn, this broadly kept pace with price inflation.<sup>75</sup> Armstrong suspects that real earnings, more especially at the family level, may have performed rather better than this, in view of (likely) fuller employment, signs that real poor relief expenditure per head in the south-east was static or even declining, and an absence of manifestation of social protest.<sup>76</sup>

After the war, the decline in money wages was quite dramatic. Bowley's national index for wages showed a fall from its wartime peak of 104 (average 1810-14) to a nadir of 72 (1824), thereafter recovering slightly but subsequently settling at 80 (1832-4), representing a collapse of some 23%. The fall in daily rates was echoed in declining remuneration for piece work.<sup>77</sup>

There has emerged something of a consensus that

---

national index - in Mitchell & Dean, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, Cambridge, (1962), p.344. Bowley concluded, in his *Wages and Income in the U.K. since 1860*, p.99, that

*I do not think that the statistics are sufficient for any fine measurements of income, earnings, of wages prior to 1880; there is indeed sufficient uncertainty after that date.*

The other major review, concentrating on the period after 1850 is E.H.Hunt (1973), *op.cit.*

<sup>75</sup> M.W.Flinn, 'Trends in real wages, 1750-1850', *ECHR.*, XXVII (1974), pp.404 & 407.

<sup>76</sup> Armstrong (1988), *op.cit.*, p.55, citing the case of Poor Law expenditure, D.A.Baugh, 'The Cost of Poor Relief in South-East England, 1790-1834', *ECHR.*, XXVIII, 1 (1975), pp.50-68.

<sup>77</sup> Armstrong (1988), *op.cit.*, p.65.

for those in constant employment, real wages rose significantly between 1815 and 1835, primarily because of a fall in prices: however, any increase in lost time due to a greater incidence of seasonal un- or underemployment would have impacted upon workers' earning capacity and in turn on their standard of living.<sup>78</sup> Thereafter, according to the Bowley index money wages changed little, and if anything, turned down in the late 1840s (the average is 81, for 1836-43, 76 for 1844-7 and 72 for 1848-52), although the effects of this were mitigated, if not offset, by a resumption of falling prices<sup>79</sup>; Caird estimated that between 1840 and 1850 the principal articles of the labourers' consumption had decreased by 'upwards of 30 per cent'.<sup>80</sup>

What we can say, in the light of this evidence, is that the money wages of the agricultural labourer, as at 1850-1, were scarcely any different from their level in 1796, and a good deal lower than at the end of the French Wars. If there was an advance in real wages, it was entirely due to movements in the cost of living, and of course, all are agreed, should also be qualified by the (generally) higher levels of unemployment in the post-war period.

From 1853, though not without set-backs from time to time, the average agricultural money wage showed signs of increasing; the rise was especially brisk in the early 1870s. The Bowles index peaked in 1874 at 122, but this year was quite exceptional and if we take for preference 1868-72, compared to 1848-52

78

*Ibid.*, p.66.

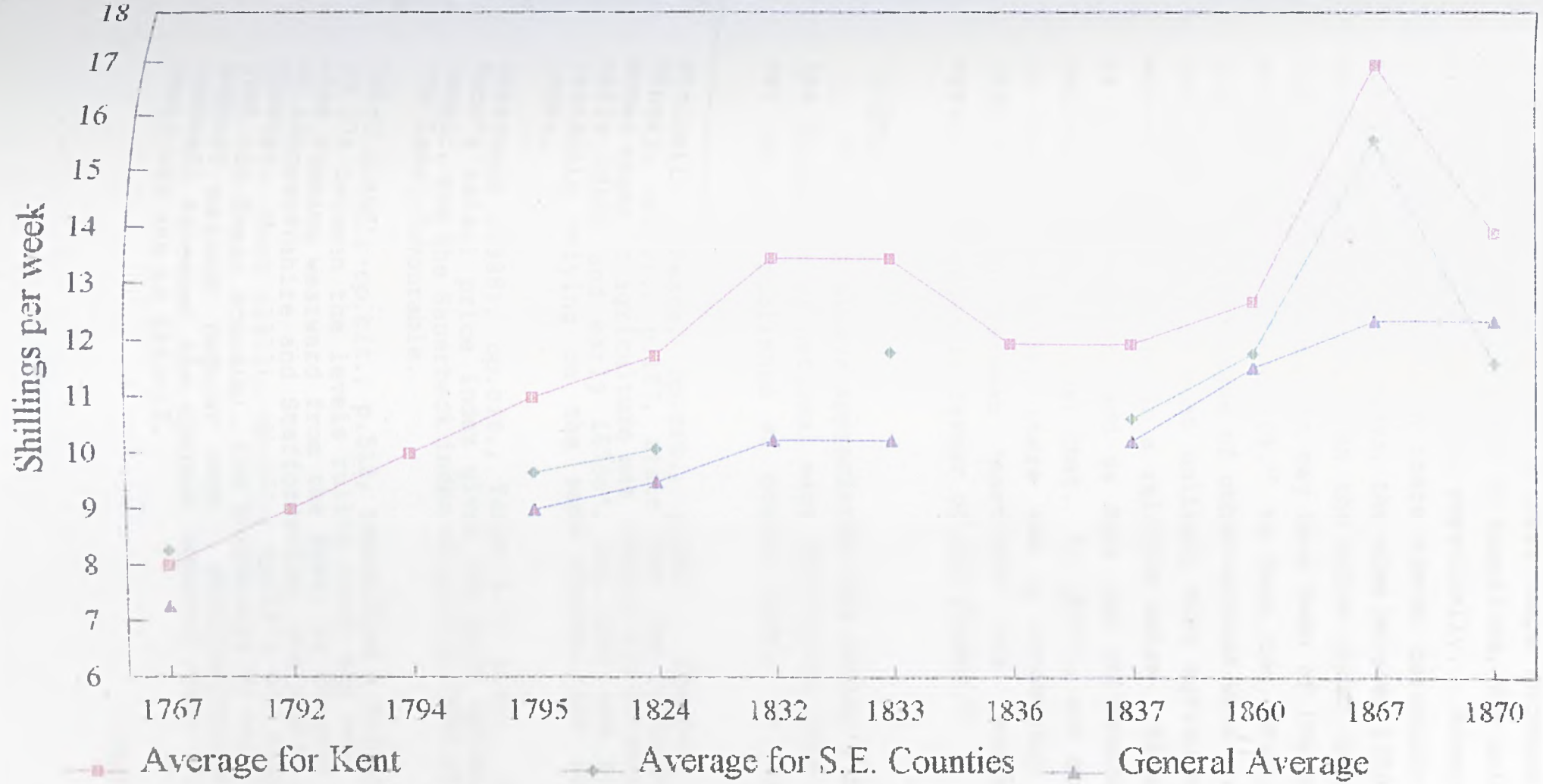
79

Mitchell & Deane, *op.cit.*, p.349; Armstrong (1988), *op.cit.*, p.84, who also notes a 'new rise in unemployment' in the 1840s.

80

James Caird, *English Agriculture In 1850-1851* (1852), p.518.

# Average Weekly Agricultural Labourer's Wages



Source: A.L. Bowley, Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century, 1900



(above) the advance is to 100, i.e. 39%.<sup>81</sup> This should not be taken to signify a real wage increase of anything like the same order of magnitude, for prices, too, were ascending, again erratically. Armstrong points out that although there almost certainly was some increase in real wages, the rise between 1850 and 1868-72 depends heavily on the price index used to deflate the wage data; it may have been of the order of 21%, or as little as 10%.<sup>82</sup> We know, too, that both the money and real wages of other workers were on the increase, and it is most unlikely that agricultural workers gained ground in a relative sense. Finally, as Caird made clear, and as Hunt has reiterated, a national average is just that. In 1850-1, and still, in the early 1870s, there was a noteworthy and persistent gap between 'northern' and 'southern' agricultural wages in favour of the former.<sup>83</sup>

(b) Kent

It is not always appreciated that Bowley's data, the foundation of national wage statistics, were also set out and published at county level, so far as

81

Mitchell & Deane, *op.cit.*, p.350. Chambers and Mingay, *op.cit.*, p.187, state that the increase in money wages in agriculture was 'nearly 40% between the early 1850s and early 1870s', but they are almost certainly relying on the same source, the Bowley index.

82

Armstrong (1988), *op.cit.*, Table 4.1, p.92. Using Wood's retail price index gives the more optimistic result, and the Sauerbeck index of agricultural prices the least favourable.

83

Caird (1852), *op.cit.*, p.512, identified a difference of 37% between the levels ruling north and west of a line running westward from the Wash, to embrace part of Leicestershire and Staffordshire, and ending near Chester. Hunt (1973), *op.cit.*, pp.58 & 64, suggests that (in Great Britain), the percentage by which the highest maximum regular wage (Northumberland and Durham?) exceeded the minimum regional wage (South-west) was 44% in 1867-70.

possible.<sup>84</sup> From this data, it is apparent that his estimates of Kent wages in agriculture exceeded the average for south-eastern counties<sup>85</sup> and indeed the general national average, throughout the period (see Chart 7vi). This impression was supported by Lord Ernle, who, using the same basic data as Bowley, provides the following insight into weekly wage rates in Kent in the nineteenth century

**Weekly Wage Rates In Kent 1824-72**

1824	11s 9d
1837	12s 0d
1850-1	12s 0d
1860	12s 0d
1869-70	14s 3d
1872	15s 2d

**Source:** Lord Ernle, *English Farming Past and Present* (4th Edn. 1927), p.470, Appendix IX.<sup>86</sup>

**Table 7vii**

Among modern historians, Hunt agrees that around 1850, farm labourers in Kent (and Surrey) were 'considerably better paid and nourished than those in counties further west'; indeed, his Kent figure for 1867-70 places Kent as the 11th highest level in England, and in the south, exceeded only in Middlesex

84

But only in Bowley (1900), *op.cit.*, a comparatively scarce, and therefore unduly neglected source.

85

Comprising Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire and Berkshire.

86

These wage rates do not include Payments for Piece or Task Work; the occupation of Cottages, with or without gardens, free or at rents below the letting value; harvest earnings, overtime money, or any extra allowances in Kind or Cash.

The Wilson Fox Report, used by Ernle in his wage calculations, shows that from 1856 to 1875 there was no differentiation between weekly cash wages in June and December, standing at 12s from 1856 to 1864 and 14s from 1865 to 1875. Fox also noted that no perquisites were given in Kent until 1866 - P.P. Cmd. 346 (1900), *op.cit.*, p.239.

and Surrey.<sup>87</sup>

The increases in money wages observed in figure 7vii, and in Ernle's table, like the national figures, have to be interpreted in the light of price movements so as to gauge improvements in real terms. In the period down to 1840, Richardson can see no signs of a progressive improvement in Kentish real wages; at least, they were almost continuously losing ground from 1790 to 1825 and were subject to violent fluctuation thereafter until 1840 when there was a significant positive movement.<sup>88</sup> This interpretation, certainly insofar as the post-war years is concerned, is borne out by evidence of widespread under and unemployment, and by good evidence to the effect that real per capita poor relief was rising in the county. Indeed Baugh, whose analysis includes the parish of Frittenden, concludes that in Kent something happened after the war to change rural Kent from a low-cost to a high cost relief area, and that the most likely cause was rural depression.<sup>89</sup>

Not until the 1840s were there signs of any marked improvement in real wages (at the national level and, we assume, in Kent) when the expansion of demand for labour overtook a supply which was starting

87

Hunt (1973), *op.cit.*, pp.10 & 62. The other 8 were all northern counties. These figures relate to earnings rather than money wages, and are derived by Hunt from Cmd. 346 (1900), *op.cit.*, pp.208-256.

88

T.L.Richardson, 'The Agricultural Labourer's Standard of Living in Kent 1790-1840 in Oddy & Miller (Eds), *The Making of the Modern British Diet* (1976), pp.103-116. Note, though, that he relies on estate records (estate wages may well have been less volatile) and takes no account of any earnings by women and children etc.

89

Baugh, *op.cit.*, pp.62 & 66.

to contract.<sup>90</sup> Even then, the extent of the gains, in real terms was debateable. In February 1867 there was a discussion in the local press about the condition of the Kentish agricultural labourer. The opening letter in this series asserted that

*during the last 30 years no class has made a greater advance in condition.*<sup>91</sup>

The writer goes on to report the improvement in diet and dress had been brought about because Free-trade had provided cheap bread and revisions in tariffs had cheapened nearly every article of the labourer's 'daily wants'. Furthermore, labour had been only partially employed while now

*no man who is good for anything need stand still for want of a job. A better order of farming, and the large number of young men attracted by the higher wages paid by railway contractors, and a love of change, have conduced to bring about a scarcity of agricultural labourers, which has caused them as a class to be inconveniently independent.*

This was followed by an editorial in that paper which noted that

*a good farm labourer was now required to possess an amount of practical knowledge and intelligence equal to that which a first class mechanic would be called upon to exercise; while his hours of toil were longer and his wages far less.*<sup>92</sup>

The wages of labourers did not exceed 15s a week for a day ranging from ten to twelve hours. In addition there were occasionally days of enforced idleness,

90

E.L.Jones, *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution 1815-1873* (1968), p.229; also E.L.Jones, 'The Agricultural Labour Market in England, 1793-1872' *ECHR.*, XVII (1964), p.338. The numbers of agricultural labourers recorded in censuses for the county were as follows: 39,058 (1841), 40,943 (1851), 42,916 (1861), 42,825 (1871).

91

*Kentish Express*, 2 February 1867, 6b.

92

*Ibid.*, 9 February 1867, 5a-b.

from unfavourable weather and other causes. Leading men and wagoners were paid from 16s to 17s 6d per week, but were required to work about six hours on Sundays. This level of income did not appear to permit very large consumption of necessaries or comforts.

The editor later published one of three letters from farm labourers in response to the original letter.<sup>93</sup> This appears to have been penned by a highly literate labourer. He notes that unlike many others in his position his farmer paid more than the 13s 6d per week the others received, at which level he would starve. It is of note that this correspondent advocated piece-work.

Notwithstanding this correspondence, generally speaking it appears that wages and earnings in Kent were definitely on the high side throughout. There were, however, times when work was difficult to get; and times when, in real terms, wages fell.

(c) The Weald

Bowley was well aware that the county was not a good unit over which to take an average, the proper one being a district in which the conditions of work was similar throughout. In the case of Kent he remarked that from the 1770s to 1890s rates of wages in Kent varied much from district to district.<sup>94</sup> The next question to arise is, if Kent fared somewhat above the average, how about the Weald?

---

93

*Ibid.*, 16 February 1867, 6c.

94

Bowley (1900), *op.cit.*

**Annual Wages of Farm Servants in the Weald in 1794<sup>95</sup>**

	£
Bailiff	10-13
Waggoner	10-13
Second Ploughman	9-10
Third Ploughman	n/a
Second Ploughboy	4- 7
Third Ploughboy	n/a
Dairy Maid	3- 4
Cook	4- 5

**Table 7viii**

**Source:** J.Boys, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Kent*, p.24-5, 42-3, 72, 86, 96.

Boys reported that Wealden 'day labourers' received 1s 4d to 1s 6d [per day],<sup>96</sup> and gave a series of figures for servants, set out in table 7viii. The Weald shows the lowest wage levels recorded by Boys. The impression this gives, that the Weald was -within Kent - a low wage area is widely acknowledged.<sup>97</sup> Armstrong and Huzel note that the decline in industries in the south left labourers in parts of Kent almost wholly reliant on agriculture for their livelihood. The decline of the cloth and iron industries since 1700 had created permanent surpluses of labour and endemic poverty.<sup>98</sup> In 1833, Mr John Neve, of Tenterden, gave evidence that wage rates in the area had fallen within a range of 2s to 2s 3d per day in the previous two years, against 3s 6d in the war years.<sup>99</sup> The wages paid in 1833 remained in force

95

T.Richardson, 'Labour', W.A.Armstrong (Ed.) *The Economy of Kent 1640-1914* (1995), p.237.

96

Boys (1794), *op.cit.*, p.96.

97

Richardson (1995), *op.cit.*, p.258.

98

W.A.Armstrong & J.P.Huzel 'Labour II: Food, Shelter and Self-Help, the Poor Law and the Position of the Labourer in Rural Society', G.E.Mingy (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*; VI (1989), p.762.

99

P.P. 1833 V.1, *Select Committee on State of Agriculture*, Q.5159-5160 & 5330-36.



in the Weald fifteen years later.<sup>100</sup> Even later in the century the low wages paid to agricultural labourers remote from the urban conurbations was noted. In 1898 winter rates for the Rural District of Bromley, a suburb of London, and Hoo and Strood, close to Chatham, stood at 17s or 18s, while for the Rural Districts of Cranbrook and Tenterden they were 12s.<sup>101</sup>

(d) Frittenden

The major authorities on nineteenth century wages and prices acknowledge that there were variations in wages between parish and parish, and indeed from farm to farm, for no good reason other than that the differential had existed for as long as anyone could remember. Further variations were; differences in the working day and conditions which varied according to soil, climate, and customs, while employment might be for one day, three months or longer, the employee might 'live-in' or be accommodated in a tied cottage or indeed have no housing provided.<sup>102</sup> Unfortunately, one of the problems which faces the student of a particular community is that wage data is likely to be scarce and hard to come by. The principal evidence available on wage rates in Frittenden, both for hired and day labour, is that extracted from the Hickmott notebooks which cover only the period from 1842 to 1866<sup>103</sup>, and a limited amount of information arising

---

100 P.P. 1847-8, VII.1, *S.C. on Agricultural Customs*, Mr Benjamin Hatch Evidence, Q.4111-2.

101 P.P. Cmd. 346 (1900), *op.cit.*, p.27.

102 Hunt (1973), *op.cit.*, p.65.

103 As observed elsewhere, these notebooks are not comprehensive. All the data recorded as 'Agreed with ..... for six months' is regarded as a formal hiring. Omissions in the series are signified by the absence of certain individuals for a particular period despite the individual being recorded for periods before and after that not recorded. The following commentary is

from parish (i.e. poor law) appointments. Fragmentary though this information is, it is worth recording in some detail, partly because of the, admittedly flickering, light it can throw on the position of hired workers locally; and partly because, combined with other evidence of the same kind which may exist in dribs and drabs in other Kent parishes, it could one day feed into a more comprehensive picture.

(i) Living-in wages

Employment at Lashenden took the form of a six month hiring at April and October each year.<sup>104</sup> The scale of the wages paid by James and William Hickmott suggests that they were employing on the basis of the worker living-in, ie working and eating together with the employer and obtaining some part of the wage in kind - a wage which was consequently lower than that obtained by daily labourers, but which brought with it a more secure form of employment.<sup>105</sup> Short concluded that

*typically such servants were young and unmarried, learning farm and domestic skills for use in later life.*<sup>106</sup>

Such were the majority of the men employed at Lashenden, and most were employed for two hirings, one year, before moving on.

The earliest data for hiring at Lashenden refers to 1842 when two agricultural labourers, William Pope<sup>107</sup> and Silas Hickmott<sup>108</sup>, the nephew of the two

---

based only on those periods recorded.

104

See page 194 above.

105

Short (1984), *op.cit.*, pp.147-64.

106

*Ibid.*, pp.147-64.

107

William Pope, the elder of two William Popes recorded as living at Lashenden between 1841 and 1857, was recorded in the 1841 Census as an agricultural

brothers, are recorded as having agreed wages for the six months from October of £4 15s (3s 8d per week) and £2 10s (1s 11d per week). These produce annual wages of £9-10s and £5. Two females, Sophia and Sarah Watts were also employed, at £2 (1s 6d per week) and £3 (2s 7d per week) or annually £4 and £6.

The same workers were hired six months later, in April 1843, when the men's remuneration showed increases of some 40% to £6 10s (5s p/w) and £3 10s (2s 8d p/w) while those of the women increased by just over 12%, to £2 5s (1s 8¾d p/w) and £3 10s (2s 8d p/w). In addition to these workers, Ann Watts<sup>109</sup> was also hired, at 10s for six months.

In October 1843, William Pope was not retained but Silas Hickmott was re-hired at the April 1843 rate, as were Sophia, Sarah and Ann Watts. Thomas Craddock was now hired, at £2 5s (1s 8¾d p/w). 1844 saw the same workers retained, but while the women's wages were unchanged, the men's increased by 57% in the case of Silas, to £5 10s (4s 2¾d p/w) and 22.5%, to £2 15s (2s 1d p/w), in the case of Thomas. Finally, in this short series, October 1844 saw the retention of these employees. Again the female workers saw no change in their income, while the men's wages were reduced but by only 27% to £4 (3s 1d p/w)

---

labourer aged 25 living at Lashenden.

108

Probably the son of Sarah Children. He was recorded in the 1841 Census as an agricultural labourer aged 15 living at Lashenden.

109

Ann was to feature in the Hickmott story for the next two decades. 17 March 1860 James Hickmott recorded in his diary that on 'Saturday Our Housekeeper left this day with the consent of her master. One week later he records as a memorandum that 'Ann Watts Married at Frittenden this day'. The Register of Marriages for St. Mary's Frittenden records that on 24 March 1860, Ann Watts, 29, a servant and daughter of William Watts (deceased), married George William Heathfield, a labourer from Woodchurch. The marriage was witnessed by James Ledger and Elizabeth Hickmott.

and 9% to £2 10s (1s 11d p/w).

Thus while there was a differential between winter/spring and summer/autumn wages, this was by no means a constant and, as we shall see, tended to reduce in the period 1842 to 1863.

The consistency of the female wage rate suggests that there was no significant change in their work duties through the year and that they were therefore more likely to be domestic than agricultural workers, whose duties and demands would have varied significantly depending on the season.

Sarah Watts was obviously the senior female servant, consistently achieving a wage rate higher than the junior male agricultural servant.<sup>110</sup> However, her wage rate of 2s 8½d was to be received by Ann Watts nearly ten years later, and for a further ten years, when she was described as housekeeper. This suggests that Ann was to succeed Sarah as housekeeper and that there was no wage inflation in respect of that job for some 20 years.

The longest series of data for any one labouring employee was that for George (H)orton, described in the 1851 census as a servant 'in agriculture' and obviously one of the senior workers during his employment at Lashenden. He is first recorded being hired at Lashenden in September 1846 when he received £4 (3s 1d p/w). A year later this had been increased to £4 10s (3s 4d p/w), a 12% increase. His spring/summer rate for 1848 was £6 10s (5s p/w) which was reduced to 4s 7½d the following year before being reinstated at 5s in April 1851 and 1852. This rate was increased to 5s 9d for 1853 and 1854 with a corresponding winter/spring rate of 4s 2½d, a winter/summer differential of some 18%. After October

The expression 'senior' and 'junior' are of our own devising and take account of age and length of service.

1854 there are no further recorded hirings of Horton and there is no record of him in the 1861 census.

A series only slightly shorter is recorded for William Pain. His hiring was recorded first in 1850, probably April, as a 9 year old receiving a wage of £1 for the six months (9¼d per week). He formed part of a three man workforce at Lashenden. Three years later he was earning 2s 3¾d per week as joint equal junior under a senior employee. However, this had been reduced the following year to 1s 11d, with a further reduction for the winter/spring of 2¼d to 1s 9¾d. The workforce had increased to six with four receiving a higher wage than William. By October 1855, William was third out of a labour force of four with his winter/spring income of 2s 8¼d, equivalent to his summer/autumn income in April 1853. His summer/autumn rate in April 1856 was 3s 1d, reduced for the following winter/spring to 2s 8¼d. By April 1857, William was now the second highest paid out of a labour force of six men, receiving 5s 5½d. The last recorded hiring of William was in October 1857 when he was 16 and was to receive 3s 5½d per week for the winter/spring period. He was the highest paid of the 4 workers on Lashenden.<sup>111</sup>

The 'junior' servant<sup>112</sup> received 2s 1d for the summer/autumn of 1844 to 1846. This was reduced to 1s 11d in 1847 before rising to 2s 3¾d from 1848 to April 1853 after which it was reduced again to 1s 11d. The level was restored to 2s 3¾d in 1859. The winter/spring equivalent was 1s 8¾d from October 1843 to October 1847 and 1s 11d from October 1853 to

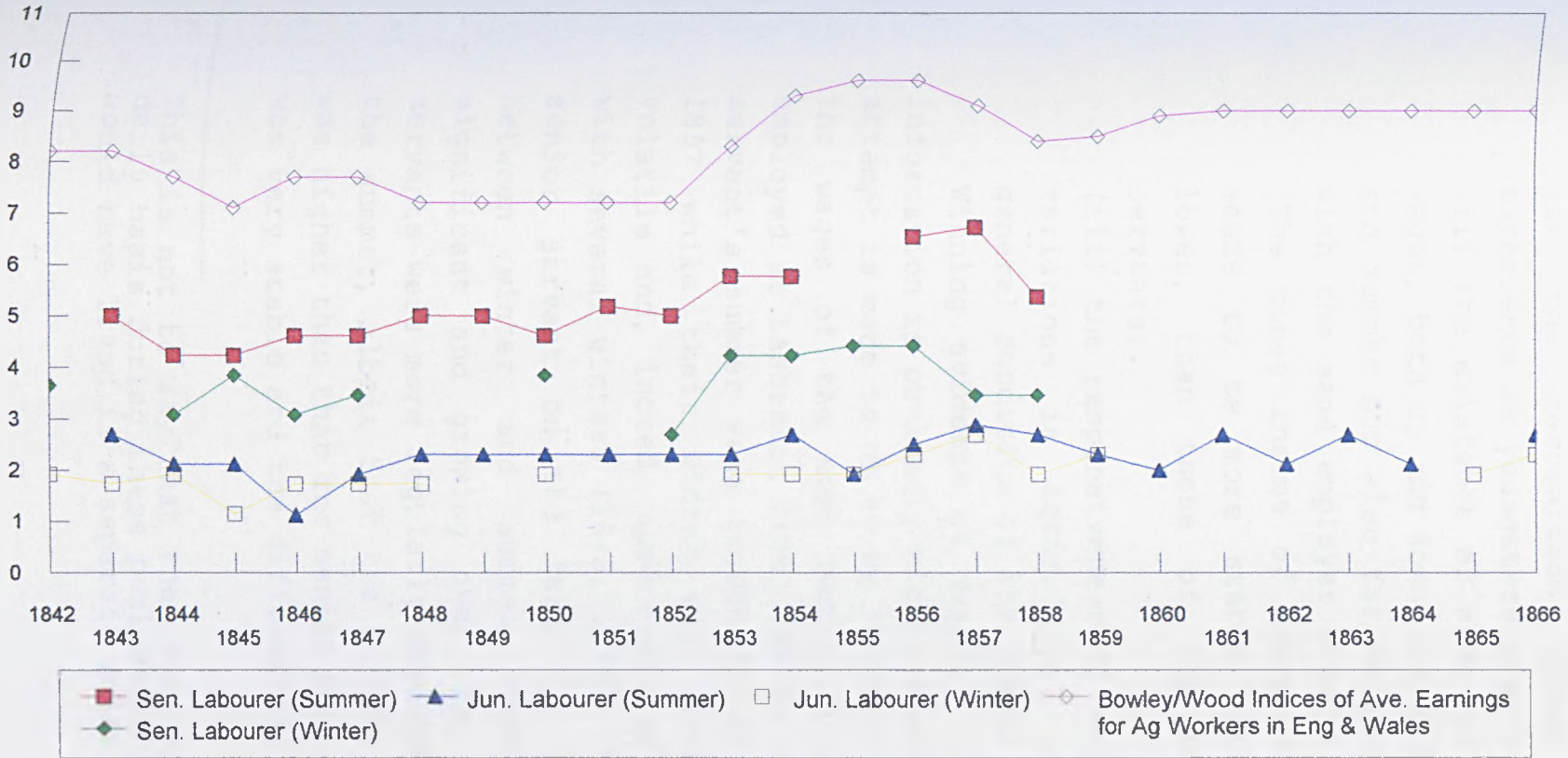
111

By 1861, William Pain was aged 20 and recorded in the census as a farm servant living at Lake Farm, Frittenden.

112

Junior servant does not included children of, say, 12 and under. They were irregularly employed, and primarily living in parents' houses, and their wages were significantly less.

# Wages of Live-in Labourers at Lashenden Farm, Frittenden



Based on 6 month wage rates shown in Hickmott Notebooks  
 Bowley Wood Index for Ag Workers in Eng & Wales reduced to 10%: Source Mitchell & Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics p349-50



October 1858.

Such was the experience of a handful of individuals through the years 1842-66. This is, indeed, a tiny data-base; and yet, it is not without value. It shows

(i) the recognition given to increasing experience as youngsters grew older;

(ii) the existence of wide variations in money wages, both up and down, not only between winter and summer but also for an individual, even if with the same employer over a period of time. (The money income of domestic/female servants seems to be more stable, although generally lower, than those of the male agricultural servants).

(iii) the responsiveness of wages to short-term variations in agricultural prices, and the general condition of the labour market.

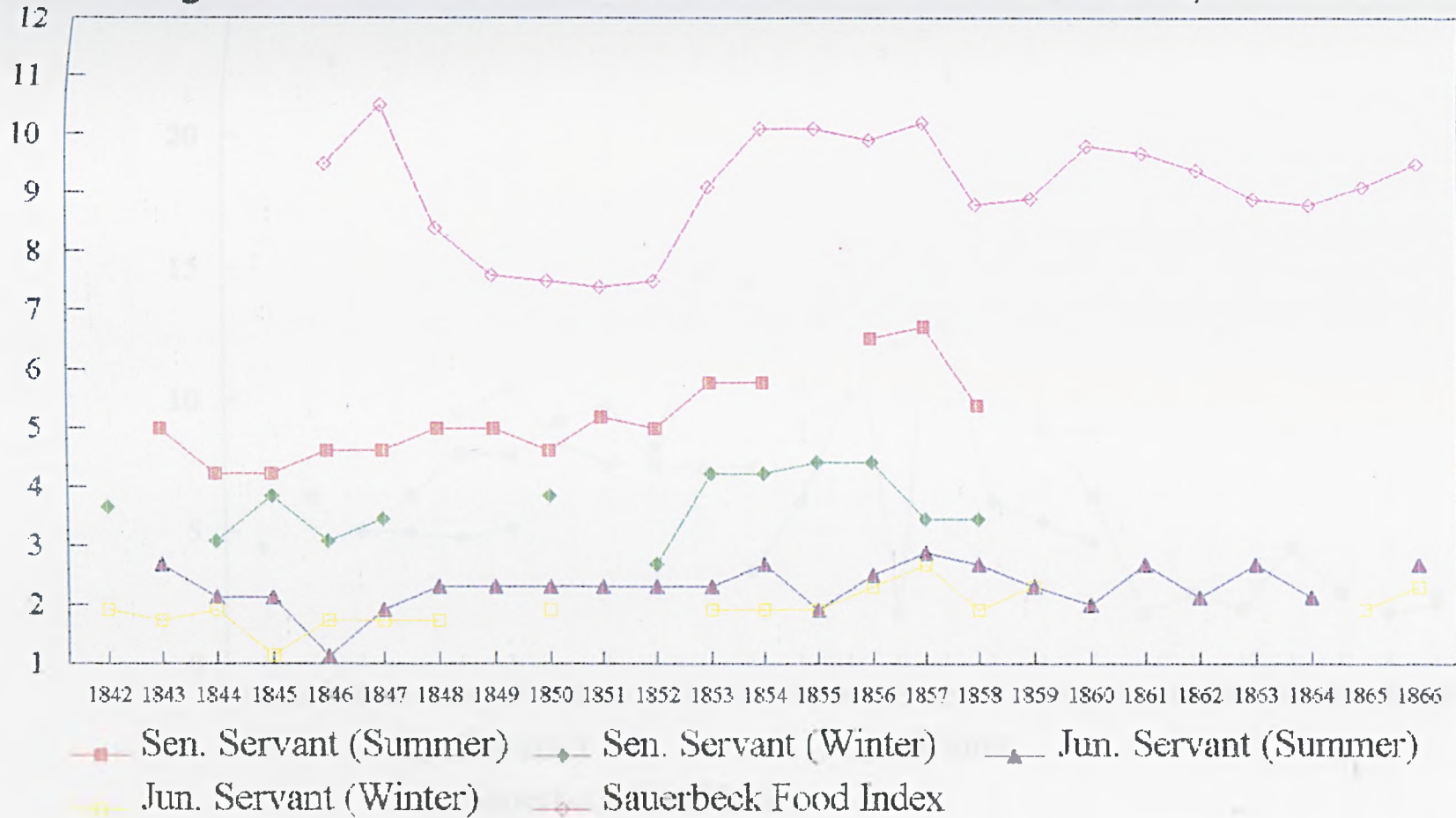
Winning evidence of trends, from such limited information is obviously highly problematical, but an attempt is made to do so by focusing (chart 7ix) on the wages of the most senior and junior servant employed at Lashenden from 1842 to 1866. The senior servant's summer wage tended to drift higher until 1857 while their winter wage tended to be more volatile and, indeed, apparently at risk altogether with several winters (1848, 1849, 1851) recording no senior servant on the farm.<sup>113</sup> The differential between winter and summer wages was normally significant and growing over the period. Junior servants were more regularly employed, especially in the summer, albeit that the turnover of individuals was higher than that for senior men. Their wage rate was very stable and the differential between winter

---

113

This is not to say that they were not employed on a daily basis during these periods although where they would have lived is a separate question.

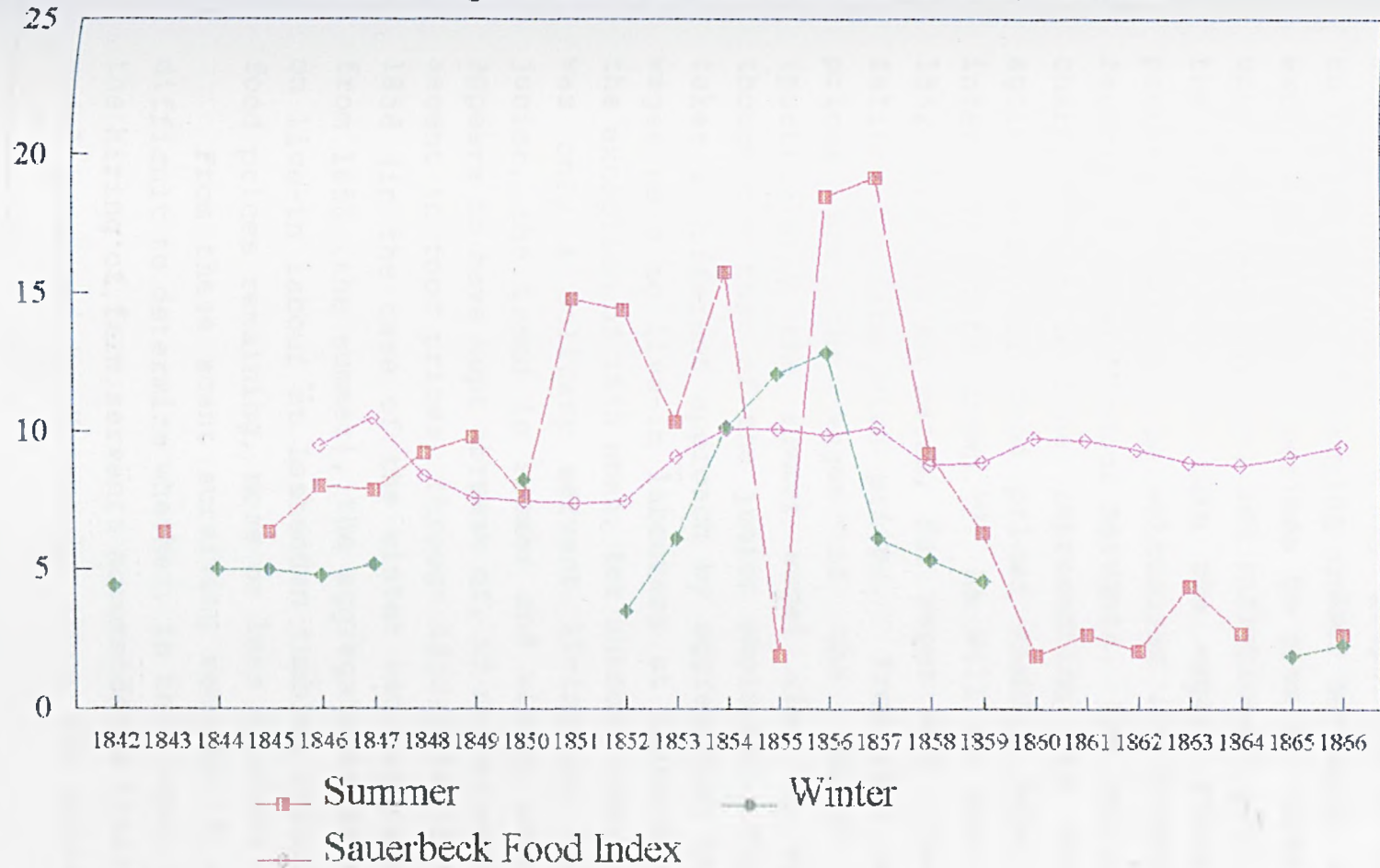
## Wages of Live-in Farm Servants at Lashenden Farm, Frittenden



Based on 6 month wage rates shown in Hickmott Notebooks

Sauerbeck Index reduced to 10%: Source Mitchell & Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics p474

Total of Wages of Live-in Servants at Lashenden Farm, Frittenden



Based on 6 month wage rates shown in Hickmott Notebooks

Sauerbeck Index reduced to 10%: Source Mitchell & Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics p474

and summer very small.

To what extent did these wages reflect changes in the cost of living? Kussmaul has contended that, food and drink made up such a high proportion of the costs to the farmer of employing indoor servants, we would expect deflationary periods to give an incentive to upholding farm service, and inflationary periods just the opposite.<sup>114</sup> In turn the wages offered would presumably reflect the enthusiasm (or otherwise) of farmers to retain indoor servants. The inclusion, in chart 7x of a line representing the course of agricultural, or food prices enables some limited inferences to be drawn.<sup>115</sup> As will be seen, before 1852 there is no match, for wages were clearly not falling in line with prices. From that date on, prices and the wages of the senior servant (particularly the summer wage) rise in sympathy, though not that of the junior employee. Figure 7xi takes a different approach by aggregating the total wages paid to live-in labourers at Lashenden. With the exception of 1855 when, for unknown reasons, there was only a solitary servant living in, and he a junior, the trend in summer and winter wages alike appears to have kept abreast of, if not exceeding, the ascent in food prices, through 1852/3 to 1856. From 1856 (in the case of the winter wage aggregate) and from 1858 (the summer), the aggregate wages paid out on live-in labour at Lashenden tumbled sharply, with food prices remaining, more or less constant.

From these scant surviving records it would be difficult to determine whether, in this local context, the hiring of farm servants accommodated itself to the model proposed by Kussmaul, since the relationship

114

A.Kussmaul, *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England* (1981), p.101.

115

This is the Sauerbeck index which includes both vegetable and animal prices.

between the food price curve, the levels of remuneration of senior and junior labourers (chart 7ix) or the aggregate wage bill (chart 7xi) bear only, at best, a very remote relationship to price movements. It should, however, be remembered that Kussmaul is describing what economists usually refer to as 'propensities'. And propensities can be overlaid by other factors. We may note that the trends in money wages paid at Lashenden mirror the trends in average earnings in agriculture as calculated by Bowley and Wood (see chart 7ix), more especially in the case of the senior employees. This would suggest that the wage climate in the agricultural sector as a whole had a more direct influence on money wages for indoor servants than did change in the food, or cost of living index; and it may well have been emergent shortages of men available and willing to live in, that affected the wages offered, and the numbers of live-in servants actually employed.

(ii) Wages for day, or casual labourers

Marshall records that in Kent at the end of the eighteenth century, labourers' wages per day, of ten hours, ranged from 1s 6d to 2s, while reminding us that work was often done by the piece, the thrashing of wheat was 2-3s per quarter, reaping wheat per acre, 8s to 16s, mowing barley and oats 1s 8d to 2s 6d. The working day was, in the summer from six o'clock in the morning till eleven; and from one in the afternoon, till six in the evening, in winter as long as daylight permitted, making the dinner-time as short as possible.<sup>116</sup>

116

William Marshall, *The Review of the County Reports to the Board of Agriculture, 5: Southern and Peninsular Departments* (1968 reprint), p.433-4, quoting J.Boys, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Kent* (1796), pp.162 & 165.

The Frittenden Overseers records provide some insight into casual work. Their records suggest that in 1800-1, 4s per week was being paid for labour. This rate was still being paid in 1820.

Even after the reform of the Poor Law in 1834, the parish was involved in the employment of local labourers. In March 1836 a vestry resolved to employ a man and four children at 1s 6d per day per week (of six days), with three children to work five days in a week at the same price and two children four days at 1s 4d per week.<sup>117</sup> By January 1843 a 3d rate was raised to employ able bodied men at two shillings per day for three days in a week and then to be employed on the road according to their families that is to say a man with three children would have three more days on the road at 1s 8d; with two children 2 days on the road at 1s 6d; and with one child one day at 1s 4d.<sup>118</sup> April 1849 saw the Vestry vote for an able bodied man to be employed at 1s 6d per day.<sup>119</sup>

Other casual tasks were hedging, hop digging and poling, some dipping of beans, the thrashing of oats, beans, peas and wheat, and some carting. Unspecified labour attracted daily wages of varying sums. The Hickmott Notebooks record that in 1843, Messrs Dobell and Godfrey received various sums: however, the interval between payments suggests a daily rate of 2s. Similarly, payments to Stephen Fuggles<sup>120</sup> also suggest a daily rate of 2s in 1844.<sup>121</sup> By February 1849 Master Read was paid 10s per week for three weeks suggesting,

---

117 C.K.S./P152/8/2, Vestry of St.Mary's Church  
Frittenden.

118 *Ibid.*

119 *Ibid.*

120 A Stephen Fuggle is recorded in the 1841 Census as a  
20 year old residing in The Street.

121 F.H.S., Uncatalogued Papers, Hickmott Notebooks.



for a six day week, a daily rate of 1s 8d.<sup>122</sup> However, in January of that year, George Pope<sup>123</sup>, aged 27, received 2s for one day's work, while from April to July, Benjamin Smith, aged 12, was paid 6s per week, ie 1s per day.<sup>124</sup> By 1861, two men, James Watt and Henry Pound, were paid at the daily rate of 2s 3d for Summer work while 'John' received only 1s 8d for a day. Finally, in 1862 an unknown person was paid 2s 6d for 1½ days work, i.e. 1s 8d per day.

Not all payments were made in cash. In August 1844 James Crampton took payment for his hedging work partly in cash, partly in faggots and partly in hoppoles. In January 1848, James Watts was paid by wheat with a monetary equivalent of 11s and Jon Vane by pork to the value of £4-4-6.<sup>125</sup>

All the above suggests that while casual work attracted higher rates for more experience, the rate was unchanged for at least six years from 1843 to 1849, when their live-in equivalents showed a steady increase. Even after 18 years of the Hickmott series, (ie 1843-62) the rate had only increased by 3d to 2s 3d. The rate for more junior labourers was unchanged during the 13 years from 1849 to 1862 while their live-in equivalents would have experienced significant variations in, particularly their summer, wage rates.

For more specialist labouring tasks, data is even more scarce. However, in 1849 hop digging attracted

---

<sup>122</sup> It is of note that Master Read received £1 in January 1849 for thrashing - *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> George Pope had been hired for 6 months in October 1845 as a 'live-in' labourer. At that time his wage was £5 or 3s 10d per week compared with 2s per day in 1849 - *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> In June of the following year Benjamin was employed at Lashenden to live-in for 6 months at the rate of £5, 3s 10d per week - *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> These are only examples but no payments in kind are recorded in the notebooks after April 1848.

the rate of 12s per week, i.e. 2s per day, no better than the experienced labourer's rate of that year. In 1862, thrashing also received 2s per day. The chief inference that we can draw from these scattered references is that the daily rates, though allowing for differences in age and experience, tended to be relatively inert for lengthy periods of time, suggesting, perhaps, that diurnal rates of pay were more obviously determined by custom, or what was deemed appropriate, than was the remuneration of indoor farm servants who could, as it were, 'test the market' at least annually, if not twice a year.

The same may well be true of wages offered for the work of women and children. Marshall - commenting on Kent, of course, not on Frittenden - reported that women's wages for weeding, per day, about 1796 were 8d to 10d and for children aged ten to thirteen, 6d.<sup>126</sup> Quite strikingly, 'ordinary field work' for women in the early 1840s was quoted at exactly the same figure, 8d-10d, though it was acknowledged that the rate would be 10d to 1s at haytime and, at harvest, 1s-1s 3d. As late as 1866/7 a Mrs Jenner of Cranbrook did

*more than a man would, and yet they give 1s instead of 2s 6d. I work from 8 till 5.*<sup>127</sup>

### (III) OTHER FACTORS BEARING ON LABOURERS' SITUATION

As important, no doubt as the prevailing wage level is the opportunity to earn that wage.<sup>128</sup> There is little doubt that in the post-war decades, the livelihood of the Frittenden labourer was decidedly

126

W.Marshall (1817, 1968 reprint), *op.cit.*, p.434, quoting J.Boys, *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Kent* (1796), pp.163.

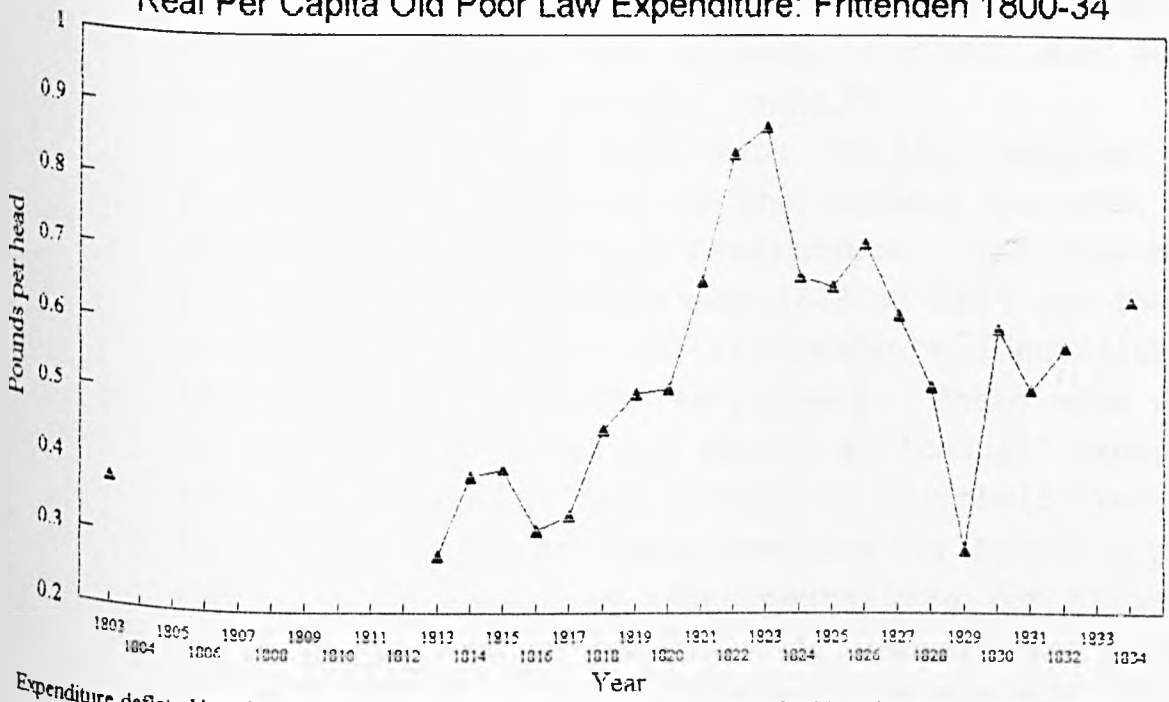
127

P.P. 1867, XVII.1, *Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture* (1867): Evidence accompanying Mr Stanhope's Report, p.49.

128

Armstrong (1988), *op.cit.*, pp.57 & 98-9.

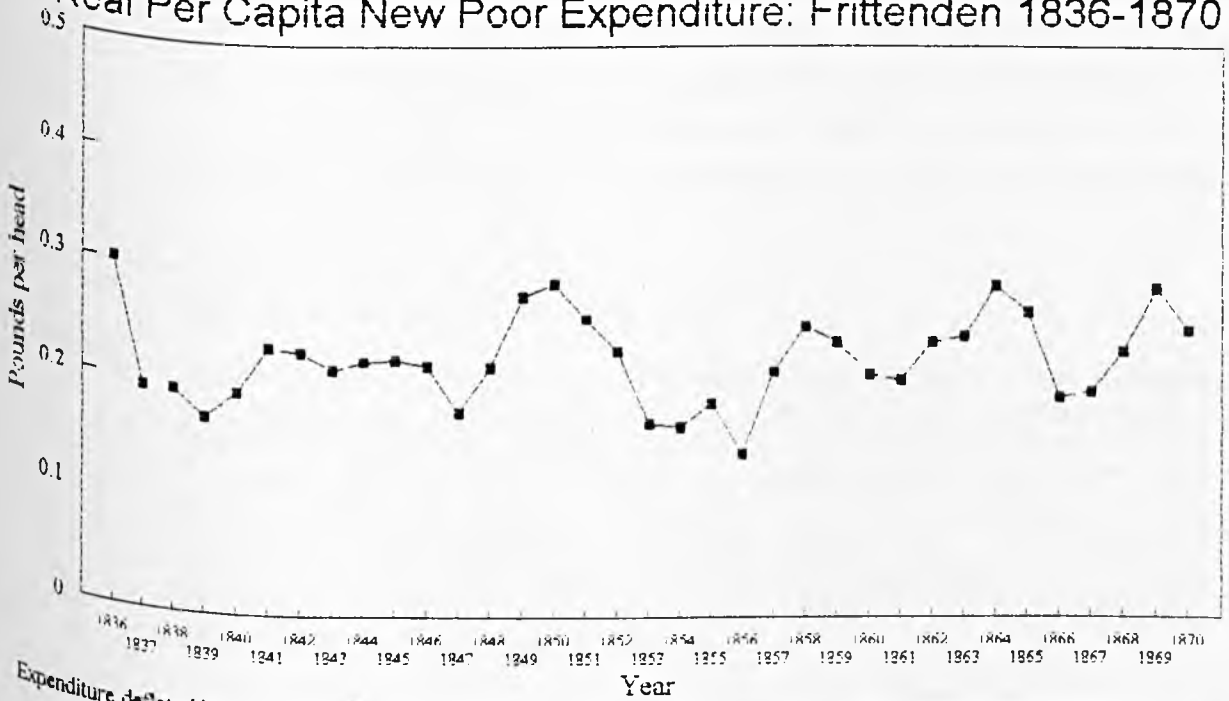
Real Per Capita Old Poor Law Expenditure: Frittenden 1800-34



Expenditure deflated by wheat price index in B.R.Mitchell & P.Deane. 'Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1962), p.488.

7xii

Real Per Capita New Poor Expenditure: Frittenden 1836-1870



Expenditure deflated by wheat price index in B.R.Mitchell & P.Deane. 'Abstract of British Historical Statistics (1962), p.488.

7xiii

precarious. The 1826 *Select Committee on Emigration* reported that in 16 parishes in 1823, 8,263 out of 21,719 inhabitants were paupers, and 682 men were totally unemployed all year round.<sup>129</sup>

The precarious livelihood of the labourer in Frittenden is evidenced by the numbers recorded as paupers in the Poor Rate Assessments. The economic problems locally in the years 1828 to 1833 are there exhibited by some 36 of Frittenden's identifiable labourers<sup>130</sup> being listed as paupers. These were all in receipt of poor relief, mainly as 'casual' labour, and also received relief in order to pay their 'rent'. In May 1828 these men were assessed for £2-8-0 a per capita. The remaining assessments were for £2 with the exception of September 1831, when the rate was variable between £1-10-0 for five labourers and £2 for the remaining 'paupers'. Despite this description those who were tenants of the Mann/Cornwallis Estate were not in arrears on their rent, suggesting that rental payments took priority over rates.<sup>131</sup> The people on this list also received benefit from the Idenden Charity Feoffees, indeed they accounted for around 50% of the benefits paid out by the Feoffees.<sup>132</sup>

The plight of the labourer can be seen from the level of poor relief expenditure. In an economic

129

Hobsbawm & Rudé, *op.cit*, p.73.

130

Identified from the 1841 census as such. The number of 'paupers' identified in the sixteen assessments from May 1828 to February 1833 varied between 43 and 54 and included two widows. Labourers were not the only group to be included in the 'pauper' list although they formed the vast majority. Two farmers and two bailiffs were included, together with some skilled workmen, ie a shoemaker, thatcher, blacksmith, carpenter, turner and sawyer.

131

C.K.S./157/12/9, *Overseers Accounts 1828-33*.

132

P152/25/9, *Frittenden Idenden Charity Feoffees Book 1817-1900*.

analysis of poor relief in South East England, Baugh considered the real per capita level of poor relief taking into account the level of wheat prices. Chart 7xii uses Baugh's methodology for the Old Poor Law era. While there is insufficient evidence to make a comparison in the period to 1814 (Stage I in Baugh's analysis), two spot references suggest that levels in 1813, a year before demobilisation began, were lower than in 1803, the year of the Peace of Amiens, as suggested by Baugh. His stages II, 1814 to 1820, and III, post 1820, are largely reflected in the data for Frittenden, i.e. that there was an upward movement of values after 1813 and a decline and some levelling off of values after, for Kent, 1823. The higher levels of expenditure at Frittenden than the county as a whole are also reflected in the Baugh series for agricultural parishes in the county.<sup>133</sup>

If Baugh's methodology is extended to the era of the New Poor Law, the picture (see Chart 7xiii) shows a generally flat/slightly rising level of expenditure until 1847 followed by a significant increase to 1850 after which there was a steady decline to 1856. The subsequent level saw a general rise until 1864. This confirms the suggestion of a period of relative prosperity in the parish during the 1850s.

As shown below, some 90% of this relief was of an 'outdoor' nature and would thus have had an immediate impact not only on those in receipt of benefit but also probably on the level of wages available to the labourers in work.<sup>134</sup>

The numbers in receipt are not easily discovered, although a short series exists on a quarterly basis from 1836 to 1845 (Table 7xiv). However, evidence

133

D.A.Baugh, 'The Cost of Poor Relief in South-East England, 1790-1834', *ECHR.*, XXVIII, 1 (1975), pp.56-61.

134

See Chapter 11, table 11vi, p.342.

from the census provides only one example of an unemployed agricultural labourer in Frittenden.<sup>135</sup>

**Numbers of Poor Relief Recipients: Frittenden 1836-45**

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Average
1836		20	28	36	28.00
1837		21	14	16	17.00
1838	23	22	18	18	20.25
1839	21	26	13	20	20.00
1840	32	30	16	25	25.75
1841		24	15	13	17.33
1842	16	17	14	16	15.75
1843	16	14	15	15	15.00
1844	15		18	18	17.00
1845		18		12	15.00

Source: C.K.S./G/C/AM/1-5, Minutes of Cranbrook Union Guardians.

**Table 7xiv**

Further factors generally assumed to have a direct bearing on living standards of agricultural labourers are access to housing and the provision, or otherwise, of allotments. We have already noted that the pressure on cottage accommodation must have been especially acute during the period when population grew most rapidly; and inferred that the position must have been alleviated to a degree after 1821, as a consequence of slower population growth and migration on the one hand, and additions to the housing stock on the other.<sup>136</sup> We know, too, that the Mann/Cornwallis estate was being urged by its surveyors, in 1853, to exercise an element of rent control. They considered it

*desirable that where any Cottages are on, or adjoining to a Farm, they should be let therewith, on condition that the Occupiers thereof should in no case be charged more than*

<sup>135</sup>

In 1871, Frederick Kemp, aged 17, living with his father at Brickyard Cottage.

<sup>136</sup>

Above, Chapter 2, pp.28-36.



1/6 per week rent.<sup>137</sup>

However, how effectively such a policy was carried out is not known, and any temptation to argue for an improvement in the cottage situation, as to either supply or quality, is certainly reined in when one encounters, in 1868, the following comment from Mr Stanhope's Report in the Royal Commission (1867), which spoke of 'many good, and some very bad and overcrowded' accommodation in Kent, to which was subjoined the comment that

*On Lord Holmesdale's Estate there are not half the required number, and some men have a long way to walk.*<sup>138</sup>

The provision of gardens or allotments was a related factor and, in effect, one of the determinants of the quality of cottage accommodation. Evidence collected in 1833 by the Poor Law Commissioners in the Rural Districts suggested that provision of gardens or allotments to the rural poor was most generous in Kent, Gloucestershire, Berkshire and Wiltshire.<sup>139</sup> The Labourers' Friend Society advocated allotments and cottage husbandry and its publications were vehement in the denunciation of areas, notably Sussex, where relief of the poor was concentrated on the Poor Rate. Conversely, successful schemes were publicised. Of one scheme, covering 29 acres, it was said that

137

C.K.S./U24/E3, *Copy Report as to the Estates in Kent & Sussex of the Trustees of the late Earl Cornwallis 1853.*

138

P.P. 1867, XVII.1, *Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture (1867): Evidence accompanying Mr Stanhope's Report, p.130, Evidence as to the situation and condition of cottages, gardens, &c.*

139

D.C.Barnett, 'Allotments and the Problem of Rural Poverty, 1780-1840' in Jones & Mingay (Eds.), *Land Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution (1967)*, p.171.

some of the men occupy one acre each, others only half an acre, according to the number of their children. The land has been thus occupied upwards of ten years; and by this means, thirty families, including 176 individuals, have been kept free from parish relief; and are rendered respectable and happy.<sup>140</sup>

Such provision was seen as relieving the poor of the agricultural districts in a philanthropic and paternalistic manner which obviated intervention by the state, and it is frequently regarded as a response to rural discontent, notably to the Swing riots.<sup>141</sup>

In a recent study, Burchardt considers that the existence of opposition to allotments does not detract from the social benefits generated. However, insofar as there was a divergence of opinion between farmers and landowners over allotments, this was a factor contributing to a serious deterioration in the relationship between the two groups. Indeed he also comments that the opposition of labourers to allotment schemes is an indication of the depth of suspicion existing between labourers and their social superiors. Moreover, Burchardt judges not only that in the period 1830-50, public provision of allotments, ie by the parish vestry, was virtually negligible, but that charity land was rarely let out in allotments.<sup>142</sup>

140

*The Labourers' Friend: A Selection From the Publications of The Labourers' Friend Society, Showing the Utility and National Advantage of Allotting Land for Cottage Husbandry* (1835), pp.29-30. It is of note that the Society also advocated the use of 'spade cultivation' in preference to the plough.

