

[Draft text by Dr Rosalind Johnson, completed January 2021 apart from minor checking to be undertaken when restrictions are lifted]

HARDENHUISH

LANDSCAPE, SETTLEMENT AND BUILDINGS

Boundaries, landscape and parish origins

Historic Hardenhuish was a small parish situated about 1¼ miles northwest from Chippenham.¹ The underlying geology of the parish is clay and limestone,² and it was recorded as containing 455 a. by 1840.³ Until the end of the 19th century it was a largely rural parish, dominated by the manorial estate. Housing development began to encroach on the parish from the last years of the 19th century, and, with the exception of a large secondary school campus and a sports ground on the site of the one-time manor house and parkland, the farmland of the former historic parish had, by the middle years of the 20th century, become largely residential.

Hardenhuish is known for being the birthplace of the diarist Francis Kilvert (1840–79) whose father, Robert Kilvert, was rector of Hardenhuish, before leaving the parish in 1855 to become rector of the adjoining parish of Langley Burrell.⁴

The place name was first recorded in 854 as Heregeardingc hiwisce, possibly meaning ‘the family holding of Heregeard’.⁵ The place-name element *hiwisc* may refer to a hide of land, or a small estate capable of supporting a family.⁶ The word *haga* in Anglo-Saxon charters has been interpreted as referring to a forest,⁷ or to a royal hunting reserve created before the Norman royal forests. It is known that Edward the Confessor (1042–65) hunted at Chippenham.⁸ The lost field name *Thuresfeld* in the same charter may commemorate the pagan god Thunor.⁹

The settlement was Hardenhus in 1086.¹⁰ Variant place names recorded include Hardenehywich (1291),¹¹ Hardynhiwyssh (1394), Hardenhuysse (1427),¹² possibly Herneshewells (1529–30),¹³ Harden Hewyshe *alias* Harnysh (1566–8)¹⁴ Hardenhuish *alias* Harduish (1711)¹⁵ and Harden Huish in 1791.¹⁶ It is commonly referred to locally simply as ‘Harnish’.¹⁷ Yewstock was Ewstoke or Ewstocke Hill in 1809, and Yeo Stocks in 1840.¹⁸

Boundaries of the land granted by Æthelwulf, king of the West Saxons, to his thegn Wiferth are recorded in a charter of 854. It is unclear where the exact boundary would have been, but it would have encompassed land south of the later Bristol road, much of what would later become Hardenhuish Park and land near what would become Greenway Lane.¹⁹

¹ Lewis, *Topog. Dict. Eng.*, 7th edn., Vol. II (London, 1848), 406.

² Geol. Surv. map, 1:63,360, solid and drift, sheet 265 (1997 edn).

³ R.E. Sandell (ed.), *Abstract of Wiltshire Tithe Apportionments* (WRS 30, 1975), 59 (no. 138).

⁴ *Bath Chron.*, 19 July 1855, 3; *ODNB*, Kilvert, (Robert) Francis (1840–1879), accessed 2 Apr. 2020.

⁵ *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 99.

⁶ M. Costen, ‘Huish and Worth: Old English Survivals in a Later Landscape’, *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 5 (1992), 65, 72–3; S.A. Draper, *Landscape, Settlement and Society in Roman and Early Medieval Wiltshire* (BAR British Series 419, 2006), 72.

⁷ G. B. Grundy, ‘The Ancient Woodland of Wiltshire’, *WAM* 48 (Dec 1937–Dec. 1939), 540.

⁸ Draper, *Landscape, Settlement and Society*, 88, 89.

⁹ *VCH Wilts.* I, part 2, 480.

¹⁰ *VCH Wilts.* II, 141 (no. 228).

¹¹ *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1242–1326, 185.

¹² Kirby (ed.), *Feet of Fines 1377–1509*, 37 (no. 177), 90 (no. 419).

¹³ ‘A Calendar of Feet of Fines for Wiltshire’, *Wilts. N&Q* II (1896–8), 563 (no. 98).

¹⁴ ‘A Calendar of Feet of Fines for Wiltshire’, *Wilts. N&Q* V (1905–7), 568 (no. 387).

¹⁵ TNA, PROB 11/523/312.

¹⁶ J. Chandler (ed.), *Printed Maps of Wiltshire 1787 – 1844* (WRS 52, 1998), 8.

¹⁷ *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 99.

¹⁸ WSA, 78/40(ii), counterpart lease 17 Apr. 1809; tithe award, 1840.

¹⁹ G.B Grundy, ‘The Saxon Land Charters of Wiltshire (First Series)’, *Arch. Jnl* 76, 170–1.

Much of the later historic parish boundary may have followed the Saxon estate boundaries, at least in part. Part of this boundary followed watercourses, including Hardenhuish Brook, and the line of the Malmesbury road. On the tithe map of 1840 are portions of Langley Burrell and Chippenham parishes within or encroaching upon the Hardenhuish parish boundary, and detached portions of Hardenhuish situated in Langley Burrell parish and at Rowden.²⁰

The area and boundaries of the historic parish changed with the increasing urbanisation of Chippenham. In 1884, under an order of the local government board, part of the parish of Hardenhuish was transferred to the parish of Langley Burrell, and part of the parishes of Chippenham and Langley Burrell transferred to Hardenhuish.²¹ In 1896, under the Local Government Act of 1894, Wiltshire county council proposed to amalgamate or otherwise rationalise all civil parishes with a population of under 200. Hardenhuish then had a population of 99.²² The changes of 1896 saw part of the civil parishes of Langley Burrell Without and Chippenham Within transferred to the civil parish of Hardenhuish.²³ In 1914 part of Hardenhuish and part of Langley Burrell Without civil parishes were transferred to Langley Burrell Within civil parish, and thus also to Chippenham municipal borough.²⁴ Hardenhuish civil parish was dissolved in 1934 and transferred, with the dissolved civil parish of Kellaways, to the civil parish of Langley Burrell Without.²⁵ Much of the area of the former parish of Hardenhuish was incorporated into the borough of Chippenham in 1952.²⁶

*Communications*²⁷

Two major roads run through the parish; the road from Chippenham to Bristol, now the modern A420, and the road from Chippenham to Malmesbury, part of which is now the modern A350. The Bristol road in particular was a major route between London and Bristol, probably for the medieval cloth trade.²⁸ In 1651 the parishioners of Chippenham, Langley Burrell and Hardenhuish came to an agreement regarding the repair of both the Bristol and Malmesbury roads, which ran through all three parishes.²⁹ This agreement simplified a previously complex division of responsibilities.³⁰ A map showing the arrangements before and after the agreement does not show the minor road known by 2020 as Hardenhuish Lane which leads from the Bristol road past the 1779 church to the Malmesbury road,³¹ though this road is shown on Andrews' and Dury's map of 1773.³²

The route through Hardenhuish to Bristol was turnpiked as part of the Chippenham to Tog Hill route in 1727, but little seems to have been spent on the road, and when the Act was renewed in 1743–4 the Chippenham to Tog Hill section was repealed. It was revived in 1751–2.³³ In 1846 the trustees of the turnpike trust ordered the erection of a toll gate across the road leading from Chippenham to Malmesbury at the top of Yewstock Hill, and another toll gate to be erected across Greenway Lane, leading from the turnpike road to Langley

²⁰ Tithe map, 1840.

²¹ Youngs, *Admin Units*, vol. 1, 539; *Endowed Charities, 1908*, 510–11; *VCH Wilts.* IV, 349, 351.

²² I. Slocombe, 'The establishment of parish councils in Wiltshire', *WAM*, 98 (2005), 64.

²³ *Endowed Charities, 1908*, 510–11; *VCH Wilts.* IV, 349; Youngs, *Admin Units*, vol. 1, 539, which gives a date of 1895, but this appears to be in error, see Wiltshire County Council order, 18 Feb. 1896 (pub. *Swindon Advertiser*, 29 Feb. 1896, 1).

²⁴ Youngs, *Admin Units*, vol. 1, 539; *VCH Wilts.* IV, 344, 349.

²⁵ Youngs, *Admin Units*, vol. 1, 539; *VCH Wilts.* IV, 332, 351.

²⁶ See Chippenham: Boundaries and parish origins.

²⁷ See Chippenham: Roads.

²⁸ *VCH Wilts.* IV, 254–5.

²⁹ I. Slocombe (ed.), *Wiltshire Quarter Sessions Order Book 1642–1654* (WRS 67, 2014), 285–7 (no. 854).

³⁰ WSA, 118/53.

³¹ WSA, 118/53.

³² E. Crittall (ed.), *Andrews' and Dury's Map of Wiltshire, 1773* (WRS 8, 1952), plate 13.

³³ *VCH Wilts.* IV, 256–65.

Burrell,³⁴ although there was a toll house at Yewstock by 1840.³⁵ A toll house survives slightly outside the historic parish boundary, within the historic parish of Chippenham, as Turnpike Cottage, at Folly Gate, on the junction of Hardenhuish Lane and the A420 Chippenham to Bristol road. It is a listed early 19th century cottage, possibly c.1830, with later extensions.³⁶

An Act passed in 1835 incorporated the Great Western Railway Co. (G.W.R. Co.) and empowered them to raise capital for construction of a railway from London to Bristol through parishes including Hardenhuish.³⁷ The section of the line running through Chippenham was opened in 1841,³⁸ but only runs through the small detached portion of Hardenhuish parish situated within Langley Burrell.³⁹ Although the railway did not run through the main part of the parish, it was a major employer in the area, and several residents of Hardenhuish were among its employees during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.⁴⁰

Population

In 1086 there were three bordars, or smallholders, in Hardenhuish.⁴¹ Assuming each household contained five persons, the total population would have been c.15 persons.⁴² Sixteen persons were taxed in 1377.⁴³ It had at least 10 households by 1428.⁴⁴ By 1539 the tithing of Hardenhuish was able to return four men at the muster of that year.⁴⁵ Twenty-three persons were recorded as communicants at the church in 1676; as there were no dissenters or Roman Catholics, this figure is likely to be the adult population of the parish.⁴⁶

By 1801 the total population was given as 55 persons.⁴⁷ The figure increased to 146 by 1841, but a decrease to 127 ten years later was attributed to emigration and the completion of the railway line.⁴⁸ The population appeared to have recovered somewhat to 138 by 1871, but slumped to 88 in 1881, its lowest figure since 1821, and by 1891 the population was still only 99. The sudden rise in population to 532 in 1901 has been attributed to the opening of the signal works in Chippenham, though changes in population from 1891 can be attributed to boundary changes from 1884 onwards. In 1934 the entire population of Hardenhuish and Kellaways was transferred to Langley Burrell Without civil parish.⁴⁹

Settlement

There is evidence of settlement at Hardenhuish in prehistoric times. A Neolithic pit found during road construction contained worked flint and fragments of human bone,⁵⁰ and

³⁴ *Devizes and Wilts. Gaz.*, 3 Sept. 1846, 1.

³⁵ Tithe map and award, 1840.

³⁶ NHLE, no. 1022906, Turnpike Cottage (accessed 26 Mar. 2020); R. Haynes, and I. Slocombe, *Wiltshire Toll Houses* (East Knoyle, 2004), 28; tithe map and award Chippenham, 1848.

³⁷ *VCH Wilts.* IV, 280, 282; Great Western Railway Act, 5 & 6 Wm. IV, c. 107 (Local and Personal).

³⁸ *VCH Wilts.* IV, 282.

³⁹ Tithe map, 1840; OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.14 (1900 edn).

⁴⁰ See Chippenham.

⁴¹ *Domesday*, 179.

⁴² E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: rural society and economic change 1086–1348* (London, 1978), 29.

⁴³ C.C. Fenwick (ed.), *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381: Part 3: Wiltshire-Yorkshire* (Oxford, 2005), 12.

⁴⁴ *VCH.* IV, 314.

⁴⁵ *L&P Hen. VIII*, XIV (1), 302 (no. 652).

⁴⁶ *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 128.

⁴⁷ *VCH Wilts.* IV, 349.

⁴⁸ *VCH Wilts.* IV, 321, 349.

⁴⁹ *VCH Wilts.* IV, 325, 332, 344, 349, 351.

⁵⁰ Wiltshire HER, Near Hardenhuish, ST97NW102 (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

Mesolithic flint has been found in the parish.⁵¹ Evidence of a Romano-British settlement has been found on the northwest boundary of the parish.⁵²

The immediate post-Roman history of Hardenhuish is obscure, with a dearth of artefactual evidence, but there was probably a settlement at Hardenhuish by 854, as a farmstead is described in a charter of that year, when one hide of land was granted by Æthelwulf, king of West Saxons, to his thegn Wiferth.⁵³ Evidence for Saxon settlement is supported by Domesday.⁵⁴ It was described as a township in 1268 and again in 1296.⁵⁵

Boundaries and ridge and furrow may be associated with a medieval or post medieval open field system,⁵⁶ while the remains of two possible house platforms in Hardenhuish Park may be the remains of medieval settlement, but are too dispersed to be identified as the location of a village.⁵⁷ A map dating from the early 1650s shows a small settlement in what would become Hardenhuish Park, but this may not be the exact location of the village.⁵⁸ If there was a settlement within the Park, it had been dispersed by 1840, possibly as part of the late 18th century restructuring which saw the rebuilding of the manor house and church.⁵⁹ Outside the Park, a house is shown at 'Ferfoot Hill' on the Bristol road in the 1650s.⁶⁰ By 1848 the area was in Chippenham parish and known as 'Fairfoot', close to the boundary with Hardenhuish and the settlement later known as the Folly.⁶¹ It is possible that the house shown in the 1650s was at the Folly. Farmsteads are known at Greenway Lane by the early 17th century, Upper farm by the 18th century, and Lower farm by the 19th century.⁶²

Up to the late 19th century Hardenhuish remained largely rural; c.1859 there were only 18 to 20 houses in the parish.⁶³ As late as 1900 there was little housing in the parish other than the three farmsteads, the manor house and its lodge, the rectory, and small settlements at the Folly and Yewstock,⁶⁴ but its situation on the edge of Chippenham saw increasing amounts of housing encroaching on what had been farmland. By 1910 housing was being constructed at Woodlands,⁶⁵ and other estates followed in the years after First World War.⁶⁶

A Second World War military camp at Hardenhuish Park is known from aerial photographs.⁶⁷ The post-war housing shortage saw the huts being occupied by families unable to find housing elsewhere. Families were still living in the huts in 1952, when Chippenham Town Council stated it would house them the following year.⁶⁸ Cattle strayed into the churchyard in the mid-1950s,⁶⁹ but by 2020 there was no agricultural land surrounding the church, the land being either part of the secondary school site or, to the

⁵¹ F.K. Annable, 'Excavation and field-work in Wiltshire, 1957', *WAM* 57 (June 1958–Dec. 1960), 14–15; 'Wiltshire Archaeological Record for 1983', *WAM* 79 (1985), 254.

