

Herriard Economic History

The meticulous accounts kept by the Jervoise family and their servants, and preserved at Herriard Park for centuries, permit a singularly comprehensive view of life and work in a typical Hampshire parish. Account books from the late 16th century onwards record the daily tasks of servants and labourers, the crops sown and harvested, the stock reared and sold, and the cost of provisioning the household of a substantial landowner. The value of these records is the insight they give us into the agriculture of a typical parish on the edge of the North Hampshire chalklands.

Herriard is fortunate in being a well-documented parish, but the documentation does not deal with the same units at different times. Thus it is the new subsidiary manor belonging to Hartley Wintney priory which provides us with our main medieval documentation, while the main manor of Herriard and Southrope provide us with most later evidence, particularly in the north of the parish, much of which was demesne land and often farmed in hand by the lords.

Agricultural Landscape

Essentially there were three main agricultural elements. The settlement of Herriard itself lay around the manor house and church, with open fields much of which were enclosed early.¹ A second settlement, Southrope lay further south, with its own open fields. It was more detached from the lord and largely dominated by the tenantry, with open fields that continued later until eroded by piecemeal enclosure. Thirdly a new manor evolved largely in 13th and 14th century based on grants of land in Herriard, Southrope, and neighbouring Ellisfield and expanding in newly colonised land in the west of the parish. The dependence of this manor on newly colonised land rather than the open fields is reflected both in the 19th century tithe returns and in the medieval accounts where the most commonly used arable place names are those which suggest enclosure, such as *Haynhurst*, *Revescroft*, and *Hethelese*.

The arable land of the parish lies predominantly in a band running through the centre of the parish, sandwiched between pasture to the north and heath or downland on the south. The numerous extant medieval deeds from Herriard enable us to recover the names of the common fields. Field names from the late 13th and early 14th centuries refer to Bagmore field (*Baggemeresfeld*),² Potshard field (*Potschatesfeld*),³ Herriard Deane (*la Dene*),⁴ North field,⁵ and West field,⁶ all of which seem to have lay partly or wholly within the tithing of Southrope. Another field, called *Buxlye* and containing a windmill, lay alongside the road north to Basingstoke,⁷ and perhaps later gave its name to the Bushy warren.⁸ Also in the north of the parish, one Reginald, son of Peter, held a messuage and virgate of land called Henwood in the middle of the 13th century,⁹ perhaps the field which adjoined

¹ HRO 44M69/P1/108

² HRO, 44M69/C243.

³ HRO, 44M69/C68–9.

⁴ HRO, 44M69/C302. 333, 335.

⁵ HRO, 44M69/C40, 68–9, 362.

⁶ HRO, 44M69/C13, 15, 68–9.

⁷ HRO, 44M69/ C62, 64, 248.

⁸ HRO, 44M69/ E2/21.

⁹ HRO, 44M69/C286–7.

Frying Down in Winslade in the 14th century.¹⁰ Three crofts had been made within Hen Wood by the end of the 13th century.¹¹ Piecemeal enclosure of the common fields had apparently already begun by the early 14th century, with references to crofts having been made within Bagmore and West fields.¹² Numerous enclosures had been made by the 16th century, particularly in the west of the parish, where it was said that the tenants held land only in several and none in the common fields.¹³ In the east of the parish enclosure proceeded at a much slower pace, and three common fields remained open in the early 18th century, called Little field, Potshard field and Weston Hatch field. A map of 1730 depicted a number of small strips still extant within these fields.¹⁴ The fields were enclosed by agreement with the tenants in 1738.¹⁵

A park had been established at Herriard by the 13th century, presumably the lozenge-shaped enclosure surrounding the manor house, which may have provided pasture for the lord of the manor.¹⁶ Early in the 14th century a pasture called *le Doune* lay alongside the road between the parish church and Basingstoke,¹⁷ and another called the *Litelperk* lay near the Alton road in the middle of the that century.¹⁸ By 1561 the parish was said to contain 1,300 a. of pasture and meadow, compared with 500 a. of arable, 500 a. of wood and 500 a. of heath and furze.¹⁹ The former warren in the north of the parish was said to have been a barren bushy heath treated as open common for sheep, cattle, horses and rabbits, until it was taken in hand as demesne pasture c.1567.²⁰ The marquess of Winchester attempted unsuccessfully to claim common there for his estate at the Grange but was unsuccessful, and the warren remained enclosed.²¹ In the late 16th and early 17th centuries a large amount of pasture ground, including parts of the warren, was improved through marling and converted to arable.²² Pasture grounds and coppices along the boundary with the commons were grubbed up and converted to arable land during the late 17th and early 18th century.²³

The parish appears always to have contained a considerable amount of woodland. Straddling the northern parish boundary with Tunworth stands the large woodland called Hen Wood, which gave rise to the family name of Hynewood, already established by the middle of the 13th century.²⁴ The wood itself is presumably ancient, the name perhaps deriving from the Old English word *heah*, meaning high.²⁵ An avenue of trees was planted parallel to the western boundary of

¹⁰ HRO, 44M69/F2/14/39.

¹¹ HRO, 44M69/C243–4.

¹² HRO, 44M69/C65.

¹³ HRO, 44M69/F2/14/7.

¹⁴ HRO, 44M69/P1/108.

¹⁵ HRO, 44M69/D1/6/M54–9.

¹⁶ HRO, 44M69/C341.

¹⁷ HRO, 44M69/C79, 86.

¹⁸ HRO, 44M69/C127, 268.

¹⁹ HRO, 44M69/D1/6/A9.

²⁰ HRO, 44M69/E8/2/1/3.

²¹ HRO, 44M69/F2/14/7–8.

²² Below, Agriculture.

²³ TNA, C 22/414/27; HRO, 44M69/P1/108.

²⁴ HRO, 44M69/C223, 236, 287.

²⁵ HRO, 10M49/1, G.B. Grundy's notes on Hampshire place-names, II, 85.

the wood early in the 18th century, leading from the Basingstoke road to Herriard house.²⁶ The planting of Poor Hill, on the north-west edge of Hen Wood, began in the 1720s,²⁷ although a map of 1730 still shows part of it unplanted and crossed by the Avenue.²⁸ The rest of Poor Hill was also subsequently planted, and by 1840 the northern section of the Avenue had been obliterated.²⁹ More woodland elsewhere in the medieval parish is implied by the place-name Hurst, which occurs by the middle of the 13th century.³⁰ Nicholas de la Hurst was granted ½ virgate here in the 13th century.³¹ There is also evidence of assarting on the eastern boundary, where a farm called Whitewood was established on the edge of the common by the 16th century.³² Highwood coppice by middle of 17th century.³³ Later maps show a significant amount of woodland in the area, including High wood and Whitewood coppice, despite having been reduced by numerous small enclosures.³⁴ Medieval deeds refer to numerous other small portions of woodland in the hands of tenants.³⁵

Herriard's extensive commons, located on the chalk downlands on the parish's southern boundary and known collectively as Herriard Dingshot (*Herierdingeshet*) in the late 13th century,³⁶ were said to amount together to about 500 a.³⁷ By the 16th century they were divided into three, called West heath, Greene Lane heath and Widmore heath. The latter was used mostly by tenants who held land in the common fields, whilst the other two, known as the several heaths, were used by tenants who only held enclosed land in the west of the parish.³⁸ Herriard's commons lay open with those of the neighbouring parishes of Bradley, Lasham and Weston Patrick, and the inhabitants of each had traditionally pastured their sheep and other beasts across the boundaries without any penalty.³⁹ The open nature of the commons sparked numerous disputes during the late 16th and early 17th century, in no small part fuelled by the truculent character of Sir Richard Paulet (d. 1614) and his neighbours. The lord of Bradley, Sir Richard Pexell (d. 1571),⁴⁰ enclosed his common with a hedge with the permission of George Puttenham, who then held Herriard on behalf of his wife, Lady Elizabeth, the widow of Sir Richard Paulet (d. 1552).⁴¹ The inhabitants of Herriard subsequently restored their access to Bradley common by making gaps in the hedge, but confrontation arose c.1605 when Edward Savage, the lord of Bradley, ordered the hedge to be repaired, and the Bradley men were accused of using dogs to kill some of Sir Richard Paulet's

²⁶ HRO, 44M69/P1/107–8.

²⁷ HRO, 44M69/E6/167.

²⁸ HRO, 44M69/P1/108.

²⁹ HRO, 21M65/F7/115/2.

³⁰ HRO, 44M69/C1, 320.

³¹ HRO, 44M69/C1.