141

J.Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793-1873*, PhD Thesis, University of Reading (1997a), pp.79-81.

The case for allotments as a method of reducing 'dissatisfaction amongst the peasantry against landlords and farmers' was outlined in an 'Anonymous Pamphlet by an Inhabitant of Kent' - *Ibid*, pp.212-4.

142

Burchardt, (1997a), *op.cit.*, pp304-5; and *Ibid.*, 'Rural Social Relations, 1830-50: Opposition to Allotments for Labourers, *A.H.R.*, 45, 2 (1997b).

Frittenden, however, defies this generalisation; at a Vestry at Frittenden 19 July 1836, essentially controlled by the larger farmers in the parish and where the churchwardens were also feoffees of the local charity [see Chapter 11 below], it was resolved  
to lett out from five to eight acres in allotments of 1 quarter of an acre to Labourers in the parish.<sup>143</sup>

This land had formed part of the parish farm and was owned by the charity. However, it should be noted that, by what are defined by Burchardt as village standards, the plots may have been somewhat small at 40 perches against a national average of just over 60.<sup>144</sup>

Thirty-two labourers in Frittenden took up this offer, paying rents of from 5s 6d to 13s per annum. Burchardt records that where public authorities did provide allotments, rents were very much lower than those set by landlords, and do not seem to have risen in line with agricultural rents in the same way. As already noted, vestries were dominated by farmers and they may have had different motives in letting land to labourers, being possibly much more concerned about the material aspects of allotment provision (i.e. prevention of poverty and hence reduction of the poor rates) than about its broader social and moral aspects. A 'cheap' rather than a 'fair' rent might be the more sensible in this situation.<sup>145</sup>

Thus, Frittenden may have been in the vanguard of the movement to promote self-sufficiency on the part of the labourer, as by 1867 it was reported that on Lord Holmesdale's estate that

---

<sup>143</sup> C.K.S./P152/8/2, Vestry of St.Mary's Church Frittenden.

<sup>144</sup> Burchardt (1997a), *op.cit.*, Table 2.2.4 'Mean Plot Size - Villages and Towns', pp.258.

<sup>145</sup> Burchardt (1997a), *op.cit.*, p.304.

almost all have gardens averaging 20 rods, and some have allotments.<sup>146</sup>

*Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture (1867): Evidence accompanying Mr Stanhope's Report, p.130, Evidence as to the situation and condition of cottages, gardens, &c.*

CHAPTER 8  
TRADES AND CRAFTS

British industrialization, it is generally agreed, was accompanied by the de-industrialisation of rural areas, in that domestic, mass manufacturing activities, notably textiles experienced a rapid decline. However, a distinction should be drawn between manufacturing of that kind and the wide range of crafts trades and embryonic professions whose fortunes were closely bound up with agriculture. Indeed, they were commonly viewed as part of the agricultural 'interest', and in recent years, this hitherto neglected sector of rural society has received a good deal of attention.<sup>1</sup> In some cases, notably professions such as the law, land agents, the more specialised branches of retailing, and some agricultural processing industries, the natural location was the market town, which has begun to attract interest in its own right.<sup>2</sup> However, it is also appreciated that even quite small villages embraced appreciable numbers of persons whose incomes were not drawn directly from farming, even though their livelihoods might be dependent on it at one remove. Sometimes, non-agricultural activities were carried on in conjunction with (usually) small-scale farming, and sometimes not; a given individual might well pursue more than one, indeed a multiplicity of

---

<sup>1</sup> In particular, J.A Chartres, 'Country Tradesmen' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, I (1981), pp.300-313; J.A.Chartres, 'Country Trades, Crafts, and Professions' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, VI (1989), pp.416-465.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g. J.Brown, *The English Market Town* (1991); and for a good example of the functions of one such place, East Dereham in Norfolk, A.Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*, p.29; and studies of Sussex towns mentioned in W.A.Armstrong 'The Countryside' in F.M.L.Thompson, *Cambridge Social History of England*, I (1990), pp.87-153.

occupations; and, frequently, the functions of production and retailing were far from distinct.

Such was the case with Frittenden. We shall seek to reconstruct the position by approaching the issue under three headings:

(i) A brief survey of the available sources.

(ii) Illustrations (drawn from these sources) of the presence of activities in the trade and craft sector, under appropriate headings.

(iii) An overview, designed to show how and under what circumstances the 'sector' as a whole grew, or not, as the case may be.

#### (I) AVAILABLE SOURCES AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

The first and most obvious source of information is the censuses. Unfortunately, there is no detailed information before 1841, although aggregated figures for persons, or families not engaged in agriculture do have some value, as discussed below.<sup>3</sup> From 1841 on, we have access to the details about individuals, drawn from the occupational columns of the census enumerators books. The census data frequently lists more than one occupation for a given individual. Thus, in the returns of 1851 for Frittenden we encounter farmers undertaking the secondary trades of grocer, carpenter, miller, butcher, beer house keeper, builder and brickmaker. Perhaps more unusual were the occupations of farmer/road surveyor and house steward/farmer. Other bi-occupational tradesmen were; innkeeper & carrier, blacksmith & coal merchant, innkeeper & butcher, thatcher & farm labourer, grocer & poulterer, gardener & bailiff, grocer & general shopkeeper, grocer & draper, grocer & innkeeper.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See below pages 280-81.

<sup>4</sup> In the long run the census occupational returns, became 'tidier', possibly reflecting a genuine decline in multiple occupations. This is the view of



Among these were, of course, journeyman and employees, as well as those in business on their own account.

This is not the case with the second main source, which is trade directories, identifying only businesses and their proprietors. By way of illustration, Bagshaw's 1848 directory recorded only 17 tradesmen at Frittenden. Notably he showed only 1 blacksmith, against 4 in the 1841 census and 2 in that of 1851, only 2 carpenters, compared with 7 and 6, and 2 shoemakers against 6 and 5.<sup>5</sup>

The third source is of parochial origin. We can draw on occupational indications given in the parish register, where (presumably) the information set down would reflect, in a community of this size, the personal knowledge and judgement of the parish priest. These records rarely give more than a single occupational description. Finally, further supplementary information of local provenance includes details elicited from estate papers, notably the 1853 survey of tenancies on the Cornwallis estate.

It cannot be expected that these sources would agree in neatly consigning a particular individual to a specific occupational category. The example of David Screes may be followed through in detail to illustrate the problem. In the parish register for 1825 he was recorded as a shoemaker. Ten years later, 1835, he was a grocer and in the two subsequent years a shopman.<sup>6</sup> In the Census of 1841 and 1851 he was again described as a Grocer and in the 1853 Survey of

---

C.A.Crompton, 'An exploration of the craft and trade structure of two Hertfordshire villages, 1851-91: an application of nominal record linkage to directories and census enumerators' books', *The Local Historian*, 28, 3 (1998), p.154.

<sup>5</sup> Samuel Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Kent* (1848), II, p.653.

<sup>6</sup> C.K.S./P152/1/2,3,4, *Register of Baptisms St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1813-44.*

the Cornwallis Estate he is shown as a tenant of a house and shop and some 3 acres of land.<sup>7</sup> By 1861 he was a 'Proprietor of Houses'. Thus he spent at least 18 years as a grocer. However, his early training as a shoemaker, the renting of 3 acres of land, which he presumably worked as he was described as a farmer in the 1851 Census (possibly to supply the shop), and his eventual role apparently as a landlord, suggests that classifying him solely as a grocer would be inaccurate. Indeed Bagshaw in 1848, describes him as a shopkeeper and draper<sup>8</sup> supporting the idea that he is better described as a retail trader than as a grocer.<sup>9</sup>

## (II) SOME TRADES AND CRAFTS AT FRITTENDEN

We turn now to tracing the evolution of a number of selected trades and crafts. As might be expected, the amount of information recovered is somewhat variable, and the order in which occupations are taken is not necessarily dictated by their respective sizes, in terms of employment. Rather, they are taken in the order as they feature in table 8iv below; we start with the food and drink trades, moving on to clothing and footwear, then to transport related occupations and finally, the building crafts and trades.

### (a) Food Retailers

The general view propounded by James Jefferys, an economist, is that the low standard of living of the majority of the people, including the village

---

<sup>7</sup> C.K.S./U24/E3, *Report as to the Estates in Kent & Sussex of the Trustees of the late Earl Cornwallis 1853.*

<sup>8</sup> Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, II, p.652.

<sup>9</sup> This is the categorisation used by Phillips in his analysis of the evolution of shops - Martin Phillips, 'The evolution of markets and shops in Britain' in J.Benson & G.Shaw (Eds.), *The evolution of retail systems c1800-1914* (1992), p.53-75.

labourer, meant that prior to 1850 the effective demand for many goods was low. Rural dwellers depended for any supplies that they did not produce themselves mainly on markets and on itinerant dealers.<sup>10</sup> Alexander, whose work concentrated mainly on urban retailing facilities, acknowledged that the more prosperous families were also beginning in the late eighteenth century/ early nineteenth century to patronize urban retailers, but had little to say about village shops.<sup>11</sup> Where these existed, they were of the non-specialised variety, typically combining the sale of groceries along with a range of other articles in local demand, commonly drapery, for the simple reason that the markets attainable in the countryside were typically too small to permit specialisation: they were the rural equivalent of the urban 'corner shop'.<sup>12</sup> There is an interesting Kentish reference in the *Select Committee on Women and Children in Agriculture* which attests not only to their 'dearness' but also to their vulnerability, if located near a large town. Henry Duppa, of Frimingham House, near Maidstone, commented on the dearness of village shops and reported that following the change in the time of payment to his workers from 7pm on Saturday to 9am the same day,

*My people are enabled to purchase their goods at the market town in consequence, at the distance of six miles. They have all quitted the village shops for the better and cheaper shops of*

10

J.B.Jefferys, *Retail Trading in Britain 1850-1950* (1954), p.3.

11

David Alexander, *Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution* (1970), p.5.

12

J.Blackman, 'The Corner Shop: The Development of the Grocery and General Provisions Trade' in D.Oddy & D.Miller (Eds.), *The Making of the Modern British Diet* (1976), p.148.

Frittenden, of course, was much more remote from the influence from a large town (12 miles from Maidstone), and appears to have featured, as might be expected, a number of non-specialised shops. David Day and his wife, Keziah, were recorded as shopkeepers at the time of their daughter's baptism in 1820, while in 1824 Horace Ottaway was recorded as a grocer.<sup>14</sup> In three consecutive years, 1835, 36 & 37, David Screes had a child baptised and was described as either a grocer or a shopman, as we have seen. These registers also show Martin Foster as a grocer in 1837 and 1840. The Census provides perhaps the most comprehensive record of shops.<sup>15</sup> In 1841, Martin Taylor was a 25 year old grocer, while William Price was so described in the parish registers of 1843. David Screes, once again, described in Bagshaw as a shopkeeper and draper, was also recorded as a grocer in 1841. By 1851, three grocers are recorded, and all recorded as combining this job with another. These again included Screes, together with John Hickmott a farmer, and George Price, who combined his grocery business with victualler at the Bell Inn. It appears that the shop, now the village shop and Post Office, at Manchester House adjacent to the Bell was built at this time.<sup>16</sup>

Screes employed two daughters in his shop, Mary

13 P.P., 1843, XII, *Report of Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioners on Women and Children in Agriculture*, p.41.

14 Horace had previously described himself as a farmer - C.K.S./P152/1/2, *Register of Baptisms St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1813-44*.

15 The Census does, however, omit various shopkeepers who described themselves as something other than a retailer.

16 K.Gravett & P.Betts - *unpublished recording of buildings in Frittenden*.

(26) and Emily (15) while at the wedding of Marcus Screes three years later, in October 1854, he too was described as a shopkeeper.<sup>17</sup> The 1853 Survey of the Cornwallis Estate shows Screes as a tenant of a house and shop and some 3 acres of land.<sup>18</sup>

1861 saw the continued presence of Price, now described solely as a grocer, while Susanna Boorman, a 35 year old widow, was operating in The Street supporting 2 young children and employing the daughter of David Screes.

William Wiles was functioning as a grocer in the parish, at least between 1863 to 1867,<sup>19</sup> but was not recorded in the subsequent Census. These ventures may demonstrate the fragility of some of these businesses.

The 1861 Census provides a rare insight into life in the hamlet of Knoxbridge<sup>20</sup>, where Mary Cork was operating as a grocer, supported by her younger brother, Edwin, a baker<sup>21</sup>, and their younger sister Charlotte, described as a grocer and poulterer. In 1871 Mary was still operating as a Grocer but also describing her premises as a General Shop.

By this time, according to the Census of 1871, two other grocers were operating in the village. At

17

St.Mary's Church Frittenden, Vestry Records, *Register of Marriages 1837-1925*.

As the son of William Price, one of only two instances of a son following his father into a retailing business, the other being John Usborne, see butchers below.

18

C.K.S./U24/E3, *Report as to the Estates in Kent & Sussex of the Trustees of the late Earl Cornwallis 1853*.

19

C.K.S./P152/1/4, *Register of Baptisms St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1844-79*.

20

This is a hamlet, a part of the parish of Frittenden, almost cut off from the main body of the parish by the parishes of Cranbrook and Staplehurst.

21

In the country, grocer-shopkeepers often baked bread for sale - Alexander, *op.cit.*, p.125.

the village shop, probably replacing George Price next door to the Bell Inn, Albert Byng was employing one man, William Saxby, 21. Probably replacing Susanna Boorman in The Street, John Jenner was operating with his son Frederick as a Grocer/Draper. A grocer's assistant, George Gurr, lived at home at the Pound Hill Carpenters Shop. He could have worked either at the Byng or Jenner establishment.

(b) Butchers

In the country, pig-ownership was fairly common. Many households raised, slaughtered and processed their own pork meat, and it was not uncommon for general shopkeepers to carry on a trade in pork products.<sup>22</sup> However, the retail trade in meat was dominated by the skilled, independent butcher who bought animals on the hoof, killed and dressed the meat, sold all cuts and disposed of wastes through industrial buyers.<sup>23</sup> The country butcher bought his animals off the farm and at the cattle markets.<sup>24</sup> Butchers also bought and sold among themselves both live animals and dressed meat. In the country trade, wastage was reduced to the extent that butchers shared animals by buying and selling cuts among themselves, and by extending their distribution range through regular attendance at markets in nearby towns and villages. The butcher's shop and slaughterhouse thus played a prominent part in the retail network of any town or village, and as one butcher would often serve all sections of the community the differences in the tastes and pockets of his customers had to be matched

22

*Ibid.*, p.123.

23

Hides would be sold to tanners and leather dressers, and fats and other wastes to soap boilers and tallow chandlers.

24

*Ibid.*, p.121.



by ability in buying his animals, in cutting and in pricing.<sup>25</sup>

Many of the above observations on the butchery trade were, of course, written with the functions of the urban butcher in mind, and in country districts the trade was often combined with farming. This was certainly the case at Frittenden where in the mid 1820s two men describing themselves as butchers appeared in Frittenden's Parish Registers. William East, who also farmed at Pound Hill and Little Hungerden Farms<sup>26</sup>, and John Osborne.<sup>27</sup> By the 1841 Census, John Osborne, the elder, was operating in the village, while John Haffenden worked apparently from Sinkhurst Green, on the road to Staplehurst. The 1851 Census reveals that Osborne had a rival in the village where he had been joined by Charles Batt who was also recorded as a butcher. Both were also described as farmers. Osborne was still operating in 1861 but Batt had been replaced by William Brakefield. He had replaced the East family at Pound Hill.<sup>28</sup> John Osborne, junior, described himself as a butcher in

---

<sup>25</sup> Jefferys, *op.cit.*, p.181.

<sup>26</sup> William had inherited the tenancy from John East who had occupied Pound Hill in 1806. William was a tenant of John Gurney at Little Hungerden and owner occupier with his wife Sarah East at Pound Hill at the time of the Tithe Apportionment of 1841.

<sup>27</sup> C.K.S./P152/1/3, *Register of Baptisms St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1813-44*. Bagshaw records both William East and John Osborne as butchers in 1848. However, Sarah East was described as a Widow in the 1841 Census and there is no reference to a son named William in the records who could have taken over from his father.

<sup>28</sup> Two bridegrooms at St.Mary's Church described themselves as butchers around this time. William Wildish, the son of a butcher, is better known as the largest farmer in the parish, married in November 1858, and William West, in June 1862 - St.Mary's Church Frittenden, Vestry Records, *Register of Marriages 1837-1925*.

1867. By 1871, Brakefield described himself as Innkeeper and Butcher living at *The Bell Inn*, while the older Usborne now described himself solely as a farmer and had been succeeded as a butcher by his son, also John, who employed two young men as assistants, Henry Lower, 27, and James Morgan, 20.

(c) Innkeepers, Beer Sellers and Publicans

Like the grocer and the butcher, the village innkeeper, beerseller, or publican was a long-established feature of country life, and indeed may have been the earliest of the retail trades to diffuse to the level of the village.<sup>29</sup> Beer retailers fell into three groups: at the top were the innkeepers, the elite of the victualling trade until the 1840s, when the disappearance of the stage coaches reduced most to the level of common public houses; the publicans, keeping legitimately licensed alehouse where beers were retailed to consumers; and the beershops, where beer could be retailed but not legitimately consumed.<sup>30</sup> Despite this formal legal hierarchy, functional distinctions in the trade were often less clear cut.<sup>31</sup>

At Frittenden, the main outlet for beer throughout the period 1800 to 1870 was *The Bell Inn*, to where, according to the Minutes, the members of the Vestry frequently retired to complete their business. While no stables exist today, the deed of 1821 refers to stables and outhouse. While it is unlikely, given its position away from the main routes from Maidstone

29

Chartres (1981), *op.cit.*, p.303.

30

Hobsbawm & Rudé note that beerhouses were obvious centres for discussion, and unlike the inns, hardly frequented by the prosperous and respectable ruling class. However, there is no evidence at all that they were, in fact, more effective centres of discussion than the village pubs - E.J.Hobsbawm & G.Rudé, *Captain Swing* (1970), p.88.

31

Chartres (1981), *op.cit.*, p.307.

to Tenterden and Rye and Maidstone to Hastings, that *The Bell* was a coaching Inn, it may have provided horses and accommodation to travellers. It was at *The Bell* that James Small<sup>32</sup> was operating in 1813. It would appear that at one point Small had owned *The Bell* and adjacent buildings but had sold the property to Samuel Shepherd at Faversham, presumably of Shepherd Neame, and became the tenant.<sup>33</sup> Small was to appear in later Census for Frittenden as a carpenter, indeed the lease of 1839 describes him as such. By 1831 *The Bell* was in the hands of John & Louisa Busbridge. They continued at *The Bell* at the time of the 1841 Census, as tenants of Messrs Shepherds<sup>34</sup>, which also showed Edward West as a beer vendor, apparently in the Knoxbridge area of the Parish.<sup>35</sup>

By 1851, George Price was occupying *The Bell*, at the same time as running a grocery. By this time, the Providence Society was meeting at *The Bell* which later was to provide accommodation to the 'Slate Club'. Mrs Dapson, a widow, was retailing beer in the Chanceford area of the parish. This was probably a beershop under the terms of the Beer Act of 1830. Such

32

A deed dated July 21 1821 relating to the lease of *The Bell Inn* to James Small, Yeoman, and Andrew Dungey, gingerbread baker refers to a schedule of deeds of evidence of title records a deed of lease to James Small and Andrew Dungey dated 7 October 1811 - F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers. *Lease for a year Mr James Small to Mr John Thorp dated 10 April 1839.*

33

The Bell Inn Public House formed Lot 9 of an auction of properties under the Will of Samuel Shepherd, according to an advert 18/10/1842. Mr Busbridge is described as the occupier - *Kentish Gazette* 18/10/1842 1c.

34

C.K.S./P152/27/3, *Frittenden Tithe Award 1841 Based On Survey made in 1806 By J.Grist, Corrected To June 1839.*

35

Edward and Elizabeth West are also recorded in the Baptism Register in 1841 - C.K.S./P152/1/3, *Register of Baptisms S.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1813-44.*

establishments tended to appear on the outskirts of villages.<sup>36</sup> Elizabeth Dapson was still retailing beer in 1861 but is also shown as farming 15 acres at Horse Shoe. James Barton was, by this time, in occupation of *The Bell*, from where he also ran his carrier business. Thomas Beslee was selling beer from a premises in Knoxbridge<sup>37</sup> and also described himself as a farmer.<sup>38</sup> Elizabeth Dapson was still retailing beer in 1871, while *The Bell* had been taken over by William Brakefield and two other men were described as publicans, at Knoxbridge, where John Hayward replaced Thomas Beslee, and in 'The Street'<sup>39</sup>, Charles Walter.

Beslee, described in the 1871 Census as 'formerly Innkeeper', had probably relinquished the inn in 1867 following his bankruptcy. In March of that year, his bankruptcy had been Gazetted.<sup>40</sup> At a sitting for the proof of debts and choice of trade assignees, Thomas Beslee, the younger, was described as of *The Knoxbridge Inn, Frittenden, beer-house keeper and butcher*. Beslee appeared on his own petition, attributing his failure to

*Illness of one of my children who is much afflicted; the delicate health of my wife; dullness of trade. and dearness of provisions.*

---

<sup>36</sup> Pamela Horn, *Labouring Life in the Victorian Countryside* (1995), p.149.

<sup>37</sup> This is probably what is known as *The Knoxbridge Inn* today.

<sup>39</sup> Thomas Beslee paid £6-4-0 for several pieces of land in Frittenden totalling 30a & 2r - C.K.S./U24/A2/1, *Mr Groom in Account with James Mann Esqre for rent of his Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex from 2nd April 1814 the day of the death of Horace Mann Bart. to Michaelmas 1814.*

<sup>39</sup> This is possibly the *New Inn*, later *The John Jorrocks*.

<sup>40</sup> *The London Gazette* Tuesday, March 21.- At the Court of Bankruptcy, Basinghall Street - Thomas Beslee, jun, Frittenden, Kent, beerhouse keeper, March 25, at 12.

Messrs Johnson and Wood, of the Northgate Brewery, Canterbury were returned as creditors for £114, and Mr Thomas Beslee, sen., of Knoxbridge, farmer, for £180. The total amount, of the bankrupt's unsecured debts was about £500. Creditors resided chiefly at Canterbury, Cranbrook, Frittenden, and Maidstone. Mr John Joslen Pollard, stationer, Maidstone, was stated to be a creditor for £271 secured upon freehold land and dwelling house at Frittenden, estimated to be of the value of £300 to £350. No creditor appeared to prove, and therefore no choice between them took place. The bankrupt having received renewed protection from arrest, the proceedings terminated.<sup>41</sup>

(d) Millers

The miller purchasing grain on his own account was most typical by 1750. His trade was local, the limit to feasible trading being about ten miles. Between 1751 and 1761 70% of the grain deliveries made to Fairbourne water mill in Kent came from within a radius of three miles. The significance of the mill in the local economy was often indicated by the centrality of its position and the continuity in the use of the site and many mid-eighteenth century mills stood on the sites of medieval or even earlier mills.<sup>42</sup> The capacity of water mills was potentially greater than that of windmills. Only in the second half of the nineteenth century, and with greater speed from the 1880s, were windmills and watermills passing out of use.<sup>43</sup>

41

*Kent & Ashford Express*, Saturday 30 March 1867, 8c.

42

Jennifer Tann, 'Corn Milling' in G.E.Mingay (Ed), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, VI (1989), p.400.

43

J.A.Chartres & G.L.Turnbull, 'Country Craftsmen' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, I (1981), p.324.

A large proportion of millers also had other business interests. As in many other trades, the reason for diversification may have been not a shortage of capital but the limited opportunities for further specialisation. Entrepreneurs wishing to increase the scale of their operations were thus obliged to expand into other trades.<sup>44</sup> Many millers raised stock as a secondary occupation throughout the period to 1850, thereby ensuring both an additional income and a source of food for the family.<sup>45</sup>

At Frittenden, the existing watermill, Maplehurst Mill, probably dates from about 1760, but the earliest building in the complex, which may have been a mill in its own right, originated about 1600-1630.<sup>46</sup> While there may have been continuity in the use of the site, Maplehurst was not centrally located in the parish. On one of the main ceiling beams in the mill are carved two letters, a few feet apart; 'F' for Frittenden and 'S' for Staplehurst, confirming the passage of the parish boundary through the mill itself. Fuller and Spain observe that a surprisingly large number of watermills have parish boundaries running near by, usually through the mill-pond and along the course of the stream, and this reflects the boundaries having been founded or delineated by physical features. Also, where a mill stood partly in one parish and partly in another one, it paid rates to both parishes; thus there may also have been some interest of a pecuniary nature. Boundary stones may therefore be found close to such mills, but it is rare

44

E.J.T.Collins, Introduction to 'The Agricultural Servicing and Processing Industries' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, v (1989), p.393.

45

Tann, *op.cit.*, p.399.

46

K.Gravett and P.Betts, *Unpublished building recordings*.



that such internal marks were made.<sup>47</sup>

This Mill was sold by the estate of Jeremiah Curteis, for £6,000, in 1791 to William Spong, owner of the adjacent Iden Estate.<sup>48</sup> The sale document reveals that the mill house and lands had been leased to John Beslee for a yearly rent of £14. Within a week, Spong on-sold the Mill and the Maplehurst lands to William Fuggle, a shopkeeper of Goudhurst, who financed the purchase with a mortgage from William Spong. The repayment of this mortgage proved difficult and the mill was put up for auction to pay it off at the expiry of the lease. It was now separated from the Maplehurst Estate, situated in Staplehurst, and was purchased by Robert Orpin, who had been John Beslee's grinder and who had replaced Beslee as resident miller.<sup>49</sup>

Robert had married Susannah Baker at St.Mary's Frittenden, 4th June 1793, and had lived in the mill house with his family since then. Orpin paid £1,000 to Fuggle and £120 to William Spong for interest owed by Fuggle. He had raised this sum by a bond dated 6 April 1802 to Mr Charles Willis of Cranbrook for the sum of £1,600. The balance was probably used to finance the first of a series of nineteenth century additions to the mill, the first of which virtually doubled its size, providing space for storage and more modern machinery. Interest on the bond was 5%. It was finally paid off 29 January 1833. This suggests annual repayments of capital and interest in excess of

---

<sup>47</sup> M.J.Fuller and R.J.Spain, *Watermills (Kent and the Borders of Sussex)* (1986), p.100.

<sup>48</sup> This is a remarkably high figure for a water-mill (Tann, *op.cit.*, p.414, puts average value at £817 at this period. But it is possible that some land, as well as the mill, was included in this transaction).

<sup>49</sup> Kenneth Parker, *A Short History of Maplehurst Mill* (undated), p.19.

£125 a year, which, given the expanding family of Robert and Susannah, suggests a profitable business through both the boom years of the Napoleonic Wars and even the ensuing economic depression. The mill may well have been assisted by the move within the parish from pasture to arable.

At the time of Robert's death in 1840, his eldest son, also Robert, 46, was living with his family in Mill House next to the Windmill at Sinkhurst Green, although he was not the miller. The youngest son, William, aged 25, worked the watermill with his mother, Susannah, and older sister, Elizabeth. Also in the house were Elizabeth's illegitimate daughter and two farm workers. William was the miller but may have been helped by his brother, John, a farmer at nearby Broadlake.<sup>50</sup>

Following the death of Susannah the brothers agreed to partition the inheritance into three elements, Maplehurst Mill with its house and land, Broad Lake Farm with its land and outbuildings, and a property and land in East Farleigh.<sup>51</sup> The three elements would be assigned by the drawing of lots, with compensatory cash payments to equalise the value of each element. John Orpin drew Maplehurst, Robert Broadlake and William the land at East Farleigh. By 1851 John, 44, was described as a miller and farmer of 54 acres employing 4 labourers. Robert, despite having drawn Broadlake, was still living at Mill farm and described as a farmer of 100 acres.

The further extension of the watermill probably followed John's acquisition. This work included an extension to the mill to straddle the mill stream and

---

50 Declaration made by Richard Baker, brother of Susannah Orpin, 7 October 1850, presumably in relation to a claim by Thomas Orpin to be the child of Robert - Parker, *op.cit.*, pp.19-20.

51 Parker, *op.cit.*, p.21.

provide loading bays near the road. The house was enlarged and improved.

By the time of the 1861 Census, Robert and John had both died, leaving their respective widows to run their estates. Thomas Gilbert, a miller, was living in the nearby Brook Farm. In 1871, John's wife Ann, aged 62, was described as a landowner, miller and farmer of 55 acres, employing four labourers on the farm, two men and a boy in the mill, and one housemaid. Only two of her sons remained at home: Henry, now a 35 year old widower and described as an agricultural machine proprietor, and the youngest son, George Robert, now aged 20 and described as a miller and farm manager.

The post mill at Sinkhurst Green is not shown on the early Ordnance Survey Maps but does appear on the 1829 Greenwood Map. William Finch Coles reported that it was of the older post type and doubtless between 200 and 300 years of age. It was not, however, shown on the 1769 map<sup>52</sup>, nor indeed on the 1806 Grist Map. It is believed to have been moved to the site, which would account for its absence from any map earlier than 1829.

*The Mill is said to have been built originally by the farmer who lived at the adjoining farm of Appleton and that the succeeding owners were a family by the name of Sanders.*<sup>53</sup>

Pigot records Job Sanders as the miller at the windmill in 1839.<sup>54</sup> Sanders was recorded as a miller

---

52 This was the earliest large scale map of Kent, compiled by John Andrews, Andrew Dury and William Herbert, for King George III.

53 William Coles Finch, *Watermills & Windmills* (1933), p.210.

54 Pigot & Co., *Royal National and Commercial Directory*, 1839.

aged 20 in the 1841 Census.<sup>55</sup> By 1851, Thomas Sanders, 6 1 , w a s at the windmill and was described as miller and farmer of 3 acres. Thomas Taylor was a journeyman living at nearby Sinksnorth [Sinkhurst Green] and probably assisted Sanders. Matthew Durey, 39, had come to the mill by 1861 and by 1871 was described as miller and farmer of 2 acres. Again another miller, Walter Parker, was shown as living at Sinksnorth.

The 1851 Census records a father and son as millers living at Orange Tree. It is not clear which mill they would have worked at. They could have walked to Maplehurst, Hartridge Mill at Cranbrook or indeed to Staplehurst. Another miller apparently divorced from a mill was recorded in 1861. Charles Cox was a 15 year old apprentice living at Beale Farm. It is likely that he worked at Old Mill Farm.

(e) Dress and Footwear Trades

While no drapers are shown in the 1841 Census David Screes was so described in 1848<sup>56</sup>. In 1829, Ann Judge was described as a dressmaker at the time of the baptism of her illegitimate son, John Orpin. Dressmakers were recorded in all four Censuses from 1841-71. In 1841 four were recorded, 1851 5, 1861 6, and 1871 5. These tended to be unmarried daughters working at home. Occasionally widows took up this occupation.<sup>57</sup> Bagshaw records Elizabeth and Caroline

55 James Hickmott notes in his diary  
11 January 1860, Wednesday spent most of the day  
at the Sale of Job Sanders effects Smarden -  
C.K.S./U1334/F1-4.

56 Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, II, p.652.

57 There were two examples of this; Alice Hickmott was a dressmaker on relief in 1851 and Charlotte Taylor a dressmaker in 1861 - C.K.S./P152/1851/27 & 1861/18-19, *Enumerators Returns for the Parish of Frittenden Census 1851 & 1861*.

Hickmott as dress makers in 1848<sup>58</sup> and may have found an outlet for their work through the grocery business of their husband/father, John Hickmott.

In 1851, Mary Cox, a servant in the house of George Price at *The Bell Inn*, was recorded as a draper's assistant, suggesting that Price's grocer shop also ran a drapery section. Again no draper is shown in 1861 although James Hyland, a 46 year old widower tailor was living in The Street. Also in that year, in December, i.e. after the completion of the census 7/8 April, Edmund Bowles, son of the blacksmith, was describing himself as a draper.<sup>59</sup> By 1871, John Jenner and his son were running a drapery in conjunction with their grocer shop in The Street.

The comparative sparsity of these references suggests that the denizens of Frittenden may well have relied on supplies drawn from the market towns, either for materials or for finished garments, purchased on intermittent visits in person or through the agency of the country carrier: therein, suggests Chartres, lay the secret of the attraction of the market day in the local town.<sup>60</sup>

At most levels of income, boots and shoes were 'amongst the necessaries of life' and demand was therefore inelastic for boots and shoes and, says Clarkson, a function of population growth.<sup>61</sup> By the early nineteenth century it was becoming normal for

58 Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, II, p.652.

59 In 1863 Edmund was described as a shopman living in London - C.K.S./P152/1/4, *Register of Baptisms St.Mary Church, Frittenden 1844-79*, and, by the Census of 1891, was again living in Frittenden where he was described as a 'commercial traveller'.

60 Chartres (1981), *op.cit.*, p.309.

61 L.A.Clarkson, 'The Manufacture of Leather' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, VI (1989), p.468.

shoemakers to buy pre-cut soles, tops and tips from leather cutters and footwear manufacturers. Thus, while measuring and cutting remained an essential skill for most shoemakers, it is true that the shoemaker was increasingly an assembler of ready-made components. Since prices were high relative to most incomes, a significant proportion of all customer transactions in any bootmaker's shop was concerned with repairing footwear and refurbishing discarded articles.<sup>62</sup>

At Frittenden, shoemakers and their employees were a comparatively numerous group. As noted above, in addition to David Scree's role of grocer (1841), draper (1848), grocer and farmer (1851) and proprietor of houses (1861), the register of baptisms records him as a shoemaker in February 1825. These registers also show James Potter as a shoemaker in 1822 and 1824, while the 1841 Census records him as a 55 year old shoemaker, operating in The Street. Two other fathers recorded in the Register of Baptisms are shown as shoemakers, James Davis (January 1823) and Felix White (April 1824). The Marriage Registers also show Charles Atkins and Stephen Beeken, younger brother of William, as shoemakers operating in Frittenden in 1838.<sup>63</sup>

William Heath was operating in Frittenden from c1820 to the late 1830s.<sup>64</sup> He was to act as master to William Beeken, recorded as apprenticed to Heath in

---

<sup>62</sup> Alexander, *op.cit.*, pp.142-3.

<sup>63</sup> St.Mary's Church Frittenden, Vestry Records, 1837-1925, *Register of Marriages*. Stephen married Hannah Pearson and they opened a haberdashery/shoeshop/servants agency at East Cross, Tenterden [The site of Swaines shoe shop today].

<sup>64</sup> William Heath was shown as the shoemaker father of Richard Heath, also recorded as a shoemaker 28 November 1838 - St.Mary's Church Frittenden, Vestry Records, *Register of Marriages 1837-1925*.



1828. Beeken was to establish his own business in the parish and by 1831 he was a fully fledged shoemaker. He continued in this role at the time of the 1841 Census and was so recorded by Bagshaw and in each Census until 1871. William operated variously from Pound Hill Cottage and at the White House [Hepplewhite], both within yards of *The Bell*. He originally leased the premises, initially from Edward Moore and then from John Usborne<sup>65</sup>, but in 1854 paid £175 for the property<sup>66</sup>. The fact that an artisan could consider purchasing, and indeed afford to purchase, his premises might be taken as a hint that the recovery of agriculture was translating into higher consumption.

William Beeken had at least five apprentices over the 40 years to 1871, four of whom were his nephews. In 1841 in the same cottage as Beeken at Poundhill, lived William Pope<sup>67</sup>, also described as a shoemaker and probably Beeken's brother-in-law, and William Crothall. In the neighbouring cottage, John Merral, the son of the householder was also described as a shoemaker. In 1851, Beeken had employed 4 men. Two lived-in as apprentices, Thomas Medhurst and Thomas Miles, neither of whom again appear in the parish records.

William Crothall, apprenticed to William Beeken

---

<sup>65</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Conveyance of Cottage and premises in Frittenden Kent Dated 19th January 1854 The Revd. Edward Moore to Mr John Usborne.*

<sup>66</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Conveyance of Cottage and premises in Frittenden Kent Dated 7th March 1855 Mr John Usborne to Mr William Beeken.*

<sup>67</sup> William Pope was shown as a shoemaker in 1839 when two of his children were baptised - C.K.S./P152/1/2,3,4, *Register of Baptisms St.Mary's Church Frittenden 1813-44.*

in 1841, was to become a long serving shoemaker.<sup>68</sup> Described in the 1851 Census as a cordwainer, he appears in each of the Census from 1851 to 1871. Crothall operated in the eastern part of the village, in the Chanceford area in 1851 and 1861, moving slightly closer to the village, at Bailey Cottage [Weaversden Cottage], in 1871. In that year, Charles Crothall, William's 13 year old son, was recorded as a 'Shoemaker (Apprentice)'.

Other shoemakers recorded in the Census were; William Waters<sup>69</sup>, who operated in The Street in 1841 and 1851, and Charles Ottaway who worked from Cole Cottage in 1871. George Pope, one time apprentice to Beeken and later a worker with him, was to be a bootmaker in the parish well into the twentieth century.

The Parish Registers reveal others who practised as shoemakers. James Pope was so described in 1822 and 1823, George Coley in 1832 and 1835, Henry Miles in 1857 and 1858, and Charles Atkins, living in Sinkhurst Green, in 1860. With one exception none are so recorded in the census. Charles Atkins appears in the 1861 census as a 25 year old married man but with no occupation being recorded.

#### (b) Carriers

The function of village carriers was to take and fetch from the local market town goods of all kinds, and to provide, to a degree, passenger conveyance.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> Crothall describes himself as a 'Cordwainer' in the 1851 Census.

<sup>69</sup> Waters is probably the William Watches recorded in Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, II, p.653.

<sup>70</sup> By the 1850s the first rural 'omnibuses' were coming into existence. However, these often operated between one town and another rather than between villages, though of course they also stopped at villages en route - A.Everitt 'Country Carriers in the Nineteenth

It was because of these important functions that carrier services tended to be bunched to coincide with market day in the principal town with which they communicated; and this concentration was also likely to lead to a situation where they required, and followed an alternative occupation.<sup>71</sup>

One of the first significant studies of the carrying trade was, in fact, written about Kent. Everitt stresses the carriers' importance in the distribution of agricultural products, frequently calling at three or four villages before reaching town. The routes varied greatly in length, seldom exceeding 15 or 20 miles. Even so, at a pace of only three to five miles per hour, many carriers must have started very early in the morning to reach town in time. A day of 16 or 17 hours was not uncommon on the longer routes. In Kent many of those who had long distances to cover seem to have preferred to travel overnight. Maidstone was badly served by railways yet the pattern of carriers' routes dependent on it was one of the largest and busiest in the country, far and away the largest in south-eastern England, Everitt calculating that the 85 carriers serving the town made about 1200 scheduled calls weekly. He also stresses that the arrival of the railway enhanced the role of the country carrier, while undermining that of the long distance carrier.<sup>72</sup>

At Frittenden, a number of individuals offering these services can be identified. Joseph Gurr described himself as a carrier residing in Frittenden

---

Century', *Journal of Transport History*, III (1976), p.182, reprinted in *Ibid.*, *Landscape and Community in England* (1985), p.282.

<sup>71</sup> Chartres (1981), *op.cit.*, pp.311 & 312.

<sup>72</sup> Everitt (1976), *op.cit.*, pp.179-202, reprinted in *Idem.* (1985), *op.cit.*, pp.279-303.

when his son, Joseph, was baptised in November 1824.<sup>73</sup> By 1830, Samuel Southon described himself as a carrier<sup>74</sup> and by 1848, Bagshaw records James Barten [Barton] as providing a carrier service from Frittenden to Maidstone on Monday and Thursday.<sup>75</sup> Barton continued in that role at least until 1862.<sup>76</sup> However, the resident carriers of Frittenden did face some competition from others based elsewhere, whose journeys took them along the turnpike roads adjacent to the parish. For example, that part of the parish abutting the Maidstone Cranbrook Turnpike would also have been served by the carrier of that town, Charles Williams, on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday<sup>77</sup>, while those near the Maidstone to Biddenden Turnpike could use the carriers servicing that town, i.e. Gilbert on Tuesday and Saturday, Hollands (Wednesday and Saturday), William Tribe (Wednesday and Saturday), or H. Levett, James Palmer<sup>78</sup> of Biddenden and William Lindridge on Thursday.<sup>79</sup> Further carriers would have used these turnpikes from further afield, eg

73 C.K.S./P152/1/3, *Register of Baptisms of S.Mary's Church Frittenden 1813-44.*

74 Between 1818 and 1828, Southon had been described as a labourer - *Ibid.*

75 Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, II, p.652.  
Barton is shown as running to *The Ship*, Maidstone, returning at 2pm - Cranbrook Museum, *Vox Stellarum Almanack*, 1858.

76 By the 1861 Census Barton described himself as an Innkeeper and carrier at *The Bell Inn* and in the 1861 and 1862 Register of Baptisms as a Publican.

77 There is some contradiction with the Cranbrook entry for Carriers which lists a large number which would have taken this route - Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, II, pp.651-2.

78 James Palmer is the only carrier recorded for Biddenden - Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, II, p.614.

79 Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, I, p.76.

Tenterden, Hawkhurst etc. The markets at Maidstone on Tuesday and Saturday were thus accessible to the population of Frittenden. After 1842 the turnpike roads to the north and south of the parish also linked to the railway at Staplehurst and Headcorn respectively. While no carrier is, perhaps surprisingly, recorded for Frittenden in the 1871 Census<sup>80</sup>, Benjamin Hodges was operating from Hollanden in 1881.<sup>81</sup>

(g) Blacksmiths

In a general discussion of the range of activities of blacksmiths, one of the most ubiquitous trades of rural England, Chartres suggests that there was comparatively little technical progress in the years 1750-1850 and adds that the evidence from surviving records of smiths confirms that the bulk of their work was related to agriculture. Gradually the influence of standardised manufacture of tools became more widespread, though even in 1850 many hand tools were still blacksmith-made. However, most village blacksmiths were primarily shoeing smiths<sup>82</sup> and from the early nineteenth century, where he did not make the transition to iron founding, was in the longer run

---

<sup>80</sup> Everitt makes the interesting point that since most carriers operated only on market days, and engaged in other occupations during the rest of the week, they are not necessarily described as carriers in the Census. This may explain the absence of a carrier in the 1861 census of Frittenden - Everitt (1976), *op.cit.*, p.184-5, reprinted in *Ibid.* (1985), *op.cit.*, pp.284-5.

<sup>81</sup> Hollanden appears to have been a common address for carriers. Situated within a few yard of *The Bell Inn*, it was recorded as the residence of Samuel Southon in 1841, when he was described as a farmer, and James Barton in 1851 before he moved to *The Bell* by 1861.

<sup>82</sup> David Grace, 'The Agricultural Engineering Industry' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, V (1989), p.521.

increasingly forced into the role of maintenance man for foundry-produced goods.<sup>83</sup>

Like many country craftsmen, smiths faced markets for their services that remained too small to sustain them fully. The response, typically, was to adopt an itinerant approach or, more commonly, to diversify by adopting another trade. Village smiths did some tinning, but only incidentally, and the selling of beer, coal, and coke were more common subsidiary employments.<sup>84</sup> Others were drawn at times into general dealing since craftsmen, no less than country tradesmen, faced the problem of liquidity in addition to that of limited markets.

The evidence from Frittenden corresponds quite closely to these generalisations. Thomas Fuggle was operating as a blacksmith at least between 1814 and 1822, for his bills, presented in relation to work done on various farms appear in the accounts of the Mann/Cornwallis estate<sup>85</sup>.<sup>86</sup> In 1823, John Bowles was recorded as undertaking work for the Cornwallis

---

<sup>83</sup> Chartres (1989), *op.cit.*, p.429.

<sup>84</sup> Chartres & Turnbull, *op.cit.*, p.324.

<sup>85</sup> There is no further reference to Thomas Fuggle after the arrival of John Bowles and it is therefore possible that he replaced Fuggle at the forge in the village. Fuggle died at the age of 79 in July 1828. The register records that he was of Cranbrook and had been brought from Maidstone for burial - C.K.S./P152/1/5, *Register of Burials Church of St.Mary, Frittenden.*

<sup>86</sup> C.K.S./A2/4, *Mr Groom in Account with James Mann Esqre for half a year's rent of his Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Lady Day 1816*; Thos Fuggles bill for Smith's work at Jos Husmar's Farm £1-17-5 - C.K.S./A2/16, *Mr Groom in Account with James Mann Esqre for half a year's rent of his Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due Lady Day 1822.*



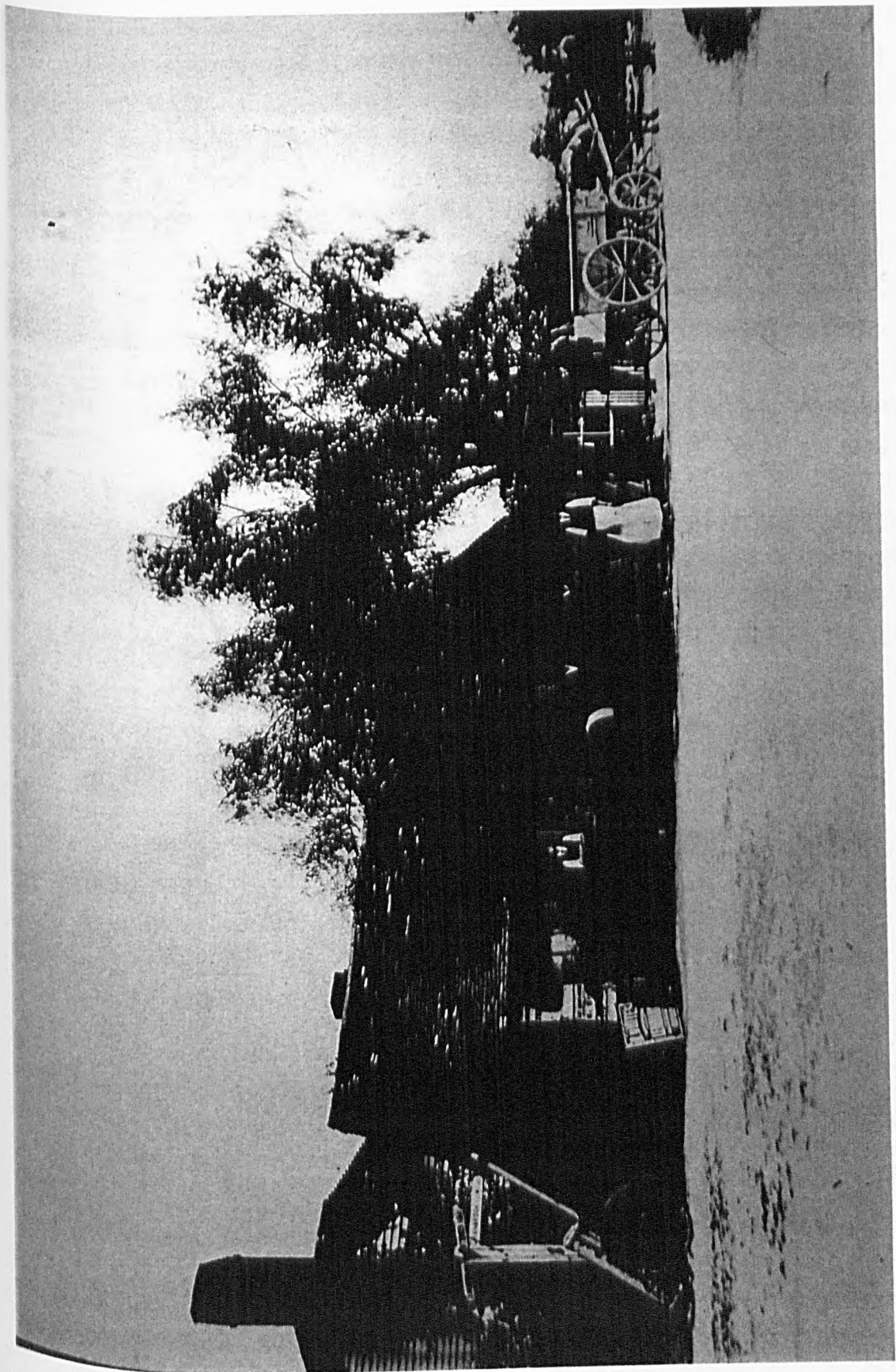


Illustration 8i  
Wheelwright/Forge at Chanceford Corner, Frittenden.

Estate.<sup>87</sup> He continued to work for the estate and by the time of the 1841 Census, he was in occupation of the forge in the village. Two other blacksmiths were at the same address as Bowles, John Fenn, aged 20, and an apprentice George Harris, 15. Bowles continued at the forge at the time of the 1851 Census<sup>88</sup> but by 1861 was shown as a farmer of 54 acres employing 3 men and his son James, who had been described as a 'Coal Merchant' in the 1851 Census, was ensconced as blacksmith at the forge employing one man. The 1871 Census records James Bowles as Blacksmith and Coal Merchant employing 8 men [although these cannot be identified from the Census].<sup>89</sup> The sale details of the Iden Park Estate<sup>90</sup> in 1880 disclosed that Bowles rented the Blacksmith's Shop and Cottage on a yearly tenancy.<sup>91</sup>

The oldest blacksmith in the parish at the time of the 1841 Census was Richard Evenden, 70 and a widower, probably operating at the wheelwrights/forge at Chanceford Corner [see illustration 8i]. By 1851

---

87 John Bowles bill for Smiths work £3-9-3 - C.K.S./A2/18, Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for two half year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1823 and Lady Day 1824.

88 By this time John is described as a master blacksmith.

89 James too was to describe himself as a farmer by the time of the 1891 census.

90 Usually known as the Mann/Cornwallis Estate.

91 C.K.S./U24/E13 page 3 of 3, *Sale of Iden Park Estate 1887*. Earlier surveys and account books make no reference to Bowles as a tenant so it is possible that this property was acquired, possibly from Bowles himself, in the later 1870s [possibly as a result of straitened times for the Blacksmith as the local economy turned down].

Evenden had retired.<sup>92</sup> In addition to Bowles, James Harris<sup>93</sup> was operating as a journeyman blacksmith from Marsh Cottages, continuing through to the 1871 Census.

By 1859 Thomas Roots was also operating, from Chaple Cottages, Pound Hill. He too continued beyond 1871, when his son John had become an apprentice. Thus by the end of the period, the village was supporting three blacksmith operations. While much of their work has disappeared (or is occasionally dug up in gardens), parts can still be seen, notably in the form of brackets and straps still effectively doing the job for which they were designed.

#### (h) Wheelwrights

Before 1800 there were relatively few signs of change in the craft of wheelwrighting. The wheelwright was a superior general woodworker, handling repairs and replacements for ploughs and wheels, and replanking carts and wagons.<sup>94</sup> As the technique of wheel construction improved, he was increasingly to be found in association with the smith or smithy work. An important innovation of the period which had spread to most parts of England and Wales by 1850 was the hooped tyre, a force more closely tying together smith and wheelwright and reflecting a higher input of technical skill from both.<sup>95</sup> The wheelwright trade could therefore be linked closely with that of

92 James Hickmott had bought a shovel from Mr Evenden in 1848 - F.H.S., Uncatalogued Papers, *Account Notebooks of James & William Hickmott of Lashenden 1848.*

93 James was quite possibly the father of George Harris who was apprenticed to Bowles. Although George only appeared in the 1841 Census, James was recorded from 1851 at Marsh cottages, nearby to Bowles. However, James, a journeyman, may have apprenticed his son to a 'master' blacksmith.

94 Chartres (1989), *op.cit.*, p.431.

95 *Ibid.*, pp.428-9.

the smith, evolve more clearly into vehicle building, or remain a superior general wood worker, a cut above the humble carpenter. But increasingly, in the longer run, the local wheelwright became, like the smith, the maintainer and repairer rather than the constructor of vehicles.<sup>96</sup>

A good wheelwright served, even more than the blacksmith, a market beyond his own locality, and tended to be located in the larger villages and the market towns.<sup>97</sup> Somewhat in defiance of this generalisation, and despite being a relatively small village, Frittenden could boast not one wheelwright but several. In Frittenden, George Worsley was the wheelwright in the early years of the nineteenth century. By 1841 he had apprenticed his son, George Rofe Worsley, at Daynes Cottage, adjacent to Chanceford Corner where Richard Evenden was operating as a blacksmith. By 1851 the elder George had become a farmer of ten acres adjacent to the wheelwrights and his son<sup>98</sup> had taken over the business which was now operating at Chanceford Corner, probably at the site previously occupied by Richard Evenden. The younger George himself now had an apprentice, Edward Bates his wife's younger brother (son of Stephen Bates the Farmer of Pound Hill and later Little Bubhurst). By 1857 a rival to George's business, in the form of Albert Parks, was operating in The Street. Parks was described in the 1861 Census as Wheelwright and Carpenter. By this Census, Edward Bates was operating in his own right at Pound Hill, adjacent to his father's former farm and close to the blacksmith

---

96 *Ibid.*, p.432.

97 *Ibid.*, p.431.

98 The younger George appears in the Register of Baptisms in 1847 as a wheelwright - C.K.S./P152/1/4, *Register of Baptisms St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1844-79.*

Thomas Roots. George Rofe was still at Chanceford Corner, with Silas Sanders, son and brother of the millers at the windmill, as his apprentice.<sup>99</sup> Two other wheelwrights are recorded at this Census, Richard Brooker, who had been shown in the 1841 Census as an agricultural labourer, and Thomas Coppard whose father was a carter. It appears likely that these two men were employed by one or other of the wheelwrights.

By 1871 George Rofe Worsley had moved to farm at Little Bubhurst, previously farmed by his father-in-law and his former apprentice's father, Stephen Bates. George's son, also George, was a labourer on another farm in Frittenden. Albert Parks, now described as a master wheelwright, had taken over the works at Chanceford Corner, while Silas Sanders was operating in the village, possibly at the premises previously occupied by Parks.<sup>100</sup> Two further wheelwrights are recorded and as Parks is shown as employing two men it is likely that they were these men. One, David Croucher was described as an apprentice in 1871 living at Broad Lake Cottages, on the other side of the parish.<sup>101</sup> The other wheelwright was George Link, 26, who appeared in no other Frittenden records before or after this date.

Thus the 70 years from 1800 saw a wheelwright replace the business of one of the blacksmiths. The volume of business appears to have expanded to provide work for three separate wheelwright businesses by the late 1850s. By 1870 this had been reduced to two, and by 1881 to one, and that on the original blacksmith's

---

99 Silas' knowledge of milling might have made him attractive as an apprentice to a wheelwright.

100 By 1881 Sanders was describing himself as a carpenter rather than a wheelwright. He still occupied premises in The Street and employed 3 men.

101 In 1881 Croucher was at the same abode but was now described as a carpenter.

site at Chanceford Corner. Furthermore, by 1881 two of the four men described as wheelwrights in 1871 had downgraded the description of themselves to the lesser skill level of carpenter and another had left the parish. Only Parks continued to describe himself as a wheelwright.

(i) Carpenters, Turners and Sawyers

The wheelwright, though less numerous and considered more skilled, would often be obliged to turn his hand to general carpentry in order to keep busy.<sup>102</sup> It is, therefore, as Chartres considers, often difficult to separate the two, though where this can be done carpentry appears to have been unspecific, relatively lowly, and, because of the low capital requirements, increasingly easily entered in the eighteenth century.<sup>103</sup> The rural carpenter turned his hand to the work available in the area. General carpentry involved construction of and repair work for houses, the number of which more than doubled 1801-71 (see table 8ii).

**Houses Recorded in Census 1801-1871**

Year	No. of houses
1801	97
1811	96
1821	117
1831	135
1841	155
1851	161
1861	179
1871	190

**Source:** Censuses 1811-1871. Note that there was no necessary consistency in what enumerators defined as a house.

**Table 8ii**

They were also involved, of course, in repairs to farm

<sup>102</sup> Chartres & Turnbull, *op.cit.*, p.325, who also quote cooperage and millwright work.

<sup>103</sup> Chartres (1989), *op.cit.*, p.391.

buildings, and what was disparagingly known as 'hedge-carpentry', i.e. repairs to field gates, posts, and fences.<sup>104</sup> Nevertheless, carpenters were already numerous before 1800, and it is generally agreed that they became more so, in some parts, in the years before 1850 and as a result there was always the danger that it could become an overcrowded craft. Carpentry often provided an alternative to labouring or out-migration from heavily agricultural regions.<sup>105</sup>

The information we have on the carpenters of Frittenden is quite extensive, and it is convenient to incorporate into this section turners and sawyers, together with some rather significant references to builders, since all these trades were, to a greater and lesser extent associated with building work or refurbishment.

In the opening decades of the nineteenth century, Stephen Bates and Shem Levett were working as carpenters in the parish of Frittenden. By the middle decades, their sons, Henry Bates and Shem Levett were practising their trade together with Ishmael Gurr<sup>106</sup>. Other carpenters appear in various records but the Bates, Levetts and Gurrs formed the basis for carpentry in the parish throughout the seven decades under review. In most years at least two carpenters can be seen to have been in operation.