⁵² Wiltshire HER, Ditches and pits, northwest of Hardenhuish, MW172736; Romano-British settlement, northwest of Hardenhuish, ST97NW303 (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

⁵³ Finberg, *Early Wessex Chart.*, 73-4; G.B. Grundy, 'The Saxon Land Charters of Wiltshire (First Series)', *Archaeol. Jnl.*, 77 (1919) 170–1.

⁵⁴ *Domesday*, 179. See below, Landownership.

⁵⁵ B. Farr and C. Elrington (eds.), rev. H. Summerson, *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre 1268* (WRS 65, 2012), 118 (no. 550), 118-19 (no. 552), 126 (no. 586); N.J. Williams (ed.), *Collectanea* (WRS 12, 1956), 78 (no. 11), 101 (no. 11).

⁵⁶ Wiltshire HER, Post/Medieval settlement, Hardenhuish Park, MW173815 (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

⁵⁷ Wiltshire HER, Post/Medieval settlement, Hardenhuish Park, MW173815 (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

⁵⁸ WSA, 118/53.

⁵⁹ Tithe award, 1840.

⁶⁰ NHLE, no. 1268141, The Folly (accessed 26 Mar. 2020); WSA, 118/53.

⁶¹ Tithe maps and awards Hardenhuish, 1840; Chippenham, 1848.

⁶² See Hardenhuish: Landownership.

⁶³ *Account of Wilts. Schools, 1859*, 25.

⁶⁴ OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.14 (1900 edn).

⁶⁵ WSA, L8/1/29.

⁶⁶ See Chippenham.

⁶⁷ Wiltshire HER, Military camp, Hardenhuish Park, MW173816 (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

⁶⁸ *Wilts. Times*, 26 Apr. 1947, 5; 6 Sept. 1952, 2, 4; 27 Dec. 1952, 6.

⁶⁹ WSA, 1186/31, mins. 15 Mar. 1954, mins. 7 Mar. 1955.

north of the church, a small area of woodland known as Hardenhuish Wood and maintained as a public space by Wiltshire Council.

The built character

Several buildings in the parish are listed. Folly House is reputedly the oldest house in the parish,⁷⁰ bearing a date stone of 1693. The 17th-century building has 18th and early 19th century rear wings, with some 20th century additions.⁷¹ The farmhouse at Upper farm is 18th century in date.⁷² The Old Rectory, church and Ricardo monument in the churchyard are listed, as is Hardenhuish House, the former manor house.⁷³

LANDOWNERSHIP

Patterns of landownership

Landownership in the parish was dominated by the manor of Hardenhuish. This is the only known manor, though for a period in the late middle ages the manor was divided into two holdings.⁷⁴ No records of the manor are known to survive.⁷⁵

Though landownership was dominated by the manorial holding, small parcels of land were owned outside the manor. Leases and other documents record land held in all or any of the parishes of Chippenham, Hardenhuish and Langley Burrell, without specifying the holdings.

Manors and principal estates

In AD 854 Æthelwulf, king of the West Saxons, gave to his thegn Wiferth exemption from all secular dues of one hide at Hardenhuish.⁷⁶ Many of these late Angle-Saxon 'hide farms' later developed into manors, which appears to have been the case at Hardenhuish.⁷⁷ By 1066 Hardenhuish was held by Alweard, and it paid geld for three hides. By 1086 the land was held of Ernulf de Hesdin by Turchil, with land for four ploughs, 12 a. of meadow, and woodland.⁷⁸ Ernulf held land in 11 counties, with the most substantial holdings being in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, including the Wiltshire manors of Little Cheverell and Upton Scudamore.⁷⁹ The greater part of his fief passed to Patrick de Chaworth and Maud his wife, said to be Ernulf's daughter. By 1242–3 many of Ernulf's former manors were among the fees of a later Patrick de Chaworth and formed part of his barony of Kempsford (Glos.), another of Ernulf's manors.⁸⁰ These manors included Hardenhuish, held of the honor of Kempsford, with Simon de Chiverel as one of the undertenants.⁸¹

In 1275 Payn de Chaworth, son of Patrick, held of the king half a knight's fee in Hardenhuish, and John de Chiverel held the said tenement of Payn.⁸² Payn died in 1279 and his holding passed to his brother Patrick.⁸³

⁷⁰ J.A. Chamberlain, *Chippenham: Some Notes on its History* (Chippenham, 1976), 174.

⁷¹ NHLE, no. 1268141, The Folly (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

⁷² NHLE, no. 1363833, Upper Farmhouse (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

⁷³ See below, Landownership, Religious history.

⁷⁴ See below.

⁷⁵ Manorial Documents Register, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/manor-search> (19 Nov. 2019).

⁷⁶ Finberg, *Early Wessex Chart.*, 73-4; G.B. Grundy, 'The Saxon Land Charters of Wiltshire (First Series)', *Archaeol. Jnl.*, 77 (1919) 170–1.

⁷⁷ G. Brown, 'Sheldon Manor: Medieval Settlement and Land-Use in the Clayland Region of North-West Wiltshire', *WAM*, 94 (2001), 212.

⁷⁸ *Domesday*, 179.

⁷⁹ *Domesday*, 178–9; *VCH Wilts.* II, 101.

⁸⁰ *VCH Wilts.* II, 110; *VCH Wilts.* V, 50.

⁸¹ N.J. Williams (ed.), *Collectanea* (WRS 12, 1956), 117–18 (no. 84).

⁸² N.J. Williams (ed.), *Collectanea* (WRS 12, 1956), 89 (no. 84); 117–18 (no. 84).

⁸³ N.J. Williams (ed.), *Collectanea* (WRS 12, 1956), 117–18 (no. 84).

The manor of Hardenhuish descended in the same manner as that of Little Cheverell by 1301, until at least 1405. In 1301 Alexander Cheverell and his heirs were granted free warren in all his demesne lands in Little Cheverell and Hardenhuish.⁸⁴

At his death in 1310 Alexander Cheverell held the manor of Hardenhuish of the honor of Lancaster of the fee of Chaworth by service of half a knight's fee.⁸⁵ Joan his daughter, the wife of John de St. Lo (or de Sancto Laudo), was his next heir.⁸⁶

In 1310 the manor of Hardenhuish had a capital messuage worth, with the profit and easements of the houses, 5s. yearly. There were 132 a. of arable worth 33s. per annum and 10 a. of meadow worth 20s. per annum. Seven bond tenants paid rent of 28s. 3d. in equal portions quarterly. The pleas and perquisites came to 3s per annum.⁸⁷ By 1316 the manor was held by Joan's husband, John de St. Lo,⁸⁸ although he may have died in 1313 or 1314, in which case the manor would have been held at that date by Joan.⁸⁹

By 1327 John le Clerk of Chippenham held lands including a messuage, one carucate of land and 10 a. of meadow, with rent, in Hardenhuish. The estate was held of the Earl of Lancaster by the service of one-fourth of a knight's fee as of his manor of 'Ky...forde', presumably Kempsford, and the tenements were worth £10.⁹⁰

After the death of John de St. Lo his wife Joan married Nicholas Pyk.⁹¹ In 1329 they held in Hardenhuish four messuages, two carucates of land and 10 a. of meadow to which John, son of John de St. Lo, asserted his claim,⁹² and after the deaths of Nicholas and Joan the manor of Hardenhuish passed to him, as did that of Little Cheverell.⁹³

The overlordship remained with the Lancastrian dynasty. Henry, Duke of Lancaster (d. 1361) was the son of Henry, third duke of Lancaster (d. 1345), and Maud Chaworth (d. 1317 × 1322). His daughters Maud and Blanche were coheirs on his death; Maud inheriting two-thirds of a knight's fee in Hardenhuish, held by John de St. Lo and Agnes his wife, daughter and heir of Alexander Cheverell.⁹⁴ On the death of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, in 1361, one knight's fee was held of the duke by the heirs of Simon Cheverel; Peter Hachard and Walter Ticheburn (or Tucheburne).⁹⁵ On Maud's death in 1362, the entire Lancastrian inheritance was granted to John of Gaunt, husband of Maud's sister Blanche.⁹⁶

The manor of Hardenhuish was held at his death in 1395 by William de Botreaux, by right of his late wife Elizabeth, heir of John de St. Lo. De Botreaux held it of the overlordship of John, duke of Lancaster, (otherwise John of Gaunt) for services unknown. William, son of William and Elizabeth, was the heir, but a minor.⁹⁷ The manor was taken into the king's hands and was the subject of a case in 1397 between the king and Peter Courtney and his wife Margaret, widow of Sir John St. Lo (d. 1375), grandson of Joan.⁹⁸ Sir Peter Courtney died in 1405, leaving the manor and advowson of Hardenhuish, value £10, and various lands in Ogbourne Maizey, of an annual value £4, of the king of the duchy of Lancaster by knight service,⁹⁹ the duchy of Lancaster now being in the hands of the monarch. Peter's estates were held by right of Margaret, who was still living at his death, and who was granted livery of the manor of Little Cheverell, with the manor and advowson of Hardenhuish and other

⁸⁴ *Cal. Chart.* 1300-26, 21

⁸⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* V, p. 145 (no. 267).

⁸⁶ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* V, p. 145 (no. 267); *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1242-1326, 453.

⁸⁷ *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1242-1326, 453.

⁸⁸ *Feudal Aids*, V, 208.

⁸⁹ *VCH Wilts.* X, 55.

⁹⁰ *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1327-77, 17-18.

⁹¹ *VCH Wilts.* X, 55-5.

⁹² Elrington (ed.), *Feet of Fines* 1327-77, 21 (no. 36).

⁹³ *VCH Wilts.* X, 54-5.

⁹⁴ *Cal. Close* 1360-1364, 208; *ODNB*, Henry, Duke of Lancaster [Henry of Grosmont], accessed 19 Mar. 2020.

⁹⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* XI, p. 110 (no. 118); *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1327-77, 110 (no. 118).

⁹⁶ *ODNB*, John [John of Gaunt], duke of Aquitaine and duke of Lancaster, accessed 19 Mar. 2020.

⁹⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* XVII, p. 185 (no. 444).

⁹⁸ *Cal. Close* 1396-99, 204; *Cal. Fine* 1391-1399, 236; *VCH Wilts.* X, 55.

⁹⁹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* XVIII, p. 394 (no. 1144).

estates.¹⁰⁰ On Margaret's death in 1412 both manors passed to her grandson William Botreaux, Lord Botreaux.¹⁰¹ William had still been a minor in 1410, when the manor was described as being held of the king.¹⁰² By 1417 William Botreaux held the manor of Hardenhuish, with the manor of Little Cheverell and other estates.¹⁰³

Hardenhuish was connected with the Scudamore family at least from 1249, and for a period part of the manor of Hardenhuish was held by the Scudamores and their descendants. In 1249 Henry of Bath had a rent of 40s. at Hardenhuish, which he conveyed in that year to Godfrey Scudamore and his wife Maud, to hold at 18s. rent. In return, Godfrey and Maud agreed to release to him Maud's interest in land at Upper Lambourn (Berks.).¹⁰⁴ Henry of Bath had an estate at Upper Lambourn, and the exchange may have been to consolidate his holdings in Berkshire.¹⁰⁵ The property of Henry of Bath (d. 1260) descended to his son John, who rebelled against the king and was captured in 1264.¹⁰⁶ /

In 1291 Walter de Scudamore held in the vill of Hardenhuish half a carucate of land of the fee of John of Bath (or de Bathonia), to whom he paid 20s. yearly. John of Bath held the same in chief of the heirs of Patrick de Chaworth, who were in the wardship of the king. John's heir was his daughter, Joan of Bath.¹⁰⁷

This part of the manor of Hardenhuish descended with the manor of Upton Scudamore at least from the early 15th century. Peter Scudamore, lord of the manor of Upton Scudamore, died c.1382, leaving as his heir his daughter Katherine, who married Sir John Reynes.¹⁰⁸ Sir John obtained a grant of his son Ralph's right to Hardenhuish and Upton Scudamore, and re-settled the estates on himself and his second wife Alice.¹⁰⁹ In 1416 Sir John Reynes had contracted a debt of £1000, secured on a third part of the manor of Hardenhuish, worth £4. 6s. yearly, his entire manor of Upton Scudamore, and other lands. In 1435, by which time John was dead, his part of the manor of Hardenhuish was taken in execution of his debts and delivered to two of his creditors, with the manor of Upton Scudamore and other lands.¹¹⁰ By 1435 his feoffees had sold the reversion of Upton Scudamore after Alice's death to Sir Walter Hungerford, later Lord Hungerford.¹¹¹ It seems that this was the case also with Hardenhuish; in 1437–8 one of the creditors gifted to Sir Robert Hungerford (d. 1459) his estate in the third part of the manor.¹¹²

The Hardenhuish estate then descended through the Hungerford family to Margaret, Lady Hungerford, widow of Sir Robert, and daughter of William, Lord Botreaux.¹¹³ The two parts of the manor of Hardenhuish thus became a single manor through Margaret's inheritance of Little Cheverell from her Botreaux forebears and of Upton Scudamore through her marriage into the Hungerford family. Despite the attainder of her son Robert in 1461, and his execution in 1464,¹¹⁴ in 1468–9 she was able to quitclaim the manor of Hardenhuish to John Mervyn.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁰ *Cal. Close* 1402–05, 440.