³² HRO, 44M69/D1/6/F3; 44M69/P1/108.

³³ HRO, 44M69/E7/12.

³⁴ HRO, 44M69/P1/108.

³⁵ Below, Woodland Management.

³⁶ HRO, 44M69/C219.

³⁷ HRO, 44M69/D1/67/A9; 44M69/F2/14/23.

³⁸ HRO, 44M69/F2/14/7–8.

³⁹ HRO, 44M69/F2/14/8' 44M69/F4/18/23; 44M69/F4/18/27.

⁴⁰ VCH *Hants*. IV, 202–5.

⁴¹ ODNB, 'Puttenham, George (1529–1590/1)'; above, landownership. HRO, 44M69/F2/14/23.

lambs.⁴² In the following year, Paulet complained that Puttenham had had no right to allow the heaths to be divided, having only a life interest in the estate, and also that the new hedge had wrongly encroached upon Herriard, enclosing about 60 a. of West heath with Bradley heath. Savage accused Paulet of inciting his tenants to riotously throw down the hedge, although the parishioners of Herriard claimed they had merely gone on their ancient rogationtide perambulation, reading the gospel and eating cakes in the disputed land.⁴³ Further disputes arose in c.1622–3 concerning the boundaries with Lasham and Weston,⁴⁴ in both cases apparently because Sir Thomas Jervoise had instructed his tenants to plough a furrow marking the boundaries of the commons.⁴⁵ Agreement was reached with the Marquess of Winchester over the boundary of Weston following arbitration in 1622.⁴⁶ The dispute with Sir Edmund Plowdon concerning the boundary with Lasham was more drawn out. In 1623 the men of Lasham were presented in the manorial court of Herriard for encroaching upon c.60 a. of Widmore heath.⁴⁷ An agreement was reached whereby two furrows were ploughed to separate the two commons, and the disputed land between them were considered the joint property of both manors.⁴⁸ Another dispute concerning an attempt to enclose part of Lasham common c.1665 led to further incidents of hedge-breaking by the men of Herriard.⁴⁹ Some parts of the common may have remained open to neighbouring parishes into the 18th century however, as there were complaints in 1706 that sheep were encroaching on the common from Shalden.⁵⁰ The commons were enclosed by agreement with tenants who held rights of pasture there in 1795.⁵¹ Large parts of the commons remained bushes and furze in 1840, although c.78 a. had been planted with trees and another c.14 a. had been broken up for conversion to arable.⁵² All three commons had been converted entirely to woodland by 1871.⁵³

Agriculture

The Middle Ages

*Wintney Priory's manor of Herriard*⁵⁴ provides us with a well-documented small gentry-level chalkland manor from the period 1335–1426.⁵⁵ It was recognised as a

⁴² HRO, 44M69/F2/14/23.

⁴³ HRO, 44M69/F2/14/24; TNA, STAC 8/270/15.

⁴⁴ HRO, 44M69/F4/18/31.

⁴⁵ HRO, 44M69/A1/3/13; 44M69/F4/18/25.

⁴⁶ HRO, 44M69/F4/18/25.

⁴⁷ HRO, 44M69/A1/3/13.

⁴⁸ HRO, 44M69/A1/3/15.

⁴⁹ HRO, 44M69/F5/4/7–8; TNA, C 9/34/74.

⁵⁰ HRO, 39M89/E/B610/9.

⁵¹ HRO, 44M69/D1/6/M16–17; 44M69/J9/126..

⁵² HRO, 21M65/F7/115.

⁵³ OS Map, 25" (1st ed.), Hants. XXVII.9–10.

⁵⁴ The section on the wintney manor or grange is by J.N. Hare.

⁵⁵ The evidence is discussed more fully with tabulation of agricultural figures in J. Hare, 'The nuns of Wintney Priory and their manor of Herriard: medieval agriculture and settlement in the chalklands of north-east Hampshire', *Proc. Hants. Field Club*, 70 (2015), 191–200. There is also an undated and probably earlier account, HRO 44M69/E1/2/48

grange of the priory from 1329/30. It was close to the priory and served as one of its home manors, providing it with food. Thus in 1397, the priory cellarer received an ox, 12 wethers, 35 ewes, eight pigs, a piglet, eight geese, two goslings, ten capons, 19 hens, 12 chicken and 500 eggs, as well as wheat and oats.⁵⁶ At other times it received cheese made from the cow and sheep milk of Herriard, as in 1386/7 and 1416/7.⁵⁷

Four phases of agricultural activity are suggested for the century from 1335. The period from then until the Black Death in 1349, was one of stability, followed by shrinkage, instability and experimentation in its aftermath. By contrast the period from 1386 was one of resilience, recovery leading to peak activity towards the end of the century. After 1405, the instability returned and our documentation ceased in 1426. The priory then seems to have leased out its manor, but it was probably resumed by the time of the Dissolution of Wintney.⁵⁸

Arable farming was dominated by wheat and oats as elsewhere on the chalkland plateau.⁵⁹ Here, these two crops usually accounted for at least three-quarters of the sown acreage. The rest was made up of bere, barley and oats, together with a few acres each of beans, peas and vetch. The extent of the sown acreage was about 129 a. in the years 1342–48, although this represented a fall from over 160 a. in 1339 and 1340. The sown acreage fell in the years immediately after the Black Death and again in the years before 1365, then averaging 64 a. By the end of the century it had nevertheless recovered to 160 a.⁶⁰

As elsewhere, the chalklands were characterised by large sheep flocks.⁶¹ Here the priory maintained both a breeding and a wether flock. Until the 1420s, it consistently maintained a flock of 200 sheep (except in 1340, 1341 and 1365), and usually kept much more. It stocked most intensively in the period 1385–1405 averaging over 640 sheep and with a peak of 810 in 1393.⁶² As elsewhere, in some years the wool was specifically sent to the estate headquarters for a combined for sale. Sheep were also integrated into wider estate policy. Thus in 1396/7 hogasters were sent from Hartley and others sent to neighbouring Lasham, wethers were sent to Lasham and lambs were both sent from Hartley and then returned there later in the year after shearing.⁶³ The more substantial tenants of the main manor of Herriard also kept large flocks of their own. The freeholder Adam de la Lye had a sheepfold for 100 sheep c.1272,⁶⁴ and c.1297 later Robert of Dogemeresfeld was granted pasture over most of the parish for three years for 150 sheep and 200 ewes.⁶⁵

Other livestock included horses, cattle, pigs and poultry. In 1335, the manor possessed eight horses, 20 oxen, four cows, ten young cattle, 11 pigs, and poultry.⁶⁶

⁵⁶ HRO 44M69/A1/6/6, m. 4.

⁵⁷ HRO 44M69/A1/3/6, mm. 2, 9.

⁵⁸ TNA, E 178/2018.

⁵⁹ J. Hare, 'The bishop and the prior: demesne agriculture in medieval Hampshire', *Ag. Hist. Rev.* 54 (2006), 194–6; idem, 'Hampshire agriculture in the Middle Ages: the bishop of Winchester's manor of North Waltham', *Proc. Hants. Field Club*, 75 (2020), 67–9.

⁶⁰ Hare, 'Wintney Priory', tab. 2. HRO, 44/M69/1/3/4, mm. 4, 6

⁶¹ Hare, 'Bishop and the prior', 198–9, 203; idem, 'Hampshire agriculture in the Middle Ages', 70.

⁶² Hare, 'Wintney Priory', tab. 3.

⁶³ HRO, 44M69/A1/3/6, m. 3.

⁶⁴ HRO, 44M69/C5.

⁶⁵ HRO, 44M69/C243.

⁶⁶ HRO, 44M69/A1/3/4, m. 1.

Cows were kept both for breeding and, as with the ewes. for milk which could be made into cheese. Their numbers rose in the 1340s and 1350s, then fell in the 1360s before recovering at the end of the century. In 1387, 99 cheeses were produced, of which 40 went to the tenants as rewards at harvest or sheep washing, 26 were sold, 21 went to the cellarer of the priory, and ten were taken for tithes. The relative value of cattle and sheep milk for milk is reflected when they were leased, cows leased for 3s. and ewes between 1*d.* and 2*d.*⁶⁷ Cows were often leased for their milk as in 1339.⁶⁸ In 1404/5 eight cows and 112 sheep were leased for milking.⁶⁹

The priory, as a relatively new lord would have lacked heavy tenant services, apart from certain specific tasks at harvest and sheep washing when all labour was required for which they were rewarded with bread, ale and meat, and fish or cheese. The numbers involved declined in the course of the 14th century. For the most part the regular labour would have been provided by a group of famuli or farm servants: a ploughman, drivers, a carter, usually two shepherds, a swineherd and a dairymaid although the number of such servants fell in 1350s, from about ten to about seven by the later 14th century.