Census years, which record both employers and employees, show significant numbers of carpenters working in the parish. In 1841, two carpenters by the

---

104 Chartres & Turnbull, *op.cit.*, p.325.

105 Chartres (1989), *op.cit.*, p.425.

106 In common with many other carpenters, Ishmael Gurr also provided another service. James Hickmott records 20 January 1868 - 'Monday to Frittenden to see Mr Gurr about making a Coffin for my Brother William' - C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *Diary of James Hickmott*. The Cranbrook Guardians appointed Henry Bates as providing coffins for the poor of Frittenden.



name of Hope were operating. One, William aged 30, was the head of household at Pound Hill House. The other, Alfred, 20, lived at Brickwall House presumably as apprentice to Henry Bates, then aged 50. Three carpenters are recorded as living at differing, but nearby, houses in The Street (James Small, aged 60, who had previously been a publican at *The Bell*, Shem Levett, 45, and John Collings, 65). Levett had been renting one of three cottages converted from a single dwelling by the Cornwallis Estate (one of the others occupied by the turner). He was paying a rental of £2-4-0 per half year.<sup>107</sup> By 1843 Levett had moved to occupy a cottage and 3.5 acres of land formerly part of the land rented by the late William Southon, for a rental of £10 per annum.<sup>108</sup> The final carpenter recorded in this census was Ishmael Gurr, aged 25 at Tanner House on the edge of the village on the road to Cranbrook. By 1843, Gurr had replaced James Small operating from the site behind the Bell Inn.<sup>109</sup> The Census may have failed to record other carpenters. William Hinckley's career as a carpenter spans the 1841 Census but he was not recorded as such in that source.<sup>110</sup>

---

107 C.K.S./U24/A2/19, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for two half year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1824 and Lady Day 1825.*

108 C.K.S./U24/A2/37, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1843.*

109 F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Conveyance of Cottage and premises in Frittenden Kent Dated 25th March 1843: Mr James Small, his Wife and Mortgagee to The Reverend Edward Moore.*

110 William and Eliza Hinckley appeared in the Register of Baptisms in 1841, 1843 and 1847 but in neither the 1841 nor 1851 Census - C.K.S./P152/1/3&4, *Register of Baptisms St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1813-44, 1844-79.*

In the 1851 Census, Shem Levett had moved out of the village to Catherine Wheel where he also farmed 25 acres as a tenant of the Cornwallis Estate. In a survey of 1853 Catherine Wheel farmhouse is described as in tolerable repair, however, the old thatched Barn and lodges required some repair. The land was fairly farmed but it required draining. The whole attracted a rental of £17 per annum.<sup>111</sup> Alfred Hope, described as a journeyman in 1851, was living in The Street while Henry Bates, now 64, was still at Brickwall Cottage (at this time called Old George) where he too was the tenant of the Cornwallis Estate, occupying a 'House & Carpenters Shop' with 3 acres of land at a rental of £20 per annum.<sup>112</sup>

Ishmael Gurr is described in 1851 as a builder and farmer of 28 acres operating from Pound Hill (possibly where William Hope had operated in 1841). Gurr had a 20 year old apprentice living in and employed a total of 3 men. Two other carpenters are recorded. Charles Gurr, described as a journeyman carpenter, was a lodger at Forge House, very near to Ishmael Gurr at Pound Hill, and Edward Hickmott carpenter living with his farmer/grocer father, John Hickmott, at Pore Farm.

By 1861 there was something of a boom in the number of carpenters recorded. Henry Bates, now in his seventies, was employing 4 men at George Cottage, with William Tollhurst, a carpenter, living next door. Ishmael Gurr, now described as farmer of 26 acres and carpenter, remained at Pound Hill House. Out near the estate brick works three brothers, Hiram (22), Benjamin (17) and Joseph (15) Hope were operating. Albert Parks a wheelwright and carpenter was in The

---

<sup>111</sup> C.K.S./U24/E3, *Report as to the Estates in Kent & Sussex of the Trustees of the late Earl Cornwallis, 1853.*

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

Street. Three other carpenters were living in The Street, John Taylor, a lodger, Richard Bowles, son of the Blacksmith, and William Small [related to James]<sup>113</sup>. Nearby at The Bell, James Harris, son-in-law of the Innkeeper, was a carpenter. In the outlying areas Thomas Breakfield lived at Hickmott House and the brothers William and Albert Goodsell operated at Orange Tree Cottage at Knoxbridge. Only one man is described as a carpenter's apprentice, John Eldridge lived at home at Bayley Cottage [Weaversden Cottage].

Despite a modest further addition to the housing stock (Table 8ii), the number of carpenters was drastically reduced by 1871. Ishmael Gurr was once again described as a builder and farmer of 28 acres, rather than as a carpenter.<sup>114</sup> John Eldridge had progressed to carpenter, William Tolhurst and John Taylor continued in business, the Hope brothers had been replaced at brickyard cottages by William Morfatt, [son and brother of the brick makers]. Finally, Thomas Daynes was at the Tanyard, where Ishmael Gurr had started 30 years before.

Only one Turner is mentioned in the parish in the period 1800 to 1870. James Sotherden was recorded in the parish Registers as Turner & Cooper in 1813.<sup>115</sup> At

113

William is also shown as a carpenter at the baptism of his children in 1852, 1854 & 1856 - C.K.S./P152/1/4, *Register of Baptisms St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1844-79.*

114

The location of Gurr's carpenter's shop was confirmed by James Hickmott in his Diary - Memorandum 11 May 1872, Saturday Morning about eight O'Clock Silas Hickmott came galloping to me & said Mr Gurrs Shop was on Fire & Burning down & thought My cottages [at Pound Hill] must be burnt. on my arrival the shop was burnt down... the Oast being attached to the Shop was nearly consumed before the Engine arrived - C.K.S./U1334/F3-4, *Diary of James Hickmott.*

115

C.K.S./P152/1/5, *Register of Burials, Church of S.Mary Frittenden 1813-75.*

the baptism of his subsequent children he was recorded simply as a Turner. However, at the marriage of his son, James, a labourer, he was shown as a Cooper, perhaps indicating his formally qualified trade. The younger James married Ann, the daughter of Henry Sears, himself a carpenter.<sup>116</sup> By 1871, James the elder was not recorded. Having been 79 at the previous census he had probably died and with him died the specialist art of turning, and probably coopering, in the parish.

In 1826, Joseph Bates was shown in the registers<sup>117</sup> as a sawyer but is not recorded in later census data. Joseph Waters was the only sawyer recorded in the census before 1861. In 1825 he was renting a cottage, recently converted from one dwelling into three, from the Cornwallis Estate.<sup>118</sup> His half yearly rental was £2-4-0. In 1832<sup>119</sup> he was in arrears to the estate to the tune of £2 and again, in 1840<sup>120</sup>, he was £ 2-8-0 in arrears on a rent unchanged since moving in 1825. By the 1841 and 1851 census he was residing in The Street, still a tenant of the Cornwallis estate. It is of note that in the 1851 Census, Joseph's wife, Amelia was described as a laundress. The 1853 Survey shows Joseph still the tenant of the estate. His cottage was in a good state

---

116 C.K.S./P152/1/7, *Register of Marriages, Church of St.Mary Frittenden 1813-37.*

117 *Ibid.*

118 C.K.S./U24/A2/19, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for two half year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1824 and Lady Day 1825.*

119 C.K.S./U24/A2/26, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1832.*

120 C.K.S./U24/A2/34, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1840.*

of repair and his rental still unchanged from that of 1825.<sup>121</sup> The Parish Registers show that their son, Jesse, was also a sawyer, but he appears to have moved to Staplehurst.<sup>122</sup>

The Census of 1861 saw two sawyers recorded. Thomas Rofe, previously recorded as an agricultural labourer, is shown as a sawyer living at Lowland Farm cottage. In subsequent census he is residing at Chanceford Farm the tenancy<sup>123</sup> of which he appears to have inherited from his father George [his brother George having taken over the running of the wheelwright business from his father]. The other sawyer was Elijah Eldridge, 35 in 1861, who originated from Ewhurst in Sussex. He had been recorded in the 1841 and 1851 Census as an agricultural labourer. In both 1861 and 1871 he was shown as a sawyer and in 1881 as a steam sawyer. His son John was, as noted above, recorded as a carpenter's apprentice in 1861 and as a carpenter in 1871.

(j) Brickmakers

Another widespread local industry was brickmaking, although by the middle of the nineteenth century the local brick kilns with their wide variety

---

<sup>121</sup> C.K.S./U24/E3, *Report as to the Estates in Kent & Sussex of the Trustees of the late Earl Cornwallis 1853.*

<sup>122</sup> The Parish Register shows Jesse as being of Staplehurst parish and his wife, Mary Boorman, may have been the daughter of Edward Boorman, a wheelwright in Staplehurst.

<sup>123</sup> In the estate survey of 1875-6, Thomas was shown as the tenant of Chanceford Farm, the house of which is described as small but in fair repair. The Buildings comprised a good barn, Cattle Sheds, Stable, Piggories &c. - C.K.S./U24/E4, *Report Upon and Rental Valuation of the Linton, Egerton, and Sissinghurst Estates, situate in the County of Kent, the property of The Right Honble Viscount and Viscountess Holmesdale, 1875-6.*

of local styles and colours were increasingly threatened by the machine-made standardised bricks of London and the midlands.<sup>124</sup> Frittenden's brick fields formed part of the Cornwallis Estate, Brick Kiln Farm forming part of the Sissinghurst Castle Farm holding described as 'the most important Farm on this Estate in the Weald' in the 1853 survey.<sup>125</sup> In 1841 Richard Morfatt was a brickmaker at Brick Kiln Cottages but by 1851 Richard had been joined by his two sons, Richard (21) and George (16), in the brickfields. By 1861 this family provided 6 brickmakers, Richard, now 62, and five sons, one of whom had set up his own household. These decades coincide with an increased activity in estate and other building in Frittenden.<sup>126</sup> However, by 1871, only the younger Richard was employed as a brick maker at the estate works.<sup>127</sup>

Other brick makers were recorded in both 1841 and 1851 at Coldharbour, on the border of the parish of Headcorn. Again this appears to have been a family concern with Samuel Crampton (25) recorded in 1841 and James (45), William (12) and Charles (9) Crampton in 1861. By 1871 this family were at Tile Barn cottages as farm workers, although by 1881 one had returned to brickmaking before reverting to agricultural work by 1891.

---

<sup>124</sup> J.H.Porter, 'The Development of Rural Society' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, VI (1989), p.857.

<sup>125</sup> C.K.S./U24/E3, *Report as to the Estates in Kent & Sussex of the Trustees of the late Earl Cornwallis, 1853.*

<sup>126</sup> See Table 8ii, and Chapter 5, pp.117-21. There are many examples of buildings from this period throughout the parish, many distinguished by the use of blue headers.

<sup>127</sup> The Morphett [sometimes Morfatt] family continued to be employed at the brick yard until its closure in 1972.

### (III) TRADES AND CRAFTS IN THE AGGREGATE

The frequent appearance of the same individual under several of the headings just discussed reflects, no doubt, the vagaries of the sources which have been used, but also in all likelihood genuine shifts in the balance of a man's time apportioned to different economic activities. This applied also to women, for the trades were not a male prerogative. At Frittenden, apart from the more likely dressmakers, needle women, laundress, nurse and assistants in shops, women also fulfilled the roles of miller (Ann Orpin formerly a dressmaker), retailer of beer (Elizabeth Dapson), a grocer (Susanna Boorman and Mary Cork), grocer and poulterer (Charlotte Cork). These were in addition to those who fulfilled an ancillary but unrecorded role in the shadow of their husbands.

The picture is one of rich variety, or to put it another way, gives evidence that people made a livelihood in a variety of ways. However, there comes a point when we need to stand back from the morass of detail and pose questions about the overall trend in terms of the aggregate numbers (primarily) engaged in occupations that were not directly agricultural.

The background to this part of the discussion is provided by the observations of a number of recent historians, including Martin, Wrigley, Chartres and Armstrong. In his discussion of changes in the Feldon district of South Warwickshire, Martin calls attention to the existence, in the late eighteenth century, of 'a wide variety of occupations outside farming' and to the fact that many trading and craft families were beneficiaries of surviving common rights.<sup>128</sup> What happened after (further) enclosures was that the

---

J.M.Martin, 'Village Traders and the Emergence of a Proletariat in South Warwickshire, 1750-1851', A.H.R., 32 (1984), pp.181 & 185.



proportion following trades and crafts tended to fall away, and although some individuals built up quite large scale concerns many were forced into 'a narrow range of lesser crafts', thereby swelling the ranks of pauperized labour'. In a significant remark made *en passant* Martin remarks that this

*does not, of course, exclude the possible importance of other factors like the tendency ... for local population to expand.*<sup>129</sup>

It is this aspect - rather than enclosure - that has attracted the attention of Wrigley. The main objective of his essay is to revise contemporary estimates of the size of the (national) agricultural labour force which, he concludes, rose by only one-tenth between 1811 and 1851 while concurrently the number of men in the countryside approximately doubled. However, it follows from this comparison that the size of the rural retail and handcraft sector must have been expanding as a proportion, as well as absolutely, in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>130</sup> Armstrong accepts and endorses Wrigley's line of reasoning<sup>131</sup> while Collins likewise allows that

*an important result of the growth in population was that towns and villages could now support a larger number and wider range of services than hitherto.*

In this respect he is supported by Chartres who speaks of a drastic expansion in trades, professions and crafts in the countryside, in the century following

---

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p.180.

<sup>130</sup> E.A.Wrigley, 'Men on the Land and Men in the Countryside: Employment in Agriculture in Early-Nineteenth-Century England' in L.Bonfield, R.M.Smith & K.Wrightson (Eds.), *The World We Have Gained* (1986), p.295.

<sup>131</sup> W.A.Armstrong, *Farmworkers: A Social and Economic History 1770-1980* (1988), p.63.

1750.<sup>132</sup> How long this continued was, no doubt, variable from one county and district to the next. There is, however, a consensus of opinion that by the second half of the nineteenth century the numbers and the prospects of village tradesmen and craftsmen were reducing due, *inter alia*, to the contraction of the customer base as a consequence of the 'flight from the land' and as rural crafts were exposed to the blast of urban competition, with the railways probably playing a noteworthy role in this respect.<sup>133</sup>

Against this background we can set the experience of Frittenden. The 1801 Census, it will be recalled, deals in individuals and against 175 persons in agriculture can be set 24 in trades and manufactures, i.e. 12 per cent of the aggregate of the two figures.

**% of Families Employed in Various Ways,  
Frittenden 1811-31**

	1811	1821	1831
No. & (%) of families employed in agriculture	90(82)	110(81)	110(73)
No. & (%) of families in trade, manuf., hcrafts	20(18)	21(16)	35(23)
Other families	0( 0)	4( 3)	5( 3)
All families	110(100)	135(100)	150(100)

**Source:** Census, 1811-31.

**Table 8iii**

This proportion - for what it is worth - does not

132

Collins (1989), *op.cit.*, p.392; Chartres (1989), *op.cit.*, p.416.

133

By contrast with the first half of the nineteenth century, this is much more frequently discussed. See e.g. J.A.Chartres (1981), *op.cit.*, pp.300-13 and Chartres & Turnbull, *op.cit.*, pp.314-28 and W.A.Armstrong, 'The Flight from the Land' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, I (1981), pp.118-35; J.Saville, *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951* (1957), pp.8-30; W.A.Armstrong (1990), *op.cit.*, pp.116-8.

appear to be high and it seems probable that the next three censuses, 1811-31, give a more accurate picture. As shown in table 8iii, there is quite a close agreement in the returns of 1811 and 1821, and a definite hint of expansion - we can say no more than that - in the numbers of non-agricultural families in the ensuing decade.

In comparison to some adjacent parishes, Frittenden was more heavily dependent upon agriculture, with about four-fifths of its families recorded as employed in agriculture with most of the rest dependent on the fortunes of that sector. Cranbrook, the market town and administrative centre for the locality had only about one half of its families in agriculture, and, not surprisingly, over one third in trade, manufactures and handcrafts. Of the other adjacent parishes, Staplehurst and Headcorn appear to be similar in character to Frittenden, with about three-quarters in agriculture and one-fifth in trades etc. Likewise, Biddenden and Smarden had similar and growing proportions of families in agriculture. However, while Biddenden's tradesmen were reducing in number, those at Smarden appear to have been increasing. Both had significant, but falling numbers of families in the 'other' category.<sup>134</sup>

From 1841 the census returns revert to individuals and can be followed at the parish level, from the enumerators' books. We can use these to track both the range of functions and the numbers of persons involved, bearing in mind the fact that many discharged a multiplicity, of functions, and that some individuals almost certainly accentuated different lines of activity in successive censuses. A good many of the functions listed in table 8iv were represented

---

This paragraph is based on the same data sources - and calculations - as Table 8iii, but it has not been deemed necessary to produce the figures in detail.

throughout, for example innkeeping (etc.), boot and shoe making, blacksmithing and carpentry, to name but four. Others, it will be seen, made a passing appearance in these returns (tailoring, baking, coach-painting, thatching etc.) as well as certain functions absorbed here under 'others' or 'miscellaneous services'. These included, in 1851, coal merchanting (James Bowles, the man concerned, was also a blacksmith); a road surveyor, a laundress; a postmaster and even a 'professor of music', the latter disappearing by 1861 when there came into view (temporarily) the function of baking, poultry dealing and engine driving; while the 1871 census introduced coach painting and rag and bone dealing. The impression of flexibility in the actual roles performed by individuals and variations in self-descriptions<sup>135</sup> mean that we need to be very cautious about drawing inferences from the minor variations in the figures recorded under individual occupational headings - for example the absence of Builders in 1841, and their subsequent appearance, disappearance and reappearance in 1851-71.

Nonetheless, some general conclusions can be drawn from table 8iv, if we are prepared to dwell on

---

135

Other records, i.e. the parochial church registers, attest to the existence of other trades which do not figure at all in the census returns, viz. (at various dates) two braziers (William and John Brazeal), a sweep (Richard Harlot) an umbrella maker (James Willey) and even a weaver (William Relf) - St.Mary's Church Frittenden, Vestry Records, *Register of Marriages, 1837-1925*.

**Services, Trades and Crafts in Frittenden,  
Taken from Census Returns, 1841-71\***

	1841	1851	1861	1871
<b>I Food Drink</b>				6
Grocer	2	5	4	4
Butcher	2	2	2	4
Innkeeper, beerseller, publican	2	2	3	6
Miller	2	5	3	
Baker			1	
Others				7
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>II Clothing &amp; Footwear</b>				2
Draper				5
Dressmaker	4	5	4	
Tailor			1	7
Boot & Shoe	6	5	2	
Others			1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>III Transport, Carrying Trades etc</b>				
Carrier	1		1	4
Blacksmith	4	2	4	4
Wheelwright	2	2	7	1
Coach maker/painter				8
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>IV Building Crafts &amp; Trade</b>				6
Carpenter	7	6	15	2
Builder		2		1
Sawyer	1	1	3	
Turner	1	1	1	1
Brickmaker	2	6	6	2
Brick layer	1	2	2	
Thatcher		1		
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>V Miscellaneous Services</b>				18
No. of functions listed above	0	12	14	21
No. of individuals covered	14	23	24	73
No. of individuals as % of economically active population	37	59	74	73
	11.78	19.6	21.89	19.73

**Table 8iv**

\* All persons 14+ years of age

the sectoral aggregate figures. It is useful to distinguish between the range of functions and the number of individuals included in the table.

(Functions)

(i) The food and drink 'sector' as a whole expanded through the thirty-year period.

(ii) The clothing and footwear 'sector' showed an erratic performance, but little growth overall.

(iii) Transport and carrying showed signs of contraction between 1861 and 1871 as, more decisively, did building, as a whole.

(iv) Miscellaneous services, expanded suggesting a wider range of services.<sup>136</sup>

(Individuals)

(i) The number of individuals represented in one (or more) of these functions increased steadily through 1841-61 but then stagnated or showed a slight fall, in the last ten years of the period.

(ii) The proportion of the relevant age-group (here taken as all persons aged 14 and upwards) after showing some signs of increasing through 1841-61, fell marginally in the last decade covered.

Taken in the round, the text and table 8iii and 8iv suggest that there were signs of expansion in the non-agricultural sectors (particularly in 1821-31), and that the level of craft/trade employment was sustained, in the case of Frittenden, until 1861. From then on, signs of a check appear to have set in. This is less obvious with the range of functions than with the numbers of individuals concerned, and their presence as a proportion in the adult age groups. The history of non-agricultural employment in Frittenden,

136

It should be borne in mind, in interpreting such data, that the census included those residing in a place, but not necessarily working there. Individuals such as Henry Orpin, described as an Agricultural Machine Proprietor, might well have had their places of business at Cranbrook, Maidstone etc.

traced through the various census returns, thus appears to harmonize with the national trends, as drawn by Wrigley, Chartres and others, in that we can identify first a tendency for such employment to increase, and then for a check to make itself apparent, as it clearly did in the final decade considered.<sup>137</sup> But neither the 'rise' nor the 'fall' were spectacular in the case of Frittenden; the trends were decidedly muted, and in this period can scarcely have operated so as to noticeably change the balance between agricultural and non-agricultural employment. For the most part, Frittenden was, and remained, a resolutely agricultural society.

---

137

Wrigley (1986), *op.cit.*, pp.296-304; Chartres (1981), *op.cit.*, pp.300-313; *Ibid.* (1989), *op.cit.*, p.416-465.



PART II: THE PARISH

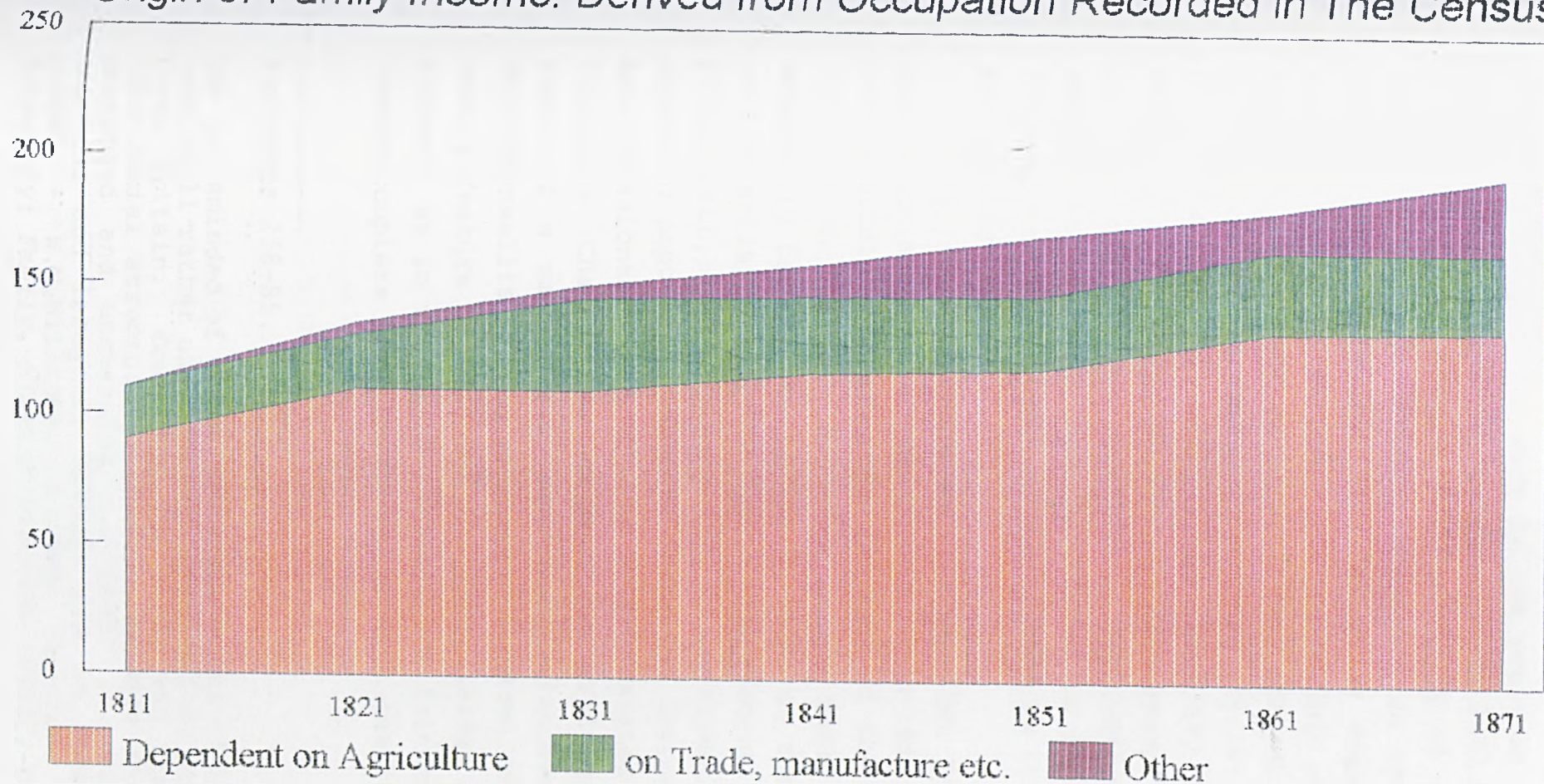
## INTRODUCTION: SOME SOCIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

An attempt has been made, in Figure 9i, to chart the numbers of families dependent on agriculture, on trade and manufactures, and on 'other' pursuits across virtually the whole span of the period covered in this thesis. This entails grafting on to the figures offered in the censuses, 1811-31, the results of my own calculations for 1841-71. Because information on how the early census enumerators defined 'families' is lacking<sup>1</sup>, we cannot be sure of how far the pre- and post-1831 figures are comparable, and the resultant figure can be only a very rough approximation.<sup>2</sup> However, it is not without value. It appears to confirm a rise in the number and proportion of 'trade and manufactures' families after 1821, and a subsequent levelling out of their numbers, which is in

<sup>1</sup> P.M.Tillot, 'Sources of Inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 Censuses' in E.A.Wrigley (Ed.), *Nineteenth Century Society. Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods in the Study of Social Data* (1972), p.90, remarks that up to 1851 the censal unit employed, i.e. 'the family', was 'somewhat ill-defined'.

<sup>2</sup> My own procedures in relation to the census enumerators' books follow as closely as possible to recommendations of M.Anderson, 'Standard Tabulation Procedures for the Census Enumerators Books, 1851-1891' in Wrigley (1972), *op.cit.*, pp.140-3. In principle, the occupation of the head of household is taken to signify the appropriate category. Where no occupation was given, or the head was not economically active, the occupation of other members of the household, normally of the same surname, is taken. Where the head of household was recorded as retired and no other member of the household was economically employed, he/she is recorded as 'other'. Where two heads of household are recorded in the same house they are counted as two separate families and categorised accordingly. Where a married son is living with his parents he is recorded as a separate family.

# Origin of Family Income: Derived from Occupation Recorded in The Census



1811-31 Extracted from House of Commons Papers  
1841-71 Extracted from Enumerators Returns

Chart 9i

line with suggestions made in the previous chapter.<sup>3</sup> 'Others' show a tendency to expand from 1841 but never constituted more than a small minority of families. Most families were directly dependent on agriculture and in absolute terms, the number so engaged rose gently across the period. The number and proportion of families employed in agriculture, according to the conventions I have employed, was 150 (76.1%) in 1871; and if we take into account the certainty that many families in the trade and manufactures group, and some of the 'others' also depended on agriculture at one remove, it is clear that Frittenden in 1871 was as overwhelmingly dependent on agriculture as it had been sixty years before.

This, however, does not signify that Frittenden was changeless<sup>4</sup>, and it may be helpful at this juncture to recapitulate briefly the findings of the chapters included in Part I. Situated on the Weald and not especially favoured by nature in terms of the quality of its soils, Frittenden was a comparatively remote place which, in the period 1801-71 experienced a 69% growth of population, despite (usually) losing part of and occasionally all of its self-generated natural increases (Chapter 2). Much of the land was in the hands of a major, but non-resident landowner (the Mann/Cornwallis Estate) and tenant farmers, naturally, were a feature on this and on other, lesser estates. However, as in the Weald generally, a fair number of owner-occupiers were intermingled with the tenantry.

3

See pages 278-85.

4

One is reminded of the remark made in one of the first (and still rather uncommon) anthropological studies of rural Britain. Comparing the 1840s and the 1950s, 'the social structure as a whole appears relatively unchanged and unchanging ... [but] ... within it constant and irregular changes are in fact taking place' - W.M. Williams, *A West Country Village, Ashworthy: Family, Kinship and Land* (1963), p.xviii.

Whether tenanted or owned, Frittenden's farms were on the small side and neither their numbers nor the average size changed much during the period (Chapter 3). The rents paid by tenants, and the level of arrears are perhaps the best available barometer of vicissitudes in the prosperity of agriculture. They attest to a fairly severe depression following the French wars, but also to a clearly discernible recovery from the 1850s (Chapter 4). This recovery was not spearheaded by landlords who, though they were obliged to be accommodating to the tenants in the difficult years, and engaged in a limited amount of drainage, mainly in the mid-Victorian period, did not play a conspicuous role in orchestrating agricultural progress. The consolidation of holdings for example, made only slight progress (Chapter 5). Rather, it was left mainly to the farmers to adjust their cropping patterns and agricultural practices to suit market needs, and changes in the pattern of land use certainly did occur, showing an advance in arable cultivation as a feature of the years down to 1840, followed by a retreat from this position by 1870 (Chapter 6). In a district such as this, farmers and their families were an important element of the agricultural labour force. The living-in farm servant survived and, in fact, the very limited information we have in respect of wages and conditions largely relates to this element of the working population. They were, however, as the censuses clearly show, greatly outnumbered by 'outdoor' agricultural workers, and here as elsewhere women and children as needed, formed a significant part of the labour force (Chapter 7). Finally, some attention has been given to the presence in Frittenden of a too-often neglected element, that is the tradesmen and craftsmen who either or partially made a living from non-agricultural pursuits (Chapter 8).



As well as following through the available evidence on landholding patterns, and tracing the vicissitudes of agriculture and the adjustments to agricultural practices that took place, by looking at the hired agricultural workforce and the trades and crafts, Part I has assembled information on the various constituent elements of Frittenden's population, somewhat after the fashion of setting out the pieces in a jigsaw puzzle. The aim of the second part of the thesis is to complete the picture, by asking how the different elements interacted. We move, in other words, from an emphasis on themes identified (usually) as 'agricultural history' towards those that are usually taken to fall within the province of the social historian. This moves us on from fields where insights are derived from economics and economic history towards those of sociology and social anthropology, and confronts us, straightaway, with a conceptual problem.

Does the very high level of occupational homogeneity, and the relatively small size of nineteenth century Frittenden justify our characterising it as a 'community'? The very mention of the word, in an academic thesis, is calculated to set alarm bells ringing. It is necessary, therefore, to include here a short resumé of some of the relevant literature, prior to clarifying the sense in which the term is employed in Part II. The problem with the idea of 'community' does not lie in finding a definition; rather it consists in the fact that there are innumerable ways in which the term has been used by sociologists, anthropologists and historians. Hillery, in 1955, identified 95 definitions and observed that the very thing missing was agreement.<sup>5</sup> There is an ever-present danger that 'below the

---

5  
G.A.Hillery, 'Definition of community: areas of agreement', *Rural Sociology*, 20 (1955).

surface of many community studies lurk value judgements, of varying degrees of explicitness, about what is the good life'.<sup>6</sup> Newby, the co-author of these words, while acknowledging the value of Tonniës' concepts of 'gemeinschaft' and 'gesellschaft' as types of human association, warns that 'his most mischievous legacy was to 'ground these types of relationships in particular patterns of settlement, the village representing the former and the city, the latter.'<sup>7</sup> There is a fairly general level of agreement, by now, that the 'gemeinschaft' (or continuity) is not simply a function of settlement size. In recent decades strong traces of community have been identified at 'Ashton' (Featherstone, 'the town which is a village', according to Frankenberg<sup>8</sup>) and even in such superficially unpromising locations as Bethnal Green and Dagenham.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Pahl in a study of some Hertfordshire villages reshaped by the arrival of commuters in the 1950s and 1960s sees these much smaller settlements as far from being 'real' communities; the newcomers who thought in these terms were deluded, and in reality there was polarisation into two classes.<sup>10</sup> And - far removed from the reach

6 C.Bell & H.Newby, *Community Studies* (1971), p.16.

7 H.Newby, *The Deferential Worker* (1971), p.95. As originally propounded by Tonniës in 1887, 'gemeinschaft' referred to any set of relationships characterised by emotional cohesion, depth, continuity and fulfilment, and gesellschaft to the impersonal, contractual and rational aspects of human association.

8 R.Frankenberg, *Communities in Britain. Social Life in Town and Country* (1966), Chapter 5.

9 M.Young & P.Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (1962); P.Willmott, *The Evolution of a Community. Dagenham over 40 years* (1963).

10 R.E.Pahl, 'Class & Community in English Commuter Villages', *Sociologia Ruralis*, V (1965), pp.9,11,15,18.



of commuters - Littlejohn interpreted 'Westrigg' in the Cheviots in the immediate post-war period as a place where class-based distinctions had clearly become more important than community.<sup>11</sup>

It is intriguing to note that Pahl guessed that what had been supplanted, in his post-war Hertfordshire villages, was 'an hierarchical structure which was fundamentally suited to the village as a community'.<sup>12</sup> This amounts to an admission that in the past, village social relationships were, perhaps, rather different and not so obviously expressed by class. Yet, somewhat paradoxically, social historians appear to have found it difficult to allow that there was any compatibility between the survival of community and the advance of capitalist agriculture. On the contrary, considerable efforts have been made to depict rural society in the nineteenth century as essentially class-divided. The works of historians such as Snell, Reay, and Read and Wells implicitly deny the possibility of the survival of *gemeinschaft* relationships and any sense of community.<sup>13</sup> Howkins, perhaps, achieves a better balance. He is prepared to countenance the idea that the farm, the village and the local market town (the centre of its *pays*) could

---

<sup>11</sup> J.Littlejohn, *Westrigg: The Sociology of a Cheviot parish* (1963). (There was a lengthy delay between the gathering and the findings and eventual publication).

<sup>12</sup> Pahl, *op.cit.*, pp.17-18.

<sup>13</sup> K.Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900* (1985), B.Reay, *The Last Rising of the Agricultural Labourers: Rural Life and Protest in Nineteenth-Century England*; *idem*, *Microhistories: demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800-1930* (1997); M.Reed and R.Wells (Eds.), *Class, Conflict & Protest in English Countryside* (1990), especially pp.1-28, 215-23. The last-mentioned authors obviously prefer a class-based approach and concede (p.222) that we are still 'confronted with a massive lack of knowledge and understanding of what class means, and meant'.

act as communities in that they could inculcate a sense of 'belonging'. However, he is also at some pains to emphasise that the greater degree of social harmony evident in the countryside after 1850 was 'not some 'natural state' growing out of an organic social order and believes that, not far below the surface there was the constant threat of disruption: so that only a 'precarious balance' was achieved in the mid-Victorian era.<sup>14</sup>

To bring to a head this discussion - which could obviously run and run - I have decided against fastidiously avoiding the use of the expression 'community' in Part II of this thesis. Alternatives (such as 'rural society') are in any case no more helpful, at the end of the day. But it is important to explain the sense in which this expression will be used and perhaps also to stress the limitations of what is recoverable from the sources. I follow Newby who, in his major study, *The Deferential Worker*, uses the word 'community' simply as a convenient label ('in the interest of parsimonious communication') to denote the existence of a 'local social system'.<sup>15</sup> There is no *a priori* presumption, in what follows, that Frittenden was a 'natural' or a 'wholesome' society; that it was a society of equals (patently that was not so); or that it was characterised by the prevalence of harmonious social relations. But a place of this size surely was a 'face to face community' in Frankenberg's words, one in which 'each individual is related to every other individual in his total network in several different ways'.<sup>16</sup>

Certain constraints as to the range of the

<sup>14</sup> A.Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England: A Social History 1850-1925* (1991), pp.18-19, 29, 86-7, 113.

<sup>15</sup> H.Newby, *op.cit.*, pp.45 & 363.

<sup>16</sup> Frankenberg, *op.cit.*, p.17.

discussion need to be mentioned. They arise from the limitations of the available evidence. Sociologists and social anthropologists, when discussing 'community' (or indeed 'class') can usefully create new evidence in which to base their findings, by addressing questions to the actors in the situation; their problem is, in a sense, confined to formulating the most appropriate questions. Historians too, need to think about the relevant questions, but face a further difficulty arising from the obvious fact that - unless the topic of research is very recent history - their 'respondents' are dead, leaving the historian only written or - sometimes - 'archaeological' evidence to rely on. As E.P.Thompson once remarked, people's beliefs and social relationships, have to be 'decoded' from the record of their actions<sup>17</sup>, and this record is bound to be incomplete. There is a standing temptation to bridge the gaps by over-lavish use of theoretical insights and imported pre-conceptions, of which we should be wary.<sup>18</sup> In the pages that follow, I have confined myself to propositions for which supporting evidence can be found in the sources; and that is one reason why Part II of the thesis is considerably shorter than Part I. It is the object of this second instalment to recreate, so far as possible, the nature of social interactions at the individual and institutional levels. We shall begin with a topic which almost invariably looms large on the agendas of social scientists in most latter-day

---

17 E.P.Thompson, 'Eighteenth-century English society: class struggle without class?', *Social History*, 3, 2 (1978), p.155.

18 Armstrong, in an otherwise favourable review of B.Reay, *The Last Rising of the Agricultural Labourers: Rural Life and Protest in Nineteenth-Century England*, accuses this author of being rather too free with the use of a form of 'plastic padding' of this kind W.A.Armstrong, *Social History*, 17, 2 (1992), pp.365-8.

investigations of communities in Britain and elsewhere  
- the role of marriage alliances and kinship, in this  
case, among farmers.

MARRIAGE ALLIANCES, HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND THE ROLE OF KINSHIP

Traditionally, marriage alliances were of interest only to students of the dynastic aspect of political history<sup>1</sup>, and to genealogists concerned with tracing the evolution of particular families.<sup>2</sup> It was after World War II that significant changes took place, in this respect. Initially a post-war surge of interest in population studies promoted research into the age at and incidence of marriage in past populations. Subsequently, the flowering of a more analytical kind of social history began to extend the range of questions being asked. The role of nuptiality in demographic growth remained an important field of research, but in tandem with it there emerged a new interest in the structure and role of families and households, and in the significance of kinship. Serious work of this nature dates from the 1960s, when Laslett began to use in a systematic way surviving pre-census community listings and when the first fruits of work carried out on the enumerators' returns of the 1851 census began to appear.<sup>3</sup> The two most outstanding studies of family structure and kinship in a nineteenth century context have a strongly urban and

1

As an example, see J. Le Patourel, 'Edward III and the Kingdom of France', *History*, 43 (1958), pp.173-189.

2

This work continues of course. The Canterbury Centre is a notable example and its *Family History Journal* began in December 1974.

3

See, initially, chapters by P. Laslett, 'Introduction: The Numerical Study of English Society', pp.1-13, and W.A. Armstrong, 'Social Structure from the Early Census Returns', pp.209-237, both in E.A. Wrigley (Ed.) *An Introduction to English Historic Demography* (1966), the first publication of Cambridge Group for History of Population and Social Structure.

working-class focus<sup>4</sup>, and published work of this nature on nineteenth-century rural society remains comparatively sparse. There are, however, some clear signs of progress in this respect, notably in the studies carried out on localities in Norfolk and elsewhere, by Hinde<sup>5</sup>; and there is an increasing appreciation of the strong survival powers of small family farms, notably in a recent study of nineteenth century Lancashire, by Winstanley.<sup>6</sup>

This chapter seeks to engage with issues raised by these and other authors, although its range inevitably falls short of the kind of searching examination which is offered by the authors just mentioned. The chief limitation is that the analysis offered here does not embrace the whole of the population of Frittenden. Here and there, 'whole community' data is advanced in respect of household and family composition, but only with a view to providing a yardstick against which our findings about farmers' families and kinship links can be assessed; while the analysis of marriage alliances in any detail

---

4 M.Andersen, *Family Structure in Industrial Lancashire* (1974); M.W.Dupree, *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries 1840-1880* (1995), the long-awaited outcome of a thesis completed in 1981.

5 P.R.A.Hinde, 'Household Structure, Marriage And The Institution Of Service In Nineteenth-century Rural England', *Local Population Studies*, 35 (1985), pp.43-51; *ibid.*, 'Marriage Market in the Nineteenth Century Countryside', *Journal of European Economic History*, 18, 2 (1989), pp.383-92.

6 M.Winstanley, 'Industrialisation and the Small Farm: Family and Household Economy in Nineteenth-century Lancashire', *Past & Present*, 152 (1996), pp.157-195. See also M.Reed, 'The Peasant of Nineteenth-century England: a Neglected Class?', *History Workshop Journal* (1984); *Ibid.*, 'Nineteenth-Century Rural England: A Case for 'Peasant Studies'?', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, XIV (1986-7), pp.78-99; and J.V.Beckett, 'The Peasant in England. A Case of Terminological Confusion?', *A.H.R.*, 32 (1984), pp.113-123.

is confined to this important element in the parish community.

(I) FARMERS' MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

While in England marriage partners seem to have been free to choose one another there is abundant evidence that they chose brides or grooms whose social station was roughly similar to their own. Marriage was an act of social reproduction by which members of each group in society reconstituted themselves in the next generation. There is little evidence of parental arrangements although parental consent was eagerly sought out and valued, not least because an unfavourable match could jeopardise the inheritance which was technically at the discretion of the life-time holder of the property.<sup>7</sup> Speaking of nineteenth century farmers, Thompson considers that they

*observed conventions which were partly those of class, with their concern for conserving property through social compatibility, and partly those of craft, with their concern with practical and functional couplings.*

He continues by observing that according to their position in the hierarchy, farmers tended to marry daughters of farmers of similar rank, usually from the same local district, a custom rooted in social and business contacts and well calculated to bring appropriate skills into the farmhouse and perhaps the farmyard too. In practice no distinctions seem to have been made between tenant-farmer and owner-farmer

---

<sup>7</sup> D. Levine, *Reproducing families: The Political Economy of English Population History* (1987), p.74.; L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (1979), p.51, notes that in Kent in the first half of the seventeenth century, about half of all knights gentry, yeoman, husbandmen married girls from the same status group. More recently, Professor Alan Everitt, *Landscape and Community in England* (1985), pp.319-22, has demonstrated the intensely local nature of the outlook and connection of farming dynasties in Victorian Kent.



families.<sup>8</sup>

In the same vein, on the basis of her study of a north-west Essex village, Robin notes that such marriages could occur as a result of

*certain farmers wish[ing] to cement relations with a working colleague; because marriages were sought with families which held a comparable social status; or simply because the offspring ... were likely to have known each other from childhood.*<sup>9</sup>

### Frittenden Marriages

#### (a) 1800 to 1837

The parish church of St. Mary's saw 189 weddings between 1800 and the first services recorded under the new system of registration in 1837.<sup>10</sup> These included some 21 grooms with surnames that appeared in the 1806 Tithe list of occupiers.<sup>11</sup> Of these 8 (38%) married brides with maiden names which also appeared in the 1806 Tithe list. If we include surnames which were subsequently to appear as farmers in other sources these figures increase to 36 and 17 (47%). Some notable family alliances appeared during this period. In 1815 two long established families were linked when George Day married Martha Bates, and this couple were still farming at Street Farm at the time of the 1841 Census. The Hickmotts, more recently arrived, established a series of farming alliances. In 1819 Ann Hickmott had married Edward Munk who farmed at Great Bubhurst. Hannah Hickmott married Reuben Sharp in 1834, who farmed land at the Old Workhouse, and

<sup>8</sup> F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Britain 1830-1900* (1988), p.100.

<sup>9</sup> Jean Robin, *Elmdon: Continuity and change in a north-west Essex village* (1980), p.144.

<sup>10</sup> The new registration followed the Marriage Act of 1836.

<sup>11</sup> Only holders of more than 1 acre in the 1806 list are included here.

Thomas Hickmott married, in January 1836, Elizabeth Judge whose father, Joseph, farmed at Great Hungerden from 1827 to 1850. This couple occupied Pore Farm (Stone Court).<sup>12</sup> A long term alliance was established between the Pullen and Orpin families when Robert Orpin married Elizabeth Pullen who then farmed Mills Farm [later Pullen Farm].

The Wise family also appear to have been fairly recent incomers to the parish and married into the Taylor and Bridgland families, both long established tenant farmers. Joseph Wise, who succeeded to William Taylor's tenancy with the Mann/Cornwallis Estate at part of Park Farm in 1818<sup>13</sup>, married Ann Taylor in 1808. Thomas married Harriet Bridgland in 1837.<sup>14</sup>

(b) 1837 to 1870

From late 1837, Frittenden's parish registers began to record the occupation of the brides' and grooms' fathers and during the years to 1870 a total of 236 marriages took place. As a first approach, we have set out the marriage links by socio-economic status in table 10i.<sup>15</sup> Because the numbers in some cells of this contingency table are quite tiny (for example, there were only seven marriages involving sons of fathers in the category gentry/professional, and five such daughters), and because the categories used are necessarily rather broad, our comments are restricted to the main features of the table.

(i) It comes as no great surprise to see that offspring of labourers of either sex, were highly

<sup>12</sup> For fuller debate see pp.403-8 in Chapter 13 below.

<sup>13</sup> C.K.S./A2/8, *Mr Groom in Account with James Mann Esqre for half a year's rent of his Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due Lady Day 1818.*

<sup>14</sup> C.K.S./P152/1/7, *Register of Marriages St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1813-37.*

<sup>15</sup> Based on the stated occupations of brides, and bridegrooms' fathers.

likely to find marriage partners in families of like socio-economic status: this applied to 103 out of 140 (73.5%) of labourers' sons, and to 103 out of 120 labourers' daughters (85.8%).

**Marriage Alliances by Socio-economic category, 1837-70**

	Sons of:				
	Gentry/ Prof.	Farmer	Trades & Crafts	Labs	Total
Dghtrs of:					
Gentry/Prof	3	2	2	-	7
Farmers	-	36	8	20	64
Trades & Crafts	2	13	13	17	45
Labourers	-	6	11	103	120
Total	5	57	34	140	236

Source: Frittenden Parish Registers of St.Mary's, 1837-70.

Notes:

(i) A few parents denoted as servant are here included under trades and crafts. This is an arguable decision, but the numbers concerned are tiny, and will not affect the conclusion drawn.

(ii) Where multiple occupations are given in the parish regulations, e.g. 'farmer and grocer', the entry concerned has been allocated to the category of farmers.

**Table 10i**

(ii) A clear majority of farmers' sons coming to the altar (36 out of 57, or 63.2%) married farmers' daughters. Also a majority of farmers' daughters (36 out of 64, or 56.3%) married farmers' sons. Thus, the level of endogamous marriage was high, though not so marked as among the offspring of labourers. Some examples are given in figure 10ii.

(iii) Endogamous marriage within these two broad categories was not in evidence to the same extent among the offspring of tradesmen and craftsmen. Only 13 out of 34 (38.2%) of sons in this category formed alliances with daughters drawn from the same category,

SOME EXAMPLES OF ENDOGAMOUS FARMERS MARRIAGES 1837-70

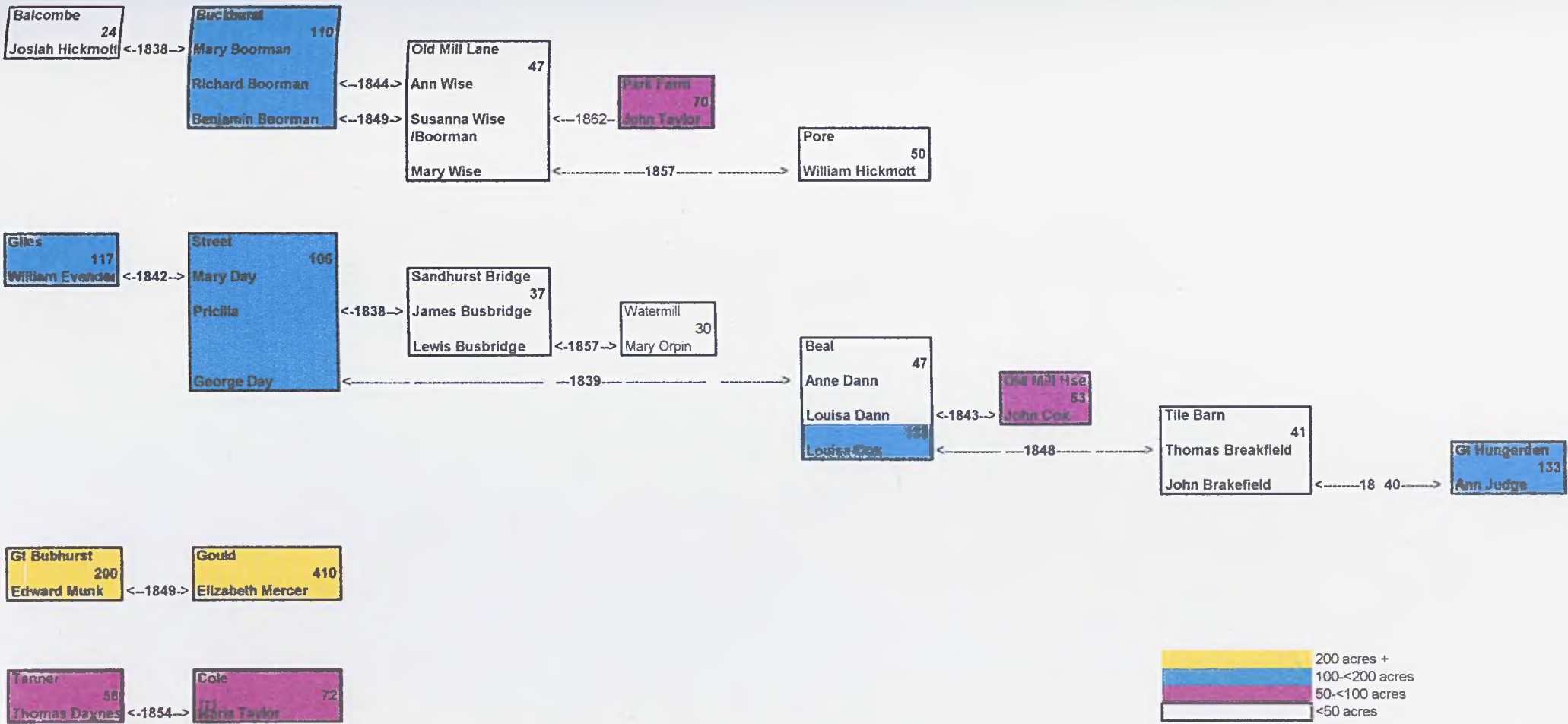


Chart 10ii

90 302

some 'moving up', some 'down'.<sup>16</sup> Likewise, only 13 out of 43 daughters from that category (30.2%) married into its equivalent, again with some 'moving up', some 'down'.

The figures just quoted, i.e. simple percentages derived from the contingency table, need to be qualified in various ways. No doubt the marriage horizons of persons at various social levels would have varied: the higher the ranking, the less likely was it that partners would be confined to a narrow geographical range, i.e. to Frittenden itself.<sup>17</sup> Also, in order to figure at all in these statistics, the marriage had to take place in the parish: some sons, no doubt, escape because their marriages were celebrated elsewhere. We cannot - within the scope of the present study - go in pursuit of them. However, there is one refinement that can be usefully invoked. While the incidence of marital alliances between the offspring in both the farming and labouring category was clearly high, it remains to establish whether these simple percentages establish a case for concluding that this was inordinately so. Some years ago, Foster proposed and used a method of exploring the incidence of occupational endogamy in marriage, and here we shall make some (limited) use of it.

Foster's approach relied, as does this study, on identifying the socio-economic background of couples marrying in terms of that of their respective parents. The aim was to measure how far the numbers of

---

16

Assuming, for the purposes of discussion, that the socio-economic categories used here correspond to a social hierarchy.

17

That is to say, farmers would tend to have a wider circle of business and social contacts outside the village, and those of a still higher status, i.e. landlords, gentry etc., one that was still broader, often with metropolitan links. See, for example, the marriage effected by the Rector, Edward Moore, see Chapter 12 below, pp.355-6.

marriages taking place either within an occupational category (A marrying A), or across categories (A marrying B, or C etc.) exceeded, or failed to reach the number expected had marriage taken place on a purely random basis. Where the number of marriages exactly equalled the number 'predicted' by taking account of all available partners, the resultant 'index of association' would stand at unity (or, 100 in Foster's tables).<sup>18</sup>

Foster was able to draw on data for several thousand marriages, in Oldham, Northampton and Shields; even then, he could not altogether escape the problem of the emergence of very small values in some of the cells produced by his analysis. This problem is compounded in the case of Frittenden, since we are using only 236 marriages altogether: it is feasible to apply the method only to the two largest categories here, and then with some circumspection. Following an identical procedure, the index of association for 'all farmers' emerges at 234, and for labourers at 145. It would be good to be able to compare the figures with indices for other rural communities, but none are available at this time. For the present, it will suffice to observe that

(a) the index of association for labourers' offspring at Frittenden (145) was broadly the same, though if anything, a little lower than among labourers at Oldham (200) and Northampton (218).<sup>19</sup>

(b) the index for farmers at Frittenden, the figure of 234, fell well short of the astronomical figures of 18,700 put forward by Foster for 'big employers' at Oldham, at Northampton (6,200), or Shields (2,028) - all, of these, by the way, resting on cell frequencies

18

John Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early industrial capitalism in three English towns* (1974), pp.260-6.

19

*Ibid.*, pp.267 & 268.

that were below five. On the other hand it was not vastly different from, for example, shopkeepers at Northampton (258), 'farm occupations' at Oldham (there must have been some); or in shipyard and metal crafts at Shields (200 and 246 respectively).<sup>20</sup>

However, the chief value of invoking the index of association in the present context is to modify the impression given by the simple percentages given above. From these, it appeared that the level of marriage endogamy was lower among farmers than among labourers. What we have now established, using the index of association, is that once account is taken of the presence of available partners in the relevant groups, the picture is reversed. Given the relatively large numbers of both labourers' sons and labourers' daughters, a great many marriages would involve couples from the same social background; on a random basis, following Foster's method, we would 'predict' 71 such unions. In fact there were 103. Farmers' sons and farmers' daughters were relatively scarce, and had they married randomly, only 15 or 16 unions involving both would be predicted: in fact there were 36.

From this point on, in keeping with the main focus of this thesis, we shall concentrate exclusively on the experiences of farmers' sons and farmers' daughters, entering into some detail and where possible adding some flesh and blood to the above somewhat desiccated discussion of marriage propensities. Table 10iii is a contingency table which shows the range of acreage categories into which the sons of farmers married, and 10iv gives corresponding data for farmers' daughters. Acreage sub-categories of the parents are not drawn from the parish registers, but derived from other sources used



in this thesis and in a fair number of cases, are not available.

(c) Farmers' Sons

From the contingency table, 10iii, it can be seen that, in all, 57 farmers' sons were married in the period, 36 of these alliances being with farmers' daughters. A brief commentary follows the table.

**Marriage Contingency Tables for Farmers' Sons**

Sons (from farming families of various acreages):		Sons (from families of various acreages)				
		Large	Middling	Small	Acres	All farms
		(100+	(50-100)	less	Not	sons
		acres)		than 50)	known	marrying
Marrying daughters of:						
Gentry/						
professional	-	-	-	-	2	2
Large fmr	3	2	3	1	9	
Middling fmr	2	-	-	-	2	
Small fmr	4	1	2	1	8	
Fmrs acres not known	2	-	-	15	17	
All fmrs	11	3	5	17	36	
Trades & Crafts	-	-	-	13	13	
Labourers	-	-	-	6	6	
	(11)	(3)	(5)	(38)	(57)	

**Table 10iii**

(i) Sons of Large Farmers (100 acres or more)<sup>21</sup>

The eleven sons of these more substantial farmers married as follows; 3 across to the daughters of farmers of similar acreage status, 6 to daughters of farmers with a smaller acreage, and two to the daughters of farmers of unknown acreage. None, however, married the daughters of tradesmen/craftsmen or labourers.

<sup>21</sup>

Large, that is, by local standards. See Chapter 3 pp.58-63 above.

(ii) Sons of Middling Farmers (50-100 acres)

Of the three sons in this category, two married up to daughters of larger (100 acres plus) farmers and one, the daughter of a smaller (0-50 acres) farmer. Again, there were no matches with the daughters of tradesmen or labourers.

(iii) Sons of Small Farmers (under 50 acres)

Five cases are identified: of these, three succeeded in marrying the daughters of larger farmers (of 100 acres or more) and two found brides from the same acreage category. None appear to have married tradesmen's or labourer's daughters.

The inference to be drawn, perhaps, is that the sons of the larger farmers were not especially fastidious, showing some willingness to 'marry down' within the farming community. For the sons of middling and small farmers, it was not uncommon for marriage with the daughters of more substantial farmers to take place. However, none of the sons of farmers with identifiable acreages chose brides from a trade or labouring background. This leads us to the fourth and unfortunately the largest category: the sons of farmers for whom no acreage figures are available. Of these, two-thirds married tradesmen's daughters and the other third, those of labourers. The explanation almost certainly lie in the likelihood that these were very small 'farmers' indeed, perhaps better described as smallholders, who were barely distinguishable in social terms from the families of the brides that they married. One example stands out in the Parish Registers. William Hayward, recorded in the 1851 Census as 'Farmer/Labourer', saw his daughter Sophia marry John Gurr, himself a labourer, in October 1866 when William described himself as a labourer.<sup>22</sup>

(d) Farmers' daughters

A similar table and commentary is now provided next for farmers' daughters. From table 10iv it can be seen that in all 63 farmers daughters were married at Frittenden, 35 of these alliances involving farmers' sons.

