THE SELECT VESTRY OF HAWRIDGE

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A RECENT paper, "The Vestry of Cholesbury, 1820-1894", described how a small Chiltern village administered the Old Poor Law with such generosity and humanity that the parish became bankrupt and had to be supported by its neighbours. Hawridge is Cholesbury's twin²; their commons adjoin, their manorial history since 1704 has been the same, and since 1934 they have formed one civil parish: but both the spirit and the form of their parochial administration during the bleak years 1820-35 differed widely. Cholesbury was a direct democracy of the resident ratepayers, meeting in open vestry, with the incumbent in the chair. Hawridge had somehow acquired by 1822 a Select Vestry of eight members, a self-perpetuating group of farmers, accountable to no electorate, acting quite independently of the rector and exercising all the powers of the parish. It is proposed to describe the operation of this organ of local government somewhat minutely.

Between 20th May, 1822, and 18th May, 1827, the Select Vestry met 129 times; with few exceptions, the meetings were held fortnightly on Friday. The attendances may be summarised as follows, excluding two meetings of

which no record was kept.

						Nun	iber o	of meetings
						Present		Chairman
Thomas Batchelor, churchwarden							57	52
Benjamin Batchelo	r (of Hill	Farm,	later	of Ha	wridge	Cour	t) 71	34
Thomas Weedon,	overseer		* 100	14.4	100		111	34
Thomas Franklin,	surveyor	20	* 10	15.2	824		125	5
William Wright, su	irveyor	in.		4.2	9.9	2.5	30	2
Walter Carpenter			10	2.0	10.51		6	-
Daniel Horn	1.4		7.0	14.7	7.		3	-
James Collins	0.90	v.				2.2	2	-

The record of each meeting was usually entered at that meeting and approved by the members present.⁴ It can be assumed that the member whose name stands first was in the chair.⁵ The attendance varied between one and eight; it averaged just over four in 1822, over three during the next three years but fell below three in 1826 and 1827. Three of the vestrymen were rarely seen, and the bulk of the work fell on the first four named. There was a fairly clear "pecking order". If the churchwarden was present he nearly always took the chair; in his absence, Benjamin Batchelor took precedence of Thomas Weedon, and he in turn was preferred to Thomas Franklin, who usually took the notes. On 29th March, 1823, the full Select Vestry resolved "That the Undersigned persons Compose the Select Vestry of the parish of Hawridge for the Year

Ensuing", adding the eight names. This formality was not repeated in subsequent years; it may, however, suggest an uneasy feeling that the vestrymen's powers needed some form of annual renewal.

At its first recorded meeting, the Select Vestry resolved "that no poors Rate shall Exceed one Shilling in the pound for the future". With two exceptions (21st March, 1823, and 23rd September, 1825, when 2s. rates were levied), this rule was observed until 1833. The Vestry took immediate steps to reduce the rate burden. Eight paupers were "taken of [f] 6d pr week" and Susannah Mably was to have nothing. At the next meeting it was resolved

That the Nine Names Crossed in the parish Book be Dissallowed Any Relief while the Next Vestry.

Another rule went far to turn the parish into a prison.6

Resolved that no man leaving the parish for Employment be Allowed no Money from the parish.

This would not prevent Hawridge men from seeking employment in Chesham or elsewhere, but it exposed them to grave risk if they were subsequently out of work, and precluded them from seeking supplementary relief for their families.

Medical attention was provided by a physician from Chesham. On 3rd June, 1822, it was agreed

that Mr. William Sutthery have the Offer To Contract to Attend the poor of Hawridge With Advice and Medicines in All Cases For the Sum of five pounds pr Annum. This year at that Rate for nine Months Only.

The poor were expected to attend divine worship, but as a concession it was resolved

that John Joiner Attend Some place of Worship Every Sunday when his health permits He now being 87 years of Age. [He died a year later].

The only employment which the parish could readily offer was on the roads. Thus on 9th April, 1824, the overseer was directed

[to] pay John Brooks 6 Shillings pr Week and the Said John Brooks to Labour 8 hours pr Day on the Highways.