Early Modern Farming

An estimate of the late 16th century reckoned the total land in the parish to amount to approximately 58 yardlands, of which the demesnes accounted for 24 yardlands.⁷⁰ A survey of 1577 reckoned the demesnes to amount to 1,204 a., comprising 577 a. of arable land, 210 a. of pasture, 28 a. of meadow, 215 a. of heath, and 174 a of woods.⁷¹ The remaining land in the parish was divided between 18 estates, including 12 freehold estates. The largest of these was Lee farm, accounting for 7 yardlands, and Herriard Grange, 5½ yardlands. Three other tenants held between 2 and 4 yardlands, and the remaining land was divided into 13 estates of 1 yardland each.⁷² A more detailed survey of 1604 reveals detailed the 12 freehold estates. The largest estate was held by Richard Lee of Lee farm, comprising 394 a., of which 288 a. were in his own occupation and the remaining 106 a. were divided between five tenants, each holding between 12 a. and 32 a. Herriard Grange amounted to 247 a., of which 222 a. were let to Richard Lee and the remainder was divided into two smallholdings of less than 20 a. each. Three more freeholders held estates of more than 100 a., five more held estates of between 30 a. and 35 a., and there were two small tenements of only a few acres each.⁷³ The customary rents of the freeholders in 1583 amounted to £4 19s. 10*d.* and 1 lb of cumin a year. Nine more tenants held by leases for lives, paying rents totalling to £9 0s. 8*d.* a year.⁷⁴ After the exchange by Richard Poulet of land for a copyhold tenement in 1581 no further mention is made of copyholders, suggesting that customary tenure had been eliminated in favour of leasehold by the late 16th century.⁷⁵ By the late 17th century the parish was

⁶⁷ HRO, 44M69/A1/3/4, m. 28.

⁶⁸ HRO, 44M69/A1/3/4, m. 6.

⁶⁹ HRO, 44M69/A1/3/6, m. 7.

⁷⁰ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/13.

⁷¹ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/2-3.

⁷² HRO, 44M69/E1/1/13.

⁷³ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/9.

⁷⁴ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/2-3.

⁷⁵ HRO, 44M69/D1/6/M33.

reckoned to amount to approximately 67 yardlands, divided between the demesnes (now said to be 30 yardlands) and 18 other estates. Lee farm was still the largest of these, estimated at 10 yardlands, whilst Herriard Grange still amounted to 5½ yardlands. Another holding measured 5 yardlands, and two more measured 3 yardlands each, whilst the remaining land was divide into 14 estates of 1 yardland or less.⁷⁶

By the late 16th century, most of the demesne arable and pasture land was let out in small parcels. Soon after his marriage to Elizabeth, the widow of Sir Richard Paulet (d. 1552), George Puttenham let the demesnes for 15 years, letting the mansion house with its gardens and orchards to the same tenant in the following year. Despite his bitter dispute with Elizabeth and her son John over his control of the manor, he let the manor and demesnes again for another 12 years in 1574.⁷⁷ After Puttenham's illegal attempt to sell the manor to his friend Sir John Throckmorton was thwarted by the privy council,⁷⁸ John Paulet successfully sued Puttenham for waste and wrested most of the demesnes into his own hands.⁷⁹ The impact of Puttenham's tenure can be seen in the diminished value of the land in the years after he held the manor. A list of rents from 1580 records 12 parcels of the demesnes were let to 14 tenants for a total annual rent of £36 3s. 4d,⁸⁰ but the same lands had previously been let by Puttenham for sums totalling almost £68.⁸¹ The total value of the land let by Puttenham had amounted to £147.⁸² In 1583 Richard Paulet compiled a detailed list of the demesnes, calculating that their improved value was worth in total £200 a year.⁸³ In 1597 two tenants of part of the demesnes owed a total of 2 week's work on the lord's land besides their rent, and another three tenants of the demesnes owed payments in wheat or barley.⁸⁴ These extra burdens appear to have been eliminated three years later, when demesne land worth a total value of £171 was divided between 24 tenants. More land, worth £108 a year, was still in Sir Richard Paulet's hands at that time.⁸⁵ Paulet's purchase of the wardship of Thomas Jervoise in 1601 necessitated an augmentation of the revenues of the manor,⁸⁶ and from that year the demesnes were let to 33 tenants paying a total of £260 a year.⁸⁷

Lying on the Hampshire chalk downlands, Herriard's agriculture continued to be dominated by traditional sheep-corn farming. The principal crops throughout the early modern period were wheat, barley, and oats, supplemented by smaller amounts of rye, peas, and beans. A hopyard was also established to in the late 16th century, although hops were never a significant crop.⁸⁸ In the 1580s, Richard Paulet carefully calculated the cost and profits of all of his agricultural activities, both the

⁷⁶ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/19. The document is undated, but refers to John Diggle, vicar of Herriard 1665–83.

⁷⁷ HRO, 44M69/D1/6/A8, 11, 16.

⁷⁸ HRO, 44M69/C712; 44M69/D1/6/A16, 19; 44M69/F3/1; *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1575–7, 148.

⁷⁹ HRO, 44M69/E4/83.

⁸⁰ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/1.

⁸¹ HRO, 44M69/E4/83.

⁸² HRO, 44M69/E4/83.

⁸³ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/2–3.

⁸⁴ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/5.

⁸⁵ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/7.

⁸⁶ HRO, 44M69/F4/19/1.

⁸⁷ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/8.

⁸⁸ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/5; 44M69/E2/16.

rearing of livestock and the planting of crops. In a typical year, he anticipated that his team of eight horses would sow 90 a. of land with 30 quarters of wheat, 40 a. with 20 quarters of barley, and another 40 a. with 20 quarters of oats. He expected each year's harvest to produce four times as much grain as was sown, even after deductions for tithes, from which one quarter was to be set aside for the following year's crop. From the remainder of the harvest, Paulet calculated that his household would consume 6 bushels of wheat each week, or c.38 quarters a year. The same amount of barley would be used in malting, the horses, boars and stalled oxen would consume 4 bushels a week, or 26 quarters a year, of oats, and the poultry would consume half a peck a week, or 1 quarter a year, in oatmeal. Paulet allowed from each year's harvest another c.23 quarters of wheat, 15 quarters of barley and 15 quarters of oats for the provision of his husbandmen and draught animals. This would leave a surplus for the market each year of c.29 quarters of wheat, 7 quarters of barley, and 18 quarters of oats. Besides these staples, small quantities of other crops cultivated on the estate included hemp for harnesses, and vetches and peas to feed livestock. Two bushels of peas were also to be set aside to supplement the diet of the household during lent.

In the five years between 1583–4 and 1587–8 there were sown on average each year approximately 27 quarters of wheat, 26 quarters of oats and 25 quarters of barley, but the actual amount could vary widely, particularly for oats. The amount of wheat sown each year ranged between 21 quarters and 32 quarters, and of barley between 18 quarters and 34 quarters, but oats ranged between 10 quarters and 69 quarters. In addition, in one year there were also sown 9 quarters of dredge, a mixture of oats and barley. Rye was apparently only an occasional crop at Herriard; 5 quarters of rye were sown in 1585, but none is noted in the following years.⁸⁹ During this period Richard Paulet began improving formerly barren ground through the use of marl in order ultimately to convert it to arable land.⁹⁰ A portion of the warren was cleared and sown with wheat by Richard Paulet c.1587, although with little success at first.⁹¹ Nevertheless, c.320 a. of waste ground at Chatterdens, Herriard Deane and the Warren were converted to arable use and enclosed in the late 16th century following an agreement with the freeholders.⁹² Another innovation practised early in the 17th century, and possibly earlier, appears to be the adoption of a five-year course in parts of the demesnes, with the sowing of peas, wheat and barley in successive years, followed by two years of fallow.⁹³ The motivation for Paulet appears to have been to increase the value at which the land could be rented, rather than to increase his own arable production. In 1605, 15 quarters of wheat were sown in the summer and another 25 quarters in the winter, including 9 quarters belonging to tenants, as well as 26 quarters of barley and 26 quarters of oats.⁹⁴ In the year 1606–7, c.35 quarters of wheat and c.32 quarters of oats were sown in the winter months, supplemented by small amounts of vetches, while 25 quarters of barley was sown during the summer.⁹⁵ The manor were plundered by soldiers of the Royalist garrison at Basing House in September 1642, who carried away most of the

⁸⁹ HRO, 44M69/E4/2.