**Daughters from families of various acreages**

	Dgtrs (from families of various acreages):				
	Large (100+ acres)	Middling (50-100)	Small less than 50)	Acrs Not known	All fmrs Dgtrs marrying
Marrying Sons of: Gentry/ professional	-	-	-	-	-
Large fmr	3	2	4	2	11
Middling fmr	2	-	-	-	2
Small fmr	3	-	2	-	5
Fmrs acres not known	1	-	1	15	17
All fmrs	9	2	8	17	35
Trades & Crafts	1	-	1	6	8
Labourers	-	1	1	18	20
	(10)	(3)	(9)	(41)	(63)

**Table 10iv**

(i) Daughters of Large Farmers (100 acres or more)

Ten cases came into observation. A solitary bride from this category married a tradesmen's son. The rest were all married to the sons of farmers of varied acreages: three to the sons of large farmers, two to grooms emanating from the middling acreage group, three to small farmers' sons, and one to the son of a farmer of indeterminate acreage. Maintaining the same status after marriage was not especially easy for the daughter of a large farmer (or, rather, for all his daughters), for the obvious reason that, over the years, the number of marriageable daughters produced by such farmers considerably exceeded the number of holdings of that size in Frittenden.

(ii) Daughters of Middling farmers (50-100 acres)

Only three are observed. One married down, to the son of an agricultural labourer and two upward, to the sons of farmers of a greater acreage than that of their own fathers.

(iii) Daughters of Small Farmers (under 50 acres)

Nine cases are identified. Although one married a tradesman's son and another the son of an agricultural labourer, no fewer than eight married farmers' sons, half of whom married men whose fathers farmed greater acreages than did their own fathers.

Finally, concerning the awkward category of the daughters of farmers of indeterminate acreage, 17 out of 41 appear to have married farmers (though 15 of these were sons of farmers also of indeterminate acreage), six into trade/craft alliances, and 18 married the sons of labourers.

Before we comment further on these findings, some further insights into the operation of the marriage market in Frittenden are derived from the study of the form of the ceremonies, and from observations on the role of inheritance.

(e) Form of Ceremony

Obelkevich cites the apparent preference of farmers for private baptisms and marriage by licence as an indication of their emergence as a class and as signs of their withdrawal from the village community.<sup>23</sup> A minority of farming families in Frittenden appear to have been following this course. Of the 232 marriages at St. Mary's Church between 1837 and 1870, 82 involved at least one farmer or farmer's child. While in total, only 16 marriages, 6.9%, were by licence; of these, 14 (or 88%) of licensed marriages were either of farmers or of farmers' children. There was also a

solitary instance of 'marriage by Registrar's Certificate', which involved the daughter of a farmer.

There is a strong likelihood that these marriages by licence were socially driven. While some had other good reasons for making use of a licence, usually because the residence of one of the parties was outside the parish of Frittenden, most were marriages of 'substantial' families in the parish.<sup>24</sup> The four daughters of Robert Mercer, the largest tenant farmer in the parish and the Rector's Churchwarden, were all married by licence as were the daughters of other, elected, churchwardens, eg John Usborne (butcher and farmer), and John Munk (one of the largest tenant farmers in the parish). Of the 14 marriage licences obtained by farming families, five were for marriages involving families farming over 200 acres. A further three involved families farming over 100 acres and another four over 20 acres.

#### (f) Role of Inheritance and Succession

Between 1837 and 1870, there were 14 cases where the bridegroom of a marriage (where one of the partners was the child of a farmer) recorded himself as a farmer/grazier at the time of his marriage. This suggests that at least six achieved and eight maintained the status of farmer. It is not clear whether they immediately took over the farms from either their father or father-in-law, or had established themselves on another farm. In two cases the marriage was of the eldest identifiable son, but in neither did they succeed to their fathers' farms. One, Richard Boorman appears to have left the parish (even though his younger brother had died), and the

One marriage was very much a society wedding. The first wedding held in the rebuilt church was of the Rector's sister, Isabella Marianne Moore, to George Augustus Young an Army Officer and son of a Baronet.

other, Thomas Hickmott, became an agricultural labourer.

In another 16 instances, census data confirms that the bridegrooms subsequently became farmers (only seven described themselves as farmers at the time of their marriage). Seven were cases of farmer endogamy but only four resulted in the inheritance of one of the marriage partners' fathers' farms. Five sons of tradesmen/labourers became farmers following their marriage to farmers' daughters. One of these, George Worsley, took on the occupation of his father-in-law's farm, Little Bubhurst.

Where we can identify the acreages of the fathers of the bridegrooms, six were of over 100 acres and four of these were endogamic. In two of the 16 instances, the oldest identifiable son married. Edward Munk took over the tenancy of Great Bubhurst from his father. As will be seen later, an alliance was made between Beale and the adjacent Old Mill Farm by the marriage of Louise Dann and John Cox in 1843. However, by the time of the marriage of John's sister, also called Louise, to Thomas Breakfield (*sic*) six years later, John, had become the occupier of both Beale and Old Mill Farms.

Susannah Wise was particularly unfortunate if she aspired to become a farmer's wife. Her first marriage, to Benjamin Boorman, the second son of Thomas Boorman, ended with Benjamin's death. Her second marriage, to John Taylor, eldest son of the occupier of Park Farm, was to endure but John, already a carpenter at the time of his marriage continued to follow his trade, and his younger brother James came to succeed to the tenancy of the farm.

Thus, the outcome over a period of years, in respect of the prospects of newly married couples succeeding to the farming businesses of either the groom's or the bride's father, was by no means

assured. In cases involving the second, third (etc.) sons or daughters the prospects of their doing so might be classed as improbable, in the absence of the kind of sub-division practised in, say, France. But even the prospects of an eldest son, or a son-in-law acquired as the result of the marriage of one of a farmer's daughters, were by no means guaranteed. In some circumstances farmers who retired were succeeded by single women, or by their widows.

Thus, three unmarried daughters took on the farms of their parents. Jane Hickmott had taken on Friends/Weaversden from her widowed mother by the time of the 1871 Census and continued to run the farm for many years. Jane and Susanna Orpin had taken on Mills Farm by the time of the 1871 Census, again from their widowed mother. Jane continued to run the farm, which increased from 100 acres to 250 acres, and remained unmarried for over 20 years. There were also a number of cases where the widows of farmers took control of the farming business. The census records two in 1841, two in 1851 and four in both of 1861 and 1871. The acreage under their control rose from 145 in 1851 to 228 in 1861 and 414 in 1871. Two also recorded second occupations: Elizabeth Dapson combined retailing of beer with the farming of 15 acres while Ann Orpin, recorded in both 1861 and 1871, ran the watermill and farmed 55 acres. The tenure of widows delayed the succession of their sons in the case of Sarah Brackfield at Tile Barn and Hayward at Rock Farm. Similarly the entering into the tenancy of his father-in-law's farm, Beale, by John Cox may have been influenced by the retention of the tenancy of Old Mill Lane farm by his mother, Mary.

It is not particularly easy to draw firm conclusions about the marriage alliances of farmers' sons and daughters from such disparate materials and



from such small numbers. Some, however, can be advanced with reasonable confidence.

(i) There was quite a high degree of endogamy in regard to the marriages of the offspring of farmers. This is shown by simple percentages (63.2% of farmers' sons marrying farmers' daughters, and 56.3% vice versa), and by an index of association standing at 234. This index would rise a good deal higher, were we to confine the analysis to the sons and daughters of farmers of known acreage, i.e. excluding the sons and daughters of persons whose claims to be farmers were perhaps more marginal.<sup>25</sup>

(ii) Farmers, and the farming community were, nevertheless, not a closed caste. 22.8% of farmers' sons married tradesmen's daughters, and 10.5% labourer's daughters; of their daughters, 12.5% married the sons of tradesmen (etc.) and 31.3% the sons of labourers.<sup>26</sup>

(iii) The acreages held by parents, where known, do not appear to have been a very powerful influence on who married whom, within the farming element of the community. There was some scope for the prospects of both sons and daughters of small farmers to 'rise' as a consequence of effecting marriages with the offspring of large farmers; and, likewise, for 'falls' in status, measured by this criterion, to take place. In other words, the high levels of endogamy for the class of farmers as a whole concealed a fair amount of 'churning', within the various gradations of acreage.

---

<sup>25</sup> If the index is confined to marriages involving sons and daughters of farmers of known acreage, the index rises to 1441.

<sup>26</sup> Again, these figures alter if we confine attention to sons and daughters of those farmers whose acreages are known. They become 0% and 0% for farmers' sons, and 20% and 20% for farmers' daughters. But the numbers of cases on which these percentages are founded diminishes to only 19 sons and 23 daughters in all (see tables 10iii and 10iv).

(iv) This impression of a fairly fluid situation is enhanced by the rather low overall incidence of marriages by licence, by comparison with the figures for Lindsey produced by Obelkevich.<sup>27</sup> The fact that Frittenden lacked the really large farms that were more common in parts of Lincolnshire, may have a bearing on this.<sup>28</sup>

(v) The outcome of any particular union, whether it involved an element of calculation or not, was difficult to predict, as our short section on 'inheritance' demonstrates. Much depended on the situation prevailing at any particular farm. In some cases, the father might be close to retirement and willing to pass on the farm to his just-married son, or son-in-law, subject (where appropriate) to the landlord's assent. In others, he would still be in the prime of life and set to continue. This might well mean that his eldest (first-born) son would need to find another farm, perhaps by moving away, or that he might even become a labourer. In some cases, neither the eldest son, nor an acquired son-in-law was deemed the obvious successor, and the father might be succeeded by his unmarried daughter(s), or his widow, for a period of years. Thus, being a farmer's son did not guarantee his becoming a farmer (though it probably helped initially); nor did a girl's marriage to the son of a farmer - even his eldest son - give complete assurance that she would become, either immediately or in the future a farmer's wife. In the

27

Obelkevich, *op.cit.*, p.136, notes that about half the farmers and most gentry and clergy and their children in his region were married by licence, while marriage by banns was the rule for the majority of labourers & craftsmen.

28

*Ibid.*, pp.46-7. While there was considerable variation in different parts of South Lindsey, outside the marshland fringe the percentage of farms with over 100 acres was 19.3% (clays), 41.5% (Cliff) and 27.9% (Wolds). At Frittenden the percentage was 13.6%.

last analysis, a rich variety of individual experience is concealed by percentages, and by indexes of association.

(II) HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND COMPOSITION: FRITTENDEN IN THE ROUND

We begin with some aggregated statistics for the parish of Frittenden, set out according to what have become conventional, or standardised procedures, for analysing data drawn from the mid-nineteenth century enumerators' books.

(a) Mean household size

Mean household size in Frittenden in 1851 stood at 5.3. This figure is decidedly higher than those put forward by Hinde for Mitford (an arable district of Norfolk, 4.5) and Atcham (a pastoral district of Shropshire 4.7).<sup>29</sup> It is also higher than the mean figure for 'rural England' in 1851, estimated by Wall and others to be 4.7.<sup>30</sup> At Frittenden, the average household size remained virtually the same in 1881 (5.2).

(b) Composition of Households

Mean household sizes, it has been suggested, can all too easily become 'meaningless' means.<sup>31</sup> That is so, unless close attention is given to the composition of households. It has become conventional to distinguish between heads (by definition, any community will yield an average of 1.0 per household); spouses; offspring - that is co-residing children - of any age; other relatives of the household head, by

<sup>29</sup> Hinde (1985), *op.cit.*, pp.43-4.

<sup>30</sup> Richard Wall, J.Robin and P.Laslett (Eds.), *Family Forms in Historic Europe* (1983), Table 16.2, p.497.

<sup>31</sup> L.K.Berkner, 'The Use and Misuse of Census Data for Historical Analysis of Family Structure', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4 (1975), p.737.

blood or marriage; servants (domestic or otherwise, including apprentices); lodgers; and a handful of 'others' whose relationship to the household head is not stated in the census, together with a small number whose precise relationship to the household head is ambiguous or difficult to determine.

In Frittenden as a whole, the relatively large mean size of households just mentioned was not sustained by the presence of an undue proportion of lodgers, nor relatives. There is an indication in table 10v (arising from the dual presence of both head and spouse), that longevity of spouses was a shade better than in the two districts taken by Hinde, and than in rural England as a whole. Above all, in 1851, a relatively high mean household size was ensured by a marked propensity for offspring to remain at home, and by the presence of much-above average incidence of servants - in which respect Frittenden came close to reaching the level found at Atcham in Shropshire.

#### **Household Composition in Frittenden, 1851**

Mean No. of persons per 100 households, 1851

	Frittenden	Arable Norfolk	Pastoral Shrops.	Rural England
Head & Spouse	180	175	166	171
Offspring	235	215	184	210
Relatives	27	35	47	33
Servants	61	29	76	33
Lodgers & Other	29	21	18	24
Total	532	475	491	471

**Sources:** 1851 Census Enumerators' Returns and Hinde 1985, *op.cit.*, pp.44. Following the style adopted by Hinde, all figures are adjusted to the base of 100 households.

**Table 10v**

Between 1851 and 1881, changes in the make-up of these rural households varied considerably. At Mitford in Norfolk, the presence of co-residing

offspring, relatives and servants all fell away, so that average household size, thirty years on had fallen quite considerably, to 4.2. At Atcham, Shropshire, relatives and servants melted away in these years, but the ratio of offspring remaining at home was unchanged, thus limiting the fall in mean household size.<sup>32</sup> Frittenden was different from either: there was, by this time, a definite fall in the incidence of servants, but the presence of offspring and other relatives actually rose, to (almost) compensate.

Mean No. of Persons per 100 Households		
	Frittenden 1851	Frittenden 1881
Head/		
Spouse	182	182
Offspring	240	251
Relatives	22	29
Servants	63	37
Lodgers &		
Others	23	24
	<u>530</u>	<u>523</u>

**Table 10vi**

(III) HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND COMPOSITION: FARMERS' HOUSEHOLDS

All the figures given in the preceding section relate to whole communities. We now turn our attention to farmers' households alone, and might expect some of these features and developments to be accentuated.<sup>33</sup> In table 10vii, mean household size and the composition of farmer-headed households are set out for two dates, 1851 and 1881, with data for the parish as a whole repeated (from table 10vi) to facilitate ease of comparison.

<sup>32</sup> Hinde (1985), *op.cit.*, pp.47-8.

<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, Hinde does not give figures for farmers' households specifically.

### Household Comparison in Frittenden, 1851 & 1881

	Frittenden 1851			Frittenden 1881		
	Fmrs	Other	Whole Parish	Fmrs	Other	Whole Parish
Head & Spouse	178	183	182	164	188	182
Offspring	238	240	240	223	260	251
Relatives	31	19	22	48	23	29
Servants	171	25	63	106	14	37
Lodgers & Others	8	28	23	25	23	24
No. of households	45	126	171	44	133	177
Mean per 100 h'hlds	626	495	530	566	508	523

**Sources:** Census Enumerators' Returns.

**Table 10vii**

A series of points of interest emerge from table 10vii, which are perhaps best presented as a sequence of numbered points, amplified as necessary by additional information.

(i) Mean household size

As might have been predicted, farmer-headed households were rather larger than the parish average in 1851. Thirty years on, the average size of these households - though still above the parish norm - was lower by, 60 per hundred households or 0.6 of a person.

(ii) Heads and Spouses

The presence of both a head and a spouse was marginally less frequent on the farms than in the parish as a whole in 1851, and rather more obviously so in 1881. This we can associate with a higher ratio of widows and widowers in farmer-headed households<sup>34</sup>; and also with a tendency to ageing, for the average age of farmer household heads, by 1881, had advanced

<sup>34</sup>

5.1% of widows among farmer headed households 1851 and 15.4% 1881.

by 2.5 years.<sup>35</sup>

(iii) Farm and Domestic Servants

A clear line between these categories is difficult to draw because - at least in farmers' households - a male 'servant' confined to purely domestic duties must have been a great rarity, while the great majority of female servants, however described in the census, would be expected to turn their hands, as necessary, to farm as well as domestic activities.<sup>36</sup> Table 10v has already informed us that the incidence of co-residing servants in 1851 was considerably greater at Frittenden than in rural England as a whole, or than arable Norfolk in particular - though somewhat lower than in pastoral Shropshire. Thus a decline in live-in service was relatively late in making itself apparent in Frittenden, and even by 1881 it was nowhere near so complete as in arable Norfolk. Nevertheless, there are clear signs of a definite decrease in its incidence between 1851 and 1881.

Confining our attention exclusively to farmer-headed households, we can observe from table 10viii (below) the total disappearance of females specifically described as farm servants after 1861, but a modest increase in the incidence of all female servants. The women concerned may have been 'reclassified', without the balance of their duties necessarily changing a great deal. However, there was quite a dramatic decline in the incidence of live-in males. The incidence of males specifically defined as farm servants halved in thirty years, and in their

---

<sup>35</sup> The mean age of household heads enumerated as farmers was 52.16 in 1851 and 54.66 in 1881.

<sup>36</sup> Higgs outlines the problems of classification in this area, E.Higgs, *Making Sense of the Census: The Manuscript Returns for England and Wales, 1801-1901* (1989), pp.86-9.



**Incidence of Servants living-in, per 100 Farmer-headed households, 1851-81**

	1851		1861		1871		1881	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(a) described specifically as 'farm' servants	118	7	76	9	52	-	57	-
(b) all those described as servants	120	54	80	49	67	58	57	61

**Source:** Census Enumerators' Book, 1851-81.

**Table 10viii**

case, taking a broader definition of service does little or nothing to moderate what was, in fact, quite a major fall. While in 1881 the institution of farm service still had some life left in it, the implication is that farmers would need to rely increasingly on the help of their own offspring, or other relatives or kin. It is to these categories that we turn next.

(iv) Co-residing Offspring

There was a marginal decline between 1851 and 1881 in the overall incidence of offspring remaining at home, in Frittenden's farmer-headed households. This contrasts with the position in the parish as a whole, where the position was stable (see table 10vii). A more detailed examination of co-residing offspring by age groups is given next, in table 10ix.

From this table it appears that the fall in the incidence of co-residing children in these farming households is entirely accounted for by a decline in the presence of younger children, aged below 15. The explanation could lie in a slight fall in fertility (either deliberate or, more probably, as a consequence of shifts in the age or marital composition of the household heads concerned); or, it is possible that some farmers' children were sent elsewhere for a boarding school education, for the fall in co-residing

children aged 10-14 was especially noticeable). But

**Mean No. of Offspring per 100 farmer-headed households in Frittenden, 1851 and 1881**

	1851	1881
Age Group of Children		
0- 9	96	88
10-14	60	36
15-19	33	36
20-24	27	32
25-29	11	16
30 and over	13	20
All aged 15 & over	84	104
All Children	240	228

**Source:** Census Enumerators' Books  
**Table 10ix**

the most striking features of the table is an increasing incidence of co-residing children at all ages above fifteen. Quite clearly, Frittenden's farmers depended increasingly on the assistance of their immediate offspring.

(v) Other Kin (relatives)

Table 10vii confirms quite a substantial rise in the incidence of co-residing kin, to the point where, in 1881, nearly one-half of a person in the average farming household fell into this category. This figure includes the farmer's grandchildren, sometimes those born to still co-residing offspring, sometimes not. Co-residing kin, we may infer, made a useful contribution to the running of Frittenden's farms and one that may be somewhat under-stated. It is quite possible, indeed likely that the more shadowy element in farmers' households, i.e. those classed as 'lodgers' or others (usually 'visitors'), which likewise rose between 1851 and 1881 (table 10vii) conceals a number who were in fact kinsfolk of the farmer, or his wife, even where this was not explicitly shown in the census returns. As shown

elsewhere in this thesis, the contribution made by kin to the running of a farm need not be confined to those in residence in the farmhouse: various examples have been given of the hiring of non-resident kin in order to accomplish particular tasks.<sup>37</sup> These sources of assistance no doubt included at times direct (but non-resident) offspring.

The limitations of what has been attempted in this chapter are fairly obvious. No attempt has been made to trace in any detail the marriage alliances other than those involving the offspring of farmers, nor to evaluate the significance of kin contact in the wider village community, after the style of Anderson or Dupree.<sup>38</sup> We have concentrated, instead, on links between farming families by marriage, and on the role of children and of kin in supporting the work of farming businesses, insofar as this can be established through the investigation of patterns of co-residence. Nonetheless, what has emerged is by no means of negligible value, particularly when set against the background of Winstanley's recent work on Lancashire, which establishes that in that county farms tended to be decidedly on the small side by English standards; that the farmers of that region were definitely not 'peasants' aiming only at self-sufficiency but, rather, strongly market-orientated; and that there was a heavy, indeed an increasing reliance on family labour coupled with farm service.<sup>39</sup> In the round, from the evidence reviewed in this chapter, the situation at Frittenden echoed that of Lancashire as Winstanley

37

See Chapter 7, p.201.

38

This, clearly, would require a different kind of thesis. However, the possibility of pursuing further work on these lines is not ruled out.

39

Winstanley, *op.cit.*, pp.192-5.

has described it. For here also, the farms were generally on the small side, and the market orientation was much in evidence<sup>40</sup>, and here too, we find evidence of a noteworthy and increasing reliance on family labour. Such a profile was not confined to Lancashire, the north-west, or Wales, but existed in the south-east also, at least in enclaves. In these respects Frittenden perhaps had more in common with Lancashire than with regions such as East Anglia, and indeed other parts of the county itself, such as Thanet.

## CHAPTER 11

### FARMERS, THE PARISH COMMUNITY, AND FARMERS' POLITICS

Particular attention has been given by rural social historians to the gentry and aristocracy at one social extreme, and to agricultural labourers at the other. Farmers, sometimes perceived as 'the closest approximation to a rural middle class'<sup>1</sup>, have tended to be somewhat neglected, by comparison. Yet, as Holderness has pointed out, though the classic estate village might exist as a 'miniature social universe, orderly and patriarchal', only a minority of British villages lived near the pale of a great country house, and more than half of Victorian village communities were not directly under the influence of a great landowner. Most farmers, he adds, were obviously prepared to accept the premise of the social superiority of the gentry and regarded deference as 'a natural element of good grace'.<sup>2</sup> By and large, various accounts agree, the business of politics at Westminster and, for that matter, public business at the county level was left in the hands of the gentry.

This did not mean that farmers as an occupational class had no role to play in public affairs. Caird pointed neatly to the farmer's proper sphere of influence.

*To the farmer is committed the management of the details of the parish, as those of the county to the landowner. His intimate knowledge of the condition of the labourer, and constant residence in the parish, fit him best for the duty of Overseer of the Poor, member of the Board of Guardians, Churchwarden, and Surveyor of the*

1

T.L.Crosby, *English Farmers and the Politics of Protection* (1977), p.1; J.Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875* (Oxford, 1976), p.46.

2

B.A.Holderness, 'The Victorian Farmer', G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, 1 (1981), p.232 and in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Vanishing Countryman* (1989), p.12.

Through the occupation of offices such as these, and on account of their twin roles as employers and as the prime customers of village tradesmen and craftsmen, farmers were well-placed to exercise considerable influence over the lives and prospects of others, perhaps particularly in situations where gentlefolk, or landowners, were not in residence. As *The Times* newspaper put it, in 1850,

*In half an hour's walk from every market place in the kingdom you find yourself under the sway of that powerful and responsible, though unassuming potentates ... the tenant farmer is your immediate superior. The road you are riding upon, the ditch you leap over, and the bridge you cross, are maintained by him. If you damage a fence, it is his. The cattle are his. The labourers are in his pay, and the cottages are in his letting. He keeps the carpenter's bench, the sawpit and the forge incessantly at work. The village shop and the village public houses are filled by his servants and his labourers.*<sup>4</sup>

Thus, in some villages, says Holderness, it was farmers (and village businessmen) 'who formed the real elite, not the landed gentry'.<sup>5</sup> A case in point, from Kent, has been described in detail by Reay. Hernhill and Dunkirk, lying between Faversham and Canterbury, were the epicentre of a bizarre series of events culminating in the so-called 'Battle of Bossenden Wood' (1838). In the course of researching the background, Reay characterises Hernhill as a place with only one (resident) gentleman of any significance, the vicar; while Dunkirk, an extra-parochial ville, and a squatter settlement, had no-one above the status of farmer.

---

<sup>3</sup> James Caird, *The Landed Interest and the Supply of Food* (5th Edn. 1967), p.59.

<sup>4</sup> *The Times*, quoted in Crosby, *op.cit.*, pp.3-4.

<sup>5</sup> Holderness (1981), *op.cit.*, p.232 and *ibid.* (1989), p.12.

Although 80% of the land at Hernhill (and as much as 98% at Dunkirk) was owned by outsiders, the gentry cut a low profile, exercising influence (if at all), only through stewards or bailiffs. It was the farmers who exercised local power: these were for the most part tenants (or in some cases owners) of holdings in the 100-300 acre category - 'large (though not huge) by Kent standards' - although Reay's 'farming élite' included one or two owners of smaller properties. There were also (especially at Dunkirk), small farmers with fewer than twenty acres, sometimes as few as two or three, who are not seen as part of this élite, being 'barely distinguishable from the many cottagers and labourers'. The structures of the two settlements gives rise, in Reay's interpretation, to a 'duality', rather than a classic 'tripartite' division of rural society: there were those who counted and 'the "dark" village of the labouring poor'.<sup>6</sup>

It is rare to find the structure of an early nineteenth century area analysed at this level of detail, and Reay's findings have been quoted at length because they help to set an agenda for a discussion of the position of Frittenden. Superficially, there is some resemblance to Hernhill, since at Frittenden the major landowner, Mann/Cornwallis, was non-resident, and the chief representative of the gentry from 1805 to 1837 was Henry Hodges and then John Argles, like the vicar of Hernhill, men of the cloth. Moreover, at Frittenden, the range of ownership and farm sizes was not dissimilar to that of Hernhill.<sup>7</sup>

The questions that arise, prompted in part by Reay's work, can be summarised briefly, and the rest of

---

<sup>6</sup> B.Reay, *The Last Rising of the Agricultural Labourers: Rural Life and Protest in Nineteenth-Century England* (1990), pp.8, 18-32, 37-9. For fuller comments on Reay's analysis, see conclusion, Chapter 14, pp.439-41.

<sup>7</sup> Chapter 3, pp.58-63.



the chapter will be devoted, so far as the sources allow, to providing the answers to them.

(i) Did the farmers of Frittenden play the role of a dominating élite?

(ii) If so, was power effectively confined to only a section among the farming interest?

(iii) Was the size of a man's holding the sole determinant of his involvement in running the affairs of the parish, and was this influenced, as well, by other considerations, in particular by religious affiliations?

In addition, but suggested by the work of Crosby, rather than Reay, there is a case for examining the voting patterns to assess the extent to which the farmers of Frittenden acted in concert with respect to parliamentary representation. We begin, though, with the manning of the parish offices, i.e. their duties enumerated in the passage from Caird, which in his view the farmer was ideally suited to fill.

## (I) THE PARISH OFFICES

### (a) Churchwardens

The position of churchwarden was based in custom rather than statute and so his mode of election and function were never exactly defined. The normal procedure was, as in Frittenden, for the two churchwardens of the parish to be chosen, one by the parson, one by the Easter Vestry. They were primarily ecclesiastical officers, admitted not by the Justices of the Peace but by the Archdeacons, as guardians or keepers of the church and its contents. In making the appointment, the vestry had an unfettered choice, which the Archdeacon could not override. The churchwardens levied the church rate for the expenses of the church, which in practice had to be approved by the vestry and was collected, along with the poor rate, by the overseers [see below]. They also, in theory at least, performed a variety of duties related to restraining

tippling and drunkenness, gaming in public houses, selling corn by the wrong measures and eating of flesh on fish days.<sup>8</sup> However, in practice these laws, if enforced at all, were the concern of the constable [see below] rather than the churchwardens.

In common with most parish offices in Frittenden, the role of churchwarden tended to be held by tenant farmers. With one exception, the largest farmers (i.e. those farming in excess of 100 acres) were not appointed or elected wardens until 1825, though it is noticeable that, again with one exception (William East in 1821-22), the Rector's warden<sup>9</sup> farmed a larger acreage than his elected counterpart. However, from 1829, as the postwar depression showed some sign of relenting, such farmers became more involved. Among these, the most prominent and long-serving churchwarden, appointed by the Rector, was Robert Mercer [see 11i]. Aged 45 when first appointed to the position, he served 4 rectors during his near 50 year tenure. Mercer was the largest tenant farmer in the parish, farming, from Gould Farm, and including land in the parish of Staplehurst, over 400

---

<sup>8</sup> It is of note that the members of the Vestry of Frittenden were not against drink and public houses *per se*, the vestry meeting was often adjourned to *The Bell Inn* to complete its business.

<sup>9</sup> Before the appointment of Edward Moore as Rector in 1842 the appointment was sometimes made by the curate rather than by an absent rector.



Robert & Mercy Mercer  
Illustration 11i

acres in 1851, rising to over 500 acres in 1861. He is reputed to have laid stones from his farm to the church so that he could walk there in the dry. Mercer had originated in Headcorn and married his second wife, Mercy from Staplehurst, in 1835. His daughter Jane was to marry William Wildish [see 11ii], of Parsonage Farm, in 1858, and Wildish was to succeed Mercer as the largest farmer in the parish.

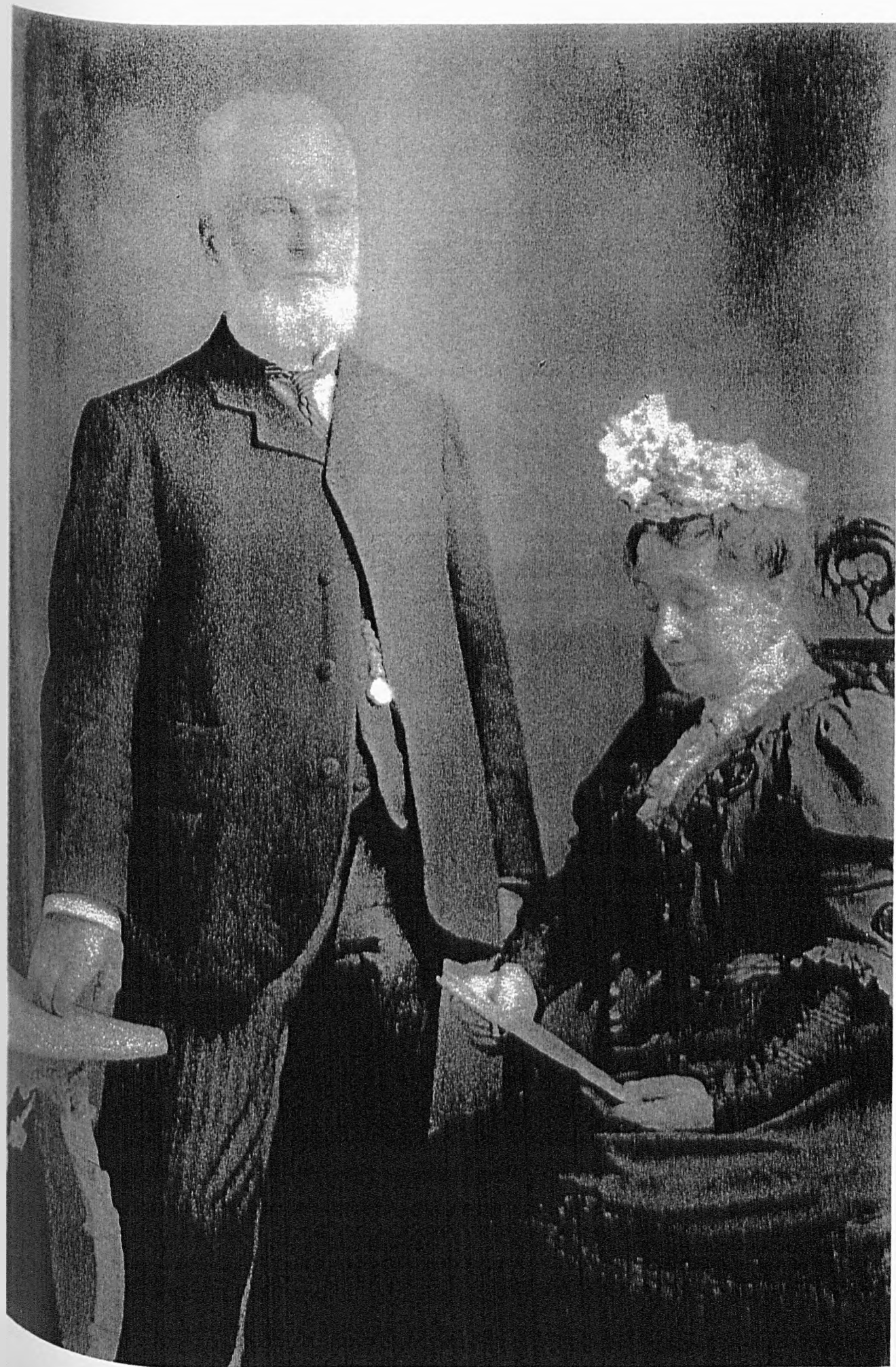
In common with the earlier wardens appointed by the rectors, Mercer acted as chairman of the Vestry in the absence of the Rector. The Rector's warden therefore tended to be not only from the nearest social status to that of his mentor, but also to have similar economic and social interests. The other churchwardens, i.e. those elected by the Vestry, were also drawn from either the largest or the second largest category of farmer, in terms of acreage. But not invariably so; William Taylor served between 1806 and 1811, and though of a long-standing family, was only a small farmer; and between 1866 and 1868 John Bowles, the blacksmith and farmer of 5 acres.

(b) Constable

The oldest and traditionally most senior of the parish offices, the Parish Constable was an officer of the Crown. He was appointed by the Justices of the Peace on the nomination of the Vestry. The Vestry might submit a single name or a list from which the Justices might choose, the system usually used by the Frittenden Vestry.

The Constable's functions were many: to arrest law-breakers, keep the parish clear of vagrants, search for men wanted on bastardy orders, escort paupers who were being removed to their parishes of settlement, find billets for soldiers, conduct the ballot for calling up the militia, see that alehouses were closed at times of divine service [at the established church] and to act





William and Jane Wildish  
Illustration 11ii

under the orders of the magistrates. The office was unpaid (except for a variety of fees), and although some observers spoke highly of the work of the old village constables, they have been adjudged a poor instrument of social control and in many districts their impact on crime was very limited.<sup>10</sup> They were essentially a part-time defence force, owing loyalties to their communities, and unable to suppress major outbreaks of crime or disorder.

In 1848 the Vestry nominated four individuals for the post of Parish Constable. William Beeken, a shoemaker, William Orpin, miller at the watermill, Stephen Hickmott, farmer of eight acres at Buckhurst, and Edward Thorpe, farmer of 50 acres at Cherry Tree.

Kent established its Police Force in 1856/7.<sup>11</sup> By the 1871 census, George Kitchen from Ash in Surrey is recorded as a 'Police Constable', living at Rats Castle, a cottage on the edge of the village, thereby removing this onerous task from within the community.

(c) Surveyor

The post of Parish Surveyor was originally appointed, under the provisions of the Statute of Highways of 1555, at the Easter Vestry. The position was unpaid until, in 1773, the General Highways Act permitted the payment of a salary if two-thirds of those present at the Vestry agreed to do so. The Act also provided that the surveyor was thereafter to be chosen by the magistrates from a list of ten or more submitted by the vestry and was to be an owner of land worth at least £10 a year, or occupier of land worth £30 a year. The main duty of the surveyor was to

10

D.Jones, 'Rural crime and protest in the Victorian era' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Unquiet Countryside* (1989), p.112.

11

It was relatively slow to do so, for already by 1841 twenty-four counties had established a rural police force - G.E.Mingay, *The Transformation of Britain 1830-1939* (1986), p.127.

organise and supervise the work which all adult parishioners were bound to do in person for six days a year on the parish roads. Often direct labour was avoided by the payment of a composition. James Hickmott appears to have met his obligations, not only to Frittenden but also Biddenden, by carting stone.<sup>12</sup> The surveyor also had to see that the hedges were cut and ditches kept in order, to widen roads and put up signposts as ordered by the magistrates.

Perhaps not surprisingly, tradesmen were well represented in the appointment of Parish Surveyors. Such men would have a vested interest in the carriage of their goods along the roads to their village premises. They may, however, have been tempted to discriminate repairs toward roads from Maidstone or Ashford rather than the nearby market town of Cranbrook which would have provided local opposition to their own operation.<sup>13</sup>

As well as tradesmen, farmers were well represented among the surveyors, perhaps indicating their dependence on access to the two turnpike roads which ran to the north and south of the parish and by which their produce would have gone to market. The Vestry of 25 March 1848 elected, by a majority, Thomas Hickmott and Edward Thorpe as surveyors. Hickmott and Thorpe both farmed 50 acres in the parish.

The 1851 and 1861 Census shows James Hope as respectively 'road surveyor' and 'farmer [at Waller Hill] of 5 acres and road surveyor'. A Vestry minute of March 1853 records that James Hope was elected Collector of the Rates and Surveyor of the Highways. This was a 'full time' appointment and attracted a

---

12

F.H.S., Uncatalogued Papers, *Hickmott Notebooks*.

13

The road to Cranbrook is, to this day, the worst road out of the parish, although this might reflect the geography and geology of the land rather than the neglect of the last century.



salary of £40. He continued in this role until James Boorman was appointed Waywarden in March 1864, at the salary of £20. Boorman was in turn succeeded by a succession of Frittenden's farmers in this new position. These appointments suggest that the task of maintaining the roads was being put onto a more regularised basis in the more economically prosperous years. By 1881 George Pope, a native of Frittenden and an agricultural labourer on various farms at previous census, was 'Foreman on Road' and by 1891 'Farmer & Foreman on Road'.<sup>14</sup>

There is also some indication that farmers were likely to fill the more ad hoc positions. When, in 1853 parish officers were required to make a return to the Guardians of the names 'of the Gentlemen ... to be Committees for the purposes of the Nuisance Removal Act', Messrs E.Munk, J.Boorman, (farmers) and G.Price (Innkeeper/grocer) were approved of by the Guardians.<sup>15</sup>

(d) Trustees of the Idenden Charity

As a consequence of the repeal of the Mortmain Acts during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, in Kent, as elsewhere, there was a great proliferation of bequests for the relief of poverty. Nearly every Kentish parish came to have at least one endowed charity, established by pious benefactors mainly in the sixteenth or seventeenth century.<sup>16</sup>

The Idenden charity was founded under the Will of Thomas Idenden dated 1566 and still continues today. Under the terms of the Will, the Churchwardens and four 'honest men' chosen from among the Parishioners

---

<sup>14</sup> C.K.S./P152/1891/33, *Enumerators Returns for the Parish of Frittenden Census 1891.*

<sup>15</sup> C.K.S./G/C/AM/1-12, *Minutes of the Cranbrook Poor Law Guardians, 14/12/1853.*

<sup>16</sup> Bryan Keith-Lucas, *Parish Affairs: The Government of Kent Under George III* (1986), p.121.

use the profit of the legacy to bestow

*to the use of Poor Maidens Marriages to the relief of poor householders within the said Parish & to such Deeds of Charity as shall be thought most needful after the discretion of the said six men and so to endure for ever.*<sup>17</sup>

The seventy years to 1870 saw only 14 'honest men' chosen to serve as feoffees (trustees). With the exception of the Revd. Edward Moore and Benjamin Offen, they were all farmers, predominantly tenant farmers and with a tendency towards larger holdings over the period. Perhaps more particularly, they tended to be, again with the exception of Edward Moore, from long standing farming families in the parish.

Because feoffees were elected by the existing feoffees, including the two churchwardens, the trustees would by nature have perpetuated themselves by selecting trustees in their own image. However, there appears to have been some independence from the control of the vestry, with different individuals holding these posts from those occupying the more formal parish positions. Individuals also held the post for longer periods than their counterparts appointed annually to offices by the parish.

The records of the Charity indicate a steady increase in the level of disbursements over the period. The level of around £50 per year in the 1820s had grown by 80% to just over £90 in the 1840s before declining to £83 in the 1850s. The 1860s saw another major increase, to nearly £102, mainly as a result of dramatic increases from 1867.<sup>18</sup> Of particular note is that the unprecedented help provided by the feoffees in 1830, the first occasion benefits exceeded £100, resulted in the Charity being unable to make any

<sup>17</sup>

C.K.S./P152/25/7, *Will of Thomas Idenden 1566.*

<sup>18</sup>

C.K.S./P152/12/11, *Frittenden Feoffees Book 1818-1900.*

payments to the Poor in 1831.<sup>19</sup>

(e) Poor Law Administration

Here, if anywhere, is the arena in which the farmers' interests as ratepayers, and the poorer elements of the village community were most obviously opposed, and where a confrontational situation was most likely to appear. It is reckoned to be no accident that it was those farmers who occupied the role of overseers, or, later, guardians who were so frequently targeted in the Swing riots and subsequent incidents of arson.<sup>20</sup>

The office of overseer was established by the Poor Law Act 1597/8 and made compulsory by the Poor Relief Act 1601. Overseers were almost entirely responsible for the management of the poor for more than two centuries. Eventually they were to become in fact, though not in legal theory, the principal executive servants of the Vestry. At least two persons were appointed yearly by the Vestry, subject to the approval of the Justices of the Peace, to levy a poor rate and supervise its distribution. They were unpaid and selected from among the parishioners. At Frittenden, the overseers operated a workhouse (see illustration lliii) which was attached

---

19

*Ibid.*

20

See Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing* (1969).



Frittenden Workhouse c1830 by John Preston Neale  
Illustration 11iii

to a farm, both leased from the Idenden Charity [see above]. This practice of buying or renting a farm on which to employ the paupers sought to make them self-supporting.<sup>21</sup> Such an approach, though recommended by the Sturge Bourne Committee in 1817 and in the Select Vestry Act of the same year<sup>22</sup>, was not capable of meeting all the relief requirements of the post-war years and in 1829 we find the Frittenden overseers taking stock of the number of children of people on poor relief. The 23 men (and one woman) had, between them, 105 children.<sup>23</sup>

Following the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, Frittenden, along with Benenden, Hawkhurst, Sandhurst, and Cranbrook (including Sissinghurst) was incorporated into the Cranbrook Union. Many of the duties of the Overseers were transferred to the Guardians of the Poor in 1834, leaving the overseers with the duty of assessing and collecting the rate, although legislation enabled the parish to appoint paid collectors under the control of the Overseers. Indeed this office was not abolished

21

C.K.S./P152/11/1,2,3, Overseers records for Frittenden workhouse references. For other instances from Kent including Cranbrook where in 1774 Frizley Farm was hired, and in the 1790s Sissinghurst Castle, part of the Mann/Cornwallis Estate and later home of Sir Harold Nicholson and Vita Sackville West, see Keith-Lucas (1986), *op.cit.*, p.111. The basis of the Sissinghurst Castle Farm and Brick Kiln Farm Frittenden is outlined in 'Extracts from a Report on Cranbrook Parish Farms, 1830' reprinted in E.Melling, *Kentish Sources: IV The Poor* (1964), pp.170-175.

22

Under this Act Churchwarden's and overseers were authorised, with the consent of the vestry, to purchase or hire, on account of the parish, 'any suitable portion or portions of land ... not exceeding twenty acres', and to employ thereupon, at reasonable wages, any person who might be set to work, under the poor laws.

23

C.K.S./P152/11/1,2,3, Overseers records. For further details of the expense involved in these difficult years, see Chapter n.

**Frittenden Overseers 1830-1870**

Overseer	Occupation	Acres
Henry Bates	Carpenter	
Stephen Bates	Farmer	38
William Beeken	Shoemaker	
James Boorman	Farmer	150
Thomas Boorman	Farmer	110
John Bowles	Blacksmith	
Alexander Brakfield	Farmer	-
David Brakfield		
William Busbridge	Farmer	-
George Carpenter	Farmer	80
John Cork	Farmer	27
John Cox	Farmer	79
Wm Burgess Cox	Farmer	79
William Croucher	Farmer	100
George Day	Farmer	106
John Day	Farmer	24
William Evenden	Farmer	118
Robert Gardiner	Farmer	140
Ishmael Gurr	Carpenter	
John Hickmott	Farmer & Grocer	24
Silas Hickmott	Farmer	17
Stephen Hickmott	Farmer	8
Thomas Hickmott	Farmer	50
William Hickmott	Farmer	130
James Hodges	Farmer	25
Joseph Judge	Farmer	200
William Judge	Farmer	200
James Large		
Robert Mercer	Farmer	410
Edward Munk	Farmer	200
George Price	Grocer & Innkeeper	
John Orpin	Miller & Farmer	54
Pullen Orpin	Farmer	30
Robert Orpin jnr	Farmer	100
William Pullinger	Farmer	50
George Rofe	Wheelwright	
John Samson	Farmer	100
Thomas Sanders	Miller/Farmer	3
David Screens	Grocer/Farmer	3
John Simmons		
William Taylor	Farmer	80
John Taylor	Farmer	80
Edward Thorpe	Farmer	50
James Thorp	Farmer	
John Osborne snr	Butcher/Farmer	40
John Osborne jnr	Farmer	16
Alexander Wollaston	Not of trade or business	
Joseph Wise	Farmer	47

Source: C.K.S./P152/11/1,2,3, Frittenden Overseers records.

**Table 11iv**

until the Rating and Valuation Act of 1925. Under the new arrangements, a workhouse was created at Hartley,



Cranbrook, in 1839/40. This made Frittenden's own workhouse and farm redundant.

The Overseers and the Guardians unlike the Churchwardens, tended to serve for only relatively limited periods, from one to three years. Table 11iv lists the names, occupations and acreages of the overseers 1830-50. As can be seen from the Appendix, farmers dominated the position of overseer. The full range of farm holdings are represented from three acres to more than 200 acres. Of particular note is the fact that Joseph Wise is represented in the Vestry book by his mark rather than his signature, suggesting his illiteracy. Craftsmen are represented roughly in line with their numeric presence in the parish. The position changed little as a consequence of the advent of the New Poor Law.

Table 11v shows that farmers also predominated in the appointment of Guardians.<sup>24</sup> However, in this case the position was filled by the more substantial farmers. Joseph Wise was also appointed as a Guardian. He initially declined to accept his appointment on the grounds that he could not write, thus confirming our earlier suspicions. The other Guardians accepted a method of working (unspecified in the minutes) suggested by the other Frittenden Guardian, William Pullinger. Of particular note is the appointment of William Hickmott. Although a deacon of the Tilden Chapel, and therefore a non-conformist, William was buried in the churchyard of St. Mary's Frittenden. There are a few hints in the records about the way in which the guardians discharged their responsibilities.

(i) There is clear evidence that significant assistance outside the union workhouse did occur, the Frittenden overseers providing a quarterly report to the Poor Law



Union.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, in 1844 a vestry at Frittenden

**Frittenden Guardians 1834-1870**

Guardian	At First Appointment: Occupation	Acres
James Boorman snr	Farmer	150a
James Boorman jnr	Farmer	150a
George Carpenter	Farmer	80a
John Cox	Farmer	100a
William Croucher	Farmer	100a
George Day	Farmer	106a
William Evenden	Farmer	118a
Robert Gardiner	Farmer	140a
John Hague jnr <sup>26</sup>		
Thomas Hayward	Farmer	170a
John Hickmott	Farmer/Grocer	24a
Thomas Hickmott	Farmer	50a
William Hickmott	Farmer	134a
James Hodges	Farmer	40a
John Honess	Farmer	120a
Joseph Judge	Farmer	200a
William Judge	Farmer	200a
James Large		
Robert Mercer	Farmer	410a
Charles Miller	Farmer	
Edward Munk	Farmer	200a
Robert Orpin jnr	Farmer	100a
George Price	Grocer/Innkeeper	
William Pullinger	Farmer	50a
John Simmons		
John Taylor	Farmer	80a
Edward Thorpe	Farmer	54a
Thomas Weeks	Farmer	128a
John Osborne	Butcher/Farmer	40a
William Wildish	Farmer	215a
Joseph Wise	Farmer	47a

**Source:** C.K.S./G/C/AM/1-12, Cranbrook Union, Minutes of the Board.

**Table 11v**

agreed to

*A Rate of Assessment made the 16 Day of January [1845] on all Occupiers of Houses Lands woods and tithes after the rate of one penny in the pound for the purposes of relieving the necessitous poor in cases where the Poor Law Amendment Act or Board of Guardians can give no relief.<sup>27</sup>*

<sup>25</sup> C.K.S./P152/12/11

<sup>26</sup> Landowner in Frittenden but resident in Cranbrook.

<sup>27</sup> C.K.S./P152/12/15, Vestry Minutes.

There is a short time series, table 11vi, available from 1856 which shows the extent and proportion of 'out relief'.

**In Maintenance and Out Relief: Frittenden 1856-65**

	In Maintenance (1)	Out Relief (2)	2 as % of Total
1856		336.50	
1857		128.74	
1858	16.82	158.97	90.43
1859	35.15	224.14	86.44
1860	30.11	226.40	88.26
1861	19.31	243.28	92.65
1862	15.43	135.27	89.76
1863	9.30	229.88	96.12
1864	13.97	217.45	93.96
1865	20.48	150.55	88.03

**Source:** C.K.S./G/C/AM/7-10, Cranbrook Union, Minutes of Board.

**Table 11vi**

Whether the continuation of out relief was out of humanity, or because it was cheaper, is a question that has been taken up by Digby. Writing of Norfolk, she notes that in rural unions four fifths of the poor law guardians were farmers, and that this group dominated the administration of the New Poor Law. Since the farmers were also the main ratepayers, they were concerned to administer poor relief on as economical scale as possible. Local administrators therefore had both the economic motive and the practical opportunity to replace the workhouse system of the New Poor Law with customary policies of outdoor relief. The decisive overthrow of the New Poor Law came with the agricultural Depression of the late 1840 and early 1850s.<sup>28</sup> The situation at Frittenden appears to have been similar both in respect of those administering the New Poor Law, and the effect of that administration.

28

A. Digby, *Pauper Palaces* (1978), pp.109-110.

The figure of around 90% of expenditure going on outdoor relief suggests that the role of overseer/relieving officer in the parish remained very influential

(ii) When the parish workhouse and farm was abandoned, the parish vestry (perhaps led, in this respect, by the overseers and guardians) resolved not to relinquish it. Without any consultation (apparently) with the Idenden Feoffees<sup>29</sup>, it was resolved by 24 votes to one to retain part as allotments. As noted in an earlier chapter, there was a prompt take-up.<sup>30</sup>

(iii) There are other signs, some trivial in themselves, perhaps, that the feeling of some obligation for the parish poor continued long after the creation of the union. Even in 1844 (a hard year), parishioners were subscribing funds for Christmas dinner for the Frittenden poor in the care of the Cranbrook Union.<sup>31</sup> While more substantially money was raised within the parish to fund emigration to other countries.<sup>32</sup>

Insofar as the power and influence of farmers can be traced through the occupation of village offices<sup>33</sup>,

---

<sup>29</sup> Although the churchwardens were ex-officio feoffees.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 7, p.237. These allotments were later to be controlled by the Parish Council and continued in use until 1954 - *Frittenden Parish Council Minutes*, Meeting 8 March 1954.

<sup>31</sup> 'Decr 25 1844, Subscription for the Dinner for the Poor of the Parish of Frittenden in the Cranbrook Union' - F.H.S Uncatalogued Papers, *Hickmott Notebooks*. The eleven listed farmers subscribed a total of 11s.

<sup>32</sup> See Chapter 7, page 188 above.

<sup>33</sup> The wielding of informal power is apt to leave few traces in the historical record. There may well have been some collusion, over wage rates for example.

we have gone some way towards answering some of the questions posed above, on page 325. Clearly, most offices concerned with the management of parish offices lay in the hands of the farmers. Labourers, unless they were ratepayers, were not entitled to be members of the parish vestry from which the officers were drawn; and the gentry were either non-resident or reserved their energies for duties in county affairs, or the magistrates' bench.<sup>34</sup> Thus, the occupancy of such offices would necessarily fall into the hands of farmers and the more substantial tradesmen. It was not a question of their seeking power over others, for as Mingay has pointed out (not, of course, in relation to Frittenden), these offices were frequently regarded as onerous and unpopular.<sup>35</sup> But they were also difficult to avoid. In Frittenden, power, insofar as it derived from the occupation of such offices, was clearly not confined to the more substantial farmers, and it bore no obvious relationship to the acreage held. And adherence to Nonconformist principles neither qualified, nor exempted a farmer from the service of the parish, except, in the case of the churchwardens.

## (II) FARMERS AND POLITICS

The first farmer to stand successfully for a seat in the House of Commons was Clare Sewell Read in South Norfolk in 1865, and even he was of the species sometimes referred to as a 'gentleman farmer'.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, farmers made up an important part of the

<sup>34</sup> Magistrates listed by Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, pp.25-35., were Thomas Law Hodges, Captain Patterson, Robert Tooth, Rt.Hon. James Mann, Earl Cornwallis and Henry Hoare. None of these were resident in Frittenden, though four owned land in the parish.

<sup>35</sup> G.E.Mingay, *Land And Society In England 1750-1980* (1994), p.145.

<sup>36</sup> R.J.Olney, 'The Politics of Land' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside* (1981), I, p.65.

electorate and were potentially a force to be reckoned with. Prior to the passing of the Great Reform Act in 1832, the franchise in boroughs was highly complex and variable, but somewhat more uniform in the county constituencies. If a man possessed a freehold valued at 40s or more he had the right to vote once at each election; but in order to do so it was necessary to make a claim recognised by the parish overseer who maintained the list of eligible voters. From 1832, the franchise in the counties was extended to include, as well, tenants paying a rent of at least £50 per annum: this was as a result of the 'Chandos Clause', named after the peer who proposed it, and it was probably seen as a method of extending the influence of landlords in rural areas on the assumption that such tenants would vote as their landlords wished. Further downward revision of property qualifications for voting did not occur until 1884, and Olney, among others, has concluded that deference towards their landlords' wishes, in the political sphere, was commonplace among tenant farmers

*most English farmers grew up in the tradition that at least one of their two votes was due to their landlord almost as a matter of course, and the tradition seems to have survived, albeit much weakened, to the end of the century.<sup>37</sup>*

Recent work, particularly that of Crosby, holds, however, that farmers were not, as this might imply, politically supine. An issue dear to the hearts of some British farmers through 1815-52 was the maintenance of protection, and they could and did seek to exert pressure - not with a view to displacing the traditional county leadership, but rather as a way of reminding political figures of their duty and responsibilities towards the land.<sup>38</sup> But even in

<sup>37</sup> R.J.Olney, 'The Politics of Land' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside* (1981), I, p.62

<sup>38</sup> Crosby, *op.cit.*, p.17-19.

matters directly affecting their pockets, farmers in the Wealden district would not necessarily find a full measure of agreement. Crosby recounts an episode at a meeting of owners and occupiers in west Kent in April 1820 where there was a division of opinion among even arable farmers, concerning agricultural distress. A Mr Winch of Hawkhurst (which with Frittenden, another parish which was to become a part of the Cranbrook Union), reported that he lived in an area where the principal crop was hops and where little corn was grown. Therefore, he concluded where one man would gain from higher prices for corn, 'twenty would be hurt by it'.<sup>39</sup>

Have we any other evidence to support the idea that Frittenden voted together to defend their interests as a class? Did owner-occupiers and tenant farmers act in unison and did such extraneous factors as religious affiliation inhibit the formation of a well-defined expression of the farmers' political concerns? To some extent, it must be acknowledged, such questions are somewhat anachronistic. For political parties in the nineteenth century were not tightly organised in the modern sense. Candidates presented themselves, says Drake, in a variety of guises (e.g. a product of a distinguished local family, a long serving M.P. with meritorious service in the House of Commons) along with 'a bagful of promises'. Candidates offering clear-cut manifestos were rare; indeed, a contemporary, Edward Cox, advised them not to get too involved in particular promises: 'be distinct and explicit in the statement of principles, but avoid a much as possible pledges as to particular measures'. Consequently, it is never certain what aspects of a candidate's background, or what aspects of his self-

*Kentish Gazette*, 25 April 1820 quoted in Crosby, *op.cit.*, pp.45-6. In the later nineteenth century, there is evidence of a difference of view between corn-growers and those engaged in pastoral activities.

presentation, attracted - or dissuaded - voters from giving their support.<sup>40</sup>

Even so, given the availability of poll-books, we can recover a certain amount of information on the voting patterns of the farmers of Frittenden, taking a chronological approach. In 1790, when voting was confined to only a handful of persons, all owner-occupiers<sup>41</sup>, the electors of Frittenden saw the return to parliament of the first and second choices of the farmers as MPs<sup>42</sup> for the county seats: they were, Filmer Honeywood and Sir Edward Knatchbull [The Hon. Charles Marsham]. While farmers may have received the MPs of their choice, it is not clear to what extent they might have been subject to outside influence under the open system of voting. The election of 1802 again saw the first and second choices of Frittenden's farmers elected. The third placed candidate, Sir Edward Knatchbull, had received the votes of the Frittenden tenants and been elected in both 1790 and 1796. He would be re-elected in 1806&7, 1812 and 1818.<sup>43</sup> In 1831 Thomas Law Hodges and Thomas Rider were elected uncontested for Kent.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> M. Drake, Open University Course Book D301, *Historical sources and the social scientist*, Introduction to historical psephology: Introduction to Units 6-8, pp.54 & 55.

<sup>41</sup> Pollbooks are discussed in detail in J.R.Vincent, *Pollbooks: How Victorians Voted* (1968), and in Drake, *op.cit.*, pp.26-7.

<sup>42</sup> The owner occupiers voted only for one candidate, Filmer Honeywood.