The eight-hour day was standard; not so the payment for it. Robert Rance had been similarly employed by the parish since 1822, but by 1825 his wages had only risen from 4s to 4s. 6d. a week. Sometimes one can follow a pauper's fortunes. Thus, Charles Horwood was allowed 4s. a week on 29th July, 1822, while unable to work, 6s. a week on 9th August and 7s. a week on 23rd August, but on 15th October he and John Axtel were each allowed only 2s. a week without labour or 4s. with labour. On 15th November they were set to work on the highway

from 8 O'clock in Morning while four O'clock in the Afternoon when the Weather permits and to Receive 8^d pr Day Each from the Overseer [not the surveyor].

By 15th August, 1823, their pay had risen to 4s. 6d. a week, but on 30th January, 1824, Charles Horwood was back to 8d. for his 8-hour day, though William Dearing was to receive 1s. An erasure suggests that the Vestry hesi-

tated over this disparity, but Dearing's shilling was confirmed on 8th October. John Axtel died on 6th June, 1826, aged 60, William Dearing on 16th November, 1836, aged 83 (though the pauper may have been his son), and Charles Horwood on 12th February, 1840, aged 76.

When a pauper was unable to work, his allowance was sometimes fairly generous; thus on 8th October, 1824, John Norwood was to receive 7s. 6d. a week "While he is able to go to labour". I think "while" here means "until" as usual in the district; in this context the local usage reverses the sense. At the next meeting, John Wood was allowed only 3s. a week in similar circumstances. The highest recorded rate of pay for an 8-hour day on the roads is 1s. 6d. to John Carpenter on 2nd January, 1824; the lowest, 5d. to James Parsley (or Parslow), labourer, the following 7th May.

Wherever possible, the Select Vestry made loans rather than grants. On 24th October, 1823, Provist Thorn was lent £1, to be repaid at 1s. a week, and on 9th April, 1824, William Garner was lent 10s., to be repaid "on or before St. Michael Next"; but during the currency of the loan he was granted a 2s. 6d. weekly allowance. Thomas King, an out-pensioner of the Royal Chelsea Hospital, was granted sums of 10s. to £2 against his next payment, which he hypothecated in favour of the overseer. Some of these advances were clearly intended to pay rent; thus on 13th December, 1828, John Norwood and Provis[t] Thorn were each advanced £1 for this purpose, to be repaid by stopping 1s. a week from their allowances.

Much of the time of the fortnightly vestry was occupied with single grants rather than regular allowances. For example, on 29th November, 1822, Provist Thorn was granted 3s. 9d. to pay his poor rates to Tring parish, where

he must have occupied some small property.

Many of the regular payments of from 9d. to 2s. 6d. a week were intended to supplement wages, and were of the nature of children's allowances, though there is no mention of a definite scale as at Cholesbury. The only direct indication of the cost of a dependant is on 9th April, 1824, when the overseer was directed to pay Ann Wright 1s. 6d. a week for the maintenance of Eliza Brooks.

These allowances were not intended to cover the cost of clothing, which

was dealt with ad hoc, as the following selection of entries indicates.

20 June 1823: that the Overseer provide a Swandown Waiscot an[d] Round frock for John Axtel.

4 July 1823: that the Overseer provide James Mabley a Round Frock.

- 21 November 1823: that David Aldridge be Allowed 1 pair High Shoes and Jacket from the poors Rate.
 - 22 October 1824: that Thomas Hart Be Allowed 1 pair of Small Clothes.
- 19 November 1824: that James Maple be Allowed one Shirt And one pair Stockings.
- 9 September 1825: that Thomas Hart Be Allowed a pair of High Shoes and a Round Frock.

The instructions to the overseer were always precise and minute. Thus on 20th June, 1823, he was to "provide a flock Bed and Straw bed tick and flock bolster for the poor house". Then on 10th February, 1826, the Select Vestry discovered the advantages of delegation. They authorised the overseer to attend

Elizabeth White "And Give What Relief is Nessessary". I can find no previous case in which he had been given any discretion at all. As a result, the fortnightly meetings became largely formal, the minutes cease to be informative, and after 18th May, 1827, there is a gap in the record until 26th March, 1830, except for one entry in 1828. From this time onwards the Vestry no longer called itself "Select", probably because its claim to limit its membership would not bear examination. In fact it was just as close an oligarchy as before; Daniel Horn(e) died on 14th March, 1830, aged 83, and James Glenister replaced James Collins; both were farmers. The attendance varied from two to six, the average for the 36 meetings from 26th March, 1830, to 6th July, 1836, being four. The signatures may be summarised as follows:

