

CHILDREN OF ST MICHAEL'S WORKHOUSE

ST ALBANS

BY

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CHILDREN OF ST MICHAEL'S WORKHOUSE, ST ALBANS

In memory of the children of St Michael's workhouse, including my great-great-grandmother, Mary, who was baptised Chamkin in 1820, but was also known as Champion and Piggott. Also of Mary's mother, Esther, who died in St Michael's workhouse in 1823, aged 32, cause unknown.

Introduction

This is the story of some of the children who lived in St Michael's workhouse, St Albans, in the early nineteenth century. Too often the lives of the poor go unrecorded or misrecorded and they just vanish without trace. Eleanor Truwert, in her interesting paper on the operation of the Old Poor Law in St Michael's, comments that the workhouse records give a "tantalising glimpse of the ordinary labouring poor".¹ The following is an attempt to reconstruct the lives of a few of them.

During the period under consideration, the population of St Michael's parish ranged from around 1,300 in 1816 to 2,000 in 1841², with the principal sources of employment being agriculture for males and the straw plait trade for females. The history of St Michael's parish and workhouse has already been written and is not repeated here.³ This is simply the story of some of the children who lived there.

Neither is this the place for a history of the Poor Law. For the purposes of this paper it is sufficient to remember that under the Old Poor Law, which operated until 1834, each parish was responsible for its own poor, and many had their own parish workhouse, like St Michael. More precisely, each parish was responsible only for those who had legal right of settlement in that parish, as specified by settlement laws. Every person had a place of legal settlement, which was determined at birth and only changed in certain specific circumstances, such as when a woman acquired her husband's place of legal settlement on marriage. If someone living in a parish, without legal right of settlement there, became 'chargeable', ie applied for relief, they could be forcibly removed to the parish in which they did have legal right of settlement. It is sobering to recall that settlement laws, while much amended, were not finally abolished until 1948.

The Children

There are few records of the inhabitants of St Michael's workhouse. But in the early nineteenth century, workhouse inventories were compiled in 1816, 1819, 1821, and 1827, when agreements were made with workhouse contractors. Strictly speaking it was not people that were being recorded, but workhouse furniture and possessions, including the clothing of the inmates. Nevertheless, these inventories, together with another list compiled in 1829, contain the names of the people living in the workhouse at that time, and form the starting point of this study.⁴

Children recorded on Workhouse lists of 1816, 1819, 1821, 1827, and 1829

Boys		Girls	
Anstead/ Anstey, Daniel	1816, 19, 21	Freeman, Hannah	1819
Anstead, George	1816	Freeman, Sophia	1819
Anstead/ Anstey, Thomas	1816, 19	Gazely, Elizabeth	1819
Champion, George	1819, 21	Gazely, Mary	1816, 19
Cordwell, Thomas	1819	Grange, Hannah	1816
Freeman, James	1819	Grey, Elizabeth	1816
Gower, Thomas	1819	Hawes/ Hall, Keziah	1821, 27, 29
Gower, William	1819	Hawes/ Hall, Maria	1821, 27, 29
Grange, Francis	1816	Hedges, Ann	1819, 21, (29?)
Hedges, William	1821, 27, 29	Humphreys, Frances	1827
Hill, George	1816, 19, 21	Humphrys, Mary Ann	1827
Holland	1829	Keirs	1829
Holland	1829	Keirs	1829
Howard	1829	Mold, Elizabeth	1819
Piggott, George (may be same as George Champion)	1827	Piggott, Elizabeth	1816, 19, 21, 27
Red, Caleb	1816	Piggott, Mary	1821, 27, 29
Red/ Redd, Charles	1816, 19, 21	Woodwards, Ann	1816
Red/ Redd, Stephen	1816, 19, 21	Woodwards, Elizabeth	1816
Roson/ Ronson, Thomas	1819, 21		
Roson, William	1819		
Woodwards, James	1816		

The complete list of inmates, including adults, is given in Appendix 1.

Not much care was taken to record names accurately, so that the same people are recorded by different surnames at different times. In most cases this is easy to identify, but some require more interpretation. In 1817, Esther Picket married Joseph Champkin, who died in 1819. In the workhouse Esther was recorded as Piggott before marriage and Champion afterwards. Her children, George and Mary, were baptised Chamkin, but in the workhouse Mary was recorded as Piggott, and in 1819 and 1821, George was recorded as Champion. In 1827, there is no George Champion listed, but there is a George Piggott, who may have been the same person.

People's forenames are also sometimes spelt differently in different records. In this paper, the policy adopted is that where a specific document is being referred to, the same spelling as in the document is used. Where no particular document is being referred to, the spelling used is that which is considered most appropriate in that context.

Taking misrecording into account, the total number of children present in the workhouse when the five lists were compiled is either 38 or 39, with 18 being girls and 20 or 21 boys. During this period, the largest number of children in the workhouse at any one time was 19 (in 1819) and the smallest was 8 (in 1827). Ages are only given in the 1829 list, but in many cases it has been possible to derive ages from other records such as

baptism records and removal orders. Ages ranged from newborn – some were born in the workhouse – to early teens.

An indication of how long the children stayed in the workhouse is given by the number of inventories they appear on. 25 children appear on only one inventory, which suggests that their time in the workhouse may have been relatively brief. Other children stayed for many years, with 10 or 11 appearing on three or more inventories.

Reasons for being in the Workhouse

The first question to consider is why the children were in the workhouse. St Michael's workhouse records do not specify cause of admission. However, it is possible to determine the main reasons by looking at the circumstances of the children and their parents.

A common reason for admission was illegitimacy. This is shown on the children's baptism records. At least 11 children fall into this category, including Ann Hedges and Keziah⁵ Hawes, whose stories are reported in detail in part two of this paper.

Death of the father could also be a reason for admission. This seems to have been the case for Hannah, Sophia and James Freeman and their mother, Sarah, who first appear on the workhouse inventory of July 1819, soon after the burial of their father, Thomas, in May 1819.

Children of widowers as well as widows were vulnerable. In 1828, James Holland, labourer, was removed from Shenley to St Michael's with his sons Thomas aged 15, Robert aged 11 and Edward aged 10.⁶ It seems likely that Robert and Edward were the two Holland brothers who appear in the workhouse list in 1829, although it is not possible to be certain because forenames were not recorded.

Some children in the workhouse were orphans - or motherless illegitimate children, which usually amounted to the same thing. Children of single parents were, of course, particularly at risk of being orphaned, either before or after entering the workhouse, as in 1823, when two single mothers died in the workhouse, both leaving children behind.⁷

Another reason for admission was the father being out of work. This is what seems to have triggered the many removals to St Michael's of Thomas Grange, father of Hannah and Francis, whose story is reported in detail in part two. For it was only when the family became chargeable (ie applied for relief) to a parish in which they did not have legal right of settlement, that they were removed to St Michael's.