<sup>43</sup> Knatchbull and the other candidate, Filmer Honeywood had established in 1793 a Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture and Industry in Canterbury - G.E.Mingay, *The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class* (1976), p.97.

<sup>44</sup> This has been described as 'something of an innovation' as both were Whigs and both from the Weald, thus leaving East Kent 'unrepresented' - Julia Andrews, *Political Issues in the County of Kent*,



Following the Reform Act of 1832 the number of voters in the parish more than trebled, to 28.<sup>45</sup> Hodges and Rider were again elected in 1832, defeating the Tory Sir W.R.P.Geary. However, the election of 1835, saw the failure of the first choice of Frittenden's tenant farmers, the sitting member, Thomas Rider, to be elected, while the candidate who registered no votes from this section of the constituency in Frittenden, Sir W.Geary (who led the poll in the county receiving 2,558 votes in total), was elected.<sup>46</sup> The majority of Frittenden's owner occupiers had also voted for Thomas Rider. Thomas Law Hodges had stood and received one of the two votes available from each of 20 of the 33 voters on the register, of whom 28 had voted.<sup>47</sup> Of particular note is the use of only one vote by both John Collins and Robert Mercer and that vote not for the patron of the church of which they were Churchwardens. Two years later, Law Hodges again stood and on this occasion secured 23 votes from 37 on the Register, Collins and Mercer once again ignoring their patron although on this occasion using both of their votes.<sup>48</sup> The tenant farmers had voted significantly for only one candidate, again Thomas Law Hodges.<sup>49</sup> In 1841

---

London MPhil Thesis, (1967).

<sup>45</sup> The Poll For Two Knights of the Shire to Represent The Western Division of the County of Kent, Cranbrook District, Parish of Frittenden, 1790 and 1835. Voters non-resident in Frittenden remained stable, ie 5 compared with 6 previously.

<sup>46</sup> Andrews, *op.cit.*, Appendix A, p.59.

<sup>47</sup> In Frittenden Thomas Law Hodges 20 votes (elected), Thomas Rider 21, Sir William Geary 9 (elected).

<sup>48</sup> *The Poll For Two Knights of the Shire to Represent The Western Division of the County of Kent, Cranbrook District, Parish of Frittenden, 1837.*

<sup>49</sup> Frittenden's owner occupiers were closely divided. They too favoured Hodges but there was only one vote difference between the other candidates. Sir William

West Kent saw no contest.<sup>50</sup>

Following the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, at the 1847 election the tenant farmers and owner occupiers of Frittenden each saw their majority, but different, choice elected to the House. Law Hodges was returned despite having voted with the Tory members of the County against the motions for the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1839.<sup>51</sup> Andrews concludes that this reflected a

*feeling perhaps that the question had been finally settled in 1836, a majority of the Kentish voters were no longer interested in the issue of protection or free trade. In 1847 in the Western Division, the defeated Col. Austen was the ex president of the now defunct West Kent Agricultural Protection Association.*<sup>52</sup>

The election of 1852, saw perhaps the greatest divide between the local tenants and owner occupiers. The tenants failed to see their majority choice, Thomas Law Hodges, re-elected, while the majority choices of

---

Geary 10 (elected), Thomas Law Hodges 23 (elected), Sir Edmund Filmer 11. Hodges (3334) again received fewer votes in the election than Geary (3584) - Andrews, *op.cit.*, Appendix A, p.59.

<sup>50</sup> The background to this is of particular note. Lord Holmesdale, a firm protectionist was chosen by a majority of the gentlemen present at the West Kent Conservative meeting on 7 April 1845 to run in their interest. However, he was a supporter of the Maynooth Bill and by default therefore a supporter of dissenters standing for parliament etc. He withdrew his nomination when an alternative was nominated by a disaffected minority. Hodges had announced his intention to run, but withdrew when he found it was to be fought on the Maynooth Grant - Andrews, *op.cit.*, pp.185-7.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p.234. It is of note that the Cranbrook Liberals were among those who petitioned for free trade, p.236. Frittenden's votes were Sir Edmund Filmer 17 (elected), Colonel Austen 13, Thomas Law Hodges 16 (elected).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p.235.

the owner occupiers were elected.<sup>53</sup> 1857 saw two elections. At the bye-election in February, Charles Wykeham Martin was elected<sup>54</sup> and in the April General Election Wykeham Martin and James Whatman were elected.<sup>55</sup>

1859 saw the election of the major landowner in Frittenden, Viscount Holmesdale, to represent West Kent. Frittenden's electorate was evenly divided, in the case of both tenants and owner occupiers, between all four candidates.<sup>56</sup> However, the two sitting MPs were defeated.

The election of 1865 was the first where the candidate's party was formally recorded in poll books. The voting pattern is shown in Table 11vii. This shows that 25 people voted. Only the first Tory candidate, Lord Holmesdale, was the recipient of the sole vote cast, out of two available, by an individual voter (John Cox at Old Mill Farm).<sup>57</sup> Only two voters (James Boorman at Peasridge and William Judge at Hungerden) voted across party lines. In both cases a vote for the first Tory candidate, Lord Holmesdale, was combined with the second Liberal, Sir John Lubbock.

<sup>53</sup> Sir Edmund Filmer 10 votes (elected), William Masters Smith 10 (elected), Thomas Law Hodges 11.

<sup>54</sup> In Frittenden, Martin received 11 votes (4 tenant farmers, 4 owner occupiers), Sir Walter Buchanan Riddell, 12 (4 tenants, 7 owner occupiers).

<sup>55</sup> At Frittenden, Wykeham Martin 12, James Whatman 12, William Masters Smith 13

<sup>56</sup> Frittenden votes were Holmesdale 12 (elected), Sir Edmund Filmer 12 (elected), Charles Wykeham Martin 14, James Whatman 13.

<sup>57</sup> Such a vote is often described as a plumper - e.g. Open University Course Book D301, *Historical sources and the social scientist*, Introduction to Historical Psephology: Introduction to Units 6-8, pp.22.

Voting Pattern in the Parish of Frittenden 1865<sup>58</sup>

		First Vote <sup>59</sup>			
		L1	L2	T1	T2
Second Vote	L1	0	8	0	0
	L2		0	2	0
	T1			1	14
	T2				0

Table 11vii

The election of 1868 was the first under the new franchise<sup>60</sup> and the last before voting by ballot was introduced in 1871. Both the tenant farmers and owner occupiers voted for the return of the Conservative candidates, including Viscount Holmesdale. The Liberal candidates received greater support from the owner occupiers than the tenants.

Thus, with the notable exception of 1852, Frittenden's tenants achieved the election of their majority candidate, suggesting that while their voting pattern was often in line with the owner occupiers in the parish, they appeared to be acting with a degree of independence not necessarily expected under the open form of voting. More particularly, it might be seen that Frittenden's voters were not seeking to displace traditional county leadership, rather for the aristocracy to carry out more energetically their traditional role of protecting the land.<sup>61</sup>

Any attempt to wrest from the findings of this chapter a conclusion to the effect that the farmers of

<sup>58</sup> Only the voters resident in the parish are analysed here. This matrix is taken from Open University Course Book D301, *op.cit.*, p.22.

<sup>59</sup> Where L1 and L2 were the Liberal candidates and T1 and T2 were the Tory candidates.

<sup>60</sup> Caird (1967), *op.cit.*, p.72.

<sup>61</sup> Crosby, *op.cit.*, p.2.

Frittenden were a cohesive class, characterised by unity of outlook and a mission to impose their will on the rest of the village community in 'hegemonic' style would be inappropriate. Certainly, they occupied the principal parish offices - given the restrictions on eligibility of their 'inferiors' and lack of direct involvement on the part of their 'superiors', it could scarcely be otherwise; but there is no reason to presume that they were greedy for office, simply to secure power over others; indeed there is a general presumption in the literature that these offices were not particularly welcome, but were, rather, chores that would, from time to time, need to be shouldered. Nor was unanimity of outlook in political affairs strongly marked, as our review of pollbooks has shown, for there were (at times) differences in the voting record of owner-occupiers and tenants. What cannot yet be discerned are any hints of divisions along sectarian lines. This issue is further explored in the next chapter, where the role of the clergyman is considered, with respect to the degree of 'social control' exercised from that quarter; and the extent to which this was influenced by the presence, in Frittenden, of a significant non-conformist element.



## **ETHOS**

Boston Spa, Wetherby  
West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ  
[www.bl.uk](http://www.bl.uk)

Page(s) missing in original

## THE CHURCH, DISSENT AND 'SOCIAL CONTROL'

The Religious Census of 1851 is the peg upon which much of our understanding of nineteenth century religious practice hangs. Despite a somewhat fumbled methodology<sup>1</sup>, which has generated considerable discussion of the appropriateness of various 'correction' factors, three features stand out and are reiterated in most general texts on Victorian social history. First, attendance levels, although they disappointed Victorian Churchmen, were far higher than those of the present day, suggesting the still powerful role of religion in many aspects of life. Second, nonconformity - in the terms of 'old' and 'new' dissent - had gained ground on the Anglican Church to the extent that, in the nation at large, aggregate attendances at non-conformist chapels approximately equalled those of the Established Church. Third, the provision of accommodation, and the level of attendances in proportion to population were notoriously at their lowest in the great towns.<sup>2</sup>

One of the simplest of the various measures which have been proposed is that of Inglis. This involves the addition of all attendances which are then expressed as a proportion of the population 'at risk'.

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g. K.S.Inglis, 'Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 11 (1960), pp.74-86; W.S.F.Pickering, 'The 1851 religious census - a useless experiment?', *British Journal of Sociology*, 18 (1967), pp.382-407. The main problems centre on the fact that the enquiry requested, rather than compelled a return from ministers of religion, with the result that some were not made, or they were returned incomplete as to the numbers of sittings or attendances; and the failure to distinguish individuals who attended more than one service on Census Sunday.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g. H.Perkin, *Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880* (1976), pp.196-208.



It should be emphasised that the index so calculated is useful only for comparative purposes, and that a figure of 100 would not mean that everyone was present unless it could be assumed that nobody worshipped more than once a day. The index of attendance, so defined, gives rise to a figure of 61 (England and Wales as a whole); 49 for the larger towns (those of a population of 10,000 and over) and 71 for rural areas and small towns.<sup>3</sup>

In pursuit of variations within the rural areas, Gilbert has shown that as a general rule the Anglican church was strongest in the south, the south-east, the south Midlands and East Anglia, and correspondingly weaker in Cornwall, Wales, the north and west Midlands and the north generally. This picture, based on county averages, accords roughly with the 'lowland-highland' division commonly made in works on agricultural and rural history and the explanations, Gilbert feels, probably lie in the fact that, historically, the Church had concentrated its greatest efforts in lowland counties which were the most densely populated and which tended to feature nucleated villages: by contrast Anglicanism fitted only uneasily into scattered communities mixing pastoral agriculture with domestic industry, or which featured mining and quarrying. However, he acknowledges also that there were pockets of typically 'lowland' agriculture and settlement within the 'highland zone', and *vice versa*. In the south there were certain districts which had tended to produce communities lacking the nuclear structures, a highly integrated social order, or strongly conformist religious habits, and which showed a distinct

3

---

Inglis, *op.cit.*, pp.79-80; Perkin, *op.cit.*, p.201, assumes that the aggregate number of separate attenders was equal to two-thirds of aggregate attenders; while the report prepared at the time by Horace Mann, the official in charge, estimated this by the formula  $1\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}$ , applied to morning, afternoon and evening services.

inclination towards nonconformity.<sup>4</sup>

Prominent among these was the Weald. No fewer than 17 among 25 places of worship recorded in the Religious Census of 1851 for the Cranbrook registration district were protestant non-conformist chapels: four Independent, three Baptist, five Wesleyan Methodists, and one Primitive, one Bible Christian and three undefined.<sup>5</sup> However, in this district it is likely that a simple count of places of worship understates the role of the Church of England. The eight Anglican churches provided accommodation (sittings) for some 5,431 persons<sup>6</sup>, while the number contributed by all Protestant Nonconformist chapels was of the order of 3,300.<sup>7</sup> That is to say, the churches, which were clearly larger buildings, provided approximately 62% of all accommodation for worshippers.

#### (I) FRITTENDEN'S RELIGIOUS PROFILE

These registration district figures just given are, of course, much influenced by the inclusion of Cranbrook itself where St.Dunstan's, Cranbrook, and Trinity Church, Milkhouse [Sissinghurst], churches met competition from as many as seven non-conformist chapels. Small wonder, then, that Cranbrook has been

<sup>4</sup> A.D.Gilbert, 'The Land and the Church' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, I (1981), pp.43-57.

<sup>5</sup> P.P.1853, *Census of England & Wales 1851: Religious Worship*; M.Roake (Ed.), *Religious Worship in Kent: The Census of 1851* (1999), pp.186-194.

<sup>6</sup> 4,752 according to the Cranbrook returns. One Church did not supply this information and is assumed here to have provided the same amount of sittings as the average of the seven which did.

<sup>7</sup> 2,685 according to the Cranbrook return, with data missing for one Independent Chapel and one Baptist Chapel. These figures have been adjusted in the same way, thereby adding 352 and 304 respectively.

described, by Everitt, as a 'local Mecca of dissent'.<sup>8</sup> It follows, when the accommodation provided at Cranbrook is subtracted from the registration district to which it gave its name, that the balance need not be the same in the surrounding parishes.

That, indeed, appears to have been the case with Frittenden, where two places of worship were recorded in 1851: the parish church of St.Marys and a solitary Baptist chapel. A recently published transcription of the returns, including attendances as well as 'sittings' is summarised in table 12i.

#### Church and Chapel at Frittenden, 1851

No. of sittings	Church	Chapel
	455	40 (inc. 20 'standing room')
Attendance	Morning	192
on 30 March	Afternoon	30
1851	Evening	252
		100
		-

Source: M.Roake (Ed.), *Religious Worship in Kent: The Census of 1851* (1998).

N.B. No evening services.

**Table 12i**

There are some puzzling features about this local return, not least the fact that the Chapel was said to accommodate only 40 but nevertheless welcomed 100 to the afternoon services.<sup>9</sup> Today, even a casual inspection of the chapel (which shows no sign of having been extended since the mid-nineteenth century) suggest that it would have been fully capable of accommodating

<sup>8</sup> A.Everitt, *The Pattern of Rural Dissent: the Nineteenth Century* (Leicester 1972), p.29.

<sup>9</sup> Also, there appears to be an arithmetical error in Miss Roake's figures, on the bottom line of p.186. (This relates to average attendance figures over 12 months, but these figures have not been used here). Also, 'Flickmott' is a transcription error from the original return. It was certainly James Hickmott, whose role is discussed Chapter 13, pp.429 below.

a hundred or more. In view of this anomaly, the more reliable indications of the relative strength of church and chapel at Frittenden clearly come from the aggregated attendances. Deploying the index numbers devised by Inglis (which, as previously mentioned, offer comparative rather than absolute measures of attendance at religious worship), and where appropriate, percentages of all attendances at church and chapel, the position was as follows:-

(i) The Weald (exemplified by Cranbrook Registration District) attained much the same index of attendance (70) as did rural areas and small towns in general (71). The district was unusual in rural southern and eastern England for the comparatively high share of all attendances accounted for by non-conformist chapels (42%).

(ii) Locally, Frittenden was not distinguished by high overall levels of attendance at religious worship - at 63, the index was noticeably lower than in the district at large (70).

(iii) At Frittenden, the balance of attendance differed significantly from that in evidence in the registration district at large. No less than 77% of aggregated attendances were credited to St. Mary's Church, whereas in the district at large the comparable figure was 58% - or, if the Frittenden figures are deducted, 56%.

(iv) Aggregated Anglican attendances at Frittenden were equivalent to 49% of the 1851 Census population, compared to 41% in the registration district (or 40% for Cranbrook Registration District less Frittenden).

(v) Aggregated nonconformist attendance at Frittenden were equivalent to 14% of the 1851 census population, compared to 30% in the Cranbrook Registration District, or 31 for Cranbrook less Frittenden.

The figures given thus suggest that Frittenden - though by no means distinguished by high overall attendances - was a place where, in comparison to neighbouring villages that made up the Cranbrook

Registration District, Anglicanism fared comparatively well and the non-conformist presence was decidedly weaker.<sup>10</sup> The rest of the chapter seeks to analyse the reasons underlying this pattern, and the implications for the social life of the village.

(II) THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND: THE RECTORSHIP OF EDWARD MOORE

At the end of the eighteenth century, Everitt contends, about 270 out of some 400 Kent benefices were in the gift of the church.<sup>11</sup> Frittenden, however, featured among the remainder. The advowson of the parish church, St. Mary's, then lay in the hands of Thomas Hallet Hodges of Hemsted, who had purchased it from the heiress

10

These conclusions would still hold good were we to adopt Perkin's procedure of assuming that the true attendances were equivalent to two-thirds of all aggregate attendances. The effect would simply be to scale down all the percentage figures quoted, *pro rata*.

The situation is more dramatically drawn out if the attendances with parishes adjacent to Frittenden are considered. Staplehurst, Headcorn and Smarden were even more prone to non-conformity than the Cranbrook registration district. Indeed at Headcorn, Andrews notes that 'a strong anti-church faction had nearly abolished the church rate by 1843. The building had fallen into disrepair' - Julia Andrews, '*Political Issues in the County of Kent*', London MPhil Thesis, (1967), p.175.

11

Everitt (1972), *op.cit.*, p.59. Everitt bases his figures on the parish entries in Edward Hasted's *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*.



The Reverend Edward Moore  
by Frederick Piercy

A copy presented to Frittenden by his Grand Daughte  
Mrs Cotton in July 1979

of a former Rector. After the death of the then incumbent, a Mr Friend, Hodges presented his son, Henry, to the living in 1805. This was the occasion of the tithe dispute which resulted in the tithe apportionment which was the basis of the 1806 data on landholding in earlier chapters.<sup>12</sup> Little is known about the activities of Henry Hodges in any other respect nor indeed about his successor Revd. Archambo Argles in 1837. From the church registers Argles appears to have taken very few services in the parish church of St.Mary's during his rectory, leaving such tasks to his curate. But by the close of the decade, a new vitality was about to be infused into the Church of England at Frittenden, as a consequence of the arrival on the scene of Edward Moore who was destined to make a much more significant impact on the life of the parish.

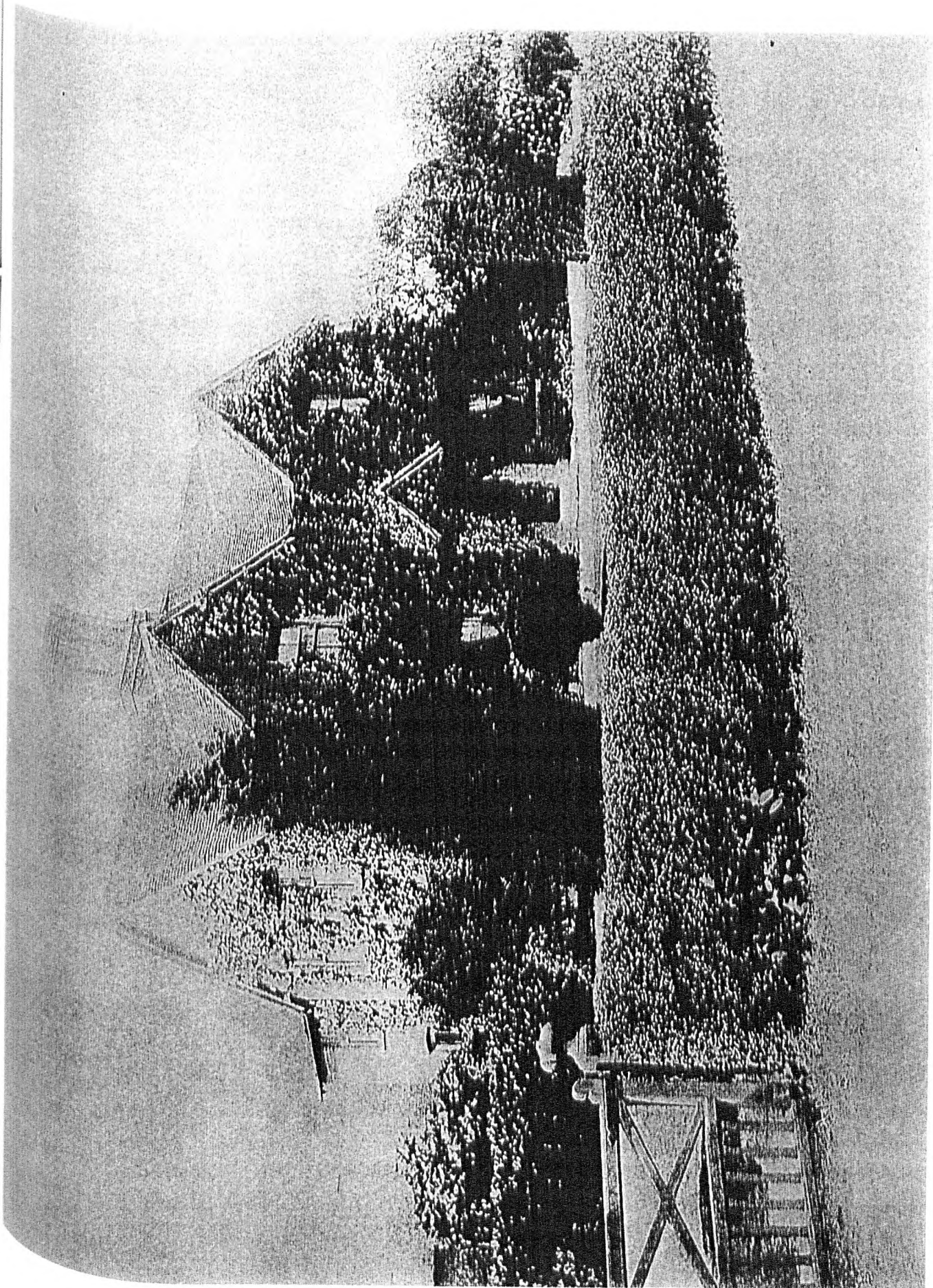
In 1839, Edward Moore (12ii), who was the son of George Moore the rector of Wrotham and a grandson of John Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury (1783-1805), was appointed curate to Argles. Eighteen forty-two saw his appointment as Rector of St.Mary's, a relatively good living providing an income of £365 a year.<sup>13</sup> He also made a very good marriage, in the same year, to Lady Harriet Montagu Douglas Scott, daughter of the Duke of

---

<sup>12</sup> See above, Chapter 1, pp.3-4.

<sup>13</sup> Samuel Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Kent* (1842), II, p.652. Obelkevich demonstrates that nearly three-quarters of the livings in Lincolnshire were valued at below £300 in 1841 - J.Obelkevich, *Religion and Society: South Lindsey, 1825-75* (Oxford 1976), p.113.





Parsonage Farm  
Illustration 12iii

Buccleuch and Queensbury, at the fashionable church of St. George's, Hanover Square. Through the Trustees of his marriage settlement, Moore became the largest single (resident) landowner in the parish. By 1848, he was owner of Pound Hill, Giles, Spout House, Little Bubhurst and part of Chanceford Farms as well as occupying the Glebe.<sup>14</sup> In 1851 he acquired Brickwall Farm and part of the Idenden Charity Land. Following a land exchange with the Cornwallis Estate in 1853<sup>15</sup>, Moore acquired part of Tanner, Street and Broad Oak Farms as well as Church Farm, thereby enabling the creation of Parsonage Farm (12iii), the largest farming unit in the parish, and the building of a model farm.<sup>16</sup> He continued to acquire land and cottages in the parish until 1864,<sup>17</sup> and he remained in office as rector until, he resigned the living in April, 1869.

By virtue of his wealth and social position, Moore was well-placed to enjoy all the advantages offered by the Church of England, memorably described by J.L. and B. Hammond as

---

<sup>14</sup> C.K.S./U1974/A1, *Settlement on the Marriage of the Revd. Edward Moore with The Lady Harriet Janet Sarah Douglas Montague Scott: Statement & Account of the dealing of the Trust Funds, 1842-85.*

<sup>15</sup> C.K.S./U24/T229, *The Devises in Trust of the late Earl Cornwallis and the Revd. Edward Moore; Draft Application to the Inclosure Commissioners for the Exchange of Lands and premises at Frittenden Biddenden and Marden in Kent under the Act 9th & 9th Vic. c118, 1853.*

<sup>16</sup> The Dukes of Buccleuch completely rearranged their estate in Dumfriesshire, replanting on the largest scale and building a series of new farm steadings to the design of the local architect - J.M. Robinson, *Georgian Model Farms: A Study of Decorative and Model Farms in the Age of Improvement, 1700-1846* (1983), p.156.

<sup>17</sup> C.K.S./U1974/A1, *op.cit.*



...city, careful of its measures  
 ...with the moral laws and as  
 the manner of the watch.

More  
 then  
 arch  
 that  
 indeed  
 Argyle

...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...

'A Farmhouse at Fristenden, Chatham, Kent 1830'  
 by John Preston Neale 1845  
 Illustration 12iv

an easy going society, careful of its pleasures and comforts, living with the moral ideas and as far as possible in the manner of the rich.<sup>18</sup>

As we shall see, Moore was not unmindful of creature comforts but in contrast to his predecessors, he was also a fine example of the new generation of progressive clergy-landowners whose

*sense of the duties and responsibilities of their station led them to minister to the moral and material welfare of what they thought of as their people, in ways which they decided were most suitable and proper, discharging what was felt to be the pastoral care of their flock so as to condition, discipline, perhaps control, the recipients of attention and mould them into dutiful, God-fearing, obedient, industrious, useful, law-abiding, and quiescent people who knew their place, kept it, and did not question the social order which made it a humble one.*<sup>19</sup>

This is evident from a review of the many improving 'projects' on which relatively good information is available.

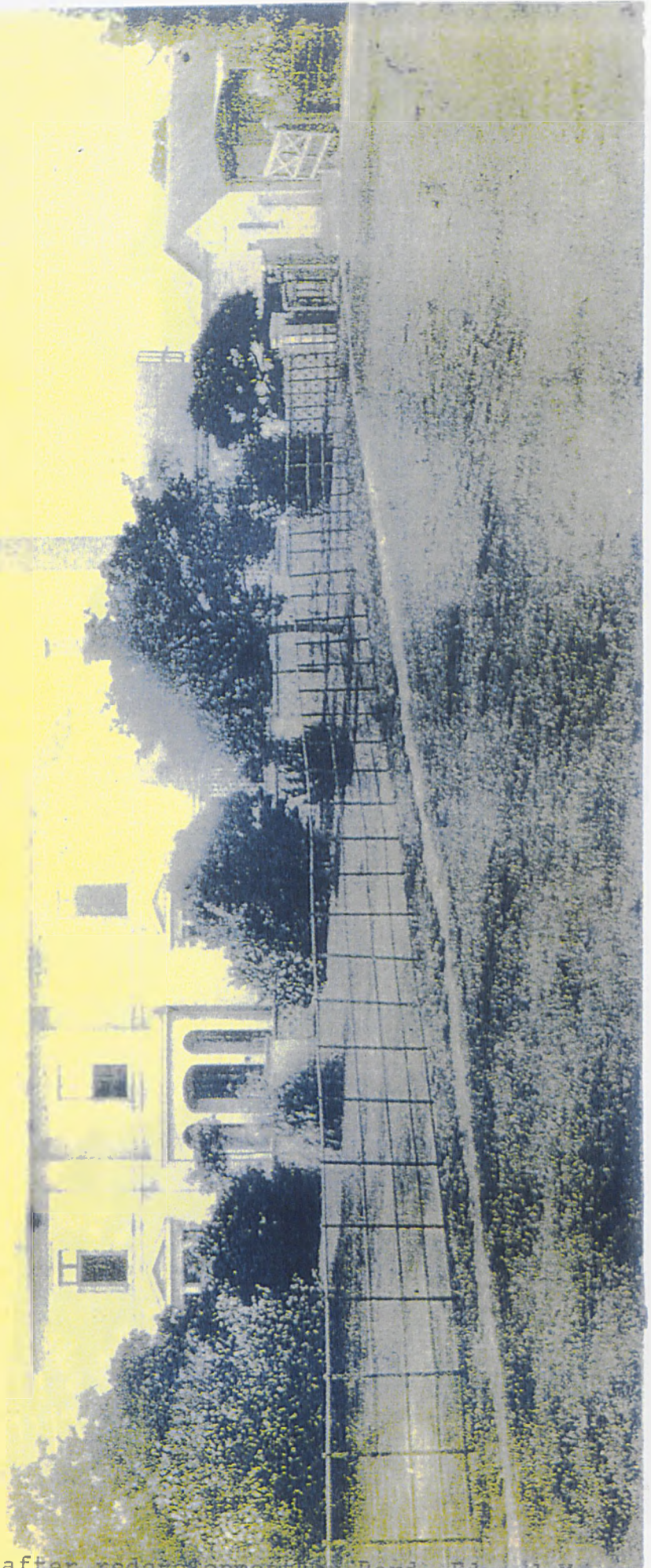
(a) The rebuilding of the Rectory, and the Church of St.Mary's.

Immediately upon his arrival as curate in 1839, Moore set out to renovate the fabric of the Rectory (see illustration 12iv). A report commissioned from an architect and two clerics was commissioned which found that it had been allowed to fall into disrepair: indeed, it was observed that the monies raised by Argles to make improvements had not been so used.

<sup>18</sup> J.L. & B.Hammond, *The Village Labourer 1760-1832* (4th Edn. 1936), pp.195-6.

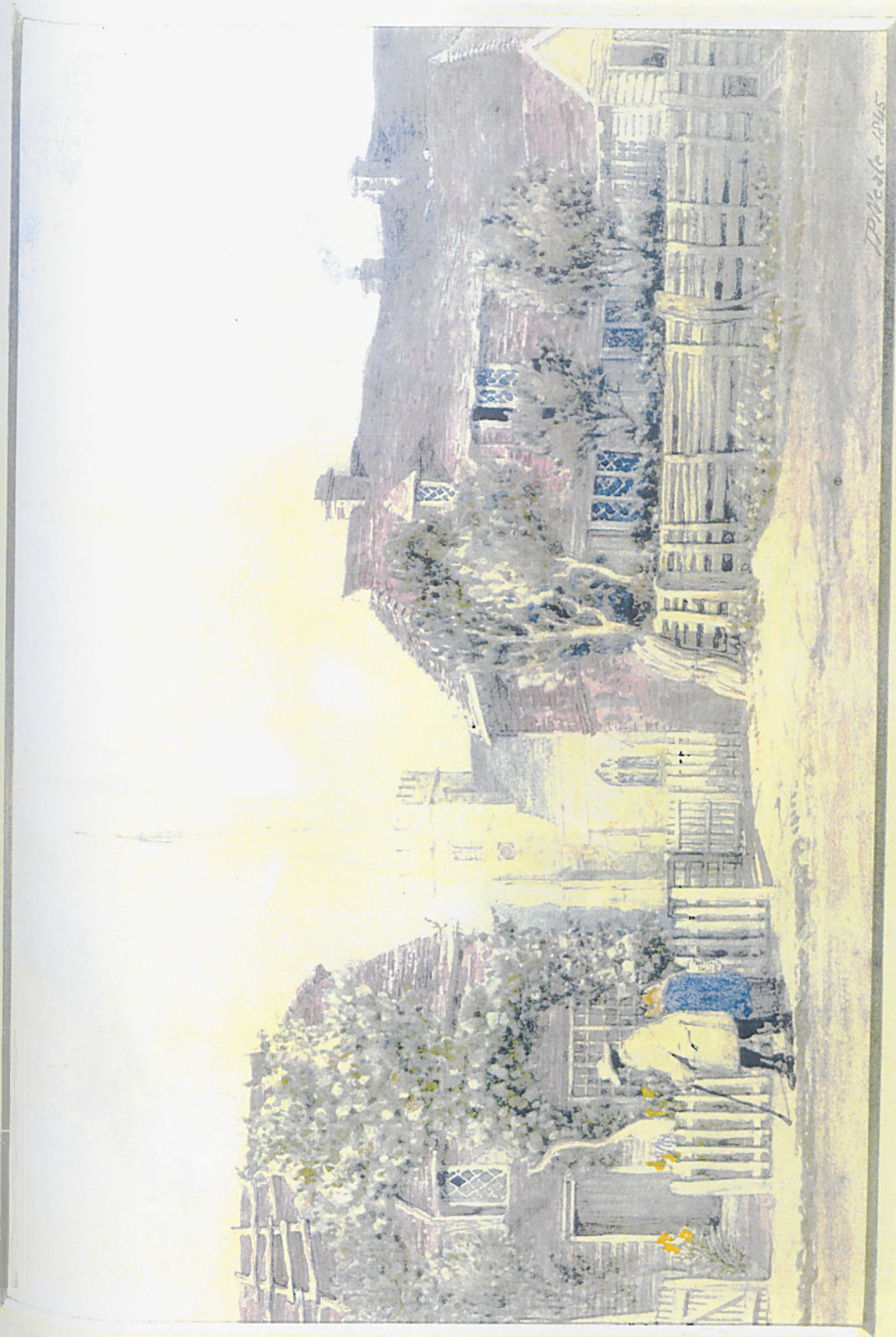
<sup>19</sup> F.M.L.Thompson, 'Landowners and the rural community' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Unquiet Countryside* (1989), p.81. This description refers to 'landowners', but it is clear from the general climate of the passage that the author meant it to apply to the clergy as well. Moore, of course, united both functions.





Frittenden House after redevelopment by Revd. Edward Moore.  
Illustration 12v





'Frittenden Church' c1830 by John Preston Neale 1845.  
Illustration 12vi





'The Church at Frittenden, Kent seen across Parkland' c1830  
by John Preston Neale, 1845.  
Illustration 12vii





Cottages and Church built by Rev. [unclear]  
Illustration 12viii

Moore now took a mortgage on the tithes and other receipts of the church, a procedure quite common at the time, to finance the work. This involved a joint and several agreement with his father, the rector of Wrotham.<sup>20</sup> The plans for the new house envisaged the demolition of part of the house and the building of a classical Georgian/early Victorian house (12v). More or less concurrently, an ornamental lake was created in the parkland behind what was styled as 'Frittenden House', using unemployed labourers to dig out the sand pit.<sup>21</sup>

Next, attention was given to the fabric of the church of St.Mary's, which was substantially rebuilt, evidently at Moore's expense, between 1846 and 1848. These works included the re-building of the tower, the finial of the north-east pinnacle being set by Walter Francis, Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury and brother of Lady Harriet, Moore's wife. This would have had the effect of reminding the village (if it needed any such prompting) of the social standing of the Rector.

An interesting - and perhaps rather unusual - aspect of Moore's approach is his apparent awareness of the value of what he was destroying by his improvements. Before the rebuilding of the church, 1846-8, he commissioned from John Preston Neale<sup>22</sup> three watercolours of; Frittenden House before its rebuilding 1839-42 (12iv), the cottages which had stood between the road and the church (12vi), and of the church from the glebeland (12vii) which by then had become part of

---

<sup>20</sup> St.Mary's Church Frittenden, P.C.C. Uncatalogued Papers.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> The work of John Preston Neale (1780-1847) were regularly shown at the Royal Academy.

the parkland of Frittenden House.<sup>23</sup> The first two were copies of watercolours painted in 1830 by Preston Neale, brother of the curate<sup>24</sup> at that time. These later paintings were presented to the 'rector for the time being', presumably as a record of what had gone before. The buildings which replaced those shown in the watercolours are seen as 12viii.

If our enquiry were to be confined to the remodelling of the Rectory and the Church, along with improvements to farm buildings on his estate<sup>25</sup>, the activities of Edward Moore would have left a legacy still readily visible in the village as it stands today. However, his energies were by no means confined to those projects which would enhance his own comforts, beautifying the church, or improve the capital value of his estate. Far from it, Moore who (in marked contrast with his predecessors) usually chaired the Vestry, was well-placed to influence, indeed to shape the pattern of life in Frittenden in a variety of other respects. The sources permit two of these to be dealt with in considerable detail.

23

The first of these was described on the original as 'A Red Brick House and Church at Frittenden, near Sissinghurst', the copy inscribed on the reverse 'A Farmhouse at Frittenden Church, Kent 1830' signed and dated 1845. The second was described on the original as 'The Church at Frittenden, Kent, seen between cottages', the copy inscribed on the reverse 'Frittenden Church, Kent' signed and dated 1845. The third was described on the original as 'The Church at Frittenden, Kent, seen across Parkland', the copy signed and dated 1845.

The three 1845 watercolours are held in the current rectory, a more modest house than that occupied by the Revd. Moore, while two originals have recently found their way back to the parish, via Norfolk and an auction house.

24

Edward Preston Neale appears in the Parish Registers as Curate from December 1825 to May 1831.

25

For example at Cherry Tree Farm and Parsonage Farm, see pp.121 & 360.

(b) The Encouragement of Self-Help

It is surely no coincidence that the establishment of the Frittenden Provident Society in 1839 coincided with the arrival of Edward Moore as curate. Friendly Societies, in Howkins' estimation, were the most representative association to which work people and small tradesmen were likely to be attached.<sup>26</sup> Gosden, in a book which may be described as the corner-stone of the history of friendly societies was, however, of the view that the friendly society movement was inherently much weaker in the countryside than in the towns and indeed called attention to the existence of county-based societies as a sign that in the rural areas, activities of this kind were very dependent on leadership given by the labourers' 'betters', usually men of the cloth.<sup>27</sup> The County Society of Kent, formed in 1828 by the Revd. John Hodgson was a case in point, comprising 'honorary' as well as 'benefit' members, and managed by 'boards of directors' at certain towns in Kent, mainly Maidstone.<sup>28</sup> Not all the clergy welcomed or encouraged Friendly Societies, or 'benefit clubs', however. Among their critics, the Revd. J.Y.Stratton, rector of Ditton, Kent, wrote in 1870 that many labourers wasted their wages in 'so called benefit clubs', as the poor rate was the 'virtual superannuation fund of the farm labourers' societies, and that the 'annual election was the trap-door by which the member was transferred to the rate'.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> A.Howkins, *Whitsun in 19th Century Oxfordshire* (1973) quoted in D.Neave, *Mutual Aid In The Victorian Countryside: Friendly Societies in the Rural East Riding 1830-1914* (1991), p.4.

<sup>27</sup> P.H.J.H.Gosden, *The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875* (1961), p.52.

<sup>28</sup> Revd.J.Y.Stratton, 'Farm Labourers, their Friendly Societies, and the Poor Law', *J.R.A.S.* 2nd Series, VI (1870), p.106.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.87-119.

At Frittenden, the Provident Society that was ushered into existence by Edward Moore was to survive for nearly a hundred years, finally closing down in 1939. As such, its longevity as an independent society was remarkable, surviving for many years what has been referred to as the onward march of the affiliated orders which were busy mopping up village clubs in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>30</sup> From the outset its honorary members, the wealthier members of the parish, were expected to subscribe funds to the society to provide adequate reserves to meet the demands of its members. Officers of the society were drawn from the farmers and tradesmen in the village, not from among the labourers themselves.<sup>31</sup> It was the existence of these honorary members and subscriptions that, in Gosden's view, enabled local societies to survive, because they were able to charge less than the affiliated orders to ordinary members - though they also typically paid out lower benefits.<sup>32</sup>

It is this feature which has caused some historians to regard local societies, such as that of Frittenden, as agencies of social control. This is the view adopted, for example, by Howkins who also sees

---

<sup>30</sup> Gosden, *op.cit.*, pp.71-2.

<sup>31</sup> The earliest, revised, rules available for the Provident Society, 1904, and press cuttings from the turn of the century suggest this - F.H.S Uncatalogued Papers, *Articles of the Frittenden Provident Society. As Revised 1904*; . This might be felt to contrast with Gosden's statement that 'in the local societies there was no distinction of occupation or social class between the membership and those who acted as leaders of the society for the time being' - Gosden, *op.cit.*, p.88.

It is perhaps of note that the directories make no mention of the existence of the society, nor of its officers. However the *Vox Stellarum Almanack* of 1850 refers to the Frittenden Provident Society having a President, Treasurer & Deputy, Secretary, two Auditors, 10 Committee Men and four Stewards.

<sup>32</sup> Gosden, *op.cit.*, p.80.

them as 'a means of relieving the rates by encouraging self-help on the part of the working man'.<sup>33</sup> The emphasis in his account on the dominating role of the propertied elements of rural society has more recently been contested. A detailed study of friendly societies in the East Riding of Yorkshire contends that in reality, the functions of honorary members were largely decorative, and that the ordinary members kept most of the power and important decision-making in their own hands.<sup>34</sup> Even more recently, Lord has taken a similar view, based on southern as well as northern evidence.<sup>35</sup> The implication of these revisionary arguments is that the humble folk who made up the ordinary membership should by no means be regarded as formed of clay, capable of being moulded by their betters following a hidden agenda of social control.<sup>36</sup>

It is of course possible that branches of the affiliated orders enjoyed a greater degree of independence than purely local clubs. On the face of things, the society at Frittenden might accommodate itself quite neatly in the Howkins' model. Nonetheless, whatever the underlying motive for its creation, the Provident Fund of Frittenden was a successful institution, boasting in 1894 a reserve fund of over £1,072 and a membership of 220. What evidence we have suggests that honorary members ran it with, at least, a light rein. In particular, there are few signs of any attempt to curtail or redirect the social

---

<sup>33</sup> Howkins, *op.cit.*, p.23. [check]

<sup>34</sup> Neave, *op.cit.*

<sup>35</sup> E.Lord, 'The Friendly Society Movement and the Respectability of the Rural Working Class', *Rural History*, 8, 2 (1997), pp.165-173.

<sup>36</sup> Their arguments parallel the observations of Crossick, on the artisans of Kentish London. See G.Crossick, *An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London 1840-1880* (1978), p.197.

activities of the club along approved lines. The business of the society was conducted at *The Bell Inn* on the first Monday of every month<sup>37</sup> while the Club Day, held in May, was an annual event in the village. Members would assemble at the Bell Inn and parade behind a band<sup>38</sup> to the Church for a service conducted by Edward Moore or his successors. After this they would parade the village before having a 'capital dinner', usually in the field adjacent to *The Bell Inn*. The early twentieth century saw the construction of a 'club house' immediately behind *The Bell Inn*. It still stands today, and glazed earthenware pint pots bought for use on such occasions can still be found in the parish. Whatever motives lay behind the establishment of this society, its longevity suggests that right down to the eve of World War II, it made a valued contribution to the welfare of the parish.

In addition, nineteenth century Frittenden exhibited two other forms of mutual self-help. At *The Bell Inn*, there was a 'Slate Club' of unknown date. It is not known whether this club received any support from Moore and the more elevated strata of Frittenden's society, although this seems improbable.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, Moore is known to have lent support to/encouraged

37

Gosden notes that registration was refused to any society which made formal provision in their rules for the payment of liquor out of the club's funds. However, the Royal Commission 1871-4 showed that such expenditure was made by both societies registered under an Act of 1850 and unregistered societies - Gosden, *op.cit.*, p.117.

38

This band would originally have probably been the 'Frittenden Band Chaps', a group of players who became the topic of music hall jokes in the late nineteenth century notably on the stage at Drury Lane [see A.W.Tiffin, *The Goudhurst Coronation Book* (1937), pp.757-8]. The band itself probably emerged from a church band which pre dated the installation of the church organ.

39

Slate Clubs of this nature are seen as a competitor with the Provident Society.



the formation of a penny savings bank in 1861. This operated from the School Library and was open every Monday morning at 10 o'clock. Payments into the bank could be made to any amount, however small. Withdrawals could be the whole or any portion of the balance, after one week's notice, or in case of emergency without notice. Unfortunately, no records appear to have survived. Finally, Frittenden was represented on the 'Cranbrook £50 Burial Society'. Robert Mercer filling the role as Frittenden's Committee Member for many years.<sup>40</sup>

(c) Village Schooling

The improved provision of village schools is seen by Jones as part of a transformation in attitudes to the welfare of labour, once its supply had begun to decrease.<sup>41</sup> It is also often seen in a somewhat more sinister light as another form of social control<sup>42</sup>: even F.M.L.Thompson, despite his general mistrust of such a concept, acknowledges that schools were 'frequently regarded as a more effective and enduring instrument of social order than troops, police, or magistrates'.<sup>43</sup> In the Weald, there was scarcely a parish which did not possess a good school long before school boards were established under the Education Act

---

<sup>40</sup> Cranbrook Museum, *Vox Stellarum Almanack* 1849 *et. seq.*

<sup>41</sup> E.L.Jones, 'English Farming before and during the Nineteenth Century', *ECHR.*, 15 (1962-3), p.150.

<sup>42</sup> For example by J.S.Hurt, 'Landowners, Farmers, Clergy and the Financing of Rural Education before 1870', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 1 (1968), pp.6-13; and by J.Obelkevich, *Religion and Society: South Lindsey, 1825-75* (Oxford 1976), pp.80, & 314.

<sup>43</sup> F.M.L.Thompson, 'Landowners and the rural community' in G.E.Mingay (Ed.), *The Unquiet Countryside* (1989), p.89.

of 1870.<sup>44</sup>

At Frittenden there is evidence of a 'Dame School', the Overseers Accounts record the payment to Dame Hope of 4s in May 1800 for schooling.<sup>45</sup> It appears to have operated in the Workhouse and to have been replaced by one under the stewardship of Edward Murphy who was recorded in the Rate Book from 1838 as incurring a rate of £1-10-00 for a 'School Room'.<sup>46</sup> Murphy was also recorded as the schoolmaster, aged 60, in the 1841 Census living in The Street, the same dwelling as Hariott Dann, aged 35, described as Schoolmistress.<sup>47</sup>

With the arrival of Moore, Frittenden acquired both a parson and local landowner who was interested in improvements in this sphere. In a Vestry Minute of 1840, the year after his arrival as curate, approval was given for the acquisition of part of the 'Church Field' for the erection

*of two school houses and a house for the master and mistress and a garden and play ground for the use of the boys and girls separate.*<sup>48</sup>

Conveyance of the land did not finally take place until 1843 and by 1844 meetings of the Vestry were taking place in the National School Rooms. The precise date when the National Schools [see 12ix] were opened is not

---

<sup>44</sup> Robert Furley, *A History of the Weald of Kent* (1871), II, II, p.674.

<sup>45</sup> C.K.S./P152/11/1,2,3, *Overseers records*.

<sup>46</sup> C.K.S./P152/8/2, *Vestry Minutes*.

<sup>47</sup> After the establishment of the National Schools Murphy was recorded as the Postmaster, in the Census of 1851.

<sup>48</sup> C.K.S./P152/8/2, *Vestry Minutes*, 1840, Notice: the parishioners are requested to meet at the vestry on Saturday the 8th of August at 7 o'clock in the evening to give their consent to the appropriation of a part of the church field as a site for the erection of new School Houses and to form a garden and play ground for use the same.



F R I T T E N D E N

S C H O O L H O U S E

National Schools, Frittenden early in the twentieth century.  
Illustration 12ix

known but Kelly's Directory of 1858 records Frittenden as 'having National Schools which were erected in 1845 for 211 children'.<sup>49</sup>

Control of the Schools was vested in eight trustees. Edward Moore, the Rector, and two large Frittenden landowners resident in adjacent parishes, Cooke Tylden Pattenson, Biddenden, and Henry Hoare, Staplehurst, who were styled as the Esquires. Edward Munk, tenant of 200 acres at Great Bubhurst and owner of 12 acres of Link Farm, William Pullinger, owner occupier of 50 acres at Lowlands Farm, and Robert Orpin, tenant of 100 acres of Mills Farm represented the farmers. The final two places were taken by John Usbourne, a butcher and farmer of 40 acres, and John Bowles, the blacksmith.

Many aspects of the day-to-day running of the school are of a kind familiar to historians of education, and they are covered in a useful local history publication.<sup>50</sup> They will therefore, be only briefly summarised.

i) Edward Moore and his successors as rector, attended the school three times a week and undertook all the religious teaching. The Diocesan Inspector came once a year to test the children in their religious knowledge. The Church had complete jurisdiction over staff appointments, dismissals, and religious teaching. The children had to go to all the church festivals. They went to services at 11am and 3pm every Wednesday and Friday during Lent, and every day during Easter week.

(ii) The church had complete jurisdiction over staff appointments, and dismissals. Initially, the school was mastered by William and Elizabeth Hudson, with some

---

<sup>49</sup> Quoted in Bill & Brenda Grogan, *Frittenden School: The First Hundred Years* (1981), p.3.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

monitorial assistance.<sup>51</sup> Following the introduction of the 'Revised Code' in 1862/3 the Hudsons, not being certified teachers, were replaced by John and Elizabeth Hollman.

(iii) The premises were divided into a very large room for the mixed school (over 6 years old) and the Infants Division (4-6 year olds) in the small room that faces the road. The big room housed the majority of children divided into six standards, who would have probably sat in rows or lines and been taught usually, in the 1860s, by Mr Hollman. The Infants Division was a gallery, a series of tiered seats in front of which was a flat top where the children rested their slates. In her early years in the post Mrs Hollman would have been in the Infants Division most of her time.

(iv) In the first decades of the school, summer holidays started at the end of August and went on until mid-October. These were the 'hop picking holidays', but usually right up to the end of October the number of children in school was very small. Absenteeism was rife: we have seen, the school was designed to cope with around 200 pupils but the Grogans suggest that the Hollmans were lucky if they achieved 40%-50% attendance.<sup>52</sup>

(v) The 1870 Education Act introduced annual inspections of the buildings, accommodation and facilities. Frittenden's log books show that ventilation was insufficient, windows were too small, seating inadequate (they were sitting eight to a desk

---

<sup>51</sup> For example, Sarah Sexton who in 1851 was aged 14 and the daughter of a widowed nurse. This kind of appointment may suggest a broader welfare concern for a disadvantaged parishioner. Emma Smith was retained, after leaving school, as teacher of the lowest class for 3s per week in 1866, at the age of only eleven. In 1870 Fanny Boorman was engaged as teacher 'instead of using the elder girls' - *Ibid.*, p.6.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7. The proportion of children described as 'scholars', see p.380 below.

at this time) in this now 25 year old building. Furthermore, the playground surface needed attention, there was poor lighting, insufficient warmth and the stoves 'belched smoke'.<sup>53</sup>

Nonetheless, with all its shortcomings the school was an important institution, and we might go on to ask, for whom was it intended? Not for the children of Edward Moore himself, for his children were educated at home, as indeed were the offspring of the Wolleston family, occupants of the second largest house in the parish, Camden Lodge (Comenden Manor]. But, otherwise, the National Schools enjoyed a monopoly, so far as day-schooling was concerned. There was no British and Foreign, or sectarian day school, either in Frittenden itself or indeed in the entire registration district of which it formed a part.<sup>54</sup> Farmers and tradesmen, therefore, had the choice of sending their offspring out of the village to a private day school<sup>55</sup>, or sending them to Frittenden's National School. There was the further choice, of course, of confining their children's education to Sunday School only - again, an Anglican monopoly in Frittenden<sup>56</sup> - or giving them no education whatsoever, since school attendance was not yet compulsory. However, it is reasonable to surmise that few, if any, farmers and most tradesmen would not seek to ensure a reasonable modicum of education and would, therefore have used the local National School, along with the Church Sunday School, although a few of

---

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7.

<sup>54</sup> The 1851 Education Census, Cranbrook Return, identifies 14 public day schools, nine of these either National Schools or supported by the Church of England. (The other five comprise 1 workhouse school, one grammar, three 'other endowed').

<sup>55</sup> There were 26 of these in the Cranbrook district, of a size averaging 25 pupils.

<sup>56</sup> There is no indication - in Roake - that there existed a Baptist Sunday School.



their offspring, no doubt, were privately educated. It is sometimes suggested that farmers were loathe to dip into pockets to assist financially<sup>57</sup>, and that landlords, with exceptions, were also sparing in their contributions, leaving the onus largely with the local clergyman to solicit or provide much of what was necessary.<sup>58</sup> At Frittenden, perhaps reflecting a lack of choice in the matter and recognising that the National School would provide the education of their own children, there are no signs of farmer opposition. Three, as we have seen, of the trustees were farmers, and there is a record of another leaving a substantial sum to the school. On 2 May 1854 £50 was paid to the School Manager, being a legacy from the late Mr Henry Burden, Farmer, of this Parish who died 4th April 1853 the income from which was to be put

*towards the education of poor children belonging to the said Parish of Frittenden and the maintenance of a School therein in which the doctrine and principles of the Church of England shall be maintained and taught for ever.*<sup>59</sup>

So far as the labourers were concerned, schooling outside the village was not an option, and depending on their household means and the value set on learning, the amount of education received by their children

---

<sup>57</sup> For example by R.C.Russell, *The Foundation and Maintenance of Schools for the Poor* (Lindsey 1965), pp.22-5, and J.S.Hurt, *op.cit.*, p.8.

<sup>58</sup> Thompson (1989), *op.cit.*, p.97.

<sup>59</sup> Parochial Church Council of St.Mary's Church Frittenden, Parish Record, *Extract of the Will of Henry Burden dated 30th March 1853.* - This sum was paid into the hands of the Rector 1st May 1854 - and by him afterwards March 12 1856 handed over to the Official Trustees of Public Charities who purchased with it Consols to the amount of fifty four pounds 2s 7d on the 19th March 1856 in the names of the Rector and the Churchwardens of the Parish of Frittenden. The dividends being directed to be paid for the present to the Rector on their behalf. The Voucher for the Stock above-mentioned was then placed in the Parish Chest.

would depend on whether (and for what length of time) they attended the National School, the Sunday School, or neither of these.

Working from the census enumerators' returns of children denoted as 'scholars', we can estimate the extent to which elementary education reached out to the offspring of these elements of the population.

The downward lurch in the figures when the 1851 and 1861 figures are compared is disturbing and inexplicable, except perhaps in terms of a shift in census classification<sup>60</sup>; no other possible reason for such an

**Numbers and Proportions of Children aged 6-14  
described as 'scholars' in Censuses, 1851-71,  
by Socio-Economic Status of Parents**

	1851	1861	1871
<u>(a) Numbers</u>			
Farmers	33	26	37
Tradesmen	17	11	18
Agricultural Labourers	41	40	78
Others	11	5	
5			
Total	102	82	138
<u>(b) Proportions among all children in these categories</u>			
Farmers	67	52	64
Tradesmen	68	52	58
Agricultural Labourers	38	38	65
Others	44	33	13
All categories	49	43	64

**Sources:** Enumerator's returns of 1851, 1861, 1871. Note that in 1851 farmers' children of this age were not consistently recorded as scholars. Those classified 'farmer's son' and 'farmer's daughter' between the age of 6 and 14 have been added to compensate for this, to reach the figure of 33 given above.

**Table 12x**

60

This shift is particularly surprising since the national figures show an 8.8% increase in 5 to 15 year olds described as scholars (from 2,405,442 to 2,616,731). The Census general report indicates no change in classification policy.

(apparent) set-back to education comes to mind. The commentary which follows is based on a comparison between the 1851 and 1871 returns.

First, the proportion of farmers' children under education approaches two-thirds, at both censuses, marking no great change. We can tell, too, from a closer inspection of the enumerators' returns, that farmers had a greater proportion of their children in the 10-14 year old age-group, in school; indeed, in one case, a farmer's son aged 15 is recorded as a scholar - the son of John Honess, in 1861. Although, as suggested above, some may have been educated elsewhere, the farmers' offspring would, in many cases, have been educated at the National School at Frittenden. Much the same pattern, from the tables, was true for the offspring of tradesmen.

Secondly, involvement in full-time education was comparatively low for the offspring of agricultural labourers in 1851, and their exposure to it was in all probability relatively short. Of the 41 'scholars' in these families in 1851, only one was aged beyond 13; of the 40 identified in 1861, only one surpassed the age of twelve. This is not to say that the labourers' were totally devoid of any education. In the district as a whole in 1851, there were altogether 18 Sunday schools with an aggregate attendance of 1,642 pupils (against 1,655 in all day schools).<sup>61</sup> At Frittenden itself, according to the Religious Census, a total of 73 Sunday School pupils were registered at the morning service at St.Mary's and the same number in the afternoon. This figure is equivalent to 36.3% of all children aged 6-14 in Frittenden, and substantially exceeds the numbers of Sunday school pupils available even if all farmers' and tradesmen's children had attended. By 1871 there was a marked upward shift in the numbers and proportions of

61

B.P.P., *1851 Census Reports and Tables on Education in England and Wales*, p.293.

agricultural labourers' children who recorded as scholars; it would appear, therefore, that the offspring of this class, relatively disadvantaged in 1851, had reached the point where (as a proportion - see table 12x) it was now in line with those for the children of tradesmen and craftsmen.

This came about before the passing of a major act, that of 1870, and indeed before elementary education became compulsory. A crude attempt at measuring the impact of the school can be made by calculating the numbers of brides and grooms coming to the altar and signing the register with their mark. Such an analysis suggests that before the impact of the school could be felt, about 30% signed the register with a mark while after the school had been established for more than a generation, this level had been reduced to about 12%.<sup>62</sup> If this interpretation is correct, a great deal of credit attaches to the performance of the voluntary system in Frittenden and especially to the prime movers of it, exemplified by Edward Moore.

(d) Edward Moore's Incumbency: an Overview

As a by-product of the re-building of St.Mary's Church, the old musical band which had accompanied the hymns was replaced by an organ. Moore was also responsible for instituting a series of harvest homes, probably as a way of curtailing the excesses of traditional celebrations. These were inaugurated in 1863 and Moore considered these to be so successful that he published a small booklet on how to organise

Three ten year periods were taken. From January 1845 (the year of the schools' foundation) to December 1854 there were some 54 marriages. Of the 108 individuals 32 (29.6%) signed by their mark. For the period 1855-64, 85 marriages produced 54 marks (31.8%). The period 1875-84 saw 42 marriages and 10 marks (11.9%).

such events.<sup>63</sup> The pattern of his activities, taken as a whole, would make him a good example of the 'social control' thesis propagated by a number of modern historians: that is to say, the contention that landowners and clergymen (in the case of Moore, these were synonymous) actively sought by a mixture of carrot and stick methods, to mould the lives of workers along respectable and respectful lines, in the interest of upholding their own 'hegemony'.