		44	24	12	15.5	Number of Present		of meetings Chairman
Benjamin Batchelor							34	29
Thomas Batchelor					64		22	6
William Wright							13	1
Thomas Weedon				4.4			26	_
Thomas Franklin							35	_
James Glenister		2.5	**		4.4		9	_
Walter Carpenter							4	_

In the autumn of 1832, when Cholesbury reached the limit of its resources, the pressure on the poor rate also built up rapidly at Hawridge. There were shilling rates in October, December and January and an unprecedented 2s. 6d. rate on 11th March, 1833. On 28th March the overseers' accounts were inspected, but were allowed by the Vestry. Further shilling rates were needed in April, July, September and December. Strict rules were made on 20th December, 1833, to regulate the conduct of paupers.

Resolved that All paupers that am foun[d] Drinking And Smoaking in Any publick House or Alehouse Be Stopped one weeks pay.

This seems harsh; it was not unknown for the Vestry itself to adjourn from the Parish Church to the "Rose and Crown".

Resolved that All paupers Attend Divine Worship Either in the forenoon or Afternoon Every Sunday Except prevented by Illness And then to Give Notice to the Overseer or be Stopped one weeks pay.

The spring of 1834 brought renewed distress. There was a shilling rate on 31st January, a 2s. rate on 25th March and further shilling rates on 11th and 23rd April. A measure which suggests panic was the extension of provision in kind to food as well as clothing; on 22nd April James Parsley was allowed two 4lb. loaves a week "While further Orders". But with the coming of summer the pressure eased rapidly, and there were only three more shilling rates that year, making 8s. for 1834 compared with 7s. 6d. for 1833. These poor rates were presumably levied on something approaching the true rents, and when added to tithe, land tax and county rates they represented a heavy burden, though not an impossible one as at Cholesbury.

Clearly, however, the parish was too small a unit to bear the strain. The

year 1835 saw the end of the old system of parochial relief and the formation of the Aylesbury Poor Law Union with its Board of Guardians, administering relief according to precise rules laid down by the "Three Bashaws of Somerset House". On 27th March, for some reason not now apparent, the Vestry nominated no less than six of its seven members, described as "Substantial Householders", as overseers for the year; the name omitted was Thomas Franklin. On 6th July "We the Undersigned us Being the whole of the Vestry Assembled" appointed Thomas Batchelor, yeoman and farmer, as Guardian for the parish under the new Act. He was replaced on 28th March, 1836, by Benjamin Batchelor, farmer, who subsequently signs, rather alarmingly, as "Gaurgent of the Poor".

The first sign of the evolution of the closed vestry into a more normal organ of parish government was the unchallenged admission of a cottager and labourer, John Wright, who took his place on 6th October, 1837, and was at once appointed to serve on a committee "to Consider of the Best and Cheapest Means to take a fair just and Equitable Valuation of All Rateable property in the parish of Hawridge". This led to a revaluation by J. R. Glenister of Tring, which lasted until 1857, John Wright became a shopkeeper and followed the parochial cursus honorum; he was constable in 1844, overseer in 1848, 1851 and 1852, assessor in 1850 and surveyor in 1851. Another sign of change was the decision of the Rev. William Day to attend the Vestry in 1837, though it was not until 1841 that he ventured to take the chair and to secure the Vestry's confirmation of the appointment as parish clerk of Thomas Bryant. 7 James Glenister died in 1837, aged 43; Thomas Franklin's service ended in 1838, Benjamin Batchelor's in 1844, Thomas Batchelor's in 1846, Walter Carpenter's in 1850, William Wright's in 1851. Thomas Weedon remained an active vestryman until 1865; after 1847 he was usually churchwarden, and he also served as overseer, assessor and surveyor. But from about 1840 the impression is of a much more open body. Successive rectors (John Merry in 1851, Alfred Codd 1853, A. C. Richings 1857, Henry Lister 1866) all exercised their right to preside. During the twenty years 1841-60 inclusive, there were 97 meetings, with attendances ranging from one to nine and averaging just over four; but some 33 different ratepayers other than the rectors took part in the proceedings at different times, and of these no less than 24 either took the chair or held some annual office. Some eight others held a parochial office (usually that of constable) without attending the Vestry. Under the old Poor Law, serving such an office for a year gave a settlement in the parish. In a village with under a hundred adult males, this represented a respectable level of participation, though much lower than at Cholesbury. The main weakness, discussed below, was the absence of the cottagers. One lady officer is mentioned, Mrs. Elizabeth Batchelor, overseer in 1848-53, probably Thomas Batchelor's widow.