Life in the Workhouse

Living conditions

St Michael's workhouse was probably originally the Church house⁸ and was not very large, although the inventories show that rooms were added over time, whether by subdivision or extension. In 1821, at the top of the house there was a lumber garret and adjoining room, on the first floor there were four bedrooms, one of which was the Governor's, and downstairs there were four bedrooms, a parlour, kitchen, pantry, larder, washhouse and cellar. Furniture is also listed in the inventories and there were fewer mattresses and considerably fewer bedsteads than people throughout the period.⁹ Such overcrowding, as well as being unpleasant, is conducive to the spread of disease.

On the positive side, it is probable that the children were at least as well fed as poor children outside the workhouse, and possibly better. The contract with the workhouse contractor specified that meat should be provided at least three times a week. (Appendix 3) Surviving food bills also show that plenty of food was bought in relation to the number of people in the workhouse.¹⁰ There was also a garden where vegetables were grown, although it is not clear whether these were for the consumption of the inmates. The overseers also reserved the right to inspect the workhouse to ensure that the inmates were adequately provided with food, drink, clothing and other necessities, and if necessary, to remedy any deficiency themselves and deduct the cost from the contractor's next monthly payment.¹¹

Health

Most references to sickness in the workhouse do not specify particular illnesses. However, there is a doctor's bill for attending to a woman and child with typhus in 1825, from which the child died.¹² There is also reference to there being smallpox in the workhouse in 1824.¹³ This reflects the national picture. In the first half of the nineteenth century, typhus was endemic and epidemic, and although smallpox was greatly reduced by vaccination, there was a resurgence when vaccination was neglected.¹⁴ St Michael's took steps to promote vaccination and in 1829 offered free vaccinations of Cowpox at the "Poor House" for all children of the parish.¹⁵

St Michael's parish register of burials includes some workhouse inmates, including children. Although cause of death is not recorded, the burial register also contains indications of life threatening infectious disease in the workhouse, as when two young women, Susannah "Hoars" and Esther Champkin, died within days of one another in 1823. Tuberculosis was a major killer¹⁶, including of young women, but is unlikely to have been the culprit here, because the deaths were so close together.

Education

There was no workhouse school. The contract with the workhouse contractor did specify that all children were to be taught to read and say the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, the Ten

Commandments and the Church Catechism. It is more likely, however, that they were simply taught to recite these things, for many remained illiterate, and unable to sign their name on marriage certificates etc. Indeed, some may not even have *known* their name, because it had been wrongly recorded on their behalf.

The workhouse contractor's contract also specified that the poor were to be escorted to Church "in an orderly manner" every Sunday for morning and evening service. This must have been a humiliating experience, but at least the workhouse was in the grounds of the Church so they did not have to go far.

Work

Some of the children worked locally, as can be seen from the 1829 list of inmates, which records where they were working. William Hedges, aged 9, was working at Mr Danes for 1/6d a week. This was probably Mr Danes, the farmer at Westwick Hall Farm. It was common for children to be employed in agricultural work, doing a variety of tasks, depending on their age. Boys of 9 like William were often employed in jobs like stone picking and weed clearing, but by the age of 10 could be driving ploughs and carts.¹⁷ The 1829 list also shows that at least one of the Holland brothers, one of whom was aged 10, was working for Lord Beauclerk, who was vicar of St Michael's at the time.

Other children were found work outside St Albans, which involved them leaving the workhouse. Caleb Red, went to work in Caddington. Perhaps this was related to the fact that Caleb probably originated from Luton, having been baptised there. There is no record of the nature of Caleb's work, but the most common occupation for males in Caddington was in agriculture,¹⁸ so Caleb was probably either employed as an agricultural labourer or as a servant. His employer, John Adams, returned him to St Michael's in 1821, because of "his Linen being infested with vermin", although he said that he would be willing to take him back again if he was "thoroughly cleansed" and provided with fresh clothes and linen.¹⁹

Two of the girls from the workhouse were apprenticed to Sarah Makeham, a straw bonnet maker, in 1831, when they were aged 10 and 11, together with another local girl, Ann Harrison.²⁰ Ann does not appear on any of the workhouse inventories, but may have arrived after 1829. The girls were placed on a trial basis to learn the business. In 1831, Sarah Makeham was living in St Michael's, but she later moved to Shoreditch, taking her apprentices with her.

Being a servant was a common form of employment for pauper girls and working class girls more generally. In 1835, Catherine Jackson was placed on trial as a servant with Mrs E Wells, a blind maker, in Barnet. Catherine does not appear on the workhouse inventories, but is described in a letter from her employer to St Michael's as being from the workhouse, so she probably arrived after 1829. At the end of Catherine's first month, Mrs Wells wrote to say that she had found Catherine unsatisfactory and would not be paying her any wages, considering board to be quite sufficient, and that she would only keep Catherine on if St Michael's agreed to provide her clothing.²¹ (Appendix 2)

The letter from Mrs Wells is also interesting in indicating chores Catherine had been expected to do in the workhouse. She writes that Catherine “tells me she had very little to do at the workhouse after the morning except on a Saturday, when she helped two others to clean your rooms”. This suggests that there were also routine morning chores.

Adult Life

It is not possible to give a complete answer to the question of what happened to the children as adults, because some could not be traced, so their stories remain to be discovered. Those who could be traced had a variety of outcomes.

Continued Dependence on St Michael’s

Some of the children continued as adults to be dependent on support from St Michael’s, and sometimes this continued into the next generation. Elizabeth, Ann and James Woodward and their mother, Ellen, were in St Michael’s workhouse in 1816. The family subsequently moved to Leeds. But in 1827/8, the entire family was removed back to St Michael’s. The reason for Elizabeth’s removal from Leeds to St Michael’s in 1828 is that she gave birth to an illegitimate child.²² But in 1827, two removal orders were issued for Elizabeth’s mother, Eleanor Woodward and her children Ann aged 13, James aged 11 and William aged 7.²³ The first was a removal order from Leeds to St Albans Abbey and the second was a removal order from Abbey to St Michael’s. It is not clear if the reason for this was connected with Elizabeth’s illegitimate child or the fact that Eleanor was widowed, as she is described as the widow of James Woodward.