From this kind of charge, it is impossible to exonerate Edward Moore completely, for his influence upon the parish of Frittenden during the years of his incumbency was surely very considerable. But, to balance the picture, a number of points may be made in his 'defence', as it were. First, notwithstanding a life of privilege, he and his family were not immune from personal set-backs, even tragedy. Despite residing in the most modern house in the parish built to the highest specifications including water closets and drainage to a cesspool and no doubt the best of conditions, the family were destined to lose their eldest and youngest children to diphtheria (in March and May, 1859). These set-backs do not appear to have impaired a strong sense of duty. There is also some suggestion, in the manner of his departure, that Moore had overstretched himself financially. Two years before his resignation as Rector, his Frittenden Estate was sold to Henry Hoare (along with the patronage) for £27,400 in May 1867.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Frittenden P.C.C. Uncatalogued Papers, *Scheme for a Harvest Home*.

The institution and patronage of such an event appears to have been against the movement of the times - see H.Cunningham, 'Leisure and Culture' in F.M.L.Thompson, *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*, 2, *People and Their Environment* (1990), p.303.

<sup>64</sup> This was, of course, a handsome sum, perhaps equivalent to £1mn today. Soon after resigning, Moore lost his wife, Harriet, at the comparatively youthful

Secondly, there are few signs, in the annals of the parish, that his activities provoked any great resentment. Indeed, the case is to the contrary. From quite early on in his incumbency, and just following the restoration of the church, a Vestry meeting was held where it was resolved unanimously that

*this Meeting cannot suffer the occasion to pass without expressing the unfeigned respect and gratitude entertained by all classes of the Parishioners as well those belonging to as those dissenting from the established Church towards their beloved Rector and his Excellent Lady.*

*In this expression of dutiful and affectionate regard they wish to be understood as referring not only to the rebuilding of their Parish Church which has been completed in so costly and Beautiful a manner, but also to the manifold other ways in which The Reverend Edward Moore and The Lady Harriet Moore have proved themselves the Benefactors of the Parish, which under their kind auspices judicious renovation and unsparing Charities has assumed altogether a new aspect and in its improved exterior affords a happy indication of the increased Comfort and welfare of its inhabitants.<sup>65</sup>*

The inclusion of the dissenting population in this vote of thanks was unlikely to have been made lightly by someone such as Mercer, himself a churchwarden, and is therefore likely to have been done with the authority of the chapel elders.

Still more compelling evidence of the enduring regard in which Edward Moore was held is demonstrated by the installation by public subscription of a new East Altar Window in memory of him and his wife in 1891, two years after his death, and of a churchyard cross as a memorial to him in 1921, more than half a

---

age of 56, and he ended his days living at Ospringe near Faversham in 1889, where he is buried.

<sup>65</sup> Frittenden P.C.C., Uncatalogued Papers, *Transcript of letter from Robert Mercer, churchwarden, to Edward and Lady Moore, 26 July 1848.*



century after he had resigned his position.<sup>66</sup>

Moore was, in short, an archetypical example of a wealthy man whose sense of duty was widely respected. He was also one of a breed that was gradually dying out, for before the end of the century, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were beginning to worry about the problems created for later incumbents by clergy of independent means who set standards of affluence which were no longer realistic for a country parson and his family.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Edward Moore's children, although spread throughout the world, retained strong links with the parish, five of the 10 children who survived him being buried near their mother in the churchyard of St. Mary's, the last in 1940.

<sup>67</sup> Gilbert, *op.cit.*, p.52.

### (III) THE NONCONFORMIST PRESENCE

As we have seen, various historical studies have emphasised the significance of the Weald as a centre of dissent. In 1676, according to Everitt, the rural parishes of the mid-Kent Weald recorded dissenters as 17% of the population, the highest proportion of any of the regional/agrarian categories he adopts for the county of Kent.<sup>68</sup> The general Baptists were especially prominent following the conversion in 1644 of Francis Cornwell, former vicar of Marden, and Christopher Blackwood, former rector of Staplehurst, together with one of Blackwood's parishioners, Richard Kingsnorth.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps because the Baptists and Independents (old dissent) were so strongly placed, Kent was not a county where 'new' dissent, i.e. Methodism in its various manifestations, made particularly great headway during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Even so, as Furley notes, during the time of Edward Moore's grandfather, John Moore, as Archbishop of Canterbury, 1783-1805

*Dissenters were now becoming a large and influential body, and were not disposed, especially in the Weald, to let the clergy 'have it all their own way'.<sup>70</sup>*

At Frittenden, the early history of old dissent has left few traces. We know that a member of Richard Kingsnorth's family was 'licensed' in 1672<sup>71</sup>, but there is no evidence of the existence of a purpose-built Baptist chapel until 1805 (illustration 12xi). The timing of its establishment, coinciding with the tithe dispute with the Church of England Incumbent, Henry

---

<sup>68</sup> Everitt (1972), *op.cit.*, p.19.

<sup>69</sup> G.F.Nuttal, 'Dissenting Churches in Kent before 1700' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 14 (1963), p.185.

<sup>70</sup> Furley, *op.cit.*, pp.615-16.

<sup>71</sup> Nuttal, *op.cit.*, p.186.

Hodges, may be no accident. While it is unlikely that non-conformity was a novelty in the village, the appointment of an absentee rector who then sought to impose/extend his right to tithes, may have proved to be the catalyst for this visible split with the Anglican church. The chapel was established not in the nucleus around the church but nearly a quarter of a mile away in the vicinity of *The Bell Inn* and the forge (albeit at the furthest point of that nucleus)<sup>72</sup>. It might have been thought more likely to emerge in one of the boundary communities<sup>73</sup>, notably Knoxbridge which even today is remote from the village and its activities, divided as it is from the rest of the parish by the turnpike road and virtually surrounded by the parishes of Cranbrook and Staplehurst.

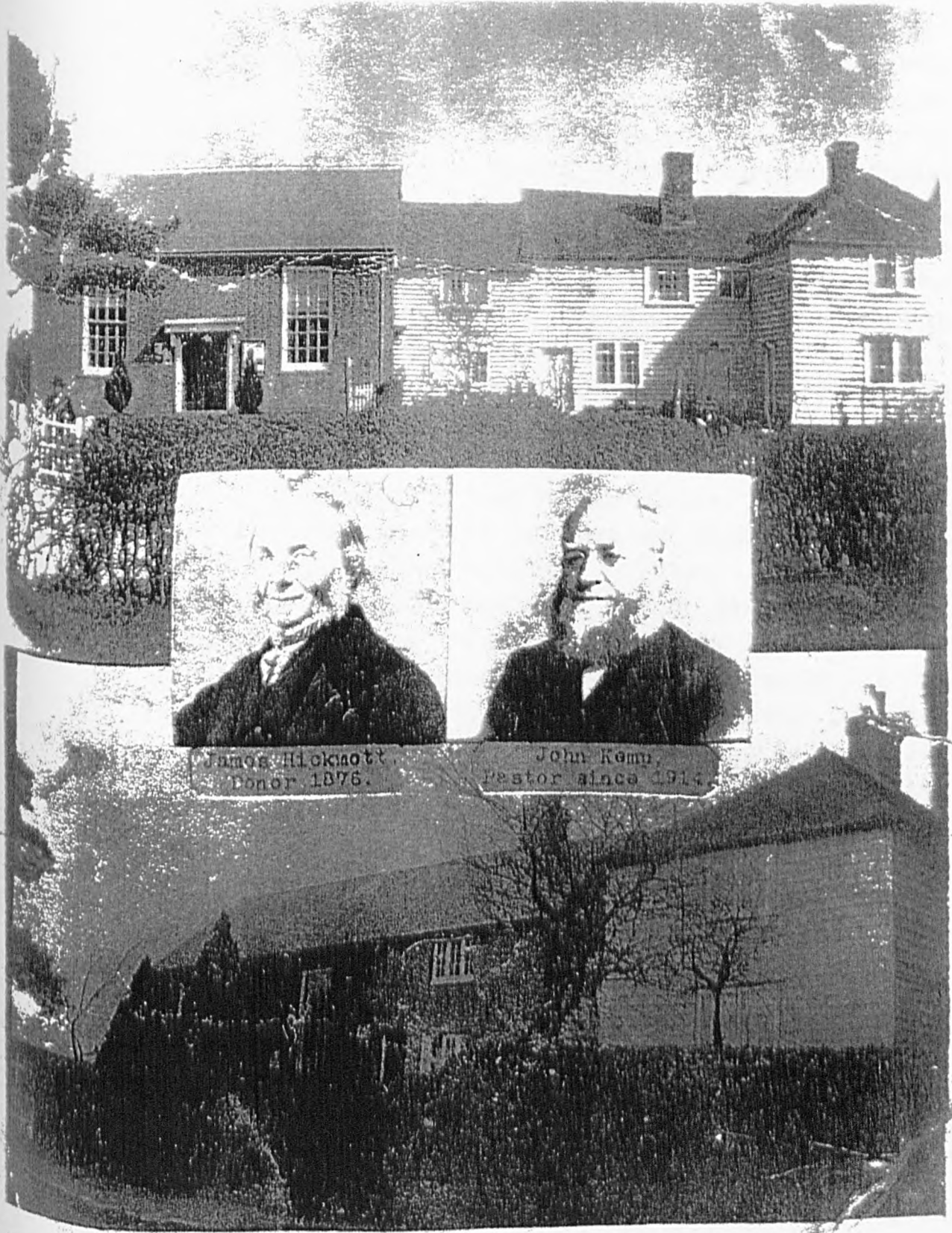
There are no records which throw any light on the success, or otherwise, of this chapel during the first forty years of its existence. We know that it enjoyed the services of pastors coming into the village to take services: between 1838 and 1878 the pastor in question was Thomas Clifford, of Winchet Hill, Goudhurst. We can add that its role, as a nucleus of non-conformity was unchallenged, for no rival Methodist establishment

---

72 Everitt notes that a common form of rural community in East Anglia seems to have been the dual settlement parish, divided between a 'church-end' and a 'chapel-end', the former probably the original settlement, the latter a later subsidiary hamlet - Everitt (1972), *op.cit.*, p.62.

It is also of note that a lane provides a more direct link from the church to the chapel than the road, being the hypotenuse of a triangle, the two buildings being sited on the same ridge and therefore at much the same height.

73 Everitt notes the tendency for boundary settlements which grew as their own nucleus on the edge of several parishes to be centres of Dissent. The creation of a chapel by James Hickmott at Bounds Cross, in the parish of Biddenden but on a crossroads where the parishes of Biddenden, Frittenden, Headcorn and Smarden meet, would appear to be an example of this - Everitt (1972), *op.cit.*, p.23.



James Hickmott,  
Donor 1876.

John Kemp,  
Pastor since 1914.

Providence Chapel, Frittenden, Kent.  
1-Until 1914. 2-Since 1914 J. Kemp P. 1926

Frittenden's Strict Baptist Chapel and inset,  
James Hickmott of Lashenden.  
Illustration 12xi

appeared at Frittenden and we may suspect (though unfortunately with no direct evidence to support this) that it may have made some headway against the Established Church in the period of absentee rectors, possibly to fall back somewhat in the face of the competition provided by the arrival of the energetic Edward Moore in 1839. In 1846, the chapel was bought by James Hickmott of Lashenden who was a parishioner of Frittenden but also a deacon of the Providence Chapel at Tilden, Smarden, equally distant from his farm, where he continued to worship.<sup>74</sup> Later, in 1867, he acquired also the cottages adjoining the Frittenden Chapel, and the whole of the property was given in Trust for the Strict Baptist cause on 26 July, 1876.<sup>75</sup> This series of steps presumably helped to secure the position of the chapel and helped to shore up its future: it is still in existence today but is now a joint pastorate with the Bounds Cross Chapel [itself built by James Hickmott on part of Lashenden] and is infrequently used for services. The establishment of a chapel, whether featuring old or new dissent, was often seen as a challenge to the authority of landowners and parsons. And conventionally it is regarded as likely to have produced mixed effects. Bracey, for example, suggests that in such self-determining, voluntary associations, ordinary working men could learn self-respect, self-reliance and the principles of self-government. On the other hand, the activities of a chapel, instead of contributing to the well-being of the village as a whole, could often lead

---

<sup>74</sup> C.K.S./U1334/F3-4, *Diary of James Hickmott of Lashenden.*  
F.H.S. papers re James Hickmott.

<sup>75</sup> F.H.S., Uncatalogued Papers, *Indenture between James Hickmott and the trustees of Bounds Cross Chapel Biddenden, August 1876.*

to friction and antagonism.<sup>76</sup> Evidence for the first of these propositions is peculiarly hard to come by. So far as is known, members of the Baptist congregation were not excluded from participation in the Provident Society, although we can perhaps safely presume that they would have distanced themselves from drinking and similar convivial activities; and there is no evidence that Frittenden's labourers were present in activities of the Kent Agricultural Labourers Protection Association that flourished briefly around Maidstone in 1866-8 or its successor, the Kent and Sussex Union.

There are, though, some minor signs of an undercurrent of mutual suspicion and division. Despite the generous sentiments expressed by Robert Mercer to Edward Moore on behalf of 'those belonging to as those dissenting from the established Church' in 1848, in 1860 James Hickmott felt the necessity to record that

*this evening Mr Cole the Curate of Frittenden call on us and discoursed with us about Baptism and the Church and claimed authority over us Shepherd. I denied his authority ...*<sup>77</sup>

The continuing irritation over the church rate is also revealed in James Hickmott's diary where he records in March 1860 that

*this day Signed the Petition of the Tilden Chapel for the Abolition of Church Rates.*<sup>78</sup>

More seriously, admission to the National School was conditional on attendance at the Church Sunday School, and there are examples in the school records of children who were expelled because their parents had permitted them to go to chapel on Sunday, which was against the rules of the school. The parents were severely reprimanded, and the child sent home, until a

---

<sup>76</sup> H.E.Bracey, *English Rural Life* (1959), p.47.

<sup>77</sup> C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *Diary of James Hickmott of Lashenden.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*



few days later they were recorded to have duly apologised and having promised not to do it again.<sup>79</sup>

To summarise the various issues covered in this chapter, it seems fair to conclude that Frittenden was not especially distinguished for high levels of attendance at worship: if the aggregate figures emerging from the 1851 Religious Census are taken as valid, they were, if anything, lower than in the immediate district (Cranbrook) and no higher than the national average figures, even though these were depressed by the attendance levels in the great towns.<sup>80</sup> Approximately one-half of the village population attended Church or Chapel on Census Sunday, and about three-quarters of all attendances were at the Church, rather than the Providence Chapel.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, services at the Provident Chapel were on 'alternate weeks'. In regard to education, dissent offered no direct competition to the National Schools in respect of day-time provision, and in the absence of a Baptist Sunday School meant that the Anglican church accounted too, for all Sunday school provision. In view of the presence, from 1839, of a vigorous and progressive Anglican leadership stemming from Edward Moore, it seems safe to say that Frittenden - in contrast, it may be said, to certain neighbouring parishes - was one in which it was the Church, rather than the non-conformist community, which enjoyed the greater influence in shaping the life of the village. By and large, the non-conformist element in the village, though by no means of minuscule proportions, was a relatively

---

<sup>79</sup> B & B Grogan, *op.cit.*, p.6.

<sup>80</sup> See pp.352-5 above.

<sup>81</sup> That is, if the attendance figures are simply aggregated. If we follow Perkin and take only  $\frac{2}{3}$  of all attendances, both figures are reduced pro-rata.

shadowy presence. Somewhat paradoxically however, the Baptist community embraced part of one family which happens to be the best-documented in Frittenden, that is the Hickmotts. The final substantive chapter of the thesis takes advantage of these relatively plentiful sources to create a study of the farming practices and social and religious ties of this family.

THE HICKMOTT FAMILY: A CASE STUDY

As well as featuring in the data generally available for the parish, such as census returns, members of the Hickmott family make fairly frequent appearances as tenants in the Mann/Cornwallis estate papers. In addition, there are notebooks and pages of accounts covering the years 1843 to 1863. Randomly surviving documents include the Will of William Hickmott (the Elder), the inventory of Lashenden and Farris Farms following the death of William (the Younger), and various forms, correspondence and bills.<sup>1</sup>

To some extent, the experiences of the Hickmotts have already featured in illustration of themes discussed in earlier Chapters: occasionally, indeed, information from these sources is the only evidence available, notably for some aspects of farming practices and on wage rates.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, there is an unavoidable element of repetition (or, to put a more favourable construction on this, recapitulation), in order to achieve coherence in the pages that follow. While the chapter does not claim to be a complete history, it does attempt to see the Hickmott family

*as people acting out their lives against a local and national backcloth, people who were caught up, knowingly or unconsciously, in the currents of their time.*<sup>3</sup>

The Hickmott family appears to have originated from Ulcombe, in the Kentish Chartland lying between the Vale of Holmesdale and the Weald, towards the end of the eighteenth century. Stephen was the first to do so, marrying Elizabeth Burgess in 1783; John

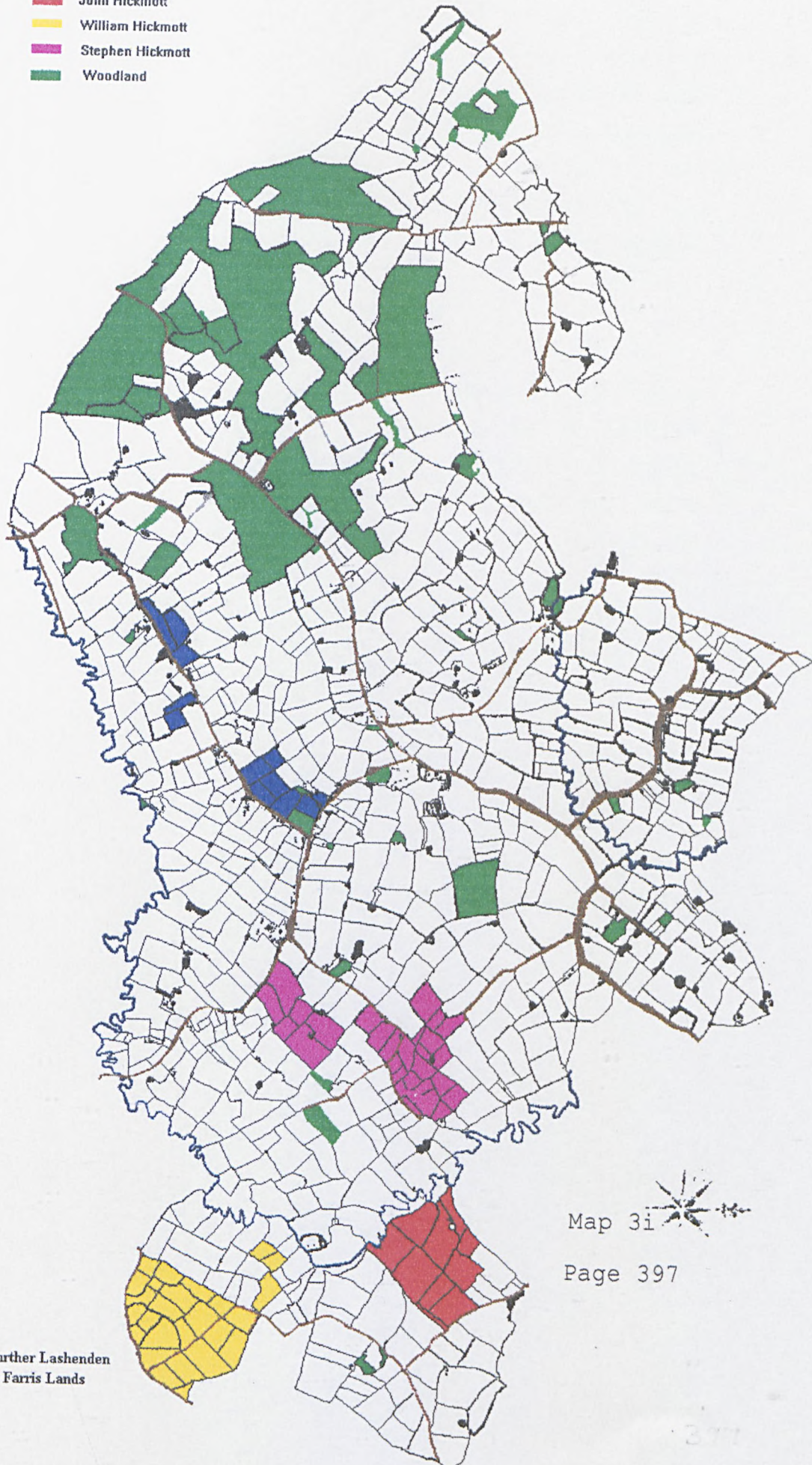
<sup>1</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Hickmott Notebooks*.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 6, pp.141-70, and Chapter 7, 216-30.

<sup>3</sup> David Hey, *Family history and local history in England* (1987), p.265.

# Hickmott Landholdings 1806

- James Hickmott
- John Hickmott
- William Hickmott
- Stephen Hickmott
- Woodland



Further Lashenden  
& Farris Lands



married Elizabeth Bates in 1794; and William, Sarah Gower also in 1794. A fourth brother, James, had also arrived at Frittenden by 1806, although it appears that he never married. The steps or stages by which the offspring of the other three became deeply embedded in the local community can be traced via two approaches which complement one another, but which for the sake of achieving as much clarity as possible are taken sequentially. First, we shall look at the pattern of Hickmott land-holdings in the parish, and then in the following sections, adopt a genealogical approach.

#### (I) LANDHOLDINGS





At the time of the 1806 Apportionment (Map 13i), the incoming generation of Hickmotts occupied several farms in the east of the parish. John Hickmott occupied 44.75 acres at Coldharbour, probably as a tenant of the Trustees of Sandhurst Chapel. James occupied, and apparently owned, 33 acres at Friends Farm (now Weaversden). William owned and occupied 63 acres of Lashenden in the parish of Frittenden, with probably a further 80 acres at Farris Farm in the parishes of Biddenden, Headcorn and Smarden. Stephen was tenant of 65.5 acres at Little Bubhurst.

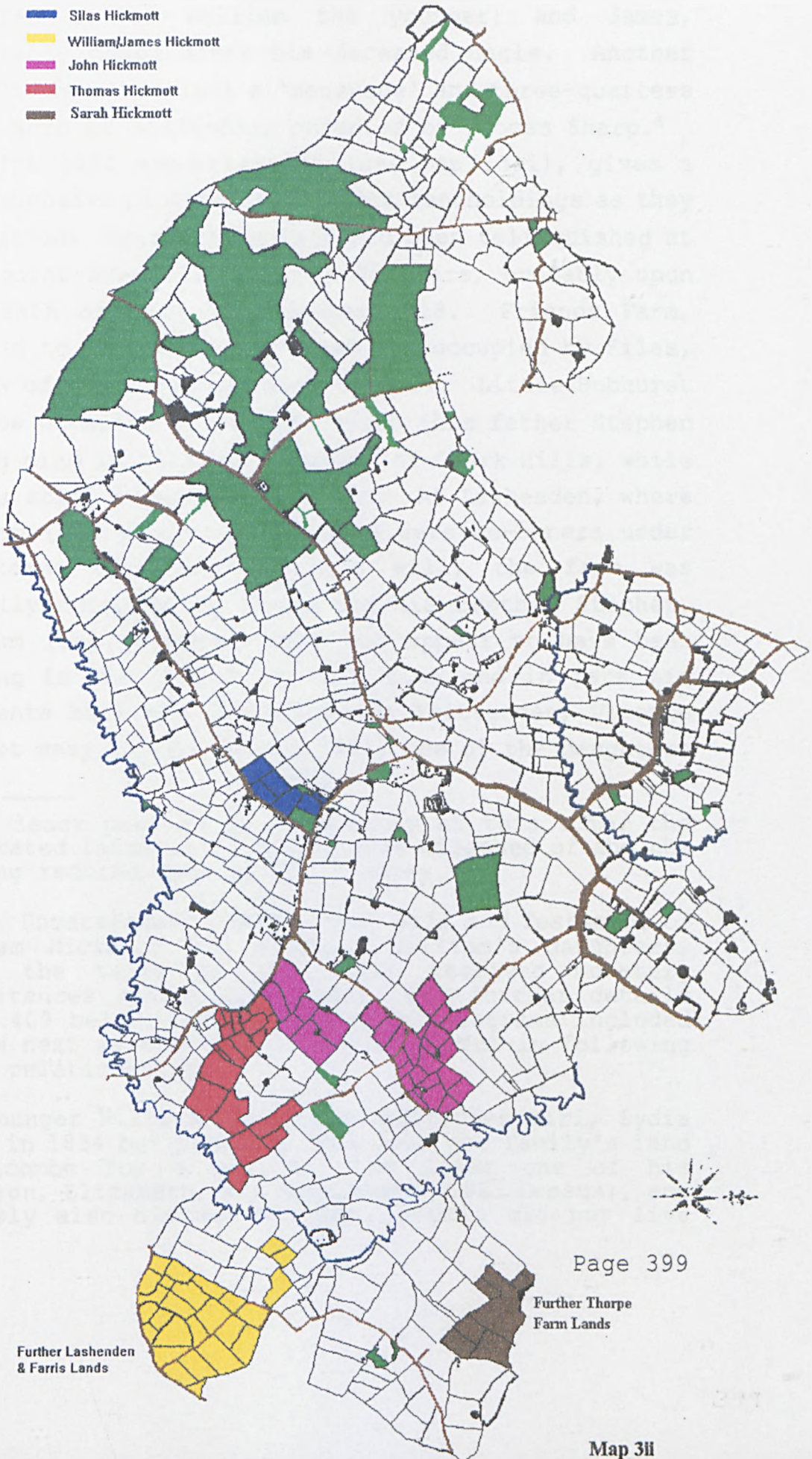
In 1820 Stephen's son, Thomas became a tenant of the Cornwallis Estate at Pore Farm (now Stone Court), formerly occupied by William Barham.<sup>4</sup> The Estate accounts show the farm to have consisted of a farm house and outbuildings and land totalling 50 acres. In 1824 the unmarried brother, James, died and Friends Farm was bought by William (hereafter referred to as

---

<sup>4</sup> C.K.S./A2/12, *Mr Groom in Account with James Mann Esqre for half a year's rent of his Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due Lady Day 1820.*

# Hickmott Landholdings 1841

-  Silas Hickmott
-  William/James Hickmott
-  John Hickmott
-  Thomas Hickmott
-  Sarah Hickmott



Further Lashenden  
& Farris Lands

Page 399

Further Thorpe  
Farm Lands

Map 3ii



the elder) from his executors.<sup>5</sup> Under the will of William, who died in 1840, this farm passed to one of his sons, Silas, while Lashenden was left jointly to two more of his male offspring, William (hereafter referred to as William the younger) and James, presumably named after his deceased uncle. Another son, Stephen, was left a 'message' and three-quarters of an acre at Biddenden, occupied by Thomas Sharp.<sup>6</sup>

The 1841 apportionment (see map 13ii), gives a comprehensive picture of Hickmott landholdings as they then stood. Coldharbour Farm had been relinquished at some point over the previous 35 years, probably upon the death of John in December 1828. Friends Farm, reduced to 18 acres, was owned and occupied by Silas, nephew of James who had died in 1824. Little Bubhurst was now occupied by John Hickmott (his father Stephen having died in 1823) as a tenant of Clark Hills, while Thomas still occupied Pore Farm. At Lashenden, where William (the younger) and James were co-owners under the terms of their father's will, the farm was actually occupied by James and his brother Stephen. William (the younger), does not appear to have been farming in the parish at this time and in fact his movements back and forth between Frittenden, Ulcombe are not easy to trace.<sup>7</sup> In 1841, one of the daughters

---

<sup>5</sup> Or at least part of it. Probably at this time, the dislocated lands in Sand Lane were disposed of and the holding reduced from 38 to 18 acres.

<sup>6</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Last Will and Testament of William Hickmott the Elder*. William's daughters, under the terms of his will, received monetary inheritances rather than land. For further details see p.409 below. The genealogical diagrams included in the next section may be found helpful in following these relationships.

<sup>7</sup> The younger William married a Frittenden girl, Lydia Brown in 1834 but probably took over the family's land at Ulcombe for a period. At least one of his children, Elizabeth, was born there (1861 Census), and possibly also his son William. Lydia did not live

of William (the elder), Sarah who had married John Children, was a tenant of her two brothers, William and James, at Thorpe Farm. In the round, the aggregate land-holdings of the Hickmott family in 1841 stood at 203 acres, or 5.8% of the land in the parish, ie at much the same as in 1806 when the relevant figures were 210 acres and 6.0%.

William, the younger<sup>8</sup>, remained co-owner, with his brother James, of Lashenden until his death in 1868, this property then falling entirely to James. At some point since the 1841 Census, Stephen Hickmott had left Lashenden and thereafter occupied, as owner, Buckhurst Hill (Little Buckhurst today) where he ran a small-holding of about eight acres. By 1857, John Hickmott had moved from his tenancy at Little Bubhurst to become a tenant of the Mann/Cornwallis estate at Balcombe, while Silas and Thomas continued on their respective farms, Friends and Pore. By 1869 another William had taken over from his father John (who died

---

long, dying at 38 in 1842. It is possible that she returned to die at Frittenden, for there is a record of 'household furniture' brought over from Ulcombe by William in 1841 (F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Notebook; 1841 Household Furniture brought from Ulcombe*). The items included suggest a family of not insubstantial means, and were;

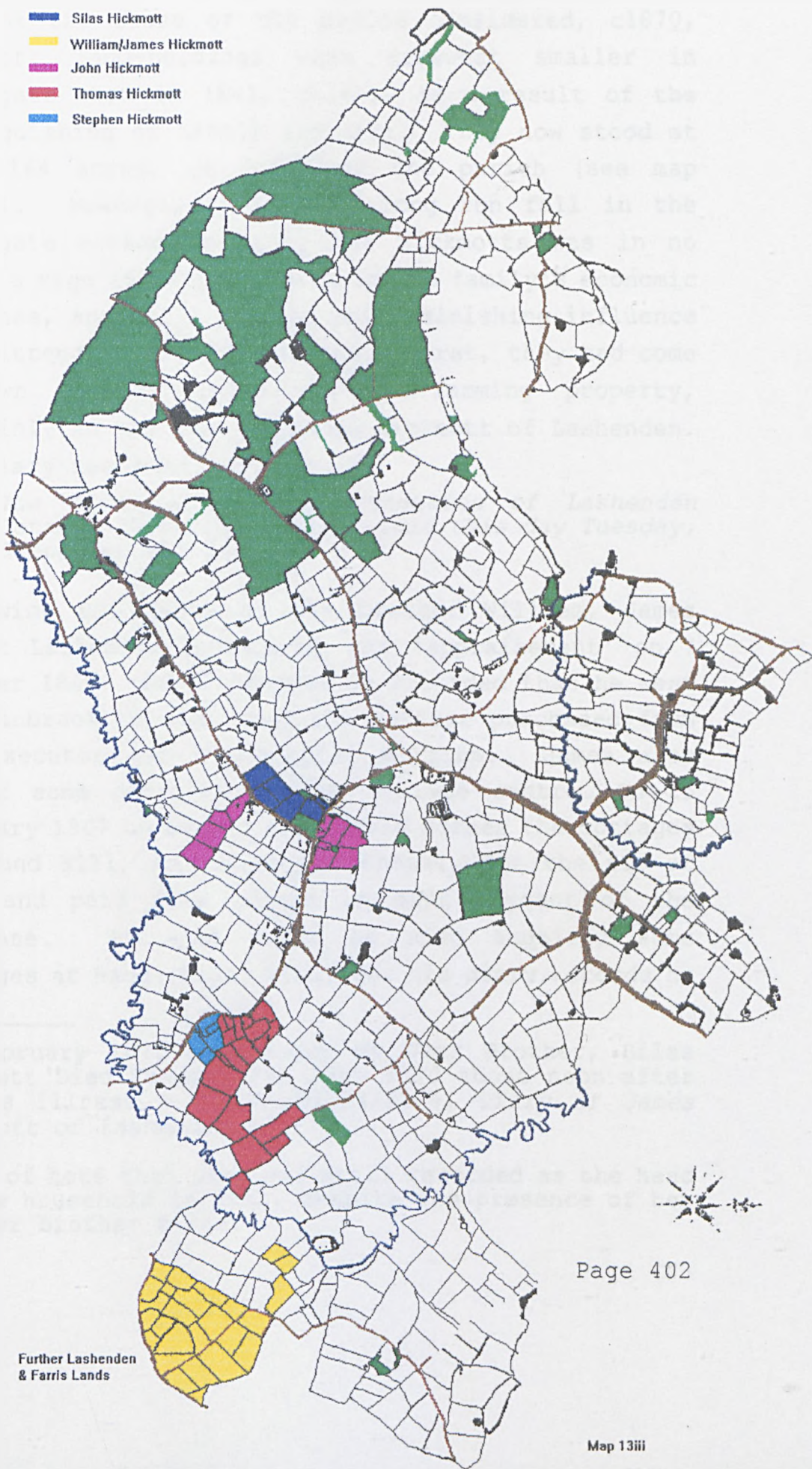
1 Feather Bed, 2 Bedsteads, 2 Chest of Draws, 1 Deel Table, 1 Leaf do., 1 Looking Glass, 5 pair of sheets, 4 Table Cloths, 12 Chairs, Elbow Chair, 1 Tea Tray, 1 Pair Bellows, 2 Stone Bottles, Bran irons, 1 Stalder, 1 Iron Toasting-Fork, Snuffers, Box iron, 2 Pair Blankets, Dito 1 Pair, 1 Counterpane, 3 Quilts, 6 Wine Bottles, 2 Baking Tins, 1 Sledgehammer, 2 Hay Troves.

8  
C.K.S./U24/A2/42, Mr Gregory in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1849. It seems likely that William (the younger) either continued to live at Ulcombe for some years after his wife's death, notwithstanding the movement of furniture referred to in note 7, and concentrating his attentions upon other lands held by the family; or perhaps at Farris Farm, adjacent to Frittenden but in the parishes of Biddenden and Smarden.



# Hickmott Landsholdings 1869

- Silas Hickmott
- William/James Hickmott
- John Hickmott
- Thomas Hickmott
- Stephen Hickmott



Further Lashenden  
& Farris Lands

in 1861) as tenant at Balcombe, and another Stephen had succeeded his father Thomas (d.1866) at Pore Farm. Silas died in 1870<sup>9</sup> and was succeeded there by his daughter Jane.<sup>10</sup>

At the close of the period considered, c1870, Hickmott land-holdings were somewhat smaller in aggregate than in 1841, chiefly as a result of the relinquishing of Little Bubhurst. They now stood at some 164 acres, or 4.67% of the parish (see map 13iii). However, the slight long run fall in the aggregate acreage held by the Hickmotts was in no sense a sign of retrogression in the family's economic fortunes, and still less of any diminishing influence in Frittenden, for two reasons. First, they had come to own a fair amount of non-farming property, certainly in the case of James Hickmott of Lashenden. His diary recorded

*The first Brick and foundation of Lashenden Cottage [Lashenden Villa] laid this day Tuesday, September 4th 1860.*

Following the death of his brother William, James bought Lashenden Cottage at the 'appraisement' on 7 October 1868. On 22 October he recorded that he went to Cranbrook to sign away the Cottage purchased from the Executors of his brother William. James also bought some cottages in the village centre. On 25 February 1867 he bought from David Screes the cottages at Pound Hill, adjoining the Chapel, for the sum of £140 and paid five pounds in part payment of the purchase. At some point he also acquired some cottages at Hagg (Hegg) Hill, for his diary records on

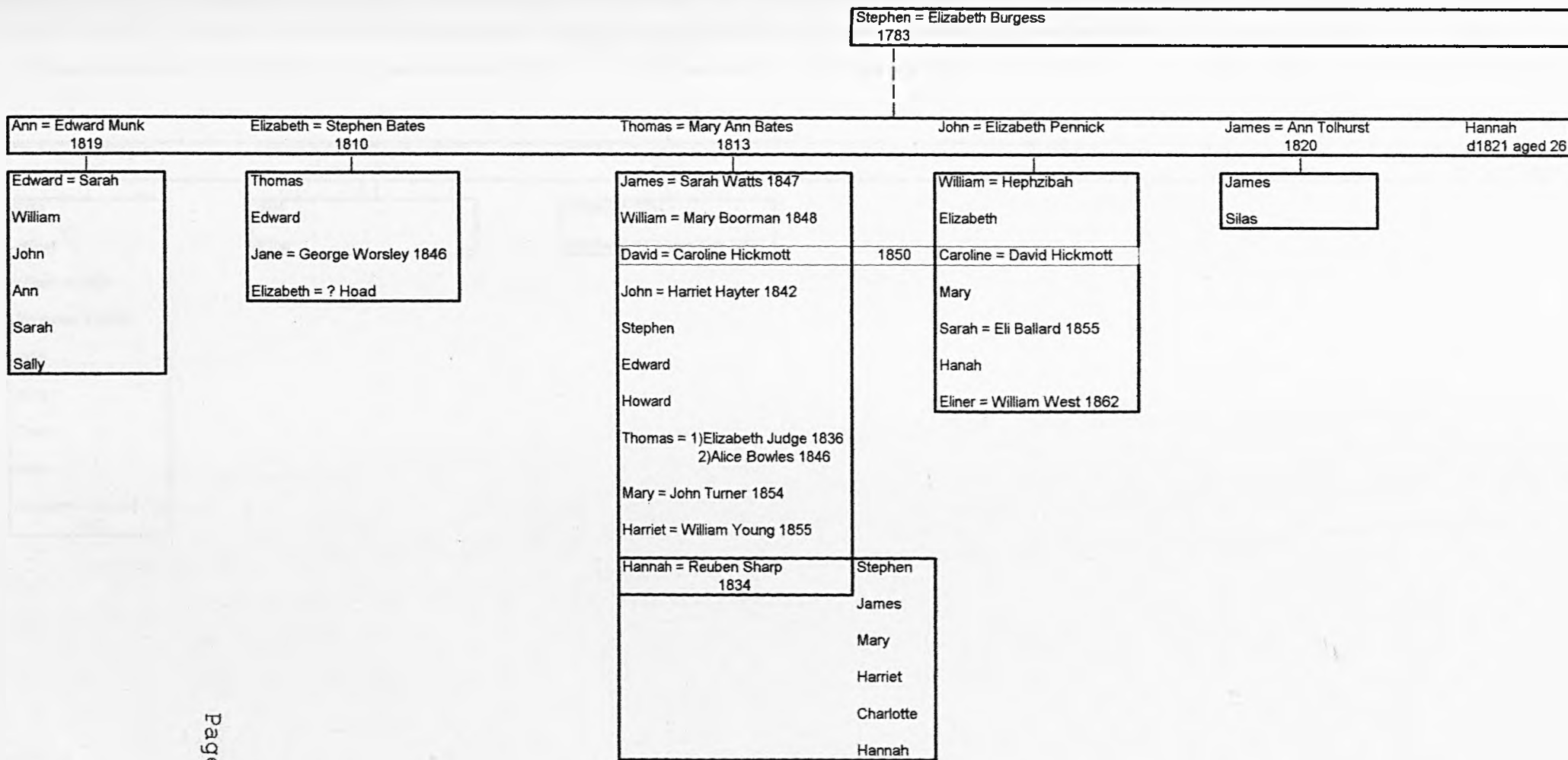
9

13 February 1870 Memorandum My Dear Brother, Silas Hickmott Died Sunday, Feb 13th 1870 about noon after 5 Days illness - C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *Diary of James Hickmott of Lashenden.*

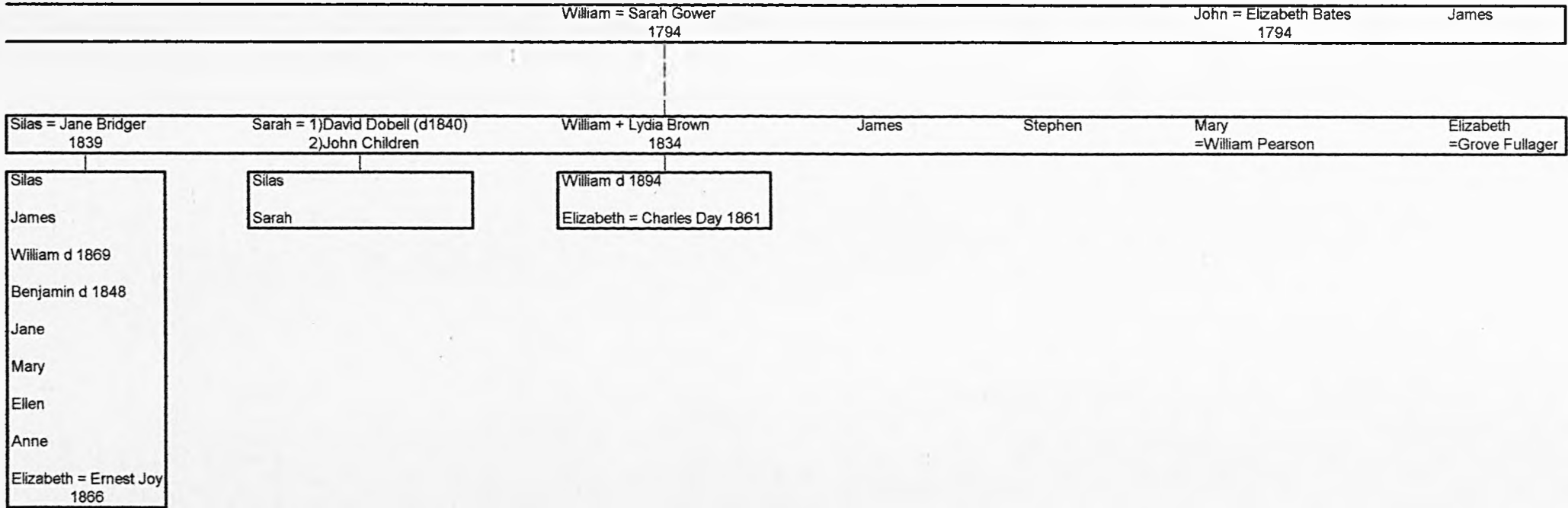
10

It is of note that Jane was still recorded as the head of the household in 1881, despite the presence of her younger brother Silas.

**IDENTIFIED MEMBERS OF THE HICKMOTT FAMILY (i)**



**IDENTIFIED MEMBERS OF THE HICKMOTT FAMILY (ii)**





31 March 1873 that he had sold them.<sup>11</sup> The ownership of such properties, it might be mentioned in passing, could at times be productive of anxiety.<sup>12</sup>

Secondly, it should be emphasised that in this survey of farms directly in the hands of the Hickmotts, we have traced (for the most part) only the male successors. As will be seen below, the daughters of the family entered into marriage alliances sometimes involving substantial farmers in the parish.

## (II) MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

We have already traced the marriages made by three of the Hickmott brothers who arrived at Frittenden in the late eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup> (see 13iv) The marriage history of the second and third generation is more transparent and can be suitably sub-divided between Hickmott males and Hickmott females.

### (a) Males

The union in 1783 between Stephen Hickmott of Pore Farm and Elizabeth Burgess produced three sons. One of these, Thomas, married in 1813 Mary Ann (sometimes Marianne) Bates who was the daughter of either Thomas Bates, farmer and butcher, or of Henry

---

<sup>11</sup> David Screes was described in the 1861 census as a 72 year old widower and 'proprietor of houses' living at Little Waterloo.

<sup>12</sup> Memorandum 11 May 1872, Saturday Morning about eight O'Clock Silas Hickmott [son of Silas and nephew of James the diarist] came galloping to me & said Mr Gurrs Shop was on Fire & Burning down & thought My cottages must be burnt. on my arrival the shop was burnt down. owing to the Ivy on the side of the shop the flames was partly kept in. And by the Providence of God the wind was in faver. and by the quantity of water thrown on the House it was burnt but little. the Oast being attached to the Shop was nearly consumed before the Engine arrived. - C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*

<sup>13</sup> See above pages 396 & 398.

Bates, a carpenter. John married Elizabeth Pennick about whom nothing is known; and the third, James, Ann Tolhurst from another established family of farmers and artisans in the parish. In this branch of the family, in the next generation, Thomas and Mary Ann produced a large number of sons: among them a Thomas who would marry, in 1836, Elizabeth Judge, daughter of Joseph Judge who was a farmer of 200 acres at [Great] Hungerden; and William who married Mary Boorman whose father farmed 110 acres at nearby Buckhurst farm, in 1848. Another son, David, was married in 1850 to his cousin Caroline who was the daughter of John Hickmott at Balcombe Farm. David, a labourer living at Friend Farm, occupied by his father's cousin, Silas, before apparently moving out of the parish by the time of the 1861 census.

Meanwhile, the offspring of the union in 1794 between William (the elder) and Sarah Gower included four sons. Two of these, James and Stephen, were destined to remain unmarried, while William (the younger), as we have seen, married Lydia Brown, who had witnessed his father's will and was his housekeeper, in 1834. His brother, Silas, was married to Jane Bridger, daughter of another Frittenden farmer, in 1839.<sup>14</sup> This couple was established by Silas' father, William the Elder, at Friends Farm, following the death of his uncle James.

The propensity for male Hickmotts to marry within the agricultural community is clear, but their brides were not invariably the daughters of farmers. Three of Thomas Hickmott's extensive brood of sons (there were eight in all) are known to have married girls from modest backgrounds: John, who married Harriet Hayter in 1842, and James, Sarah Watts in 1847 (both

---

<sup>14</sup> Jane was probably the daughter of William Bridger [sometimes Bricher], a tenant farmer on the Cornwallis Estate.

were daughters of agricultural labourers), while Thomas, was to make a second marriage, in 1846, to Alice Bowles, daughter of a gardener ([niece of the blacksmith) who lived in the main street.

(b) Females

Hickmott girls, likewise, frequently married into farming families. Stephen Hickmott of Pore Farm and Elizabeth Burgess produced three daughters, one of whom, Hannah, appears to have died young in 1821. Another, Elizabeth, followed her brother's example (or, rather, she may have pointed him in that direction, for her marriage preceded that of her brother by three years) in marrying into the Bates family (Stephen); while Ann, it appears, fared particularly well in marrying Edward Munk in 1819. Munk was one of the largest tenant farmers (of Aylesford Hospital) in the parish, at Great Bubhurst, close to various Hickmott holdings. Among the offspring of the marriage between Thomas Hickmott and Mary Ann Bates there were (as well as numerous sons) three daughters: among these, Harriet married William Young, the son of a bailiff, in 1855; Hannah was married to Reuben Sharp, who farmed some twelve acres as a tenant of the Idenden Charity, in 1834; and Mary married John Turner, the son of a wheelwright at Harrietsham in 1854.

Thomas's brother, John, at Balcombe farm, was particularly endowed with daughters, in fact six in all. Among these, we have already encountered Caroline who married her cousin, David. Two others who can be accounted for, in terms of their marriages, are Sarah who was married in 1855 to the son of a Cranbrook farmer, Eli Ballard; and Elinor who married William West, son of a butcher, in 1862. The (apparently) only daughter of the union between Elizabeth Hickmott and Stephen Bates was Jane, who likewise married into trade, namely to George Worsley,

a wheelwright, in 1846. However, they were later to take over the tenancy of Little Bubhurst, their son taking over the wheelwright's shop.

All the Hickmott females mentioned so far were children/grandchildren/great grandchildren of the union between Stephen and Elizabeth Burgess, back in 1783 (see 13iv). We turn next to the female progeny of the marriage of William (the elder) to Sarah Gower. From this union, there were three daughters. Mary and Elizabeth were both beneficiaries in monetary terms from their father's will.<sup>15</sup> At various dates, Mary married William Pearson of Smarden (whose status is not known) and Elizabeth became the wife of Grove Fullager, a labourer of Headcorn. The third daughter, Sarah, initially married David Dobell, a farmer of 33 acres who was owner-occupier at Brook Farm, and tenant of a further 22 acres at the adjacent Cook Barn Farm. Dobell died in 1840, and it was perhaps an acknowledgement of her tribulations that her father, William (the elder) provided fairly generously for her in his will (that is, compared to her sisters).<sup>16</sup> Just before, Sarah had married a second time, to John Children, but her circumstances were sufficiently straitened, at this time, to require also some help from her brother William (the younger), who in

---

<sup>15</sup> In all, William the Elder's estate, excluding the farms, was valued for legacy duty purposes at £485-12-1½d - F.H.S., *Stamp Office, Legacy Duty on Residues of Personal Estate, &c.* Of this, the sale of corn, wood etc amounted to £138-19-1½d (nearly 30% of the total), while farming stock, implements and stock in trade totalled £115 (almost 25%). Thus the produce and machinery on the farm accounted for more than 50% of the residue of William's estate. Presumably, the proceeds financed legacies to his daughters - F.H.S. *Uncatalogued Papers, Stamp Office, Receipt and Discharge for any specific Pecuniary or other Legacy Nos 31-33.*

<sup>16</sup> Sarah's inheritance approximately equalled those of William's sons.

November 1841 advanced to her £73 out of 'the business at Lashenden'.<sup>17</sup>

William's own daughter, Elizabeth, married Charles Day, of the nearby Standen Farm in Biddenden in 1861, at Biddenden; this we ascertain not from the parish registers but from an entry in the diary of James Hickmott, her uncle. Meanwhile, Silas (son of William the elder, brother of William the younger and husband of Jane Bridger) produced five daughters at Friends Farm. One of these, another Elizabeth, can be definitely identified as marrying a farmer's son, Ernest Joy, whose father, Albert, farmed on the Frittenden-Staplehurst boundary: interestingly, we know that her uncle did not attend the ceremony, though it is not known why.<sup>18</sup>

A genealogist might easily find fault with the above analysis - for both the sons and the daughters - on the grounds of incompleteness. Nonetheless, it is sufficiently detailed for our present purposes. For we can find, in the history of the marriage alliances of the Hickmott family, ample evidence to support the generalisations advanced in chapter 10, above. Hickmott sons, and Hickmott daughters were both very likely to marry the offspring of other farmers. Where the girls did not, their likely husbands were tradesmen or artisans. There is a clear suggestion that Hickmott sons were more likely to dip a little

---

<sup>17</sup> Sarah's misfortunes did not end there. She appears to have ailed a good deal and when she died in 1872 her brother James in his diary subjoined to a note of her passing the observation that this was 'after about twenty years confinement to her bed' - C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*

<sup>18</sup> In 1866 James Hickmott noted in his diary that  
*Wednesday morning heard the Bells at Frittenden on account of the Wedding of Elizabeth Hickmott to Mr Jay of Great Wadd.*  
- C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*

further down the social scale in search of marriage partners, sometimes to the daughters of labourers, as is particularly well illustrated in the case of the sons of Thomas Hickmott and Mary Ann Bates.

(III) FARMING FORTUNES, IN BAD TIMES AND IN GOOD

Like other farmers, the Hickmotts must have experienced periods of adversity, sometimes, as in the 1820s and 30s, quite prolonged. As we have seen, rent levels and arrears are our best guide on this matter and since at various times members of the Hickmott family were tenants on the Mann/Cornwallis estate, we can infer something of the pressures on them in the difficult years. The record is fullest for Thomas Hickmott, who was paying £26-5s per half year for the 50 acres of Pore Farm in 1820. In that year he was shown as £13-8-2 in arrears.<sup>19</sup> For Lady Day 1822, his rental had been reduced to £22, and by Michaelmas to £19. Despite this element of relief Thomas was half a year's rent in arrears. Lady Day 1822 saw a further reduction in his rental, to £15, while his arrears now stood at £15-10-0. These continued to increase to £21 in 1823 and £28 Lady Day 1824. He achieved some decrease in these arrears, to £22-19-2 by Lady Day 1825.

By 1826 the rental stood at £46-10 a year when his arrears were £26. The following year again saw a reduction in the rental to £31. This only enabled him to maintain his level of arrears, at £26. However, this was reduced to £13 in the next year. He was unable to maintain this reduction and in 1829 arrears stood at £15-12-5.

In 1830 Thomas, along with other tenants, received a temporary reduction, in his case £4-13-0,

19

C.K.S./A2/13, *Enclosed note to James Mann Esq dated Cranbrook 9 Decr 1820 Cranbrook District Arrears of Rent at Michas 1820.*



on his rental of £31. Arrears that year were reduced to £6. Arrears continued for two further years, £11-15-2 in 1831 and £12-10-0 in 1832, before being eliminated. Arrears, of £11, re-appeared in 1840, £15-10-0 in 1848 and £13 in 1850.<sup>20</sup> There is no suggestion of incompetence here: Thomas's farmhouse and buildings were described as being in tolerably good repair three years later and, more to the point, the land was considered in the report to be well farmed.<sup>21</sup> From this point on, more happily, there are no indications in the estate records of arrears for Thomas, and we may infer that he shared in the general improvement of farmers' prospects in the 1850s and 1860s.

#### (IV) THE HICKMOTTS IN BUSINESS

##### (a) Farming Practices

The family appears to have followed the pattern in husbandry found generally in the parish. At the time of the 1806 Apportionment some 71% of the Hickmott lands were under grass and only 29% cereals, wheat (18%) or oats (11%). By 1841, arable accounted for 70% and grassland only 24%. The requirement of drainage for the conversion to arable may have resulted in the inclusion of 'sundry bricks and pipes', a mole plough and set of draining tools in the Lashenden inventory of 1868.<sup>22</sup> At Pore Farm Thomas had

<sup>20</sup> C.K.S./U24/A2/14-34, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex, Lady Day 1821-Michaelmas 1840*; C.K.S./U24/A2/42, *Mr Gregory in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1849*.

<sup>21</sup> C.K.S./U24/E3, *Copy Report as to the Estates in Kent & Sussex of the Trustees of the late Earl Cornwallis 1853*.

<sup>22</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott*.

made some attempt to drain Pore Farm in 1846, however, by 1853 the land was still considered to be requiring drainage despite the movement into arable.<sup>23</sup>

The Hickmott system of rotation at Lashenden cannot easily be discerned, the three year gap in the diaries obscuring the cycle of crops. However, in two of the eleven years recorded, clover was cut, in 1861 and 1865. This might suggest a five year rotation. The ploughing of fallow was recorded in 1842 (in conjunction with wheat and beans) and sixteen years later the February 1868 inventory shows that three acres of tares and one acre of trafolian had been planted.<sup>24</sup> By the time of a second inventory, in October of that year, 5¼ acres of whole fallow were recorded. In addition there were 4½ acres of tare gratton manured with 14 loads of muck, 3½ acres ploughed for tares, three acres once ploughed and 20¾ young seed sown.<sup>25</sup> The use of off farm inputs is apparent for oil cake made its first appearance in the notebooks in 1841, and from 1848 was regularly recorded. Wood lime was also recorded as being bought in for Lashenden farm in 1841, when 12½ loads were carted in 3 weeks.<sup>26</sup> Further lime was purchased in 1858 and was recorded as being stored, in the 'coach

---

<sup>23</sup> The Estate had made a payment of £2-2-4 for 1200 tiles from the Trustees of the Sissinghurst Estate - C.K.S./U24 A2/39, *Mr Groom in Account with The Earl Cornwallis for a year's rent of Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex due at Michaelmas 1846.*

<sup>24</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Hickmott Account Books, No. 3.*

house', in the 1868 inventory.<sup>27</sup> In addition chalk rubble was used at Lashenden, James recording that the team had gone to Harthill for it and broken the axle as it left the chalk hole.<sup>28</sup> However, given that the useful life of lime was regarded as around three years, the volumes recorded appear woefully inadequate.

The use of traditional methods of farming are exhibited by the stock of machinery recorded in the 1868 inventory at Lashenden.<sup>29</sup> This reveals the existence of an Ox harrow, no doubt reflecting the heaviness of the soil, although no oxen are recorded.<sup>30</sup> The waggon lodge contained one six inch wheel waggon, one four inch wheel waggon and four dung carts. A further narrow wheel cart was in the 'cooling room' (adjacent to the oast). Various wheel, strike and foot ploughs are listed, as is a harrow and various billets and skids while the need to keep four team horses confirms the heavy nature of the soil.

The Hickmott diaries reveal that the only cereal crop grown every year at Lashenden was wheat.<sup>31</sup> In two thirds of those years oats were grown, barley in just under half and in only one year, 'corn'. The 1868 inventory records oats and oat straw, corn, wheat and

---

27 F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott*.

28 C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*, 31 August 1860.

29 F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott*.

30 Oxen were recorded as working in the Cranbrook neighbourhood into the twentieth century.

31 Although the diaries cover the years 1860 to 1873, there is a gap of three years from 1863 to 1865.

barley stored in the barns.<sup>32</sup> The existence of 'rick cloths' confirms the continued use of ricks to store the cut straw from cereal crops. Under 'ploughings', 14 acres of wheat were recorded in the inventory.

Although no fodder crops are referred to in James' diary, the assessment made at the time of the death of his brother, William, refers to a 'lump of turnips' in the Platt.<sup>33</sup> Whether these were home grown or bought in cannot be discerned. Both beans and peas were occasionally referred to in the earlier account books, but beans were grown at Lashenden every year covered by James' diaries while peas were cropped in more than 50% of the years. The 1868 inventory of Lashenden recorded 3 acres of pea gratten.<sup>34</sup> Again no root crops are referred to in James' diary, although the account books do note receipts for potatoes.<sup>35</sup>

The Lashenden Hickmotts acquired and stored their cattle from many differing districts. In the early years of the account notebooks, there are references to the keeping of 'steers and hifers' with Mr Curteis of Tenterden.<sup>36</sup> There are various references to keeping the 'beast' on the Marsh.<sup>37</sup> However, there are also references to keeping cattle on adjacent farms in

---

<sup>32</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott*.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Hickmott notebooks papers 1849-50*.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*  
William Curteis is recorded in Bagshaw as a farmer resident in the High Street Tenterden - Samuel Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of the County of Kent*, II (1848), pp.618 & 620.