⁹⁰ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/12; 44M69/E4/30/4.

⁹¹ HRO, 44M69/E8/2/1/3.

⁹² HRO, 44M69/F2/14/7–8. Below, Livestock.

⁹³ HRO, 44M69/E4/68.

⁹⁴ HRO, 44M69/E4/2.

⁹⁵ HRO, 44M69/E4/2.

corn grown on the demesnes, which were said subsequently to have lain in waste until the fall of the garrison in 1645.⁹⁶

The demand for wheat to supply the needs of the household remained relatively stable, at 36–40 quarters a year, while the amount sown each year varied between about 20 and 35 quarters a year. In the years immediately after the Restoration, wheat typically represented approximately a quarter and barley approximately a third of the total grain harvested, although the amount harvested between 1664 and 1669 ranged between 60 quarters and 105 quarters a year for wheat, and 90 quarters and 152 quarters a year for barley. The relatively constant amounts required for provisioning the household and for sowing the following year's harvest meant that the amount of corn remaining for the market varied with the annual yield. In 1664–5 the harvest of 105 quarters of wheat produced 44 quarters for the market, but the following year's yield of just 67 quarters left only 8 quarters for the market. Each year about 90% of the barley harvested was set aside either for malting, for the following year's harvest, or for sale, although the proportion in each category could vary from year to year. In 1665–6, when the harvest yielded only 90 quarters of wheat, almost half (43 quarters) was sown the following year, more than a third (33 quarters) was used for malting, and only 6 quarters was brought to market. In the following year, when 156 quarters of barley were harvested, 37 quarters were sown, 61 quarters were malted, and 52 quarters were sold. Oats and peas were the staple feed crops of the stock of the manor, and only occasionally were any excess amounts brought to market for sale, and never in large quantities.⁹⁷ New crops began to be introduced in the parish early in the 18th century, including sainfoin and teasel.⁹⁸

Livestock

In the late 16th century it was claimed that only the freeholders and their tenants had any rights in the commons, following an ancient arrangement whereby the lords of the manor had exchanged their rights in the commons in return for enclosing a portion of the common fields and converting it to demesne land.⁹⁹ This arrangement presumably dated from at least the middle of the 15th century, when the prioress of Wintney complained that her common rights in the parish had been withdrawn by the lord of the manor.¹⁰⁰ By the middle of the 16th century it was accepted that Herriard Grange had no common rights in the parish, despite the marquess of Winchester's failed attempt to common his cattle in the warren.¹⁰¹ Despite this arrangement it was complained in the 1590s that Sir Richard Paulet had exchanged a copyhold tenement for demesne land of much greater value, in order to acquire pasture rights in the commons, and the freeholders complained that he had subsequently put 200–300 sheep into the commons each year, more than they felt the commons could bear.¹⁰² By this date, and probably much earlier, large parts of the common fields had been enclosed and were held in severalty. During the 1580s it was agreed that

⁹⁶ TNA, C 22/414/27.

⁹⁷ HRO, 44M69/E7/3.

⁹⁸ HRO, Inventory of Hugh James, 1725B/040; Inventory of Henry Lewis, 1732AD/063.

⁹⁹ HRO, 44M69/F2/14/7–8.

¹⁰⁰ HRO, 44M69/F2/14/39.

¹⁰¹ HRO, 44M69/F2/14/7–8.

¹⁰² HRO, 44M69/F2/14/7–8.

the stint for those with common rights were three sheep for every acre held in the common fields, or two sheep for every acre held of enclosed land, and six rother beasts or horses for every yardland.¹⁰³ By 1623 the stint in the commons was six rother beasts, three horses, and 60 sheep for every yardland held, or the equivalent rate.¹⁰⁴ Commoners were not permitted to let any part of their stint to anybody without first having offered it to the tenants and freeholders of the manor.¹⁰⁵

During the 16th century the sheep belonging to the lord of the manor were divided into three flocks, one of breeding ewes, one of lambs, and one of castrated wethers, the first two flocks tended by a separate shepherd from the latter. The wethers were usually kept in the commons, whilst the rams, ewes and lambs were folded in the 'ingrounds', enclosed pasture closer to the demesne farm. During the 16th century stock from Herriard frequently passed between it and the Paulet manor of Freefolk, where lady Paulet kept a household.¹⁰⁶ The combined stock of the manors of Herriard and Weston Corbet were let to farmers in 1577, presumably before the Paulets had wrested control of the stock from Puttenham. The two manors together maintained more than 1,000 sheep and 300 lambs, 30 cows and one bull, eight oxen, and five horses, all of which were let together with 116 a. of arable land to support them, for a rent of £100.¹⁰⁷ By the summer of 1587 the stock was firmly in the hands of Richard Paulet, who recorded that there were 579 sheep and 238 lambs on the manor, reduced by death and sales to 486 sheep and 198 lambs and tegs by the following winter.¹⁰⁸ In the summer of 1598 the flock of wethers on the common numbered 266, whilst there were 142 rams and ewes and 208 lambs grazing on the ingrounds, including 131 lambs bought that month at Farley and Ecchinswell, making a total of 616 sheep.¹⁰⁹ When the wethers and adults were sheared they produced 408 fleeces, weighing more than 780 lb (calculated to be 26 tods, at 30 lb a tod).¹¹⁰ In the following year the flock produced over 31 tods of wool.¹¹¹ In the winter of 1605 the flock was a similar size, numbering 627 sheep, including 168 tegs of that spring's birth.¹¹² By the summer of 1609 this number had increased to a total of 961 sheep on the manor, 241 wethers on the common, and 501 sheep and 219 lambs in the ingrounds. Of these, 16 were sent to Freefolk for fattening and 121 were set aside for store, leaving 824 for the following year.¹¹³ In the summer of 1639 there were 519 sheep and 191 lambs, which together produced 32 tods and 16 lb of wool.¹¹⁴

The manor could also support large numbers of cattle and horses, many of which were let out for an annual rent, both to serve as draught animals and for their milk. In the year 1597–8, 63 cows and oxen were let to 26 individuals for a total of

¹⁰³ HRO, 44M69/A1/3/1; 44M69/F2/14/8.

¹⁰⁴ HRO, 44M69/A1/3/13.

¹⁰⁵ HRO, 44M69/A1/3/13.

¹⁰⁶ HRO, 44M69/E4/10.

¹⁰⁷ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/60.

¹⁰⁸ HRO, 44M69/E4/2.

¹⁰⁹ HRO, 44M69/E4/14.

¹¹⁰ HRO, 44M69/E4/13.

¹¹¹ HRO, 44M69/E4/18.

¹¹² HRO, 44M69/E4/2.

¹¹³ HRO, 44M69/E4/6.

¹¹⁴ HRO, 44M69/E6/12/2.

over £30 a year.¹¹⁵ There were 74 head of cattle in the hands of the lord of the manor in 1599, comprising 20 cows, five oxen, two bulls, four fattening beasts, and 24 wainlings; of these, the four fattening beasts, one bull and 12 wainlings were sent to provision lady Paulet's household at Freefolk later that year. Besides these, there were a number of manorial stock let to tenants. One tenant, John Hockley, rented four oxen and four cows from the manor, for a total of £22, as well as 40 sheep and 40 lambs, for another £18, and two mares, for £6. Another 34 cows let to 12 demesnes tenants, for a total of £88, and six oxen and 13 cows rented to foreigners for another £59. There were 18 horses, including colts, stocked on the lord's lands, and two more were let to Hockley for £6.¹¹⁶

The ready access to pasture in the parish is reflected in the large amounts of cattle and sheep recorded in the extant probate records of the 16th and 17th centuries. Of a total of 49 extant probate inventories of the parish dating from between 1549 and 1732, 44 recorded possession of some livestock. Of these, 39 had at least one head of cattle (including two with no sheep), and 35 had sheep (including four without any cattle). Although not every inventory recorded a figure for the number of cattle or the amount of sheep, the amount of livestock held by each individual ranged widely, varying between one and 20 cows, and two and 280 sheep per person. Excluding those who had none, there were on average five cows and 54 sheep per individual, with a median average of four cows and 32 sheep each. The inventories suggest that the abundant commons and pasture within the parish enabled even relatively humble parishioners to keep large amounts of livestock. Of the 34 inventories dating from before the English Civil War, 17 were valued at less than £20, including six worth under £10. Twelve of these 17 inventories recorded cows, including three with three or more cows, and 13 recorded sheep, including ten with ten or more sheep, of which five parishioners had at least 20 sheep and one had 50 sheep or more. The possessions of six of these 17 parishioners were valued at less than £10, but even amongst this group four had at least one cow and the same number had at least one sheep, including three who had at least ten sheep, one of whom had more than 20 sheep. Only four of the 15 inventories proved after the Restoration were valued at under £20, but of these two recorded three cows or more, and two recorded at least one sheep, including one with ten sheep or more.