In any case, it seems that Ellen was a strong character. In 1827, the official responsible for arranging her removal to St Albans, complained in a letter to the overseer of Abbey parish that she had failed to fit in with his plans for her to time her journey from Leeds so that he could meet her in St Albans on a day when he would be there anyway, and wrote: “I never in the course of a long practise had more trouble with a Pauper”.²⁴ (Appendix 2)

Ellen proved herself well able to stand up to the authorities and the Woodward family were soon back in Leeds, with St Michael’s providing support for Elizabeth and her daughter. In the early 1830s Ellen wrote several letters to St Michael’s reporting on her granddaughter’s alleged father, Hunter Briggs, and when St Michael’s threatened to reduce the allowance, she wrote:

“...I ham verry sorry to tell you so plain that I have been to good advice and they told me that I can claim the money and i shall be obliged to you to send it as busial...”²⁵ (Appendix 2)

Under the New Poor Law of 1834, parishes were grouped into Unions to provide one workhouse to serve all the parishes in the Union, so that once St Albans Union Workhouse was built, people from St Michael’s went there. Some familiar names appear on the admissions and discharges register.²⁶ Maria Haws was admitted in 1838.

Admitted with her was Maria's illegitimate son, James Haws, born in 1837. James is also to be found in St Albans Union Workhouse in 1851, aged 14, described as a pauper scholar, a sign of changing times. He was also admitted for short spells in 1853 and 1854, the reason given being that he was out of work. However, James later succeeded in establishing an independent life for himself, and in 1881, he was living in Hackney, working as a general labourer, with his wife Mary, and 5 children, all born in Hackney.

Work in St Albans

Some of the children found work in the local area. In 1841, James Freeman, born about 1816, was working as an agricultural labourer at Townsend Farm, St Michael's. Agricultural labour was the most common occupation for males in the area.

Also in 1841, a Thomas Rosson, born about 1811, who may well have been our Thomas Roson, was living in St Michael's at Abbey Mills cottage with his wife and daughters, employed as a silk throwster. Abbey Mill was converted from a corn mill to a silk mill in 1804 and employed many local people.²⁷ It is even possible that Thomas "Rosson" had been employed at Abbey Mill as a child, as it employed many children, including pauper children.²⁸ Even in 1851, the census shows that 43% of silk workers in St Albans were aged 14 or under.²⁹ Evidence to Parliamentary Select Committees on child labour in 1832 and 1843 did not mention Abbey Mill specifically, but showed that children in other Hertfordshire silk mills not only worked long hours but were badly treated, including being beaten.³⁰

The most important source of work for females in the area was the straw plait and hat trade. The 1841 census for St Michael's and other parts of St Albans shows many women and girls and some boys working as straw plaiters. One of them was Ann Hedges, who was living in Cross Street with her mother, stepfather, and stepbrothers and sister. Ann's stepfather, John Keer, was working as a labourer, while Ann, aged 20, her mother Sarah, aged 45, stepsister Margaret, aged 11, and stepbrothers Jacob, aged 14, and Isaac, aged 8, were all straw plaiters. Many wives and daughters, particularly of agricultural labourers, worked as straw plaiters, contributing, sometimes substantially, to the family income.³¹ The straw plait and hat trade also provided a way for single women to make a living and was an occupation many preferred to being a servant.³²

Moved out of St Albans

Some of the children moved out of St Albans as children or adults to work and/or have a family. Orphan Mary Piggott was one of 3 girls from St Michael's apprenticed to Sarah Makeham, a straw bonnet maker, in 1831, at the age of 11. At the time Sarah Makeham was living in St Michael's, but by 1841 she had moved to Worship Square, Shoreditch. Mary is shown on the 1841 census living with Sarah Makeham and other apprentices, recorded as Mary "Champon".

Mary is a good example of someone whose name was constantly misrecorded and who may not even have been sure what her name actually was. Her marriage certificate shows

that she was illiterate, for she signed with her mark. On her marriage certificate her name is recorded as Champion, on her children's birth certificates her name is recorded as Chamking. Mary's own baptism record gives her name as Chamkin, daughter of Esther Chamkin.³³ Esther's marriage record gives her maiden name as Picket and her married name as Champkin.³⁴ In the workhouse Esther was recorded as Piggott and Champion.

After her marriage in 1846, Mary, her husband, George Waterson, a brewer's servant, and their children continued to live in Shoreditch, mostly either in or just round the corner from Worship Square, where Mary had lived as an apprentice. Mary also remained close to another of Sarah Makeham's apprentices, Henrietta Jeater, who was a witness at Mary's marriage and later married George's brother. Mary's sons, William and James, became marble masons, and son John, a leather cutter. George died in 1878 and Mary in 1894, both in Shoreditch. In the last years of her life, Mary lived with and was supported by her son John.³⁵

Other

In 1841, a Charles Red, born about 1811, not in Berkshire, was a corporal in the 1st Battalion 60s at New Windsor Infantry Barracks. This could be our Charles Red, but there is insufficient information to be sure. In any case, it points to the possibility that some of the children whom it has not been possible to trace might have gone into the services. Another possibility is emigration.

PART TWO: CASE STUDIES

Introduction

The first part of this paper considered general issues regarding the children of St Michael's workhouse, and referred to particular children as examples. Part two shifts perspective by examining the lives of three of the children in greater detail and considering what issues are shown by them.

Looking at the lives of the children and their parents over a longer period of time enables greater understanding than when particular events are viewed in isolation. People act in the context of what has gone before. Being forcibly removed from where you are living, or losing a close family member has an effect. But equally, people are not completely determined by the past, and this can be seen in the different ways that they respond to their circumstances.

The children considered below were all similar in being poor, disadvantaged and in the workhouse. Two of them also shared the fact of being illegitimate. However, in other respects, particularly their outcomes, their lives were very different.

Francis Grange, born c1812 – A Story of Family Disruption

Francis Grange is listed in the workhouse inventory for 3rd April 1816, along with his sister Hannah and mother Mary. Francis is recorded as possessing one shirt, one petticoat, one pinafore and a cap.

There are no records to show exactly when Francis was born. His sister Hannah was baptised at St Michael's in March 1816, daughter of Mary and Thomas Grange, labourer, but there is no baptism record for Francis. The only information about his age comes from removal orders, which are inconsistent, but he was probably born about 1812.

To understand how Francis came to be in the workhouse, it is necessary to look at the circumstances of his parents. In December 1810 a removal order was issued which states that "Thomas Grange and his wife have come to inhabit in the said parish of Shenley not having gained a legal settlement there".³⁶ The order goes on to say that they have become chargeable to the parish of Shenley and requires that they be conveyed to St Michael, their place of legal settlement. The most likely reason for them becoming chargeable was that Thomas was out of work.

There is no record of exactly when the family entered the workhouse, but it is unlikely to have been until after Francis was born, because otherwise there would be a baptism record for him, as it was policy that all children born in the workhouse should be baptised.