¹⁰¹ *VCH Wilts.* X, 55.

¹⁰² *Cal. Pat.* 1408–13, 161

¹⁰³ *Cal. Close* 1413–19, 436, 439–440.

¹⁰⁴ C.A.F. Meekings (ed.), *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1249*, (WRS 16, 1961), 129; Fry (ed.), *Feet of Fines, 1195–1272*, 67 (no. 237).

¹⁰⁵ *VCH Berks.* IV, 251–66.

¹⁰⁶ *ODNB*, s.v. Bath, Henry of, accessed 19 Mar. 2020.

¹⁰⁷ *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1242–1326, 185; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* II, no. 811.

¹⁰⁸ *VCH Wilts.* VIII, 78–89.

¹⁰⁹ *Cal. Close* 1419–22, 255; *VCH Wilts.* VIII, 78–89.

¹¹⁰ *Cal. Close* 1422–1429, 409; J.L. Kirby (ed.), *The Hungerford Cartulary: A Calendar of the Earl of Radnor's Cartulary of the Hungerford Family*, (WRS 49, 1994), 71 (no. 279), 103 (no. 401); A. Conyers, *Wiltshire Extents for Debts, Edward I – Elizabeth I*, (WRS 28, 1973), 40 (no. 45); Kirby (ed.), *Feet of Fines 1377–1509*, 82 (no. 382), 90 (no. 419); *VCH Wilts.* VIII, 78–89.

¹¹¹ *VCH Wilts.* VIII, 78–89.

¹¹² *Cal. Close* 1435–41, 169.

¹¹³ *VCH Wilts.* VIII, 78–89; *VCH Wilts.* X, 55.

¹¹⁴ *ODNB*, Hungerford, Robert, third Baron Hungerford and Baron Moleyns, accessed 19 Mar. 2020.

¹¹⁵ *Cal. Close* 1468–76, 59 (no. 222); *Cal. Close* 1468–76, 66 (no. 251).

The Mervyn family held the manor to c.1566. In 1566–8. William, Richard and George Kingsmill bought the manor and advowson of Hardenhuish with messuages and lands in Hardenhuish, Rowden and Chippenham from James Mervyn and his wife Anne for 430 marks (£287).¹¹⁶

The descent of manorial landholding in the parish from then is unclear until 1595. In that year Deborah Dunch, widow, held the advowson and presumably the manor as well.¹¹⁷ In 1622 William Dunch sold the manor and advowson to Thomas Hawkins for £1,000; the estate including 160 a. of land, 60 a. of meadow, 210 a. of pasture, and 6 a. of woodland, with common of pasture for cattle.¹¹⁸ By 1626 the manorial estate was described as a capital messuage with 108 a. of land, 50 a. of meadow, 51 a. of pasture and 2 a. of woodland belonging to the said messuage; and a further messuage, 4 a. of pasture and 9 ½ a. of land in the parish. During his lifetime Thomas demised certain parcels of land in Hardenhuish, Chippenham and Langley Burrell to his sons Edward and Henry. At his death in 1638 the manor was described as lying within the parishes of both Hardenhuish and Langley Burrell. The manor and the advowson of the church were held of the King as of his Duchy of Lancaster by the service of half a knight's fee and were worth £6 per annum. The manor passed to his son Robert.¹¹⁹

The Hawkins family sided with the Royalists in the English Civil Wars, and were fined for their adherence.¹²⁰ They retained the manor of Hardenhuish, which descended through the family to Robert Hawkins who held it from the death of his father Thomas, son of the elder Robert, in 1697.¹²¹ In 1705 the manor was described as having several leasehold and copyhold estates, at least one of which was let on a long-term lease.¹²² Robert Hawkins died unmarried and intestate in 1709, and the manor passed to his first cousin Grace Goad.¹²³ Grace married Thomas Keate, rector of Hardenhuish, in June 1709, shortly after her cousin's death.¹²⁴

In 1710 Grace and Thomas Keate sold the manor to Lister Tigh,¹²⁵ by 1711 described as 'of Hardenhuish', but he died that year, leaving the manor in trust. His wife Mary survived him.¹²⁶ She married Henry Walters of Bath Easton (Som.) in 1714.¹²⁷ His son, also Henry, held the advowson in 1741,¹²⁸ but had sold the manor to Joseph Colborne by 1760.¹²⁹ It was Joseph Colborne who was responsible for the building of the present parish church in 1779,¹³⁰ and probably the present manor house.

Colborne died in 1781.¹³¹ By his will the Hardenhuish estate was left to his daughter Elizabeth for life, and after her death to her children. In default of any children by Elizabeth, the estate would pass to his daughter Ann for life, and after Ann's death to those of her sons who would not inherit the manor of Kelston (Som.). In 1779 Ann had married John Hawkins (d. 1785) of Kelston, and their eldest son stood to inherit the Kelston manor.¹³² Elizabeth's

¹¹⁶ 'A Calendar of Feet of Fines for Wiltshire', *Wilts. N&Q*, 5 (1905-7), 568 (no. 387).

¹¹⁷ See below, Religious history.

¹¹⁸ WSA, 78/22, abstract of title of Henry Walters.

¹¹⁹ *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1625–49, 384-6; WSA, 78/22, abstract of title of Henry Walters.

¹²⁰ J.J. Daniells, 'Chippenham and the Neighbourhood, during the Great Rebellion', *WAM*, 12 (1870), 292–3.

¹²¹ WSA, P3/H/768; WSA, 78/22, abstract of title of Henry Walters.

¹²² TNA, C 10/536/48.

¹²³ WSA, P3/H/893.; WSA, 78/22.

¹²⁴ WSA, 1157/4.

¹²⁵ WSA, 78/22, abstract of title of Henry Walters.

¹²⁶ TNA, PROB 11/523/312.

¹²⁷ WSA, 78/40(i), marriage settlement 30 May 1714.

¹²⁸ WSA, 78/40(i), Henry Walters Esquire to Mr Mathew Sloper, deed, 19 May 1753; Phillipps, *Institutions*, vol. 2, 69.

¹²⁹ WSA, 78/22, abstract of title of Henry Walters; Phillipps, *Institutions*, vol. 2, 79.

¹³⁰ See below, Religious history.

¹³¹ WSA, 1186/1, burial 10 Feb. 1781.

¹³² WSA, 78/40(ii), copy will and codicil of Joseph Colborne, 1781; TNA, PROB 11/1129, ff. 338r-339r; *Wilts. N&Q*, 1 (1893–5), 165.

marriage was childless. Ann and John's only surviving younger son, George, therefore stood to inherit Hardenhuish.¹³³

Ann and Elizabeth were still alive in 1819,¹³⁴ when the manor of Hardenhuish, then in the occupation of George Hawkins, with mansion house, advowson, and about 400 a. of agricultural land with two farmhouses and farm buildings was offered for sale by auction.¹³⁵

The manor subsequently passed into the hands of the Clutterbuck family. Thomas Clutterbuck (d. 1852), married, in 1814, Henrietta, daughter of the political economist David Ricardo (d. 1823).¹³⁶ One source states that Clutterbuck may have acquired the manor in 1822,¹³⁷ although in 1823 he was still described as being of Bradford Leigh, but by 1824 he was described as of Hardenhuish.¹³⁸

By 1840 Clutterbuck owned 349 a. in Hardenhuish, by far the largest landowner in the parish, though much of the land was leased to tenants. Clutterbuck's other landholdings included a detached portion of Langley Burrell parish within the boundaries of Hardenhuish parish.¹³⁹ In 1848 he exchanged with the Revd Robert Ashe and Revd Robert Martyn Ashe lands in Hardenhuish and Langley Burrell.¹⁴⁰ On Thomas Clutterbuck's death in 1852 the Hardenhuish estate descended to his son Edmund Lewis Clutterbuck and from thence to Edmund Henry Clutterbuck, son of Edmund Lewis.¹⁴¹

By 1910, Edmund Henry Clutterbuck owned Upper and Lower farms in the parish, both tenanted, with other land and property.¹⁴² He died in 1924; an obituary noted his authorship of a volume of poetry. He was succeeded by his son Edmund Lewis Clutterbuck (the second of that name).¹⁴³ In 1934, by which time the house was tenanted, Wiltshire County Council considered the purchase of the house and 46½ a. of land for a new secondary school.¹⁴⁴ Contracts were signed in 1936,¹⁴⁵ and the house and park became part of a campus for secondary schools.¹⁴⁶ A military camp was on the site during the Second World War.¹⁴⁷

Manor house

The present manor house is a listed building of late 18th century date, but a previous manor house existed nearby.¹⁴⁸ Inventories of 1697 and 1709 suggest this building was a working manor farm rather than a mansion house, with a dairy and cheese loft in the house, and farm buildings in the yard.¹⁴⁹ This earlier house was probably demolished and the new house built by Joseph Colborne around the time of the demolition of the old church and the building of the new church, c.1779.¹⁵⁰ The new manor house may have been designed by John Wood the

¹³³ WSA, 78/40(ii), release from Mr and Mrs Surtees and George Hawkins Esq., 16 July 1807.

¹³⁴ TNA, PROB 11/1669, ff. 89v-90v; TNA, PROB 11/1795, ff. 112v-116r.

¹³⁵ *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl*, 27 Sept. 1819, 3.

¹³⁶ WSA, 873/198.

¹³⁷ J.A. Chamberlain, *Chippenham: Some Notes on its History* (Chippenham, 1976), 173.

¹³⁸ *London Gaz.*, 15 Nov. 1823, p. 1910; 13 Nov. 1824, p. 1858.

¹³⁹ R.E. Sandell (ed.), *Abstract of Wiltshire Tithe Apportionments* (WRS 30, 1975) 59 (no. 138); Tithe award, Langley Burrell, 1842.

¹⁴⁰ WSA, 118/22.

¹⁴¹ TNA, PROB 11/2152/321; 'Clutterbuck of Hardenhuish', *Wilts. N&Q*, 1, (1893-5), 304-6.

¹⁴² WSA, L8/1/29, 2, 9.

¹⁴³ 'Wilts Obituary', *WAM*, 24 (1922-4), 509.

¹⁴⁴ *North Wilts Herald*, 30 Nov. 1934, 7.

¹⁴⁵ *Wilts. Times*, 3 Oct. 1936, 10.

¹⁴⁶ J.A. Chamberlain, *Chippenham: Some Notes on its History* (Chippenham, 1976), 173. See Chippenham: Social history.

¹⁴⁷ Wiltshire HER, Military camp, Hardenhuish Park, MW173816 (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

¹⁴⁸ NHLE, no. 1268100, Hardenhuish House (accessed 26 Mar. 2020); J.E. Jackson, 'Ancient Chapels, &c., in Co. Wilts.', *WAM*, 10 (1867), 284.

¹⁴⁹ WSA, P3/H/768.; WSA, P3/H/893..

¹⁵⁰ See below, Religious history.

younger of Bath, credited with designing the new church.¹⁵¹ It is described by Pevsner as a Georgian building, ashlar-faced, with a curved porch. The porch may have been designed by Sir John Soane, c.1829.¹⁵² It was bought by Wiltshire County Council in 1935 and later became part of the secondary school campus.¹⁵³

Other estates

The manor of Hardenhuish was not coterminous with the parish boundaries, and small landholdings were held outside of the manor estate. In 1362 the advowson was held by Thomas Drew, and in 1381 it was held by Thomas Dru, probably the same man or a descendant, and the family may have owned or occupied land in the parish.¹⁵⁴ In 1381 Thomas Dru, with Edward Cerne, made an agreement with John Hosebrigge (or Hosebrige), lord of the manor of Rowden, concerning Hosebrigge's lands in Rowden and elsewhere, including Hardenhuish.¹⁵⁵ Lands at Hardenhuish were among lands quitclaimed by Hosebrigge to John Erley and his wife Isabel in 1393.¹⁵⁶ In 1445 Nicholas Drue, probably a descendant of Thomas, granted with warranty to Walter Hungerford and others all his lands in several parishes, included Hardenhuish, which he had inherited from his father Lawrence.¹⁵⁷ Another estate outside the manor was that held by Elizabeth, Lady St. Amand, widow of Roger Tocotes, knight, who, on her death in 1491, died seised of 13s. (or 13d.) rent at Hardenhuish. Richard Beauchamp, knight, Lord de St. Amand was her son and heir.¹⁵⁸

Numerous documents from the early 16th century onwards record landholdings in Hardenhuish held otherwise than of the manor, and usually with land in other parishes in the locality, most commonly Chippenham and Langley Burrell.¹⁵⁹ Though the manorial estate dominated landholding in the parish in 1840, other landowners held land in the parish, including the house and tenements at the Folly.¹⁶⁰

The pattern of landholding remained rural into the 19th century, but by the first decade of the 20th century landholding in the parish was showing evidence of the encroachment of Chippenham's developing suburbs. When the 17th century dwelling of Folly House and nine cottages at The Folly were sold at auction in 1907, following the death of the owner, Joseph Phelps of Lacock, a plot of land adjacent to Folly House was advertised as being suitable building land.¹⁶¹ In 1910 the Chippenham Building Co. Ltd. owned houses in Park Street and Downing Street, both in the Woodlands area, as well as in Canterbury Street.¹⁶²

There were three main farms in the parish by 1910; Upper farm, Lower farm, and Greenway or Greenway Lane farm. Upper farm (115 a.) and Lower farm (155 a.) were held of the manor estate and were leased to tenants.¹⁶³ Lower farm was built over as the suburbs of Chippenham expanded into the ancient parish and little remains of the 19th century

¹⁵¹ R. Baines, *A History of Chippenham from Alfred to Brunel* (Chippenham, 2009), 122; J.A. Chamberlain, *Chippenham: Some Notes on its History* (Chippenham, 1976), 124.