The participation of cottagers in the Vestry depended on the rating of their cottages. The first entry in the book relates to this disputed subject.

At a Select Vestry of the parish of Hawridge Held on the 20th Day of May 1822: Resolved, That all the Cottages in the parish Shall for the future be Legally taxed to the poors Rate.

Between 1811 and 1821 the population of Hawridge had increased from 144 to 208,9 no doubt because of the extensive assarting of the woods overlooking Chesham Vale. 10 This sudden influx must have led to the construction of tenements on the waste or elsewhere (encroachments being easier than at Cholesbury), and once rated these would give a legal settlement to their occupiers. It seems doubtful, however, whether the resolution was carried out. Robert Wright, senior, was taxed at £1 10s, to the poor rate at the Select Vestry of 4th October, 1822 (he signed the minutes, but never attended again), but it was not until 26th October, 1832, that the Vestry assigned rateable values to 25 cottages; one of these, occupied by Richard Pocock, 11 was rated at £2 10s., two (William Howes and John Wright) at £2, nineteen at £1 10s. and three (Charles Horwood, Elizabeth Beagent and John Garner) at only £1. The ultimate though not the immediate result was to open the Vestry to some extent. Four or five of those first rated in 1832 afterwards held office in the parish and three attended the Vestry, though even the enterprising John Wright thought it prudent to wait five years. After the Poor Law Amendment Act there was a strong feeling against the rating of cottages (or rather of cottagers) and on 20th September, 1838, the Vestry agreed to exonerate Ann Parsley (widow of James) and Catherine Dearing from paying the poor's rate. This opened the floodgates, and at the next meeting thirty villagers, including these two, were exempted "on the Score of poverty" and were thus incidentally disfranchised. Only one of them, William Batchelor, subsequently attended the Vestry, twelve years later. Of the thirty, at least fifteen, and probably several more, were living in cottages on which rates had been imposed in 1832. Three cottages were unoccupied. These exemptions were, of course, personal and temporary; they did not run with the property. On 9th November, 1846, Charles Horwood, 12 James Pocock 13 and Richard Philby 14 were excused their rates; this excluded them from the Vestry though all three served parish offices subsequently, On 9th May, 1847, the Vestry "agreed that the Poor to be Exeminted" but on 18th October it was once again decided "that all occupiers of Cottages be assessed to the Poor Rates". This change of policy may be explained by the presence of Thomas Little and William Field and the absence of Thomas Weedon (cottager-minded, though a farmer) and Joseph Pitkin, the publican. Little was a gentleman who took an active part in local affairs during 1841-52 and, as at Cholesbury, was often asked to preside. He discerned the obvious solution to the problem of cottage rates: to impose the immediate liability on the owners rather than the occupiers. When in 1850 Parliament made this possible, Little and Field lost no time in inducing the Hawridge Vestry to adopt the Act. They carried a "Composition of owners of Cottages" under which the overseers agreed to receive one-half of the assessment whether the cottages were occupied or unoccupied. The policy of compounding should have reopened the Vestry to the cottagers, and in due course a few of them came, attesting the minutes by marks instead of signatures. The decision did not bind other officers who levied rates; hence labourers still paid the church rate until 1856, when they were exempted.

The assessment of woods caused difficulties; in 1846 it was agreed that woodland be rated to the highway rate. Woods were not generally rateable

to the poor until 1874,¹⁵ but on 26th March, 1857, "cultivated woodlands" were to be measured before the next Vestry. New or altered properties were assessed by resolution of the Vestry. For example, at the same meeting Mr. James Jaques'¹⁶ mill was rated on a rent of £20. On 20th September, 1822, Richard Weedon's meadow was taxed at £2 to the poor rate, and on 14th October, 1858, Obadiah Wright's¹⁷ cottage was reduced from £7 10s. to £5 10s.

