

[Hertford]

## Contents

<b>1.</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	
1.1	The Aim of the Report	1
1.2	The Sources Used	1
	Geography	2
	Geology	2
<b>2.</b>	<b>An Outline of the History and Development of Settlement</b>	
2.1	Mesolithic to Roman (65000 BC to AD 400)	2
2.2	Anglo-Saxon (AD 400-1066)	3
	Mid Saxon (AD 600-870)	3
	The Late Saxon burhs	3
	The Southern burh	4
	The Northern burh	5
	Hertford 912-1066	6
2.3	The Medieval Borough	7
	Hertford Castle	7
	The Manorial Site (Bayley Hall)	7
	The Market	8
	Fairs	9
	Religious Buildings & Institutions	9
	St Mary's Priory & St John's Church	9
	Church of St Nicholas	10
	Church of St Mary	11
	Church of All Saints	11
	Church of St Andrew	12
	Medieval Cemetery	13
	Public Buildings	13
	<b>Wealth of the Medieval Borough</b>	<b>15</b>
	Communications	15
	Agriculture	16
	Early Industry	16
	Decline of the Borough	18
	<b>Plan of the Medieval Borough</b>	<b>18</b>
	Limits of the Borough	19
	Status Buildings of the late 15 <sup>th</sup> /16 <sup>th</sup> century	20
	<b>Post-Medieval Industry</b>	<b>23</b>
	Inns	23
	Brewing and Malting	31
	Other Industry	33
	<b>Elements of the Later Town 1650-1900</b>	<b>34</b>
	Public Buildings	34

Non-Conformist Chapels	36
Education	37
Roads and Turnpikes	39
Railway	39
Canal	40
Utilities	40

<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>40</b>
---------------------	-----------

### **List of Figures**

- Fig. 1 Prehistoric and Roman sites in the vicinity of Hertford
- Fig. 2 Late Saxon Hertford
- Fig. 3 Hertford medieval town: surviving features
- Fig. 4 Hertford medieval borough
- Fig. 5 Inns listed in the 1621 Borough Survey
- Fig. 6 Post-medieval development of the town: 1500-1900
- Fig. 7 Growth of the town in the nineteenth century
- Fig. 8 The nineteenth century town



# **HERTFORD**

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 The Aim of the Report**

This report has been produced as one of a series of 25 archaeological surveys of historic urban areas in Hertfordshire as part of the English Heritage Extensive Urban Survey Programme. All the places surveyed were either urban districts by 1900, or had urban characteristics in the past. The project is being carried out by Hertfordshire County Council's Archaeology Section in conjunction with English Heritage, who are also funding the project.

The aim of the report is to provide a framework from which decisions can be made about the management of the archaeological resource of Hertford town. The report is divided into three parts:

1. A summary of what is known of the archaeological and historical development of the town using the evidence from archaeology, buildings, old maps and documents, and surviving physical elements of the historic townscape such as ancient property boundaries. The evidence is presented as a series of thematic and period maps generated by GIS, accompanied by a brief explanatory text.
2. An assessment of priorities for the management of the archaeological resource of the town, including academic research priorities.
3. A strategy which aims to take forward the research and management priorities

### **1.2 The Sources Used**

The evidence for the report has been compiled from the following primary sources.

- The Hertfordshire County Sites and Monuments Record (SMR)
- The Statutory List of Buildings of Historical and Architectural Interest
- Maps and documents held in the Hertfordshire County Record Office
- Archaeological excavation and survey reports held in the SMR

In addition, numerous articles, both published and unpublished have been used and a bibliography of these is included at the end of the report.

## **Geography**

The town of Hertford is situated approximately two miles to the west of the former Roman Road, Ermine Street (A10). The town is linked by road to Ware, Welwyn and Hatfield where it joins the former Roman Road, the Great North Road (A1). The town is divided into two distinct portions by the River Lea; the larger (southern) portion of the town is concentrated in the area formed between Fore Street and the River Lea, with the principal thoroughfares running east-west. The northern portion lies to the north of the Lea and mainly comprises the St Andrew Street area. Hertford Castle is situated on the south bank of the River Lea to the south west of the southern portion of the town.

## **Geology**

The base sediments of the river valley have formed a rich alluvium, which is particularly deep to the west of Hertford, under Hartham common and under the water meadows and meads towards Ware. This alluvium overlies the heavier gravel and the valley sides are composed of gravel terraces, capped in some places by boulder clay or brick earth (Kiln & Partridge 1994, 6).

## **2.0 AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF SETTLEMENT**

### **2.1 Mesolithic to Roman (65000 BC to AD 400) (fig: 1)**

The Lea Valley was a particularly favoured area for human settlement from earliest times and evidence of prehistoric occupation is known from several sites in and around Hertford.

The most substantial evidence has come from Foxholes Farm on the southern edge of the Valley, a kilometre to the east of Hertford. Archaeological excavation in advance of gravel extraction in the 1970s discovered evidence of human habitation dating from the Mesolithic (c.6500BC) onwards [SMR 2131; 6448], including a Mesolithic stone axe, a row of deep Neolithic pits (c.3000 BC), two Bronze Age cremation burials and timber round-houses (c.2000-1500 BC), and a series of Iron Age enclosed settlements (Partridge, 1989). In addition the remains of an extensive Late Iron Age and Roman farmstead [SMR 10027] and evidence for small-scale industrial processing were found at Foxholes. The location and survival of these remains would indicate that other, as yet undiscovered, Prehistoric and Roman sites exist along the edges of the higher ground around Hertford.

Evidence of Late Iron Age and Roman remains have been found at two sites within the town in recent years. Excavation at the rear of 54, St. Andrew Street in 1990 revealed a scatter of remains and artefacts which included the foundations of a building [SMR 9841]. The features had been partially removed by later activity on the site, but they indicate that more extensive remains of settlement are likely to be present in the area. The second site is located next to the river Lea at Millbridge, where excavations in 1988-90 revealed Roman remains dating to the 1st century AD and included part of a circular enclosure approximately 15m in diameter and an urned cremation burial. The burial was accompanied by two pots and platter [SMR 9881]. Activity on the site appears to have continued from the 1st century AD into the 4th

century AD, after which the site was covered with alluvium, representing repeated flooding from the adjacent river. The remains appear to be at the southern edge of a settlement, which is probably connected with the St. Andrew Street site, only 80 metres to the north.

Apart from some Roman pottery, found during building work in Maidenhead Street in the 1890s [SMR:1400], no other significant remains have been reported from the town. Therefore, on the basis of the evidence found at Millbridge and St. Andrew Street, it seems likely that a small agricultural settlement, probably a farmstead, was located between the Lea and Beane rivers in the Late Iron Age and Roman period (c50 BC to AD 410). The importance of the river crossing at Hertford and the presence of a nearby Roman road (the route of the old London Road) could, however, indicate the presence of a more substantial settlement.

## **2.2 Anglo-Saxon (AD 400-1066)**

### **Mid Saxon (AD 600-870)**

The Anglo-Saxon period is poorly represented in Southern Hertfordshire, and Hertford has typically not produced any evidence of settlement dating to the immediate post-Roman, early Saxon period (cAD 400-550).

The excavations at Foxholes Farm did, however, produce evidence of extensive settlement dating from the mid Saxon period (AD 600-800) [SMR 9779]. This included six or seven sunken-floored buildings of the classic Anglo-Saxon type, and seven ridge-post structures which have been interpreted as tent-like buildings. All the buildings produced grass-tempered pottery, which is dated c6-8th century. Relatively little evidence of domestic occupation was found on the site and this fact, together with the apparent temporary nature of the ridge-post buildings, led the excavator to suggest that Foxholes may have been the site of the supposed Church Synod at Hertford in AD 673 (Partridge 1989). The Synod, which is mentioned in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, is one of the most important events in the early history of the Church in England. It is mentioned as being held at 'Herutforde', although the balance of evidence seems to suggest that this was Hartford in Huntingdonshire (Garfi 1994, 116-7).

Although not much direct evidence for agriculture was found, the Anglo-Saxon settlement at Foxholes may have been primarily agricultural in nature. The Roman agricultural and industrial settlement was situated close to the Anglo-Saxon remains and it is possible that settlement continued on the site in some form after the Roman period. The lack of archaeological evidence for occupation from early Anglo-Saxon artefacts of AD 400- 550 may therefore be due to the fact that Roman pottery - or other organic artefacts which have not survived - continues to be used on the site until the 6th century.

### **The Late Saxon Burhs (fig: 2)**

The earliest incontrovertible Anglo-Saxon evidence for the existence of a settlement at Hertford is found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 912/3 which records that 'In this year [912], after Martinmas, King Edward had the most northerly fortress built between the Mimram, Beane and Lea', and during 913 'Another part of his [King Edward the Elder] forces built the fortress at Hertford meanwhile on the southern bank of the Lea' (in Partridge & Kiln 1994, 78). Hertford was therefore created as a

double or 'twin' burh by Edward, who was the son of King Alfred, as part of his campaign to reconquer the Danelaw. Hertford is one of a number of defended settlements or 'burhs' built by Edward, which include the nearby county towns of Oxford, Bedford and Buckingham.

Hertford would have been chosen as a location for the burhs primarily because of its strategic position at the point where four rivers (Beane, Mimram, Lea and Rib) join to form the Lea and also because it was probably a fording point of the Lea itself. It would therefore enable the control of both river transport moving up and down the rivers, and land-bourne traffic crossing the Lea. The River Lea is also specifically mentioned as the boundary between Saxon and Danish controlled territory in the treaty between King Alfred and Guthram the Viking leader (Kiln & Partridge 1994). A clear sign of Viking presence at Hertford is the find of a complete Viking sword of 10th century date from the River Lea next to McMullens Brewery [SMR 2121]. The sword was probably thrown into the river as a votive offering, possibly before or after a battle.

The creation of towns in the Anglo-Saxon period was exclusively a royal prerogative and, in spite of the Viking problems, the 10th century was a period of expanding trade in England (Campbell 1982, 154). King Edward would therefore have made full use of the opportunities of his office to maximise royal revenue from the market tolls and rents which the creation of successful new towns provided. As such, Hertford was almost certainly created with an eye to its commercial potential as well as its strategic military value and the specific creation of a mercantile burh (see southern burh below) is evidence of this.

The Hertford burhs were located in the northern end of Bayford parish, an area which was to form the only ancient royal land in Hertfordshire recorded in Domesday Book (Morris 1976, 132a). Circumstantial evidence therefore suggests that, once the location for the burhs had been chosen, Edward purchased full rights to the land - probably from a local Anglo-Saxon magnate in the early 10th century - and detached a small part to the north upon which he built the burhs. Although this hypothesis is conjectural, alternative explanations are less convincing as they suggest that either Edward already owned the parish in 912, which was in precisely the right location for the burhs, or that the parish was later acquired after the establishment of the burhs and prior to 1066.

It is likely that King Edward created the County of Hertfordshire itself at the same time as he built the burhs, although the first documentary reference to the shire is not found until 1011 (Page 1912, 493). The 'shire' formed a designated area whose function was to serve the burh of 'Hertford', and the population of the shire were required to provide a permanent garrison for the town, based on a formula which took into account the land area of the shire and the length of the burh walls (Campbell, 152-3). It seems likely that, as Danish Viking control of the Midlands in the late 9th century had caused considerable disruption to the system of administration, that much of the county boundary was newly created in the early 10th century to serve Hertford.

### **The Southern Burh**

The southern burh [SMR 9828] was created for the purposes of protecting the local population and served as a market and trade centre under royal control. It was almost certainly laid out by Edward and his royal officials as a regular, planned town on

cleared, virgin land. On the basis of archaeological evidence and the surviving evidence of streets and boundaries, the original plan of the burh can be outlined with reasonable confidence (figure 2).

The burh would have formed a square or rectangular settlement of approx. 4.5 hectares in area, centred on the modern Salisbury Square, with a regular grid of streets including Fore Street, Railway Street, Market Street, Maidenhead Street, Church Street and Bull Plain. Properties or 'burgages' for the merchants would also have been provided as rectangular strips of land running at right-angles to the street frontages. It is likely that many of the surviving property boundaries shown in figure 3 date from the original layout out of the burh in 912.

The burh would have been defended by an earthen bank and ditch, with a wooden palisade running along the top of the bank. The conjectured line of the defences is shown in figure 2. A large ditch, which probably formed part of the eastern defences of the burh, was found during excavations in 1973 and 1980, but none of the bank had survived (Kiln & Partridge 1994, 127; SMR 9832). The other three lines of the defences were positioned on the same rectangular alignment as the eastern defences with the market area occupying a central position, for logical reasons. The northern boundary would have probably been linked to the river, using the water supply to create a moat in the ditch. The western boundary is dictated by the site of the later castle (to the west) and the location of Millbridge, which is likely to have formed the main route across the river, and was accessible to traffic by-passing the trading centre.

### **The Northern Burh**

The northern burh was the first of the two burhs to be built by Edward in 912. The exact position of the defences is not known and the only clear indication of their location is the statement in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which describes the burh as being 'built between the Mimram, Beane and Lea' (in Partridge & Kiln 1994, 78). This description, in conjunction with negative evidence from archaeological excavations (i.e. the areas where we know the defences were definitely not located), has enabled the area of the northern burh to be deduced (figure 2). The assumption has also been made that the rivers themselves would not have been directly used as defence lines, as one of the main functions of the burh would have been to defend the crossing from Viking raiders travelling up the River Lea.

Unlike the southern burh, there is no evidence for the creation of streets, markets or property boundaries within the conjectured area, and it is likely that the northern burh had a primarily military or defensive function, which is emphasised by the fact that the northern burh was built first, presumably in order to secure the crossing. There is, however, some evidence to suggest that the northern burh was occupied. Recent excavations alongside the river at Millbridge revealed a waterlogged cess pit dating to the 10th-11th century [SMR 9885], and indicates that this area was inhabited.

The burh system was initiated by Alfred the Great (father of Edward) in the late 9th century, with the primary function of providing refuges for the Anglo-Saxon population (Campbell, 152-3). It is therefore possible that the northern burh could have served as such a refuge for the local inhabitants. Certainly, the relatively small size of the southern burh, together with the network of streets and market which it contained, would have left little space to accommodate the additional, fleeing population.

A comparable situation occurred at Bedford, where Edward built two burhs in the following years - presumably after securing Hertford. At Bedford, Edward built the southern burh - which was primarily defensive - first, and the northern mercantile burh in the following year. The two Anglo-Saxon double burhs at Hertford and Bedford are very similar, although a pre-existing Danish settlement to the north of the Ouse at Bedford, was instrumental in the siting of the mercantile burh, and the Bedford burhs are much larger than at Hertford (Baker et al 1979, 296-7; Hill 1970, 67-100).