Even those with little or no land could keep several beasts. Nine of the 49 inventories from the parish recorded possession of livestock with no reference to land or crops in a barn. If the inventory of Elizabeth Hall is excluded, whose six head of cattle and 49 sheep amounted to £28, more than a third of the total value of her inventory, the other eight inventories that recorded livestock and no land or crops were all worth less than £20, including four worth less than £10. Two of these, the vicar Lewis Thomas (d. 1584) and William Simes (d. 1728), kept no cattle or sheep and only a couple of pigs, although the vicar also kept a horse worth £4, as befitted his status.¹¹⁷ Of the remaining six, all kept at least one head of cattle, and all but one also kept sheep. Lawrence Wilkins had one cow and 40 sheep when he died in 1562, and Richard Elkins had four head of cattle and 21 sheep in 1594.¹¹⁸ Several more parishioners with only small quantities of land sown with crops or harvested grain in store also kept large numbers of livestock. Thomas Clement had 2½ a. sown

¹¹⁵ HRO, 44M69/E4/12.

¹¹⁶ HRO, 44M69/E4/16.

¹¹⁷ HRO, Inventory of Lewis Thomas, 1584B/086; Inventory of William Simes, 1728A/110.

¹¹⁸ HRO, Inventory of Lawrence Wilkins, 1562A/064; Inventory of Richard Elkins, 1594A/039.

with wheat and two cows and 56 sheep; Richard Barling held 1½ a. sown with oats, together with 37 sheep and lambs; John Wareham, who had 2 a. sown with wheat and vetches, owned eight head of cattle and 20 sheep; Robert Rivers had 1 a. of wheat and 10 sheep.¹¹⁹ The goods of Nicholas Lipscombe, proved in 1601, included only small quantities of grain, comprising one quarter of barley, 6 bushels of malt and 12 bushels of oats, with four cows and 73 sheep.¹²⁰

At the other end of the social spectrum, eight inventories were valued at £100 or more, including six worth at least £200. One of these, the spinster Elizabeth Hyde, left no stock amongst her possessions.¹²¹ Of the remaining seven wealthy parishioners, at least six held three head of cattle or more, including three with at least ten head of cattle. The widow Mary Dallman of Herriard Grange left 13 head of cattle when she died in 1705,¹²² and her son Ambrose left 20 when he died two years later.¹²³ Although the inventory of Nathaniel Hide, proved in 1675, did not record the number of cattle kept on his farm, at a value of £51 the herd must have been of a significant size, far exceeding the value even of Ambrose Dallman's 20 head of cattle, which had been priced at £35.¹²⁴ These wealthy parishioners kept large numbers of sheep, with the four for whom a figure was recorded owning between 115 and 280 sheep, an average of 195 sheep. Of the three remaining inventories for which no number of sheep was recorded, all had between £45 and £61 of sheep, suggesting between 150 and 300 sheep each.¹²⁵

With so many keeping sheep in the parish, there were also numerous references to wool or yarn in the probate records of the parish. In total, 14 of the 49 inventories refer to wool, ranging from 2 lb of wool and 6 lb of course wool, worth a total of 5s., in the possession of the labourer John Fry in 1626,¹²⁶ to the yeoman Henry Lewis' stock of wool, amounting to £8 in total. John Hale had over 3 tods of wool (c.90 lb), worth £4, and Lawrence Wilkins left 32 fleeces, weighing one tod and three nails (c.50 lb) and valued at £1 11s.¹²⁷ Wilkins also had 20 lb of yarn, worth 15s., whilst John Wyse had 4 yd of russet cloth, worth 5s.,¹²⁸ and John Fielder had a total of 12 yd of cloth, in three different colours, worth £1 12s. 8d.¹²⁹ This yarn and cloth, together with the six inventories that record spinning wheels and the three which included cloth cards, are presumably evidence of a putting-out system, cottage-based industry to produce and finish woollen cloth.¹³⁰ Despite the large number of cattle in the parish, there is little evidence of dairying for the market. Few

¹¹⁹ HRO, Inventory of Thomas Clement, 1578B/025; Inventory of Richard Barling, 1584B/005; Inventory of John Wareham, 1586A/086; Inventory of Robert Rivers, 1664A/080.

¹²⁰ HRO, Inventory of Nicholas Lipscombe, 1601A/049.

¹²¹ HRO, Inventory of Elizabeth Hyde, 1678AD/062.

¹²² HRO, Inventory of Mary Dallman, 1705A/025.

¹²³ HRO, Inventory of Ambrose Dallman, 1707AD/058.

¹²⁴ HRO, Inventory of Nathaniel Hide, 1675A/051.

¹²⁵ HRO, Inventory of Nathaniel Hide, 1675A/051; Inventory of Mary Dallman, 1705A/025; Inventory of Henry Lewis, 1732AD/063.

¹²⁶ HRO, Inventory of John Fry, 1626AD/053.

¹²⁷ HRO, Inventory of John Hale, 1603B/024.

¹²⁸ HRO, Inventory of John Wyse, 1570B/195.

¹²⁹ HRO, Inventory of John Fielder, 1625AD/048.

¹³⁰ HRO, Inventory of William Hyde, 1549U/033; Inventory of Thomas Howell alias Cox, 1557U/046; Inventory of Thomas Clement, 1578B/025; Inventory of Richard Barling, 1584B/005; Inventory of Owen Hall, 1590A/040; Inventory of 1682/064.

inventories record large amounts of cheese or butter, with only three inventories recording significant quantities of either. William Hayes' 37 cheese in 1603 were valued at £1, in the same year John Hale left an unspecified quantity of butter and cheese, together worth £1 10s., and in 1675 Nathaniel Hide's 300 cheeses were valued at £5 13s. 6d.¹³¹ The large quantity of beef and bacon, worth over £14, left by Mary Dallman in 1705 is presumably evidence of the size of her household at Herriard Grange rather than meat produced for the market.¹³² Two parishioners also kept bees.¹³³

Modern farming

From the late 17th century there was a tendency towards dividing most of the land between a handful of large farms. The first of these was Manor or West farm, known initially as 'Taplins' after its first tenant, established in 1677 with a substantial new farmhouse and 360 a. of land.¹³⁴ East farm was established 20 years later.¹³⁵ In 1793 West farm, East farm, and Lee farm comprised between 300 and 400 a. each, three more farms comprised between 150 a. and 200 a. each, and another four estates amounted to under 100 a., including two less than 20 a. in size.¹³⁶ In the same year, George Purefoy Jervoise calculated the demesnes to comprise 139 a., 55 a. of arable, 35 a. of meadow, 39 a. of pasture, and almost 9 a. of gardens surrounding the house.¹³⁷ Of this, 49 a. of arable was intended to be converted into pasture in 1793, and the remainder into a coppice.¹³⁸

By the late 18th century the Jervoise family were no longer keeping large numbers of sheep permanently on the manor, instead purchasing sheep to fatten up before selling them again later in the year at a profit. In 1793–4 63 wether sheep were purchased, including 30 at Britford, for a total value of £62. In the same period, the flock produced 3 tods and 17 lb of wool, worth over £4, and sold 62 wether sheep for a total of £88. In 1797 Jervoise purchased 60 sheep, all of which he sold for a profit of just £6, which may explain why he did not purchase sheep in the following years. Two years later Jervoise sold ten oxen, a cow and a calf for £163, whilst beef, milk and butter raised another £20. Rents for cattle grazing raised another £47, and hay for stabling another £57, which left profits of over £180. Even greater profits were achieved in 1800, when 45 tonnes of hay was sold for £284.¹³⁹ An inventory of the stock belonging to Jervoise in 1816 recorded one bull, ten cows and two calves, 199 wether sheep, ten ewes, seven lambs and one ram; four ewes and four lambs were merino sheep, the rest South Down. The wool of 205 South Down sheep had produced 20 tods of wool, worth £40, and five merino ewes another

¹³¹ HRO, Inventory of William Hayes, 1603AD/027; Inventory of John Hale, 1603B/024; Inventory of Nathaniel Hide, 1675A/051.

¹³² HRO, Inventory of Mary Dallman, 1705A/025.