¹⁵² Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), p. 264.

¹⁵³ NHLE, no. 1268100, Hardenhuish House (accessed 26 Mar. 2020). J.A. Chamberlain, *Chippenham: Some Notes on its History* (Chippenham, 1976), 173. See Chippenham: Social history.

¹⁵⁴ Phillipps, *Institutions*, vol. 1, 56, 65.

¹⁵⁵ J.L. Kirby (ed.), *The Hungerford Cartulary: Part Two: A Calendar of the Hobhouse Cartulary of the Hungerford Family* (WRS 60, 2007), 8 (no. 979), 8-9 (no. 982).

¹⁵⁶ J.L. Kirby (ed.), *The Hungerford Cartulary: Part Two: A Calendar of the Hobhouse Cartulary of the Hungerford Family* (WRS 60, 2007), 9 (no. 983).

¹⁵⁷ J.L. Kirby (ed.), *The Hungerford Cartulary: A Calendar of the Earl of Radnor's Cartulary of the Hungerford Family* (WRS 49, 1994), 90 (no. 354).

¹⁵⁸ *Cal. Close* 1485-1500, 161-2. (no. 563); *Cal. Inq. p.m. Hen. VII*, I, no. 752. *Cal. Close* gives the value as 13s, *Cal. Inq. p.m.* as 13d.

¹⁵⁹ For example, 'A Calendar of Feet of Fines for Wiltshire', *Wilts N&Q*, 2 (1896-8), 563 (no. 98); *Wilts N&Q*, 5, (1905-7), 178 (no. 257), 318 (no. 280), 319 (no. 195).

¹⁶⁰ Tithe award, 1840.

¹⁶¹ *Wilts. Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*, 21 Sept. 1907, 1; *Western Daily Press*, 28 Sept. 1907, 7.

¹⁶² WSA, L8/1/29

¹⁶³ WSA, L8/1/29.

buildings.¹⁶⁴ The 18th century farmhouse of Upper farm is still extant, and is a listed building.¹⁶⁵

Deeds relating to the estate later known as Greenway farm, or Greenway Lane farm, date from 1625.¹⁶⁶ The farm, with land in the three parishes of Hardenhuish, Chippenham and Langley Burrell, was part of the manorial holdings by 1638.¹⁶⁷ Its ownership descended with the manor until 1708, when Robert Hawkins, then lord of the manor, leased the estate to Henry Harry Hawkins, clothier of Chippenham, for a term of one thousand years.¹⁶⁸ By 1760 Richard Singer of Chippenham had purchased the Greenway estate of Henry Harry Hawkins, and it descended with the Singer family until 1821, when it was sold to the Revd Henry Hodges Mogg of Chewton Mendip, Somerset, for £5,630.¹⁶⁹ Mogg owned 53 a. of land in Hardenhuish by 1840, though this would not have been the entire extent of the farm.¹⁷⁰ By 1847, when Mogg sold the estate to the Revd. Robert Ashe of Langley Burrell, the extent of the estate was 84 a. 2 r. 15 p.¹⁷¹ By 1875 the farm extended into the parishes of Chippenham, Hardenhuish and Langley Burrell and the extent of the estate remained as it had in 1847. The farm homestead was in Langley Burrell, but the greater part of the lands in Hardenhuish.¹⁷² The farm remained with the Ashe family at least to 1910, when it was in the ownership of Miss F. M. Ashe and let to a tenant. The extent of the farm in 1910 was given as 67 a. It seems likely that the boundaries of the farm did not remain consistent over the years, as portions were sold and purchased by successive owners. By 1910, 6 a. of land at Greenway Lane farm was owned by Edmund Lewis Clutterbuck, lord of the manor, and let to another tenant than that leasing the land from Miss Ashe.¹⁷³

The homestead of another farm, Jackson's farm, was situated outside the parish, and it is not usually regarded as part of Hardenhuish. It was purchased by Thomas Clutterbuck from George Knight for £7,000 in 1846,¹⁷⁴ when it was described as situated within the parishes of Hardenhuish and Langley Burrell.¹⁷⁵

ECONOMIC HISTORY

Farming

The charter of 854 recorded a farmstead at Hardenhuish, as well as mead, or meadowland. Woodland, including ash woods, was noted in the charter, and there was a game enclosure.¹⁷⁶ At the time of the Domesday survey, Hardenhuish had land for four ploughs, with 12 a. of meadow and a square furlong of woodland.¹⁷⁷ This suggests a predominantly arable farming landscape. Evidence for later medieval agriculture in the parish is fragmentary, although the remains of medieval and post medieval boundaries and ridge and furrow at Hardenhuish Park may be associated with an open field system.¹⁷⁸ Common land is indicated by a record of mowing in Hardenhuish meadow, c.1249, and in c.1250 a reference to a meadow of the

¹⁶⁴ Wiltshire HER, Lower Hardenhuish (Lower Farm), MW166079; Site of outfarm northwest of Lower Hardenhuish, MW171312 (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

¹⁶⁵ NHLE, no. 1363833, Upper Farmhouse (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

¹⁶⁶ WSA, 118/29A.

¹⁶⁷ WSA, 118/29A, deed of 16 Nov. 1708.

¹⁶⁸ WSA, 118/29A, deed of 16 Nov. 1708.

¹⁶⁹ WSA, 118/29E, abstract of title of Revd. H.H. Mogg, 1847.

¹⁷⁰ R.E. Sandell (ed.), *Abstract of Wiltshire Tithes Apportionments* (WRS 30, 1975) 59 (no. 138).

¹⁷¹ WSA, 118/29E, particular and valuation of Greenway Lane Farm, 1847.

¹⁷² WSA, 118/29E, recoverance, 1875.

¹⁷³ WSA, L8/1/29.

¹⁷⁴ WSA, 873/210, list of deeds 1846.

¹⁷⁵ WSA, 118/22.

¹⁷⁶ G.B. Grundy, 'The Saxon Land Charters of Wiltshire (First Series)', *Archaeol. Jnl.*, 77 (1919) 170–1.

¹⁷⁷ *Domesday*, 179.

¹⁷⁸ Wiltshire HER, Post/Medieval settlement, Hardenhuish Park, MW173815 (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

men of Hardenhuish.¹⁷⁹ In 1365 there was common of pasture for cattle in the fields of Hardenhuish and Langley Burrell.¹⁸⁰ Demesne land is recorded in 1301, when Alexander Cheverell was granted free warren in his demesne land.¹⁸¹

In 1291 half a carucate of land, indicating arable land, was recorded,¹⁸² and in 1310 the manor held 132 a. of arable land and 10 a. of meadow.¹⁸³ One carucate of land and 10 a. of meadow was recorded in 1327.¹⁸⁴ These figures represent only part of the land use of the parish, although they do suggest that arable farming was practised to a greater degree in the medieval period than in later centuries. A number of later field names indicate meadow and pasture land.¹⁸⁵

In 1622, the manor included two dovehouses, two stables, two gardens, 160 a. of land, 60 a. of meadow, 210 a. of pasture and 6 a. of woodland, with common of pasture for all cattle in Hardenhuish, Chippenham and Langley Burrell.¹⁸⁶ This suggests a mixed farming economy, with meadow and pasture predominating. By 1640, the manorial holdings were roughly equally divided between arable land and pasture or meadowland, with a small wood. This may not reflect the agricultural landscape of the parish, as Thomas Hawkins, late lord of the manor, had previously demised, in 1626 and 1638, meadow and pasture lying in Hardenhuish, Chippenham and Langley Burrell to two of his sons.¹⁸⁷ Evidence of two later inventories is that farming remained mixed, though the presence of dairies and cheese lofts indicates the importance of the dairy industry in Hardenhuish as it was in the wider locality.¹⁸⁸ In 1696 the inventory of Thomas Hawkins, lord of the manor and descendent of the earlier Thomas, included ten dairy cows with seven other cattle and one horse. Barley, peas, wheat and beans were in store, and in the house itself was a dairy and cheese loft.¹⁸⁹ His son Robert's inventory of 1709 seems to illustrate something of an upturn in the fortunes of the manor farm, or that Robert was farming land additional to that farmed by his father. Robert farmed sheep, which were not recorded in his father's inventory. Robert's inventory included six oxen, four pigs, fifty sheep, plough and hackney horses, and a dozen cows, some with calves, and a castrated bull. A dairy and cheese loft remained in the house. Arable land was primarily wheat and barley, with some beans, peas and vetch, and oats.¹⁹⁰ There was a small wood in the parish with oak, elm, ash and other timber trees that was badly damaged in the great storm of November 1703.¹⁹¹

Common land existed in the parish possibly into the early 19th century, but there is no record of formal enclosure. In 1622 the manorial holdings included common of pasture for all cattle in Hardenhuish, Chippenham and Langley Burrell.¹⁹² By 1668 a reference to arable land in the common fields of the parishes of Chippenham, Langley Burrell and Hardenhuish, or some or one of them, suggests that the boundaries of this land may have been unclear.¹⁹³ Deeds of 1710 refer to an enclosed 8 a., known as New Inclosures by 1759, which may suggest piecemeal enclosure of common land.¹⁹⁴ In c.1740 there was a reference to an acre of arable land in the common field of Hardenhuish,¹⁹⁵ and in 1819 a document referenced the right of

¹⁷⁹ C.A.F. Meekings (ed.), *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre, 1249* (WRS 16, 1961), 188 (no. 181); V.C.M. London (ed.), *The Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory* (WRS 35, 1975), 61 (no. 133).

¹⁸⁰ HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, vol. 1 (London, 1907), 502.

¹⁸¹ *Cal. Chart.* 1300–36, 21.

¹⁸² *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1242–1326, 185.

¹⁸³ *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1242–1326, 453.

¹⁸⁴ *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1327–77, 17–18.

¹⁸⁵ Tithe award, 1840; *PN Wilts.* (EPNS), 470.

¹⁸⁶ WSA, 78/22, abstract of title of Henry Walters.

¹⁸⁷ *Wilts. Inq. p.m.* 1625–49, 384–6.

¹⁸⁸ See Chippenham: Economic history.

¹⁸⁹ WSA, P3/H/768.

¹⁹⁰ WSA, P3/H/893.

¹⁹¹ TNA, C 10/536/48.

¹⁹² WSA, 78/22, abstract of title of Henry Walters.

¹⁹³ TNA, C 8/333/132.

¹⁹⁴ WSA, 78/22, deeds of 24 Mar. 1709/10 and 25 Mar. 1710; WSA, 78/40(i), release 5 May 1759.

¹⁹⁵ WSA, 568/66.

the manor to common of pasture for all cattle,¹⁹⁶ but any common land in the parish was gone by c.1840.¹⁹⁷

By the mid-18th century documents concerning farm land in Hardenhuish largely record meadow and pasture lands.¹⁹⁸ A payment for fox heads in 1773 suggests the need to protect fowls or game in the parish, and in 1815 a game licence was granted to one parishioner.¹⁹⁹ In 1801 ten persons living in the parish were employed in agriculture.²⁰⁰ The parish in that year had 36 a. of wheat, 20 a. of barley, 18 a. of oats, 2 a. of potatoes, 22 ½ a. of peas, and 2 ½ a. of beans, which suggests that the greater part of the land was not arable.²⁰¹ A document of 1819 gave the manorial holdings as including ten gardens, 300 a. of arable land, 300 a. of meadow, 300 a. of pasture and 20 a. of wood; these figures must include land outside the parish, given that the area of the parish was only 455 a.²⁰²

By 1840 meadow land dominated; of 455 a. in the parish 405 a. were meadow, 32 a. arable, and there were 6 a. of woodland.²⁰³ Despite the low proportion of arable land, its importance is shown by the need to control sparrows and crows that fed on the crops; several payments for the heads of these birds were made by the churchwardens in the 1840s.²⁰⁴ The dominance of meadow and pasture land continued into the early 20th century,²⁰⁵ until the agricultural land disappeared under housing development.

By the mid-19th century, much of the farmland was owned by the manor estate and was let to tenants.²⁰⁶ The agricultural landscape was dominated in 1866 by meadow and pasture. Some wheat and barley were grown, along with other crops, particularly turnips and swedes, possible for animal fodder. But animal husbandry predominated, chiefly dairy cattle and sheep, with some pig production.²⁰⁷ Francis Kilvert wrote in January 1875 of the sound of sheep bells in Hardenhuish Park.²⁰⁸

In 1875 the land of Greenway Lane farm was predominately pasture; other than the pasture there were fewer than two acres of arable and under an acre of orchard.²⁰⁹

There were three farms in the parish in 1881; Lower farm of 220 a. employing 16 labourers and two boys; Upper farm, of 152 a., employing four labourers and two boys, and a small farm at Greenway Lane of 50 a., employing one man.²¹⁰

The emphasis on animal husbandry remained constant throughout the 19th century. By 1886 the number of pigs had dropped to two-thirds of its 1866 figure, though commercial poultry-keeping was taking place.²¹¹ Dairy cattle and sheep remained the dominant animals in the annual agricultural returns.²¹² By 1896, 362 ¼ a. of land was rented and occupied, and 80 a. was owned and occupied.²¹³ As in 1886 most of the land was given over to meadow and pasture, but no sheep were recorded. Instead, the focus was on dairy cattle and pig breeding, the numbers of pigs having risen since 1886.²¹⁴

¹⁹⁶ WSA, 78/40(ii), Recovery, Trinity Term 59 Geo III [1819].

¹⁹⁷ Tithe map, 1840.