<sup>37</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Hickmott Account Books, No.2*. See Chapter 6, pp.159-60 for further detail.

both Frittenden and Biddenden.<sup>38</sup> In October 1867 James acquired ten bullocks from Lydd<sup>39</sup>, and moved his bull, also to Lydd, in June 1868.<sup>40</sup> In October 1872 he writes of going to the Marsh for the Beast.<sup>41</sup> Thus stock, were being moved significant distances for grazing at quite a late date.

Other entries refer to the 'young cow', the 'buty hifer' and the 'hifer' all being put to the bull while the cow went to keep (for 3 months at a cost of £3) and 2 two yearlings to keep (to Mr Bading at 18d and 12d per week). April 1843 saw reference to the 'Cherry Cow' (probably a Sussex) the 'buty heifer', the 'heddy cow' and the 'black hifer' while by 1845 there was a 'short horn hifer', the 'cherry hifer', the 'old cherry cow', the 'lap horn cow' and the 'black cow' all being put to the bull. Such a mix of breeds does not suggest a particularly scientific approach to store cattle or indeed milk production. Cows were purchased from other local farmers at a cost of about 2s 6d.<sup>42</sup> Likewise animals were sold to local, though not necessarily Frittenden, farmers. In 1850 two 'beasts' were sold to Mr Igelden, one cost £33 the other attracted only £20 in part payment.<sup>43</sup>

Disease was an ever present threat to this part of a farmer's business. In January 1866, James Hickmott recorded that

*Lords Day morning saw a Bill on the Chapel Door*

---

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, No.1.

<sup>39</sup> C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*, Tuesday 1 October 1867.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 June 1868.

<sup>41</sup> 12 October 1872 Saturday morning to the Marsh for the Beast - C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*

<sup>42</sup> The Hickmotts paid Richard Day 2s 6d each for cows, while Mr Jas Boorman also supplied cows - F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Hickmott Account Notebooks*.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

*Respecting the Cattle Plague [foot and mouth].*<sup>44</sup>

It was not until November 1867 that

*Memorandum. Liberty lately granted to drive Stock to fair or Market or anywhere round without a Licence.*<sup>45</sup>

However, James was to record once again in 1872

*10 July 1872 My Cows infected with the Mouth & Foot Disease.*<sup>46</sup>

Unfortunately he does not record his resultant actions to deal with the problem.

The livestock in the 1868 inventory comprised four cows, one calf, three fattening beasts, five two-year old bullocks and four one-year old bullocks.<sup>47</sup>

James Hickmott bought lambs from several sources. He walked to Liverton (Liverton Hill lies between Grafty Green & Lenham) to see Sedgwick (of James' church at Tilden, Smarden) from whom he bought nine lambs and drove them home.<sup>48</sup> On other occasions he walked to Pluckley to catch the train to Ashford where he

*bought a good lot [of sheep] (at 23s) in a Providential way.*<sup>49</sup>

The dire position facing sheep farmers in the early 1860s was highlighted by James Hickmott in an end of year Memorandum in his diary

*It being Such a wet cold, Summer and Autumn in 1860 that Sheep Rot very much in this Locality and in January 1861 in the hard frost and Snow*

---

44 C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*, 14 January 1866.

45 *Ibid.*, 8 November 1867.

46 *Ibid.*

47 F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott.*

48 C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*, Saturday 24 March 1860.

49 C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*, Tuesday 19 August 1862.



they died very much, so much that we and many others lost near all the flock in possession.<sup>50</sup>

However, it was not always bad news

Memorandum. last Saturday, Feb 24 we had a young sheep brought forth three Lambs and all alive and suckled by the sheep to this day.<sup>51</sup>

The 1868 inventory recorded 23 breeding ewes, 30 lambs, and two rams.<sup>52</sup> Tegs<sup>53</sup> were sold locally, notably to Mr Witherden, who, for example, bought 11 at 30s in May 1850.

Despite several references to the sale of wool, there is only one reference to shearing, in 1850 Alfred Webb was paid 3s 9d. As there was no reference to Webb in the census it is supposed that he either lived outside the parish or was an itinerant.<sup>54</sup>

Although there are no specific references to pigs in the Hickmott diaries the Lashenden accounts refer to purchases from James Dunster of a pig for 18s, James Medhurst 2s for a sow, and Mr Corner a sow for 2s.<sup>55</sup> The accounts also record the putting of sows to the boar each year.<sup>56</sup> The 1868 inventory show the Hickmotts as in possession of one fat hog and shut

---

<sup>50</sup> C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*  
Sheep rot is not likely to be foot rot but liver fluke, spread by snails on wet ground and fatal unlike foot rot was curable - The Hope Family, Cherry Tree Farm, Frittenden.

<sup>51</sup> C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*, 3 March 1866.

<sup>52</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott.*

<sup>53</sup> A yearling sheep, normally before its first shearing.

<sup>54</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Loose account papers relating to Lashenden 1849-50.*

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Hickmott Account Books No.2.*

hogs.<sup>57</sup>

Hops were the staple cash crop on Lashenden, with more diary references, to cutting, tying and cropping, than any other crop or subject apart from James' religious devotion. In 1841 Lashenden was selling hops to one Thomas Williams. However, the price varied over a short period. On 20 September twenty pockets were sold at £5 5s per hundred weight, by 4 October thirty pockets were sold at £6 5s and by 8 October, when nine pockets were sold, this had fallen to £6. 1862 must have been a remarkable year with James Hickmott driven to comment

*Tuesday noon ended Hop picking. This a year remarkable no Excise on Hops, and a moderate crop. and a good price from 7 to 8 £ per Hundred [cwt].*<sup>58</sup>

At the time of the younger William's death, 19 January 1868, the inventory of Lashenden and Farris Farms reveals that one acre of Colgates, 3¼ and 3¼ acres of Joneses, two acres of Grapes were under cultivation, making up over 6% of the total land farmed.<sup>59</sup> That the brothers used a London merchant for their hops is confirmed by the presence of a leaflet, dated September 1873, from 'Lauce. Latter & Co., Hop Market, Borough, 50 & 52, High Street, S.E.', requesting that the brothers once again use their services.<sup>60</sup>

While there are few references to fruit in the tithe apportionments, James Hickmott does make passing reference to this crop

---

<sup>57</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott.*

<sup>58</sup> C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*, 23 September 1862.

<sup>59</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott.*

<sup>60</sup> F.H.S., Uncatalogued papers.

*Friday Memorandum we have had about a week of fine warm still and growing weather and the Grass, Flowers, Hedges, Trees, Corn, Hops and the abundant Bloom of Pears and Apples. Present a beautiful and charming appearance.*<sup>61</sup>

and

*We have had several days of high wind and Rain Trees Fruit and Hops much injured by it.*<sup>62</sup>

Furthermore, there are references in the brothers' accounts of receipts for 'apples' and 'fruit',<sup>63</sup> while the 1868 inventory records a 'cyder' mill, press and ancillary materials in the 'Cyder' lodge and a lump of apples in the Granary suggesting a significant area of orchard on their lands.<sup>64</sup> Indeed in January 1842 the Hickmotts made 120 gallons of cider at 1d per gallon.<sup>65</sup>

(b) Business Relationships with Others

The Hickmott family was not confined entirely to farming: John Hickmott described himself as a farmer and grocer, for example. Not surprisingly, its members both utilised and supplied other local retailers and tradesmen. Thus the Lashenden Hickmotts used both the windmill, the accounts recording payments to Mr Sanders for 'Millers bill', and also the Orpins at the watermill. In the case of the latter there is an interesting entry of a payment to

---

<sup>61</sup> C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*, 15 May 1860.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 September 1869.

<sup>63</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Account papers relating to Lashenden 1849-50.*

<sup>64</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott.*

<sup>65</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Lashenden Account Books, No.3.*

'Mrs Orpin for Grinding and dress'.<sup>66</sup> Mr William Orpin, the miller, also provided malt to Lashenden.

Receipts in William Hickmott's papers indicate the wide variety of goods provided by the blacksmiths in the parish. In 1849-50, Richard Evenden, of Chanceford corner, supplied goods such as pails, a coffee pot a knife and 'nales'. In 1869 James Bowles supplied:-

Dec 1	New Copper Kettle	10-0
	1 Ton Best Coals	1- 7-0
24	New Lamp compleat	10-0
	1 Extra Chimney	-4
	1 Gallon Oil	2-6
	1 Gallon Bottle	1-6

Account pages refer to various shopkeepers, some resident in Biddenden, but many in Frittenden. Agricultural and seed supplies appear to have been the province of a Mr Witherden<sup>67</sup> from whom seed, cole(sic) and oil cake were bought.<sup>68</sup> The Witherden family were substantial farmers in the parish of Biddenden along the borders with Frittenden close to Lashenden.<sup>69</sup> It is not immediately evident which of these<sup>70</sup> is referred to here but there are several references to Carey Witherden in the Hickmott papers.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Ann Orpin was at Maplehurst Mill and also undertook dressmaking - 1851 Census returns, C.K.S./P152/27. This may seem an improbable combination. However, from the 1861 Census returns (C.K.S./P152/18-19) we know that Ann Orpin of Maplehurst Mill also undertook dressmaking.

<sup>67</sup> Also collector of Land Tax? - F.H.S. *Uncatalogued Papers, Land Tax Receipts 1822.*

<sup>68</sup> F.H.S. *Uncatalogued Papers, Account books and pages relating to Lashenden.*

<sup>69</sup> Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, II, p.614.

<sup>70</sup> Bagshaw refers to Carey, George, Joseph, Joseph junr., Lydia - Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, II, p.614. The Hickmott notebooks refer to Carey, Joseph and Joseph jnr.

<sup>71</sup> Charles Witherden and his family were to farm at Chanceford in Frittenden.

Other tradesmen in the parish had to compete for the work at Lashenden. Although Henry Bates, at Brick Wall Cottages, and William Hope, at Pound Hill, were recorded as working at Lashenden<sup>72</sup>, the Hickmott's also used Abraham Farris, carpenter in Biddenden to mend a churn.<sup>73</sup> James Southerden, of Pound Hill, in 1844 and Joseph Waters, of Frittenden Street, in 1850 supplied sawing services.<sup>74</sup> Although there are many references to William Beeken as shoemaker and repairer there are as many to a Mr Read (of Biddenden) for similar services.

Meanwhile, the Hickmotts were also suppliers to a variety of local tradesmen and craftsmen. The Witherden family, as well as selling oil cake to Lashenden, were also purchasers of wheat, peas etc. James and William Hickmott supplied John Usborne with both sheep<sup>75</sup> and heifers<sup>76</sup>, presumably for his butchery. The account pages also record receipts of Chas Batt Butcher, suggesting dealings with both meat outlets. The brothers received £5 for a hog from Mr Usbourne and £8 from Charles Batt for a heifer in 1849.<sup>77</sup> In April 1851 Usbourne paid, at 6s 6d per stone, £10-4-6d for a 'hifer'.<sup>78</sup> In 1843, Lashenden supplied six sheep

---

<sup>72</sup> The 1844 account notebook records a payment of £5 to 'Wm Hope on account of Henry Bates' suggesting that William was working for Henry Bates - F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Lashenden Account Books*, No. 2.

<sup>73</sup> Farris may have been a carpenter/cooper and therefore more appropriate for this work.

<sup>74</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Lashenden Account Books*, No. 2, and loose pages.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* 1845.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 1852.

<sup>77</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Account pages relating to Lashenden 1849.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

to Mr Usbourne for 33s each. Similarly these butchers also supplied meat to Lashenden as indeed did Thomas Sanders, farmer and miller at the windmill in Sinkhurst Green, and John Deane,<sup>79</sup> a farmer from Biddenden.

The village also provided an outlet for livestock products by supplying craftsmen and tradesmen with their raw materials. For example, William Pullen, at the Tanyard, purchased pigs, skins and wool from Lashenden.<sup>80</sup> Butter was sold to the local shop.<sup>81</sup>

A careful reading, of the evidence suggests, however, that the Hickmotts were increasingly looking further afield in respect of both their purchasing and sales transactions; that is to say, beyond the confines of the village itself, as time passed. This was particularly the case with the sale of hops. These were sold through a hop factor in London.<sup>82</sup>

Indirectly, these transactions may also have worked to expand the horizons of those involved in making them. In 1871 James Hickmott undertook a journey significant enough to warrant one of the more lengthy entries in his diary

*Monday morning to London to see my Hop Factor, Walked over the Hop & Malt Exchange. Went into the Royal Exchange. Went in the Bank of England. Went into St Pauls. Went into the British Museum there saw many wonderful Beast. Birds. fish and many curious things<sup>83</sup>*

#### (V) THE HICKMOTTS AS EMPLOYERS OF LABOUR

As with the farmer population generally, the Hickmotts relied quite heavily on the contribution of

---

<sup>79</sup> Bagshaw, *op.cit.*, II (1848), p.614.

<sup>80</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Account pages relating to Lashenden for 1849.*

<sup>81</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued papers, *Hickmott Butter Book 1855.*

<sup>82</sup> C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*, 9 January 1871.

<sup>83</sup> C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*



working age children to maintain the farms. As shown in table 13v, Hickmott farms, according to the evidence of successive censuses, featured 'extended families' (i.e. at least three generations were enumerated) or at least situations in which there were co-resident children of working age (14 and over).

### Structure of Hickmott Households

	1841	1851	1861	1871
Hickmott Farmer Households	5	5	5	5
No. with extended families	1	1	1	-
No. with 'simple' with children 14 years +	1	2	3	3
Total adjusted extended	2	3	4	3

Table 13v

Nevertheless, the natural workings of the family life cycle would limit the extent to which a farmer could depend on family labour alone; in any case, as we have seen, not all the Hickmotts actually married and produced children. As one response to situations where the supply of labour was insufficient to meet current needs, the families concerned helped one another out. Thus, there are frequent references to the employment of members of the wider Hickmott family and other relatives, eg Silas Hickmott and William Dobell (1843) at Lashenden. In addition the brothers and cousins supplied ploughing, hop poling, grazing, stock etc. to each other's farms.<sup>84</sup> Otherwise, as seen in chapter 6 the Hickmott brothers at Lashenden followed the system of living-in. The 1868 Inventory, following the death of the younger William, records the house room by room and includes a brief inventory of the 'Mens Bedroom'

84

For example, in 1843 the Lashenden Notebooks record, 'Plough for Silas 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  Acres 3 days £1-16-0 and in August of that year  $\frac{1}{2}$  Days work Roll and Harrow for Silas, 8s - F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *Hickmott account notebooks*.

2 Stump Bed Steads, 2 Mattresses, 2 Coverlids, 7 Chairs, 2 Stools, 1 Window blind, 2 Sets of Bells, 3 Drawers, Dish Kettle, 4 Bags with Contents & Sundries.<sup>85</sup>

Successive census enumerators' returns illustrate the shifting composition of these farming households and, as well, tell us something of the frequent physical adjustments in respect of living-space that were entailed. Thus, the 1841 census data reveals that the large farmhouse at Friends Farm had been divided into three.<sup>86</sup> Silas lived in one part with his wife and newly born son and female servant. The other parts were occupied by two families, the Leppers and the Crouchers, four of whose members were described as agricultural labourers. However, the size of Silas' holding, 18 acres, suggests that some or all of these labourers would not have worked on his holding. At Lashenden, James and Stephen had three labourers living-in, one of them another Silas Hickmott, probably the son of their sister Sarah, while John at Little Bubhurst had two labourers living-in, and at Pore Farm, Thomas, farming 50 acres, had three sons, recorded as labourers, living at home.

In 1851 Silas' nephew David, described as agricultural labourer, was living with his wife Caroline, also a Hickmott by birth, in one part of Friend Farm Cottage.<sup>87</sup> Silas now had two sons and two daughters living with himself and his wife. They were attended by one female servant. At Lashenden, James had replaced Stephen in assisting William. The

---

<sup>85</sup> F.H.S. Uncatalogued Papers, *For Administration An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the Late William Hickmott.*

<sup>86</sup> K.Gravett & P.Betts, *Unpublished recording of 37 timber framed houses and associated outbuildings in the parish of Frittenden.*

<sup>87</sup> John Lepper was the other occupier of the cottage. Now aged 66, no occupation is shown for him.

brothers are shown as employing four people and indeed four servants in husbandry were recorded, two male and two female, as was a female servant. John, having moved to Balcomb, was now assisted only by his family, i.e. his wife, four daughters and a son. At Pore Farm Thomas was employing two workers. One, Joseph Nye, appeared to be living-in. Thomas' son Edward was recorded as a 23 year old carpenter. Stephen, having left Lashenden, was now owner occupier farming eight acres at Buckhurst [Hill] Farm.<sup>88</sup> He employed no one and lived alone with Hannah Watts as a house servant.

Further structural change appears to have occurred to the building at Friend Farm by 1861.<sup>89</sup> Only two dwellings are recorded. In one David Hickmott had moved on and been replaced by Thomas Bates, another agricultural labourer. However, the Leppers were not recorded as a separate household, although John, again recorded as an agricultural labourer, was now shown as a lodger living with the Bates family. Silas now recorded 5 daughters and 2 sons. At Lashenden, the two brothers, William and James, employed only a carter and female house servant, although William's son, William aged 22, and daughter, Elizabeth, aged 20, were also living with them. At Balcomb, John was assisted by his wife, only two daughters and son. Stephen continued to run Buckhurst alone, although still assisted by Hannah Watts (who had moved with him from Lashenden) as his housekeeper. Pore Farm<sup>90</sup> saw Thomas, now 72, employing four. Living in the house with him and his wife were two carters, a dairy maid and a female house servant.

---

<sup>88</sup> This farm is known as Little Buckhurst today.

<sup>89</sup> At this Census the farm is recorded under a name, Weaver Den, nearer that of its modern name of Weaversden.

<sup>90</sup> Recorded as Buckhurst Lane Farm in this Census.

The division of Friends Farm was unchanged in 1871. However, Jane had taken over from her deceased father Silas as the farmer, assisted by her sister Mary.<sup>91</sup> Apart from their younger siblings, two sisters and a brother, a farm servant lived-in. In the adjacent cottage, George Chantler, an agricultural labourer, and his family lived. At Lashenden, only James, now 69, had survived and is recorded as employing five. Two domestic servants are shown as living-in and one farm labourer, George Paine. By this time, James had built Lashenden Villa which may have been accommodating his other workers (situated just across the parish border in Biddenden).<sup>92</sup> Another William had replaced his father, John<sup>93</sup>, at Balcomb, where he is recorded solely as a farmer (of 22 acres); i.e. he did not continue his father's secondary occupation of grocer. Living with his wife and son were a female domestic servant and two indoor labourers. The domestic situation at Buckhurst was unchanged while at Pore Farm Stephen had replaced Thomas [his father]. Stephen is shown as employing two men. He lived in the farmhouse with his wife, daughter and two sons. While one farm servant, John Pankhurst, lived in, the farm now had a pair of semi-detached cottages which housed two families of agricultural labourers.

Such complex and shifting arrangements, rarely traced at this level of detail, offer a vivid illustration of the constant flux and adaptation that is, perhaps, concealed by generalisations about the 'unchanging' character of rural life.

---

<sup>91</sup> 13 February 1870 Memorandum My Dear Brother, Silas Hickmott Died Sunday, Feb 13th 1870 about noon after 5 Days illness - C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit.*

<sup>92</sup> See p.403 above.

<sup>93</sup> See Chapter 8, pages 244 & 257.

(VI) THE ROLE OF THE HICKMOTT FAMILY IN THE COMMUNITY

The act of voting appears to have been quite a major undertaking. James Hickmott records in April 1868 that

*Thursday morning Rode with my Brother Stephen [of Buckhurst Hill Farm] to Hothfield Place to Breakfast with Mr Tufton then to Ashford to vote.<sup>94</sup>*

Later that year he recorded that

*Thursday morning to Hothfield Place to Breakfast then to Vote for Tufton and Croft, returned home.<sup>95</sup>*

and

*Saturday to Cranbrook to Vote for Harvey & Head.<sup>96</sup>*

Although none of the Hickmotts appear to have become magistrates, James records for the 17 and 18 October 1861 that he had attended

*Maidstone to obey my Summons to the Sessions on the Petty Jury. evening returned home in peace and safety.<sup>97</sup>*

Otherwise, the degree and nature of involvement of the Hickmott family in parish affairs to have depended to some extent on whether or not they were connected with the Anglican church, or with the emergent Baptist branch of the family.

(a) The Anglican Branch: Stephen and Elizabeth (née Burgess), and their descendants. (see family tree p.404)

Three can be identified as churchwardens at the parish Church of St.Mary: Stephen himself (of Little Bubhurst), 1813, Thomas (Pore Farm) 1822 and 1836, and John (Coldharbour), 1824. Stephen's brother, James

<sup>94</sup> C.K.S./U1334/F1-4, *op.cit*, 30 April 1868.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 November 1868.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 November 1868.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

(Friends Farm) was an overseer in 1805, as were John (Coldharbour) in 1812; Thomas (Pore Farm) in 1825; and his son, Thomas and grandson Stephen (1845). This branch of the family also provided three surveyors to the parish; William Hickmott (the elder) in 1830, John Hickmott (1825) and Thomas Hickmott (also 1830). Two served also as feoffees of the Idenden Charity: James Hickmott (Friends Farm), 1822-24; and Thomas (Poor Farm), 1825-66.<sup>98</sup>

(b) The Baptist Branch: William and Sarah (née Gower and their descendants (see family tree p.405)

At what point this branch of the family became Baptists is uncertain. William (the elder) was buried in the churchyard of St.Marys<sup>99</sup> and acted as an overseer (1813 and 1820), and as parish surveyor (1830). His son, William (the younger) was certainly a dissenter, but also acted at one point as parish surveyor (1846).<sup>100</sup> Increasingly, however, the energies of this branch of the family were given over to chapel affairs. William (the younger) and his brother James were both Trustees of the Tilden Trust, at Smarden. The diaries of the latter, which have been so useful in this thesis, show that he continued to attend the Vestry to vote in the election of parish officers, though denying the authority of the Established Church and indeed questioning its right to

---

<sup>98</sup> Thomas Idenden's will (1568) did not explicitly exclude non-conformists, probably because, at the time it was written, all men in the parish would have been Anglicans. However, as the churchwardens were ex-officio feoffees, once non-conformity emerged there was probably a natural bias on the part of these feoffees to coopt from within the Anglican sector.

<sup>99</sup> F.H.S., *Here Lies Frittenden* (1994), p.119.

<sup>100</sup> See Chapter 11, on 'Farmers, The Parish Community, and Farmers' Politics above, p.332.



levy a church rate.<sup>101</sup> Notwithstanding this stance it appears that William was elected one of the two Poor Law Guardians representing the parish of Frittenden in the Cranbrook Union.<sup>102</sup>

James' diaries give many indications of his role as a pillar of local non-conformity. He attended the Ebenezer at Smarden and the Providence Chapel, Frittenden. He often attended two services on the Lord's Day and one or two services during the week, and also most 'anniversary' days at the non-conformist chapels in surrounding parishes, eg Headcorn, Cranbrook, Biddenden, Boars Isle Tenterden. In fact most entries in his diaries relate to the services attended and the texts preached.

James not only bought the Strict Provident Chapel at Frittenden in 1846, but also gave Lashenden land at Bounds Cross at the junction of Biddenden, Smarden and Headcorn with Frittenden, for another Chapel, together with 'god's acre', while himself continuing to attend the chapel at Tilden, Smarden, where he was a deacon. In 1867 James bought the adjoining cottages<sup>103</sup> before giving the whole property in trust for a Strict Baptist cause in July 1876.<sup>104</sup> Other evidence of his strong level of commitment is perhaps afforded by a seeming preference for employing co-religionists. The surnames of Watts and Horton appear frequently in the records of local Strict Baptist Chapels, and at Lashenden, a number of people employed carried these surnames: indeed one of the deacons at Smarden was described as Ebenezer Watts 'of Lashenden'. Due to

---

<sup>101</sup> See above, Chapter 12, page 394.

<sup>102</sup> C.K.S./G/C/AM/112, *Minutes of the Guardians of Cranbrook Poor Law Union 1835-38.*

<sup>103</sup> These are the cottages which came close to destruction by fire. See above, page 406.

<sup>104</sup> See above, Chapter 12, page 392.

the survival of his diaries, James' contribution to local chapel life is relatively well documented and it does look to have been a factor which limited his direct participation in the public affairs within the parish of Frittenden. Other members of this branch of the Hickmott family may have been just as deeply involved in chapel affairs, without leaving comparably detailed records; for the last resting place of James Hickmott, at Tilden Chapel, is alongside his 'dear brother', Silas and his sister, Sarah. Notwithstanding his position of deacon at the Tilden Chapel, William the Younger is buried, with his wife and alongside his father (William the elder) in St.Mary's churchyard.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup> F.H.S., *Here Lies Frittenden* (1994), p.118.

## CONCLUSIONS

This thesis is a study in local history, using chiefly sources of parochial provenance. There was a time, and it is not far distant, when the pursuit of local history by professional historians was regarded as a waste of their talents and training. Such activities were best left to amateur enthusiasts, whose work, if carefully carried out, might merit the occasional footnote in our national history, but for the most part would probably be dull and insignificant.

Developments in recent decades have gone far towards bridging what was once a major gulf. A stream of professional publications has sought to offer guidance to beginners as to the most fruitful lines of research, and to describe the sources that can be brought to bear on them.<sup>1</sup> While not seeking to discourage amateur interest (and indeed, positively disavowing any such intention) these historians have been busy seeking to lift the level of competence brought to bear, for example, by seeking to eradicate the 'antiquarian aspects of local studies'<sup>2</sup> and the 'indiscriminate collection of merely random material'.<sup>3</sup>

Much - though - by no means all - of the impetus to redefine and revitalise the study of local history

---

<sup>1</sup> See, inter alia, W.G.Hoskins, *Local History in England* (1959); W.B.Stephens, *Sources for English Local History* (1993); A.Rogers, *Approaches to Local History* (1977); D.Hey, *Family History and Local History in England* (1987); idem., *The Oxford Companion To Local And Family History* (1996).

<sup>2</sup> Stephens, *op.cit.*, p.1. Stephens thus omitted from his book heraldry, brass-rubbing, campanology and genealogy (the latter, in its narrow, antiquarian sense).

<sup>3</sup> Rogers, *op.cit.*, p.8.

came from the Department of English Local History at Leicester University, founded in 1947, which has been headed up at various times by distinguished luminaries such as W.G.Hoskins, H.P.R.Finberg and A.M.Everitt. Hoskins was a strong advocate of the view that studies of particular local communities should have a clear focus, and should concentrate particularly on the way in which they solved basic problems, above all those concerned with getting a living.<sup>4</sup> Finberg, in an important essay published in 1962 argued against the common presumption that local history was (at best) only an ancillary discipline. Indeed, properly perceived, it was a discipline in its own right, and should be concerned 'not with areas as such but with social entities'. This could only be done effectively if the historian had a good grasp of national and even international history, since local communities were inevitably subject to external pressures. Nor should the local historian close his eyes to the history of the local communities other than his own, for without some knowledge of them he would be 'incapable of recognising the distinctive features of the tale he sets out to unfold'.<sup>5</sup>

In some respects the study of local has moved on since Finberg wrote these words. For example, the closeness of the links between local history, defined in the terms advocated by the Leicester School, and family history are increasingly recognised, and have been described as 'inextricably intertwined'.<sup>6</sup> It is improbable that Finberg would have foreseen the extent to which local historians would be able to profit from

---

<sup>4</sup> Hoskins, *op.cit.*, p.12.

<sup>5</sup> H.P.R.Finberg, *Approaches to Local History* (1962), pp.116,123 & H.P.R.Finberg & V.H.T.Skipp, *Local History: Objective and Pursuit* (1967), pp.32 & 42.

<sup>6</sup> D.Hey (1987), *op.cit.*, p.2.

the availability of personal computers, as a tool of research. But in all essential respects, the advice he offered is as relevant as ever, and this thesis owes a good deal to the demonstrative effect of the research strategies and the published research of the Leicester group of local historians. In particular, every effort has been made to provide a comparative context for developments at Frittenden, thereby, it is hoped, avoiding what J.D.Marshall once referred to as the 'intellectual death [which] lies within the single parish viewed in isolation'.<sup>7</sup> In summing up the findings of this research, it is convenient to set them out under two headings, corresponding to the twin *milieux* in which these local findings are set.

#### Frittenden and the Course of Agrarian Change

(i) Many assessments of late eighteenth and nineteenth century agrarian and agricultural history are pivoted on the role of enclosure and the impact that it had on production and farming systems. However, enclosure is not relevant to Kent in general and Frittenden in particular in the nineteenth century. Another significant theme featuring strongly in most general overviews is 'high farming', epitomised by Coke and Norfolk, which provided the foundation for improvement and subsequent prosperity until the full impact of world competition in the 1870s. This is not to say that Frittenden was totally untouched by enclosure (for the Brook was enclosed), nor that it was devoid of any signs of high farming practice, but these are not the dominant themes. Rather, the historical origins of the settlement of Frittenden had a far more lasting impact on the structure of farms and farm sizes, with all the implications that followed on from that. Today,

---

<sup>7</sup> J.D.Marshall, 'The Use of Local History', *Amateur Historian*, 6, 1 (1963), p.17.

modern techniques and mobility can all but obliterate such influences, but they were profoundly significant in the nineteenth century.

(ii) Despite the regular loss of some of its natural increase, the population of Frittenden grew quite substantially during the period considered. The number of families dependent on agriculture showed continued growth, remaining the largest category although reducing as a percentage of the total number of families recorded in the parish. Frittenden thus continued to be an agriculturally based community into the final quarter of the nineteenth century, with trades and crafts making some inroads but with manufacturing making no significant contribution to the local economy.

(iii) The vicissitudes of farming are a feature of particular interest, as is the response of farmers to them. The depression in the post war years was intensified in Frittenden by an apparently perverse move into arable products at a time when prices were in decline. The subsequent reversion to a more balanced mix of husbandry contributed to a recovery in farming income shown by the capacity of the Mann/Cornwallis tenants to meet higher rentals in the third quarter of the century. However, it should be remembered that this 'recovery' was from a particularly low level and that even after the benefits were achieved, the standard of living may not have been high in comparison with other agricultural areas. The economic turnaround appears to have begun in the 1840s and to have been established by the mid-1850s. This economic prosperity was of course reinforced by the development of the railway network. Despite the expanded market provided by the arrival of the railway in 1842, Frittenden appears to have been slow to show any impact of its arrival. However, in the longer term the railway not only enabled quicker



and more efficient delivery of product but also provided quick and cheap delivery of inputs. As such, costs and income were likely to level out at least to county or regional levels if not necessarily national levels.

(iv) The role of the major landlord, the Mann/Cornwallis estate, in offering any kind of leadership was not impressive, for most of the period. In the first half of the century the attitude appears to fall into the category of benign neglect. Tenancies, where this can be identified, were almost entirely 'at will', with only two leases recorded and one of these having to be taken back by the estate. This simple arrangement (which applied also to smallholdings, cottages and shops) relied upon a large element of trust between the landlord and the tenant. To a large extent this trust was justified in social terms, for the estate was very tolerant of rent arrears. This may of course have been because of the lack of alternatives, but the acceptance of arrears in the parish in excess of the annual income must have been unusual. The 'gifting' of the whole arrears (£249, more than two years rental) to one tenant in 1826 was an exceptional display of magnanimity. As a consequence, farm rentals in Frittenden were, without exception, lower in 1850 than those of 1813. Most reductions were in the 20% to 40% range and suggest an almost permanent depression in local agriculture for the four decades following the Napoleonic Wars. The rent reductions were deep and permanent and must have impacted upon the profitability of the estate. It can of course, be argued that this regime was almost too benign. While the relative inaction of Lord Cornwallis resulted in most tenants being able to remain on their land, by not enforcing better tenants and better methods of husbandry he may have condemned his farmers, and thus their labourers, to poorer

standards of living than if he had invested more capital rather than, in effect, providing working capital to sustain inefficient or ineffective farmers and farming methods.

The changes associated with Thomas Law Hodges, an innovative but smaller-scale landowner in the 1840s, and the succession to the Mann/Cornwallis estate of Lord Holmesdale in 1853 are difficult to assess. A grater influence on the part of Thomas Law Hodges would not necessarily have been to Frittenden's advantage: for he was primarily concerned with drainage and with the promotion of increased arable - a change which was happening in any event and which tended to reinforce the depression experienced in the 1830s/40s. With the advent of Lord Holmesdale the level of investment rose, and there was a significant improvement in the performance of estate lands in Frittenden which, by 1875, could meet significantly higher rents and also the tithes and taxes levied on the land. But many other influences were working together to promote greater agrarian prosperity in the third quarter of the nineteenth century; and the intervention of the major landlords appears to have been at no time decisive.

(v) It follows that it was down to the farmers themselves (including owner-occupiers as well as tenants), to devise their own strategies of survival and adaptation. In a real sense, they were the architects of their own fortunes, favourable or otherwise. Since Frittenden's farms were (by national standards) on the small side, it is not surprising to note that farming was often accompanied by a secondary occupation; and they certainly kept a wary eye on labour costs. Live-in labour maintained a significant presence in the parish throughout the period, and its continuation was facilitated by the creation of new farmhouses with appropriate accommodation in some

instances. However, contracts were typically for six-months, rather than a whole year, and gradually there was a tendency for reliance on the labour of kin as a substitute. Some two-thirds of farmers lived in an extended family, or had children of working age living on the farm.

(vi) Turner has suggested that 'the technical and managerial expertise of farmers, was probably as critical as environmental factors in determining output and productivity'.<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, we have no parish data on output and for this reason it is not possible to assess the course of agricultural productivity in Frittenden, either in terms of yields per acre or output per person employed on the land. At no time during the period considered, did anything approaching a revolution in farming technology or practices occur. On the other hand, we can draw upon inferences from shifts in land use patterns. The quite marked move towards arable that was a feature of the first half of the nineteenth century can be interpreted as an attempt to uphold farm revenues, and it is only with hindsight that this reaction to falling prices can be interpreted (by historians) as wrong-headed and inappropriate, worsening the situation.<sup>9</sup> In due course, there was a visible shift in Frittenden to a 'mixed' system which was better attuned to the imperatives of the market situation, influenced by urbanisation, the coming of the railways, and the inroads made by imports into the

---

<sup>8</sup> M.E.Turner, J.V.Beckett and B.Afton, 'Taking Stock: Farmers, Farm Records, and Agricultural Output in England 1700-1850', *A.H.R.* (1996), p.27.

<sup>9</sup> There is a parallel here, and it is not too far-fetched, with the responses of farmers in the 1920s to falling prices. Their efforts were, commonly, to increase output to uphold revenues, though this only aggravated the fall in prices. See M.Tracey, *Agriculture in Western Europe: Crisis and Adaptation since 1880* (1964), p.117.

market for agricultural products. The experience of agriculture in Frittenden supports the view that although the signals offered by the course of agricultural price relativities was not acted on automatically, or very rapidly<sup>10</sup>, nevertheless in the longer run farmers' attitudes and expectations, even in this remote corner of agricultural England, showed a capacity for adjustment. It is reasonable to infer that there were gains in agricultural productivity, from the fact that there was a significant increase in rents by 1875, without any associated arrears. The mixed pattern of husbandry that had evolved by then clearly benefitted the landlords and the farmers, if not to the same extent the agricultural labourer.

(b) The Farmer and the Community

Were farmers, as well as being the moving force behind agrarian progress, also the backbone of the community, orchestrating the business of the parish and shaping its destinies? The object of the second part of the thesis was to explore (so far as possible, and within the limitations of the time left available), issues of that kind.

Reference has been made, in an earlier chapter, to Reay's study of Dunkirk and Hernhill, which discounted the role of non-resident landlords but asserted the existence of two classes, one comprising the larger farmers and the other, labourers and small farmers.<sup>11</sup> For his purposes (explaining the rising of 1838) it was important to establish the existence of antipathy between the two groups. There is room for some debate as to how successful Reay was in demonstrating the existence of a two-class model of

---

<sup>10</sup> M.Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The transformation of the agrarian economy 1500-1850* (1996), p.206.

<sup>11</sup> For further details, see Chapter 11, p.324-6 above.

social structure. An important table of the distribution of land occupation suggests that it came closer to realisation in the extra-parochial ville of Dunkirk than at Hernhill, where there appears to have been more of a continuum, rather than a clear cut division at any particular point.<sup>12</sup> The evidence of the existence of two classes is to say the least questionable, as is conceded by Reay in a series of caveats.<sup>13</sup>

At Frittenden we have no such 'rising' to account for, so that our enquiries into the role of farmers in the community are not influenced by a pre-determined agenda, in the same way. Our main findings, respecting the role of farmers in the community can be summarised as follows:-

(i) Very large farms, i.e. those of over 300 acres, which constituted approximately 8% of English farms in 1851 in the nation at large were conspicuously absent.<sup>14</sup> At Frittenden the average size of holdings in 1841 was 44.9 acres, and these were distributed across a wide range, forming a continuum (see tables 3viii and 3ix, Chapter 3).

(ii) From the study of marriage alliances we have seen that there was quite a high degree of endogamy among the offspring of farmers, but the acreages held by the

---

<sup>12</sup> B.Reay, *The Last Rising of the Agricultural Labourers: Rural Life and Protest in Nineteenth-Century England* (1990), p.19.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p.30. 'Farm sizes are notoriously difficult to gauge ... it is foolhardy to try to map rates of wealth and status ... from bare acreages ... It is probably impossible to be precise ... but in Hernhill the thin red line seems to have been somewhere between 20 and 30 acres. Even here there were exceptions.'

<sup>14</sup> D.Grigg, *English Agriculture: An Historical Perspective* (1989), pp.112-3, puts the average size of english farm holdings in 1851 at 107 acres (though discounting any farm of 5 acres or below to arrive at these figures).

parents did not appear to have had a very strong influence on who married whom. Within the farming community the situation was quite fluid and the outcome of any particular union, in respect of the consolidation of farming fortunes, was never easy to predict. In no way could we describe farmers as a closed caste.<sup>15</sup>

(iii) Farming households were usually larger than average, but (in this parish) only by, on average, one person (Chapter 10, table 10vi). This was due, in the main, to the presence of farm servants, lingering on in this part of Kent well after their commonly-accepted demise in eastern and southern England. To the extent that live-in servants declined (though they by no means disappeared) between 1851 and 1871 (Chapter 7, table 7v), this was compensated for by increasing reliance on co-residing offspring of working age, and on other co-residing kin.

(iv) Chapter 11 demonstrates that farmers did, indeed, fill many of the parish offices. It could scarcely be otherwise, since labourers (unless ratepayers) were not entitled to membership of the parish vestry, and the major landowners were not directly involved. There is some evidence to support that these offices were regarded as burdens to be shouldered from time to time rather than being sought after as a means of exercising power over others. Nor was there any unanimity of outlook among farmers in political behaviour, so far as we can judge.

(v) Although situated in a district notorious for dissent, Frittenden was predominantly Anglican. A

---

<sup>15</sup> This point is recognised by Reay, who also acknowledges that cases of farmers' daughters marrying agricultural labourers were common enough (Reay (1990), *op.cit.*, p.41). However, he seems disinclined to discuss this feature at any length, swiftly reverting on the same page to his model of 'class ascendancy'.



certain amount of 'steerage' in village affairs came from the Rectors, in particular Edward Moore whose activities have been traced in some detail (Chapter 12). There is evidence, here, that accords with theories of 'social control' as a means of inducing harmony and good order into the life of Frittenden. However, it should be noted that Moore was a substantial landowner in his own right; he was not simply an instrument, or lieutenant of the major landowner, the Mann/Cornwallis estate; and his influence cannot have been overpowering, given the existence of a substantial number of free-holders, including a number of farmers of a non-conformist persuasion.

(vi) To an appreciable extent the nonconformists of the village, i.e. the Baptists, formed links with those of a similar religious persuasion outside Frittenden itself, in neighbouring communities. How seriously this impaired their influences on the parish, and their relationships with Anglicans it is difficult to say, on the evidence available. In some cases, such as the Hickmott family discussed in Chapter 13, there emerged branches of the family of different religious persuasions, but how far this presented a real barrier to their mutual respect and interaction is not a matter on which our sources can throw much light. In any event, our account of the Hickmotts' business activities shows that in the last analysis, they were faced with the same farming vicissitudes, and were necessarily much pre-occupied with the day to day business of practical farming and dealing. One may suspect, therefore, that although religious differences might rumble gently in the background, in the last analysis what the different branches of this (and perhaps other) farming families had in common was more significant than that which divided them.

(c) Some Valedictory Remarks

In the last analysis though it covers many facets of Frittenden's nineteenth century experience, this thesis falls short of reaching - or aspiring to - a total history of the parish. Starting as it did, from the land-holding patterns evidenced in the apportionment of 1806 and its successors, the thrust of this study has been directed towards the role of farmers in the economic sphere and their central role in the community. In passing, and insofar as the records pertaining to farmers are of 'estate' provenance, a fair amount of indirect light has also been thrown upon the role of landlords. The section of the community which has been largely neglected here is the largest, though not, we suspect, the dominant element of the community. The case for studying the experiences of labourers and their families is every bit as strong, and potentially as interesting as those of farmers and landlords. The indications are that the lot of labouring men and their families was a hard one for much if not all of the period, yet there is no sign of any Frittenden involvement in the Swing Riots of 1830-1, even though such incidents were quite common in nearby parishes. At present, the reasons for this can only be surmised at. What is now needed is a thesis directed specifically towards the experience of the labourers. If and when this comes to be written, it would complement the present study and thereby elevate this small Wealden parish to a very prominent position in the annals of agrarian and rural social history. But this is a project for another time, another pen and, very likely, another personal computer.

APPENDIX I

Computer Applications and Database Design

## Analysis of data

The end product of a piece of historical analysis may be said to be 'a representation of a past reality based on a body of known facts', a 'logically consistent picture of a subject supported by all available data'. As a process, history may be seen 'as the dynamic and directed interplay of ideas and evidence'<sup>1</sup>. Broadly speaking, the terms quantitative and qualitative analysis are used to define different approaches to collecting and analysing information. In 1993, Stephen Page wrote in *The Local Historian* that

'quantitative researchers collect facts and examine the relationships between such facts, often through the use of statistics. The advantage of a quantitative statement is that it enables precise measurements and values to be given in support of the research by using scientific techniques. The disadvantage is that a knowledge of statistical techniques is required to ensure the correct procedures and methods of analysis are applied. In contrast, qualitative analysis is more concerned with the approach and perspective which the historical information may offer within the context of an individual's behaviour, attitudes and actions.'<sup>2</sup>

The computer, and more particularly commercially available software, provides the opportunity of integrating information gleaned from many different original economic and social sources. This data can then be analysed using the computer in such a way as to supplement more traditional methods of analysis.

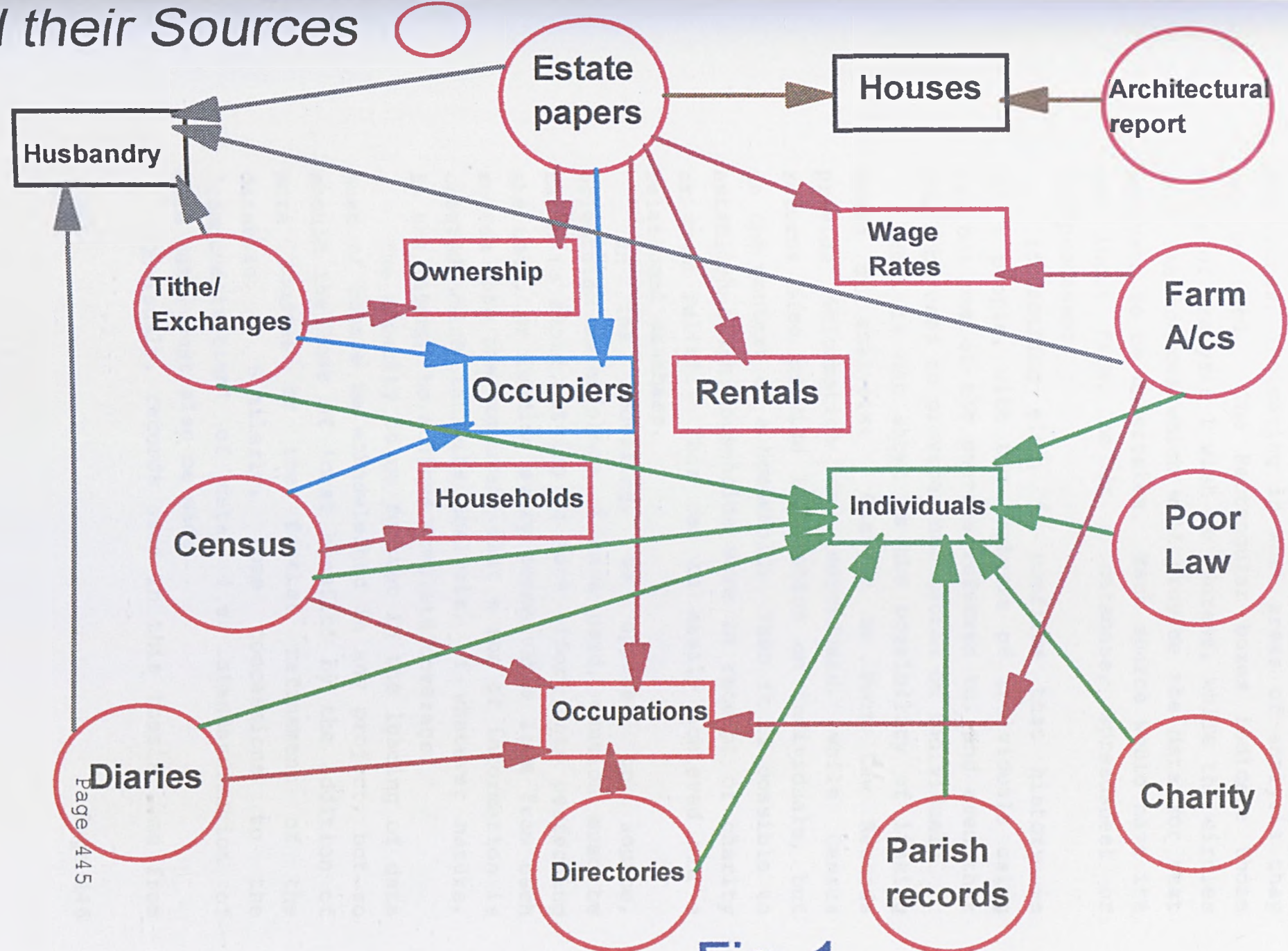
Intuitively, quantitative data more readily lends itself to the use of computer software, but the memory capacity of modern computers has resulted in the capability to store information in a form much closer

---

<sup>1</sup> C. Harvey and J. Press, *Databases in Historical Research - Theory, Methods and Applications* (1996).

<sup>2</sup> Stephen J. Page, 'Researching Local History: Methodological Issues and Computer-Assisted Analysis', *The Local Historian*, 23, 1 (1993), 20-30.

and their Sources



Page 445

Fig. 1



to that of the original source, thereby enabling some computer analysis which is qualitative in nature.

Figure I, outlines the sources used in my researches, indicating in what areas of analysis they may be used. The Rectangular boxes indicate those areas of analysis I wish to address, while the circles show the sources which will provide the data for that analysis to be undertaken. Each source would have its own input file, be it a database, spreadsheet or wordprocessor.

If nothing else, it confirms that history is about people, with the analysis of individuals using all but one of the sources referred to, and even that could be used to provide information on individuals.

What is not shown is the possibility of linking areas of analysis. Charity or Poor Law Records provide information on individuals, while Census returns also provide information on individuals, but in the context of a household. Thus it is possible to establish which households were in receipt of charity or poor relief. This can be easily achieved via a relational database.

In the modelling, as opposed to source, orientated methodology, I have used, caution must be taken to avoid putting so much effort into perfecting the data, or loading every conceivable item from each source onto the computer, that a fog of information is created which inhibits analysis, of whatever nature, in the attempt to achieve complete coverage.

The capacity to go further in the loading of data must of course be acknowledged in any project, but so should the loss of 'cost benefit' by the addition of more sources or the further refinement of the database. Similarly, some concessions to the 'computerisation' of data, i.e. standardisation of some data, must also be made.

Obviously, records used in this thesis come from



a variety of repositories. Those used ranged from local records available from within the parish, through County sources, particularly from the Centre for Kentish Studies, to national sources such as the P.R.O.

To analyse this wide range and volume of material, the computer appeared to be the best tool. For example, each of the tithe apportionments relates to nearly 1,000 fields, while some 4,000 individuals are included in the census returns from 1841-91. My initial thought was that all the obvious sources should be considered for inclusion in a single computer application. However, in practice, a database came to form the central core of my computer work, supported by other software which I found to be more appropriate for certain sources and analysis. Thus it was essential that compatible software should be used which would facilitate the movements of data from one form of software to another as appropriate, ie it may be better to capture data on one form of software but analyse it on another.

The advantage of the database is that it is simply a logically ordered collection of data which, in the past, may have been held on cards or ruled paper. Thus it is essentially an automated version of well-tried, manual information management systems. The automated system does, however, impose strict disciplines of definition on the researcher, who has to cope with some idiosyncratic data at times. Such disciplines would equally enhance the use of a card index.

A further advantage relates to record linkage. Manual linkage is time consuming while with a computer database it is now possible to organise, compare and link data on a much larger scale and faster than was possible by manual methods.

# Sources and Software

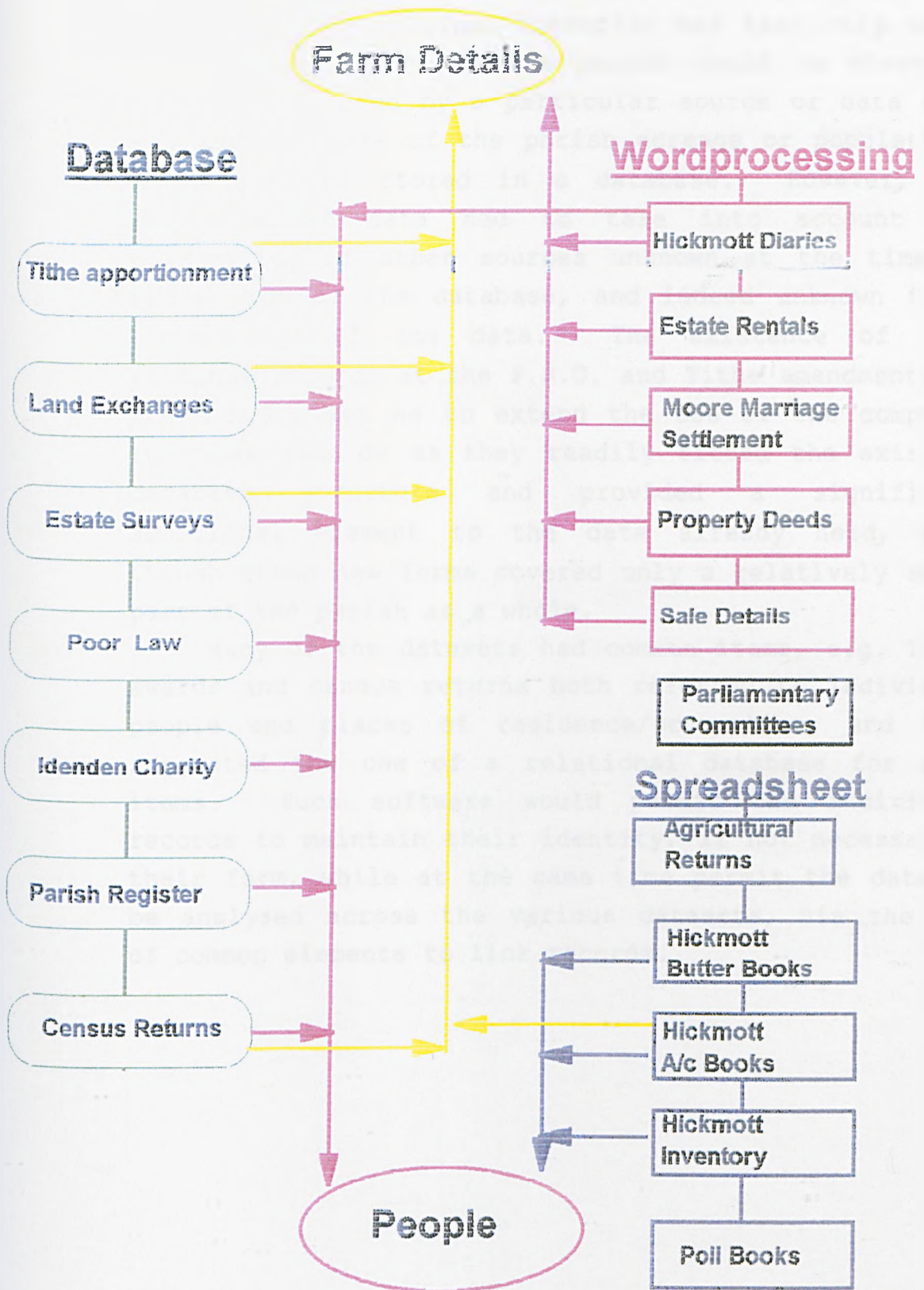


Fig II

Figure II shows the range of original sources and the form of software I chose to use for each in my researches.

(a) Database

After analysing the likely sources appropriate to a database, my original intention was that only where a significant part of the parish could be shown to have been covered by a particular source or data set, e.g. 80% or more of the parish acreage or population, would data be stored in a database. However, the structure of data had to take into account the possibility of other sources unknown at the time of the design of the database, and indeed unknown forms of enquiry of the data. The existence of land exchange records at the P.R.O. and Tithe amendments at the C.K.S., led me to extend the use of the computer to these records as they readily fitted the existing database structure and provided a significant additional element to the data already held, even though these new forms covered only a relatively small part of the parish as a whole.

Many of the datasets had common items, e.g. Tithe awards and census returns both referred to individual people and places of residence/occupation, and this suggested the use of a relational database for such items. Such software would permit the individual records to maintain their identity, if not necessarily their form, while at the same time permit the data to be analysed across the various datasets, via the use of common elements to link records.



# DATABASE

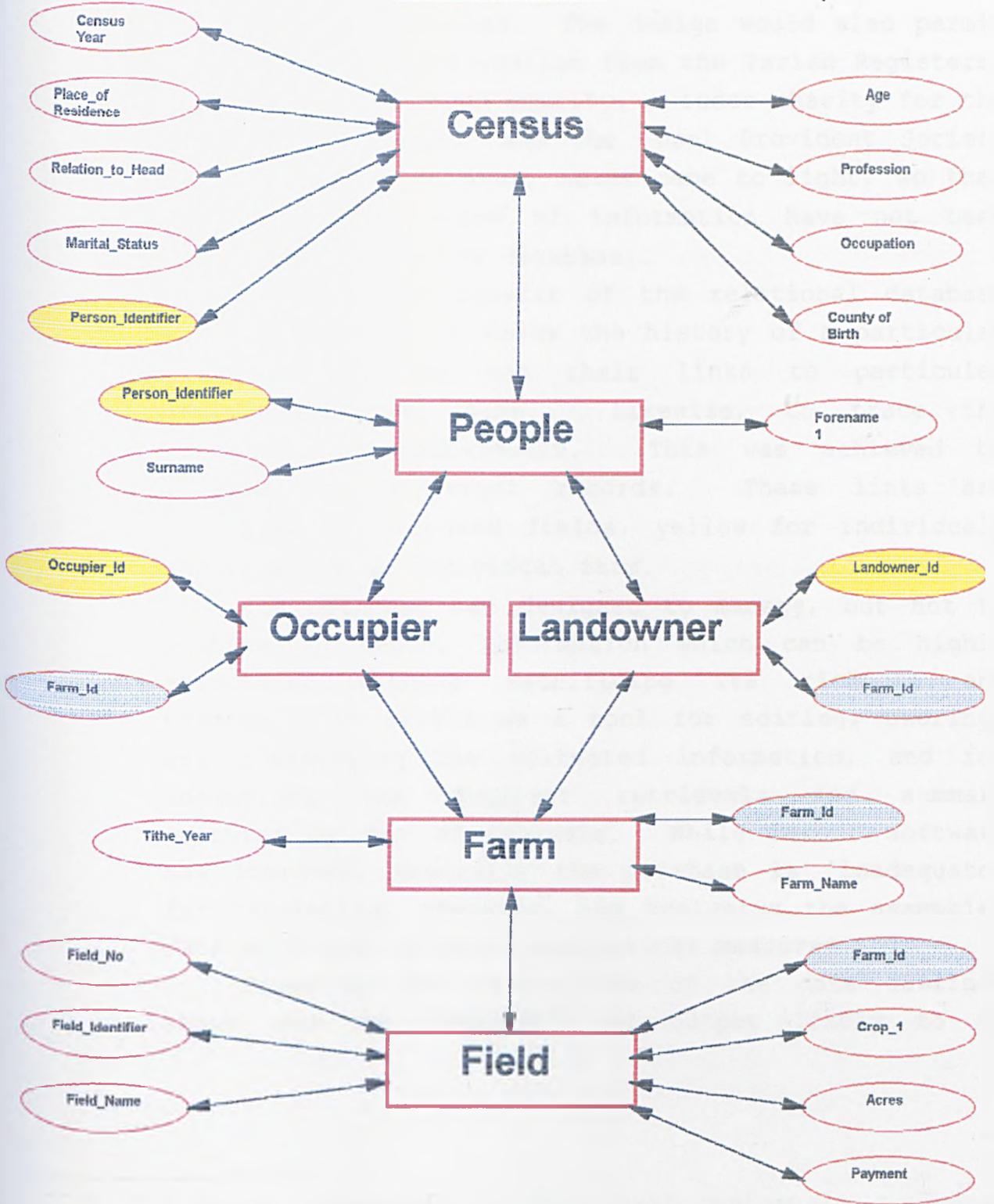


Fig III

Figure III shows the database structure.<sup>3</sup> This involved a model orientated rather than a source orientated approach. The four Tithe Apportionments, Census Data, Tithe Amendments, Land Exchanges were applied as illustrated. The design would also permit the addition of information from the Parish Registers, Poor Law, the Idenden Charity, a tudor charity for the poor of the parish, and the local Provident Society records (which, however, never came to light, so that the latter two forms of information have not been incorporated into the database).