¹³³ HRO, Inventory of Thomas Clement, 1578B/025; Inventory of John Hale, 1603B/024.

¹³⁴ HRO, 44M69/D1/6/H1-2; 44M69/E7/17.

¹³⁵ HRO, 44M69/D1/6/M48; 44M69/E2/52.

¹³⁶ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/37.

¹³⁷ HRO, 44M69/E13/1/1.

¹³⁸ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/43.

¹³⁹ HRO, 44M69/E13/1/1.

20 lb of wool, worth £4. Besides the sheep and cattle, 120 tonnes of meadow grass, 12 tonnes of clover and 4 tonnes of sainfoin were together worth £666.¹⁴⁰

Writing in 1838, the tithe commissioner remarked upon the widely differing quality of soil within the parish, although he found the clay not as stiff there as that found to the north of Basingstoke. Despite observing a lack of any particular examples of ‘high farming’ he thought the land well cultivated, also noting the ‘true enterprising spirit prevailing amongst the farmers’ in the parish. There were at that time 1,343 a. of arable land, of which one-quarter was sown with wheat, one-quarter with oats, one-quarter with seeds, and the remainder lay fallow. Another 736 a. were meadow land, of which 200 a. was mown and the rest grazed upon, and there were 424 a. of woodland. The commons then measured 257 a.¹⁴¹ By the time of the tithe award, East farm had been taken back in hand and its land thrown into the park, which now occupied a quarter of the parish. George Purefoy Jervoise then held a total of 842 a. in hand, comprising 510 a. of woodland, 179 a. of common and 139 a. of pasture, with no arable land. Most of the rest of the Jervoise land in the parish was divided between two large farms, West farm (606 a.) and Lee farm (570 a.), and two medium-sized farms, Hyde’s farm (237 a.) and Hale farm (153 a.). Lord Bolton’s land was divided between Grange farm, measuring 138 a., another 69 a. that was let to his kinsman Revd John Orde, the rector of Winslade, some 67 a. which remained in his own hands, and 23 a. that were let to the tenant of West farm. Of the remaining small freehold only three – Botilds farm (57 a.), Lipscombe farm (41 a.), and Richard Wise’s farm (28 a.) were larger than 20 a. Four smallholdings, formed of a mix of freehold and leasehold land, each measured less than 20 a.¹⁴² During the second half of the 19th century the Jervoise family purchased much of the outstanding parish not already in the possession. The most substantial of these acquisitions was Herriard Grange, purchased from the trustees of the Bolton estates in 1851.¹⁴³ Botilds farm, amounting to 56 a., had preceded it in 1849,¹⁴⁴ and Hale farm and Lipscombe farm both followed in 1855.¹⁴⁵ Several smaller estates were added in the later part of the century.

By the late 19th century the wheat, oats, and fodder crops dominated arable land use in Herriard. Land farmed in the parish in 1867 was sown with wheat (40s a.), oats (292 a.), cabbage, kohlraby and rape (360 a.), turnips (283 a.), and vetches (131 a.), with smaller quantities of barley (55 a.), peas (23 a.), mangold (12 a.), potatoes (1 a.). Another 338 a. lay under clover, 94 a. lay fallow, and there were 762 a. of permanent pasture land in the parish, providing grazing for 86 head of cattle, 2,602 sheep and lambs, and 245 pigs.¹⁴⁶ At the same time, the estate was investing in agricultural improvement, for instance through the employment of agricultural engines by 1881, to which had been added a traction engine by 1891.¹⁴⁷ Towards the end of the century, there appears to have been an increased focus upon dairying in the parish. Home farm was stocked with shorthorn dairy cattle in 1883.¹⁴⁸ Until the

¹⁴⁰ HRO, 44M69/E13/1/23.

¹⁴¹ TNA, IR 18/9021.

¹⁴² HRO, 21M65/F7/115/1–2.

¹⁴³ HRO, 44M69/D1/6/K1; 44M69/D1/6/M3.

¹⁴⁴ HRO, 44M69/D1/6/M18.

¹⁴⁵ HRO, 44M69/D1/6/M4, 19.

¹⁴⁶ TNA, MAF 68/128/3.

¹⁴⁷ Census, 1881; 1891.

¹⁴⁸ *Hants. Chronicle*, 1 Sep. 1883.

1890s, milk produced in the parish was taken to London, presumably by train from Basingstoke, but a modern cheese-making dairy was established at Manor farm in 1892, with the intention of converting all of the excess milk produced by the farm into cheese.¹⁴⁹ This change of focus presumably explains the dramatic shift in land use by 1899, with a fall in the amount of arable to 754 a., less than half the land sown with crops as there had been in 1867, and an increase of pasture to a total of 1,543 a. There had been a fourfold increase in the number of cattle kept in the parish, to a total of 324 head of cattle, whilst sheep farming was significantly in decline, with a total of 420 in the parish. There were also less than half the number of pigs, 114 in total, than there had been in 1867. Wheat (219 a.) and oats (201 a.) remained the two principal corn crops, with smaller amounts of peas (18 a.), barley (16 a.) and rye (5 a.). There had been a significant reduction in the amount of fodder crops cultivated, with only turnips (130 a.), vetches (26 a.) and mangold (19 a.) measuring more than 10 a.¹⁵⁰

By 1925 there were ten farms or smallholdings in total, of which two were larger than 300 a. each, four more measured between 150 a. and 300 a., and the remaining four were all less than 50 a. each, including one with less than 5 a. Together, these holdings provided regular employment for 33 men and 16 boys, and casual work for one man and three women. By this date, there had been a further reduction in the amount of arable and pasture, of c.100 a. each, by 1925, suggesting that both were being converted to rough grazing or woodlands. This supported 363 head of cattle and 576 sheep and lambs, although there had been a fall in the number of pigs to 46. Wheat (171 a.) and oats (176 a.) remained the two main corn crops, with 75 a. of barley and 3 a. of rye. As well as turnips (60 a.), vetches (40 a.), cabbages and rape (22 a.), mangold (21 a.), and potatoes (1 a.), there were 23 a. of mustard growing for seed. An acre of orchard was planted with apple, pear, cherry and plum trees.¹⁵¹

During the Second World War there were nine farms and holdings in the parish, three were larger than 300 a., two were between 150 a. and 300 a., and three were between 50 a. and 150 a., and one small holding had less than 20 a. All of the holdings engaged in mixed farming to a greater or lesser extent, but only on three of the largest farms was there a significant amount of arable land. At least two-fifths of the land of each of Manor farm (544 a.), Lee farm (334 a.), and Hyde farm (298 a.) were sown with corn crops, together representing almost three-quarters of all of the arable land in 1943. Wheat (310 a.) and oats (255 a.) remained the principal crops, with smaller amounts of mixed grain (71 a.), barley (30 a.), rye (13 a.) and beans (3 a.). Besides small quantities of root vegetables and fodder crops, the remaining arable crops included 8 a. of flax and 4 a. of maize at Manor farm, and 7 a. of mustard at Lee farm. There were by this time 490 head of cattle in the parish, with all but the smallholding having at least 30 head of cattle, and the four largest farms each having between 60 and 90 head of cattle. By comparison there were very few sheep or pigs, with the 202 sheep at Home farm the only sizeable flock, and a total of 26 pigs kept in the parish. Lee farm had 1,200 poultry birds, and Hyde farm almost 500, whilst both Manor farm and Park farm had 200 poultry birds or more. The farms provided regular employment for 16 men, four boys and two women, and casual employment for one more boy. Only two of the farmers in the parish were rated as

¹⁴⁹ *Hants. & Barks. Gazette*, 3 Sep. 1892.

¹⁵⁰ TNA, MFA 68/1781/14.

¹⁵¹ TNA, MAF 68/3242/4.