At any rate it seems that the family did not stay in the workhouse for very long after the 1816 inventory was taken because in December 1817, they were living in St Albans Abbey parish, and another removal order to St Michael was issued naming Thomas, his wife Mary and their son Francis, “aged about 5 years”.³⁷

There is no mention of Hannah. This is because Hannah was buried at St Michael’s on December 12th 1817, aged 2, just before the removal order was issued. Sadly, this was also the fate of other children of Thomas and Mary. In 1818, they had a daughter, Emma, who was baptised at St Michael’s. Emma died the following year and was buried at St Michael’s, aged 1. They also had a daughter, Mary, who was recorded as being aged 2 in a removal order of 1824. After that, Mary is never mentioned again, although no burial record has been found.

In 1824, Francis and his family were on the move again. Another removal order was issued naming Thomas and Mary and their children Francis aged 9, Charlotte aged 5, Mary aged 2, and Rebecca an infant.³⁸ This was again a removal from Shenley to St Michael. It is significant that Francis’ family were removed twice from Shenley because it suggests that they had real connections there. In the removal order of March 1824 Thomas is described as a labourer of London Colney. Again the reason for removal is that they have become chargeable, again the most likely reason being that Thomas was out of work. It may also have been connected with the birth of Rebecca, who arrived just before the removal order.

Rebecca was baptised in Shenley on 14th March 1824, the day before the removal order was issued.³⁹ On the baptism record, the surname is spelt Grainge. There were other people with the surname Grainge living in Shenley at that time, suggesting that Thomas may well have had family connections there.⁴⁰ Nevertheless the family was removed back to St Michael’s, and Mary and children returned to the workhouse.

This stay in the workhouse seems to have been a very distressing time for all concerned. An entry in the Vestry Order book dated 18th March 1825 reports that following a period of leave, Mary went absent without permission in September 1824, leaving two children behind, and that when she was returned in November 1824, she brought smallpox with her. It is also noted that the workhouse contractor complained that she was abusive to him and others and neglected her child.⁴¹

None of the Grange family was in the workhouse on 28th June 1827 when the inventory was taken. The next record of the family is another removal order in 1831, this time from St Mary, Islington to St Michael.⁴² It is significant that in 1833, removal orders were issued for two other families with the surname Grange from St Mary, Islington to St Michael.⁴³ Again it suggests that Francis’ family were living in Islington because they had family connections there.

The 1831 removal order names Thomas and Mary, and children Charlotte aged 11, Rebecca aged 9 and Anna aged 4 “or thereabouts”. Francis and Mary junior simply vanish without trace. If they had still been alive at this time, Mary would have been

about 9, and Francis about 19. The balance of probability is therefore that Mary junior had died, but it is possible that Francis could have embarked on an independent life. However, no records have been found for Francis after 1824.

Issues highlighted by Francis' story
* The way that some people's lives were constantly disrupted by removal orders taking them away from areas where they had recently worked and where they had family connections.
* The way that some families lost child after child at a very young age. At this time, infant and child mortality was very high, and most families experienced the loss of a child, but some families lost more than others.
* The way that writers of official records did not take the trouble to record children's ages accurately, just as they did not bother about getting their names right, or sometimes even naming them at all. Two children with the surname Grange were buried at St Michael's during this period without their forenames being recorded, one in 1822, aged 7, and one in 1824, aged 1. It is inconceivable that it was not possible to find out the names of these children, whatever the circumstances of their deaths.
* The way that the poor often just vanish without trace. This is related to the last point.

Ann Hedges, born 1817 – A Story of Family Survival

Ann Hedges was baptised in 1817 at St Michaels, the daughter of Sarah Hedges “a single woman”. Being an illegitimate child at this time was not a good start in life, and was a common reason for children being in the workhouse. So it is not surprising that Ann and her mother are listed in the workhouse inventory for 1819. Ann's clothing consisted of two shifts, four petticoats, four frocks, three pinafores, two caps, ? and sleeves, one bonnet, one hat, and one pair of shoes.

The inventory was compiled on 2nd July 1819. Later that year, Sarah had another child, William, who was baptised at St Michael's in September 1819. William was also illegitimate. Because of the potential cost of illegitimate children to the parish, the authorities did their utmost to find the fathers and make them contribute to the upkeep of the child. No records were found identifying Ann's father, but there is a filiation order naming William's father as William Emery, and ordering him to pay maintenance of £2-7/6d for the lying in and immediate expenses and 1/6d per week thereafter.⁴⁴

Ann and William were still in the workhouse when the next inventory was taken in 1821, but their mother Sarah was not. This time Ann was recorded as possessing two shifts,

four petticoats, three frocks, four pinafores, two pairs of shoes, two pairs of stockings, and two bonnets.

In 1822, Sarah had another illegitimate child, Caroline Keir Hedges, who was baptised at St Michael's in March 1822. Single mothers were often encouraged to give their child the father's surname as a middle name, and this is what seems to have happened in this case. Caroline's father was identified as John Keer and in May of the same year, John Keer and Sarah Hedges were married at St Michael's.

This did not mean the end of the workhouse for the children. In 1827, only William remained in the workhouse, but in 1829, two children named Hedges and two children named Keir are listed. No forenames are recorded, but from the ages it is almost certain that William was the 9 year old boy working at Mr Danes for 1/6d a week.

Ann therefore had an inauspicious start in life, being illegitimate herself and then her mother having two more illegitimate children by different fathers. Yet Ann's story has a happier ending than might have been expected.

In 1851, we find Ann, aged 32, unmarried, living in Dagnal Lane, St Albans, with her mother Sarah Keer, stepfather, John Keer, stepsister Margaret Keer, and stepbrother Isaac Keer. Also living with them are Ann's sons Albert Hedges, aged 9, Arthur Hedges, aged 6, and Henry Hedges, aged 4. An unorthodox family perhaps, but one showing signs of support and survival. All the adults in the household are working, John as a labourer, Sarah as a charwoman, Ann and Margaret as trimming weavers, and Isaac as a silk throwster.

However, in February 1853, John Keer was admitted to St Albans Union Workhouse by order of the Relieving Officer.⁴⁵ The cause of seeking relief is recorded as "age". He would then have been about 62. Presumably, John found himself unable to work as a labourer because of his age, applied for relief and was sent to the workhouse. He was discharged in April 1853 at his own request. He does not appear on the admissions register between then and September 1854, when there is a gap in the records, but he died of pneumonia in the workhouse in 1855, probably entering to use the infirmary. Sarah Keer died in 1863, aged 73, at the home of her daughter, Ann, in College Place, St Albans. In reporting the death Ann signed with her mark.

Meanwhile, Ann set up her own household and it seems that she was able to support her children through her work in hat making, with the children contributing as they grew up. In 1861, Ann was living in College Place, near Dagnal Lane, still a trimming weaver, with her son Arthur, aged 16, working as an agricultural labourer, son Alfred, aged 9, and daughter Emma, aged 5. There is no sign of Henry, however, so he is probably the Henry Hedges who died in St Albans in 1852. In 1871, Ann was still living in College Place, now working as a hat sewer, with her children Alfred, aged 19, and Emma, aged 15, both brush makers. They also had a 17 year old brush maker living with them as a lodger, a common way of supplementing the family income. Meanwhile, Ann's son Arthur was a publican, living in Spencer Street, St Peter, with his wife Caroline and 3 children.