A particular benefit of the relational database was the capacity to trace the history of a particular field or holding and their links to particular individuals over time. Likewise, to trace the situation of individuals. This was achieved by linking the different records. These links are indicated by coloured fields, yellow for individuals and blue for an individual farm.

The database was designed to manage, but not to analyse in depth, information which can be highly structured without sacrificing its richness and meaning. It excels as a tool for editing, storing, and classifying the collected information, and for conducting the simplest retrievals and summary measures by way of analysis. While recent software has improved, generally the database is 'inadequate' for tabulating, graphing, and analysing the assembled data with more advanced statistical measures.

Based on the diversities of the data outlined above and the complexity of output likely to be

---

<sup>3</sup> C.Tilly, 'Computers in Historical Analysis', *Computers and the Humanities*, 7 (1973), p.328.  
Daniel I.Greenstein, *A Historian's Guide to Computing*, 1994, p.30.

required, DataEase 4.5<sup>4</sup> was the relational database (RDBMS) chosen. The particular version used was an MS DOS database frequently found in the commercial sector and with which I am familiar. It has proved to be a very powerful tool. Multiple database files could be accessed simultaneously, each containing up to 16 million data records.

Six files were created. Some, such as the people file, were 'core' files which could be accessed by input screens for each of the source documents. This permitted a person to be identified and associated to a relevant set of data. Thus James Hickmott recorded as farmer of Lashenden in the 1841 Census is also held on the system as the same James Hickmott recorded at Lashenden in the 1841 Tithe Apportionment. This means that at the time of input more than one file is being updated. It is the identification of the core files that permits the extension of the database to other sources such as Parish Records, Poor Law Records, etc.

The use of DataEase also provided the capability of interfacing with compatible packages such as Lotus 123, a spreadsheet package, for numerical or statistical analysis which otherwise would require extensive programme writing and testing, within DataEase itself. Thus an enquiry could be made of the database which produced a subset which was automatically downloaded into a spreadsheet and further analysed there.

The Windows version of DataEase is available but was not used in order to save memory, both on my home PC and the University's Computer. The DOS 'front-end' of DataEase is very 'user friendly', thus reducing some of the advantage of migrating to Windows.

---

<sup>4</sup> DataEase runs on microcomputers with a minimum RAM memory requirement of 1 megabyte and requires MS-DOS version 3.1 or higher. In this case a 486SX.25 PC, with a base memory of 640KB and extended memory of 3072KB, was used.



DataEase allowed the database to be designed by the user, and enabled a range of searching facilities on the data without detailed knowledge of a computer language, (although knowledge of the conventions of SQL [Structured Query Language], known as DQL within DataEase, is an advantage). By creating tailor-made reports the user can access data in a wide range of formats, order, or combination of linked files. The linking system of files is a particular strength of this package; it not only allowed a large number of links across files, but relationships were also simple to create and maintain.

(b) Spreadsheets

The Hickmott 'Account Books' and the Agricultural Returns, first collected in 1866 by a Government concerned over the outbreak of cattle plague the previous year, were transposed into Spreadsheets, which permitted simple mathematical and sorting processes to be applied to them. The data was structured in the spreadsheet in such a way as to permit the easy transfer to a database should that have been identified as desirable at a later date.

The spreadsheet used was Lotus 123 for Windows, Release 1.0. Spreadsheets also permit the application of statistical processes, such as manipulation, univariate [summarising single variables] and bivariate [measuring association between two variables] analysis, to the data together with its graphical representation, eg line graph, bar or pie chart.

In general however, a spreadsheet's sorting and retrieval facilities are primitive when compared with those available in a database management system.

(c) Wordprocessing

Extracts from the James Hickmott diaries, Cornwallis Estate Accounts etc. were held in a Wordprocessing package which enabled the text to be searched electronically for such things as the names of farms and individuals. These could have been included in the main database but the benefit was considered to be only marginal given the cost of the greater memory capacity required to hold information within a database compared to a Word Processing package.

In addition to the search facility, Wordprocessors can also provide the capability to analyse the text by use of Index, concordance and keyword facilities, sometimes known as text editors, mark-up languages, or text analysers (the industry has moved to SGML [Standard Generic Markup Language], as its standard descriptive mark-up language). Thus text can be marked and electronically listed outside of the main text, thereby permitting, for example, individual occupiers' arrears, to be highlighted, particularly in rent, and indeed different forms of arrears to be analysed.

The software package used for this form of analysis was WordPerfect for Windows, an industry standard package requiring Windows 3.0 or higher.

(d) Graphical Information System (GIS)

Another form of software considered was the Graphical Information System or GIS. The capacity to produce maps analysing the information held on the database would provide a helpful visual adjunct to this study. Essentially it would be possible to recreate the 1806 and 1841 maps. More usefully one could show those fields under owner occupation, under particular crops, occupied by one particular family or extended family. The use of a GIS was rejected in favour of the simpler 'Paintbrush' facility provided

within Windows. Although this permitted the creation of the maps contained within this thesis, this proved to be time consuming and probably required as much time as if a new GIS package had been used, notwithstanding the learning curve that would have involved. However, in retrospect a GIS would have been the better and more versatile option

The use of the DOS version of DataEase would have allowed the simple access of data from a GIS package, although the increasing use of Windows, and now Windows 95/8 and Windows NT, in GIS packages would have made the conversion of the data into a Windows format necessary. Such a migration would have been achieved by simply loading DataEase for Windows and the accessing of the existing data via the updated software. As cautioned earlier, however, using Windows applications does have implications for memory capacity.

(e) **Some Closing Reflections**

In the early 1970s Charles Tilly observed that computer-aided research projects

*'produced important periods when the researchers are so preoccupied with problems of coding, file construction, statistical procedure, computer techniques, and coordination of the whole effort that they practically lose contact with the people, events, places, and times they are studying.'*<sup>5</sup>

However, I would argue that since the mid 1980s, off the shelf packages have become much more 'user friendly', significantly reducing the need and the time to master computing techniques.

From the experience of preparing this thesis, it is clear that the computer can provide a quasi-scientific approach to historical research. Perhaps

---

<sup>5</sup> C.Tilly, 'Computers in Historical Analysis', *Computers and the Humanities*, 7 (1973), p.328.

the ideal is to use a database as a receptacle in which information is compiled, edited and stored, and, where necessary, coded so that it can be analysed later with other software, which though less appropriate for data management, is more powerful for cross tabulation, graphical presentation, and statistical measure. However it is used, the computer tends to generate a series of general propositions, not a series of testable hypotheses. But by highlighting material or significant developments, quantitative evidence may be provided to illuminate, but not necessarily prove, possible solutions to features of qualitative analysis.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### ORIGINAL SOURCES

#### P.R.O.

C54/17913/PFFP1144, *Indenture between James Hickmott and the trustees of Bounds Cross Chapel Biddenden, August 1876.*

IR18/3608, *Frittenden Tithe File.*

IR18/3608, *Altered Apportionment of the Rent Charge in lieu of Tithes on certain Lands in the Parish of Frittenden in the County of Kent, 11 September 1851.*

IR18/3608, *Draft Award Exchange March 1855 and Receipt of sealed copy of Confirmed Award of Glebe Exchange July 1855.*

MAF11/963/82/481, *Exchange of Lands Cranbrook: Moore Exchange 14 July 1854.*

MAF11/963/78/494, *Exchange of Lands Cranbrook; Baron Braybrooke, 10 August 1854.*

MAF/68, *Agricultural Returns for the Parish of Frittenden, 1866, 67, 70, 74, 75, 77, 78.*

TITH2/103, *Agreement for the Commutation of Tithes pursuant to 6 & 7 Wm. 4 C71, Parish of Frittenden, Weald of Kent Dated 19th Day of June 1837.*

#### P.P.

1801, VI.813 *Abstract of Answers and Returns under Act for taking Account of Population of Great Britain.*

1812, 52 Geo. III c.70: *An Act for making a Navigable Canal from the River Medway, near Brandbridges in the Parish of East Peckham in the County of Kent, to extend to and unite with the Royal Military Canal in the Parish of Appledore in the said County; and also certain Navigable Branches and Railways from the said intended Canal (5th May 1812).*

1831, XVIII.1, *Comparative Account of Population of Great Britain, 1801, 1811, 1821 and 1831.*

1833, XXXVI.1, XXXVII.1, XXXVIII.1, *Abstract of Population Returns of Great Britain, 1831.*

1833 VI, *Select Committee on State of Agriculture.*

1836, VIII, I.1, I.225, II.1, Select Committee on Agricultural State of Agriculture.

1837, XXIII, The Reports of the Commissioners Appointed In Pursuance Of Various Acts Of Parliament To Enquire Concerning Charities In England And Wales Relating to The County Of Kent 1819-1837.

1843, XII, Report of Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioners on Women and Children in Agriculture.

1847-8 XLVII, An Account of Persons who have been Aided in Emigration from England & Wales under the Provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act.

1847-8, VII.1, S.C. on Agricultural Customs.

1851 Census Reports and Tables on Education in England and Wales.

1853, Census of England & Wales 1851: Religious Worship.

1867, XVII.1, Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons, and Women in Agriculture: Evidence accompanying Mr Stanhope's Report.

1871, LXIX.271, Agricultural Returns for Great Britain for 1871.

1900, Cmd. 346, Report By Mr Wilson Fox On The Wages and Earnings of Agricultural Labourers In The United Kingdom.

#### H.L.R.O.

House of Commons Committee on the South Eastern Railway Bill, 24 March 1836.

#### C.K.S.

G/C/AM/112, Minutes of the Guardians of Cranbrook Poor Law Union 1835-38.

P152/8/2, Vestry Records of St.Mary's Church Frittenden.

P152/11/1,2,3, Frittenden Overseers records.

P152/1/2,3,4, Register of Baptisms St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1770-1812, 1813-44, 1844-79.

P152/1/6,7, Register of Marriages St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1754-1812, 1813-37.



P152/1/5, Register of Burials St.Mary's Church Frittenden, 1813-75.

P152/3/4, Case between the Revd.Henry Hodges, Rector of Frittenden and his parishioners for a composition to be paid him in lieu of their respective Tythes - 7th May 1806.

P152/1841/11, Enumerators Returns for the Parish of Frittenden Census 1841.

P152/1851/27, Enumerators Returns for the Parish of Frittenden Census 1851.

P152/1861/18-19, Enumerators Returns for the Parish of Frittenden Census 1861.

P152/1871/29-30, Enumerators Returns for the Parish of Frittenden Census 1871.

P152/25/7, Copy of Will of Thomas Idenden 1566.

P152/25/9, Frittenden Idenden Charity Feoffees Book 1817-1900.

P152/27/2, Frittenden Tithe Award Map 1841.

P152/27/3, Frittenden Tithe Award 1841 Based On Survey made in 1806 By J.Grist, Corrected To June 1839.

P152/28/6, Survey of the Parish of Frittenden by J.Grist of Canterbury and associated Memorandum between the parishioners and Occupiers of Land in the parish of Frittenden and the Reverend Henry Hodges, Rector dated 2nd August 1806.

U24/A1, Half Year Rents Rec'd on behalf of Sir Horace Mann, 1784 and 1785.

U24/A2/1-43, Mr Groom in Account with James Mann Esqr for rent of his Estates in the counties of Kent and Sussex.

U24/A2/13, Enclosed note from W Groom to James Mann Esq dated Cranbrook 9 Decr 1820.

U24/A3, Half Yearly Rental of the Linton, Egerton and Sissinghurst Estates due 6th April 1877.

U24/E1, Report and Valuation of Sundry Estates in the County of Kent the Property of James Mann Esqr By R.Allerton, 1814.

U24/E3, Copy of Report As To The Estates In Kent & Sussex Of The Trustees Of The Late Earl Cornwallis 1853.

U24/E4, Report Upon and Rental Valuation of the Linton, Egerton, and Sissinghurst Estates, situate in the County of Kent, the property of The Right Honble Viscount and Viscountess Holmesdale 1875-6.

U24/E7, Rental of estates of Sir Horace Mann, Michaelmas 1813.

U24/E13, Sale of Iden Park Estate 1887.

U24/L3, Case concerning disputed right of way over Gould Farm in Frittenden and Staplehurst: Exparte The Trustees of the Will of the late James Mann Earl Cornwallis, 1861-2.

U24/P4, Peasridge c1797; Map of Peasridge Farm purchased by the Honorable and Right Reverend The Lord Bishop of Lichfield & Coventry 1819.

U24/T4, Particulars and Conditions of Sale of a very capital and Elegant Freehold Mansion House, called Linton Place, ... and also Divers Farms Messuages, and Lands in ... Frittenden ... 1805-6.

U24/T/228, Particulars and Conditions of Sale of a Valuable Freehold Estate called Sinksnorth Farm, and other lands contiguous thereto, 2nd August 1853.

U24/T229, The Devises in Trust of the late Earl Cornwallis and the Revd. Edward Moore; Draft Application to the Inclosure Commissioners for the Exchange of Lands and premises at Frittenden Biddenden and Marden in Kent under the Act 9th & 9th Vic. c118, 1853.

U1334/F3-4, Diary of James Hickmott of Lashenden 11/1/1860 to 23/10/1873.

U1974/A1, Settlement on the Marriage of the Revd. Edward Moore with The Lady Harriet Janet Sarah Douglas Montague Scott: Statement & Account of the dealing of the Trust Funds, 1842-85.

#### Cranbrook Museum

Vox Stellarum Almanack

#### F.H.S

Survey and Map of the Parish of Frittenden by J.Grist of Canterbury August 1806.

Lease for a year Mr James Small to Mr John Thorp dated 10 April 1839.

John Walker, Architect, Maidstone, Specification of the Works proposed to be done at the Rectory House, Frittenden, February 1839.

Notebook; 1841 Household Furniture brought from Ulcombe.

Conveyance of Cottage and premises in Frittenden Kent Dated 25th March 1843: Mr James Small, his Wife and Mortgagee to The Reverend Edward Moore.

Transcript of letter from Robert Mercer, churchwarden, to Edward and Lady Moore, 26 July 1848.

Transcript and original letter from Edward Moore to Robert Mercer, 8 August 1848.

Parochial Church Council of St. Mary's Church Frittenden, Parish Records, Extract of the Will of Henry Burden dated 30th March 1853.

Conveyance of Cottage and premises in Frittenden Kent Dated 19th January 1854 The Revd. Edward Moore to Mr John Usborne.

Conveyance of Cottage and premises in Frittenden Kent Dated 7th March 1855 Mr John Usborne to Mr William Beeken.

James Hickmott's Butter Book 1855.

List of Payers of Rent Charge in Novr. 1857 at rate of Original Commutatn.

Lashenden Notebooks 1843-1863.

1869 List of Payers of Rent Charge at rate of original Commutation.

Notebook without cover, 1841 Household Furniture Brought from Ulcomb.

Land Tax Receipts.

Stamp Office, Receipt and Discharge for any specific Pecuniary or other Legacy Nos 31-33.

Last Will and Testament of William Hickmott the Elder of Frittenden.

For Administration: An Inventory and Valuation of the Effects of the late Mr William Hickmott.

Indenture between James Hickmott and the trustees of Bounds Cross Chapel Biddenden, August 1876.

*Particulars & Conditions of Sale of Lashenden & Farris Farms, July 1888.*

*Articles of the Frittenden Provident Society. As Revised 1904.*

*Here Lies Frittenden: A Churchyard Survey (1994).*

I.H.R.

*BC25, Poll Books for Kent and West Kent.*

Vestry Of St Mary's Church, Frittenden

*Register of Marriages 1837-1925.*

*Register of Burials 1875-1949.*

*Register of Baptisms 1879-1935.*

Frittenden Parochial Church Council

*Parish Record, Extract of the Will of Henry Burden dated 30th March 1853.*

Other

*Farey, J, Geological Section of the Country from London to Brighton (1806).*

*London Gazette.*

*Kentish Gazette.*

*Kent & Ashford Gazette.*

**SECONDARY SOURCES**

*Alexander, D, Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution (1970).*

*Allen, R.C., Enclosure and the Yeoman. The Agricultural Development of the South Midlands 1450-1850 (1992).*

*Anderson, M., 'Standard Tabulation Procedures for the Census Enumerators Books, 1851-1891' in Wrigley, E.A. (Ed.), Nineteenth Century Society. Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods in the Study of Social Data (1972).*

*Andersen, M., Family Structure in Industrial Lancashire (1974).*

Anderson, M., 'Marriage Patterns in Victorian Britain: An Analysis Based on Registration District Data for England and Wales 1861', *Journal of Family History*, 1, 1 (1976).

Andrews, J., *Political Issues in the County of Kent*, (Unpublished Theses, London, 1967).

Armstrong, W.A., 'Social Structure from the Early Census Returns' in Wrigley, E.A. (Ed.), *An Introduction to English Historic Demography* (1966).

Armstrong, W.A., *Stability and Change in an English County Town: A social study of York 1801-51*, Cambridge (1974).

Armstrong, W.A., 'The Flight from the Land' in G.E. Mingay (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, I (1981).

Armstrong, W.A., review of B. Reay, *The Last Rising of the Agricultural Labourers. Rural Life and Protest in Nineteenth Century England* (1990), *Social History*, 2 (1992).

Armstrong, W.A., & Huzel, J.P., 'Labour II: Food, Shelter and Self-Help, the Poor Law and the Position of the Labourer in Rural Society' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, VI (1989).

Armstrong, W.A., *Farmworkers: A Social and Economic History 1770-1980* (1988).

Armstrong, W.A., *The Economy of Kent, 1640-1914*, KCC, (1995).

Armstrong, W.A. 'The Countryside' in Thompson, F.M.L. (Ed.), *Cambridge Social History of England*, I (1990).

Armstrong, W.A., 'The Population of Victorian and Edwardian Kent: (I) Growth Migration, Distribution', *Arch.Cant.*, CXII (1993).

Armstrong, W.A., 'The Population of Victorian and Edwardian Kent: (II) Natural Increase: Births, Marriages and Deaths', *Arch.Cant.*, CXIV (1994).

Ashby, A.W., *Allotments and Small Holdings in Oxfordshire* (19nn).

Ashton, T.S., *The Industrial Revolution 1760-1830*, (1992 Reprint).

Bagshaw, S., *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Kent* (1842).

Baker, A.R.H., 'Field Systems in Medieval Kent' in Baker, A.R.H., & Butlin, R.A. (Eds.), *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles* (1973).

Baker, D., 'The Marketing of Corn in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', *A.H.R.* 18 (1970).

Baker, T.H., *Records of the Seasons, Prices of Agricultural Produce and Phenomena Observed in the British Isles* (1911).

Banks, S., *Open and Close Parishes in Nineteenth Century England*, (Unpublished Theses, University of Reading, 1982).

Banks, S., 'Nineteenth-century scandal or twentieth-century model? A new look at 'open' and 'close' parishes', *EcHR*, XLI (1988).

Barley, M.W., *The English Farmhouse And Cottage* (1961).

Barnett, D.C., 'Allotments and the Problem of Rural Poverty, 1780-1840' in Jones & Mingay (Eds.), *Land Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution* (1967).

Bateman, J., *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland: A List of all Owners of Three Thousand Acres and Upwards* (1879).

Baugh, D.A., 'The Cost of Poor Relief in South-East England, 1790-1834', *EcHR*, XXVIII, 1 (1975).

Bavington Jones, T., *Kent at the Opening of the Twentieth Century: Contemporary Biographies* (1904).

Baxter, W.E., *The Domesday Book for the County of Kent*, (1877).

Beastall, T.D.W., 'Landlords and Tenants', in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, II (1981).

Beckett, J.V., 'English landownership in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the debate and the problems', *EcHR*, XXXV (1977).

Beckett, J.V., 'The Decline of the Small Landowner in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England: Some Regional Considerations', *A.H.R.*, 30 (1982).

Beckett, J.V., 'The Peasant in England. A Case of Terminological Confusion?', *A.H.R.*, 32 (1984).

Beckett, J.V., 'The pattern of landownership in England and Wales, 1660-1880', *EcHR*, XXXVII (1984).



- Beckett, J.V., 'Landownership and Estate Management' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, VI (1989).
- Beckett, J.V., 'The Decline of the Small Landowner' in Thompson, F.M.L. (Ed.), *Landowners, Capitalists and Entrepreneurs* (1994).
- Bell, C. & Newby, H., *Community Studies* (1971).
- Bellingham, R.A., "Mr Powell's Enclosure Award and the Computer", *Local Historian*, 25, 2 (1995).
- Benson, J. & Shaw, G. (Eds.), *The evolution of retail systems c1800-1914* (1992).
- Beresford, M., *History on the Ground* (1957).
- Berkner, L.K., 'The Use and Misuse of Census Data for Historical Analysis of Family Structure', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4 (1975).
- Blackman, J.M., 'The corner shop: the development of the grocery and general provisions trade' in Oddy, D. & Miller, D., (Eds.), *The Making of the Modern British Diet* (1976).
- Bonfield, Smith & Wrightson (Eds.), *The World We Have Gained* (1986).
- Bowley, A.L., 'The Statistics of Wages in the United Kingdom during Nineteenth Century', *J.R.S.S.*, LXII (1899).
- Bowley, A.L., *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1900).
- Bowley, A.L., *Wages and Income in the U.K.* (1937).
- Boys, J., *General View Of The Agriculture Of The County of Kent* (1794 and 1796).
- Bracey, H.E., *English Rural Life* (1959).
- Broad, J., 'Alternate Husbandry and Permanent Pasture in the Midlands, 1650-1800', *A.H.R.*, 28 (1980).
- Brodrick, G.C., *English Land and English Landlords* (1968 Reprint).
- Brown, J., *The English Market Town* (1991).
- Buckland, G., 'On the farming of Kent', *J.R.A.S.*, VI (1845).

- Burchardt, J., *The Allotment Movement in England, 1793-1873*, (Unpublished Theses, University of Reading 1997).
- Burchardt, J., 'Rural Social Relations, 1830-50: Opposition to Allotments for Labourers', *A.H.R.*, 45 (1997).
- Caird, J., *English Agriculture In 1850-1851* (1852).
- Caird, J., *The Landed Interest and the Supply of Food* (5th Edn., 1967).
- Campbell, B.M.S. & Overton, M., 'A New Perspective on Medieval and Early Modern Agriculture: Six Centuries of Norfolk Farming c1250-c1850, *Past & Present*, 141 (1993).
- Counce, S., 'Farm Servants and the Development of Capitalism in English Agriculture', *A.H.R.*, 45, (1997).
- Chalklin, C.W., *Seventeenth Century Kent: A Social and Economic History* (1965).
- Chambers, J.D., 'Enclosure and the small landowner', *ECHR*, X (1940).
- Chambers, J.D., 'Enclosure and Labour Supply in the Industrial Revolution', *ECHR*, V (1953).
- Chambers, J.D., 'The Vale of Trent 1670-1800: A Regional Study Of Economic Change', *ECHR*, (Supplement 3 1957).
- Chambers, J.D., *Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century* (1966).
- Chambers, J.D., & Mingay, G.E., *The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880* (1966).
- Chartres, J.A., 'Country Tradesmen' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, I (1981).
- Chartres, J.A., 'Country Trades, Crafts, and Professions' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, VI (1989).
- Chartres, J.A & Hey, D., *English rural society, 1500-1800* (1990).
- Chartres, J.A., & Turnbull, G.L., 'Country Craftsmen' in G.E. Mingay, *The Victorian Countryside*, I (1981).
- Checkland, S.G., *The Rise of industrial society in England 1815-1885* (1964).

Chisolm, M., *Rural Settlement And Land Use: An Essay In Location* (1970).

Clapham, J.H., *An Economic History of Modern Britain: The Early Railway Age 1820-1850* (1930).

Clapham, J.H., *Free Trade and Steel 1850-1886* (1932).

Clapham, J.H., *The Bank of England 1797-1914*, II (1966 Reprint).

Clarkson, L.A., 'The Manufacture of Leather' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, VI (1989).

Coale, A.J. & Watkins, S.C., *The Decline of Fertility in Europe* (Princeton, 1986).

Coats, A.W., 'The Classical Economists and The Labourer' in Jones, E.L. & Mingay, G.E. (Eds.), *Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution* (1967).

Cobbett, W., *Rural Rides* (1885 Edn).

Collins, E.J.T., 'Historical farm records', *Archives*, VII (1966).

Collins, E.J.T. & Jones, E.L., 'Sectoral Advance in English Agriculture, 1850-80', *A.H.R.*, 15 (1967).

Collins, E.J.T., 'Harvest technology and labour supply in Britain, 1790-1870', *ECHR*, XXII (1969).

Collins, E.J.T., 'The Rationality of 'Surplus' Agricultural Labour: Mechanization in English Agriculture in the Nineteenth Century', *A.H.R.*, 35 (1987).

Collins, E.J.T., Introduction to 'The Agricultural Servicing and Processing Industries' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, VI (1989).

Coppock, J.T., 'The Agricultural Returns as a source for Local History', *Amateur Historian*, 4 (1958/59).

Corfield, P.J., 'The Rivals: Landed and Other Gentlemen' in Harte & Quinault, *Land and Society in Britain 1700-1914; Essays in Honour of F.M.L. Thompson*, (1996).

Cox, E.A. & Dittmer, B.R., 'The Tithe Files of the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *A.H.R.*, 13, 1965.

Crompton, C.A., 'An exploration of the craft and trade structure of two Hertfordshire villages, 1851-1891: an application of nominal record linkage to directories and census enumerators' books', *Local Historian*, 28, 3 (1998).

Crosby, T.L., *English Farmers and the Politics of Protection* (1977).

Crossick, G., *An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London 1840-1880* (1978).

Cunningham, H., 'The Employment and Unemployment of Children in England c1680-1851', *Past & Present*, 126 (1990).

Cunningham, H., 'Leisure and Culture', in Thompson, F.M.L., *The Cambridge History of Britain 1750-1950*, 2: People and their Environment (1990).

Darby, H.C. (Ed.), *A New Historical Geography of England* (1973).

Davey, B.J., 'Ashwell 1830-1914: The decline of a village community', *Department of English Local History Occasional Papers*, Third Series, No.5 (Leicester 1980).

Davey, C. & Jarvis, A.S., "Microcomputers for Microhistory: a Database Approach to the Reconstitution of Small English Populations", *History and Computing*, 2, 3 (1990).

Davies, E., *The small landowner 1780-1832 in the light of land tax assessments*, *ECHR*, I (1927).

Davies, M.F., *Life in an English Village* (1910).

Deane, P. & Cole, W.A., *British Economic Growth; 1688-1959: Trends and Structure* (2nd Edn., Cambridge 1967).

Dearn, T.D.W., *An Historical Topographical and Descriptive Account of the Weald of Kent* (Cranbrook, 1814).

Defoe, D., *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1971).

Digby, A., *Pauper Palaces* (1978).

Dobson, M., 'Population: 1640-1831' in Armstrong, W.A. (Ed.), *The Economy of Kent 1640-1914* (1995).

Dupree, M.W., *Family Structure in the Staffordshire Potteries 1840-1880* (1995).

- Gallois, R.W. & Edmunds, F.H., *British Regional Geology: The Wealden District* (4th Edn., 1965).
- Edwards, P., *Farming: Sources for Local Historians* (1991).
- English, B., 'Lark Rise and Juniper Hill: A Victorian Community in Literature and History', *Victorian Studies*, XXIX (1985).
- Ernle, Lord, *English Farming Past and Present* (4th Edn., 1927).
- Ernle, Lord [R.E. Prothero], *The Pioneers and Progress of English Farming* (1888).
- Evans, E.J., *The Contentious Tithe, 1750-1850* (1976).
- Evans, E.J., 'Tithes: Maps, Apportionments and the 1836 Act', *The Local Historian at Work*, 6, (B.A.L.H., 1993).
- Evans, E.J., 'Tithes, 1640-1750', in Thirsk, J. (Ed.) *Chapters From The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1750: 3 Agricultural Change: Policy and Practice, 1500-1750* (1990).
- Everitt, A., *The Pattern of Rural Dissent: the Nineteenth Century* (Leicester, 1972).
- Everitt, A.M., 'The Making of the Agrarian Landscape of Kent', *Arch.Cant.*, XCII (1976).
- Everitt, A., 'Country Carriers in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Transport History*, III (1976).
- Everitt, A., *Landscape and Community in England* (1985).
- Everitt, A., *Continuity and Colonisation: the evolution of Kentish settlement* (1986).
- Finberg, H.P.R., *Approaches to Local History* (1962).
- Finberg, H.P.R. & Skipp, V.H.T., *Local History: Objective and Pursuit* (1973).
- Finch, W.Coles, *Watermills & Windmills* (1933).
- Fisher, F.J., 'The development of the London food market, 1540-1640', *EcHR*, II (1934-5).
- Fletcher, T.W., 'The Great Depression Of English Agriculture' 1873-96', *EcHR*, XIII (1961) and in W.E. Minchinton (Ed.), *Essays In Agrarian History*, II (1968).

- Flinn, M.W., 'Trends in real wages, 1750-1850', *ECHR*. XXVII (1974).
- Foster, J., *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early industrial capitalism in three English towns* (1974).
- Frankenberg, R., *Communities in Britain. Social Life in Town and Country* (1966).
- French, M., *A Victorian Village: A Record of The Parish of Quethiock in Cornwall* (Falmouth, 1977).
- Fuller, M.J. & Spain, R.J., *Watermills (Kent and the Borders of Sussex)* (1986).
- Furley, R., *A History of the Weald of Kent* (Ashford, 1874).
- Fussell, G.E. & Compton, M., 'Agricultural Adjustments After The Napoleonic Wars', *Economic History*, 14 (1939).
- Fussell, G.E. & K.R., *The English Countryman: His Life and Work: A.D.1500-1900* (1955).
- Garrad, G.H., *A Survey of the Agriculture of Kent* (1954).
- Gilbert, A.D., 'The Land and the Church' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, I, (1981).
- Gillis, J.R., *For Better, For Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present* (1985).
- Glasscock, R.C., 'England circa 1334' in Darby, H.C., (Ed.), *A New Historical Geography of England* (1973).
- Gosden, P.H.J.H., *The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875* (Manchester, 1961).
- Gough, R., *The History of Myddle*, Hey, D (Ed.), (1981).
- Grace, D., 'The Agricultural Engineering Industry' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, VI (1989).
- Greenhow, E.H., *Papers Relating to the Sanitary State of the People of England* (1973 Reprint).
- Greenstein, D.I., *A Historian's Guide to Computing*, (1994).



- Gravett, K. & Betts, P.F.J., Unpublished recording of 37 timber framed houses and associated outbuildings in the parish of Frittenden.
- Grigg, D., 'Farm Size in England and Wales: From Early Victorian Times to the Present', *A.H.R.*, 35 (1987).
- Grigg, D., *English Agriculture: An Historical Perspective* (1989).
- Grogan, B. & B., *Frittenden School: The First Hundred Years* (1981).
- Hall, A., 'Fenland worker-peasants. The economy of smallholders at Rippingale, Lincolnshire, 1797-1871', *Supplement Series, A.H.R.*, 40 (1992).
- Hammond, J.L. & B., *The Village Labourer* (4th Edn., 1936).
- Harris, A., 'Changes in the Early Railway Age: 1800-1850' in Darby, H.C. (Ed.), *A New Historical Geography of England*, (Cambridge, 1973).
- Harte, N. & Quinault, R., *Land and Society in Britain 1700-1914; Essays in Honour of F.M.L. Thompson* (1996).
- Harvey, C. & Press, J., "Relational Data Analysis: Value, Concepts and Methods", *History and Computing*, 4, 2 (1992).
- Harvey, C. & Press, J., *Databases in Historical Research: Theory, Methods and Applications* (1996).
- Hasbach, W., *A History of the English Agricultural Labourer* (1908).
- Hasted, E., *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, VII (1973 Reprint).
- Havinden, M.A., *Estate Villages: A study of the Berkshire villages of Ardington and Lockinge* (Reading, 1966).
- Hawes, S., 'Notes on the Wealden Clay of Sussex and on its Cultivation', *J.R.A.S.*, XIX (1858).
- Hey, D. (Ed), R.Gough, *The History of Myddle* (1981).
- Hey, D., *Family history and local history in England* (1987).
- Hey, D., *The Oxford Guide To Family History* (1993).
- Hey, D., 'The Local History of Family Names', 1997 Phillimore Lecture, *Local Historian*, 17, 4 (1997).

- Higgs,E., *Making sense of the census: the manuscript returns of the census 1801-1901*, (1989).
- Higgs,E., "The 1891 Census: Continuity and Change", *Local Historian*, 22, 4 (1992).
- Higgs,E., 'Occupational Censuses and the Agricultural Workforce in Victorian England and Wales', *ECHR*, XLVIII (1995).
- Higgs,E., *A clearer sense of the census. The Victorian censuses and historical research*, (1996).
- Hillery,G.A., 'Definition of community: areas of agreement', *Rural Sociology*, 20 (1955).
- Hinde,P.R.A., 'Household Structure, Marriage and the Institution of Service in Nineteenth Century Rural England', *Local Population Studies*, 35 (1985).
- Hinde,P.R.A., 'The Marriage Market in the Nineteenth Century English Countryside', *The Journal of European Economic History*, 18, 2 (1989).
- Hinde,P.R.A., "Household Structure in Rural England, 1851-1881: a Multivariate Analysis", *History and Computing*, 2, 3(1990).
- Hobsbawm,E.J., 'Friendly Societies', *Amateur Historian*, 3 (1957).
- Hobsbawm,E.J., *Labouring Men: studies in the history of labour* (1964).
- Hobsbawm,E.J. & Rudé,G., *Captain Swing* (1970).
- Hodges,T.Law, 'On the cheapest Method of making and burning Draining Tiles', *J.R.A.S.*, V (1845).
- Hodges,T.Law, 'On Temporary Tile-Kilns', *J.R.A.S.*, IX (1848).
- Holderness,B.A., 'Prices, Productivity, and Output' in Mingay,G.E. (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1750-1850*, VI (1989).
- Holderness,B.A., 'The Victorian Farmer' in Mingay,G.E. (Ed), *The Victorian Countryside*, I (1981) and in Mingay,G.E. (Ed), *The Vanishing Countryman* (1989).
- Holderness, B.A. & Turner, M.E., *Land Labour and Agriculture, 1700-1920* (1991).
- Horn,P., *Labouring Life In The Victorian Countryside* (1995).

Horn, P., *The Rural World, 1780-1850: Social change in the English countryside* (1980).

Hoskins, W.G., *The Midland Peasant: The Economic and Social History of a Leicestershire Village* (1957).

Hoskins, W.G., *Local History in England* (1959).

Hoskins, W.G., *English Local History the Past and the Future: An Inaugural Lecture* (Leicester 1966).

Howell, D.W., *Land and People in Nineteenth-Century Wales* (1978).

Howkins, A., *Whitsun in 19th Century Oxfordshire* (1973).

Howkins, A., *Reshaping Rural England: A Social History 1850-1925* (1991).

Howkins, A., 'The English farm labourer in the nineteenth century: farm, family and community' in Short, B. (Ed.), *The English Rural Community Image and Analysis* (1992).

Howkins, A., 'Peasants, Servants and Labourers: The Marginal Workforce in British Agriculture, c1870-1914', *A.H.R.*, 45 (1994).

Hudson, P., "A New History from Below: Computers and the Maturing of Local and Regional History", *Local Historian*, 25, 4 (1995).

Hueckel, G., 'Relative Prices and Supply Response in English Agriculture during the Napoleonic Wars', *ECHR*, XXIX, (1976).

Hunt, E.H., *Regional Wage Variations In Britain 1850-1914* (1973).

Hunt, E.H. & Pam, S.J., 'Essex Agriculture in the 'Golden Age', 1850-73', *A.H.R.*, 43 (1995).

Hunt, H.G., 'Agricultural Rent in South-East England, 1788-1825', *A.H.R.*, 7 (1959).

Hurt, J.S., 'Landowners, Farmers, Clergy and the Financing of Rural Education before 1870', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 1 (1968).

Igartua, J.E., 'The Computer and the Historian's Work', *History and Computing*, 3, 2 (1991).

Inglis, K.S., 'Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 11 (1960).

- Janssens, A., 'Managing Longitudinal Historical Data: An Example from Nineteenth Century Dutch Population Registers', *History and Computing*, 3, 3 (1991).
- Jefferys, J.B., *Retail Trading in Britain 1850-1950: a study of trends in retailing with special reference to the development of co-operative, multiple shop and departmentstore methods of trading* (Cambridge, 1954).
- John, A.H., 'Farming in Wartime: 1793-1815' in Jones, E.L. & Mingay, G.E. (Eds.), *Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution* (1967).
- Johnson, A.H., *The disappearance of the Small Landowner* (1979 Reprint).
- Johnston, H.J.M., *British Emigration Policy 1815-1830: Shovelling Out Paupers* (1972).
- Jones, D., 'Rural crime and punishment in the Victorian era' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Unquiet Countryside* (1989).
- Jones, E.L., 'English Farming before and during the Nineteenth Century', *ECHR*, XV (1962).
- Jones, E.L., 'The Changing Basis of English, Agricultural Prosperity, 1853-73', *A.H.R.*, 10 (1962).
- Jones, E.L., *Seasons And Prices. The Role of the Weather in English Agricultural History* (1964).
- Jones, E.L., 'The Agricultural Labour Market in England 1793-1872', *ECHR*, XVII (1964).
- Jones, E.L., *The Development of English Agriculture, 1815-1873* (1968).
- Jones, E.L., *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution* (1974).
- Jones, E.L., 'The Changing Basis of English Agricultural Prosperity, 1853-73' in Minchinton, W.E., *Essays in Agrarian History*, II (1968).
- Jones, E.L. & Collins, E.J.T., 'The collection and analysis of farm record books', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, III (1965).
- Jones, E.L. & Mingay, G.E., *Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution* (1967).
- Kain, R.J.P., 'The Tithe Commutation Surveys', *Arch.Cant.*, LXXXIX (1974).

- Kain,R.J.P., Fry,R. & Holt,H., *An atlas and index of the tithe files of mid-century England and Wales*, Cambridge (1986).
- Kain,R.J.P & Prince,H.C., *The Tithe Surveys of England and Wales*, Cambridge (1985).
- Kain,R.J.P., 'Extending the Agenda of Historical Inquiry: Computer Processing of the Tithe Survey Data', *History and Computing*, 3, 1 (1991).
- Kain,R.J.P. and Oliver,R.R., *The Tithe Maps of England and Wales*, (1995).
- Keith-Lucas,B., 'Kentish Turnpikes', *Arch.Cant.*, C (1984).
- Keith-Lucas,B., *Parish Affairs: The Government of Kent Under George III* (1986).
- Kent,N., *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property* (1775).
- Kerr,B., *Bound to the Soil; a Social History of Dorset 1750-1818* (1968).
- King,S., 'Multiple-source Record Linkage in a Rural Industrial Community, 1680-1820', *History and Computing*, 6, 3 (1994).
- Kitch,M., 'Population movement and migration in pre-industrial rural England' in Short,B. (Ed.) *The English Rural Community: Image and analysis* (1992).
- Kusssmaul,A., *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge, 1981).
- Kusssmaul,A., *A general view of the rural economy of England 1538-1840* (1990).
- Laslett,P., 'Introduction: The Numerical Study of English Society', in Wrigley,E.A. (Ed.) *An Introduction to English Historic Demography* (1966).
- Laslett,P. & Wall,R., *Household and Family in Past Time*, Cambridge (1972).
- Laslett,P., *The World we have lost* (1979).
- Lawton,R., 'Rural Depopulation in Nineteenth Century England' in Mills,D. (Ed.), *English Rural Communities: the Impact of a Specialized Economy* (1973).
- Levine,D., *Reproducing families: The political economy of English population history* (1987).

Lewis, S., *Atlas to the Topographical Dictionaries of England and Wales: Kent* (1844).

Littlejohn, J., *Westrigg: The Sociology of a Cheviot parish* (1963).

Lord, E., 'The Friendly Society Movement and the Respectability of the Rural Working Class', *Rural History*, 8, 2 (1997).

MacDonald, S., 'Agricultural Response to a Changing Market during the Napoleonic Wars', *ECHR*, XXXIII (1980).

Mann, P.H., 'Life in an Agricultural Village in England', *Sociological Review*, I (1904).

Margary, I.D., 'Roman Roads In West Kent', *Arch.Cant.*, LIX (1946).

Margary, I.D., *Roman Ways in the Weald* (1948).

Markham, G., *The Inrichment of the Weald of Kent* (1660).

Marshall, J.D., 'The Use of Local History', *Amateur History*, 6 (1963).

Marshall, W., *The Review and Abstract of the Board of Agriculture from the several Agricultural Departments of England*, Volume 5 Southern and Peninsular Departments (1968 Reprint).

Martin, J.M., 'The Rise in Population in Eighteenth-Century Warwickshire', *Dugdale Society Occasional Papers*, No. 23 (Oxford 1976).

Martin, J.M., 'Village Traders and the Emergence of a Proletariat in South Warwickshire, 1750-1851', *A.H.R.*, 32 (1984).

Melling, E., *Kentish Sources: IV, The Poor* (1964).

Miller, C., 'The Hidden Workforce: female field workers in Gloucestershire, 1870-1901', *Southern History*, 6 (1984).

Mills, D. (Ed.), *English Rural Communities: the Impact of a Specialized Economy* (1973).

Mills, D., *Lord and Peasant in Nineteenth Century England* (1980).

Mills, D.R. & Schürer, K., *Local Communities in the Victorian Census Enumerators' Books* (1996).

- Mills, D. & J., 'Farms, farmers and farm workers in the nineteenth-century census enumerators' books: a Lincolnshire case study', *Local Historian*, 27, 3 (1997).
- Minchin, G.S. in Page, W. (Ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Kent*, III (1974).
- Minchinton, W.E., *Essays in Agrarian History*, I & II, (1968).
- Mingay, G.E., 'The Size of Farms in the Eighteenth Century', *EcHR*, XIV (1962).
- Mingay, G.E., *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1963).
- Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Agricultural State of the Kingdom* (2nd Edn., Bath, 1970).
- Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Agricultural Revolution: Changes In Agriculture 1650-1880* (1977).
- Mingay, G.E., *Rural Life in Victorian England* (1976).
- Mingay, G.E., *The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class* (1976).
- Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside* (1981).
- Mingay, G.E., *The Transformation of Britain 1830-1939* (1986).
- Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Vanishing Countryman* (1989).
- Mingay, G.E., 'Rural war': the life and times of Captain Swing' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Unquiet Countryside* (1989).
- Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1750-1850*, VI (1989).
- Mingay, G.E., *Land And Society In England 1750-1980* (1994).
- Mingay, G.E., 'Agriculture' in Armstrong, W.A., *The Economy of Kent, 1640-1914* (KCC, 1995).
- Mitchell & Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, Cambridge (1962).
- Moore, D.C., *Politics of Detente* (1976).
- Morris, R.J., 'Nominal Record Linkage: into the 1990s', Editorial, *History and Computing*, 4, 1 (1992).



- Neave, D., *Mutual Aid In The Victorian Countryside: Friendly Societies in the Rural East Riding 1830-1914* (1991).
- Neeson, J.M., *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England 1700-1820* (1993).
- Newby, H., *The Deferential Worker* (1971).
- Newman, A.E., *Old Poor Law in East Kent 1606-1834: A Social and Demographic Analysis* (Unpublished Theses, University of Kent 1979).
- Nuttal, G.F., 'Dissenting Churches in Kent before 1700', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 14 (1963).
- O'Brien, P.K., 'Agriculture and the industrial revolution', *ECHR*, XXX (1977).
- Obelkevich, J., *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875* (Oxford, 1976).
- Oddy & Miller (Eds.), *The Making of the Modern British Diet* (1976).
- Ogle, W., 'On Marriage-Rates and Marriage-Ages, with Special Reference to the Growth of Population', *J.R.S.S.*, LIII (1890).
- Olney, R.J., 'The Politics of Land' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, I (1981).
- Orwin and Felton, 'A Century of Wages and Earnings in Agriculture', *J.R.A.S.*, XCII (1931).
- Orwin, C.S. & Whetham, E.H., *History of British Agriculture 1846-1914* (1964).
- Outhwaite, R.B., 'Age at marriage in England from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century', *T.R.H.S.*, XXIII (1973).
- Overton, M., *Agricultural Revolution In England: The transformation of the agrarian society 1500-1800* (1996).
- Page, M., 'Another Canal That Never Was', *Bygone Kent*, 8, 11 (1987).
- Page, S.J., 'Researching Local History: Methodological Issues and Computer-Assisted Analysis', *Local Historian*, 23, 1 (1993).
- Pahl, R.E., 'Class & Community in English Commuter Villages', *Sociologia Ruralis*, V (1965).

- Parker, K., *A Short History of Maplehurst Mill* (Undated).
- Le Patourel, J., 'Edward III and the Kingdom of France, *History*, 43 (1958).
- Perkin, H., *Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880* (1976).
- Perry, P. J., 'Working Class Isolation and Mobility in Rural Dorset, 1837-1936: a Study of Marriage Distances', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, XXXVI (1969).
- Pevsner, N. (Ed.), Newman, J., *The Buildings of England: West Kent and the Weald* (1988).
- Phillips, A. D. M., *The Underdraining Of Farmland In England During The Nineteenth Century* (1989).
- Phillips, M., 'The evolution of markets and shops in Britain' in Benson, J. & Shaw, G. (Eds.), *The evolution of retail systems c1800-1914* (1992).
- Pickering, W. S. F., 'The 1851 religious census - a useless experiment?', *British Journal of Sociology*, 18 (1967).
- Pigot & Co.'s *Royal National and Commercial Directory* (1839).
- Pinchbeck, I., *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution 1750-1850* (1981 reprint).
- Pocock, D. C. D., 'England's diminished hop acreage', *Geography*, XLIV (1959).
- Porter, J. H., 'The Development of Rural Society' in Mingay, G. E. (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, VI (1989).
- Price, F. G. H., 'On the Gault of Folkestone', *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, 30, (1874).
- Prince, H. C., 'The Tithe Surveys of the mid-nineteenth Century', *A.H.R.*, 7 (1959).
- Prince, H. C., 'The Tithe Surveys of the mid-nineteenth Century', *Archives*, VII (1959).
- Prince, H. C. & Kain, R. J. P., *The Tithe Surveys* (1985).
- Prince, H. C., 'Victorian rural landscapes' in Mingay, G. E. (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, I (1981).

- Prince, H.C., 'England circa 1800' in Darby, H.C. (Ed.), *A New Historical Geography of England* (1973).
- Prince, H.C., 'The Changing Rural Landscape' in Mingay, G.E., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1750-1850*, VI (1989).
- Rae, J., 'Why Have the Yeomanry Perished', *Contemporary Review*, XLIV (1883).
- Reay, B., *The Last Rising of the Agricultural Labourers. Rural Life and Protest in Nineteenth Century England* (1990).
- Reay, B., 'Sexuality in Nineteenth Century England: the social context of illegitimacy in rural Kent', *Rural History*, (1990).
- Reay, B., *Microhistories: demography, society and culture in rural England, 1800-1930* (1997).
- Reed, M. 'The Peasantry of Nineteenth-Century England: A Neglected Class?', *History Workshop Journal*, 18 (1984).
- Reed, M., 'Nineteenth-Century Rural England: A Case for 'Peasant Studies'?', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, XIV (1986-7).
- Reed, M., '"Gnawing it out"; a new look at economic relations in nineteenth-century rural England', *Rural History*, I (1990).
- Reed, M. & Wells, R. (Eds.), *Class, Conflict and Protest in the English Countryside, 1700-1880* (1990).
- Richards, E., 'The Land Agent' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Victorian Countryside*, II (1981).
- Richardson, T.L., 'The Agricultural Labourer's Standard of Living in Kent 1790-1840 in Oddy & Miller (Eds.), *The Making of the Modern British Diet* (1976).
- Richardson, T.L., 'Labour', Armstrong, W.A. (Ed.), *The Economy of Kent: 1640-1914* (K.C.C. 1995).
- Roake, M. (Ed.), *Religious Worship in Kent: The Census of 1851* (1999).
- Robin, J., *Elmdon: Continuity and change in a north-west Essex village 1861-1964* (Cambridge, 1980).
- Robinson, J.M., *Georgian Model Farms: A Study of Decorative and Model Farms in the Age of Improvement, 1700-1846* (1983).

- Rogers,A., *Approaches to Local History* (1977).
- Royle,E., 'Local History in context: twenty years of the Conference of Regional and Local Historians (CORAL), *Local Historian*, 28, 3 (1998).
- Russell,R.C., *The Foundation and Maintenance of Schools for the Poor* (Lindsey 1965).
- Saville,J., *Rural Depopulation in England and Wales 1851-1951* (1957).
- Schenk,W., "The Use of CAD and GIS Systems in the Reconstruction of Large-scale Historical Field Systems and Land Utilization - an Example from Southern Germany", *History and Computing*, 5, 1 (1993).
- Schürer,K. & Anderson,S.J. (Eds.), *A Guide to Historical Datafiles Held in Machine-Readable Form* (1992).
- Shanin,T. (Ed.), *Peasants and Peasant Societies, Selected Readings* (2nd Edn., 1988).
- Sheppard,J.A., 'East Yorkshire's Agricultural Labour Force in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *A.H.R.*, 11 (1961).
- Short,B., 'The Decline Of Living-In Servants In The Transition To Capitalist Farming: A Critique Of The Sussex Evidence', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, CXXII (1984).
- Short,B. (Ed.), *The English Rural Community Image and Analysis* (1992).
- Paul Smith,T., 'The Geographical Pattern of Coaching Services in Kent in 1836', *Arch.Cant.*, XCVIII (1982).
- Smith,W., *An Economic Geography Of Great Britain* (1949).
- Snell,K.D.M., *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England, 1660-1900* (Cambridge, 1985).
- Spavold,S. "Using a Relational Database: the example of the Church Gresley Inventories", *Local Historian*, 26, 2 (1996).
- Stamp,L.D., *The Land Use of Britain, its Use and Misuse* (1948).
- Stratton,J.Y., 'Farm Labourers, their Friendly Societies, and the Poor Law', *J.R.A.S.*, VI (1870).

- Stephens, W.B., *Sources for English Local History* (1993).
- Stone, L., *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (1979).
- Stratton, J.M., *Agricultural Records AD220-1968* (1978).
- Sturgess, R.W., 'The Agricultural Revolution on the English Clays', *A.H.R.*, 14 (1966).
- Sturgess, R.W., 'The agricultural revolution on the English clays: a rejoinder', *A.H.R.*, 15 (1967).
- Tann, J., 'Corn Milling' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1750-1850*, VI (1989).
- Thirsk, J. (Ed.) *Chapters From The Agrarian History of England and Wales, 1500-1750: 3 Agricultural Change: Policy and Practice, 1500-1750* (1990).
- Thirsk, J., 'English rural communities: structures, regularities, and change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in Short, B. (Ed.) *The English Rural Community: Image and analysis* (1992).
- Thomas, C., 'Rural Society in Nineteenth Century Wales: South Cardiganshire in 1851', *Credigion*, VI (1971).
- Thomas, S., 'The Agricultural Labour Force in some South-West Carmarthenshire Parishes in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century', *Welsh History Review*, III (1966).
- Thompson, E.P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963).
- Thompson, E.P., 'Eighteenth-century English society: class struggle without class?', *Social History*, 3, 2 (1978).
- Thompson, F.M.L., *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (1963).
- Thompson, F.M.L., 'The Land Market in the Nineteenth Century', in Minchinton, W.E., *Essays in Agrarian History*, II (1968).
- Thompson, F.M.L., 'The Second Agricultural Revolution, 1815-1880', *EcHR*, XXI (1968).
- Thompson, F.M.L., 'Landowners and the rural community' in Mingay, G.E. (Ed.), *The Unquiet Countryside* (1989).
- Thompson, F.M.L., *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Britain 1830-1900* (1988).

Thompson, F.M.L. (Ed.), *Cambridge Social History of England*, I (1990).

Thompson, F.M.L. (Ed.), *Landowners, Capitalists and Entrepreneurs* (1994).

Thompson, F.M.L., 'An Anatomy of English Agriculture, 1870-1914', in Holderness and Turner, *Land Labour and Agriculture, 1700-1920* (1991).

Thompson, R.J., 'An Enquiry into the Rent of Agricultural Land in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century', *J.R.A.S.*, LXX (1907).

Thomson, D., 'Welfare and the Historians' in Bonfield, Smith and Wrightson (Eds.), *The World We Have Gained* (1986).

Teitelbaum, M.S., *The British Fertility Decline* (Princeton 1984).

Tiffin, A.W., *The Goudhurst Coronation Book* (1937).

Tillot, P.W. & Stevenson, G.S., *North-West Lindsey in 1851*, (University of Sheffield, Department of Extra-Mural Studies 1970).

Tillot, P.M., 'Sources of Inaccuracy in the 1851 and 1861 Censuses' in Wrigley, E.A. (Ed.), *Nineteenth Century Society. Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods in the Study of Social Data* (1972).

Tilly, C., 'Computers in Historical Analysis', *Computers and the Humanities*, 7 (1973).

Torrington, Viscount, *On Farm Buildings with a few observations on the State of Agriculture in the County of Kent* (1845).

Tracey, M., *Agriculture in Western Europe: Crisis and Adaptation since 1880* (1964).

Tranter, N.L. *Population and Society 1750-1940: Contrasts in Population Growth* (1985).

Turner, M.E., Beckett, J.V. & Afton, B., 'Taking Stock: Farmers, Farm Records, and Agricultural Output in England, 1750-1850', *A.H.R.*, 44 (1997).

Turner, M.E., Beckett, J.V. & Afton, B., *Agricultural rent in England, 1690-1914* (1997).

Vincent, J.R., *Pollbooks: How Victorians Voted* (Cambridge, 1968).

Vine, P.A.L., *The Royal Military Canal* (1972).

- Wall, R., Robin, J. & Laslett, P. (Eds.), *Family Forms in Historic Europe* (Cambridge, 1983).
- Wallenberg, J.K., *The Place-Names of Kent* (Uppsala, 1934).
- Wallenberg, J.K., *Kentish Place-Names* (Uppsala, 1931).
- West, J., *Village Records* (1962).
- Williams, M., *The Draining Of The Somerset Levels*, (Cambridge, 1970).
- Williams, W.M., *The Sociology of an English Village: Gosforth* (1956).
- Williams, M.W. 'The Social Study of Family Farming', *Geographical Journal*, CXXIX (1963).
- Williams, W.M., *A West Country Village: Ashworthy, Family Kinship and Land* (1963).
- Williams, W.M., 'The Social Study of Family Farming' in Mills, D.R. (Ed.), *English Rural Communities: The Impact of a Specialised Economy* (1973).
- Willmott, P., *The Evolution of a Community. Dagenham over 40 years* (1963).
- Wilson, J.M., *The Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales*, I (Undated c1868).
- Wilson, J.M., *The Rural Cyclopedia*, II (1847).
- Winchester, I., 'What Every Historian Needs to Know About Record Linkage for the Microcomputer Era', *Historical Methods*, 25, 4 (1992).
- Winstanley, M.J., *The Shopkeeper's World, 1830-1914* (1983).
- Winstanley, M., 'Industrialisation and the Small Farm: Family and Household in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire', *Past & Present*, 152 (1996).
- Wojciechowska-Kibble, B., *Migration and the rural labour market: Kent 1841-71* (Unpublished Theses, University of Kent 1984).
- Wojciechowska, B., 'Brenchley: A Study Of Migratory Movements In A Mid-Nineteenth Century Rural Parish', *Local Population Studies*, 41 (1988).



Wojciechowska, B., 'Brenchley: A Study of Migratory Movements In A Mid-Nineteenth Century Rural Parish' in Mills, D. & Schürer, K., *Local Communities In The Victorian Census Enumerators Books* (1996).

Woods, R. & Shelton, N., *An Atlas of Victorian Morality* (1997).

Wrigley, E.A. (Ed.) *An Introduction to English Historic Demography* (1966).

Wrigley, E.A. (Ed.), *Nineteenth Century Society. Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods in the Study of Social Data* (1972).

Wrigley, E.A., 'Men on the Land and Men in the Countryside: Employment in Agriculture in Early-Nineteenth-Century England' in Bonfield, Smith & Wrightson (Eds.), *The World We Have Gained* (1986).

Wrigley, E.A. & Schofield, R.S., *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (1981).

Yates, N., 'A Kentish Clerical Dynasty: Curteis of Sevenoaks' Part I 1716-1861, CVIII (1990), and Part II 1874-1907, *Arch.Cant.*, CXVII (1997).

Young, M. & Willmott, P., *Family and Kinship in East London* (1962).

Zell, M., *Industry in the countryside: Wealden society in the sixteenth century* (1994).

Open University Course Book D301, *Historical sources and the social scientist*, Introduction to historical psephology: Introduction to Units 6-8.

*Some Surrey And Kent Churches.*

*The Labourers' Friend: A Selection From the Publications of The Labourers' Friend Society, Showing the Utility and National Advantage of Allotting Land for Cottage Husbandry* (1835).