The almost exclusive preoccupation of the Select Vestry with poor relief meant that the other functions of the parish were largely neglected. No churchwarden's rate is mentioned until 13th March, 1835, when a 4d, rate was voted. Such rates "for the repairs of the church and for the expenses of Divine Worship" were never fully accepted in Hawridge; hence, no doubt, the deplorable state of the fabric before the rebuilding of 1855 and the loss of most of the glass mentioned by Browne Willis, On 25th March, 1856, it was agreed "that for the future Labourers and the poor be exempted from Church rates", which had risen to 1s, because of the cost of repairs, In 1857 an additional 2d. rate to pay off the Parish Clerk's arrears was rejected by seven votes to one, though it went through six months later. Next year a poll was demanded on a similar rate, which was approved by 16 votes to 7. The rate was "for recovering the expenses of the Church"; the first churchwarden to produce estimates of expenditure instead of waiting to see what happened was Robert Gomm of Hawridge Court in 1867. He stabilised the church rate at 3d.; in the same year Parliament made it unenforceable, but it was levied at the same poundage until 1899, when the voluntary church rate merged imperceptibly into a subscription list. Offertories were already meeting over half the church expenses. The parish clerk's salary remained at £3 a year until 1906, when the post became honorary on Henry Bowden's retirement.

Except as a means of employing the poor, highways play little part in the Hawridge records. Under the Old Poor Law the true cost of highway maintenance must have been very high, since the labourers "were not chosen for efficiency and could not be dismissed for idleness", 18 but it was regarded as a by-product of outdoor relief and was borne on the overseers' rather than the surveyors' rate. Indeed, the surveyors were not allowed to lay a rate between 24th September, 1830, when they were granted a 4d, levy, and 22nd September, 1835, when the rate was 3d. There was some idea that a "Surveyor's Vestry" was a special kind of meeting; thus on 21st December, 1823, quite a different form of record was used when six Select Vestrymen confirmed and signed an agreement with the parishes of Northchurch and Wigginton to apportion the roads along which the county boundary runs. Hawridge undertook to maintain 40 poles of Bottom Lane from the bottom of Hog Lane Hill to a boundary stone, and 98 poles from the bottom of Rossway Lane to another stone leading to Heath End: Northchurch took the intervening 40 poles, and Wigginton the 90 poles from the second stone to the blacksmith's shop at Heath End, while Hawridge paid half the cost of the stones.

In later years the stonewardens were left very much to themselves, though their accounts were scrutinised (sometimes adversely) by the Vestry and the magistrates. By a decision of 26th March, 1846, no gravel could be sold or carted out of the parish without their leave. A stray entry in 1869 indicates that 1s. 9d. a load was given for picking and carting flints for the roads, and that £7 15s. was realised for "all the sand lying on the Common and on the skew roads thereon". From 1884, 2s. 6d. a load was the standard rate for flints delivered on the highways. It was often convenient for a surveyor to use his own teams and flints from his own land, paying himself at the usual rate, but in 1888 this was held to require the magistrates' leave, and the Vestry directed future surveyors, "whoever they may be", to contract with the regular dealers in stones both for materials and cartage. The load of picked flints was to be of 20 bushels, though it might be necessary to accept loads of 18 bushels from the stone-carters.

The parish records of Hawridge are less picturesque than those of Cholesbury, but probably more typical. By whatever means, the farmers had obtained undisputed control of parish affairs by the 1820s and were slow to relinquish it. They gave unstintedly of their time, and their administration was fair and just according to their lights, although it involved a constant conflict between duty and humanity on one side and immediate personal interest on the other. Inevitably they were sometimes harsh and sometimes capriciously generous. Repeated all over England, the operation of the Poor Law, and the consequent exclusion of most of the labouring population from any voice in decisionmaking, intensified the gulf between "Them" and "Us" which has had such a blighting effect on our community life. In Hawridge, as in most villages, the bulk of the population ceased to have any effective share in shaping their environment: but in the poorer and more congested village of Cholesbury the traditional sense of a community, in which everyone counted, managed to survive, though gravely weakened. The Hawridge Vestrymen, unlike the people of Cholesbury, did not seize their opportunity of assuming the manorial functions¹⁹ and managing the common. They passed the manor pound whenever they went to Vestry, but it is never mentioned.