By 1881 all Ann's children were grown up. Ann was living with her daughter Emma, Emma's husband James Foster, a coachman, and their 2 young children in St Albans Road, Watford. Ann's son Albert was living in Upper Dagnall Street, St Albans, working as a general labourer, living with his wife Jane, a hat sewer, and 2 stepchildren. Ann's son Alfred was also living in St Albans, in Spencer Street, still working as a brush maker, living with his wife Sarah, a former brush maker, and their 3 young children. Meanwhile, Ann's son Arthur, was working as a coffee house keeper, living in St Pancras, with his wife Caroline and their 4 children.

There is no record of Ann in the 1891 census, suggesting that she died some time between 1881 and 1891. Whenever it was, she died having succeeded in providing a good foundation for her children and having seen them establish independent lives for themselves. No small achievement considering her difficult start in life.

Issues highlighted by Ann's story
* That unorthodox families, including those headed by a single mother, could be successful.
* The importance of the straw plait and hat trade in the area to women's income and independence. Ann was able to form her own household as a single mother and support her children through her work in hat making. Ann's experience was shared by others. The 1851 census for St Albans shows that the straw trade "created opportunities for female independence, as unmarried household heads and also in widowhood". ⁴⁶
* The role of family support, particularly for single mothers and in old age. This took different forms at different stages of the life cycle. In Ann's case, when she was young, she contributed to the family income along with all the other children in the family, down to her stepbrother, Isaac, who was working when he was aged 8. When Ann had young children, although she was working, she also benefited from living with her mother and stepfather and their older children, who were all working. Later, Ann formed her own household and when her children were old enough to work, they contributed to the family income. Finally, in later life, Ann lived with and was supported by her then married daughter and son-in-law.

Kezia(h) Hawes, born 1821 – An Orphan’s Story

Keziah⁴⁷ was born in St Michael’s workhouse on 12th January 1821, daughter of Susanna Hawes, “a single woman”. An order was promptly issued on the 6th February to apprehend William Randall, who was identified as Keziah’s father.⁴⁸ William Randall was already well known to the authorities, because he had also been named as the father of Keziah’s older sister Maria, who was born in 1819. In 1819 William was ordered to pay 2/6d a week and Susannah to pay 6d a week towards the upkeep of Maria.⁴⁹

Keziah appears on the workhouse inventory of 1821, with her sister Maria, and their mother Susannah. Keziah is listed as possessing 3 shifts, 3 petticoats, 3 frocks, 1 pinafore, 1 pair of shoes, 2 bedgowns and a bonnet. In the workhouse inventory of June 1827, a Keziah Hall and Maria Hall are listed. This is just one example of many of the inaccuracy with which names were recorded, although it also shows the dominance of the spoken word, not surprising at a time of high illiteracy – names were written as they were heard.

Keziah and Maria’s mother was not on the workhouse list of 1827. The reason for this was that Susannah “Hoars” was buried at St Michael’s on March 9th 1823, aged 27. No cause of death was recorded, but it is probable that it was an infectious illness, because a few days later another young mother from the workhouse was buried.

Thus Keziah, born illegitimate in the workhouse, became an orphan at the age of 2. Not a promising start in life. Keziah and her sister Maria grew up in the workhouse and were still there when the 1829 list was compiled. However, a turning point occurred in October 1831, when it was decided that Keziah and two other girls, Mary Piggott and Ann Harrison, would be placed with Sarah Makeham, a straw bonnet maker, “on trial to learn her business”.⁵⁰

In 1831, Sarah Makeham was living in St Michael’s, but she was born in London and had recently obtained permission for six “poor female children” from London to be apprenticed to her until they were 21 or married.⁵¹ In 1841, Sarah Makeham, described as a plait and bonnet maker, is to be found living at Worship Square, Shoreditch, with her sister Lydia Bourne and 8 apprentices, two of whom were born outside London – “Rosina Hawes” and “Mary Champon”, both aged about 20.

It is almost certain that “Rosina” was in fact Kezia, for in 1851, “Kezia Haws”, aged 29, born St Albans, is to be found living at 3, Worship Square, described as an assistant straw trimming maker. Sarah Makeham was not there, but her sister Lydia, straw trimming maker was. Also, living next door at number 4, was Sarah and Lydia’s brother, John Makeham, registrar and clerk, and his family.

So from the age of 10, Kezia grew up with the Makeham family and their other apprentices, one of whom, Mary Piggott/Champion, had been with her in St Michael’s workhouse from infancy. The fact that Kezia was still living and working with the Makehams at the age of 29 suggests that she was happy there.

In contrast, it seems that the straw plaiting business did not work out for Ann Harrison, because in 1838, she was in St Albans Union Workhouse.⁵² Also in St Albans Workhouse in 1838 were Kezia's older sister Maria, and Maria's illegitimate son James, born in 1837.⁵³

In 1852, Kezia married Joseph Rand. They had a son, William, who was born in 1855. But the marriage was a short one, because in 1856, Joseph Rand died. Kezia later married John Makeham, Sarah Makeham's brother. They married in 1867, after John Makeham's first wife died. But they were already living together in 1861, and had a son, Charles Makeham, in 1863, before John's first wife died. The exact circumstances are not known, but presumably this would have caused some scandal, as might the fact that John was more than 20 years older than Kezia.

At any rate, they did marry as soon as John was free to do so, and they had a daughter, Susannah Makeham in 1868. In 1871, Kezia was living in Brixton with John Makeham, their children, Charles and Susannah, and Kezia's son from her first marriage, William Rand. John's occupation is described as "Clerk for receiving Clergy Returns, Privy Council Office". William's occupation is described as "Assistant Straw Hat Manufactory". This is significant because it suggests that the marriage between Kezia and John Makeham had not caused a rift between him and his sisters, because it was they who were involved in the straw hat business.⁵⁴ To complete the household, they even had a servant!

In 1881, Kezia and John Makeham and their children, Charles and Susannah, were still living in Lambeth. John was still a Privy Council Clerk and son Charles was an unemployed optician. Kezia and John Makeham both died quarter ending June 1887 in Lambeth.