## **Hertford 912-1066**

Hertford appears to have enjoyed a period of significant economic prosperity from its foundation in 912 until the Norman conquest in 1066. It was the site of a royal mint (as yet unlocated) [SMR 4004] from the AD 920s until after the Norman Conquest and would have had a monopoly of trade for the local area. Indeed 92% of all coins originating from the Hertford mint have been discovered in continental hoards and collections, suggesting that there were extensive trading links with the continent at this time (Fish 1994, 128-132).

Excavations undertaken on the site of the Bircherley Centre, next to Railway Street, in the 1980s also produced evidence that the settlement had expanded beyond the limit of the eastern defences by the early 11th century. Several buildings fronting onto Railway Street were found just outside of the defensive ditch [SMR 9886] and the ditch itself had been filled in. This is, for several reasons, of significance for the early history of Hertford. It primarily establishes that the original burh defences were redundant by the early 11th century, and indicates that any Viking threat had passed. It also demonstrates that demand for street frontage space along Railway Street was sufficiently high for all of the available spaces to be taken and for new plots being created beyond the originally constructed town defences. This, in turn, implies that Railway Street was probably the busiest and most important route throughout the burh during this period.

Further indications of Hertford's prosperity in the 11th century and the importance of the later Saxon settlement are provided by Domesday Book, which in 1086 describes a settlement of considerable size and consequence, called '*Hertforde Burg*' (Gover et al. 1938, 225). The entry notably describes 146 merchants or 'burgesses' in the town - which is the highest of any of the towns in the county - and indicates that Hertford was an important and prosperous trading centre (Morris, 132a).

The Domesday Borough further comprised 36 'houses', one of which was leased to the Kings' Reeve and suggests that Hertford was governed as a Royal Borough (Page 1912, 493). There is also reference to the presence of two churches, the location of which is not known with any certainty. However, it is likely that, for security reasons, the Anglo-Saxon churches would have been situated within the two burhs themselves and it is therefore more probable that the two demolished medieval churches of St. Nicholas and St. Mary were Anglo-Saxon in origin. St. Nicholas church is the only church known to have been located within the southern burh, being situated behind Woolworth's in Maidenhead Street, and is shown on several early maps of the town (see below). The church of St. Mary the Less was, until at least 1535 (see below), located on the current site of the Library, which lies approximately on the conjectured line of the defences of the northern burh. It is therefore possible that, when originally built, this church formed part of the defences of the burh, as is known to have been

the case with several Anglo-Saxon churches associated with burhs in Wessex (Hinton 1977, 76-7).

## **2.3 The Medieval Borough**

### **The Main Elements of the Early Medieval Borough (figure: 4)**

#### ***Hertford Castle***

Hertford Castle was probably constructed as a motte-and-bailey castle by the Sheriff of Hertfordshire, Peter de Valognes, soon after the Norman Conquest (Davies 1989, 92). A possible ditch around the motte, located by geophysical survey, may belong to this phase, although, with the exception of the motte itself, there is no further archaeological evidence for the 11th century castle. The earliest documentary reference to the Castle is not found until 1141 (Renn 1971, 16).

In 1170 there are records of extensive building works begun by Henry II, which included construction of the curtain wall, at least one of the ditches and probably an outer bailey to the south west. Shortly afterwards, in 1174, the castle was garrisoned. Further renovations were carried out in 1225, 1300-2 and 1360 and the brick Gatehouse was built in c.1460 by Edward IV. Significant events include the Castle being besieged in 1215 and held by the Barons for a year, until their surrender to King Louis and an army of French mercenaries who were supporting King John. Somewhat later, in the 14th century, David Bruce, King of Scotland and John, King of France were held as prisoners at the Castle (Page 1912, 505-6). Henry VIII visited the Castle on a number of occasions, and Elizabeth I moved the law courts to Hertford in 1581 and 92, as a result of outbreaks of plague in London (Cussans, 54).

Most of the buildings within the castle were pulled down by James I in the later 16th century. Surviving remains comprise a flat-topped mound or 'motte' 30m in diameter and 6.5m high, a 15th century gatehouse (with 18th/20th century additions); a curtain wall; the remains of 14th century octagonal tower & postern gate at the SW angle; and a broad outer ditch (Scheduled Monument 20629). Excavations in 1988 and 1990 confirmed the existence of the outer ward or bailey which was found to have a cobbled surface of 12th to 14th century date. The foundations of several buildings, which were probably constructed at the same time as the Gatehouse in c1460, were also found within the outer bailey. The excavation of a cellar, found at the SW end of the outer bailey, is thought to represent part of a postern tower associated with 15th century castle defences. In addition, a large deposit of food refuse, probably from feasting, was found in the 1988/1990 excavations. These included the remains of high status foods, including deer, fish, wild and domestic birds, and oyster. Other finds included a penny of Edward II (1317-20), and a 15th century French crown-type jetton (Petchley 1977, 163-5; Zeepvat & Cooper Reade 1996).

#### ***The Manorial Site (Bayley Hall)***

The only reference to a manorial site within the vicinity of the medieval town is found in a document of 1621, in which the Borough of Hertford 'bounds on the tenements of the manor of Baylyhall' (Page 1912, 493). Bailey (or Bayley) Hall was referred to as a manor house in this document, although it is thought that the present house was built c1700, but possibly incorporates earlier features (DoE List).

The building [SMR 4008] is apparently of the early 18th century and comprises a double pile house of 3 storeys. The principal (S) elevation is of grey brick and is a typical early 18th century symmetrical classical frontage of 5 parapeted bays, divided by colossal red brick Tuscan pilasters. Other elevations are of red brick with grey quoining and detailing. The exterior remained relatively unaltered throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1900 the house was purchased for use by the Headmaster of Hertford School, and alterations included a 3 bay, 3 storey (single depth) extension to the east and a later classroom. The building is now used for County Council offices (DoE List). Internally there are many surviving 18th century features, although details on the 2nd floor rooms are apparently of 17th century origin. The service rooms were originally located in the basement, which has plain flagged and board floors and 2 brick vaults. Local myth describes a blocked passage leading from Bayley Hall to Hertford Castle (Page 1912, 493).

### ***The Market***

It is highly likely that the southern Anglo-Saxon burh contained a market, probably in the area between Fore Street and Maidenhead/Railway Street, and effectively occupying the same location as the later market place (see below). However, the first documentary reference to the market is not found until the reign of John (1199-1216), although it is spoken of as if it were already established by ancient custom (Page 1912, 500).

Throughout the 13th and 14th centuries the market days were Wednesday and Friday, although tolls collected in 1359/60 indicate that the market was in decline (Page 1912, 500). In 1383 a Royal grant altered the market day to Thursday, after which the tolls increased. However, this improvement was only temporary, as they had again declined by 1397/8 as the 'merchants forsake the market for others on every side' (Salmon, 34). A further attempt to increase the revenue was made by Henry VI in 1429, who confirmed the Thursday and Saturday markets (Cussans, 52) and 'forbade any market on these days at Ware, or any other place within 7 miles upon pain of forfeiting the corn or merchandise to the bailiffs of Hertford' (Salmon, 34). However, by 1438/9 the tolls had virtually halved, and the market appears to have been almost valueless by the end of the 15th century (Page 1912, 500).

The Thursday market was continued until the mid-16th century although it suffered from the competition of Hoddesdon market (Page 1912, 500). In 1589 Elizabeth I granted a charter which entitled the Corporation to hold and collect the revenue from a single, weekly Saturday market (Norden 1598, 124), which continued until the reign of Charles II (1651-1685) when the Wednesday market was additionally revived (Chauncy, 503). The Wednesday market survived in 1888 as a small cattle market, which was held on alternate weeks (Page 1912, 500).

The first reference to the market place itself dates to 1461 when it was described in court records as 'in foro de Hertford'. By the 14th century there was a tendency to confine trades, particularly those considered noxious, such as butchery or fishmongering, to individual quarters or streets within a town (Aston & Bond 1976, 98). Early references to street names in Hertford indicate the presence of 'le bocherye' (butchery) in 1402, which was later to become Butchery Green Lane in 1621, and is currently Bircherley Green; le Fysshrow (fish row) in 1461 and Honi Lane (Honey Lane) in 1461, which may relate to either the sale of honey in the market place or to a muddy area. In addition a document of 1380 refers to a Shoprewe

and Cornmongereslane (Corn sellers lane) and Cubreggestrete (Cowbridge) is first referred to in 1296 (Gover et al 1938, 225-6).

The market was initially held in an open square, situated in the centre of the southern portion of the town, and now occupied by Shire Hall. A market bell was reputedly attached to the Salisbury Arms (former Bell Inn), however, Speede's map of 1610 illustrates a probable market cross, comprising a small, octagonal building surmounted by a cross, in the middle of Fore Street in front of the Bell Inn. By the late 16th century there is evidence of buildings encroaching onto the market place [SMR 9855], and Speede's map illustrates a number of structures occupying this area in 1610. Such infilling is a symptom of dynamic markets, and is likely to reflect the move towards more permanent structures in the market place in the mid-16th century.

In addition, Speede's map provides the only known evidence for a second market cross [SMR 2987] situated in a widening of the road in the 'Old Cross' area. This may indicate that a market was held in the northern part of the town, although there is no known documentary reference to any activity on this site.

### ***Fairs***

The first documentary reference to a fair dates to 1226, when Hertford Borough was provisionally granted an annual fair, held for one week in October. By 1331 a second fair, held on the Feast of the Assumption (15th August) had been granted to the Burgesses of the Borough (Page 1912, 500), one of which apparently becoming a horse fair held outside the town in the 15th century (Page 1912, 501). By the late 14th century the borough had been granted an additional annual fair, which was held in July by the Master of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity (Page 1912, 501).

Whilst all three fairs survived beyond the 15th century, an examination of their revenues indicate that they suffered a gradual decline throughout the 15th century (Page 1912, 501). In 1554 Mary granted three new fairs of 3 days duration, two of which were to be held within the town and one in the parish of St Andrew. An additional fair was granted in 1589, which was to be held in the Parish of St Andrew (Chauncy, 485). However, shortly afterwards James I reduced the number of fairs to one (Salmon, 36).

### **Religious Buildings & Institutions**

#### ***St. Mary's Priory, including St Johns Church, off Railway Street***

The Benedictine Priory of St. Mary Monk (or St, Mary the Virgin) was founded by Sir Ralph de Limesy (between 1086-93) as a cell of St. Albans Abbey (Zeepvat 1995, 8). De Limesy endowed the Priory (SMR 2994) with a church (SMR: 2999), which was built on a hide of land outside the town and endowed with a mill, pasture and pannage and granted the manor of Pirton and 1 hide of land in Amwell, which were under the ownership of De Limesy in 1086 (Zeepvat 1995, 42). A description of 1209 described the church of St John as the 'parochia de Monachorum' or Monkenchurch for the parish of the priory, which suggests that St John's was the parochial part of St Mary's Priory (Clutterbuck 1821).

Following the Dissolution of 1538, the rectory and advowson of the vicarage of the church of St. John the Evangelist descended with the Priory Manor. The absence of parish records between 1535 and 1622 suggest that the priory and church were no longer in use and by 1553 the site is likely to have housed 'Priory House' (to the north

end of site) and Farm ( to the east) which may have reused stone from the earlier buildings (Zeepvat 1995, 43).

It is recorded that Thomas Willis built a small church on the site in 1629, dedicated to the honour of St John the Baptist. In 1638 it was sold to Sir John Harrison who amalgamated the Parish of St John with parish of All Saints in 1640 (Chauncy, 507). However, in the late 16th century Chauncy recorded the church being 'lately demolisht by Order of the Bishop of Lincolne' (Chauncy, 507), which may indicate that it was built without license (Zeepvat 1995, 43). During demolition of the church several inscribed stones were found, including one for 'Robert Sodington, a man in great favour with Henry III, being Justice Itinerant in this town, was buried anno 1257' (Chauncy, 507).

Foundations were uncovered during excavations for buildings in 1893 which revealed the ground plans of the original and later church. The early building was a substantial cruciform building comprising a nave with north and south transepts, a chancel and traces of a stair turret at the corner of the south transept and nave. The walls were c. 4' thick, and suggested Norman (12th century) origins, other datable finds included tiles of the 13th and 14th centuries (Page 1912, 509). The remnants of the later church were represented by the foundations of a small church within the area of the nave of the earlier church (Page 1912, 509).

In 1989-90, excavation in advance of development revealed an additional, and previously unknown, 15th/16th century extension to the church and more than 300 burials, although it was unable to determine the full extent of the churchyard. However, there were, with the exception of the church, very few traces of other buildings associated with the Priory. Datable finds from the site included a pit c. 65m north of the church which revealed sherds of 9th-11th century pottery and a single residual sherd from a grave (Zeepvat 1995, 73).

### ***Church of St. Nicholas***

The first documentary reference to the Church of St Nicholas [SMR 4000] dates to 1269, when Walter de St Neots was instituted as its 4th rector. However, it is thought that St. Nicholas may have been one of the two churches held by Peter de Valognes in 1086 (Page 1912, 509), and its location within the likely area of the late Saxon southern burh (see above) may indicate late Saxon origins. In 1428 the Parish of St Nicholas had less than 10 householders, although the church was still being upkept, as demonstrated by a bequest of 1495 for repairs to the church. However, by 1535 the parish had been united to that of St Andrew, and it is thought likely that the church was already disused by this point (Page 1912, 509). In 1630, the grant of the manor of Hertford to the Earl of Salisbury describes the ruined and decayed church and cemetery of St Nicholas, whilst in 1635 a court roll mentions 5 poles of land which "heretofore was a parcell of the church yard belonging to the parish of St Nicholas [on which had lately been built] a dwelling house and smithes forge" (Cussans, 94). A medieval cemetery in the Old Market Place 100m to the south, may belong to St Nicholas (see below).

Speede's map of 1610 indicates an approximate position for the church, which was described in 1700 as having "lately stood near St. Nicholas's Street, at the west end of Back Street, towards the mills in the back yard of the Maidenhead Inn, where the ruins of the church are yet to be seen' (Chauncy, 512). Even in the early 20th century

“moulded stones [were] occasionally found on the north side of Maidenhead street where the church stood” (Page 1912, 509).

### ***Church of St. Mary***

The Church of St Mary has very few known surviving records. The first known reference dates to 1218, when the vicar was John de Aiete (Clutterbuck 1821, 172). The church itself is thought to have adjoined the putative market cross (see above) in the Old Cross area and lies within the supposed site of the northern Anglo-Saxon burh (see above). Such a position suggests that the church may be of late Saxon origin and may therefore be one of the two churches described as lying within the extent of the borough in Domesday Book (Kiln & Partridge 1994, 81).