Richard Jefferies, no mean observer of village institutions, thought that the court leet approached in principle nearest to the ideal of a local village authority.²⁰ The past identification of the Vestry with the exclusive rule of farmers and landowners and its present connection with the Established Church²¹ made it impossible, in his view, for it to become a popular vehicle of administration. In contrast, the ancient manorial courts had included farmers and cottagers alike; they could deal with commons, footpaths, timber, water-courses and nuisances, could resolve disputes between neighbours and could see that cottages were habitable. Jefferies regarded them as the model for the parish councils which he advocated but did not live to see. In Hawridge, the villagers' sense of common interest in their most beautiful neighbourhood was largely dissipated for want of such a focus. They could say with William Barnes:

Noo hills nor hollows, woods nor streams, A-voun' by day or zeed in dreams, Can ever seem so fit to be Good angel's hwomes, though they do gi'e But pain an' tweil to such as we.²²

1 Records of Bucks (1961), xvii, 57-71.

⁸ Hawridge probably began as a secondary settlement from Marsworth, as Cholesbury did from Drayton Beauchamp; hence their attachment to Yardley, one of the Three Hundreds of Cottesloe.

⁸ I am greatly obliged to Major-General R. C. Money, C.B., M.C., of Cholesbury, for drawing my attention to the Hawridge Vestry Book, 1822-1936, and for suggesting a comparison with

The practice, once quite common, of all members signing the minutes was followed at Hawridge until 1918. Its cessation may be explained by the events of 1917, when the churchwardens' accounts were passed by the rector's casting vote, and the minority did not sign the record. Many of the signatures in the Vestry Book are not autographed; for example, Joseph Pitkin, who was active during 1845-69 and held every parish office in turn, could not write, and his name was usually entered for him.

5 The first Sturges Bourne Act of 1818 provided that a vestry must have a chairman to sign the minutes, and that these must be kept in a book reserved expressly for the purpose.

a The law of settlement is often said to have had this effect, but except for one appeal against

Berkhamsted in 1849 no settlement case is reported from Hawridge.

7 Bryant is described as parish clerk in the parish register as early as 1836; he was succeeded in 1859 by Joseph Gower, labourer, who was appointed by the Rector, not by the Vestry,

The population was 233 in 1841 and reached 276 in 1861, but then declined steadily to 209 in 1901.

9 Vict. C. Hist. Bucks (1908), ii, 99.

- ¹⁰ G. Lipscomb, Hist. Antiq. Bucks (1847), iii, 372. Dr. Lipscomb, writing c. 1820, says that "in the beginning of the last [18th] century, this parish contained only twelve families". It is remarkable that most of their houses should have survived to be recorded by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.
 - ¹¹ Assessor in 1848, overseer 1849 and 1853, By 1841 his house, shop and garden were rated at £10.

12 Constable in 1850 and 1855.

18 Constable in 1845, 1846, 1851 and 1852; assessor in 1845.

14 Constable in 1850, 1852 and 1854,

 37 & 38 Vic. c. 54 (1874).
On 15th October, 1857, "Mr Jake", which gives the pronunciation. Cf. D. Smith, English Windmills (1932), ii, 120, 136-7,

17 Constable in that year.

16 S. and B. Webb, The King's Highway, 199.

¹⁸ Except that from 1837 the Vestry nominated the constables, anticipating the Act of 1842. The office was unpopular, and the Vestry to appoint constables was sometimes attended only by the overseer and clerk. In 1868 no one came "although due and Legal Notice was given", and the magistrates intervened to appoint Job Wright.

20 R. Jofferies, "Village Organization", in New Quarterly, October 1875: reprinted in The Hills

and the Vale, ed. E. Thomas (1911), 151-206.

²¹ In 1912-16 the Hawridge Vestry had a final burst of activity in defence of the church schools against the Lord of the Manor, of the church road against the Aylesbury Rural District Council and of the principle of Establishment against David Lloyd George; but it had become a purely Anglican body, concerned with the times of church services, faculties for memorial tablets and the extension of the churchyard. Until 1921 it dealt with the church accounts, but since then its sole function has been the annual election of churchwardens.

22 W. Barnes, "Vields in the Light", in Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect, p. 37.