Issues highlighted by Kezia's story

* That apprenticeships could sometimes be beneficial for workhouse children, especially orphans, because it could provide them not only with a useful trade, but sometimes also with a family substitute. This, however, depended on the trade and the master or mistress concerned. Evidence to Parliamentary Select Committees on child labour, and Children's Employment Commission Reports show many examples of harsh and cruel treatment, as in the silk mills.⁵⁵ However, it is notable that a number of child straw plaiters describe their mistresses as "kind". Sarah Kingham, aged 17, reported in 1843:

"Been at plait about five or six years; before that worked in the silk mills. Like plaiting best; I could not stand the silk-mill, it used to make me so ill...Mrs Mayo is a kind mistress; before her sister took ill, about 13 months ago, mistress used to teach us all to read; doesn't now."⁵⁶

In general, children in "genuine craft apprenticeships" fared better than those placed in factories.⁵⁷

* That marriage was a way out of poverty for some women. At the age of 35, Kezia found herself widowed with a one year old child. In a similar position, Ann Hedges remained single and supported herself and her children by working, initially with the help of her mother and stepfather. Kezia, who had no parents, chose to marry a much older and more prosperous man. Through marriage, she stepped into the middle class.

Conclusion

It is often difficult to reconstruct the lives of the poor, firstly, because they leave fewer records behind, and secondly, because those records are often inaccurate. But it is valuable to do so because their lives are as important and as much a part of our history and heritage as those of the privileged and powerful.

This paper has attempted to make a contribution by telling the stories of a few of them. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to trace all the children of St Michael's workhouse. Hopefully, future research will be able to discover more.

Acknowledgements

With thanks to Ann Dean, archivist of St Michael's Church, for providing access to the parish records kept there, and to Marjorie Denny, great-great-granddaughter of Sarah Keer, née Hedges, for information about the Keer family.

Photograph

The photo shows St Michael's Church, viewed from the east. The building in the foreground stands on the site of St Michael's Workhouse.

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APPENDIX 1: INMATES OF ST MICHAEL'S WORKHOUSE 1816-1829

1816 (Apr 3)	1819 (July 2)	1821 (July 4)	1827 (Jun 28)	1829 (July 31)
MEN	MEN	MEN	MEN	MEN (Age)
ANSELL John	ANDERSON Jeremiah	ANDERSON Jeremiah	ANSELL John	ARNOLD (59)
ANSTEAD Thomas	ANSELL John	ANSELL John	ARNOLD Charles	CHILTON John (58)
ASLIN John	ANSTEY Thomas	ARNOLD Charles	ASTIN Joseph	DEACON (64)
BROOKS William	ARNOLD Charles	ASLIN John	CHILTERN James	DEAR Wm (60)
COLES William	ASLIN John	AUSTIN Joseph	DEACON John	EVANS (63)
DEACON George	BURROWS Joseph	BURROWS Joseph	EVAN John	FOUNTAIN Jn (58)
DEARMAN Jasper	CHILTON James	CHILTON James	FOSTER Thomas	FOSTER (80)
DOGGETT Thomas	COLE William	COLES William	FOUNTAIN John	GOODMAN Tho (43)
EDMONDS Aron	DEARMAN Jasper	DOGGETT Thomas	GOODMAN Thomas	HUMPHREY (60)
FLOREL William	DOGGETT Thomas	EVANS John	GOSS Thomas	NEWMAN (68)
FREEMAN Thomas	FOLKS Henry	FOLKS Henry	HUMPHREYS William	PENNY (70)
GOODMAN Thomas	GOODMAN Thomas	FLORENCE William	LOVETT William	
INARD William	GRACE Thomas	FOSTER James	NEWMAN William	
KENTISH Joseph	HILL Thomas	GOODMAN Thomas	NORRIS Thomas	
LEE William	HILL William	HILL Thomas	PETTETT Thomas	
NORWOOD Joseph	KENTISH Joseph	HUMPHRYS William	SMITH William	
PUDDEPHAT James	LEE William	KENTISH Joseph	WILSON Thomas	
REVEREL[?] James	MARTIN Daniel	MACDONALD William		
SAVAGE William	MOLDS Thomas	MARTIN Daniel		
SELBY John	NEWMAN William	NEWMAN William		
	NORWOOD James	NORRIS Joseph		

	PUDDEPHAT James	PUDDEPHAT James		
	REDD John	RED John		
	SEARES Thomas	SMITH William		
	SELBY John	WHEELER Thomas		
	SMITH William			
	VALLANCE William			
WOMEN	WOMEN	WOMEN	WOMEN	WOMEN (Age)
GRANGE Mary	ARNOLD Mary	ARNOLD Mary	ARNOLD Mary	BILL Mary (60)
GREENHILL Mary	CHAMPION Esther	CHAMPION Esther	DEACON Elizabeth	DEACON (50)
PIGGOTT Esther	FREEMAN Sarah	DOGGET Sarah	GREENHILL Mary	GRAY Eliz (40)
WEAREY [?] Ann	GOWER Mary	DOVER Martha	GREY Elizabeth	HOWARD Sarah (26)
WOODWARDS Ellen	GRAY Elizabeth	GREENHILL Mary	HUMPHREYS Hariott	PEACOCK Ann (50)
	GREENHILL Mary	GREY Elizabeth	WEAREY [?] Ann	PITKIN Rebecca
	HEDGES Sarah	HAWES Susannah	WEST Rebecca	ROSS Mary (30)
	JEFFARD Ann	JONES Ann	WILSON Mary	VEARY Ann (60)
	MARTIN Elizabeth	MARTIN Elizabeth		WEBB Martha (68)
	MOLD Elizabeth	TURNER Mary		WILSON (60)
	POTTERIS Sarah	WAKELIN Ann		
	WAKELY Ann	WEBB Martha		
BOYS	BOYS	BOYS	BOYS	BOYS (Age)
ANSTEAD Daniel	ANSTEY Daniel	ANSTEAD Daniel	HEDGES William	HEDGES (9)
ANSTEAD George	ANSTEY Thomas	CHAMPION George	PIGGOTT George	HOLLAND (10)
ANSTEAD Thomas	CHAMPION George	HEDGES William		HOLLAND
GRANGE Francis	CORDWELL Thomas	HILL George		HOWARD (baby)

HILL George	FREEMAN James	RED Charles		
RED Caleb	GOWER Thomas	RED Stephen		
RED Charles	GOWER William	RONSON Thomas		
RED Stephen	HILL George			
WOODWARDS James	REDD Charles			
	REDD Stephen			
	ROSON Thomas			
	ROSON William			
GIRLS	GIRLS	GIRLS	GIRLS	GIRLS (Age)
GAZELY Mary	FREEMAN Hannah	HAWES Keziah	HALL Keziah	HAWES (7)
GRANGE Hannah	FREEMAN Sophia	HAWES Maria	HALL Maria	HAWES
GREY Elizabeth	GAZELY Elizabeth	HEDGES Ann	HUMPHREYS Frances	HEDGES (7)
PIGGOTT Elizabeth	GAZELY Mary	PIGGOTT Elizabeth	HUMPHRYS Mary Ann	KEIRS (8)
WOODWARDS Ann	HEDGES Ann	PIGGOTT Mary	PIGGOTT Elizabeth	KEIRS
WOODWARDS Elizabeth	MOLD Elizabeth		PIGGOTT Mary	PIGGOTT (9)
	PIGGOTT Elizabeth			