Documentary evidence indicates that in 1428 there were less than 10 householders in the Parish of St Mary, and the church had apparently fallen into disuse by the early 16th century, as the living had been united with that of St Andrew and St Nicholas before 1535. The ‘Inventory of Church Goods’, compiled in 1552, made no mention of the building or its remains, which may suggest that it was demolished about the time of the Reformation (Cussans, 93). However, a message called ‘St Mary’s Churchyard’ was included in the grant of the manor to the Earl of Salisbury in 1630 (Page 1912, 509) and in 1700 the site of the church was described as lying ‘between the Street leading to Cowbridge, called St. Mary’s Street, and the back Lane which leads to the River Lea, in which place now stands a little House with a Smith’s shop adjoining to it’ (Chauncy, 512).

In 1881 Cussans noted that ‘the newspaper office of the Herts. Guardian marks the site of the old church; a piscina, sedillia and aubreys, with carved mouldings around them, still remain in the cellar beneath’ (Cussans, 93). Indeed, in 1888 excavations on this site for the construction of the public library revealed a considerable number of building stones from the earlier church. Some of which, including a 13th century clunch stone window, were reused in the construction of a memorial fountain sited next to the library (Page 1912, 509).

### ***Church of All Saints***

The location of the two Domesday churches are not known with any certainty, although it is likely that, for security reasons, the Anglo-Saxon churches would have been situated within the two burhs themselves and it is therefore seems more probable that the two demolished medieval churches of St. Nicholas and St. Mary were Anglo-Saxon in origin. However, the earliest specific documentary reference dates to the early 11th century and refers to the Church of All Saints [SMR: 9935] which was apparently bestowed by Robert de Valognes to Waltham Abbey (Dugdale, 18). This grant was confirmed by Richard I in 1189 (Page 1912, 510). This connection with de Valognes has led to speculation that All Saints was one of the two churches held by Peter de Valognes in 1086.

The current church was erected in 1895 on the site of an earlier building which was destroyed by fire in 1891. The early church, which is known to have been rebuilt in the 15th century, comprised a cruciform church with a west tower. Evidence for the existence of a fraternity of St John is found in 15th century wills, and the brotherhood is known to have had a chaplain in the church in 1495. Following the Dissolution (c.1538), all ecclesiastical property passed to the crown, and in 1575 a ‘ruinous house’ situated in the northern portion of All Saints church yard, and the site of

another house called the 'Guildhall' or church house were granted to John Herbert and Andrew Palmer (Page 1912, 510).

The church was described in 1700 as 'containing two fair aisles with a new brick building on the north side of the church and the chancel at the east end...and at the west end the a small square tower adjoins...and a tall spire covered with lead is erected thereon' (Chauncy, 507). The church also contained an organ and a gallery, which was erected in the late 17th century by the Governors of Christ's Hospital to accommodate 200 of their children (Chauncy, 507). However, Cussans noted shortly before the destruction of the first church, that the building had been so frequently 'beautified and enlarged' by successive generations of church wardens that 'little, if any, of the ancient structure remains, except the tower; and even that retains no distinctive feature of its original style beyond a fine pointed arch on its east side opening to the nave' (Cussans, 73).

The new building was constructed in 1893-95 of pink Runcorn sandstone in a Gothick Perpendicular style. It comprises a 6 bay nave and chancel, two aisles, with projecting north transept and vestry. The north aisle terminates in a projecting hexagonal porch, the south aisle runs into the 3 bay south chapel, which was dedicated a War Memorial Chapel in 1934. A 3 stage west tower was added in 1905 (DoE List). Fragments of brass dating to the mid 15th century rescued from the early church have been repositioned on the site, and include one to 'John Hunger (d.143?)' master cook to Katherine, wife of Henry V (Page 1912, 508).

#### *All Saints Vicarage*

The Vicarage of All Saints was ordained by charter at the beginning of the 13th century (Page 1912, 510; Cussans, 87) and was valued in the Kings Books in 1535 at £10l. 6s. 8d. per annum (Page 1912, 510). The former vicarage building [SMR 9807], located to the north-west of the churchyard, originally comprised a timber-framed two bay 15th century Hall House, with projecting gabled north and south cross wings. Whilst most of the remaining visible fabric apparently dates to 17th century (when it was substantially altered) and the 18th and 19th centuries, the south cross wing is obviously of 15th century date and has a two bay crown post roof structure. Similarly the ground floor of the 'hall' section, which was originally jettied to the east, is heavily timbered with remnants of chevron and circle painted decoration. The central doorway incorporates a datestone '1631', which is set in an early 18th century architrave surround. Other modifications include the excavation of a brick lined cellar beneath the entrance hall and the erection of a mid 19th century conservatory (DoE List).

#### ***Church of St. Andrew, St. Andrew Street***

The church of St Andrew [SMR 1696] is first mentioned in 1208 when the church and a perpetual vicarage were granted by King John to his clerk, Master Adam of Essex, for life (Page 1912, 510).

In 1700 the church was described as comprising a nave, with two small aisles and a low, tile covered chancel. A square tower was positioned to the west with a short spire (Chauncy, 512). However, by 1869 the church had fallen into a very dilapidated state, and in only accommodating 300 people was considered too small. The church was demolished and a 'more spacious building' erected on the same site (Cussans, 87),

reusing the late 15th century north doorway (Page 1912, 507). The current church is of cruciform plan and built of flint with limestone and sandstone dressings in the Gothick style, and incorporating an Early English and Decorated style interior (DoE List). Several of the memorials from the earlier church have been reset, and the North chapel contains an incised stone altar slab with a cavity for containing relics which was recovered from the site of the former church of St Mary, Old Cross, during excavations for the new library in 1888 (Page 1912, 508).

### ***Medieval Cemetery***

In 1975 construction work on the sewers to the west of Shire Hall revealed approximately 40 inhumation burials approximately 1.75 m below the ground surface, lying in an east/west direction (Partridge 1976, 186) [SMR 9892] and a pit containing 11th to 12th century pottery, which was probably contemporary with the burials (Zeepvat 1996, 10). Excavation undertaken during the renovation of Shire Hall in 1988 (approx. 7m to east) revealed a quantity of disarticulated human bone, indicating that a number of burials had been moved and redeposited, probably during the construction of Shire Hall in the 18th century. Whilst the context of the burials is unclear and may predate the construction of the late Saxon burh and market place cAD 913, such remains are likely to belong to a fairly extensive late Saxon or early Medieval cemetery, which appears to have been located at the western edge of the Market Place (Kiln & Partridge, 66). It is possible that the cemetery could belong to St Nicholas church, which was located approximately 100m to the north (see above). St Nicholas was the only church known to have been located within the boundary of the Southern Burh, and there is no other evidence for a cemetery associated with it.

In 1943 excavations to insert a water tank into the cellar of No 4 Market Place revealed the skeletal remains of two individuals, thought to be of a man and child [SMR 10003]. Contemporary reports indicate that the remains were well preserved and were considered to be at least 200 years old (T.B.S. 1942, 226-8). However, the proximity of the site to the likely Anglo- Saxon/early medieval cemetery [see 9892] at the western edge of the market place would suggest that these were associated burials. It is recorded that the remains were reinterred on the site (T.B.S. 1942, 226-8).

### **Public Buildings**

#### *County and Borough Gaols*

The first reference to a gaol in Hertford can be found at the end of the 12th century, when records describe repairs to an existing building. However, in 1225 a mandate was issued to build a new gaol, although this appears to have fallen into disuse, as in 1290 the inhabitants petitioned for a prison and a license was granted to build a new one at their own cost on the site of the old one. The strong opposition of the governor of the Castle, William de Valance, to the building of a new gaol suggests that the castle may have been used for this purpose whilst the early prison house was in decay (Page 1912, 492; Cussans, 62).

Until 1776 the County gaol occupied a site on the North side of Fore Street [SMR 4003], on the site afterwards occupied by the butchers market, and the present site of the Corn Exchange (see below). Turnor's map of 1860 described the site as 'Site of the Old Gaol, now the Shambles and Poultry Market' (Turnor 1860). However, in the early 18th century the gaol suffered from many complaints of its unsanitary state,

insecurity and the prevalence of gaol fever, and a Private Act was obtained in 1700 for its removal (Cussans, 63). After 1700, a new replacement building was proposed, but the old gaol continued to be used until 1776.

### *Borough Gaol*

Little is known of the Borough prison, although it is known to have been located in Back Street (now Railway St) (Cussans, 62). An approximate position [SMR:10121] for the prison has been located from cartographic sources which in 1766 indicate that a Bridewell was sited close to the Quaker Meeting House on Back Street (Andrews & Wren 1766). The Borough and County gaols were amalgamated in 1775 and occupied a new gaol constructed on the Ware Road (see below).

### *Shire (Town) Hall*

The Town Hall is first mentioned in the charter of Queen Elizabeth in 1589, and was subsequently described in the Charter of James I of 1605 as a house, held by the Mayor and burgesses, 'Lately built upon the Waste within the Borough, called the Town Hall' (Chauncy, 489) with the reservation of the right to hold sessions of the peace there (Page 1912, 490). The early building has been described as a 'small and inconvenient timber edifice' (Cussans, 59) and was pulled down in 1768 following proposals for the construction of a new Shire Hall in 1767.

The present building [SMR 9918] was constructed between 1769 and 1771 by James Adam on the north side of Fore Street in the centre of the market place. Its design followed the contemporary fashion for symmetry and Classical features although was not appreciated by all: "it is a plain brick building devoid of beauty either within or without, but it is well adapted to the purposes it is intended to serve" (Cussans, 59). The building also featured a small fire proof room in which items relating to the Borough were kept. The building performed a range of functions including those of assembly rooms and courthouse, and the arcaded western ground floor was used as a Corn Market until 1849 when this function was transferred to a building on the site of the present corn exchange (see below). In particular the assembly hall, in which concerts and plays were performed, has been identified with a venue described in Jane Austen's 'Pride and Prejudice', with Hertford as the fictional 'Merrytown'.

The building is a four storey (including 2 mezzanine floors) composition of brick, with Portland stone dressings. The principal (east) elevation is of 9 bays in tripartite composition with projecting wings of 3 bays and a recessed centre with a large, restored central window (1988-1990) featuring a Ionic columns and pilasters. The elevation is lit by symmetrically placed, large recessed sash windows, which are echoed in the other elevations (although some are blank panels) within a similar tripartite 9 bay composition. The west elevation also features a (now glazed) 7 bay arcade at the ground floor level, formerly associated with the corn market. The south elevation features a clock erected in 1824 and supplied by John Briant, the Hertford bell founder (see below).

The building underwent substantial unsympathetic external alterations, which included the opening up and glazing of some of the blank panels. This was rectified in 1988-90 when the exterior was substantially restored to its original state. The major Adam interiors were also refurbished at this time. The building features a central oculus which was originally intended to light a first floor rotunda planned as the Council Chamber. In 1800 the original, vaulted assembly room ceiling was replaced

with one c4 foot lower as settlement of the building was causing significant problems (DoE List).

## **Wealth of the Medieval Borough**

### **Communications**

Whilst the late Saxon borough was clearly a wealthy and significant settlement (see above), the town was situated away from the main thoroughfares to London, the Roman roads, Ermine Street (A10) and the Great North Road (A1). However, until the early 13th century Hertford successfully maintained its prosperity and trading position by the control of both road and riverine traffic.

The Hertford burgesses initially forced all land-borne traffic to cross the River Lea at their town bridge, causing the main line of traffic to pass through the Borough. Thus Ermine Street was joined at Wadesmill, via Porthill, and the Great North Road at Hatfield. As Ermine Street did not pass through Hertford, all traffic was required to take a detour from the direct route, which would otherwise have crossed the Lea at Ware. Hertford therefore sought to consolidate its monopoly on trade and traffic rights and, until 1215-16, the bailiffs of Hertford controlled all traffic crossing the Ware Bridge, claiming all tolls from this crossing as its rightful revenue (Page 1912, 499). However, traffic passing through Hertford gradually decreased as the alternative route through Ware, a rising town, became more popular. This period of decline, combined with faltering payments of tolls to the burgesses of the town, is characterised by an increasing animosity between Hertford and Ware, the first indication of which was recorded in 1191 when men of Hertford felt their monopoly on road traffic sufficiently threatened to destroy the bridge over the Lea at Ware. A further attack on Ware bridge in 1258 appears to have made little impact, despite the Hertford burgesses having apparently broken down the Ware bridge and preventing any foot-crossings by digging a channel in the ford. A reference to London road being cut by a ditch would suggest that, by this time, Ware had made (or restored) the A10 south of the town, effectively leaving Hertford outside of the main line of traffic. Documents indicate that the passage through Ware had become well established by 1274 much 'to the detriment of the vill of Hertford' (Page 1912, 499). The steady increase in tolls taken by Ware towards the end of the 13th century shows that the main traffic was passing through the direct route (Page 1912, 499).

Similarly Hertford held a monopoly on the transportation of goods by water until the mid 13th century, collecting tolls from the bailiffs of Ware who controlled the weirs on the Lea (Kiln & Partridge, 121) and by transporting produce to London in boats belonging to Hertford. However, c1247-8 the men of London built a granary further down the Lea at Thele and began to ship corn in their own vessels (Page 1912, 499). By 1274 the bailiffs of Ware were aggressively attempting to cut off water communication routes with Hertford by 'occupying the weirs so that no ship might pass' (Page 1912, 499). As a result of the loss of control of both the riverine and road traffic, the prosperity and importance of Hertford as a trading centre steadily declined, in direct contrast to the fortunes of neighbouring Ware. Hertford did however maintain its importance as the administrative centre of the county (Page 1912, 493).

### **Agriculture**

From the late 13th century onwards Hertford underwent a steady general decline, and tax returns of 1290 indicate that Hertford was no longer considered one of the most

prosperous towns in Hertfordshire (Page 1912, 500). The agricultural wealth of the borough itself was not high and was valued in taxation returns of 1291 as 1d per acre, in comparison with Ware at 7d per acre (Page 1912, 500). Shortly afterwards, the lay subsidy returns, which are a record of taxes on moveable wealth and goods (principally on crops and stocks rather than on land and buildings), indicate the scale and value of Hertford's agricultural wealth. In the returns of 1334, Hertford's taxable value was £7. 16s. 8d, which may be compared with returns for Ware (£14. 55s. 51/4d.) and Cheshunt (£12. 11s. 4d.) (Glasscock, 1975).

However, Hertford formed the natural location for trade in agricultural produce, both in terms of its location on the Lea - and therefore in easy reach of the economically attractive London markets - and its situation in the midst of three rich, corn growing valleys, the Mimram, Lea and Beane. This is reflected in the provisional granting of an annual week-long fair in 1226 (Page 1912, 499).

### **Early Industry**

With the exception of the known existence of a Royal mint in the town (see above), and the presence of three mills in 1086, there is little real evidence for substantial early industrial activity in Hertford. In particular, no evidence has been found for the existence of a craft or merchants guild in the borough (Page 1912, 500).