Grade A by the Ministry of Agriculture, with others criticised for lack of experience, lack of capital, or laziness.¹⁵²

Woodland management

The parish has probably always been heavily wooded,¹⁵³ and wood and timber would have represented a valuable resource for the lords of the manors. Despite this Domesday Book made only passing reference to it, recording that there was woodland for fencing without giving any indication of its quantity or value.¹⁵⁴ The manor of Herriard was described in 1366 as containing 100 a. of woodland.¹⁵⁵ Hen Wood has probably always been cultivated as coppices, and the wood growing in the western portion of the wood was sold in 1390 to one Hugo Barkscale of Basingstoke for 12s.¹⁵⁶

Medieval deeds attest to the possession of several parcels of woodland by some of the tenants in Herriard as well, which whilst smaller than the demesne woodlands would nevertheless have represented valuable resources to their owners.¹⁵⁷ Woodlands referred to in the 13th century include *Botildesowde*, which stood between the park and a field called *la Rude*,¹⁵⁸ and woods belonging to the Bovile, Lee and Herriard families.¹⁵⁹ *Inglaisewode*, referred to in the middle of the 14th century, was named for the Ingelay family of the previous century.¹⁶⁰ Early in the 15th century a grove of wood called *Pottersgrove*, the former possession of the Fuges family, was granted by the lord to William Luyde,¹⁶¹ whose descendants held it still in the 16th century.¹⁶² Matts copse, comprising 60 a. on the common, also occurs from the 16th century,¹⁶³ but presumably refers to the woodland held by William le Math in the 13th century.¹⁶⁴

Accounts from the late of the 16th century onwards reveal the value of woodland resources to the lords of the manor. Hen Wood was said to measure 200 a. in 1577, when it was let to a tenant for the hedging,¹⁶⁵ whilst in 1583 the demesne underwood was said to measure 178 a.¹⁶⁶ Sales of underwood and timber from Hen Wood were worth a total of c.£33 a year in 1582 and again in 1583. The value of wood sold on the manor fell in the following year to c.£27, comprising underwood from Hen Wood, timber from Forfields and the Warren, bundles of firewood, and ash purchased by ash-burners and shovel makers.¹⁶⁷ The sale of hedge wood, worth

¹⁵² TNA, MAF 32/980/68.

¹⁵³ Above, Agricultural Landscape.

¹⁵⁴ *Domesday*, 108.

¹⁵⁵ HRO, 44M69/C276.

¹⁵⁶ HRO, 44M69/C194.

¹⁵⁷ HRO, 44M69/C341, 351, 353, 362.

¹⁵⁸ HRO, 44M69/C341.

¹⁵⁹ HRO, 44M69/C318, 351, 353, 362, 686.

¹⁶⁰ HRO, 44M69/C90, 114–5, 319, 323, 340.

¹⁶¹ HRO, 44M69/C438.

¹⁶² HRO, 44M69/D1/6/M25–28.

¹⁶³ HRO, 44M69/F2/14/23; 44M69/P1/106.

¹⁶⁴ HRO, 44M69/C26, 353.

¹⁶⁵ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/60.

¹⁶⁶ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/2.

¹⁶⁷ HRO, 44M69/E4/1.

less than other forms of wood, nevertheless raised more than £3 in 1590.¹⁶⁸ The amount of coppiced wood set aside for sale varied from year to year. A total of 10½ a. of coppiced wood was sold from Hen Wood in 1598 raising a total of c.£25, whilst another 2½ a. of coppiced wood in Honeylease Coppice was sold for almost £6, with small amounts also received for ash purchased by a wheelwright, and for hedge wood.¹⁶⁹ Two surveys of the early 17th century estimated that the woodland belonging to the demesne amounted to 215 a.,¹⁷⁰ whilst there was also a total of 142 a. of coppices and woodlands in the hands of freeholders and their tenants.¹⁷¹ The value of woodland resources remained relatively stable during the first half of the 17th century, with sales of coppice wood, firewood, poles and bark worth £39 in 1622, and £36 in the year 1624.¹⁷² The wood from 6 a. of coppices, with poles, bark and other wood, raised more than £45 in 1639.¹⁷³ Underwood such as this continued to represent the bulk of the wood sold on the manor, but occasional sales of large amounts of timber could generate large profits, such as the 200 oaks felled in Henwood and 50 in Honeylease Coppice in 1634, sold for £180.¹⁷⁴

The felling of 820 timber trees in 1700, comprising 428 ash, 376 oaks and six beech trees, also reveals the principal species of timber trees at that time.¹⁷⁵ From the year 1722, large numbers of trees were planted each year across the parish, numbering more than 3,300 in 1722, over 1,300 in 1723, and more than 2,700 in 1724, including 499 planted along the parish boundary at Herriard common, and over 4,000 in 1725. Of the species planted during these years, ash dominated, comprising two-thirds or more of the trees planted in each year. Other species planted at Herriard in the early 18th century included traditional standards, such as beech, elm, and oak, as well as horse chestnut, lime, silver fir, and spruce fir.¹⁷⁶ In 1770 Hen Wood was divided into 20 sections, ranging in size between 1 a. and 25 a., the oldest wood not having been cut since 1727. Six small compartments, measuring between 1 a. and 2 a., were set aside for the provision of wood to the tenants, with the wood from one of the six being cut each year in rotation.¹⁷⁷ When a survey was made in 1773 of the timber trees on Herriard common, there was found to be a total of almost 4,500 trees there, all of which were said to have been planted in the years 1723–40.¹⁷⁸

From the late 18th century onwards, the Herriard woodlands were managed together with those at Tunworth and Lasham, so it is not always possible to distinguish Herriard from its neighbours. The coppice-with-standards system was introduced into northern Hampshire in the early 18th century, but it appears not to

¹⁶⁸ HRO, 44M69/E4/5.

¹⁶⁹ HRO, 44M69/E4/15.

¹⁷⁰ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/15.

¹⁷¹ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/9.

¹⁷² HRO, 44M69/E6/167.

¹⁷³ HRO, 44M69/E6/15.

¹⁷⁴ HRO, 44M69/E6/14.

¹⁷⁵ HRO, 44M69/E8/2/6.

¹⁷⁶ HRO, 44M69/E6/167.

¹⁷⁷ HRO, 44M69/P1/109.

¹⁷⁸ HRO, 44M69/E11/101.

have been adopted at Herriard until much later in the century.¹⁷⁹ Until then, timber and coppice wood had been grown separately, particularly where the timber was beech. In 1794 the close at Lower Cowdreys was cleared before being planted with 8,000 ash trees and two bushels of hazel nuts, the only clear record of the adoption of coppice-with-standards in the parish, although a century later Francis H. T. Jervoise remarked on the widespread nature of the system throughout the parish.¹⁸⁰ Revenues from the estate's woodlands steadily rose across the final decade of the 18th century. In 1792 a total of £245 was raised from the sale of timber and coppice wood, although much of the latter was growing in Tunworth. Of the 25 a. of coppice wood sold that year, only 11 a. were growing in Herriard, although it was of greater value than the wood growing in Tunworth, raising £116 of the £205 total. To this was added another £40 for timber from an ash plantation.¹⁸¹ The following year's sales represented a significant increase in revenue, with total sales worth £548. This revenue comprised £119 from the sale of ash, oak and fir timber, £248 for 22 a. of coppice wood, £131 for 80 loads of bark, and £50 for poles and faggots of wood.¹⁸² Trees felled on the estate in 1794 included 396 oaks standing in Herriard and Tunworth, worth £470, and ash, elm and fir, worth £101, whilst c.26 a. of coppice were sold for £198, an annual revenue of £769. Another 49 oaks were also felled in Herriard and Tunworth that year for Jervoise's own household's use.¹⁸³ The value of wood sold in 1795 exceeded £1,000, two-thirds of which was paid for the timber of 710 oak trees. Ash, elms, and two chestnut trees were also felled.¹⁸⁴ The revenues from the estate's woodlands exceeded £1,000 again in 1796, when oaks, ash, elms, and beech were felled.¹⁸⁵

From the end of the 18th century an increasing diversification of tree species is also apparent. Over the 1790s sales of fir timber gradually became more significant, raising £83 in 1797.¹⁸⁶ The annual timber auction of 1810 included not only the usual ash and beech trees, but also 32 walnut trees standing in various locations in Herriard, sold for a total of £195.¹⁸⁷ Sales of timber in 1819 included small amounts of lime trees.¹⁸⁸ The tithe award of 1840 revealed the extent to which the valuable woodlands of the parish remained almost an exclusive preserve of the two principal landowners. Of a total of almost 650 a. of woodland or plantations in the parish, 510 a. was kept in hand by the Jervoise family, whilst the duke of Bolton owned another 85 a. Some 400 a. were growing in coppices or plantations of 10 a. or larger in area, of which the largest was still Hen Wood at 180 a. Another 66 a. of woodland were growing in rows between the fields, distributed across the parish and each measuring less than 2 a. in area.¹⁸⁹ The woodland of Herriard remained a

¹⁷⁹ A. Albery, 'Woodland Management in Hampshire, 900 to 1815', *Rural History* 22 (2011), 171–2; idem, unpublished history of Herriard woods (I am grateful to Mr. J. Jervoise for providing me with a copy of this).

¹⁸⁰ HRO, 44M69E1/1/56.

¹⁸¹ HRO, 44M69/E13/5/2/1.