APPENDIX 2: LETTERS

Letter from Mrs E Wells to St Michael's re Catherine Jackson, 1835

Barnet July 21st 1835

Sir

This month being now almost at an end upon which I took Catherine Jackson on trial – I wish now to tell you candidly that she is not half so useful to me as I expected she would be – I hoped that she would have tried to learn under my care what she did not know, but I am sorry to say she gives me so much trouble and is of so little use to me, that I cannot think of giving her any wages at present if she remains with me, you must, if you please supply her with necessary clothing, until she exerts herself more to make herself useful. I think her board will amply pay her at present she is dirty, idle very slow and tells a falsehood with the same ease as the truth - she tells me she had very little to do at the workhouse after the morning except on a Saturday, when she helped two others to clean your rooms – I tell you candidly what I find her I do not know, but I think she needs a very strict mistress she does things slyly which I forbid her to do in my sight – for instance she had I believe 7d ½ when she came here which she said she had saved herself for a pair of white stockings, I told her to take care of it till she had a few more pence given her – she has had a few pence given her, all of which and her 7d ½ are gone for fruit or other things when I have sent her on an errand except 3d which I am keeping for her – I told her also not to wear her low[?] shoes on any day except Sunday, and seeing them by accident on her the other day, I scolded her, and on looking at them I find the heels are gone, they ought now to be mended, her boots are also grimy I can only say I wish I could speak more favourably of her – I am willing to keep her longer and try if I can make any thing of her, if you think proper to clothe her for the first year, or at any rate for the present – if not, please to let me know your determination and I will send her home again. I do not think it is want of strength which prevents her from doing for me, because sometimes she will do things and others she will not – she never nurses more than two hours in the day through – my baby sleeps a great deal and when he is risen[?] I nurse as much as she does or more and she has only to do what I cannot get time to do myself which really is a comparative nothing – please to let me know if our arrangement meets your approbation and in the mean time

I remain

Sir

Your Much Obliged Ser[?]

E Wells

P.S. If she remains she must have another dark frock and another pinafore or two she has no frock to change with her blue one when it is dirty –

[?] Direct to Mrs Wells

Blind Maker

Barnet – Herts

Letter from J Littlewood to Mr Warwick, Overseer of Abbey Parish, re Eleanor Woodward, 1827

Leeds April 23rd 1827

Mr Warwick
Sir

Yours dated – and unsealed I am in possession of this day – Respecting the Removal of E Woodward and family – Having Business at Stilton[?], Stepney and St Albans I had arranged that by Woodward leaving here on a certain day I should meet her in course at St Albans – This she failed to do, and the consequence was I made enquiry at St Albans two days previous to her arrival there – having previously given directions to the guard of the Carrier with whom she went – in case of not meeting her to give directions where she stopped to provide for her and thereby not give any trouble to the parish officers – this is the simple statement of the case – I have always paid the Guard a sum of Money for the offences incurred by her there – and have authorized him to pay you 7/- your claim, but will thank you to state for what – what construction or what circumstances you suppose connected with the case I cannot determine – I think I can perfectly justify myself from any disgrace or illegality – This I can say, I never in the course of a long practise had more trouble with a Pauper –

I am
Sir
Your obdt St
J Littlewood

Letter from Eleanor Woodward to St Michael's, 1833

Leeds November 24th

Sir,

I received your note and the money safe and was verry thankful for it but you said in your letter that Briggs did not come forward with the money and you said that you should be obliged to reduce the pay for the child Sir if you new the carractor of him as well as we do in Leeds for he is allways spending is money at the bublick houses and I consider that I should not have the money reduced for is misconduct for i consider that i ham not obliged to keep is bastard for my daughter as not been able to get her own living since that time and Sir I ham verry sorry to tell you so plain that I have been to good advice and they tell me that I can claim the money and I shall be obliged to you to send it as busial if not I shall see further about it for i consider he is better able to pay it now than he was before for he as no incumberance on is hands wathever now sir I shall leave it with you hoping you will do your best for me sir if you do reduce the pay i shall send my daughter and his child for you to help

i remain yours
Mrs Woodward

APPENDIX 3: EXTRACT FROM WORKHOUSE CONTRACT 1819⁵⁸

...he the said Thomas Baynes his executors or administrators will during the said term of one year at his or their expense provide for all the poor persons belonging to the said Parish of Saint Michael who now are in the said Workhouse or who shall be sent or placed therein by the said Churchwardens and Overseers or their successors and also for all casual poor who during the said Term shall fall ill or want relief within the said Parish although they may not belong to the same Parish good wholesome and sufficient wheaten bread meat drink washing lodging nursing and clothing of all sorts both linen and woollen firing and other necessaries fit and suitable for such persons (the Dinner to which poor people shall three separate[?] days at the least in each week be of good wholesome meat) and pay unto all such poor and necessitous widows who shall reside and belong to the said Parish such weekly sums of money for their relief and support respectively as the said Churchwardens and Overseers or their Successors or his Majesty's Notices of the Peace shall order to be paid without compelling them to reside in the said Workhouse and pay unto all such other poor persons belonging to the said Parish whether residing within or out of the same Parish in any Public Vestry assembled or his Majesty's Justices of the Peace shall lawfully order and in case the said Thomas Baynes his executors or administrators shall neglect or refuse to pay all or any such sums or sums of money that then the said Churchwardens and Overseers or their successors may from time to time deduct the same out of the next or any subsequent monthly payment to be made as aforesaid and pay the same from time to time to such poor person or persons according to such order and direction as aforesaid that he the said Thomas Baynes will constantly reside in the said Workhouse during the said Term and that he his executors or administrators will during the said Term at his or their own expense cause all the children born in the said Workhouse to be baptized according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England and cause to be decently buried in a manner suitable to their condition all such poor persons as shall die in the said workhouse and all such poor persons as shall die out of the said Workhouse and in the said Parish as well as those belonging to the same parish as casual poor and such poor persons as shall die out of the said Parish and shall be considered as having been chargeable to the same Parish not having effects sufficient to pay their funeral expenses and that he the said Thomas Baynes his executors and administrators will carefully govern and manage all such persons as shall by virtue hereof be put under his or their care and not suffer them needlessly to go out of the said workhouse especially on Sundays but keep them to their daily labour he the said Thomas Baynes having the full benefit thereof and take care that some proper person do attend the poor people kept in the said Workhouse to and from the Church of the said Parish every Sunday at Morning and Evening Service in an orderly manner and at his and their own expense cause all the children in the said Workhouse to be instructed in reading and rehearsing the Lords Prayer the Belief the Ten Commandments and the Church Catechism And that it shall be lawful for the Ministers of the said Parish and the said Churchwardens and Overseers and their Successors and any other persons appointed at any Public Vestry to be held for the said Parish at all times during the said Term to enter into the Workhouse to inspect the condition of the poor and in case any victuals drink clothing firing or other necessaries shall thereupon be found wanting to give or leave notice in writing at the said Workhouse for the said Thomas Baynes his executors or

administrators to provide the same immediately and in case of his or their neglect or refusal so to do it shall be lawful for the said Churchwardens or Overseers and their Successors to provide the same and to deduct the value thereof out of the then next monthly payment which will become due...