However, a document of 1247-8 may provide circumstantial evidence for some activities relating to the cloth industry being undertaken in the town in the early 13th century. In 1290, surname evidence would indicate that a typical range of urban trades were being practised in the borough, including millers, smiths, carters, fishers and butchers, although there is reference to a merchant and a 'mustarder' (Page 1912, 500). Shortly afterwards, in 1307, there is also mention of chapmen, a dyer and cutlers (Page 1912, 500), the latter probably resulting from the accessibility of water-powered sites in Hertford for grinding.

The rapid decay of the borough throughout the 14th and 15th centuries (see below), in combination with substantial depopulation resulting from outbreaks of plague, provided little impetus for the development of trades. However, by the late 15th century victualling businesses, such as brewing and baking are the most prominent, although there is some evidence for tanning and glovemaking in the borough (Page 1912, 500). Latterly, following the growth of Hertford as a coaching centre, the inn trade became a particularly important feature of the post-medieval economy (see below).

### ***Mills***

The Domesday Survey of 1086 recorded the presence of three water mills within the limits of Hertford Borough and it thought likely that all three were located within the (current) central town area just above The Wash (Kiln & Partridge, 97). The mill sites at Sele, Horns and Epcombs were clearly not included within the extent of the Borough, as they were mentioned separately, and were not owned by the Town (Kiln & Partridge, 96).

### ***Town Mill***

Town mill [SMR 5790], which was located at the crossing of the River Lea by Millbridge, is thought to have been one of the three Domesday water mills and may, therefore, have late Saxon origins. The mill was mentioned in the late medieval period when it was found to be causing problems with water flow to mills further

downstream (see below) (Bennett, 1992, 6-7). Little is known of the form of the early mill, however an existing mill on the site was purchased in 1856 by Lord Salisbury and underwent significant modernisation, including the installation of a 'Poncelet' or bucket wheel, the efficiency of which led to problems of water flow and legal disputes with the other Hertford watermills (Bennett, 6-7).

The mill latterly formed an L-shaped building, the arm over the mill race being of yellow brick, the arm parallel to the river being of weatherboarded brick and used as a store. These buildings both apparently dated to 1871 and may have been the result of a substantial rebuilding or alteration. Following damage by a flying bomb in 1944, the rear of the buildings were faced with corrugated iron, and until were latterly unoccupied and used as a stores (Johnson). The mill was demolished in 1967 for the construction of Castle Hall.

#### *Dicker Mill (possible site of Priory Mill)*

The original site of Dicker Mill [SMR 9479] had been established by the late 12th century (Kiln & Partridge, 97), although it may have been connected with the Benedictine Priory of St. Mary Monk (see below), which was endowed with a mill upon its foundation in the late 11th century. The mill is therefore considered unlikely to have been one of the mills described in the Domesday survey. During the late medieval period it is recorded that changes undertaken at Town Mill altered the amount of water available to Dicker Mill, causing problems with water flow which necessitated the cutting of a new mill stream and moving the mill to a new site further downstream c1630 (Bennett 1992, 6-7). There are no known remains of the original mill.

The later mill [SMR 7246] underwent some changes; the miller is known to have altered the mill stream in the 1790s, and again in 1854. The wheel was set low in a dug out channel, and has left its outline on the wheelhouse wall from the constant chafing. The mill was originally a water corn mill, although by the late 19th century it was producing oilcake. It ceased working as a mill in the early 1920s (Bennett, 6-7). The site is now in use for industrial buildings.

#### *Possible site of former medieval Paper Mill, Sele Mill*

A mill was recorded at Sele in 1086, and it is thought that the existing mill buildings [5789] may occupy the Domesday site. In 1498 there is a reference to 'the paper Mylne' at Sele manor, (Cussans, 52) which is said to have been the first established in England. The mill is thought to have been started in the early 1490s by John Tate, who was rewarded by Henry VII in both 1498 and 1499. The mill is alluded to by William Valens in his 'Tale of Two Swannes' and in a work printed in English in 1495 which indicated that it was printed on paper made by Tate (Cussans, 53; Shorter 1973, 15). However, within 'a few years' the mill apparently lay idle, its demise is thought to have resulted from competition from imported papers and a shortage of rags (Shorter, 16). Cussans thought that the site of the papermill was most likely to have been 'near the old waterworks' as 'a channel through which the water flows to the River Beane is still known as Paper Mill ditch' (Cussans, 53). However, the site is likely to be associated with the current mill at Sele.

A new mill appears to have been erected in 1700 and was the first to supply the celebrated flour Herts. White (Page 1912, 472). It seems this later mill burnt down in 1890 and the present buildings are the result of the subsequent rebuilding, although the remains of a building built in 1822 were retained in the south end of a building

(Johnson). The site has since been redeveloped and the buildings converted into housing.

### **Decline of the Borough**

Further evidence for the demise of Hertford can be found in the Borough's Court rolls and accounts, which indicate that Hertford rapidly decayed during the 14th century and even more rapidly in the 15th century (Page 1912, 500) and by 1428 the parishes of St Nicholas and St Mary each upheld no more than 10 households (Kiln & Partridge, 123). Such a decline in wealth is further illustrated by Parliamentary returns. The Borough first sent two burgesses to Parliament in 1298 (Chauncy, 469) however, it is recorded that 'when the borough grew very poor thro' the Decay of Trade, the Bailiffs and Burgesses petitioned King Henry V (1413-1422) that he would ease them of the Charge of sending and maintaining two Burgesses in Parliament, for that they were reduced to that Poverty, that they were not able to pay their wages...' (Chauncy, 469). In 1621 the borough attempted to reclaim their ancient right to send two bailiffs to Parliament, and was the subject of much debate before being finally allowed (Chauncy, 494; Page 1912, 498).

However, despite this general decline, the borough clearly maintained an element of its status, as there are still important medieval elements, such as the castle, that continue to be upheld. Indeed, in 1554 Mary granted a Charter of Incorporation of the Borough and Town, which entitled the Corporation to a common seal and gave the Borough its own coat of arms (Page 1912, 496). During 1582 and again in 1592-3, the courts of law and, it seems, the Westminster Parliament, were adjourned to Hertford Castle by Elizabeth I, on account of the plague in London (Salmon, 35; Cussans, 54). Parliament Row is reputedly named as a result of being occupied by members of the court during this time (Page 1912, 492).

### **Plan of the Medieval Borough**

The current layout of the town apparently resulted from the deliberate town planning undertaken in the Anglo-Saxon period (see above), and it is therefore likely that many of the surviving property boundaries, and indeed the market square, date from the layout of the burh in 912/3. Archaeological evidence has demonstrated that the town had expanded beyond the limits of the eastern burh defences by the early 11th century, a symptom of the success of the town as a trading centre. Such evidence has further suggested that at this time Railway Street (formerly Back Street) was of primary importance and is likely to have represented the main through route of the town.

An examination of the distribution of early buildings, in association with other features of the town, such as street layout, burgage plots and important elements of the medieval borough, can provide important clues for charting the growth of the town which are not available from other sources. There are a number of extant late medieval buildings in the town (15th and 16th century) which are generally found to be distributed around the circumference of the castle ditch, in particular St Andrew Street and Castle Street, which extends into West Street (figure 3). This would appear to indicate that the high status dwellings, which were probably occupied by the richest burgesses (merchants) of the town, were located around an important, high status part of the medieval borough, and away from the main commercial portion of the town. The building, or 'tenement', in which the merchant or 'burgess' lived were adjacent to

the street, the rear of the plot being for ancillary, non-domestic buildings and for the disposal of rubbish.

Further evidence for the development of the town is suggested by Speede's map of 1610, in which areas of settlement are indicated by a fairly dense concentration of buildings in and around the central market place, including Fore street, Maidenhead street and Railway street, and along St Andrew Street and Cowbridge, around the site of the church of St Mary and the second potential market at Old Cross. The plan indicates that buildings had encroached into the central market place and may be permanent or semi-permanent structures associated with the market. In comparison the area directly to the south of the Lea, such as Bircherley Green, was relatively sparsely populated.

It is also interesting to note that Speede describes Fore Street as 'Highe Street' which is substantially more densely populated than 'Back Street' (now Railway Street) and it is clear that, by this point, the main through route of the town had shifted. An examination of the distribution of known coaching inns of 1621 (figure: 5), which are particularly concentrated along Fore Street, adds weight to this theory. During the 17th century Back Street was diverted from the straight route depicted in Speede's map, and must have occurred prior to the construction of the Christ's Hospital complex in c1690.

Speede's map also indicates that the south side of Castle Street and West Street were already relatively built up, whereas the north side was primarily occupied with the outer castle ditch. However, shortly afterwards, the borough survey of 1621 describes the castle as 'now decayed' and the distribution of historic buildings, in conjunction with archaeological evidence, suggests that this side only began to be built up during the 17th and 18th centuries.

### ***Limits of the Borough***

The earliest surviving evidence of the limits of Hertford borough may be found in the Hertford Corporation Papers of 1621 which describes an area comprising the whole of the civil parish of All Saints and parts of St Johns and St Andrew and extends:

"From a post at the west end of the town in the road to Hertingfordbury at the end of Castlemead to the corner of Sealefield; then it meets the highway from Hertford to Watton, thence to a post near Papermillgate, and to the north side of the river at the east end of Papermill meade; thence down the river to Cowbridge; along the north side of the Lea to the east end of Hartham; thence along Priory or Hoppits mead, along the mill stream to Butchery green, thence to Back Street...thence to a pile of stones near St. Johns churchyard gate, and thence to the high road from Hertford to Ware; thence to Stonehall Close; then it turns back to the east stile of All Saints excluding the churchyard, thence to the 'Bell'; then it bounds on the tenements of the manor of Baylyhall, meets the highway of Castle Street, thence to a post in the street, and to the outermost ditch of the now decayed castle; along the outside of the ditch to the millstream of Hertford, along Castle Mead and so to the post" (Hertford Corporation Papers V, No. 65 in Page 1912, 493).

A charter of 1680 significantly expanded the bounds up to the bottom of Port Hill and to include the church and cemetery of All Saints, West Street and the Castle, (Page 1912, 494). West Street had formerly comprised part of the Liberty of Brickendon which had been owned by Waltham Abbey from the 11th century onwards, although

it may have comprised part of the early borough, as in 1274 the burgesses of the town claimed that ‘the hamlet of West Street had been withdrawn from the borough by the abbot’ (Page 1912, 494).

### **Status Buildings of the late 15th century / 16th century**

#### *Former Open Hall, 21 & 23 ‘The Walnuts’, Castle Street*

This timber-framed and plastered house [SMR 9804] originated as an open hall house of the mid/late 15th century. The plan indicates a 4 bay structure, the hall occupying the two central bays, and a buttery and store to the west end of the hall. During the early/mid 17th century the hall was reconstructed to incorporate a first (chamber) floor and was heated via an external fireplace to the rear of the building. Further alterations were undertaken in the late 17th century with the addition/rebuilding of two cross wings, and in the 18th century a two storey rear extension was added and a brick lined cellar excavated beneath the hall. No. 21 underwent substantial alteration in the 1960s, including the insertion of a shopfront, although it has retained some internal features, such as 17th century panelling and an ornamental cornice. No 23 underwent extensive restoration in 1993-5 although it too has retained some internal features, in particular its twin ogee headed doorways of the mid/late 15th century, which lead from the central hall area into the cross wing, and some late 17th century oak panelling. Other 20th century additions include a weatherboarded rear outshut and a conservatory (DoE List).

#### *Former Medieval Crosswing, 12 & 14, Old Cross, Hertford,*

No. 14 is a timber framed and plastered former cross wing building [SMR 9814] of 2 storeys, dating to the late 15th/early 16th. The first floor features exposed beam ends, studding and downward curving braces and was originally jettied, but has since been underbuilt. Extensive post war alterations (following bomb damage) included raising the first floor on the line of the underbuilt jetty and truncation of the existing crown post roof. However, some details, including the position of early mullioned windows, shutter grooves and an ogee-headed doorway in the stud partition of the ground floor are still visible.

No. 12 was constructed in the 17th century and is a timber framed and plastered 2 storey building and contains a narrow central smoke bay, which is now occupied by a brick chimney. These buildings currently serve as private brewery museum and hospitality suite for McMullens Brewery (DoE List).

#### *Probable former Medieval Crosswing, 5 & 7, Parliament Square, Hertford*

No. 7 is a 2 storied, timber-framed and plastered structure [SMR 9834] dating from the late 15th century, and may have served as a crosswing to the building which formerly occupied the site of No. 9, Parliament Square (to the east). The jettied gable end faces onto the street, and exposed studwork on the first floor indicates that the probable crosswing was constructed on a two bay plan. The building was partially overbuilt by No. 5 when it was constructed in the 18th century, and in the 19th century a shopfront was inserted into the recess beneath the jettied first floor.

No. 5 is an timber-framed and plastered 18th century house of two storeys and attics with a long, two storied timber-framed and plastered outshut to rear. The internal plan comprises 2 rooms with a central chimney stack and exposed studwork. In the 19th century a shopfront was inserted into the ground floor (DoE List).

*Possible former open hall house, 1, St Andrew Street;*

The central two bay block [SMR 9836] has been dated to the 15th century and may represent the remains of an open hall house, although it is likely to have undergone some reconstruction as it now comprises 2 storeys and attics. The ground floor features a heavy chamfered timber beam with tongue stops, and is subdivided by an open timber partition, with arched openings on the line of the stud partition situated above. Externally the frontage features an oriel bow window, and incorporates a carriageway to the left, over which is a raised bay. A gabled cross wing adjoins the central block to the right, and is jettied to the street front. The cross wing has been celled at collar level and has internal evidence for the presence of a former crown post roof structure and features smoke blackened rafters. The position of earlier windows are also visible in the first floor front elevation. The building underwent alteration in the 17th century, and in the 19th century a shopfront was inserted below the jetty, which is now in use as the Post Office (DoE List).

*Wealden Hall house, 3, St Andrew Street*

This timber-framed and plastered building [SMR 9840] originated as a two bay, single ended Wealden hall house of c1500, of which the western bay formed the hall. Internally, exposed studwork on the first floor of the main hall represents the partition wall between the solar and hall, and features a central door which was inserted after the hall was floored. The existing crown post roof structure shows no signs of smoke blackening, which may indicate that the hall and solar were (prior to flooring) unheated. In the 19th century a shopfront was inserted below the jettied bay, concealing the jettied first floor.

A timber-framed and plastered 3 bay rear wing of 2 storeys was added when the hall was floored in the late 16th century, and the remnants of the early diamond mullioned windows with shutter groove are still visible. A small single storey outshut extension was added in the 20th century. The building underwent alteration in the 18th and 19th centuries and was renovated in 1976 which included the removal of a fireplace in the rear wing (DoE List).