¹⁹⁸ WSA, 568/3, Clarke and others to Selman, 1756.

¹⁹⁹ WSA 1186/8, f. 1v; *Salisbury and Winchester Jnl*, 25 Sept. 1815, 2.

²⁰⁰ T. Davis, *General View of the Agriculture of Wiltshire* (London, 1811), 227.

²⁰¹ TNA, HO 67/23.

²⁰² WSA, 78/40(ii), Recovery, Trinity Term 59 Geo III [1819]; R.E. Sandell (ed.), *Abstract of Wiltshire Tithe Apportionments* (WRS 30, 1975), 59 (no. 138).

²⁰³ R.E. Sandell (ed.), *Abstract of Wiltshire Tithe Apportionments* (WRS 30, 1975), 59 (no. 138).

²⁰⁴ WSA, 1186/9.

²⁰⁵ TNA, MAF 68/2203.

²⁰⁶ WSA, 873/198, accounts 1852.

²⁰⁷ TNA, MAF 68/73.

²⁰⁸ Plomer, W. (ed.), *Kilvert's Diary: Selections from the Diary of the Rev. Francis Kilvert*, vol. 3: 14 May 1874–13 Mar. 1879 (London, 1969), 141–2.

²⁰⁹ WSA, 118/29E, recovery of Greenway Lane Farm, 1875.

²¹⁰ TNA, RG 11/2033.

²¹¹ TNA, MAF 68/73; TNA, MAF 68/1063.

²¹² TNA, MAF 68/1063.

²¹³ TNA, MAF 68/1633.

²¹⁴ TNA, MAF 1063; TNA, MAF 68/1633.

Despite the expansion of Chippenham's suburbs, there is no evidence of market gardening in the parish, but by 1900 there were some allotment gardens around the Folly, just outside the historic parish boundary.²¹⁵

By 1906, of four holdings in the parish, three were under 20 a., and a fourth over 300 a. Much of the land was held by tenant farmers. Most of the land was under meadow or pasture, and dairy cattle, sheep and pigs continued to predominate.²¹⁶

By 1916 the pattern of holdings had changed; three were under 20 a., one between 20 a. and 50 a., one above 100 a. and under 150 a., and one holding between 150 a. and 300 a. The total acreage of land under crops and grass had fallen to 397 a.²¹⁷ There had been boundary changes since the acreage recorded in 1866, but at least some of this loss would have been due to the encroachment of Chippenham's suburbs. Slightly fewer dairy cattle and substantially fewer pigs were kept than in 1906, and sheep farming seems to have been abandoned entirely.²¹⁸ Some orchards were recorded.²¹⁹

By 1926 the acreage under crops and grass had fallen further, to 368 $\frac{1}{4}$ a., though a greater proportion of this was owned than ten years previously.²²⁰ Animal husbandry was now dominated by dairy cattle and by some commercial poultry keeping; no sheep or pigs were recorded.²²¹ Ten years later the total acreage under crops and grass was 341 $\frac{3}{4}$ a, almost entirely meadow and pasture. This supported 138 cattle, including 79 cows and heifers in milk, so the dairy trade remained important to the local economy. Some pigs and poultry were kept commercially, but there were no sheep.²²²

Despite the increasing urbanisation of the parish, and the sale of part of the Hardenhuish Park land for secondary schooling,²²³ cattle were still pastured in what was left of the park in 1954–5, when they were recorded as straying into the churchyard.²²⁴

Industries and services

Hardenhuish remained a largely rural parish up to the end of the 19th century, despite the growth of Chippenham.²²⁵ The economy of Hardenhuish was dominated by farming until the land was subsumed by housing development from the late 19th century onwards, and there is little evidence for industries and services. A mill ditch was recorded in the Saxon charter of 854, but no mill is recorded in the parish.²²⁶ A possible post-medieval quarry has been identified on aerial photographs west of Hardenhuish Lane,²²⁷ and the OS map of 1900 shows another quarry south of the Bristol road.²²⁸

In the mid-17th century Robert Hawkins of Hardenhuish was described as a clothier, but the importance of the cloth trade to the local economy is unknown.²²⁹ In 1801 three persons were employed in trade, manufacturing or handicrafts.²³⁰ Throughout the latter half of the 19th century, and probably earlier, the manor house was a major employer in the parish; in 1851 there were 11 servants living-in, and others, such as gardeners, would have lived out.²³¹ The 1851 census enumerator's book included two toll houses within the

²¹⁵ OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.14 (1900 edn).

²¹⁶ TNA, MAF 68/2203.

²¹⁷ TNA, MAF 68/2773.

²¹⁸ TNA, MAF 68/2203; TNA, MAF 68/2773.

²¹⁹ TNA, MAF 68/2773.

²²⁰ TNA, MAF 68/2773; TNA, MAF 68/3319.

²²¹ TNA, MAF 68/3319.

²²² TNA, MAF 68/3814.

²²³ See Chippenham: Social history.

²²⁴ WSA, 1186/31, mins. 15 Mar. 1954, mins. 7 Mar. 1955.

²²⁵ OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.14 (1900 edn).

²²⁶ G.B Grundy, 'The Saxon Land Charters of Wiltshire (First Series)', *Arch. Jnl* 76, 170–1.

²²⁷ Wiltshire HER, Boundaries, west of Hardenhuish Lane, MW173814 (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

²²⁸ OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.14 (1900 edn).

²²⁹ P. Sherlock (ed.), *Monumental Inscriptions of Wiltshire: An Edition, in Facsimile, of Monumental Inscriptions in the County of Wilton, by Sir Thomas Phillipps, 1822* (WRS 53, 2000), 5.

²³⁰ T. Davis, *General View of the Agriculture of Wiltshire* (London, 1811), 227.

²³¹ TNA, HO 107/1836.

parish;²³² in the toll house on the Malmesbury road the toll gate keeper also plied his trade as a shoemaker. At Greenway Lane farm, the farmer was also working as a carpenter.²³³ By 1861 one man living at the Folly was working as master baker, though whether trading from his home is unclear, another man was working as a carpenter, and two women as dressmakers.²³⁴ A stone mason was living in the parish in 1881,²³⁵ and a blacksmith by 1891,²³⁶ though a trade directory of 1889 listed no tradespeople, shops or services in the parish.²³⁷ By 1910 there was a shop in the growing suburb of Woodlands.²³⁸

SOCIAL HISTORY

Social character and life of the community

Hardenhuish parish was historically small, and for much of its history, dominated by one manorial holding.²³⁹ Even when the manor was divided, one part may have dominated; in 1332 four Hardenhuish men were assessed for tax, with over half the amount being owed by Nicholas le Pyke, lord of one part of the manor of Hardenhuish.²⁴⁰

Little is known of village recreation until the 19th century, although in 1601 dancing, sports and other pastimes were recorded among the young people of the parish.²⁴¹ During much of the 17th century the Hawkins family were lords of the manor and supported the royalist cause during the English Civil Wars. One account of a skirmish in 1645 has the Parliamentary garrison of Chippenham fleeing from the town past the old manor house on its way to Malmesbury.²⁴² Although a manor house is known by the 17th century,²⁴³ the lord of the manor was not necessarily resident. In 1736 no persons from Hardenhuish were listed as among those qualified to serve on juries.²⁴⁴ After the death of Joseph Colborne, builder of the new manor house and church, and before the estate was bought by the Clutterbuck family, the evidence for a resident lord of the manor is obscure.²⁴⁵

Archaeological evidence of house platforms suggest homes later abandoned or demolished, but the remains are too dispersed to be confidently identified as the location of a village.²⁴⁶ It seems likely that the rebuilding of the church and manor house in the late 18th century also saw the creation of the parkland. Isolating the manor house in its own grounds emphasised the social boundaries between the lord of the manor and the rest of the parish.²⁴⁷ By the time of the tithe award in 1840 the village was characterised by a dispersed settlement.²⁴⁸ The three farms, Upper, Lower, and Greenway Lane farms, were all manorial holdings, let to tenants.

²³² See Communications.

²³³ TNA, HO 107/1836. The toll house at Folly Gate, in 1851 on the Marshfield road, is shown outside of the parish in the tithe maps. Tithe map and awards Hardenhuish, 1840; Chippenham, 1848. See also R. Haynes, and I. Slocombe, *Wiltshire Toll Houses* (East Knoyle, 2004), 28.

²³⁴ TNA, RG 9/1284.

²³⁵ TNA, RG 11/2033.

²³⁶ TNA, RG 12/1594.

²³⁷ *Kelly's Dir. Hants, Wilts., Dorset.* (1889), 926.

²³⁸ WSA, L8/1/29.

²³⁹ See above, Landownership.

²⁴⁰ Crowley (ed.), *Tax List 1332*, 99. See above, Landownership.

²⁴¹ WSA, D3/4/1, f. 27v, cited in M. Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570–1640* (Cambridge, 1987), 241.

²⁴² J.J. Daniells, 'Chippenham, and the Neighbourhood, during the Great Rebellion', *WAM*, 12 (1870), 292–3.

²⁴³ See above, Landownership.

²⁴⁴ J.P.M. Fowle (ed.), *Wiltshire Quarter Sessions and Assizes, 1736* (WRS 11, 1955), 135.

²⁴⁵ See above, Landownership.

²⁴⁶ See above, Landscape, settlement and buildings.

²⁴⁷ See above, Landownership.

²⁴⁸ Tithe map, 1840.

During the 19th and early 20th centuries the Clutterbuck family, lords of the manor, played a significant role in local affairs. Thomas Clutterbuck (d. 1852) and his son Edmund Lewis (d. 1861) both served terms as sheriff of Wiltshire, and Edmund Lewis's son, Edmund Henry (d. 1924) was active in Chippenham's local government.²⁴⁹ There were occasions when the house was let to tenants and the family absent, notably in the years after Edmund Lewis Clutterbuck's death.²⁵⁰ According to an obituary he had been a much-loved village squire and benefactor to the poor,²⁵¹ and the absence of the family during his son's minority was felt throughout the parish.²⁵²

In 1868 the Clutterbuck family had subscribed to a fund towards alterations to the church, but the other major contributors were the Winthrop family, who were then occupying the manor house.²⁵³ As the occupant of the largest house in the parish, the tenant might be regarded as the 'squire', a description given to Major Portal, tenant in 1929.²⁵⁴

The social divide in the Victorian parish is well-illustrated by the census data. Hardenhuish House, whether occupied by the Clutterbuck family or by tenants, employed the greater number of live-in domestic servants in the parish. Of the other houses in the parish that recorded servants in two or more years of the census, a smaller number of servants were employed at the rectory, and one or two servants, including dairy maids, were in some years employed at Upper or Lower farms.²⁵⁵ This contrasted with the settlements at the Folly and at Yewstock, which, until the development at Woodlands, formed a significant proportion of the remaining housing stock of the parish. In 1891 all 10 houses at the Folly and all six houses at Yewstock had fewer than five occupied rooms, an indicator of poverty.²⁵⁶ By 1901 eight of nine houses at the Folly and two of the five houses at Yewstock were recorded as having fewer than five rooms, but even this improvement over the previous ten years contrasted with the new houses at Woodlands, where the majority had five or more rooms.²⁵⁷ The disparity in wealth between the inhabitants of Hardenhuish Park and the rest of the parish, even those able to afford domestic servants, is shown by the only owner of a motor car in the parish prior to the First World War being Edmund Henry Clutterbuck.²⁵⁸

The Clutterbuck family allowed parts of Hardenhuish Park to be used recreationally, as did the tenants when the family was not in residence. A cricket match was held there in 1867.²⁵⁹ In 1890 the annual Chippenham horticultural society show was first held in the grounds, having previously been held at Monkton Park.²⁶⁰ The show, later incorporating a horse show, was held in Hardenhuish Park until 1937, after which part of the parkland was developed for housing and for a school.²⁶¹

A football club was using land at Hardenhuish Park by 1890,²⁶² and during that decade the grounds were used for cricket and football fields.²⁶³ No designated recreation or

²⁴⁹ 'Clutterbuck of Hardenhuish', *Wilts. N&Q*, 1 (1893–5), 304–6; 'Wilts Obituary', *WAM*, 42 (Dec. 1922–Dec. 1924), 509.

²⁵⁰ For example, see the census enumerators' books for 1871, 1881 and 1901. TNA, RG 10/1899; TNA, RG 11/2033; TNA, RG 13/1919.

²⁵¹ *Devizes and Wilts Gaz.*, 28 Feb. 1861, 3.

²⁵² W. Plomer (ed.), *Kilvert's Diary: Selections from the Diary of the Rev. Francis Kilvert*, vol. 3: 14 May 1874–13 Mar. 1879 (London, 1969), 240–1.

²⁵³ *Devizes and Wilts Gaz.*, 3 Sept. 1868, 3.

²⁵⁴ *Wilts. Times*, 2 Feb. 1929, 10.

²⁵⁵ TNA, HO 107/1836; TNA, RG 9/1284; TNA, RG 10/1899; TNA, RG 11/2033; TNA, RG 12/1594; TNA, RG 13/1919.

²⁵⁶ TNA, RG 12/1594.

²⁵⁷ TNA, RG 13/1919.

²⁵⁸ I. Hicks (ed.), *Early Motor Vehicle Registration in Wiltshire 1903 – 1914*, (WRS 58, 2006), 351, 405.

²⁵⁹ *Devizes and Wilts. Gaz.*, 25 July 1867, 2.

²⁶⁰ *Devizes and Wilts. Gaz.*, 14 Aug. 1890, 8.

²⁶¹ *Western Daily Press*, 3 Aug. 1937, 6; 2 Aug. 1938, 8. See Chippenham: Social history.

²⁶² *Devizes and Wilts. Gaz.*, 14 Aug. 1890, 8.