¹ Truwert, Eleanor, 'The Operation of the Old Poor Law in the Parish of St Michael's, St Albans, 1721-1834', p20, in Gutchen, Robert M, et al, *Down and Out in Hertfordshire, a symposium on the old and new poor law*, Hertfordshire Publications 1984

² Census reports.

³ Truwert, Eleanor (1984), op cit, and Everett, John, *A Fair Field*, 1983

⁴ *Inventories of the Poor House, April 1816, July 1819, July 1821, June 1827*; and the 'List of Persons in the Poorhouse', dated 31st July 1829 in the *Order Book for St Michael's Parish 1819-* All kept at St Michael's Church.

⁵ Kezia(h) was recorded as Kesia on her baptism record, Keziah on workhouse records, and Kezia on records after she left the workhouse.

⁶ *Removal Order*, dated 1828, kept at St Michael's Church.

⁷ *St Michael's Parish Registers*. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (HALS). Ref D/P92. Film number 50.

⁸ Everett, John (1983) op cit, p90

⁹ *Ibid*, and Truwert, Eleanor (1984) op cit

¹⁰ *Ibid*

¹¹ *Contract*, dated 1819, kept at St Michael's Church. See Appendix 3.

¹² Everett, John (1983), op cit, p96

¹³ *Vestry Order Book 1819-*, op cit, entry for 18th March 1825

¹⁴ Flinn, MW. Introduction to *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain by Edwin Chadwick 1842*. Edinburgh University Press 1965, p8

¹⁵ Everett, John (1983), op cit, p125

¹⁶ Flinn, MW. (1965) op cit, p11, estimates that in the early nineteenth century tuberculosis accounted for one third of all deaths.

¹⁷ Wallace, Eileen, *Child Labour in Nineteenth Century Hertfordshire*, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (HALS) Resource Pack, undated, p29 and extracts from original sources

¹⁸ Page, William (ed) 'Parishes: Caddington', *The Victoria History of Hertfordshire: volume 2*, 1908, p187

¹⁹ Truwert Eleanor (1984), op cit, p125

²⁰ *Vestry Order Book 1819-*, op cit, entry for 28th October 1831

²¹ *Letter* dated 21st July 1835, kept at St Michael's Church

²² *Removal Order*, dated 1828, kept at St Michael's Church.

²³ *Removal Orders*, dated 17th and 23rd April, 1827. HALS. Ref D/P90/18/18. Film number 440.

²⁴ *Letter* dated 23rd April, 1827. HALS. Ref D/P90/18/18. Film number 440.

²⁵ *Letter* dated 24th November 1833 from Leeds, kept at St Michael's Church

²⁶ *Board of Guardians Admission and Discharge Registers*, St Albans Union Workhouse. HALS. Ref Off Acc 1162. BG/STA. Film numbers SM702-5.

²⁷ Goose, Nigel, *Population, economy and family structure in Hertfordshire in 1851. Volume 2. St Albans and its region*. University of Hertfordshire Press, 2000, p75

²⁸ Ward, Margaret, 'Working in the Silk Mills', in *Hertfordshire People*, No 92, Mar 2005, p32

²⁹ Goose, Nigel (2000), op cit, p75

³⁰ Extracts from 'Evidence to Parliamentary Select Committee' 1832 & 1843 in Wallace, Eileen (undated), op cit

³¹ *Ibid*, p102-5

³² Grof, Laszlo L, *Children of Straw*, Barracuda Books Ltd, 1988, p80

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- ³³ *St Michael's Parish Registers*. HALS. Loc cit.
- ³⁴ Ibid
- ³⁵ 1891 census records Mary as being "kept by son".
- ³⁶ *Removal Order*, dated 31st December 1810, kept at St Michael's Church.
- ³⁷ *Removal Order*, dated 13th Dec 1817, HALS. Ref D/P90/18/9. Film number 440..
- ³⁸ *Removal Order*, dated 15th March 1824, kept at St Michael's Church.
- ³⁹ *Shenley Parish Registers*, HALS. Ref D/P99. Film number 129.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid
- ⁴¹ *Vestry OrderBook 1819-*, op cit, entry for 18th March 1825
- ⁴² *Removal Order*, dated 18th August 1831, kept at St Michael's Church
- ⁴³ *Removal Orders*, 1833, for William Grange the elder and family; and William Grange the younger, wife & baby, kept at St Michael's Church.
- ⁴⁴ *Filiation Order*, dated 21st Oct 1819, kept at St Michael's Church
- ⁴⁵ *Board of Guardians Admission and Discharge Registers*. Loc cit.
- ⁴⁶ Goose, Nigel (2000), op cit, p174
- ⁴⁷ See note 5.
- ⁴⁸ *Bastardy Order*, dated 6th Feb 1821, kept at St Michael's Church
- ⁴⁹ *Filiation Order*, dated 1819, kept at St Michael's Church
- ⁵⁰ *Vestry Order Book 1819-*, op cit, entry for 28th October 1831
- ⁵¹ *Letter to the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor of St Michael's*, dated 14th Dec 1830 and 4 *indenture documents* dated 11 Oct 1831, all kept at St Michael's Church.
- ⁵² *Board of Guardians Admission and Discharge Registers*. Loc cit.
- ⁵³ Ibid
- ⁵⁴ Sarah Makeham did not marry or have children, but the hat business was continued by her sister Lydia's grandson Frederick Elliott (1855-1944), who had hat factories in London, Luton and Atherstone. Information about Frederick Elliott provided by his great-great-grandson Tom Paull.
- ⁵⁵ Extracts from evidence to Parliamentary Select Committees and Children's Employment Commission Reports, etc. in Wallace Eileen, undated, op cit.
- ⁵⁶ Extracts from 'the Children's Employment Commission, 1st Report 1843', in Wallace Eileen, undated, op cit.
- ⁵⁷ Crompton, Frank, *Workhouse Children*. Sutton Publishing Ltd, 2000, ch 2
- ⁵⁸ This is an extract from the contract with Thomas Baynes, who was workhouse contractor 1819-22. Contracts with other St Michael's workhouse contractors are very similar.