*Former Wealden Hall House, 20 & 22, West St, Hertford*

The building [SMR 9844] comprises a timber-framed 3 bay, two storey Wealden hall house of the late 15th century. The hall part occupied a single central bay (No. 20), which extensive smoke-blackening indicates was formerly open to the roof, with a single jettied bay to the west (No. 22). A floor was inserted into the hall in the 17th century, and incorporated a winder stair which enabled access to the attic area in the east bay. A chimney was inserted into the hall in the 17th century, which disrupted entry of the hall. Remnants of the former roof structure indicate a former crown post disrupted by the insertion of the chimney. The western bay has exposed framing, including a blocked 15th century diamond-mullioned window, and elements of the frame supporting the 'flying eaves' of the jettied bay, and a crown post is situated above the wall plate partitioning the west cross wing from the hall.

The building underwent alteration in the late 17th/18th century, which is characterised by contemporary infill studding into the ground floor. The first floor is plastered and the ground floor underbuilt in black-painted brick, with a carriageway incorporated into the structure to the west. A red, brick-lined cellar was built beneath No.22 in the

18th century and the building was extended into rear outshuts in the 19th and 20th centuries (DoE List).

*Wealden Hall house, 17-23, St Andrew Street*

This timber-framed and plastered building [SMR 9842] originated as a two bay (No. 21), Wealden hall house of the late 15th century. The presence of a cambered tie beam with mortices for arch bracing indicates that the hall was formerly open to the roof. In the 17th century the hall was floored and alterations, including raising the roof and cutting away portions of the tie beam, were undertaken in order to accommodate a first floor and attics. In the 17th century the hall range was extended one bay to the east by the addition of a crosswing (No. 19), which contained an inserted 17th century chimneystack. No. 23 comprises a two storied west wing (of unknown date) which features two blocked doorways.

Internally there is much exposed timber within each individual unit. In particular No. 17 features a central chamfered and tongue-stopped beam, and the removal of the rear wall has exposed framing indicating the position of the outer wall of the east cross wing. The rear elevation has undergone significant alteration and extension and 19th century and 20th century shopfronts have been inserted into the frontage (DoE List).

*Possible former open hall house, (former Bull Inn), 13a, 15 & 15a, Bull Plain*

The building [SMR 9845] dates from the ?16th century and is a jettied, timber-framed, plastered structure. The interior has largely been opened out, however, exposed framing indicates that the building originated as a 4 or 5 bay structure, in which the 2 central bays may constitute the remains of a substantially altered open hall house of c. late 15th /early 16th century (DoE List). The northern end of the building has a higher hipped roof, which encompasses a rear outshut. The southern bays are lower and are ceiled at the collar level with halved and pegged rafters. Alterations were undertaken in the 17th century, and recently exposed studwork of this period has demonstrated some reuse of timber/rebuilding of an earlier partition.

The frontage has undergone substantial alteration, the building was particularly remodelled in the late 19th century as a public house, 'The Bull Inn', from which Bull Plain is reputed to take its name. In 1910 the building became a retail shop, and shopfronts were inserted into both Nos. 13 and 15, the shop window to No. 15 cutting across the former jetty (DoE List).

*Former Open Hall House, 43, (inc. St. Nicholas Hall), St. Andrew St, Hertford*

The original front range was an open hall house of 2 storeys and attics and comprises 3 jettied bays. The structure [SMR 9843] features an exposed bressumer and beam ends and heavy close studding with downward arched bracing, which is indicative of a 15th century structure. Two blocked, early windows are visible in the studding. The front range was extended by a single jettied bay to the E in the early 17th century and features a contemporary oriel bay window with ovolo moulded mullions and exposed thin studs with primary bracing, although the eastern flank has been rebuilt in red brick. In the mid 20th century a shopfront, in which the 17th century central oak doorway was retained, was formed from glazed moulded oak mullions and a bay window was inserted beneath the jetty.

Internally, both the ground and first floors have been opened out to form a single space, which is subdivided by a massive central fireplace and chimney. The exposed

framing on both floors include details such as chamfered and tongue stopped tie beams, and mortices for window mullions and shutter grooves. In addition, empty mortices indicate the former external wall for the (extended) 3 bay structure and open studwork to the rear which formerly led into the rear range, now St Nicholas Hall. A central mortice in the tie beam indicates a former crown post structure, which may have been removed during conversion of the attics in the 17th century and the flooring of the open hall below. The absence of any smoke blackening on the central rafters indicates that this hall may have initially been unheated, or that an early smoke hood was located in the position now occupied by the internal chimney breast. A 17th century newel stair is now unused, but has been retained within a black weather-boarded gabled stair turret to the rear.

A rear range was demolished in 1892 in order to build St. Nicholas Hall, which was built following the Arts and Crafts tradition. The building was originally a largely single storey structure, but featured a gallery and mezzanine floor. An attic floor was inserted over the full length of the building in 1970. The building includes typical Gothick details such as a four centred brick Tudor arch with dripmould and an embattled parapet roof. The front range contains a relocated late 15th century octagonal crown post with elaborate mouldings, which was retrieved from 30, Parliament Square during its demolition in the 1970s (Moodey 1973, 139).

#### *Possible former hall house, 10, 12 & 14, St. Andrew St, Hertford*

This timber-framed and plastered jettied house [SMR:9861] apparently dates from the late 16th century and has weatherboarded rear outshuts. The house was originally of 3 bays and now has 2 storeys and attics, however the DoE list suggests that the restricted headroom at the first floor level may indicate the flooring of a hall house which would indicate an earlier construction date of perhaps late 15th century. Internally the ground floor of Nos. 12 & 14 has been opened out to form a single space, and No.2 was further opened out into the rear lean-to extension. A red brick lined cellar is located beneath No 12 and exposed framing in No. 14 includes a chamfered lateral beam with tongue stop. Alterations in the 19th century included the insertion of three ground floor shopfronts beneath the jetty (DoE List).

## **Post-Medieval Industry**

### **Inns**

The increase in road traffic throughout the post medieval period and the situation of Hertford near to a major route linking London to Cambridge (A10), and close to the road (now the A414) which linked the A10 to the Great North Road (A1), indicates that the inn trade was an important feature of Hertford's post medieval economy. By 1610 it is clear that Fore Street was the dominant route through the town, and is identified on Speeds map of 1610 as 'Highe Street'. Shortly afterwards in 1621, a survey undertaken of Hertford borough describes 25 inns and alehouses in the borough (Heath, 126). Of these sites, most have been identified (see below) and a large proportion of these are situated alongside Fore Street (figure 5). Those inns which have not been located from the 1621 survey comprise the Black Lyon, Naked Boy, George, Hoggshills, Labour in Vain (Later Red Cow), Horseshoe, Princes Arms, Catherine Wheel and Cressant. Further research is necessary to identify these sites.

During the 18th century Hertford served as an important staging post on the main mail coaching route between London and Lincoln & York and many of the inns ran daily

passenger services to London (see below). Somewhat later, in 1900, Hertford Borough was recorded as having 70 public houses, of which 54 were licensed as alehouses and 16 as beerhouses (Joliffe & Jones 1995, 70).

### **15th Century**

#### *The Salisbury Arms (formerly The Bell), Salisbury Square*

The first documentary reference to The Bell dates to 1431 (Johnson 1962, 66), the name is thought to refer to the market bell having been formerly attached to the building. In surveys of 1628 and 1631, the Bell was described as comprising 2 or more tenements, and it is thought that this could refer to the separation of the brewery tap from the inn (Joliffe & Jones, 74). In 1756 the inn was described as having beds for 25 men and stabling for 20 horses (Johnson, n.d.).

The building itself [SMR: 9808] dates to the early 15th century and demonstrates the characteristic courtyard plan of Medieval inns. The 3-bay, jettied Fore Street frontage was originally of 2 storeys and attics, but was raised to 3 storeys in the early 19th century and the front jetty was underbuilt. An oriel window is situated at the first and second floor level, above which are pargetted panels incorporating the initials 'S.A.' and the date '1570'. In the late 19th century the frontage was covered with panelled pargetting. A 2-bay jettied East wing (along Church Street) of 2 storeys was added in the 15th century and covered with pargetting in the 17th century. In the early 17th century a long 2 storied wing was constructed to the west along Bell (formerly Cow) Lane, which was jettied on both sides and incorporated a (now enclosed) first floor gallery.

The name was changed to the 'Salisbury Arms' c.1830 after the purchase of the inn by the Marquess of Salisbury, and served as the Tory headquarters in the notorious 1832 election (DoE List). Substantial alterations were undertaken in the 19th and 20th centuries, although many early internal early details, such as heavy exposed beams and 18th century features, have been retained. Construction work included the progressive infilling of the courtyard, and more recently (in 1973-4) involved the addition of a large two storey wing along Church Street (DoE List).

### **16th Century**

#### *Former 'White Swan' Inn, 28-34, Fore Street*

The first documentary reference to the White Swan is probably found in the borough survey of 1621, when it was referred to as 'The Swan' (Heath, 126). In 1756 the White Swan was recorded as having 7 beds and stabling for 18 horses (Johnson n.d.). The building [SMR: 9854] formed a rear courtyard plan, a characteristic of medieval inns. The plan comprised a 3-bay main timber-framed structure of 2 storeys and attics, originally jettied to the street with a return jetty along Church Street. This elevation was partially rebuilt c.1800 during widening of Church Street. The rear south eastern corner of the building has exposed framing and evidence of an inn gallery of c1500 and the exposed structure in the 2 rear bays are apparently 16th century in date. A 2-bay addition along the Church St frontage was originally extended several bays further south (but is now separately occupied as Nos. 5 and 7 Church Street) and features a mullioned bay window, adjacent to exposed studding and bracing.

The timber-framed and stuccoed frontage was altered and remodelled in the early 20th century and now incorporates a recessed shopfront beneath the jetty with exposed beam ends (DoE List).

### **17th Century**

*The Fledgling & Firkin (formerly The Blackbird / Magpie/Pye), 17-19, Parliament Sq.*

Documents indicate that this house was already ‘commonly called by the name of the Pye’ in 1607, and was listed as an alehouse in 1623 (Joliffe & Jones, 71). The first reference to the building as an inn can be found in 1694 when it was described as The Magpie Inn (Joliffe & Jones, 71). By 1738 the name had been changed to the ‘Three Blackbirds’ and in the Billeting returns of 1756 had beds for 6 men and stabling for 20 horses (Johnson 1962, 62; Johnson, n.d.). It is thought likely that the original building occupied nos. 9-17 Parliament Square.

The present building [SMR: 9916] is of the 17th century and comprises a timber-framed structure which has been substantially encased in stuccoed brown stock brick. No 17 is a 5 bay structure of two storeys and attics with a steeply pitched roof and No 15 includes a rebuilt carriageway. The building underwent alteration in the mid 19th century and 20th century (DoE List).

*Former Red Lion, (latterly Half Moon, Duncombe/Dimsdale Arms) 80, Fore Street*

The first documentary reference to an inn on this site [SMR: 10067] can be found in the Borough survey of 1621, when it was described as ‘an ancient message or inn’. By 1719, following the renaming of former Half Moon to the Woolpack [see 10064], the Red Lion had become the Half Moon and Seven Stars. In 1756, the Half Moon had beds for 25 men and stabling for 44 horses (Johnson, n.d.). Throughout the 18th century many of the licensees of this inn also served as keeper of the County Gaol which formerly stood opposite (see below). In 1828 the Half Moon became ‘The Duncombe Arms’, after its use as the headquarters of the radical Whig MP, Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, who represented the Borough of Hertford from 1826-32. In 1833 the inn was acquired and renamed ‘The Dimsdale Arms’ by the influential Dimsdale family, of Hertford, Dr. Thomas Dimsdale being a prominent Tory (Johnson 1962, 63).

The present 3-storied building apparently dates from the early 19th century, with some later 19th century additions and alterations. The 4-bay stuccoed and pilastered brick frontage has a parapeted roof and a late C19 cast-iron decorative balcony at the first-floor level featuring ‘Dimsdale Arms’ in cast-iron lettering. A carriageway entrance to the east leads to a rear courtyard which is flanked by partially timber-framed and weatherboarded, long narrow wings. The outbuildings comprise an outshut to the east and a 2 storied, jettied former stable wing to the west with a colour-washed brick ground floor and irregularly spaced doors and windows. Internally the building has undergone significant internal alterations following various changes of use through out the 20th century, however the entrance hall has retained its 19th century mosaic floor and fireplace, and Jacobean style late C19 stair (DoE List).

*The Ram Inn (formerly The Golden Lion), 112, Fore Street*

The Ram Inn was first mentioned in 1621 (Johnson 1962, 65), but had changed its name to The Golden Lion by 1710 (Joliffe & Jones, 73). In 1719 it was ordered to be

suppressed following accusations that the landlord was keeping a 'disorderly victualling house' and it seems likely that the inn reverted to its former name, The Ram, in 1724 following further accusations. However, in 1756 the inn may have been referred to as The Golden Lion, in which there were 8 beds and stabling for 8 horses (Johnson n.d.). Sale particulars of 1770 describe extensive stabling and pasture to the rear of the house, and the Saturday market for sheep and cattle was held on land to the rear of the house from at least the 18th century (Johnson 1962, 65).

The building [SMR: 9931] is thought to date from the early 17th century and comprised 3 storeys, with a 2 storey plastered and stuccoed elevation to the rear. The colour-washed brick and rusticated stucco frontage is of 4 bays, which includes a carriageway. The bays are subdivided by pilasters, the central bay featuring a recessed panel containing a ram's head in relief underneath the inscription 'Established 1621'. The pub was extensively remodelled/rebuilt in the mid 19th century (DoE List).

#### *White Hart Inn, Salisbury Square*

The White Hart Inn was first mentioned in a document of 1621 which describes the property as including an adjoining pent-house and substantial land extending to the present Market Street and Railway Street. This was later the site for the (now demolished) houses of the Red Cow and The Vine (Johnson 1962, 67) which were described as inns in the Billeting Returns of 1756 (Johnson, n.d.). The White Hart was described in the early 18th century as a Wine Shop, and in 1727 a brandy shop was located next door. The Billeting Returns of 1756 record 11 beds and stabling for 42 horses at the inn and in 1746, 56 and 57 the house was used for holding petty sessions (Johnson 1962, 67).

The surviving building [SMR: 9917] is an L-plan jettied timber framed and plastered structure of the 17th century of 2 storeys and attics. In the 18th century elements of the building were refaced in brick and it was partly refronted with a neo-Classical frontage. The first floor has exposed thin studwork of the 17th century and a moulded first-floor bressumer. Internal details include exposed beams indicating the position of earlier stud walling and a newel stair. Fire damage in the early 1980s required renewal of the roof and destroyed many internal historic features above ground floor level. The building was substantially extended to the rear in the late 20th century (DoE List).