²⁶³ *Wilts. Times*, 16 Feb. 1924, 10.

sports grounds were shown on the OS map of 1900,²⁶⁴ but by the publication of the 1926 map a recreation ground had been established in the southern part of Hardenhuish Park. It was the home of the Chippenham sports club by 1934, when the proposed sale of Hardenhuish manor house and some of its parkland was announced, but the land used by the sports club was understood to be scheduled as open space, and would continue to be used as a sports ground.²⁶⁵ Still called Hardenhuish Park, the land remained in use for sporting activities in 2020.²⁶⁶

In the early 1900s a sports ground was established on land to the south of Marshfield Road for the employees of Saxby and Farmer, later the Westinghouse Brake and Signal company. Westinghouse was acquired by Ivensys in the early 2000s, and in 2008 the sports ground was closed, although a cricket team continued to hold matches there for another two years. Despite local pressure the sports ground was sold for residential development, and by 2018 formed a housing estate known as The Park.²⁶⁷

Having no defined village centre, and no public house, the focus of community life in the village would have been the church. As the Woodlands area developed, the parish acquired a new focus for its community life. By 1928 the parish had a hall at Woodlands adjoining the church of the Good Shepherd.²⁶⁸ When the rector and his wife left the following year, they had been running several clubs for parishioners, as well as Bible classes, and it seems likely that many of these were held in the Woodlands hall. A tennis club used the rectory lawn, and there was a football club.²⁶⁹ Clubs and societies in the parish seem to have been centred on the church, or on the Hardenhuish Park sports ground, although a Women's Institute is known at Hardenhuish by 1958, and was meeting in 2014.²⁷⁰

Allotments are shown near the Folly on a map of 1900; these may have been slightly outside the historic parish boundary.²⁷¹ These allotments were no longer shown on a later map of 1926, although allotment gardens were shown in the Woodlands area of the parish.²⁷² By 1938 housing development had covered the land once occupied by the Woodlands allotments.²⁷³

Education

The Revd Robert Kilvert, when rector of Hardenhuish, ran a private boys' school at the rectory, assisted by his wife and her sister.²⁷⁴ The author Augustus J. C. Hare, a pupil at the school from 1843 to 1846,²⁷⁵ later recalled 'long days of uninteresting lessons in the close hot schoolroom',²⁷⁶ although in 1870 the diarist Francis Kilvert wrote of his parents receiving a letter from Hare in which he reminisced fondly of his days at the school.²⁷⁷

The Lodge at Hardenhuish Park is known to have been used as a school. In 1851 a schoolmistress lived at the Lodge with a girl described as 'scholar',²⁷⁸ and in 1852 Thomas Clutterbuck, left a suit of mourning and a bonnet to the schoolmistress.²⁷⁹ In 1859 a mistress

²⁶⁴ OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.14 (1900 edn).

²⁶⁵ *North Wilts Herald*, 30 Nov. 1934, 7.

²⁶⁶ <http://www.chippenhamsportsclub.co.uk/> (accessed 14 May 2020). See Chippenham: Social history.

²⁶⁷ D. Little, 'Sports Ground to The Park', *Buttercross Bulletin*, 167 (Feb. 2018), 17–19; OS Map 6', Wilts. XX.SW (1926 edn); OS Map 6', Wilts. XX.SW (1938 rev. edn).

²⁶⁸ *North Wilts Herald*, 14 Dec. 1928, 16.

²⁶⁹ *Wilts. Times*, 2 Feb. 1929, 10.

²⁷⁰ WSA, 3165; WSA, 4094.

²⁷¹ OS Map 1:2500, Wilts. 20.14 (1900 edn).

²⁷² OS Map 6', Wilts. XX.SW (1926 edn).

²⁷³ OS Map 6', Wilts. XX.SW (1938 rev. edn).

²⁷⁴ A.J.C. Hare, *The Story of my Life*, vol. I (London, 1896), 173.

²⁷⁵ A.J.C. Hare, *The Story of my Life*, vol. I (London, 1896), 170, 213.

²⁷⁶ A.J.C. Hare, *The Story of my Life*, vol. I (London, 1896), 176.

²⁷⁷ W. Plomer (ed.), *Kilvert's Diary: Selections from the Diary of the Rev. Francis Kilvert*, vol. 1: 1 Jan. 1870–19 Aug. 1871 (London, 1969), 258–9.

²⁷⁸ TNA, HO 107/1836.

²⁷⁹ TNA, PROB 11/2152/321.

taught 30 to 40 children at the school,²⁸⁰ but the 'Lodge and School' was unoccupied at the time of the census in 1861,²⁸¹ and by 1867 was no longer used as a school.²⁸² A 'Free School' at Hardenhuish was noted in a report of 1882 to have been closed for some time, which may have been a reference to the former school at the Lodge.²⁸³

Charities

The Charity Commissioners reported in 1908 that there were no charities in the parish, and none had been recorded in the reports of 1819–37.²⁸⁴

The rent of a field in Hardenhuish, near the Folly, was used to support the charity school for girls in Chippenham established under the will of the Revd Robert Cock, vicar of Chippenham (d. 1724).²⁸⁵ It did not support any school in Hardenhuish itself. The field was sold in 1958 to provide an approach road to Hardenhuish secondary school.²⁸⁶

In 1690 the feoffees of the free school at Calne purchased an annuity towards the salary of the schoolmaster from lands in Hardenhuish, Langley Burrell and Chippenham. The lands were part of Hardenhuish manorial estate; they are recorded in deeds of 1691 and 1710, and the annuity continued to be paid by Thomas Clutterbuck in 1834.²⁸⁷ No record was made of the annuity in the Charity Commissioner's report of 1908, but it was the subject of an agreement between Madeline Clutterbuck and Wiltshire County Council in 1937.²⁸⁸

Poor relief

Until 1836 the poor of Hardenhuish would have been relieved by the parish. In 1836 Hardenhuish parish joined Chippenham Union for poor relief. The parish overseer made payments in the years immediately following 1836 for a child, but otherwise relief would have been provided through Chippenham Union.²⁸⁹ A fund for sick and poor parishioners is recorded in the accounts of the parochial church council from c.1904 to c.1939.²⁹⁰ A provident society was in existence by 1923 but was wound up in 1939 with the society's remaining funds allocated to the fund for sick and poor parishioners.²⁹¹

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

Church origins and parochial organization

There is no record in Domesday of a church at Hardenhuish.²⁹² A chapel at Hardenhuish, one of five chapels subordinate to a minster church at Chippenham, is recorded in a charter believed to date from 1139.²⁹³ This chapel had its own chaplain by 1299. It remained a

²⁸⁰ *Account of Wilts. Schools, 1859*, 25.

²⁸¹ TNA, RG 9/1284.

²⁸² *Devizes and Wilts. Gaz.*, 25 July 1867, 2.

²⁸³ TNA, ED 2/463/11, Hardenhuish.

²⁸⁴ *Endowed Charities, 1908*, 510–11.

²⁸⁵ P. Sherlock (ed.), *Monumental Inscriptions of Wiltshire: An Edition, in Facsimile, of Monumental Inscriptions in the County of Wilton, by Sir Thomas Phillipps, 1822* (WRS 53, 2000), 1, 7–8. See Chippenham: Social history.

²⁸⁶ J.A. Chamberlain, *Chippenham: Some Notes on its History* (Chippenham, 1976), 103. See Chippenham: Social history.

²⁸⁷ *Endowed Charities, 1908*, 161, 162; WSA, 78/40(ii), deed of 24 Mar. 1690/1; WSA, 78/22, deeds of 24 Mar. 1709/10 and 25 Mar. 1710.

²⁸⁸ *Endowed Charities, 1908*, 177–80; WSA, 2681/49, copy conveyance 9 Feb. 1945. On Calne Free School, see *VCH Wilts. XVII*, 111–14.

²⁸⁹ WSA, 1186/21.

²⁹⁰ WSA, 1186/29, accounts Easter 1903 to Easter 1904; accounts Easter 1904 to Easter 1905; WSA, 1186/30, mins. 13 Mar. 1939.

²⁹¹ WSA, 1186/30, mins. 1 Feb. 1923, mins. 13 Mar. 1939.

²⁹² *Domesday*, 179.

²⁹³ WSA, 192/54, f. 1; J. Pitt, 'Malmesbury Abbey and Late Saxon Parochial Development in Wiltshire', *WAM*, 96 (2003), 79.

chapelry until 1362 when it was described as ‘ecclesia’, or church. Although it briefly reverted to the description of chapel in 1380, from 1381 onwards it was recorded as having the status of a church.²⁹⁴ The present church dates from 1779, and its dedication to St Nicholas is recorded by 1831.²⁹⁵ Parish registers survive from 1731 for baptisms and marriages, and from 1736 for burials.²⁹⁶

Parts of the ecclesiastical parish of Hardenhuish, along with parts of the parishes of Chippenham, Kington St Michael and Langley Burrell, were taken in 1855 to form the new parish of St Paul’s Chippenham.²⁹⁷ Revd Griffiths, minister of St Paul’s from 1899 to 1910, was also rector of Hardenhuish.²⁹⁸ The parish of Hardenhuish was in the rural deanery of Malmesbury (South) to 1887, when it became part of the rural deanery of Chippenham.²⁹⁹

By 1916 the parish no longer had a resident rector, the rectory of Hardenhuish having been held for some years by the then-rector of St Paul’s, and after his resignation by the vicar of Chippenham. There was no resident rector in the parish, the rectory building being let. The parishioners petitioned in 1916 for a resident rector, pointing out the increase in population. But the patron, E. H. Clutterbuck, could not guarantee his annual contribution of £40 towards the rector’s stipend, and it appeared that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners would not further endow the living.³⁰⁰ Despite the failure of the 1916 petition, the parish did have a resident rector by 1921.³⁰¹

A diocesan pastoral measure of 1968 proposed creating a new benefice by uniting the benefice of St Paul’s Chippenham with Langley Burrell with that of Hardenhuish. It was to be called ‘The Benefice of St Paul Chippenham with Hardenhuish and Langley Burrell’, although St Paul’s and Hardenhuish would remain separate parishes. The new benefice would be held in plurality with the parish of Kington St Michael. A team ministry would be established, with the incumbent having the title of rector, and the other minister to have the title of vicar, although his status would be equal to that of an incumbent. The rector would be chosen by a patronage board, and the vicar by the bishop and rector jointly.³⁰²

The pastoral scheme was not implemented immediately. In 1969 the new parish of St Peter’s Chippenham, was created from parts taken from the parish of Hardenhuish, as well as the parish of Chippenham with Tytherton Lucas and the parish of St Paul Chippenham with Langley Burrell.³⁰³ The plurality of Hardenhuish and Kington St Michael was confirmed in 1971.³⁰⁴ The pastoral scheme of 1968 was confirmed in 1979 when a united benefice was formed from the parishes of St Paul Chippenham with Langley Burrell, and Hardenhuish, to be held in plurality with the benefice of Kington St Michael.³⁰⁵ By 2020 the parish of Hardenhuish was part of the Greenways benefice, with the churches of St Paul’s Chippenham, and St Peter’s at Langley Burrell.³⁰⁶

Advowson

Presentation to the living in 1299 was made by Alexander Cheverell, lord of the manor of Hardenhuish, and of the manor of Little Cheverell.³⁰⁷ The advowson appears to have been held in turn by the lords of the manors of Little Cheverell and Upton Scudamore. In 1339 the presentation was made by Peter Scudamore, lord of the manor of Upton Scudamore, and in

²⁹⁴ Phillipps, *Institutions*, vol. 1, 2, 56, 64, 65.

²⁹⁵ *VCH Wilts.* III, 50; Lewis, *Topog. Dict. Eng.*, vol. 2 (1831), 316.

²⁹⁶ WSA, 1186/1.

²⁹⁷ WSA, 2680/23. See Chippenham: Religious history.

²⁹⁸ WSA 2680/51. See Chippenham: Religious history.

²⁹⁹ *London Gaz.* 7 Jan. 1887, p. 77.

³⁰⁰ WSA, 2681/20, papers relating to petition, 1916.

³⁰¹ WSA, 2681/16, letter from M. Waring, Church Commissioners, to Mr Stroud, Bristol Diocesan Board of Finance, 20 May 1976.

³⁰² WSA, 2681/20, pastoral measure, 1968.

³⁰³ *London Gaz.* 30 May 1969, p. 5657.

³⁰⁴ *London Gaz.* 19 Feb. 1971, 1535.

³⁰⁵ *London Gaz.* 25 Oct. 1979, p. 13333.

³⁰⁶ www.harnish.org.uk (accessed 7 May 2020).

³⁰⁷ Phillipps, *Institutions*, vol. 1, 2.