¹⁸² HRO, 44M69/E13/5/2/2.

¹⁸³ HRO, 44M69/E13/5/3/1–2.

¹⁸⁴ HRO, 44M69/E13/5/4/1–2.

¹⁸⁵ HRO, 44M69/E13/5/5.

¹⁸⁶ HRO, 44M69/E13/5/6–7.

¹⁸⁷ HRO, 44M69/E13/5/19.

¹⁸⁸ HRO, 44M69/E13/5/28.

¹⁸⁹ HRO, 21M65/F7/115/1.

valuable resource late in the 19th century. In the first five years of the 1880s sales of wood grown on the Herriard estate, which still included some woodlands in neighbouring parishes, ranged in value between a low of £636 in 1883–4 and a peak of £1,365 in 1884–5. Oak, beech and ash still predominated, with smaller amounts of elm, and an occasional tree of another species, including horse chestnut and sycamore.¹⁹⁰

A detailed view of the state of woodlands in the parish early in the 20th century is provided by a survey undertaken by Francis H. T. Jervoise in advance of the introduction of a new scheme for the estate. At that time the existing forest growth was described as consisting mostly of hazel coppice interspersed with standards of oak and ash, except in a few places which were dominated instead by beech. Smaller amounts of larch and silver fir were also identified, and all five of these species were to be continued in the future, with the addition of spruce in a few places. Besides neglect, the survey identified rabbits and weeds, in particular blackthorns, as the two principal threats to the estate's profits. In order to achieve a fixed and sustainable annual income, it was proposed that the shelterwood compartment system be adopted for the regeneration and improvement of the estate's woodlands, by which the young crop is nurtured and grown under the shelter of existing adult trees.¹⁹¹ Presumably under this scheme, a large new plantation, comprising c.27 a., was laid out in the first decade of the 20th century at Forfield in the north of the parish.¹⁹²

In 1904–5 sale of the estate's timber raised £650 and underwood another £144, contributing towards total revenues worth £890, although expenses of £371 reduced the profits to £519.¹⁹³ Sales of wood for the Herriard estate were worth a total of £885 in 1915–6, including £629 for the sale of oak, ash, beech and elm timber, and £102 for the sale of underwood. Against this must be set total costs of £458, reducing the profits from the estate's woodlands in that year to £427.¹⁹⁴ Revenues from the estate's woodlands had greatly increased by the middle of the century. Sales of timber in early 1948 raised a total of £1,146, although only 55 of the oak trees felled, worth £219, were grown in Herriard. The underwood sold in late 1947 was worth a total of £519, whilst the sale of firewood, poles, hurdles and other bundles of wood was also of significant value to the estate. The total value of wood sold or supplied to the use of the estate amounted in total to £3,950 in 1947–8. Besides ash, beech, and oak, other species grown commercially on the estate included cedar, chestnut, Douglas fir, larch, Scots pine, silver fir, and spruce.¹⁹⁵ By the later years of the century declining demand for wood impacted Herriard, and by 1984 ancient woodlands were partially grubbed up at Brick Kiln Copse, Great Matts Copse, and High Wood.¹⁹⁶

Industry, Crafts and Trade

¹⁹⁰ HRO, 44M69/E14/2.

¹⁹¹ HRO, 44M69/E1/1/56.

¹⁹² OS Map, 25", Hants XXVI.4 (1910 edn).

¹⁹³ HRO, 44M69/E17/8, pp. 73–8.

¹⁹⁴ HRO, 44M69/E17/19.

¹⁹⁵ HRO, 44M69/E17/5, fos 10–26.

¹⁹⁶ OS Map, 1:10,000 (1984 edn).

Whilst most parishioners were engaged in agricultural occupations, before the 19th century there is ample evidence of individuals employed in traditional rural crafts, including blacksmiths,¹⁹⁷ carpenters,¹⁹⁸ cordwainers,¹⁹⁹ tailors,²⁰⁰ and wheelwrights.²⁰¹ Of the 129 men aged 20 or above in the parish in 1831, 16 were employed in retail, trade or a handicraft.²⁰² There were three wheelwrights' shops and two blacksmiths' shops in 1840.²⁰³ Two decades later the parish could support three blacksmiths, four carpenters and wheelwrights, with one apprentice, two shoemakers, two tile and brick makers, and four bricklayers.²⁰⁴ The Lawes brothers established the Southrope Steam Works c.1878, cutting their own wood, making carts and wagons, and undertaking general smithery and carpentry.²⁰⁵ There was an individual making agricultural implement by 1901.²⁰⁶

A brick works was established on Herriard common c.1742,²⁰⁷ perhaps that which gave its name to Brick Kiln Copse, near East Common. Another brick kiln was erected c.1798 at Nash's Green.²⁰⁸ Neither were marked on a map of 1840, presumably having fallen into disuse before that date.²⁰⁹ A brickworks, with a kiln and clay pit, had been established at East Common by 1871, but it was said to be disused by 1894.²¹⁰

A sawmill and timberyard were established at Manor Farm by 1891, apparently equipped with a steam-powered saw by 1901.²¹¹ The site remains in operation in 2022, having become a commercial sawmill and timberyard c.1990.²¹² Since the late 20th century, a number of other estate buildings have been let to commercial tenants, taking advantage of the proximity of the parish to Basingstoke. Besides the timberyard, other businesses based in Herriard in 2022 included a cabinet maker,²¹³ a cheese maker,²¹⁴ a joiner,²¹⁵ a sofa shop,²¹⁶ and a used car dealership.²¹⁷

Businesses with a focus on environmental services and the production of sustainable energy were established at Bushywarren Lane in the early 21st century.

¹⁹⁷ HRO, 1586A/94; 1734A/098.

¹⁹⁸ HRO, 21M65/E13/1798; 44M69/D1/6/D1; 44M69/E2/3, 6, 19; 1686B/27.

¹⁹⁹ HRO, 44M69/G3/394; 1803AD/18.

²⁰⁰ HRO, 44M69/E2/30; 44M69/F2/14/17.

²⁰¹ HRO, 12M49/A37/3; 1592B/61; 1754AD/19.

²⁰² *Abstract Population Returns of Great Britain, 1831* (Parl. Papers, 1833 (149), xxxvi), pp. 566–7.

²⁰³ HRO, 21M65/F7/115/1.

²⁰⁴ Census, 1861.

²⁰⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Hants.*, (1885, 1889, 1898 edns).

²⁰⁶ Census, 1871; 1901.

²⁰⁷ HRO, 44M69/E10/38.

²⁰⁸ HRO, 44M69/E13/3/17.

²⁰⁹ HRO, 21M65/F7/115/2.

²¹⁰ OS Map, 6", Hants. XXVII.SW (1871, 1897 edns).

²¹¹ Census, 1891, 1901; OS Map, 6", Hants. XXVII.SW (1897 edn.).

²¹² *AVS Basingstoke*, <https://www.avsfencing.co.uk/branch/avs-basingstoke> (accessed 30 May 2022).

²¹³ *F.B. Design*, <https://www.fbdesign.co.uk> (accessed 30 May 2022).

²¹⁴ *Hampshire Cheese Company*, <https://hampshirecheesecompany.co.uk> (accessed 30 May 2022).

²¹⁵ *Chipandell*, <http://www.chipandell.co.uk> (accessed 30 May 2022).

²¹⁶ *Sofas and Stuff*, <https://sofasandstuff.com/showrooms/basingstoke-hampshire> (accessed 30 May 2022).

²¹⁷ *Bagmore Car Sales*, <https://bagmorecarsales.co.uk> (accessed 30 May 2022).

An anaerobic digestion plant was established to convert food waste into gas and fertiliser. Next door, a composting business converts green waste into fertiliser. A solar park constructed in a neighbouring field stands in Ellisfield parish.

There was a shop in the village in 1865,²¹⁸ and a shop with a bakery was established by 1871, still trading in the middle of the 20th century.²¹⁹ A coal merchant and haulage business established at the New Inn by 1911,²²⁰ had apparently added petrol and oil sales by 1939.²²¹ A petrol station was erected south of the inn in the later 20th century,²²² but has since been demolished.

²¹⁸ *Harrod's Dir. Hants.* (1865 edn.).

²¹⁹ Census, 1871, 1901; *White's Dir. Hants.* (1878 edn.); *Kelly's Dir. Hants.* (1898, 1927 edns); TNA, RG 101/2371H, p. 5; Owen White, unpublished history of Herriard, c.2002.

²²⁰ Census, 1911.

²²¹ HRO, 63M83/B30/23.

²²² OS Map.