#### *Site of The Maidenhead Inn, Maidenhead Street*

The first known reference to the Maidenhead Inn dates to 1621, in which a survey recorded the position of the building and yard [SMR: 10013] (Andrews 1939, 292). In 1700 records indicate that the ruins of the Church of St Nicholas (see above) were 'yet to be seen' in the back yard of the Maidenhead Inn (Chauncy, 512), and moulded stones were still being unearthed from this area in the early 20th century (Page 1912, 509). In c1736 the importance of the inn is indicated as it gave its name to the street (Andrews 1939, 292-8), whilst in 1756 the inn was described as the 'Maids Head' and had beds for 18 men and stabling for 60 horses (Johnson, n.d.). The inn closed in 1933 (Heath 1975, 126).

#### *Site of King's (Queen's) Arms, 3 & 4, Market Place*

The borough records record that in 1621 this site [SMR: 10011] was occupied by an Inn, the Kings (or Queens) Arms. In 1706 the building, which was initially one

architectural unit, was divided into two and comprised a house (No. 4) and smaller inn (No. 3) divided by a passageway. The inn continued until c.1768 when it was apparently converted to shop use, and may be the site of the Kings Arms described in 1756 as having beds for 6 men and stabling for 16 horses (Johnson n.d.).

In 1940 fire destroyed the building and it was rebuilt in 1943, during which excavations to insert a water tank into the cellar of No 4 Market Place revealed the skeletal remains of two individuals [SMR: 10003], which are likely to represent part of the putative Anglo- Saxon/early Medieval cemetery situated at the western edge of the market place (see church of St Nicholas above).

*Site of The Chequer Inn (latterly Talbot Arms) 84, Fore Street*

The Chequer Inn was first mentioned in 1629 and was originally located on the site [SMR: 10009] now occupied by the Post Office. This building was apparently delicensed in 1691 and converted into tenements. The Chequer was resited further to the west and reopened in 1729 -1762. In 1890 McMullens erected a small public house, 'The Talbot Arms', on part of the former Chequer estate, the rest of the site being sold for the construction of the current Post Office (84, Fore Street). The Talbot Arms was closed in 1966, although part of the facade remains (Joliffe & Jones, 70). In 1756 The Chequer Inn was recorded as having 2 beds (Johnson n.d.).

*Site of The Rose Inn (latterly Old Coffee House), Maidenhead Street*

The Old Coffee House Inn [SMR: 10005] was apparently built between 1610-20 and was situated on the corner of Honey Lane and Maidenhead Street. The first reference to it dates to 1621, when it went under the sign of 'The Rose Inn'. The inn was apparently divided in 1693, and shortly afterwards (c. 1700) the name was changed to 'The Coffee House' and was probably described in 1731 as 'The Coffee House Inn' (Andrews 1939, 292-8).

The building was demolished in 1938, although a number of items, including 8 carved pilasters from the shop frontage (situated on Maidenhead Street) and a Parliamentary Clock were preserved. Contemporary commentators suggest that this building was not built on the site of a previous structure, although there is mention of a single piece of reused moulded stone included in the foundations (Andrews 1939, 292-8).

*Site of the Glove and Dolphin Inn, Maidenhead Street*

The Glove and Dolphin Inn (also The Glove) [SMR: 10135] was first mentioned in the Survey of the Borough undertaken in 1621. The inn, which has since been demolished, was situated opposite the end of Honey Lane, the name has been retained in Dolphin Yard (Andrews 1939, 292-8).

*The Woolpack, Millbridge*

The Woolpack Inn [SMR: 10064] formerly went under the sign of the Half Moon c.1700 until 1722 when it was acquired by a Woolstapler, John Woolmer, who renamed it The Woolpack. The War Office returns of 1756 describe beds for 4 men and stabling for 5 horses (Johnson, n.d.).

The inn was purchased by a brewer of Hoddesdon, William Whittingstall in 1790 and was later acquired by McMullens (Johnson, 67). The building was known as The

New Bridge Inn for a time during the 20th century and it is thought that the old Woolpack was demolished and rebuilt 'on the banks of the Lea' (Heath, 77), although it is not known if this was on the same site.

*Site of Cross Keys, 41-49 Fore Street*

The first documentary reference to this inn can be found in the borough survey of 1621, and it was described in 1756 as having beds for 6 men and stabling for 40 horses (Johnson, n.d.). An engraving of Fore Street made at the end of the 18th century illustrates part of the Cross Keys as a jettied building, possibly of the late 16th century or early 17th century, with 2 large gables facing out onto the street frontage (Moodey 1963, 1). Another engraving of 1823 apparently features '2 broad gables and a towering chimney'. The inn was rebuilt in 1861 in ornamental brick and was refronted in 1962 with plain brick upper storeys (Moodey, 1).

*Site of the Angel Inn, Fore Street*

The first documentary reference to this inn can be found in the borough survey of 1621 (Heath, 126). An approximate position for the site has been assumed from a description given in 'A Survey as to Commoning' of 1719 in which licensed premises on the south side of Fore Street were listed (in order) from east to west (Joliffe & Jones, 71). This survey places both the Angel and the Falcon Inns between the known sites of the Red Lion [10067], and the Turks Head Coffee House [10004], the Angel being directly to the east of Turks Head. In 1756 the Angel was clearly of some size, as it is recorded as having beds for 30 men and stabling for 50 horses (Johnson, n.d.).

*Site of the Falcon Inn, Fore Street*

The first documentary reference to this inn can be found in the borough survey of 1621 (Heath, 126). An approximate position for the site has been assumed from a description given in 'A Survey as to Commoning' of 1719 in which licensed premises on the south side of Fore Street were listed (in order) from east to west (Joliffe & Jones, 71). This survey places both the Angel and the Falcon Inns between the known sites of the Red Lion [10067], and the Turks Head Coffee House [10004], the Falcon being directly to the west of the Red Lion. In 1756 the Falcon is recorded as having beds for 16 men and stabling for 40 horses (Johnson, n.d.).

*Former Green Dragon Hotel, 33, Maidenhead Street*

A Green Dragon Inn is mentioned in the borough survey of 1621 (Heath, 126) and was included in the War Office returns of 1756 in which it reportedly had (at least) beds for 8 men and stabling for 35 horses (Johnson, n.d.). During the early 19th century the site was known as the Green Dragon Hotel, and a friendly society, 'The Green Dragon Club' met here.

However, in 1903 the present Green Dragon [SMR: 9945] was constructed on this site. Excavation in advance of construction [SMR: 6528] revealed a large number of Early Medieval pottery, including St. Neots Ware and a Medieval jug (Dunning 1942, 225). This later building is of 3 storeys with attics and is constructed of orange brick with terracotta dressings and architectural details. Architectural features include Dutch gabled dormers and a pilastered frontage with a heavily decorated terracotta ornamental pediment including a datestone of '1903'. There were alterations to the Maidenhead Street elevation in 1952 during which a shop front was inserted. The Wash frontage has blue-green glazed faience details and a glazed Art Nouveau style

tile panel flanking the shop entrance. The rear elevation is functional in build and is of undecorated plain orange brick (DoE List). A small excavation undertaken in 1974 failed to produce results due to a large amount of post-Medieval disturbance on the site (Petchley, 167; 171).

### **18th Century**

#### *Former Three Tuns, 34, St Andrew Street*

This building [SMR: 9919] is thought to have been constructed (at least in part) c. 1724 as a workhouse for the parish of St Andrew (see below). The first reference to the Three Tuns dates to 1785, when the workhouse was transferred to another site at 71, Hertingfordbury Lane (site of the Old Oak) (Johnson 1962, 66).

The site contains two structures, which are now amalgamated into a single building. The stuccoed brick front range, which is considered to be the part constructed for use as the workhouse, is of two storeys and attics and 4-bays. The timber-framed and plastered structure to the rear apparently dates to the mid/late 16th century, of 2 storeys and attics and is jettied at both the first floor and attic levels. Internal features include a large fireplace with a moulded timber bressumer, which now forms a doorway to the rear wing. The situation of the fireplace is considered to be somewhat unusual in buildings of this date, but is echoed by Nos. 36 & 38 St Andrew Street. The entire building underwent alteration in the 19th and 20th centuries (DoE List).

#### *Site of The Ship (The Old Ship), 17 Old Cross*

Site of The Ship Inn (aka The Old Ship) [SMR: 10008] which was first described as an inn in 1710. In the 1780s the inn apparently comprised two adjoining houses, the Old Ship and the New Ship, which had been amalgamated by 1789 (Joliffe & Jones, 70). In 1756 The Ship was recorded as having 2 beds (Johnson n.d.).

### **19th Century**

#### *The White Horse, 31-35, Castle Street*

These timber-framed, plastered and partially weatherboarded (to rear) buildings are of 2 storeys, and were constructed in the 16th and 17th century. Nos. 31 & 33 comprise a public house [SMR: 9847] with a lobby entry plan, which was first mentioned as a beerhouse in 1838 (Johnson 1962, 67). Internally there is much exposed studwork, in particular studding in the east room (gd. floor) provides evidence for a gabled outshut which may be older than the main construction phase. In the W room the fireplace has a chamfered and stopped bressumer. On the 1st Floor there is further evidence of studding, including some primary bracing, and the tiebeam is cut by the chimney structure situated against the party wall of No. 35. The public house underwent alteration in the 19th century and was extended to the rear of the E room in 1992-3 (DoE List).

#### *Black Horse PH (formerly Old Black Horse) 29-31, West Street*

The first reference to these licensed premises can be found in 1822 when William Archer purchased two houses on this site and converted one into a beerhouse (Joliffe & Jones, 71). The following year the property was sold to a timber merchant and builder who erected more houses on the site. By 1851 the Black Horse was leased to a brewer, Thos. Driver Metcalf, who may have merged the two adjoining houses (Johnson 1962, 63). The building itself [SMR: 9920] comprises Nos. 29 and 31 and is a timber-framed, stuccoed and plastered structure dating to the late 17th century.

Although opened out into a single building, the two original elements are clear and there are exposed beams and posts internally. No. 29 is of 1 storey and attics and formed two bays with a single storey brick lean to outshut to the rear. The tall chimney stack to the rear of No 29 indicates that it is the earlier building, and that the stack was lengthened upon construction of No 31. No. 31 is of two storeys and attics and of 3 bays with a yellow brick wash-house outshut to the rear (DoE List).

There are other references to a Black Horse of Hertford dating to 1744-7, the site of which had yet to be located (Joliffe & Jones, 71).

*The Sportsman (formerly The Blue Coat Boy), 117, Fore Street*

Whilst the first known reference to The Blue Coat Boy dates to 1808, when it functioned as a brewery tap, a brewhouse is known to have adjoined the site from as early as 1719 (Joliffe & Jones, 74), which became Young's Brewery in 1754 (see below). In 1897 the brewery and buildings were incorporated into the adjoining Blue Coat School (Joliffe & Jones, 74), however, the public house continued to trade under this name until 1979 when it was changed to 'The Sportsman'.

The building itself [SMR: 9921] is of the mid/late 18th century and is a stuccoed timber-framed structure with 18th century neo-classical features. The building comprises a (much altered) central staircase plan of 2 storeys with a central attic. There is a long single storey rear outshut with attics, which runs along South Street. The building underwent substantial alteration and extension during the 20th century, specifically in 1981 (DoE List).

*The Great Eastern Railway Tavern, 29, Railway Place*

This former hotel (now a public house) was built in 1843 by the Eastern Counties Railway, to serve the original Hertford Station (replaced by Hertford East Station in the 1880s). The yellow stock brick building [SMR: 9936] is of 2 storeys and originally of an L-shaped plan with a curved frontage between the two arms. The building has undergone some alteration including the insertion of a shopfront entrance in the late 19th century to the former off-sales area, and various 20th century minor changes including internal refurbishment in the 1940s. However it is clearly comparable with the Station Hotel, Ware which was constructed at a similar time (DoE List).

*Saracens Head, 45, Ware Road*

The 'Saracen's Head' [SMR: 9938] apparently first opened c. 1845 as the brewery tap of the Crown Brewery (see below) which stood to the rear, and is known to have been kept in 1852 by Richard Skegg, plumber and glazier (Johnson 1962, 66). The building itself is a two storied yellow brick construction, with a single storey front extension of the late 19th century built of red-glazed brick and featuring architectural details such as moulded cornices, swags and pilasters. A modelled and coloured panel depicts vines, leaves and grapes in relief, and is inscribed with the name of the 'Saracen's Head' (DoE List).

*The Dolphin, Railway Street*

Former station hotel built in the late 1880s and comprising a 3 bay facade to Railway Street and a 2 bay Dutch gable facing Hertford East Station. The building is of 3 storeys and is constructed of red and grey brick with stone dressings. Architectural details include stone pilasters, a triangular pediment and ball finials. The building

[SMR: 9946], which is now a public house, underwent internal alteration in the 20th century and a single storey extension was added (DoE List).

*The Oak (Old Oak), 71, Hertingfordbury Road (now demolished)*

The Oak was built in 1823 on the site of the former St Andrew Parish Workhouse (see below) (Johnson 1962, 66). The public house was closed c.1983 and demolished for widening of the road (Joliffe & Jones, 70).

### **Brewing and Malting**

Whilst Hertford did not share the Ware's reputation for malting, it is clear that the brewing and malting industry was an important feature of the post-medieval town. The town thrived on the supply of grain for use in the malting process and in 1839 a reference to Hertford market described 'the business transacted in grain, particularly barley, is truly astonishing; much of the latter is in demand for the maltsters of Ware' (Pigot 1839). Hertford did, however, possess a small number of maltings and breweries of its own.

*McMullens Brewery*

The most significant contribution to the brewing industry in Hertford has perhaps been made by the McMullen family. In 1827 Peter McMullen opened a small brewery in Railway street which he reportedly later removed to a more central location at Mill Bridge in 1832 and in 1891 built a large brewery at Hartham Lane, which is still in operation. The business was continued as 'P. McMullen and Sons' after the retirement of Peter McMullen in 1860 and shortly afterwards acquired the Cannon and Star Breweries in Ware. By 1897 the business was a registered as 'McMullens and Sons' and owned 90 licensed houses. The company continued to expand, acquiring breweries in Essex and in the region. A brewery known as the Hope Brewery was located at Old Cross by 1852, and by 1920 had been taken over by McMullens and used as the company's bottling and soft drinks factory, wine and spirit cellar and offices by 1927 (Richmond & Turton, 223).

The *Seed Warehouse* was constructed in the mid 19th century by A McMullen & Co, Seed Merchants, as a warehouse for seed and grain storage and comprised a two storey building of yellow stock brick with red dressings. The building is formed by two ranges, that to the south having a curved triangular end facing onto the Wash featuring a panel inscribed 'A McMullen & Co Ltd Seed Merchants'. A former loading bay with battened doors and a projecting hip-roofed hoist chamber is located in Maidenhead Yard. The North range is built on an irregular plan which was rebuilt in the early 20th century and again after war damage in 1945. The building was refurbished in 1989-90 and the interior has been subdivided to provide office and storage facilities and features a part cast-iron structure with cast iron columns. The attics have exposed strutted and trussed rafter roof (DoE List).