1350 by Nicholas Pyk, who held the lordship of Little Cheverell by right of his wife.³⁰⁸ Presentation was made in 1362 by Thomas Drew, in 1380 by Peter Courtney, lord of the manor of Little Cheverell, and in 1381 by Thomas Dru. The Dru, or Drew, family are not known to have been connected with the manors of Upton Scudamore or of Little Cheverell,³⁰⁹ but in 1381 an indenture was made between Edward Cerne, knight, and Thomas Dru of one part, and John Hosebrige of the other, concerning the manor of Rowden and land in Hardenhuish and other settlements in and around Chippenham, though the advowson of Hardenhuish was not mentioned in the agreement.³¹⁰

In 1399 the presentation was made by Peter Courtenay, knight, and lord of the manor of Little Cheverell.³¹¹ He held the advowson at his death in 1405 by right of his wife Margaret, who survived him.³¹² In 1410 the advowson was held of the king during the minority of Margaret's heir, her grandson William Botreaux, when Robert Bochard, rector of Hardenhuish, exchanged benefices with John Scot, vicar of Compton Chamberlayne.³¹³ Scot died later that year, by which time the patronage for the turn had passed to John Reynes, knight, and lord of the manor of Upton Scudamore.³¹⁴ William Botreaux had come of age by 1417, when the advowson was recorded as belonging to him.³¹⁵

In 1422 the advowson was granted by Ralph Reynes to his father John and to Alice, his father's wife.³¹⁶ Sir Robert Hungerford, who held the manor of Upton Scudamore, held part of the manor of Hardenhuish by 1438,³¹⁷ and made the presentation to the living in 1447. In 1463 and 1465 the presentation was made by Margaret, Lady Hungerford and Botreaux, under whom the two parts of the Hardenhuish manor had been united.³¹⁸ The advowson then followed the descent of the manor. Presentation was made by the Crown in 1592, but the advowson returned to the right of the manor by 1595.³¹⁹ The religious turmoil of the period 1645 to 1660 was noted by Phillipps in 1825,³²⁰ but this cannot have affected Hardenhuish which retained the same minister, Samuel Eyre, from 1643 to 1661, and the patronage remained with the manor.³²¹ The advowson remained in the hands of the lord of the manor up to the death of Edmund Henry Clutterbuck in 1924. By 1934 it was held by his widow Madeline.³²² She died in 1939,³²³ after which the patronage passed to her daughter Henrietta Madeline Christian.³²⁴ After Henrietta's death in 1948 it passed to Henrietta's husband Bertram,³²⁵ and was transferred to their daughter, Penelope Madeline Christian, in 1954, following Bertram's death the previous year.³²⁶ Penelope Christian remained patron of

³⁰⁸ Phillipps, *Institutions*, vol. 1, 34, 49. See above, Landownership.

³⁰⁹ *VCH Wilts.* VIII, 78–89; *VCH Wilts.* X, 54–5.

³¹⁰ J.L. Kirby (ed.), *The Hungerford Cartulary: Part Two: A Calendar of the Hobhouse Cartulary of the Hungerford Family* (WRS 60, 2007), 8 (no. 979).

³¹¹ Phillipps, *Institutions*, vol. 1, 86; *VCH Wilts.* X, 54–5.

³¹² *Cal. Close*, 1402–5, 440

³¹³ *Cal. Pat. 1408–13*, 161; Horn (ed.), *Reg. Hallum*, no. 164.

³¹⁴ Phillipps, *Institutions*, vol. 1, 98; Horn (ed.), *Reg. Hallum*, no. 827. See above, Landownership.

³¹⁵ *Cal. Close 1413–19*, 436, 440.

³¹⁶ *Cal. Close 1419–22*, 255.

³¹⁷ *Cal. Close 1435–41*, 169.

³¹⁸ Phillipps, *Institutions*, vol. 1, 153, 156. See above, Landownership.

³¹⁹ Phillipps, *Institutions*, vol. 1, 232, 234. See above, Landownership.

³²⁰ Phillipps, *Institutions*, vol. 2, 21.

³²¹ W.H. Jones, 'Register of Church Livings in Wilts, in the Time of the Commonwealth (A.D. 1645–1650)', *WAM*, 19 (1881), 208; Phillipps, *Institutions*, vol. 2, 23, 38, 47, 69, 79, 85, 88.

³²² *Wilts. Times*, 16 Feb. 1924, 10; *North Wilts Herald*, 30 Nov. 1934, 7.

³²³ England & Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858–1995, Clutterbuck, Madeline Charlotte, d. 6 Nov. 1939, probate 16 Jan. 1940.

³²⁴ WSA, 2681/45, cutting from *Wilts. News*, 28 Feb. 1958, 4.

³²⁵ *Wilts. Times*, 14 May 1949, 3; England & Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858–1995, Christian, Henrietta Madeline, d. 28 July 1948, probate 22 June 1949; memorial stone in Hardenhuish church to Henrietta Madeline Christian, wife of Bertram Christian.

³²⁶ WSA, 2681/16, letter from M. Waring, Church Commissioners, to Mr Stroud, Bristol Diocesan Board of Finance, 20 May 1976; *Wilts. Times*, 30 July 1955, 10. For death of B. Christian, see England

the living in 1976.³²⁷ Under pastoral proposals adopted in 1979, the right of a single patron was replaced by a patronage board of five persons, a scheme which continued in use in 2020.³²⁸

Endowment

In 1649–50 the living was worth £30 per year.³²⁹ The rector had an income of just £29 in 1705, despite having the full tithe endowment; the acceptable annual minimum income for clergy being reckoned at £30 per year.³³⁰

In 1704 there were 18 a. of glebe land, including the orchard and paddock of the parsonage house.³³¹ By 1783 the incumbent noted that no money was received at the offertory, and he also reported that considerable time would be needed to ascertain the boundaries of the glebe lands.³³² Boundary difficulties may have been why the size of the glebe decreased during the 18th and 19th centuries.

The size of the parish, and the paucity of the endowment, saw the living being held in plurality by more than one rector. William Lake (d. 1704) was also vicar of Chippenham, rector of Great Somerford (1702–4) and a canon of Salisbury Cathedral.³³³ Samuel Smith, rector in 1783, also held the living of Stanton St Quintin.³³⁴

The tithe agreement of 1840 recorded the tithe rent-charge as £92 10s. There were 12 a. of glebe.³³⁵ In 1851 the church was endowed with tithe and glebe to the value of £107; no other endowments were recorded, nor did the church have any income from pew rents.³³⁶ In 1845 the apportionment was reportedly adjusted and all the glebe except for one field exchanged with the lord of the manor for the site of the parsonage house and garden.³³⁷

By 1889 the tithe rent charge was recorded as £90, and the gross yearly value of the living as £120, including 5 a. of glebe and the parsonage house.³³⁸ By 1935 the glebe land was recorded as being 4.194 a. and let to a tenant.³³⁹

The parochial church council was asked in 1944 to provide a contribution of £24 10s. to bring the value of the living to £400 p.a.³⁴⁰ The glebe land remained as part of the endowment in 1970.³⁴¹ In 1979 the land was confirmed as being part of the glebe land of the Diocese of Bristol.³⁴²

Clergy houses

A parsonage house was recorded in 1704 with a barn, orchard and paddock.³⁴³ It was let to a tenant in 1720.³⁴⁴ In 1783 the parsonage was described as a ‘poor cottage’, and the incumbent

& Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858-1995, Christian, Robert Bertram Keough, d. 4 Nov. 1953, probate 9 Feb. 1954.

³²⁷ WSA, 2681/16, copy letter to Archdeacon Maples, 8 March 1976.

³²⁸ WSA, 2681/32, copy of pastoral proposals [1978]; Crockford’s Clerical Dir. (2020–2021), 953; inf. from Diocese of Bristol, 30 Sept. 2020.

³²⁹ W.H. Jones, ‘Register of Church Livings in Wilts, in the Time of the Commonwealth (A.D. 1645–1650)’, *WAM*, 19 (1881), 208; E.J. Bodington, ‘The Church Survey in Wilts, 1649–50’, *WAM* 41 (1920–2), 3.

³³⁰ W. Smith, ‘Some Wiltshire Benefices in 1705’, *WAM*, 77 (1982), 103–8.

³³¹ Hobbs (ed.), *Glebe Terriers*, 194 (no. 385).

³³² Ransome (ed.), *Visitation Queries 1783*, 115–16.

³³³ *Alumni Oxon.*, 870; Phillipps, *Institutions*, vol. 2, 38, 47.

³³⁴ Ransome (ed.), *Visitation Queries 1783*, 115–16, 201.

³³⁵ R.E. Sandall (ed.), *Abstract of Wiltshire Tithe Apportionments* (WRS 30, 1975), 59 (no. 138).

³³⁶ TNA, HO 129/253 (Ecclesiastical Census returns, 1851), p. 54.

³³⁷ WSA, 2681/11, letter of 5 July 1967.

³³⁸ *Kelly’s Dir. Hants., Wilts., Dorset* (1889), 926.

³³⁹ WSA, 2681/9.

³⁴⁰ WSA, 1186/30, mins. 10 Feb. 1944.

³⁴¹ WSA, 2681/11, letter of 17 Feb. 1970.

³⁴² WSA, 2681/32, mins. 8 Sept. 1978; *London Gaz.*, 25 Oct. 1979, 13333.

³⁴³ Hobbs (ed.), *Glebe Terriers*, 194 (no. 385).

³⁴⁴ WSA, 1186/13.

resided at his other living of Stanton St Quintin.³⁴⁵ In 1832 the parsonage, described as a glebe house, was a 'mere cottage', let to a washerwoman.³⁴⁶ In 1887 the rector reported that the new rectory had been built after 1835 by the patron, and presented by him to the living in exchange for the former parsonage and portions of the glebe land.³⁴⁷ It was a somewhat more substantial building; rectors were able to accommodate live-in servants.³⁴⁸ In 1909 it was reported that E. H. Clutterbuck was renting the rectory, which he sub-let, the incumbent living elsewhere, and by 1911 Clutterbuck was reported to be interested in purchasing the property as he could no longer afford to live at Hardenhuish Park. This proposed purchase did not take place, and by 1921 the incumbent was resident in the rectory.³⁴⁹ Electric light was installed in 1929.³⁵⁰ By 1968 it was used as a parish room, as well as a residence for the rector.³⁵¹ It was sold in 1977, with part of the garden retained as a car park for the church, a house having been purchased for the rector in Malmesbury Road.³⁵² The building, now Grade II listed, is in private hands.³⁵³ The vicar of the benefice of St Paul's Chippenham with Hardenhuish and Langley Burrell lived in a vicarage in Hardenhuish Lane. This eventually proved unsuitable, and in 2018 another vicarage house was purchased in Hardenhuish.³⁵⁴

Religious life

A chalice, plate and bells were recorded in 1553.³⁵⁵ An organ is known by 1844.³⁵⁶ By 1891 the church held a chalice of 1638 and a paten of 1707, which were also recorded by Pevsner.³⁵⁷ An inventory of 1920 included a silver chalice which it dated to 1686 rather than 1638, and the altar paten of 1707. Other items listed in 1920 included a copper plate flagon and another paten, both Georgian, and an organ dated to 1876.³⁵⁸

Twenty-three communicants were recorded in 1676.³⁵⁹ In 1783 the incumbent served the church once on Sundays, and on festivals. He administered the sacrament of holy communion at Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide, but only six parishioners had received communion the previous Easter.³⁶⁰ The parish was too small to have any children to catechise.³⁶¹ By 1851 the situation had improved, when an average of 70 persons and 30 Sunday scholars attended the morning service, with 90 persons and 25 Sunday scholars at the afternoon service. There were 120 sittings in the church.³⁶² Kilvert encountered a half-empty church with no flowers in the building when he took the afternoon service for the absent rector on Easter Day in 1876.³⁶³

³⁴⁵ Ransome (ed.), *Visitation Queries 1783*, 115–16, 201.

³⁴⁶ WSA, 2681/16, letter from M. Waring, Church Commissioners, to Mr Stroud, Bristol Diocesan Board of Finance, 20 May 1976.

³⁴⁷ WSA, 2681/16, letter from M. Waring, Church Commissioners, to Mr Stroud, Bristol Diocesan Board of Finance, 20 May 1976.

³⁴⁸ TNA, HO 107/1836; TNA, RG 9/1284; TNA, RG 10/1899; TNA, RG 11/2033.

³⁴⁹ WSA, 2681/16, letter from M. Waring, Church Commissioners, to Mr Stroud, Bristol Diocesan Board of Finance, 20 May 1976.

³⁵⁰ WSA, 1186/30, mins. 14 Oct. 1929.

³⁵¹ WSA, 2681/16, letter 27 Jan. 1968.

³⁵² WSA, 2681/16; WSA, 2681/31, mins. 8 Dec. 1976; WSA, 2681/50; WSA, 2681/31, mins. 8 Dec. 1976; WSA, 2681/32, mins. 22 Apr. 1977, mins. 13 Sept. 1977.

³⁵³ NHLE, no. 1022347, The Old Rectory (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

³⁵⁴ Bristol Archives, EP/E/24/3, Bristol Archives, EP/A/22/ChStPa/10; inf. from Benefice Administrator, St Paul's Church, 29 Oct. 2020.

³⁵⁵ M.E.C. Walcott, 'Inventories of Church Goods, and Chantries of Wilts', *WAM*, 12 (1870), 368.

³⁵⁶ *Bath Chron. and Weekly Gaz.*, 8 Jan. 1844, 4.

³⁵⁷ E.H. Goddard, 'Notes on the church plate of North Wilts', *WAM*, 25 (1891), 352, 353; Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), 264.

³⁵⁸ WSA, 2681/28.

³⁵⁹ *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 128.

³⁶⁰ Ransome (ed.), *Visitation Queries 1783*, 115–16.

³⁶¹ Ransome (ed.), *Visitation Queries 1783*, 115–16.

³⁶² TNA, HO 129/253, 54.

³⁶³ W. Plomer (ed.), *Kilvert's Diary: Selections from the Diary of the Rev. Francis Kilvert*, vol. 3: 14 May 1874–13 Mar. 1879 (London, 1969), 259.

A single churchwarden was elected each year until 1891, when the practice began of electing both a parish and a rector's churchwarden.³⁶⁴ Church rates were imposed up to 1881, but from 1882 these rates were replaced by a subscription, apparently voluntary.³⁶⁵ A choir was recorded in 1897 and in 1933.³⁶⁶ By 1975 the choir had few members, mostly elderly; it appears to have ceased by 1982.³⁶⁷

In the year from Easter 1902 to Easter 1903, a total of 351 communicants were recorded, and 289 in the year following.³⁶⁸ A parochial church council was formed in 1920.³⁶⁹ In 1947 the church reported the number of communicants on Sundays as 23 and the average attendance at evensong as 69 persons. It was felt that the influence of the church in the parish could be improved if there was more visiting by the clergy.³⁷⁰

In 1968 the rector was asked to take charge of the parish of Kington St Michael, in addition to his duties at Hardenhuish.³⁷¹ The demands on clergy time continued; in 1972 the rector noted that he had a large amount of paperwork, which kept him from his parish visiting, though he acknowledged that he now had some assistance with this task.³⁷²

By 1981 the average number of adult attendances at church each Sunday was 44 persons.³⁷³ Hardenhuish was described as a small church with a small congregation in 1983, though it was enthusiastically supported by a few.³⁷⁴ By 1987 the average number of adults attending church on Sundays had decreased to 30 persons.³⁷⁵ Despite the small congregations the church remained open, continuing to hold services in 2020.³⁷⁶

Woodlands church

The development of the Woodlands area for housing saw the establishment of a church to serve the developing community in that part of the parish. The church of the Good Shepherd in Woodlands Road was dedicated in 1909. Services were held on Sunday afternoons and evenings, with a monthly Sunday morning service of holy communion.³⁷⁷ A new font was acquired in 1923, and the old font given to the Allington mission room.³⁷⁸ Gas was installed in 1929.³⁷⁹ An organ was listed in an inventory of 1920.³⁸⁰ Another organ was donated by the church of St Peter's Lowden in 1936.³⁸¹ By 1965 two services were held every Sunday, with around 40 to 60 persons attending the evening service, but an architects' report that year condemned the building as unsafe, and services were transferred to St Nicholas church.³⁸² The land on which the church and its hall were situated was leased, rather than owned by the parish, and the parish was unable to raise any funds from giving up its use of the site.³⁸³

Parish hall

³⁶⁴ WSA, 1186/29, vestry meeting 31 Mar. 1891.

³⁶⁵ WSA, 1186/9, vestry meeting 18 Apr. 1881, list of ratepayers 19 Jun. 1882, churchwarden's accounts Easter 1884.

³⁶⁶ *Wilts. Times*, 8 May 1897, 6; *Wilts. Times*, 27 May 1933, 13.

³⁶⁷ WSA, 2681/30, visitations of 1975, 1982.

³⁶⁸ WSA, 1186/29, accounts Easter 1902–Easter 1903, accounts Easter 1903–Easter 1904.

³⁶⁹ WSA, 1186/30, mins. 13 Apr. 1920.

³⁷⁰ WSA, 2681/55.

³⁷¹ WSA, 1186/32, mins. 12 Jan. 1968.

³⁷² WSA, 1186/32, mins. 24 Mar. 1972.

³⁷³ WSA, 2681/30, visitation of 1982.

³⁷⁴ WSA, 2681/33, liaison team report 1983.

³⁷⁵ WSA, 2681/30, visitation of 1988.

³⁷⁶ www.harnish.org.uk (accessed 2 Oct. 2020).

³⁷⁷ WSA, 1186/33, f. 1v-2r.

³⁷⁸ WSA, 1186/30, mins. 6 Dec. 1923. For Allington mission room, see Chippenham: Religious history.

³⁷⁹ WSA, 1186/30, mins. 26 Feb. 1929.

³⁸⁰ WSA, 2681/28.

³⁸¹ WSA, 1186/30, mins. 17 Feb. 1936.

³⁸² WSA, 1186/35.

³⁸³ WSA, 1186/31, mins. 23 Jan. 1947, mins. 8 Mar. 1963, ann. report of hon. sec. 25 Mar. 1966.

No church hall is known near the church of St Nicholas, but a parish room is known by 1896, when it was described as situated about 300 yds from the cottages at the Folly.³⁸⁴ By 1928 the parish had a hall at Woodlands adjoining the church of the Good Shepherd.³⁸⁵

By 1931 the parish hall was too small for the growing population in the district. Fundraising began that year to raise money for a larger hall on a new site, but efforts were still ongoing four years later.³⁸⁶ Land to the north of the church was gifted by the trustees of the Clutterbuck family for a parish hall in 1944–5,³⁸⁷ but fund-raising efforts were wound up in 1947 without the hall being built.³⁸⁸

The hall at Woodlands continued to be used for the Sunday school and a women's group after the Woodlands church closed in 1965,³⁸⁹ but in 1966 its deteriorating condition led to the church finally vacating the hall.³⁹⁰ Church activities, including the Sunday school, took place at another hall in Chippenham or in the rectory until 1970, when it was agreed that the Sunday school would meet regularly in the rectory.³⁹¹

The matter of a new church hall was raised in 1965 after the closure of the Woodlands church, and again during discussions over the proposed sale of the rectory in 1975–6, but no further action was taken on either occasion due to financial concerns.³⁹²

Religious nonconformity

There is little evidence for religious nonconformity in the parish. Samuel Eyre, rector since 1643, resigned the living in 1661, but it is unclear whether he resigned as he could not conform to the Restoration Church of England, or for left for another reason.³⁹³ He is not listed in *Calamy Revised* as having been ejected for nonconformity.³⁹⁴ No Protestant nonconformists nor Roman Catholics were living in the parish according to the religious census of 1676.³⁹⁵

Lister Tigh, briefly lord of the manor until his death in 1711, left bequests to nonconformist ministers in his will, but if his sympathies lay with nonconformity, his association with Hardenhuish was too short to have had any impact on the religious life of the parish.³⁹⁶ No Catholics or nonconformists were recorded in the visitation returns of 1783.³⁹⁷ There are no known dissenting meeting house registrations in Hardenhuish,³⁹⁸ and no record of any religious building other than the parish church in the religious census of 1851.³⁹⁹

Church architecture

A parish church of unknown date is known to have been situated in the parish, possibly some 200 yds in front of the present mansion house.⁴⁰⁰ A 'Chapel' is shown on Andrews' and

³⁸⁴ WSA, 1186/29, vestry meeting 6 Apr. 1896; *Wilts. Times*, 18 Jan. 1896, 6.

³⁸⁵ *North Wilts Herald*, 14 Dec. 1928, 16; *Wilts. Times*, 2 Feb. 1929, 10.

³⁸⁶ *Wilts. Times*, 20 June 1931, 10; *Wilts. Times*, 26 Oct. 1935, 10.

³⁸⁷ WSA, 2681/49; WSA, 1186/30, mins. 10 Feb. 1944, mins. 18 Apr. 1945.

³⁸⁸ WSA, 1186/31, mins. 18 Aug. 1947.

³⁸⁹ WSA, 1186/35; WSA, 1186/31, mins. 17 Sept. 1965.

³⁹⁰ WSA, 1186/32, mins. 11 Nov. 1966. Probably St Peter's at Langley Burrell. The land at Woodlands was owned by Chippenham's Loyalty Lodge of the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes, hence the description of the hall as 'Buffs Hall'.

³⁹¹ WSA, 1186/32, mins. 28 Feb. 1969, mins. 15 Jan. 1970, mins. 27 Aug. 1970.

³⁹² WSA, 1186/31, mins. 17 Sept. 1965, annual report of hon. sec 25 Mar. 1966; WSA, 2681/16, undated draft letter to the Secretary, Church Commissioners.

³⁹³ C. Wordsworth, 'Wilts Ministers (1643–1662)', *WAM*, 34 (1905–6), 179.

³⁹⁴ *Calamy Revised*, ed. Matthews.

³⁹⁵ *Compton Census*, ed. Whiteman, 128.

³⁹⁶ TNA, PROB 11/523/312.

³⁹⁷ Ransome (ed.), *Visitation Queries 1783*, 115–16.

³⁹⁸ J.H. Chandler (ed.), *Wiltshire Dissenters' Meeting House Certificates and Registrations 1689–1852*, (WRS 40, 1985).

³⁹⁹ TNA, HO 129/253, 54.

⁴⁰⁰ J.E. Jackson, 'Ancient Chapels, &c., in Co. Wilts.', *WAM*, 10 (1867), 284.

Dury's 1773 map.⁴⁰¹ In 1776 the vestry agreed to build a new church.⁴⁰² The old church was demolished, and the present church dedicated in 1779.⁴⁰³ A memorial in the church to Joseph Colborne (d. 1781) records that the church was built at his sole expense.⁴⁰⁴

The church is one of only two surviving Georgian church buildings in Wiltshire, the other being the Roman Catholic chapel of Wardour Castle. It is believed to have been designed by John Wood of Bath. The original plan had a polygonal apse, side walls with Venetian windows and a polygonal west entrance, though the present building is not to the original design.⁴⁰⁵ There is a vault.⁴⁰⁶ In the apse are painted the Lord's Prayer and other texts.⁴⁰⁷

The church was renovated in 1868, with internal alterations including the replacement of the communion rails, and the lowering of the pulpit and reading desk.⁴⁰⁸ Repairs to the gallery stairs are recorded in 1906–7.⁴⁰⁹ In 1935 it was agreed to widen the altar, among other improvements, and electric light was installed in the church c.1935.⁴¹⁰ In the 1930s it was noted that the royal arms of 1764 hung in the church but were in a decrepit condition.⁴¹¹ They were restored in 1964.⁴¹² A new pulpit and reading desk were installed in 1958 and it was agreed to purchase a new lectern.⁴¹³ The pulpit, lectern and priest's stall were dedicated in December 1958 in memory of Sir Daniel and Lady Cooper, who had previously lived at Greenways, by then a maternity hospital.⁴¹⁴ A memorial tablet to the Revd Francis Kilvert was installed by the Kilvert Society in 1968.⁴¹⁵

In the churchyard is a memorial in the Greek Revival style to David Ricardo (d. 1823), political economist, by William Pitts.⁴¹⁶ Land was purchased from the trustees of the Clutterbuck estate for an extension to the churchyard in 1944–5,⁴¹⁷ which was consecrated in 1945.⁴¹⁸

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Anciently, Hardenhuish was part of the Hundred of Chippenham.⁴¹⁹ It was recorded as a township in 1268, but any records of its early government are lost.⁴²⁰ No manorial records, including any manor court records, survive.⁴²¹

⁴⁰¹ E. Crittall (ed.), *Andrews and Dury's Map of Wiltshire, 1773* (WRS 8, 1952), plate 13.

⁴⁰² WSA, 1186/8, f. 7r.

⁴⁰³ M. Frampton, *A Sermon preached before Robert Lord Bishop of London (1779)*.

⁴⁰⁴ P. Sherlock (ed.), *Monumental Inscriptions of Wiltshire: An Edition, in Facsimile, of Monumental Inscriptions in the County of Wilton, by Sir Thomas Phillipps, 1822* (WRS 53, 2000), 23.

⁴⁰⁵ Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), 45, 264; NHLE, no. 1268098, Church of St Nicholas (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

⁴⁰⁶ P. Sherlock (ed.), *Monumental Inscriptions of Wiltshire: An Edition, in Facsimile, of Monumental Inscriptions in the County of Wilton, by Sir Thomas Phillipps, 1822* (WRS 53, 2000), 23.

⁴⁰⁷ Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), 264.

⁴⁰⁸ *Devizes and Wilts Gaz.*, 3 Sept. 1868, 3.

⁴⁰⁹ WSA, 1186/29, accounts Easter 1906–Easter 1907.

⁴¹⁰ WSA, 1186/30, mins. 27 May 1935, mins. 2 Sept. 1935.

⁴¹¹ E. Fawcett, 'Royal Arms in Hardenhuish Church', *WAM*, 48 (1937–9), 348

⁴¹² WSA, 2681/57.

⁴¹³ WSA, 1186/31, 2 May 1958.

⁴¹⁴ *Wilts. Times*, 19 Dec. 1958. For the maternity hospital, see Chippenham: Social history.

⁴¹⁵ WSA, 1186/32, annual report of hon. sec. 1969.

⁴¹⁶ Pevsner, *Wilts.* (2nd edn), 264; NHLE, no. 1268099, David Ricardo monument in churchyard of church of St Nicholas (accessed 26 Mar. 2020).

⁴¹⁷ WSA, 2681/49; WSA, 1186/30, mins. 10 Feb. 1944, mins. 18 Apr. 1945.

⁴¹⁸ *Wilts. Gaz.*, 29 Nov. 1945.

⁴¹⁹ *VCH Wilts.* IV, 327.

⁴²⁰ B. Farr and C. Erlington (eds.), rev. H. Summerson, *Crown Pleas of the Wiltshire Eyre 1268* (WRS 65, 2012), 118 (no. 550), 118–19 (no. 552), 126 (no. 586).

⁴²¹ Manorial Documents Register, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/manor-search> (accessed 19 Nov. 2019).

No parish records are known prior to the 18th century. Churchwardens' accounts survive from 1772, with vestry minutes from 1885.⁴²² Few parishioners attended the annual vestry meetings, and it appears to have been a select vestry, at least in practice. Account books for the surveyors of the highways survive from 1792–1842, with a rate book from 1837–52.⁴²³ Account books of the overseers of the poor survive from 1710–1868,⁴²⁴ and poor rate books from 1720–70 and 1839–58.⁴²⁵ In 1863 Hardenhuish had one waywarden elected from the parish to oversee the roads in the parish.⁴²⁶

The area and boundaries of the historic parish changed with local government reorganisation from 1884 onwards.⁴²⁷ In 1894 Hardenhuish became part of Chippenham Rural District Council, formed under the Public Health act of 1872.⁴²⁸ When it was dissolved in 1934 all its constituent civil parishes, which included Hardenhuish, were transferred to the new Calne and Chippenham Rural District Council.⁴²⁹

⁴²² WSA, 1186/8; 1186/29.

⁴²³ WSA, 1186/10–12.

⁴²⁴ WSA, 1186/17–23.

⁴²⁵ WSA, 1186/13–16; 2681/37.

⁴²⁶ *London Gaz.* 6 Nov. 1863, p. 5253.

⁴²⁷ See Boundaries.

⁴²⁸ Youngs, *Admin Units*, vol. 1, 705; *VCH Wilts.* IV, 332.

⁴²⁹ Youngs, *Admin Units*, vol. 1, 539; *VCH Wilts.* IV, 332, 351. For developments after 1934 see Chippenham: Boundaries and parish origins.