*Site of Young's Brewery, Fore Street*

A brewhouse [SMR: 10020] is known to have existed on the site of the Blue Coat Boy PH (see above) from as early as 1719 (Joliffe & Jones, 74) when it was operated by James Catlin (until 1728) (Richmond & Turton 1990, 379). The brewery had become Young's Brewery by 1754, in which family it remained until 1893 when it was sold to Pryor, Reid & Co., Hatfield Brewers. The firm ceased to brew and was merged with Glover & Sons Ltd of Harpenden Brewery in 1902 (Richmond & Turton 1990, 379),

although the Young's' brewery ceased operation in 1897 when the brewery and buildings were incorporated into the adjoining Blue Coat School (Joliffe & Jones, 74).

*Former Crown Brewery, Railway Place, off Ware Road*

Documents indicate that a brewery was operated on this site from c 1822 by the Manser family. The site was leased to T. D. Medcalf in 1839, who purchased the property prior to 1864 and in whose hands it remained until c. 1883 (Faulkner 1988, 7) when it was sold to Percy Hargreaves and Co. The brewery was sold again in 1892 to Hurdle & Co., which was taken over in 1895 by an Essex brewery, Abridge Brewery Co. Ltd, after which it ceased brewing (Richmond & Turton 1990, 190). Cartographic evidence suggests that the building occupying the site [SMR: 5380] was constructed between 1847 & 1864 (Johnson 1962, 66)., although the association with its brewery tap, the Saracen's Head PH (built c. 1845) [see SMR 9938], would suggest that it was constructed in the late 1840s.

The structure is a former malting of yellow brick of three floors with 7 bays, 1 kiln and tie plates on the Davies Street frontage with 'Taylor Hertford' stamped on them. A painted inscription above the Railway Place door 'P.RCY ARG...LICENCED COMMON B..W.R.' which obviously relates to a period of ownership between 1883-92. The building was latterly used as a store by building contractors Mustoe Bros., although it has now been split into shops. In 1994 the slate roof and cowl still remained.

*West Street Brewery, inc. 1-10 West Street*

The West Street brewery [SMR: 5445] was founded in 1855 by William Henry Nicholls (Richmond & Turton, 250), although a brewery on this site may have been in operation as early as 1839 (DoE List). Nicholls was joined in partnership by George Nicholls in 1895 and traded as WH & G Nicholls from 1906. The West Street brewery ceased trading, and was partially demolished in 1966, following the construction of the Hertford Bypass. The existing brewery building was constructed in 1885 of yellow brick and has an arched entrance to West Street. The brewery office, which was converted from a house facing onto West Street and features a plaque dated '1719'. Equipment in the brewery dates from 1885: cooler, malt mill, mash tun, hop back, fermenting vats etc. Single cylinder steam engine probably dates from c.1860.

*Site of Cross Keys Brewery, 41-49, Fore Street*

The Cross Keys brewery as apparently located at 41-49 Fore Street and was first mentioned in 1725 when it was held by Timothy Flower (Faulkner, 7). The brewery was still in existence at the turn of the 19th century when it was taken over by Prior Reid and Co. The building has since been demolished.

*Site of Newsells Lane Brewery, Brewery Lane*

The first indication of the brewing industry on this site dates to 1774 when a malthouse belonging to J. Ireland was situated in Newsells Lane. The brewery was held by Carters between 1817-1842 (Faulkner, 7).

*Railway Street Brewery, Duncombe Arms, Railway Street*

The earliest reference to this brewery can be found in 1839 when it was held by Thos. South (Pigot 1839). The brewery was leased to McMullens during the 19th century and held by Prior Reid and Co by 1898 (Faulkner, 7).

### *Millbridge Brewery, Millbridge*

E. J. Wickham known to have been operating the Millbridge Brewery in 1938 (Richmond & Turton, 160), which may be associated with a Wickham listed in 1850 as a retail brewer at Millbridge (Kelly 1850, 200).

### **Malting**

In 1823 Pigot's Directory lists nine maltsters in Hertford, four of which were located in Old Cross, two in Maidenhead Street, two in St Andrew Street, and one (owned by Young, who was also listed as a brewer -see above) in Fore Street. By 1839 there were also maltsters in West St, Bull Plain, Folly Bridge and Back Street (Railway Street), making a total of 12, three of which were also listed as brewers (Pigot 1839).

### *Surviving Maltings*

In 1964-6 a survey of Hertford's Maltings was undertaken by W. B. Johnson as a part of a country wide survey of industrial archaeology. This identified over 10 maltings which had survived largely in their original form. A county wide re-survey of industrial archaeology was subsequently undertaken by Hertfordshire County Council and RCHME in 1994 in order to determine how much had survived in the intervening 25 years since the Johnson Survey. This revealed that five of the Hertford maltings had survived virtually intact and five had been demolished and built over.

### **Other Industry**

#### *Former Bell Foundry/Printing Works, 14, Parliament Square.*

John Briant, the bell founder and clockmaker apparently came to Hertford in 1780. His foundry was situated on the site of 14, Parliament Square [SMR: 10063] and over a period of almost 50 years he is known to have cast 422 bells for 185 churches. Briant also manufactured clocks, one of which being that of Shire Hall, Hertford (Heath, 79).

In c.1830 the Simson Printing Works (later Simson Shand) were established on the site and apparently constructed a new building on the site. The building itself is a 3 storied, neo-Classical, stuccoed brick structure of the early 19th century. The building was substantially altered in the 1970s and now provides office accommodation (DoE List).

### *Straw Plaiting*

Straw plaiting was a cottage industry founded in the 17th century as a by-product of wheat growing. The straw was cleansed and cut into short lengths, which were twisted into plaits and used for a variety of straw items. The practice was mainly carried on as a secondary occupation by village women and children, and was important in the supplementation of low agricultural wages. The industry reached its peak in the 18th century, then straw goods, particularly head ware, became extremely fashionable. In the 19th century there was a small decline in the industry, many villages even acquiring plait schools where plaiting was taught to the very young (Johnson 1970, 74). Hertford is known to have had at least one straw hat making business - located on Porthill (Heath, 78) and the location of the town, in the midst of three corn growing valleys, infers the presence of straw-plaiting as a rural industry.

## **Elements of the Later Town 1650-1900**

During the early post-medieval period Hertford entered a period of prosperity, principally as a result of the growing market for corn and malt in London. By 1588 the privy councillors intervened to try and prevent the Hertford corn market being monopolised by London speculators. However, the improvement and maintenance of communication routes altered the nature of trade, as goods could now be transported faster and more safely over greater distances, less emphasis was placed on the supply of London. The Borough remained the trade centre for corn and other goods for the district lying north of the town (Page 1912, 500).

As a result of this increased prosperity Hertford, like many other towns, underwent a period of construction and rebuilding. In 1700, the antiquarian Chauncy remarked that the streets of Hertford were 'now much enlarged and beautified with divers new Houses lately erected here' (Chauncy, 516), and a large number of older buildings were refronted in the 18th century to reflect the contemporary style.

In the 19th century Hertford was a Municipal and Parliamentary Borough, comprising an area of nearly 6 square miles and including the parishes of All Saints and part of the parishes of St Andrew, St John and Bengoe plus parts of the Liberties of Brickendon and Little Amwell. In 1871 the population of the borough was 7,169 and the number of inhabited houses 1,356 (Cussans, 27).

## **Public Buildings**

### *County & Borough Gaol*

After 1700, the building of a replacement gaol was proposed to replace the old gaol on Fore Street (see above). However, the old structure continued to be used until 1776, and work only began on the new building [SMR: 10065], which was located on the south side of the Ware Road, in c.1750. Interestingly there is some dispute over the finishing date, although most sources agree that the gaol opened in the late 1770s. The contractor was paid £1500 in 1777, however the building was still untiled in 1790 (Page 1912, 492). The site was apparently purchased for £500 and was built at a cost of £6000. The new gaol could accommodate 70 men and 10 women (Heath, 90), and enabled the amalgamation of the County and Borough gaols in 1775 (Cussans, 62). The gaol is reputed to have been in use until 1879 (Heath, 90), when it was superseded by the prison at St Albans (Page 1912, 492).

### *The Corn Exchange*

The Corn Exchange and public hall [SMR: 9929] were built in 1857-59 on the site of the old Butchers market (Page 1912, 490) and replaced a 'more modest building' of c.1840 (DoE List). The present building is a large 2 storey construction with an impressive 3 bay neo-classical frontage of Bath stone with giant Tuscan Doric pilasters supporting a carved frieze and cornice (Cussans, 63). The pediment features the Hertfordshire hart against a background of sacks of corn, and was formerly surmounted by carved urns and a 'colossal' figure of Ceres, Goddess of the harvest (Cussans, 63), but were removed during W.W.II (DoE List)

Market street was formed in 1890 by demolition of part of the adjoining block, and a covered market was constructed to the rear of the Corn Exchange. The west elevation (to market Street) was originally of red brick. In 1979 the covered market was demolished and redeveloped as small shop units, and the ground floor of the Corn Exchange underwent alteration and refurbishment, including the conversion of the

ground floor to 4 shops and the provision of a hall, lecture and committee rooms on the upper floor (DoE List).

#### *Almshouses*

An almshouse for the benefit of the poor in All Hallows (All Saints) Parish Hertford was endowed on the death of Sir John Harrison of Balls Park (d.1669), and were constructed in Butchery (Bircherley) Green prior to 1705. However, these almshouses, which were occupied by four widows, were moved and rebuilt on the present site [SMR: 9943] in 1854 by Marquess Townshend, (successor to the Harrison family) (Page 1912, 511).

The single storey red brick almshouses were originally constructed in the 19th century as a block of 6 almshouses for widows. However, alterations in the 20th century divided the building into 3 dwellings. The external elevation of the building is divided into 6 by small casement windows, and includes 3 projecting gabled porches with cream brick dressings and a central stone coped Dutch gable. An inscribed commemorative datestone relates to the moving and rebuilding of the almshouses in 1854 (DoE List).

#### *The Old Pest House, Byde Street, Bengeo*

Pest houses originated in the mid/late 16th century as a result of the plague of 1563. The Byde Street Pest House [SMR: 2991] is thought to have been in existence in 1678. However, the present building was purpose-built in 1763 by Thomas Dimsdale, to serve as an isolation hospital against smallpox. Dimsdale purchased an extensive estate in the Porthill area and lived in Port Hill House, which occupies the plot adjacent to the Pest House (DoE List). It is not known whether the earlier pest house occupied the same site.

The building is a two-storied structure of red brick and features parapeted ends with elaborate brick chimney stacks and half Dutch gables to the rear. The building underwent alteration and embellishment in the late 19th century and is lit by small panel iron casements with projecting mullioned and transomed oriel bays on the ground floor. A central entrance has a tiled lean-to hood on braced brackets (DoE List).

#### *St Andrew Parish Poorhouse*

An act of 1722 gave the Vestry the power to erect and lease a Parish Poor House, and a couple of references to the site of the St Andrew Parish Poor House have been found. The first known site is the former Three Tuns Public House on St Andrew Street [SMR: 9919], which is thought to have been constructed (at least in part) for this purpose in 1724 (Johnson 1962, 66). In 1785 the workhouse was transferred to another site at 71, Hertingfordbury Lane [SMR: 10017]. This workhouse had closed prior to 1823, when a public house, the Old Oak, was apparently constructed on the site (Johnson 1962, 66). It is not known to where the poorhouse was relocated, although after 1834 the parish of St Andrew was amalgamated into the poor law Hertford Union (see below).

#### *Union Workhouse, Ware Road*

In 1834 a steep rise in the Poor Rate resulted in the grouping of Parishes into Unions with a single 'Union Workhouse' built for each union. As a result, the Hertford Union Workhouse [SMR: 10066] was erected on the Ware Road, on the outskirts of

Hertford, in 1869. Construction was undertaken by Henry Norris, a Hertford builder, for £12,000 (although Cussans (62) puts the final cost at 'nearly £15,000') (Kelly 1886; 1902). The building, which was described as being 'necessarily large' as it was required to serve 18 parishes within the poor law Union of Hertford (Cussans, 62), was capable of housing 250 inmates (Kelly 1902). The site has been demolished and redeveloped, however the structure was apparently a 'large brick building with bath stone facings and dressings' (Cussans, 62), photographs illustrate show a three-storey brick building with a symmetrical facade dominated by a central square clock tower. The architecture is described as a 'simple Jacobean style with mullioned and transomed windows and a smattering of gables' (Richardson, 1993).

### **Non-Conformist Chapels**

The first reference to active non-conformism in Hertford dates to 1655 (see below), and by the mid-late 17th century two permanent places of worship had been established in the town. By 1885 seven places of non conformist worship had been established in Hertford, including one in Port Vale (Cussans).

#### *Quaker Meeting House, Railway Street*

A Quaker congregation was founded in Hertford at an early date (Page 1912, 492), the first reference to Quaker worship being found in 1655 (Heath, 57). The meeting house [SMR: 2990] dates to 1670 and is thought to be the world's oldest purpose-built Quaker meeting house. The rectangular building comprises a single storey open meeting room with an internal gallery to the west, and contains the original wooden benches and panelling. The building, which is still in use, underwent some alteration in the early 18th century and was restored in 1953 (DoE List).

#### *The United Reform Church (formerly Congregational Chapel), Cowbridge*

The first Congregational Church in Hertford was instituted in 1673 (Urwick) and is thought to have been originally located on the site of the present Bluecoats complex (former Christchurch Hospital) until 1796 when it was moved to the Cowbridge site (DoE List). The present building [SMR: 9930], which succeeded an earlier church on the same site, dates from 1862 (Page 1912, 492). The building was constructed in a late 13th century Gothick style of knapped flint, with yellow brick, stone and sandstone dressings and detailing. It comprises a tall, rectangular gabled 'hall' with lean-to aisles with projecting gabled transepts and a central porch facing onto the road. The church is internally subdivided into the traditional pattern of nave, aisles and transepts by cast iron columns and variations in the roof structure. The church was built at the same time as the adjoining British School, and the rear (adjoining) elevation of the church is of matching red brick. The complex was completed with the addition of Cowbridge Hall in 1893 (DoE List).

#### *Church of the Immaculate Conception & St Joseph, St. Johns Street*

The church was built on part of the site of St Mary's Priory in 1860 (Page 1912, 492). The building [SMR: 9937], constructed in a 13th century Gothick style, is of flint with yellow brick and stone dressings and comprises a 4 bay nave with a short polygonal sanctuary to the east, N aisle, with lean-to west porch. The original internal decoration, which includes a series of late 19th century wall paintings and a scheme of gold stars on a blue background (restored 1995), has largely survived, although the

wall paintings were found to be in a poor state of repair and covered over (following recording) in 1994-5 (DoE List).

#### *Hertford Baptist Chapel, Cowbridge*

The Baptist chapel [SMR: 9944] and attached church hall were constructed in 1905-6 in a Perpendicular Gothick style. The building is of red brick, with stone dressings and architectural detailing and comprises a church of 4 bays with two aisled transepts and a shallow organ chamber projecting to the north. Internally many contemporary details have survived, including various items in a distinctive Arts & Crafts style. The church has undergone some alteration and addition, including the insertion of a foyer and kitchen to rear of church (DoE List).

#### *Baptist Chapel*

A Baptist chapel was constructed in 1842 at the junction of the North and Hertingfordbury roads (Page 1912, 492). The building has been demolished and the site is now occupied by a garage.

#### *Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Ware Road*

A Wesleyan Methodist chapel was built in 1865 on the Ware Road (Page 1912, 492). The building is still in use.

### ***Education***

The first reference to a school in Hertford is found in 1616 (see below), although by the end of the 17th century four schools were operating in the town, including two Quaker foundations. By the 19th century Hertford maintained a number of schools, including a School of Industry, which was established by the Quakers in 1793 specifically for the education of girls, the Cowper Memorial School and the British School at Cowbridge (Heath, 108).

#### *Hale Grammar School (now Longmore Centre), Churchfields*

The grammar school was founded in 1616 by Richard Hale (Page 1912, 489) under letters patent granted by James I and was to be administered by the Mayor and the Chief Burgesses of the town. The building adjoined the churchyard of All Saints and was a single storied brick building with attics, lit by brick mullioned windows and featuring moulded brick detailing. Internally the main classroom was a single open room of seven bays with long rows of desks and a master's desk at each end. The room has now been subdivided, although it retains many features, some of which date to the 19th century restoration. The front door featured the date '1667', worked in nails above the opening, although the door was thought to be contemporary in style with the school building. Other alterations included a 2-storey central gabled cross wing and a late 19th century hexagonal timber cupola over the north porch (DoE List).

In 1900 the school had become the 'Hertford Grammar School' and in 1905 it was amalgamated with Ware Grammar school. A new building was erected to the rear in 1907 (Page 1912, 490). By 1930 the premises had become totally inadequate, and a new County Grammar School was built in Hale Road, the front door was removed to the new school at this time. In 1931 the old Grammar School was extended by the addition of an east wing and renamed the Longmore Senior Girls School, latterly becoming the annexe to a new school built on London Road in 1957. The east wing

was damaged in a 1944 air raid, and was left partly derelict after the war until restoration in 1958 (DoE List).

### *Christ's Hospital*

In 1690 a branch of the Royal Foundation of Christ's Hospital in London was set up in Hertford with the intention of being used as a nursery for younger boys (of up to 7 years) before joining the parent institution (at the age of 11-12). This move represented the institution of a number of branches of c.1700 set up in Hertfordshire, the others being at Ware 'Place House' and at Broxbourne (Cussans, 63). A contemporary writer reported that "The governours of Christ's Hospital in London erected a Fair house in this town for the receipt of those children which they could not maintain there for want of room, and also sent hither for the recovery of their health by the benefit of the air" (Chauncy, 513).

The site [SMR: 9915] was originally laid out to enclose a rectangular courtyard and had a schoolroom at the north with two blocks of 10 cottages running N-S on either side, which were converted to wards in 1760. A school block for girls (facing Fore Street) and the headmasters house (SE) were built after 1766 (Andrew & Wren).

At the beginning of the 19th century the Hertford hospital was enlarged to incorporate the Ware and Broxbourne institutions, at which point the buildings and grounds occupied approximately 6 acres of land and was capable of accommodating 400- 500 children (Cussans, 63). In 1897 the site was extended to the west (up to South Street) by the purchase of the adjoining Young's brewery buildings and Brewhouse Lane, which had formerly divided the two premises. The Blue Boy Inn (which adjoined Young's Brewery) was retained to the south east (Page 1912, 491). In 1902, following the removal of the boys to another branch in Horsham, the old wards were demolished and replaced (1904-6) by eight identical red brick dormitory houses with Portland stone dressings (DoE List). These buildings were planned on modern principles and comprised Queen Anne style three-storey buildings on a square block plan with a long rectangular projection for open dormitories. The entrance gates and portions of the wall, along with the original girls school room and stewards house were retained and refaced in brick to correspond with the new buildings (Page 1912, 491). The new school was apparently designed to accommodate girls and as such remained in operation until 1984, when it was also moved to Horsham. In the late 1980s the site underwent some alteration and now houses a mixture of residential and office space (DoE List).

### *Green Coat School*

The Green Coat School was founded in 1760 by Gabriel Newton and a few other individuals. The school was later merged with the Cowper Testimonial School, which was established on London Road in the 19th century.

The original timber-framed and plastered building (35 & 37) dates to the 16th century, pre-dating the foundation of the school. The structure [SMR: 9853] was originally jettied and internal details (in No. 35) include a Tudor-arched brick fireplace on the ground floor, and exposed timber on the first floor. No. 37 features exposed chamfered and stopped beams on the ground floor and a timber bressumer with roll mouldings. The first floor, which originally comprised a single chamber, is reached by a tight winding staircase in a weatherboarded stair turret and has some exposed studding in the west elevation. The house underwent substantial alteration in the 19th century, which included the jetty to No. 35 being underbuilt in brown brick.

The east wing was built in 1812 as a school house, at which point the house became the Schoolmaster's House. Following the merger with Cowper Testimonial School, the school moved to larger premises on London Road in 1868 (DoE List).

### **Communications**

By the 18th century Hertford was at the centre of an important corn growing region and the trade in crops, particularly barley and the production of malt in Ware was considerable. Such economic prosperity served as an impetus for the maintenance and improvement of communication routes.

#### ***Roads and Turnpikes***

In the 18th century many major highways were turnpiked,; tollgates or 'turnpikes' were erected in order to levy tolls on all road users, with the exception of pedestrians, the revenue being used for the repair and upkeep of the roads. Turnpiking of the roads is likely to have had a some influence upon the industrial development of Hertford, and enabled the safer and speedier carriage of goods by road to and from London. The improved roads certainly served to enhance the position of the town as a posting station, and saw the provision of coaching routes, which increased the importance and prosperity of the locality, particularly of the inns and rest houses. In 1823-4 daily services to London ran from the Bull, Falcon and Half Moon, with three services a day from the Salisbury Arms. Hertford was on the main mail coaching route to Lincoln for which coaches (comprising one Royal Mail and one express service) departed twice daily from the Half Moon. The Salisbury Arms also ran a daily service to York (Pigot 1923-4, 356).

#### ***Railway***

*The Hertford and Ware Railway* formed a branch of the Northern Eastern Railway Co. which was established by Act of Parliament in 1841 and opened in 1843 (Dent 1993, 11). Between 1844-5 a number of extensions were unsuccessfully proposed, including Hitchin, Huntingdon and St Albans Hatfield and Hertford Junction (Dent, 24). In 1846 the line was doubled and the Eastern Counties Railway reported that 'traffic on the branch was heavy and the maltings in Hertford and Ware were contributing considerable revenue to the Company' (Dent, 24).

The original station [SMR 10136] was situated approximately 400 metres from the present Hertford East station, and was approached via Railway Place. The site had to conform to a clause in the original act which prevented the station from being constructed within 150 yards of any part of Christ's Hospital, and 200 yards from the centre door of the County Gaol (Dent, 78). However in the 1880s, proposals for a new building were submitted, and the new station (Hertford East) opened in 1888, although the old terminus continued to be used as a goods depot until its demolition in the early 1960s (Dent, 80). The line was electrified in the 1960s (Heath, 78). 19th and 20th century Hertford was well served by the railways, and by the early 20th century also benefited from the Hertford & Welwyn Junction Railway, which opened in 1858, and the Hertford Loop Line which opened in 1906. The latter had a direct rail link from Kings Cross to Cowbridge Station, the station at Hertford North being built in 1926 (Dent, 136).

#### ***Canal***

The River Lea was of particular importance to the status and growth of the town from earliest times (see above) and continued to affect the development of the town - and the region - into the post-medieval period. The earliest recorded attempt at making the river navigable was undertaken between 1420-32, and was repeated in 1571 when an Act was passed by Parliament to make the river navigable again (Page 1912). Canalisation of the River Lea was extended to Hertford in 1767, having reached Ware in 1739 (Heath, 77). The canal served as a communication link between Hertford, Ware and London and enabled the easier carriage of malt and corn to the London markets. In 1850 there was mention of two wharves, Gripper's and Lawrence's, and barges were operated from Grippers' Wharf every Wednesday and Saturday, and from Lawrence's Wharf, Old Cross which loaded occasionally for London (Kelly, 1850)

## **Utilities**

### *Gas Works*

The first gas works in the county were constructed in Hertford in 1825 by the International Gas Co. The works occupied a site on Gas Works Street (now Marshgate Drive) but have since been demolished (Heath, 78)

### *Electricity*

In 1890 the Hertfordshire Mercury reported the decision to form an Electric Lighting Co. for Hertford, which was registered with a capital of £15,000 to be raised from the sale of shares (Herts. Mercury, 1890). The first works in the county were opened in Hertford & Barnet in 1900 by the North Metropolitan Electric Power and Distribution Co. Ltd. (Heath, 78) and c.1925 the first electric cables were laid in Fore Street (Herts. Mercury, 1983).

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Andrews, H. C. 1939 The Old Coffee House Inn, Hertford in *East Herts. Archaeological Society Transactions Vol. X pt 3*, pp 292-8

Aston, M. & Bond, J. 1976 *The Landscape of Towns*, Dent & Sons Ltd., London

Baker, D., Baker, E., Ansell, J. & Sinco, A. 1979 Excavations in Bedford 1967-77, in *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal 13*.

Bennett, R. 1992 The trials and tribulations of Hertford millers in East Herts. *Archaeology Society Newsletter 14* (Sept. 1992) pp 6-7

Campbell, J. (ed) 1982 *The Anglo-Saxons*, Oxford University Press

Chauncy, H. 1700 *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, Griffin etc., London

Clutterbuck, R. 1815 *The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford (Vol\*)*, London

Cussans, J. E. 1881 *The History of Hertfordshire (Vol. II)*, Austin & Sons, Hertford

Darby & Campbell 1962 *The Domesday Geography of S. E. England*, Cambridge

Dent, D. 1993 *150 Years of the Hertford & Ware Railway*, Rockingham Press, Herts.

- DOE. *List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest.*
- Dunning, G. C. 1942 Notes - Hertford: Medieval jug and its contents in *East Herts. Archaeological Society Transactions Vol. XI pt 3*, pp 225-6
- English Heritage 1992 English Heritage Schedule Entry No. 20629: Hertford Castle: a motte and bailey castle south of the River Lea
- Faulkner, N. O. 1988 *Allied Breweries: A directory of ancestor breweries*, Staples Printers Ltd., Rochester
- Fish, D. R. 1994 Appendix B: The mint at Hertford in Partridge, C. R. & Kiln, R. J. 1994 *Ware & Hertford: From birth to middle age*, Castlemead Publications, Hertfordshire, pp 127-132
- Garfi, S. 1994 Appendix A: The Hertford burghs: A survey of the Evidence, in Partridge, C. R. & Kiln, R. J. 1994 *Ware & Hertford: From birth to middle age*, Castlemead Publications, Hertfordshire, pp 116-7
- Gelling, M. 1979 *Early Charters of the Thames Valley*
- Glasscock, R. E. (ed.) 1975 *The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, O. U. P.
- Gover, Mawer & Stenton 1938 *The Placenames of Hertfordshire*, Cambridge
- Heath, C. 1975 *The Book of Hertford: The story of the town*, Barracuda Books, Bucks
- Hill, D. 1970 Late Saxon Bedford in Baker, D., 1970 Excavations in Bedford 1967 *Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal* 5, pp 67-100
- Hinton, D. 1977 *Alfred's Kingdom: Wessex and the South*, Dent, London
- Johnson, W. B. n.d. Transcript of the Victuallers Billeting Returns of 1756 [unpublished: HCRO]
- Johnson, W. B. 1970 *Industrial Archaeology of Hertfordshire*, Newton Abbot
- Johnson, W. B. 1962 *Hertfordshire Inns Part 1: East Herts.*, Hertfordshire Countryside, Letchworth
- Joliffe, G. & Jones, A. 1995 *Hertfordshire Inns & Public Houses: An Historical Gazetteer*, Stephen Austin, Hertford
- Moodey, G. 1963 East Herts. Archaeological Society Newsletter 14, p 1
- Moodey, G. 1973 Hertford: 15th century timbers from Parliament Square in *Hertfordshire Archaeology Vol.. 3* 1973, pp 138 - 142
- Morris, J.(ed.) 1976 *Domesday Book, Hertfordshire*, Chichester
- Page, W. (ed) 1912 *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Hertfordshire Vol. III*, Constable & Co. Ltd., London

- Partridge, C. R. 1989 *Foxholes: A Multiperiod Gravel Site*, Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust
- Partridge, C. 1976 Lifting a Roman corn drier in *Herts. Arch Review* 10, 1978, p186
- Partridge, C. R. & Kiln, R. J. 1994 *Ware & Hertford: From birth to middle age*, Castlemead Publications, Hertfordshire
- Petchley, M. R. 1977 Excavations in Hertford 1973-4 in *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 5, pp 157-75
- Pevsner, N. & Cherry, B. 1977 *The Buildings of England: Hertfordshire*, Penguin
- Renn 1971 *Medieval Castles in Hertfordshire*
- Richardson, H. 1993 Hertford union workhouse; RCHM Report
- Richmond, L. & A. Turton, A. 1990 *The Brewing Industry: A guide to historical records*, Manchester University Press
- Salmon, N. 1728 *History of Hertfordshire*, London
- Shorter, A. H. 1971 *Papermaking in the British Isles: An historical and geographical study*, David & Charles, Newton Abbot
- Smith, J. T. 1993 *Hertfordshire Houses: Selective Inventory*, RCHME, London
- Speede, J. 1610 Map of the Hertforde Borough (HCRO)
- T.B.S 1942 Notes - Hertford: Nos. 3 & 4 The Market Place in *East Herts. Archaeological Society Transactions Vol. XI pt 3*, pp 226-8
- Zeepvat, R. J. & Cooper Reade, H. 1996 Excavations within the Outer Bailey of Hertford Castle, in *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 12, pp. 15-41
- Zeepvat, R. J. 1996 Excavations at the site of St. Mary's Priory and St. John's Church, Hertford in *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 12, pp. 41-76
- Zeepvat, R. J. 1996 Millbridge, Hertford. Plot 1: Garage Area; An Archaeological Excavation, Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust report