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SUPPLYING THE BEER: LIFE ON THE ROAD IN LATE-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NORFOLK

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Introduction

Life in the rural hinterland in the eighteenth century was by no means as isolated as it is often portrayed. Itinerancy was not confined to Nonconformist preachers, and large sections of the population were on the move.

Brewers' draymen covered huge distances carting beer to the public houses; some journeyed as much as 555 miles a month on top of their other duties. Through their diaries the brewer's wife Mary Hardy and her nephew Henry Raven, the family's apprentice, enable us to chart the daily tasks of a workforce who nurtured the product from ploughing and sowing to malting, brewing and distribution around north Norfolk.

On the move

Distribution is a neglected area of study for the period of the eighteenth century. The sources in agriculture and manufacturing on which historians rely tend to emphasise innovations. By contrast, the sales network and the means by which a business despatched its goods have often not survived in the archives.

The scribbling classes, awestruck at the new developments in farming and industry, left their impressions of new breeds and mechanisation; the intricacies of marketing and land carriage largely passed them by. We are lucky that in the Blakeney area two diarists were daily logging the work of the integrated farm, maltings and brewery in the heart of the small village of Letheringsett. They were Mary Hardy (1733-1809) and her nephew, the brewery apprentice Henry Raven (1777-1825). This study analyses what they have to tell us about a workforce on the move.

We shall range widely over the county, for Mary Hardy's husband William supplied public houses as far as 25 miles from the brewery, as Figure 1 shows. Further, before the family's move to Letheringsett in 1781, they had been based on the Broads at a small farm, maltings and brewery at Coltishall. There the brewer managed another retail network across north-east Norfolk, about which we also learn in detail from his hardworking wife.

Mary Hardy began her diary at Coltishall in November 1773 and continued it daily for nearly 36 years until two days before her death in March 1809 at Letheringsett Hall. Henry Raven wrote daily for four years 1793-1797. Taken together their 573,000-word texts are, in number of words, almost as long as the Old Testament of the *Bible*. They are now published in full.[1]

Draying will be seen to be a strenuous, dangerous occupation. Before embarking on itinerancy, draying and the story of the Hardys' annually-hired workforce who contributed so much to the enterprise we should pause to have a look at the sources and at the roads.

Sources: the two diarists

The steady daily recording of beer deliveries occupied two periods totalling eleven years in the diary of Mary Hardy; Henry Raven maintained the record for all four years of his (Fig. 5). Both tell us a great deal not only in

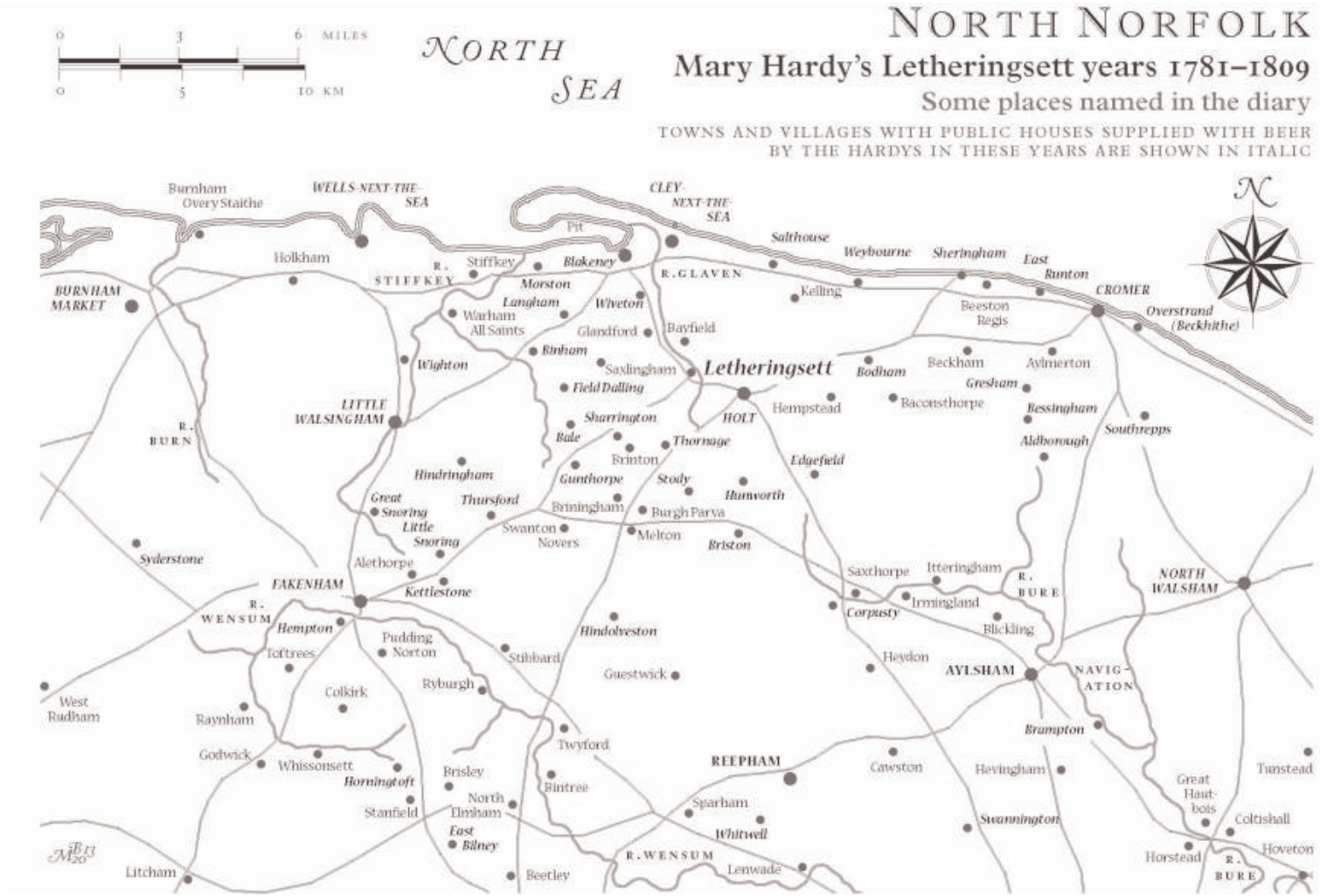


Figure 1. North Norfolk: some of the territory covered by the Hardys' draymen when delivering to the dense network of public houses. Stalham, on the coast 25 miles away, is one of a few off the map. The brewer William Hardy and his son William Hardy junior supplied 66 known outlets in the years the two diarists were writing at Letheringsett 1781-1809. (map © Margaret Bird 2013).

Figures 2 and 3. William Hardy (1732-1811) and his diarist wife, Mary, dressed for the playhouse at Holt's White Lion. The Yorkshire-born brewer served twelve years in the Excise before changing career. (portraits by Huguier 1785; Cozens-Hardy Collection).

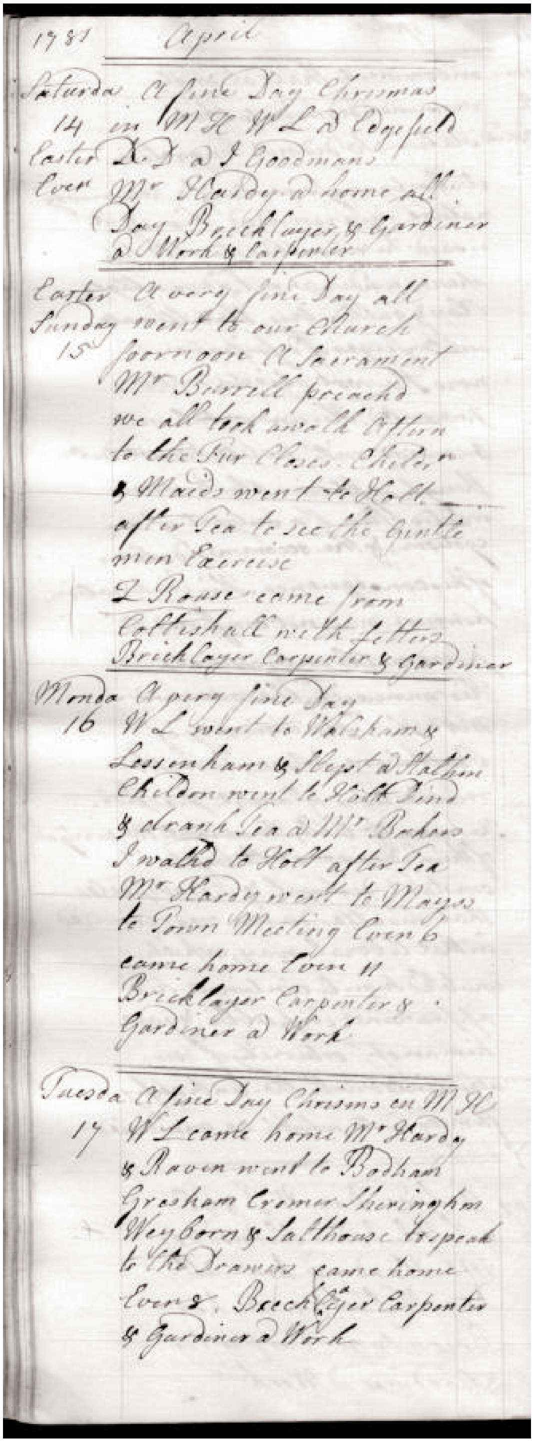
human terms but in economic. We can plot the pattern on the ground over a wide radius, and monitor the system of orders and deliveries.

Mary Raven, from a family of village grocers, maltsters and small farmers in central Norfolk, was born at Whissonsett in November 1733. There in December 1765 she married William Hardy, a Yorkshire-born excise officer stationed at East Dereham. Whissonsett would have come within his survey, known in the service as an outride, and it is possible they met when he was gauging at her father Robert Raven's maltings.

The couple settled at East Dereham, where their first child, Raven, was born in 1767. Their second son, William, was born at Litcham in 1770, where William Hardy had been posted before leaving the service in 1769.

By the summer of 1772 the family had moved to Coltishall, on the River Bure. There, in their modest riverside house due south of the church, their third and last child, Mary Ann, was born in November 1773. Three weeks later Mary Hardy launched herself on her extraordinary mission as a diarist.

It is the range and depth of her coverage, not her readability, that are extraordinary. Four volumes of analysis are currently under preparation, requiring 39 chapters to reflect the major themes her diary presents.[2] These describe family and domestic matters; the complex family business, debt and the Excise; religious practice - Anglican and Nonconformist, for Mary Hardy was both; commercial life and leisure pursuits including fairs; trade by road, waterway and sea; and politics and war. Until now only brief highlights from Mary Hardy's diary had appeared, edited by her descendant, Basil Cozens-Hardy, in 1957 and 1968; they give well under 10% of her text and under-represent the distribution side of Hardys' business. Henry Raven's diary had never before been published or quoted.[3]



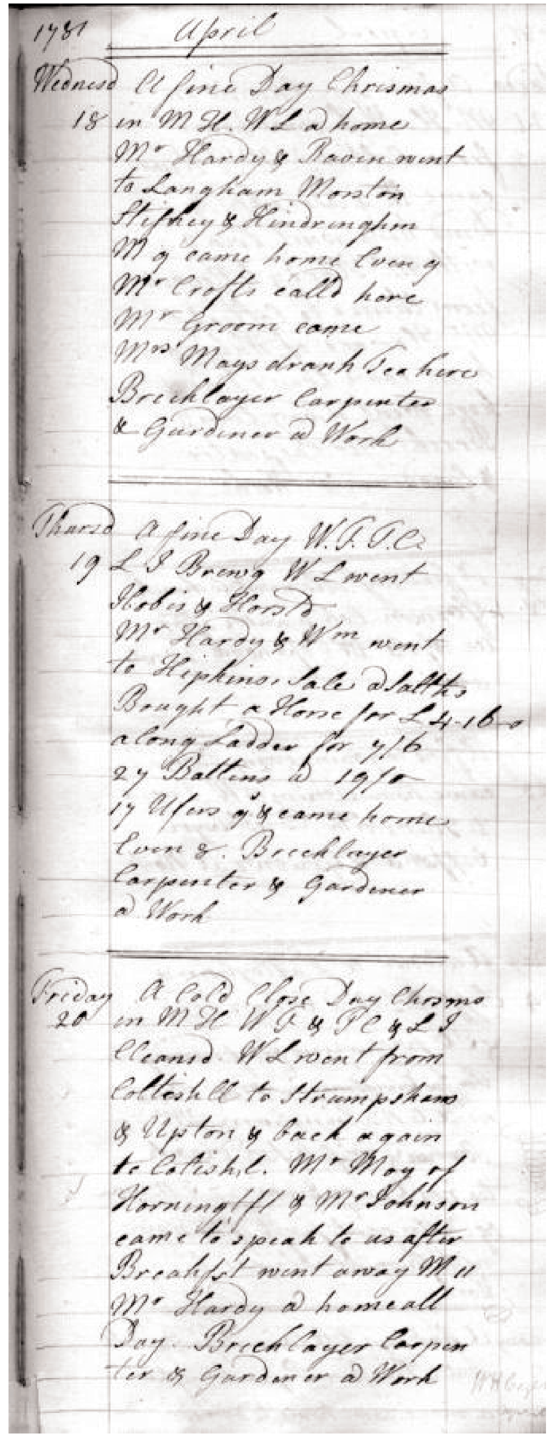
1781 April

Saturda A fine Day Chrismas
14 in M H W L at Edgefield
Easter X J at J Goodmans
Even Mr Hardy at home all
Day Bricklayer & Gardiner
at Work & Carpenter

Easter A very fine Day all
Sunday went to our Church
15 forenoon A Sacrament
Mr Burrell preachd
we all took a walk Aftern
to the Furr Closes. Childr
& Maids went to Holt
after Tea to see the Gentle
men Exercise
L Rouse came from
Coltishall with Letters
Bricklayer Carpenter & Gardiner

Monda A very fine Day
16 W L went to Walsham &
Lessenham & Slept at Stalham
Childen went to Holt Fair
& drank Tea at Mr Bakers
I walkd to Holt after Tea
Mr Hardy went to Mayes
to Town Meeting Even 6
came home Even 11
Bricklayer Carpenter &
Gardiner at Work

Tuesda A fine Day Chrismas in M H
17 W L came home Mr Hardy
& Raven went to Bodham
Gresham Cromer Sheringham
Weyborn & Salthouse to speak
to the Drawers came home
Even 8. Bricklayer Carpenter
& Gardiner at Work



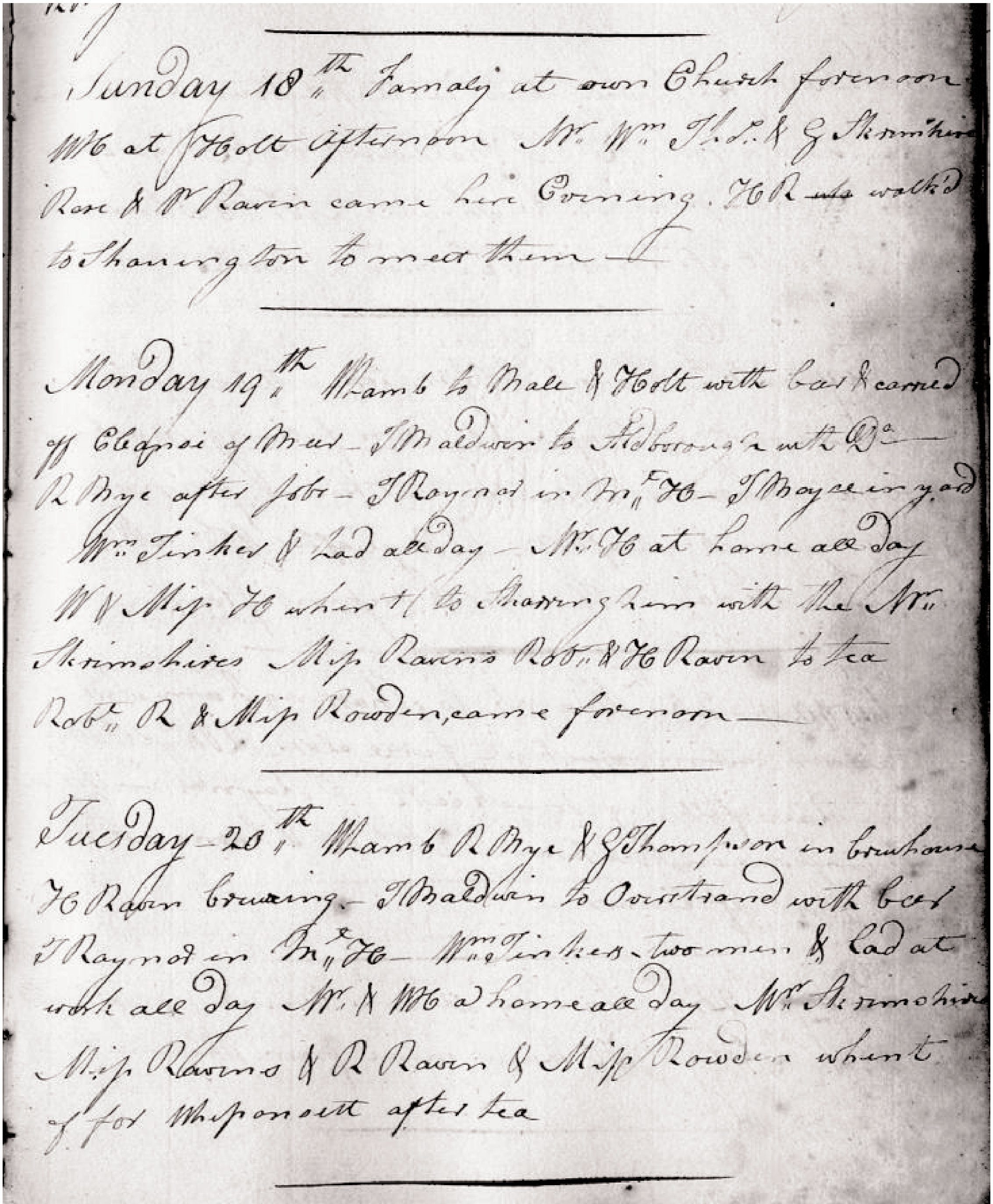
1781 April

Wednesd A fine Day Chrismas
18 in M H. W L at home
Mr Hardy & Raven went
to Langham Morston
Stiffkey & Hindringham
M 9 came home Even 9
Mr Crofts calld here
Mr Groom came
Mrs Mays drank Tea here
Bricklayer Carpenter
& Gardiner at Work

Thursd A fine Day W F T C
19 L I Brewg W L went
[illegible]
Mr Hardy & Wm went
to Hipkins Sale at Saltho
Bought a Horse for £4-16-0
a long Ladder for 7/6
27 Battins at 19/0
17 Ufers 9/ & came home
Even 8. Bricklayer
Carpenter & Gardiner
at Work

Friday A Cold Close Day Chrismo
20 in M H W F & T C & L I
Cleansd W L went from
Coltishall to Strumpshaw
& Upton & back again
to Coltishall. Mr May of
Horningtoft & Mr Johnson
came to speak to us after
Breakfst went away M 11
Mr Hardy at home all
Day Bricklayer Carpen
ter & Gardiner at Work

Figures 4a & b. Mary Hardy's manuscript diary, 14-20 April 1781: one of the two main sources for the statistics in this article. On 16 April the farm servant William Lamb, 'WL', sets out from Letheringsett with the beer wagon on an outward journey of 29½ miles to North Walsham, Lessingham and Stalham. Off to the Yare valley on 19 April, he covers 52½ miles in two days. (Cozens-Hardy Collection).


Sunday 18th Family at own Church forenoon
WHR at Holt afternoon Mr Wm [illegible] & G Skrimshire
Rose & W Raven came here Evening. HR [illegible] walk'd
to Sharrington to meet them —

Monday 19th Wramb to Bale & Holt with beer & carried
off [illegible] of Beer – J Maldwin to Aldborough with Do —
R Mye after Jobs – J Raynard in Mr H – J Moyce in yard
Wm Tinker & Lad all day – Mr H at home all day
W & Miss H whent of to Sharringham with the Mr
Skrimshires Miss Ravens Robt & H Raven to tea
Robt R & Miss Rowden came forenoon —

Tuesday 20th Wramb R Mye & G Thompson in brewhouse
H Raven brewing – J Maldwin to Overstrand with beer
J Raynard in Mr H – Wm Tinker two men & Lad at
work all day Mr & WHR at home all day Mr Skrimshire
Miss Ravens & R Raven & Miss Rowden whent
of for Whissonsett after tea

Figure 5. Henry Raven's manuscript diary, 18-20 June 1797. Henry, aged nineteen and under training, is acting head brewer. Despite the excitement of a party of his relations arriving shortly before his sister Rose's wedding he still carefully logs all the men's tasks. There are beer deliveries to Bale, Holt, Aldborough and Overstrand. (Cozens-Hardy Collection).

At first the entries look unappealing; many appear arid in the extreme. Yet if we prod and pick at them they show themselves as revelatory. They are at times our only source on what she is reporting, such as progress at Horstead with the Aylsham navigation, or the spread of cottage Wesleyanism. Henry Raven's text may well be a unique survival from the eighteenth century: the only daily diary by a brewing pupil.

It is from Mary Hardy's log of the drayman William Lamb's movements that the figure of 555 miles a month is derived, as quoted in the Introduction. In one week in 1781, setting out on a series of calls from the Letheringsett base, he delivered beer to Edgefield, North Walsham, Lessingham, Stalham, Little Hautbois ('Hobis'), Strumpshaw (on the Yare) and Upton (on the lower Bure towards Great Yarmouth). He lumbered 75 miles with the wagon, at 2-3 mph, in just three days 19-21 April, travelling light with only the empty barrels after completing 41 miles.

Figure 6. Letheringsett Hall, the east front of 1832-1834; here Mary Hardy wrote her diary 1781-1809. Henry Raven also lived here 1792-1800, but may have written across the road in his domain, the brewery counting house. He became a London brewer and probably took the second volume of his diary with him. (photograph Margaret Bird 2002).

Henry, whose father Robert Raven had died in 1783 leaving eight children aged under twelve, went to live at his aunt's at Letheringsett Hall in 1792 (Fig. 6); in July 1794, when he was sixteen, his apprenticeship began. The Glaven, which runs right past the malthouse and the Hall, powered the pumps and hoists at the maltings and brewery: William Hardy had taken the bold decision to mechanise his business by converting it to water power in 1784. The tunnel he built for the waterwheel still runs under the present A148 close to the malt-kilns with their distinctive twirling cowls.

Henry kept in close touch with his family at Whissonsett Hall, where his mother Ann and eldest brother Robert ran the farm. His sister Mary Raven (1780-1846) married their cousin William Hardy junior in 1819, but by then Henry was long married and serving as a head brewer in London. He was very ill in 1824 and died in March 1825, being buried in St. Mary-at Lambeth. By the 1830s Henry's own brewing book of 1824 was back with the Hardys and being used by Mary Hardy's only surviving grandchild William Hardy Cozens to note malting instructions and brewing recipes.[4]

Itinerancy a part of daily life

The diaries of Mary Hardy and Henry Raven, unlike those of the more static Parson Woodforde, show that Norfolk was characterised by movement: the countryside was a heaving mass of people and animals. By 1773 Calvinistic Methodist preachers and Wesleyan itinerant and local preachers were moving from class to class and meeting to meeting on their carefully planned circuits. The Anglicans, both clergy and flock, were similarly on the move every Sunday. Many resident incumbents served consolidated livings and preached in two or more parishes; the hard-pressed Church of England curates filling in for non-resident clergy might well serve a trio of parishes. Additionally, weekday evening services attracted Nonconformists and Anglicans alike.

The flock showed little inclination to stay loyal to their home parish, the two diarists revealing that sermon tasting was well established in their north Norfolk circle. The Hardys, who tended normally to worship separately, would gather together to travel miles to Field Dalling, Briningham or Warham All Saints to hear a good preacher - and do so in the rain, in an open cart.[5]

Figure 7. Mary Hardy aged 64, by which time she had given up frivolous pursuits such as the playhouse and cards. In 1795 she started to attend Methodist meetings regularly in many nearby villages. By 1798 she was a paid-up member of Cley's Wesleyan society, and in 1808 she re-established a meeting at Letheringsett. (portrait by Immanuel 1798; Cozens-Hardy Collection).

Robert Southey attributed the early successes of the Methodists to the novelty of itinerancy.[6] It was surely a far from novel concept: the circuit formed part of normal daily experience at the time. This article will feature the brewery drayman on his rounds, servicing the public houses as faithfully as a preacher his meetings. But we should also remember that lawyers, surgeons, doctors, tailors, plumbers and the brewers themselves also had rounds, during which they called on clients and pocketed their fees.

Receivers General of the Land Tax and the top excise officials known as the Collectors of Excise had their regular rotations around the market towns to receive the monies that financed the wars,[7] while the lower-status and overworked excise officers adhered to outrides and footwalks to monitor the various commodities they gauged. Only if his circuit stretched over a radius of six miles or more did the exciseman get a horse. Customs officers, in addition to their many other duties, patrolled the coast roads as riding officers,[8] while drovers and pedlars kept to their well-trodden cross-country routes. Wholesale grocers had a pre-set pattern of 'waiting upon' the scattered retailers whom they supplied.[9]

The county sessions were adjourned in rotation every quarter from Norwich to the four sessions towns of Holt and Walsingham, King's Lynn and Swaffham. Nevertheless the justices, grand jurors, petty jurors, parish officers, plaintiffs and defendants still had lengthy journeys of up to twenty miles to reach the seat of justice. Assize judges and bishops and archdeacons on their visitations had their pre-ordained circuits as they toured their courts, sees and deaneries. Even the home-loving Revd James Woodforde enjoyed his 'rotation' with his 'brethren', when he met fellow clergy over an extended dinner.

The principle behind rounds and circuits was that the service-provider came to the client; it saved a great deal of journeying by the client. Thus travelling dancing masters taught at the private schools on a regular weekly circuit. Troupes of travelling players such as Mary Hardy liked to see, until she adopted a more puritanical lifestyle, came to the market towns and sometimes in more remote areas performed in barns.

It is little wonder that an eighteen-year-old Frenchman marvelled at the bustle of the East Anglian roads he travelled in 1784:

You cannot imagine the quantity of travellers who are always on the road in England. You cannot go from one post to another without meeting two or three postchaises, to say nothing of the regular diligences.[10]

The state of the roads

So what was the state of the roads which carried this busy traffic? The simplest response is to seek the views of independent observers from outside the county who can provide some basis of comparison. The Revd James Woodforde, from the West Country and Oxford, came to Norfolk full of optimism after securing his lucrative liv-

ing. In 1775, despite arriving outside Norwich at 11 pm and finding the city gate locked for the night, he pronounced this oft-repeated panegyric: 'From London to Norwich 109 miles, and the best of roads I ever travelled'.[11]

The careful, statistically-minded agricultural economist Nathaniel Kent, writing twenty years later, was also favourably struck by the state of the roads, and offered his reader some factual evidence in support:

> The roads in this county afford the farmer a very great advantage over many other parts of England, being free from sloughs [mires], in all parts (except the marshes), and though the soil is sandy, it resists the pressure of the wheels at a small distance from the surface, and the ruts are kept shallow at a very little expence ...
>
> In short, the roads, though often called bad by Norfolk men, are so good, comparatively with those in other counties, that where the common statute duty is fairly done, a traveller may cross the country in any direction, in a post-chaise, without danger; and where the duty is not done, may trot his horse from one parish to another, at the rate of six miles an hour.[12]

Arthur Young, well used to travelling about the kingdom in his role as Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, considered that Norfolk had made great strides since his first tour, written up in 1771. Following his 1802 visit he could say that the county had made 'considerable exertions' in the previous twenty years, the consequent improvements being brought about in part by the creation of turnpikes on the main routes: 'The roads, in general, must be considered as equal to those of the most improved counties.'[13]

However most journeys were not along turnpike roads. Beer deliveries required the use of minor country lanes, and anyway there were no turnpikes at all in north Norfolk until very late. Cromer was reached in 1811; Wells not until 1826. No turnpike penetrated the far north-west of the county other than the spur from King's Lynn to Snettisham in 1770. The Norwich-Holt road was never turnpiked.

If the roads, both major and minor, had not been in good shape the brewers could not have built up portfolios of tied houses.[14] The Hardys supplied 31 known outlets from Coltishall 1773-81, and 66 from Letheringsett 1781-1809; there may have been more which did not get logged in Mary Hardy's diary. At any one time they were supplying perhaps 40-45 houses (see Fig. 8). When William Hardy handed over the business to his son in 1797 he was producing 2,100 barrels of strong beer a year for 42 public houses, of which 25 were tied.

Mary Hardy has much to say on the weather and the state of the roads in her entries made daily for just under 35½ years: roughly, allowing for two gaps for incapacitating illness, 12,850 days. During that period she describes the roads as impassable on only 32 days. The figure includes those occasions when she and her circle were prevented from moving about on their daily duties, usually owing to floods, snowdrifts or a thaw. Even though the period was still in the grip of the Little Ice Age, and suffered some appalling winters in which people lost their lives in the snow, the local roads proved impassable during only 0.25% of the time. Hence perhaps the prevalence of itinerancy in daily life.

The lie of the land

As well as the state of the roads, the lie of the land shaped the development of the brewing industry and encouraged the growth of wholesale breweries, known then as common breweries.

Coltishall and Letheringsett lie at the heart of very comparable areas. Both posed problems for draymen. The first was the bisection of the flat landscape by Broadland's unfordable rivers; the second was the occasional steep hill in the north of the county. In the part of the navigable Broads served by William Hardy as brewery manager there were (and are) very few bridges. Only one, at Acle, spanned the 25-mile stretch of the Bure between Wroxham and the approaches to the estuary at Great Yarmouth; Horning Ferry helped fill the void. Only one bridge spanned the River Thurne, two the River Ant.

The hills of the Cromer ridge were in some places so steep as to force alternative routes on horse-drawn heavy transport. The sharp drop from above the 60-metre contour line on Holt Heath down to the Glaven headstream in the valley between Holt and Edgefield may account at least in part for the route of the Wells-

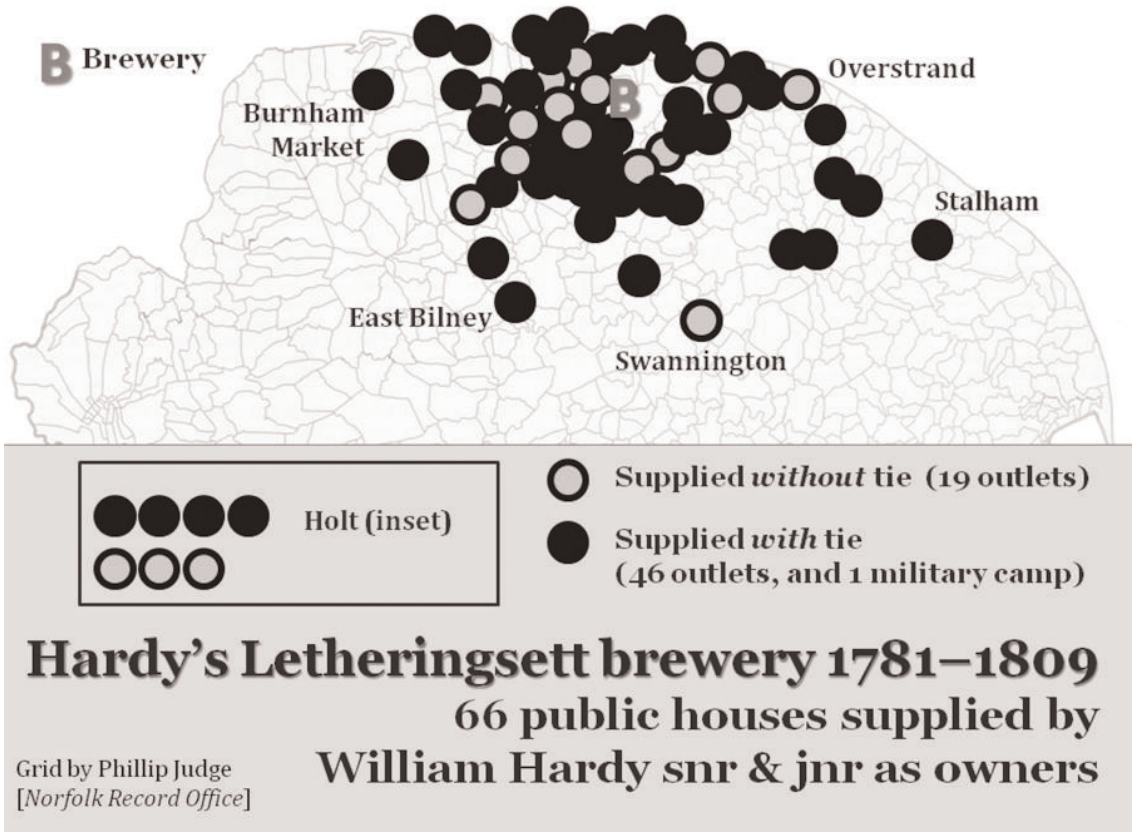


Figure 8. A brewery empire. One of the PowerPoint slides accompanying the talk given on 29 April 2014 to the Blakeney Area Historical Society. The towns and villages most distant from the brewery are named. The military camp defending the coast against the feared French invasion was at Weybourne. This chart does not reflect the very stressful period 1781-1782 when William Hardy, for the owner John Wells, was still managing his Coltishall brewery - but from his new Letheringsett base. The men then had to journey far further than is shown here and on the stem-and-leaf plot (see Figure 14). (© Margaret Bird 2013).

Norwich coach to which Mary Hardy subscribed in the 1780s. After stopping at Holt it then went on to Aylsham via Itteringham, thus avoiding the potentially dangerous ground south of Holt.[15]

The streams in this part of the county were often fordable, as indeed was the Glaven beside the Hardys' maltings until the present Letheringsett Bridge was financed by private subscription and built by Mary Hardy's son William in 1818. Where they could not be forded, as for instance at Wiveton, Reepham, Lenwade, Itteringham, Blickling, Ingworth, Aylsham and Mayton, the county stepped in and strong stone bridges were financed out of the county rate. Fords could prove dangerous. Both Mary Hardy and Henry Raven describe how the dray of Mrs Booty, the Binham brewer, was swept away by the flooded Glaven at Letheringsett in 1796. One of the mares was drowned.[16]

Coltishall and Letheringsett lie in densely settled areas, if not especially densely populated, the villages and hamlets crowding very close to one another. On rising ground as many as six or more church towers can often be seen - where they have not latterly become shrouded by trees.

Further, the unusually dense and intricate pattern of lanes, permitting the choice of a direct route, favoured efficient distribution. The proud claim by the Norfolk Churches Trust that 'Norfolk contains the greatest concentration of medieval churches in the world' has its roots not only in the long-lasting nature of the flint building material but in the density of the parishes.[17]

Phillip Judge's map of Norfolk, part of which is seen in Figure 8, makes the point visually. This is the densest parish grid in Britain. With the generally flat contours (the Cromer ridge apart) it makes ideal terrain for a wholesaler - and a sermon taster. As his map shows, at Coltishall Mary Hardy had 17 other parishes lying within three miles of her home; at Letheringsett she had twenty within four miles.

However in parts of the west and south-west of the county the parishes were rather larger in geographical extent, the settlements more remote from one another, and lanes and roads were far less numerous. The names of these regions - the Marshland and the Fens - convey something of the difficulty of land carriage. Common brewers could not flourish in such uncongenial territory.

The publican brewer, who did his or her own brewing for the customers, could still hold out where distribution from one central production point proved uneconomic. This helps to explain some of the divergences between excise areas (known as Collections) as reported to Parliament in 1822. The hilly moors around Halifax, where the innkeepers still did their own brewing, are utterly different from the flatlands of Beverley and Hull where wholesalers were at work.[18]

The argument that the local economy is moulded by the accident of geography is pushed to its logical conclusion in Scotland, where the tied-house system 'was known, but was never prevalent much before the middle of the nineteenth century'.[19] Tellingly, Norfolk had nearly 700 parishes in the eighteenth century. In all Scotland there were only 900.[20]

The density of public houses

If we calculate the ratio of public houses to the local population we see that the Hardys chose propitious ground for their breweries and networks of outlets, taking advantage not only of accommodating terrain but also favourable licensing regimes. The ground was extensive. From the two breweries they covered nearly 40% of the county.

Using the alehouse register figures for 1799 and the census returns for 1801 we find that the total number of public houses in rural Norfolk was 946, serving a population of 209,330 persons.[21] This gives an overall ratio of one public house for every 221 persons, including children, expressed as 1:221.

Figure 9. The former King's Head at Cley, on the coast road almost opposite the old Customs House: one of the 66 retail outlets charted on the slide. It stayed with the Hardys as one of their tied houses all the way through to 1896, when the maltings, brewery and tied estate were sold to the brewers Morgans of Norwich. (photograph Margaret Bird 2011).

The average ratio across Hardy country c.1800 covering north, north-east and part of central Norfolk was one public house for every 228 persons. In Holt hundred, which included Cley and Blakeney in the cluster of parishes in the central area of north Norfolk, a common brewer gained distinct opportunities. In this hundred, where as many as 18 of the 26 towns and villages had a Hardy outlet, the ratio was a particularly favourable 1:183.

The ratios cited by Peter Clark for parts of the country other than East Anglia reveal that by comparison Norfolk had a rich provision in the 1790s. The population elsewhere had risen, but through strict licensing regimes often saw no corresponding growth in public houses. Thus Kent had 1:350 in 1810 and Middlesex 1:306 in 1813.[22] These calculations make Norfolk's 1:221 c.1800 look favourable indeed for the drinker (if not for supporters of William Wilberforce's campaign against vice), although the ratio will have reflected not

only a benign Norfolk magistracy but a slower-rising population than in Kent and Middlesex.

So far we have looked at the sources for an analysis of distribution by road as practised by one family business, the prevalence of itinerancy and, although it will be very familiar to all those who know Blakeney and its hinterland, we have grappled with the topography of the area covered by the concern.

Before moving on to the actual carriage of the very bulky commodity that particular family produced we need to reflect on the structure of the business. The structure, known today - but not then - as vertical integration, had major implications for the workforce. It is with that workforce, about whose tasks the two diarists write with intimate knowledge, that the study will end.

Vertical integration

The Hardys' enterprise was served by only three yearly men at Coltishall and four at Letheringsett. Help was given by one additional skilled maltster when the Coltishall business expanded into malting at Hoveton, and by the apprentice Henry Raven at Letheringsett 1792-1800. Day and weekly labourers filled in any gaps, as did the farm boy who, like the principal workforce, was hired by the year. The boy and the apprentice were the only two to live in the household, apart from Mary Hardy's two maidservants who in some years also helped with haymaking and harvest.

Looking just at the yearly men, and by compiling worksheets based on the diary texts, we can see that distribution occupied between one-third and a half of their time.[23] It was the varied nature of the business, the vertical integration, that made so many different demands on their skills. With the exception of work in the malthouse, one day was almost always different from the next. The Hardys' men had little monotony in their working lives. They also had the job satisfaction of seeing their task through from start to finish.

Vertical integration in both villages had malting and brewing at its core. Upstream, to use the modern business metaphor, there was farming; downstream there was the management and supply of the public houses.

Figure 10. A Norfolk ploughman. In a vertically integrated business like the Hardys', where one man would see the product through from the start (as seen here) to the finish (when delivering the beer to the public house), the workforce had to be versatile and adaptable. So did the horses. The plough horses were also the drayhorses. From Kent, N. (1796) General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk.

Figure 11. A private brewhouse, with copper (top) and cooler (right). This 17th-century brewhouse, in the care of the National Trust at Lacock Abbey in Wiltshire, is not on a commercial scale. The vessels would however be recognisable to the Hardys' men, for whom they represented the central core of a manufacturer's vertically integrated concern. (photograph Margaret Bird 2001)

Through this integration, which for some years at Letheringsett was reinforced at its core by cornmilling, the Hardys protected themselves to a certain degree from risk. They certainly could ensure quality by growing and malting the grain for the beer, and rely on sales outlets secured for their produce.

Although distribution by water does not come into this study, the Hardys used keels and wherries on the Broads and in 1776 built their own small wherry, named *William and Mary*. At Letheringsett they relied hugely on the quays at Blakeney, and in 1800 William Hardy junior bought his own ill-fated sloop *Nelly*.

The dazzling levels of commitment by the Hardys' men, seen later, may have been made possible by the very varied nature of their tasks. The men's considerable output was achieved not through improved methods and new and better machinery, but sheer hard work. They were rarely ill, took almost no holidays, and often worked on Sundays and religious feast days.

As a consequence of the long working day and, especially, the long year each man's annual working time was approximately 3,600 to 3,750 hours. For comparison, average annual hours worked by each full-time employed person in 2007, before the onset of the prolonged macro-economic downturn, were very different. The averages for Poland were 1,976 hours, the United States 1,798, Japan 1,785, Australia 1,711, the United Kingdom 1,677, France 1,485 and Germany 1,422 hours.[24]

It is perhaps astonishing that little rigorous research has been conducted into the lives of the annually-hired farm servants, as they were known. Their loyalty lay at the heart of many farming and rural mixed businesses.

The location of the outlets

It is hard to over-emphasise the importance of public houses in the landscape. As well as providing a multiplicity of services, in a dark countryside they might be the only buildings showing a light. Their inn boards bore pictures for those who could not read. An unlettered stranger seeking directions and landmarks in unfamiliar territory could navigate, increasingly unsteadily, from the Crown to the White Lion to the Bull and fetch up in the King's Arms.

Although Mary Hardy and Henry Raven rarely record this, perhaps as it was so obvious, the draymen would have paused during deliveries to refresh themselves; their horses would have drunk deep from the troughs by the pump. Pure well water in the alehouse yard would in itself have been a boon for those on the move.

The county maps by Faden of 1797 and Bryant of 1826 name a great number of the public houses and by no means give prominence solely to the leading inns. The mapmakers, themselves itinerants, would have appreciated their services, and it is tempting to think they selected their favourites for inclusion. (The men building the Aylsham navigation, and its German-born surveyor - another itinerant - H.A. Biedermann himself, enjoyed the services of the White Horse at Great Hautbois, close to Coltishall Lock.)[25]

The tiny Falgate at Hindringham stands in a lonely spot on the Walsingham road. It was the most modest of the Hardys' houses, the widowed Mary Allen paying the lowest rent. But it appears on both Faden and Bryant,

Figure 12. Hindringham, the former Falgate: another of the 66 outlets. This house, also sold to Morgans in 1896, appears on the six-mile line on the stem-and-leaf plot (Fig. 14). Like so many former licensed premises it proudly displays its old name by the door. (photograph Margaret Bird 2012)

Figure 13. Hindolveston, the former Maid's Head: also one of the 66 and sold to Morgans in 1896; it too stands on the six-mile line on the plot. Two other houses in this large village were tied to the Hardys at Letheringsett in Mary Hardy's time: the Cock or Clock and the Red Lion. (photograph Margaret Bird 2002)

and would have been greatly valued for the welcome warmth, light and refreshment it gave. Even today the traveller in a comfortable car can from far off spot the look of a former licensed house and the way it faces the road expectantly (Figs. 12 & 13).

An endpaper map in the third of the published Diary volumes displays the distribution network of the Hardys' outlets in more detail than is shown here in Figure 1. Both maps chart the locations topographically, as does Figure 8. A different approach is to set them as a stem-and-leaf plot (Fig. 14). This charts the position, in terms of miles from the brewery, of the 31 public houses supplied from Coltishall 1773-1781 and the 66 from Letheringsett during Mary Hardy's lifetime.

As four houses transferred with William Hardy from Coltishall it plots 97 positions but actually covers 93 houses. (The four were the Queen's Head at Brampton, Three Horseshoes at Corpusty, Three Pigs at Edgefield and Maid's Head at Stalham.) Neither Figure 8 nor Figure 14 attempts to display the very difficult period 1781-1782 when the Coltishall houses were supplied with Letheringsett beer as no successor had been found for William Hardy as manager at Coltishall. The extraordinary workload and long mileages experienced by William Hardy, his men and his innkeepers have only been touched on in the opening part of this study with the one week in William Lamb's life.

Many outlets, especially during the first 28 years at Letheringsett, were not supplied continuously. The Pitt Arms at Burnham Market (Fig. 15) lay 17½ miles from the north Norfolk brewery. It was supplied briefly in 1790, possibly on trial, and then regularly with John Howard as innkeeper 1795-1800. Detailed data on the duration of supply and, where applicable, of tie will be found in the Gazetteer of 101 public houses to be published in the second of the commentary volumes forming *Mary Hardy and her World*.

The plot has the brewery bases as the stem. Spreading outward to the left and right are the outlets. The equivalent of the brewery taps, the Recruiting Sergeant at Horstead and the King's Head at Letheringsett, appear at the foot of the plot, at half a mile from the brewery and at no distance respectively. The leaves, or houses, are charted until reaching the distance of 25 miles from the brewery: the Maid's Head at Stalham. This house is also plotted on a nine-mile radius from the Coltishall base as it was also supplied from there.

At Coltishall the 31 houses were located at an average distance of just under seven miles from the brewery; at

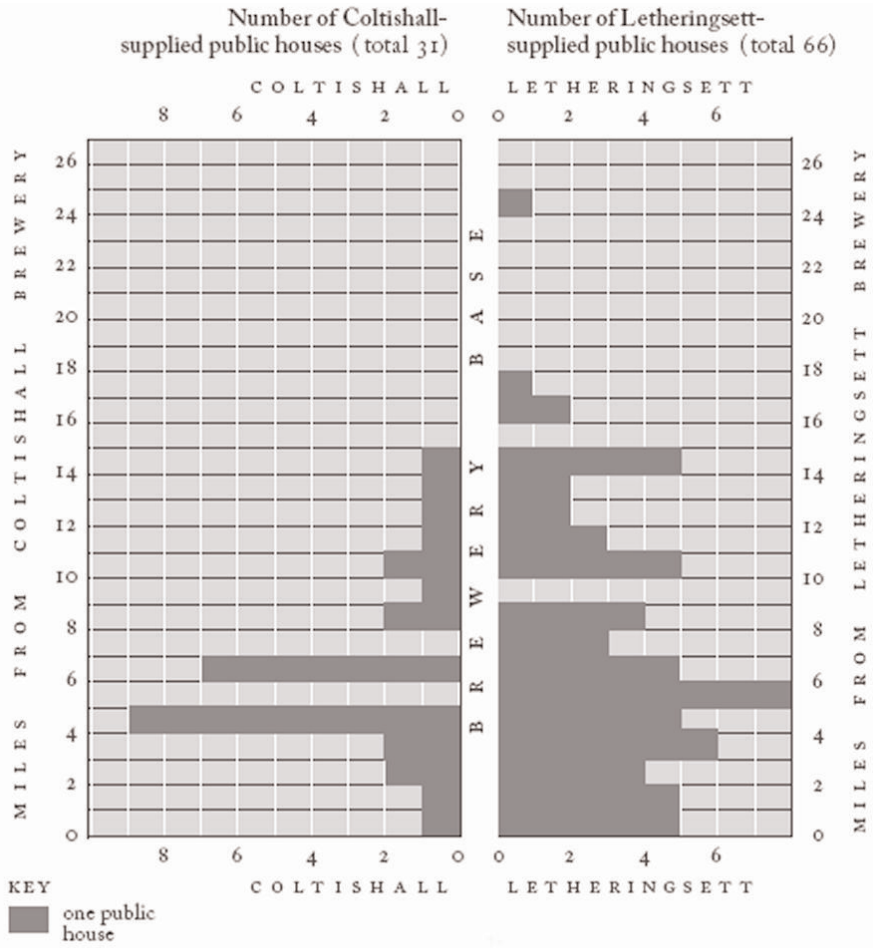


Figure 14. A stem-and-leaf plot of the distribution of public houses supplied by the Hardys, shown to the nearest mile from the breweries at Coltishall 1773–1781 and at Letheringsett 1781–1809. Weybourne Military Camp is included. Sources The diaries of Mary Hardy and Henry Raven.

Letheringsett the 66 houses averaged just over 7¼ miles from the base. Were the house at Stalham, situated far from the others, to be removed from the Letheringsett side of the plot the averages would tally almost exactly: 6.9 miles at Coltishall; 6.7 miles at Letheringsett.

These averages reinforce the assertion of many brewery historians that, in the comparatively early period of tying, the common brewers liked to have their houses fairly near, fifteen miles generally being regarded as the maximum distance.[26] However in Norfolk some brewers, like the Hardys, Chapman Ives of Coltishall, John Day of Norwich and John Patteson also of Norwich, were prepared to go significantly further.[27]

The plot is useful in demonstrating that numerous breweries, dispersed at regular intervals, were needed in this period to serve the local economy. It was no good relying only on King's Lynn and Norwich as centres of wholesale brewing, as the demands of distribution in this large county would have defeated the producers.

When breweries were advertised for sale or let in rural areas the notices would sometimes try to entice the

Figure 15. The Hardys' Burnham Market house, known then as the Pitt Arms and now simply as the Hoste. It appears on the stem-and-leaf plot (fig. 14) as the second house from the top, more than 17 miles from the brewery base. One of the draymen, Thomas Baldwin, had a bad accident in December 1796 after delivering here: the wagonwheel ran over him and broke his leg. He was off work for more than three months, but as a yearly man his job was kept open; the law required also that he be paid. He had earlier broken his arm on a delivery, accidents being narrated later. (photograph Margaret Bird 1994)

prospective purchaser by announcing there were no other brewing offices (as breweries were called) for some miles. It would be reassuring to hear there was clear ground between the new brewer and the competition as it might be hoped that at least the sales and distribution sides of the business would be healthy.[28]

In the 1780s common breweries were still in business across the wide northern area between Lynn and Norwich: Fring, Wells, Binham, Letheringsett, Guist, Cawston, Reepham, Dereham, Coltishall and Worstead, all jostling for position and encroaching on one another's territory.

The horses

The horse was a key player in efficient distribution. The Hardys did not use the type of horse seen today pulling huge loaded wagons at shows and occasionally on the streets of London, as at the Lord Mayor's Show. These consume far too much hay. Also the Hardys expected their horses to be as versatile as their men. They had no dedicated drayhorses. Their plough horses, doubling as drayhorses, are unlikely to have been the powerful Shires seen at rural shows today, whose hairy fetlocks would have slowed them down in the mud of the fields. They would have been smaller, wirier beasts with smooth legs and ankles, as in the Nathaniel Kent illustration (Fig. 10). Today's Suffolk Punch may have something of the look of the breeds forming part of the team at Coltishall and Letheringsett (Fig. 17).

Brewery historians, reliant for the early charting of their firms' development on sources which concentrate on partners' biographies and lists of assets, can neglect the drayhorse's contribution. There are sensitive portraits of the working horse in the histories of Watney Mann of London and of Brakspear's on the Thames at Henley, where the drayhorse worked the same long hours as his driver in the early twentieth century. The working day

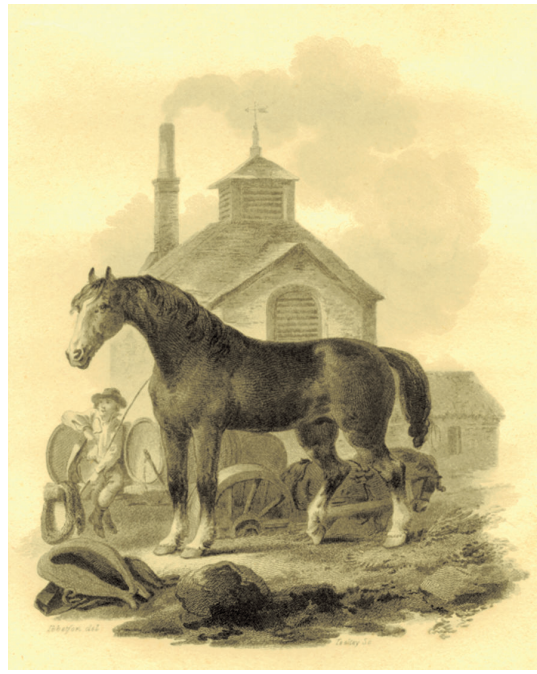


Figure 16. The drayhorse in 1799, easing his muscles in front of his slightly tipsy-looking driver and the beer cart or dray; his tack is heaped neatly on the ground. Mary Hardy uses the term 'brew cart' rather than dray; Henry occasionally refers to a dray, but more usually employs the participle draying. This may well be a dedicated drayhorse, as he has hairy fetlocks unsuited to fieldwork. Also this is a steam brewery, so it may be in an urban setting. Steam as an innovation did not catch on in rural areas until later. Chapman Ives of Coltishall, a large producer capable of brewing 26,000 barrels a year, was a Norfolk pioneer in converting to steam by 1796. The expense may have broken him. That year witnessed his first bankruptcy. (drawing by Ibbotson; engraving by Tookey)

Figure 17. Trojan, aged nine weeks, by the flank of his mother Ruby: visitors to Gressenhall Farm and Workhouse. These Suffolk Punches may be closer to the Hardys' horses in looks than the towering hay-devouring Shires and Percherons: the Hardys as arable growers were always short of fodder. Although a young foal, Trojan is being accustomed to his bridle ready for his long service as a working horse. The Hardys took care to prepare their young horses and did not work them until they were fully grown. As was usual, and as seen here, the colts were sent away to summer grazing. (photograph Margaret Bird 2011)

began at 5.30 am, as a former drayman recalled, and might end after midnight:

'You'd see them coming over Henley Bridge, Reading Road, Bell Street, ten, eleven and twelve at night, poor old devils.' Sometimes a driver would doze off on the return journey and the horses would find their own way home; and on one occasion 'the horses came down New Street, into the gate and the boss of the wheel caught the big gate, and there they stood, waiting for someone to come and move 'em', the driver fast asleep among the empty barrels on the bottom of the dray.[29]

While the brewery historian Peter Mathias, in his magisterial survey of the industry in the eighteenth century, gives the drayhorse its due he sees it principally in financial terms. He paints a picture, surely unrecognisable to the Hardys, of huge beasts representing considerable capital outlay. He quotes sums of above £40 for each animal after 1800; at Truman's of London £2,000 in total was invested in the period 1793-1808 in the 60 drayhorses and 20-22 mill horses (the latter being used in unmechanised breweries for grinding malt by means of a gin - as the Hardys did, with their blind mare, until converting to water power in 1784) (Fig. 18).[30] William Hardy, by contrast, valued his two teams of four horses in 1797 at £32 a team, averaging £8 a horse.[31]

Mathias depicts businesses dedicated almost exclusively to brewing and distribution, whereas the Hardys'

Figure 18. The Letheringsett malt-kilns, photographed by Basil Cozens-Hardy in 1952. These were built by Mary Hardy's son William in the early nineteenth century. The bridge carrying today's A148 is also his project; it was designed by William Mindham, his Wells-born protégé, who designed and built Norwich's first Foundry Bridge in 1810. The malthouse known to Mary Hardy is beyond. The tunnel in the foreground carrying an offshoot of the Glaven was built by William Hardy in 1783-1784 for the new waterwheel; the cascade reflects the drop to the wheel. Mechanisation meant that the Hardys had no further use for their old mill horse, who died in retirement four years later. This was the spot where the Binham drayhorse was drowned in 1796, as described earlier. (Cozens-Hardy Collection)

vertically integrated rural enterprise was characterised by fluidity and flexibility. They could not afford to be single-minded about distribution, and deliveries were fitted around other tasks. Sometimes a man would set off late in the evening after a very full day in the field and in the maltings and brewery.

The Hardys used two men only in the deepest snow; deploying two men routinely on each delivery would have brought such vital tasks as farming, brewing, and collecting coal to a halt. And their brew carts (and perhaps the horses and the roads) could not have coped with the monstrous 108-gallon butts to which Mathias refers. The Hardys used the standard 36-gallon barrel, holding 288 pints (nearly 164 litres).

Figure 19. A Norfolk wagon, in the traditional local paintwork of scarlet and royal blue. The Hardys used the more manoeuvrable cart when they could, but owned two wagons as well. (photograph Margaret Bird 1992)

Loads carried

We gain almost no idea from Mary Hardy of the size of load carried; she refers merely to loading and carting. When she does refer to the number of barrels ordered it is generally in relation to large consignments for shipping, such as ten barrels for Knaresborough, 19 barrels for Newcastle, 30 barrels for Norway.[32]

Innkeepers come ordering beer, but she does not note the size of the order: 'J. Fuller here to speak for beer'; 'Bullock of Holt came and spoke for some beer for the first time;' 'Mr Scott of Sheringham came to speak for a load of beer;' 'Mrs Twiddy and Mr Mobbs here to speak for beer'; 'A Mrs Bishop from Reepham came to speak for some beer, dined and stayed here all night'.[33] Sometimes she is more precise about the beer but more hazy about the innkeeper: 'Mr [...] from Wells and a stranger with him dined here and spoke for a load of porter'.[34]

Henry Raven and his cousin William Hardy junior fill some of the gaps, their entries for 1793-1797 fleshing out Mary Hardy's. William, who at 23 set the pattern of entries in the diary which was shortly to become Henry's, made the entries when Henry was on holiday at Whissonsett. He was precise about orders; Henry tended to stray from the model. The size of the orders varied very considerably over the four years. The 'regular', 'customary' system of deliveries described by Mathias bears no relation to the rather ad hoc, even anarchic, ordering at Letheringsett.[35]

Taking just the orders for nog, this strong brew was supplied as loads of two barrels (for the brewery tap only); three barrels (for very local deliveries to Holt and Thornage, within a 1½-mile radius); four barrels (varying between the brewery tap to as far afield as Kettlestone at seven miles and East Runton at 10½ miles); five barrels (for Holt); and seven barrels (for nearby Gunthorpe and Holt).[36]

On 21 December 1793 Henry Raven noted an extraordinary order, placed by the tiny Falgate at Hindringham, for four barrels of nog and eighteen barrels of small beer (Fig. 12). This could have been for a series of frolics and a tithe audit, but the house seems too small to have hosted events with that number of revellers, given that they were facing the challenge of consuming 6,336 pints of beer. Two days later, just before Christmas, Thomas Baldwin undertook the delivery to Hindringham, six miles away. Given that Henry noted only one journey Baldwin presumably took the wagon.[37] The four-wheeled wagon was used for very large orders and for distant journeys (Fig. 19); the two-wheeled cart was the vehicle generally used for draying.

Draying was a hard and exhausting task. In spite of their many hardships the men seem to have exercised great care with the beer, even if they themselves came to serious harm at times. Only twice do we learn of damage to

the barrels. In the Coltishall years Mary Hardy recorded that John Thompson staved a barrel of nog in 1778 on a delivery to Tuttington and Buxton. At Letheringsett her son noted: 'Thomas Baldwin at Beckhithe [Overstrand] with beer, Robert Bye to Wiveton and Weybourne with ditto [beer] and lost a barrel'.[38] All were experienced draymen.

It was very common for the draymen to deliver to two or even three houses on one journey, making distribution rather more profitable. This prudent practice, coupled with the vagueness of much of the ordering, means it is not possible to calculate rates of consumption at any individual public house.

The database provided by the two diaries helps towards an understanding of local trade and an assessment of the vitality of an individual place, however obscure. Delivery calculations can be made for most of the Hardys' public houses. The Crown at Sheringham was greatly boosted by the holiday trade in the 1790s, deliveries being made at intervals of four to six weeks in winter, but oftener than every ten days to a fortnight at the height of the summer. The holidaymakers were not so genteel as to abstain from the local beer.

Crises were good for trade. Both diarists record the bread riots of December 1795 after the failure of the wheat harvest. Trouble flared when starving men and women intercepted a consignment of flour which the Glandford miller Zeb Rouse, later a Cley surveyor, wished to ship coastwise. To sidestep other rioters on Wells Quay, Zeb arranged for his wagon to head for King's Lynn. The flour got no further than the Sharrington Swan (then a very modest house and now in a layby on the A148). The Inniskilling Dragoons and the Pembrokeshire Militia had to quell the tumult of the mob. Deliveries shot up following this sudden influx of drinkers.[39]

So it was with the large military camp at Weybourne. William Hardy senior and junior not only won the beer contact for the camp, but also saw deliveries markedly increasing to their existing outlets at Weybourne and Sheringham.[40]

It was glaringly evident to economists and agriculturalists at the time how expensive land carriage was. In his report of 1796 to the Board of Agriculture, Nathaniel Kent quoted the observation of 'Mr Colhoun' (presumably the Bedford MP William MacDowall Colhoun, rather than the statistician Patrick Colquhoun) that the cost of land carriage from Thetford to London or back was £4 a ton. If the proposed linkage of Thetford by water to the capital had gone ahead the calculation would have fallen to under £1 a ton, 'a saving of near eighty per cent. The like saving would have been made on all the articles of trade, extending to the city of Norwich'.[41]

The military, preoccupied with provisioning the large numbers of anti-invasion troops ranged across East Anglia, calculated the load a civilian wagon and cart could haul using different levels of traction (Table 1). The Commissary General of the Eastern District described in impressive detail the system to be employed: weybills and conductors for the goods, and a pioneer corps to keep the roads open. Among the many commodities he listed Henry Motz did not consider the bulk transport of liquids such as beer.[42]

Beer is a low-value, high-weight and large-volume commodity, the drayman being required to manhandle barrels of a substance which is 90-96% water. (As a result it held little or no appeal for smugglers.) Perhaps the military assumed that this awkward commodity, from the point of view of land carriage, would continue to be available locally. The traditional practices of billeting troops in public houses and of entering into local contracts for supplies to military canteens - as negotiated with the Hardys in 1795 and 1796 - would have meant that the soldierly mind did not see beer provision as a problem.

However for the local brewer any interruption in the availability of coal and cinders for his brewery and maltings, and of hops for the brew, would have hindered production. All these goods came by sea at a time when vessels had to sail under convoy owing to the constant threat from privateers. William Hardy junior's ship *Nelly*, a Dundee vessel, had spent time in Holland after being captured by a Dutch privateer; *Nelly* was later recaptured by the Royal Navy and taken as a prize to Great Yarmouth, where William bought her in April 1800 (Fig. 20).[43]

Motz's figures are valuable in revealing that in East Anglia greater loads could be carried than is generally

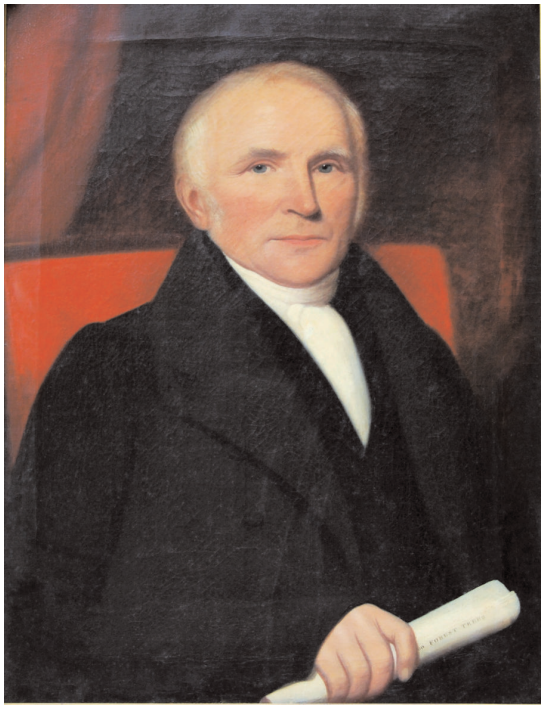


Figure 20. William Hardy junior (1770-1842), aged about 56. His elder brother Raven died in 1787 aged 19. In 1797 William took over the family business - a future mapped out for him from childhood, Mary Hardy's family practising not primogeniture, but male ultimogeniture. He married Henry Raven's sister Mary in 1819. (portrait by an unknown artist; Cozens-Hardy Collection).

accepted. Presumably the level ground and quality of the road surface permitted this greater ease of haulage; hence, as we have established, the development of wholesale brewing and tied-house portfolios. We learn that 'The average cart could carry a load of from 18 to 22 cwts', (there being 20 hundredweights to the ton).[44] Yet, as shown by the table, the Army operated on the assumption that civilian carts could carry up to 1½ tons, or 30 cwt.

In fact the Hardys achieved far better road-haulage capability. Henry Raven wrote in the summer of 1797, at the same time as Motz at Chelmsford, that two of the men, William Lamb and Thomas Baldwin, each went 'to Blackney three times for 9 chaldron of coals from Mr Farthing's'.[45] Henry's precision enables us to calculate that the men made six individual journeys for the coal. Each laden cart thus carried just under two tons (39¾ cwt), for his entry shows that the north Norfolk ports used the London chaldron (26½ cwt), not the Newcastle measure (53 cwt). There is no way the axles of a cart could bear nearly 4 tons, however many horses were used for their pulling power - a factor Henry does not record for us. As it was, the way home would have had to be carefully chosen, to avoid some of the slopes on the direct route from Blakeney Quay to the Letheringsett brewery yard.

The great difficulty of moving domestic items and furniture on the roads may explain why so many in the Hardys' circle put their goods on the market when moving house. Attending house sales in the neighbourhood was the Hardys' principal means over the years of purchasing large items such as mahogany furniture. Sometimes this stratagem could not be resorted to, as when Mary Ann Hardy's new organ was delivered to Letheringsett from Norwich at great expense.[46]

Carriage of heavy items by road was not necessarily performed by wheeled traffic, as on the memorable occasion when the Revd James Woodforde took delivery at his parsonage of a mahogany sideboard and a mahogany drinks cabinet which two men had carried on their backs the twelve miles from Norwich. The kindly parson did not forget the men in his delight at taking possession of these handsome pieces:

> [1793] April 4, Wednesday ... About 2 o'clock this afternoon two men of Sudbury's [the upholsterer] at Norwich came with my sideboard and a large new mahogany cellaret bought of Sudbury, brought on the men's shoulders all the way, and very safe. The men's names were Abraham Seily and Isaac Warren. I gave them whatever they could eat and drink, and when they went away gave them 1s 0d to spend either on the road or at home and sent word by them to Sudbury to pay them handsomely for their day's work.[47]

Work-related road accidents

The horse posed a constant danger, and the Hardys' men worked daily with horses. The high number of fatal road accidents involving horses is catalogued in the indexes to the four Diary volumes, many riders, drunk and sober, being thrown from their mounts. The most serious of the men's injuries were caused by the iron-

Figure 21. The Norfolk and Norwich Hospital. It gave free care to patients, treating the drayman Robert Lound in 1782; his thigh was crushed when he fell under the wagonwheel at Buxton. (James Sillett 1828, detail).

rimmed wheels of the horse-drawn cart or wagon running over them.

The diarists recorded injuries suffered at work, logging 15 incidents of varying seriousness. Of these, seven were occasioned by working with horses. The only fatal accident on land, in Letheringsett marlpit, was however unconnected with horses. Stephen Moore's skull was crushed when a jamb of marl fell on him.[48] One incident in February 1804, the shipwreck of *Nelly*, eclipsed all the others. It was the sea which claimed the greatest number of lives.[49]

Some of the other accidents, while not life-threatening, were very serious. Not only was delivering beer probably the most stressful of the tasks facing the men; it was, after seafaring, the most dangerous. Draying in frost, ice and snow was particularly hazardous. Thomas Baldwin was off work for 7½ weeks and then 13½ weeks after breaking first an arm and then a leg under the beer cart and beer wagon in 1794 and 1796. Both accidents occurred in December frosts, and far from home. He was returning from deliveries to Beckhithe 13 miles away and from Burnham Market over 17 miles distant.[50]

The farm servant Robert Lound may have been incapacitated for life by a broken thigh after being run over by the wagon at Buxton, eighteen miles from Letheringsett; he was carried ten miles to hospital immediately, according to Mary Hardy.[51] We hear no more of Lound for nearly a year, indicating that he did not return to work.

As a result his master was no longer required to keep his place open for him; he also had no longer to pay him while he was off sick or disabled, whether arising 'by the act of God, or in doing his master's business'.[52] Instead Lound became a parish problem. William Hardy, acting as churchwarden rather than as the unfortunate man's employer, went to Fakenham over his settlement.

Over two months later, still on the case, he called at Heydon, probably to see the justice William Wiggett Bulwer. At Reepham the next day William Hardy obtained a settlement order to remove Lound to Sharrington, which could have been the farm servant's home parish until very recently; it is not clear if he moved to Letheringsett in the autumn of 1782 when Mary Hardy first records him.[53] Since his accident Lound would have been treated free of charge in the

hospital and was then having to be maintained out of Letheringsett's rates once William Hardy no longer saw a future for him at work.

His former master removed him to Sharrington in January 1784, more than a year after the accident, and attended the quarter sessions in Norwich to have the transfer confirmed. The justices took a very serious view of the matter. The Sharrington inhabitants (ie the ratepayers) had appealed against the burden of having to maintain Lound, but the justices decreed that the settlement order be confirmed. They thus gave the brewer the victory and saved Letheringsett's ratepayers from maintaining Lound and his family perhaps for life. Mary Hardy never refers to Robert Lound again.[54]

Something of the draymen's long hours and exertions will already have been conveyed. So far, however, the spotlight has shone on the unusual sources, the distinctive landscape and density of public houses, the manufacturers' preference for vertical integration, and the technicalities of land carriage and beer delivery.

The small team of skilled, dedicated men who were at the heart of the operation deserve more particular attention. Mary Hardy and Henry Raven painstakingly recorded the daily tasks which would otherwise be totally unknown and lost to future generations. They also give us a glimpse of how the men were managed.

As we shall see at the end, the men's efforts were appreciated by Mary Hardy's son. Just as the men live on through the diaries, so William ensured that their names are commemorated for us to see every time we pass the brewery on the approaches to Holt.

The status of the farm servant

Just as distribution is a neglected topic, so too is the role of the farm servant. A widely read labour historian, E.P. Thompson, in his many works devotes only a few sentences to the farm servant. His major study of the English working class, nearly 1,000 pages in length, ignores him totally.[55]

The term servant does not necessarily denote personal service. When a man is recorded as 'Servant' in this period in the village burial register it is far more likely that he was a farm servant than a manservant such as a footman or valet. These were to be found mainly in the large country house, very wealthy farm or the occasional parsonage like James Woodforde's. None of the Hardys' farm servants, married or not, lived with the master's family in their household.

The workforce is an elusive element at this time. The maltsters, brewers, coopers, draymen and ostlers have, almost without exception, left no memorials by which we can get to know something of their lives:

> Below the level of the staff, very little evidence has survived about the people employed in breweries, their conditions of employment, their pay, or their precise functions ... As the wages of labourers, alike with all running costs, do not appear in the Rest Books ... almost nothing definite can be said about numbers, rates of pay or continuity of employment during most of the eighteenth century.[56]

We are lucky. We have a wealth of material on which to draw, running even to the men's pay. Work for man and horse was relentless. All manufacturing took place under cover and was carried on whatever the conditions outside. In summer when, so it is often held, brewing had to cease, the Hardys' men merely started in the small hours of the morning or after 7 pm. Work had to break off in the fields at haymaking and harvest if it rained, but ploughing and delivering continued even in wet and stormy weather. The entries in the Diary indexes, running to page after page for each one of the yearly men, highlight their stoic versatility and adaptability.

Just learning the routes to dozens of public houses across a radius of 25 miles took time. Both Mary Hardy and Henry Raven reveal how the servants became imbued with the Hardys' methods and patterns of work. William Frary, the Coltishall maltster who moved with his master's family to Letheringsett and took his own family with him, had to impart his way of making malt to the less skilled Joseph Christmas (died 1822 aged 78), of Letheringsett and Cley.[57]

The eighteenth-century floor maltster downed his shovel and fork in early July and did not pick them up again until mid-October, but William Hardy's was put to haymaking, hoeing turnips, harvesting and delivering beer in the close season. The pressures on English farmers and manufacturers were huge. In an era of appalling

Team	Heavy items (tons) e.g. flour, grain, fuel	Bulky items (tons) e.g. bread, biscuit
Wagon		
4 or more horses	3	1
3 horses	2	0.75
Cart		
3 or more horses	1.5	0.5
2 horses	1	0.5

Table 1. Road-haulage capabilities in East Anglia 1797, as seen by the military (tons). Source TNA: PRO WO 30/100, p.5, 11 July 1797. Extract from the 'Proposed plan for the supply of an extra number of wagons and carts for the service of the Army in the Eastern [Military] District during the war', by H. Motz, Esq., Commissary General, Chelmsford, Essex, 11 July 1797. His figures, for haulage by civilian wagons and carts, were given in hundredweight; they are here converted to tons.

Date		Farm servant Robert Manning's tasks	Mileage
May	20 Saturday	Delivering beer to Ingworth and Tuttington	17.5
	21 Sunday	*Men not at work* (1)	
	22 Monday	Delivering beer to Upton	24
	23 Tuesday	Delivering beer to N. Walsham	14
	24 Wednesday	Ploughing (2)	
	25 Thursday	Delivering beer to Lt Hautbois and Hevingham	11
	26 Friday	Ploughing; also brewing in the evening after the end of normal working hours	
	27 Saturday	Delivering beer to Smallburgh and Stalham	19
	28 Sunday	*Men not at work*	
	29 Monday	Delivering beer to Swanton Abbot and Hoveton	15
	30 Tuesday	Delivering beer to Ingworth	16
	31 Wednesday	Delivering beer to Worstead (*and lingering there for hours*)	10
June	1 Thursday	Delivering beer to Strumpshaw	22
	2 Friday	Brewing	
	3 Saturday	Ploughing	
	4 Sunday	*Men not at work*	
	5 Monday	*Whit Monday, Coltishall Fair Day: men not at work*	
	6 Tuesday	*Drinking all day*; brewing late in the evening; DISMISSED	
		Total mileage draying	148.5

Table 2. Coltishall: the 18 days preceding Robert Manning's dismissal in June 1775. Source, The diary of Mary Hardy. Note, Italic type denotes time spent not working.
1. Sunday: In this early period Sunday working was not common. At Letheringsett it was to become the norm, at least on Sunday mornings.
2. Ploughing: To plough one acre six inches deep (15 cm) using a single-furrow plough required a 12-mile walk (conversation with retired farmer Albert Daniels (b.1911), of Whissonsett, Norf., 12 Aug. 1995). As the acreage ploughed is not recorded by the diarist no figure has been entered; however 1½ acres a day (18 miles) was achievable if the daylight lasted.

weather and failed harvests, against a backdrop of war and greatly increased taxation, it was essential to have high-performing workforces.

The farm servant and his family would be vulnerable if resident in tied housing, for loss of the job would mean homelessness. We learn little about this side of the men's experience in the diaries. Only four farm servants in all the 36 years are known to have been in tied accommodation: Zebulon Rouse (uncle of the Glandford miller of the same name), Robert Manning and Isaac Pooley, all at Coltishall,[58] and Gunton Thompson of Letheringsett; either their rent or their vacation of the property is mentioned.[59]

Gunton Thompson, the miller and millwright at the brewery and installed in the new cottage built against the Hardys' malthouse in 1792, had to set aside only 6.5 per cent of his wage for rent. In his 1797 accounts William Hardy noted the yearly men's wages, paid weekly: 8s for each of three men, and 12s for the fourth (Thompson). Annualised, these rates are £20 16s and £31 4s. A low-paid curate at the time might receive £15 or £20, out of which some had to maintain a horse: the clergy often needed two or three curacies to make ends meet.

Newspaper advertisements occasionally enable us to establish where the Hardys' men lived. *The Norwich Mercury* of 16 May 1782 and 26 August 1786 named some of the Hardys' workforce as tenants of a Letheringsett farmer at what is now Meadow Farm on the Blakeney road. Davison, Frary, Lamb, Hall and Ramm were among those living in his farm cottages at Letheringsett and neighbouring Little Thornage. This was not housing tied to William Hardy and the brewery.

The farm servants' value was recognised by the tax system. As indispensable creators of the country's wealth they were totally exempt from servant duty. In this they differed from personal servants in the form of menservants and, for a few years, maidservants: male servant duty was introduced in 1777 and was continued; female servant duty lasted only from 1785 to 1792. The tax distinction applied also to riding horses (for leisure, and taxed) and draught horses (for work, and exempt).[60]

One other drayman should not be overlooked: the farm boy. We gain an impressive amount of evidence about the role of the boy. Unlike the regular farm servants, but like the maidservants, the boys restlessly moved on at Old Michaelmas. The Hardys employed 37 boys in the space of 36 years, the astonishing variety of their tasks being set out day by day.

These were no mere 'hol'ja' lads, seen in Edwardian photographs watching the camera while holding the horse's reins in the harvest field. Some were given responsible jobs, including ploughing, driving the wagon and delivering the beer. Such sudden promotion might be thrust on them in an emergency, as when the regular man was injured, or drunk on the job.[61]

Labour discipline

The mention of drink brings us to a doubt which has been lurking, unspoken, beneath the surface. Can the men really have been such paragons? In fact the Hardys had to watch them, and also had to make sure the men were watching the clock - as indeed all manufacturers of exciseable commodities had to do, by law, to maintain production quality (Fig. 22).

A disciplined regime was imposed. Sometimes it triggered rebellion, both at Coltishall and at Letheringsett. Revolt found expression through taking time off work for what the men regarded as holidays by right, or in indulging in heavy drinking. That regime, against which Robert Manning fought so determinedly that he was dismissed before the end of his hiring year, is summarised in tabular form (Table 2).

Each careful entry by Mary Hardy, while laconic in the extreme, still tells us something. These 18 days in 1775, taken as a whole, constitute a powerful narrative. Earlier entries in the first of the Diary volumes have set the scene: Manning is an independently-minded farm servant, who likes very occasionally to go off to watch boxing and wrestling matches miles away, gets drunk at local fairs, and can be difficult. But he also has stamina and commitment, putting in very long hours for his master.

Firstly, the mileage figures in the table are impressive. This is a hardworking man who journeys across north-east Norfolk with the beer cart and in this short period amasses a total of 148½ miles. Annualised, this

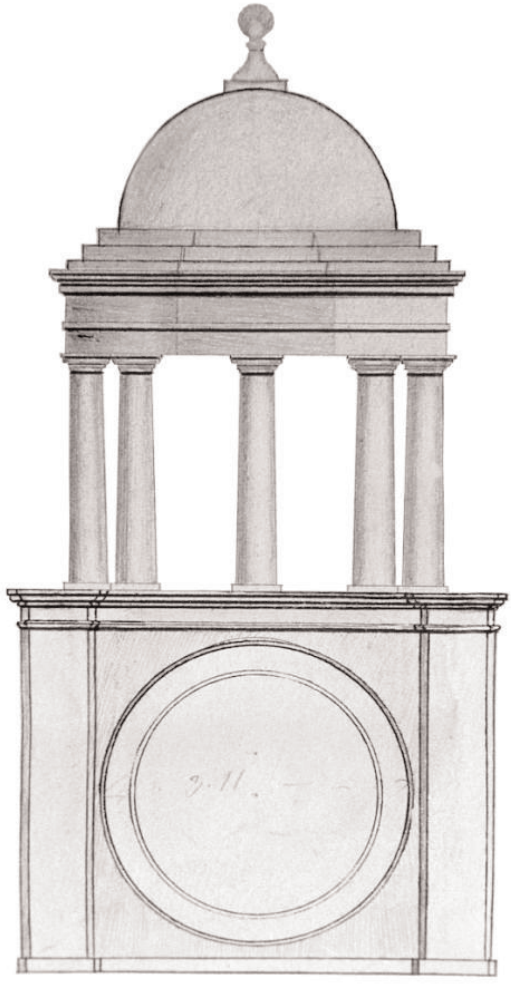


Figure 22. Letheringsett: the brewery clock. The design is almost certainly William Mindham's, from the early nineteenth century. It was built above the racking room and can be seen in many photographs of the complex until crashing to the ground during the brewery fire of April 1936. The men's lives were governed by the clock, Mary Hardy using clock time to record even the most trivial matters in daily life. (Cozens-Hardy Collection).

becomes 3,014½ miles. The draying entries, by the way, are wholly typical for the workforce.

Secondly, Manning has to fit in the draying around his other duties. Ploughing days are logged by the diarist, but there will have been other more minor tasks too. On 26 May, after a full day with the plough, when he might have trudged as much as 18 miles (note 2 in the table), he then has to start afresh in the brewery in the evening.

On 31 May there is trouble. Manning's master William Hardy is away for two days at Great Yarmouth and Strumpshaw, a village in the Yare valley. Frary and Manning go off together on a beer delivery to Worstead - evidently regarded by the diarist as highly irregular, as there was no need for two unless the snow lay deep.

It gets worse. The pair linger at the King's Head at Worstead, only five miles from the brewery; they take more than ten hours to complete what should have been a mere morning's work for one. Their mistress, an obsessive clock-watcher, notes them out at 6 am and home at 4.30 pm. This will have been reported to her husband, as well as logged in the diary.

The flashpoint is Coltishall Fair on Whit Monday. Attending the local fair, and also their home fair, were regarded by the men as customary rights. A capitalistic employer took a different view. William Hardy was harsh over holidays, demanding work often on Sundays and Good Friday and, in some years, on Easter Day and Christmas Day. In 1775 he gave them one day for the fair, 5 June. He expected them to be fit for work the following day, which was very hot, but all the men were drinking until being put to work in the brewery that evening. Manning appears to have said or done something, not recorded, which makes the brewer snap. 'Robert Manning turned off', writes his wife on 6 June.

With that Manning passes from the record. He has a wife Ann, and at least one young child, Susanna. No more is heard of them.

The same pattern can be seen at Letheringsett, the most glaring example being the farm servant Robert Bye. His dismissal from the team just before Christmas 1795 may too have been associated with drink: he had lost eleven days through drunkenness during the preceding two years. Like the Coltishall pair he also spent too long away. This time it was sixteen-year-old Henry Raven who was the clock-watcher, noting Bye at Holt on a five-hour dinner break.[62]

A master was entitled to dismiss a yearly servant before the end of the hiring year 'for some reasonable cause'.[63] William Hardy did not hesitate to wield that weapon, when pushed to the extreme. He then made do with a weekly labourer until he could recruit a new man at Old Michaelmas, either by a private engagement or at the

hiring sessions. Sometimes the emergency replacement, like Thomas Boyce of Letheringsett, found himself promoted to yearly status on the strength of his performance in the crisis of having a man short.[64]

This study has tended to emphasise new departures; to point out that we are learning something fresh about the men's lives and their extraordinary labour input through the eyes of the diarists. In the dismissals and William Hardy's reactions we see something entirely predictable for those at the time. John Rule expresses the tensions between the customary and the new:

The protest of the manufacturing poor was conservative in its forms: in its appeal to custom, paternalist legislation and in its seeking to reinforce traditional usage. But it was also a 'rebellious traditional culture' because it resisted, in the name of custom, the economic innovations and rationalisations which the employers, and increasingly the rulers, were seeking to impose and make a new orthodoxy. In other words they were resisting an ever-encroaching and growing capitalism.[65]

These very occasional flashpoints apart, life with the Hardys seems largely to have been harmonious. Quarrels between their maidservants once or twice got out of hand,[66] but no personal violence is reported between the men. Indeed, the diaries as a whole echo the quarter sessions minutes of the period in suggesting that levels of interpersonal violence in north-east and north Norfolk were low.

Figure 23. The King's Arms at Blakeney, its fine carving of the Royal Arms facing Westgate Street close to the quay. It was not supplied by the Hardys, but their maltster John Hurrell became innkeeper here. He died in 1792 at the unusually early age of 44. Despite strenuous working lives most of the farm servants lived into their sixties, seventies and to even greater ages. (photograph Margaret Bird 2012).

Memorialising the workforce

The men's experience of labour stood in marked contrast to the repetitive pattern of work in factories and mills (even before the introduction of the conveyor belt), where one individual was allotted just one task all day long. It was the monotony and removal of self-reliance which separated factory life from this earlier experience, not the very long hours and regulation by clock time.

As becomes apparent throughout the diaries, time-consciousness pervaded daily life. Concern over productivity and performance preceded mechanisation and factory working. The output levels reached by the Hardys' men were achieved at least in part because they and their master (and the mistress and young apprentice) appreciated the value of time.

Despite their hard lives and being out in all weathers the men had very few days off work through illness. Very many of them lived to a full age. The maltsters Hurrell (Fig. 23) and Frary died fairly young, at 44 and 'about 50'. The Coltishall men John Thompson and Zeb Rouse died at 65 and 69; Henry Edwards reached 77. Letheringsett produced a trio whose combined ages totalled 248 years: William Lamb died at 73, John Ramm at 86, and Thomas Boyce at 89.

There is no doubt that William Hardy senior and junior held the men in respect. As practitioners themselves they did not stand aloof from their workforce. The father could sow broadcast, and the son was head brewer from the age of 17. Both worked extraordinarily hard. That respect can be seen today in the men's foundation bricks for the Letheringsett tun room, large numbers of care-

Figure 24. The tun room at Letheringsett, from the west. This large building by the turning to the King's Head dates from the eighteenth century, and was restructured internally by William Hardy jnr in 1814. He also improved its insulation by recladding its thick walls, for inside stood the tall vats for conditioning his slow-maturing beers such as nog and porter. In 1803 the beer stored here was valued at more than £800.

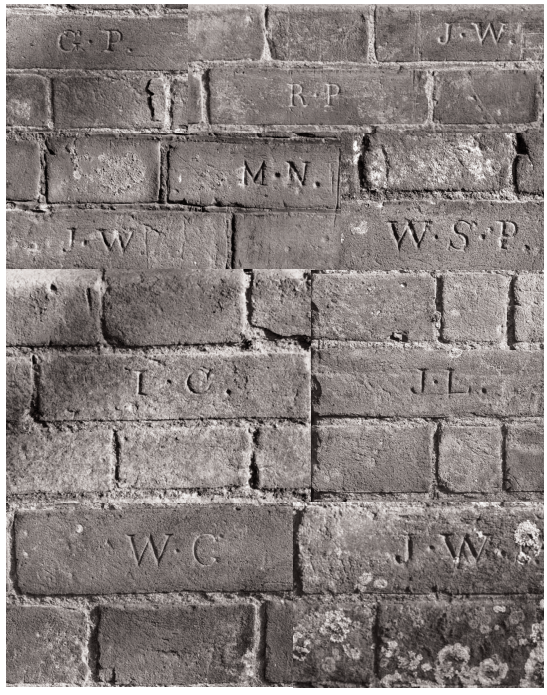


Figure 25. A wall of honour at Letheringsett. As the west wall of the tun room was being reclad in brick and flint in 1814 each member of the brewery team laid a brick just above ground level, with his initials neatly incised. Among them, from the top, are John White, maltster; George Phillippo, the farm steward; William Skinner Phillippo, his eight-year-old son; and (bottom) the brewery clerk William Girling. These eight photographs are here grouped to form a collage. In reality the initials range over the full width of the wall. (photographs Margaret Bird 2001, 2012).

fully incised initials being visible in the rusticated brickwork when the nearby trees are leafless and the noontide sun creeps round the south-west corner (Figs. 24 & 25). Later hands have scrawled their own beside them.

William Hardy junior was by no means alone in commemorating his workforce. The Leicester Monument bore a more ornamental tribute years later (Figs. 27 & 28). The Hardys were anti-war Whigs and voted for T.W. Coke. Towards the end of Mary Hardy's life her son was invited to the sheepshearings, and William adopted some of the practices Coke promoted, such as meadow-drowning. However he never took to the sheep breeds adopted by Coke, preferring the native Norfolk Horn.

Under William the Letheringsett estate prospered, and malting and brewing expanded. By the end of his life he could walk on his own land from Letheringsett Hall all the way to the sea. His heir William Hardy Cozens, his sister Mary Ann's son, continued William's legacy and took his name as Cozens-Hardy; but on that nephew's death in 1895 the maltings, brewery and tied houses were sold and the Hall was no longer the principal residence. The eldest son, Clement Cozens-Hardy, was established at Cley Hall, and his younger brother Herbert, later the Master of the Rolls and first Lord Cozens-Hardy, spent what time he could away from his London work in politics and the Law to enjoy the gardens and fields of the village he had loved from childhood.

Figure 26. The Letheringsett brewery, from the west, c.1895-1910: the brewhouse (left) with twin malt-kiln cowls beyond; the racking room (centre) with clock and cupola above; and part of the tun room (right). The Hall's iron railings by the road date from 1808. Most of the brewery, an early-nineteenth-century remodelling of an eighteenth-century core, was destroyed by fire in 1936. (Cozens-Hardy Collection, detail)

Figure 27. Holkham Park 1845-50: detail of one of the three bas-relief panels set in the plinth of the monument to Thomas William Coke, Lord Leicester. The design by Donthorn is unusual in paying tribute in stone to the labour force which helped to make Holkham famous as a farming estate. Here a man is digging drainage channels across marshy ground. (photographs Margaret Bird 2003).

Just up the Glaven from the coast, that maltings and brewery flourished for nearly two centuries until Morgans ended production at the end of the 19th century: John Brereton had started the business before 1721. The malthouse and kilns are a massive 45 metres long (49 yards). The architectural legacy is with us still, and at the time of writing, in November 2013, the Hardys' complex is being converted to housing.

This article opened by stating that we would range widely. The *Glaven Historian*, in which this study first appeared, often features articles on the way Morston, Blakeney, Cley and Wiveton looked outward beyond the shoreline in trading coastwise and far overseas. In describing the nature of draying operations in the late eighteenth century the emphasis here has been on movement by road and on patterns of land-based travel.

Just as the small ships set out valiantly from the ports, so this industry saw men being despatched daily across a large swathe of the county to service a manufacturing empire's retail outlets. It is a moving story, and one which in the telling required a text of biblical proportions. At last, more than two centuries after Mary Hardy and Henry Raven put down their quills, their material is in print for all to see.

Figure 28. Another of the Holkham panels: the shearers have arrived. It is the head shearer, with the knife, who is the commanding figure; not Coke himself (second from the left).

Acknowledgments

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the present custodians of the diaries of Mary Hardy and Henry Raven, the extended Cozens-Hardy family, for permission to quote from and reproduce diary extracts and other items from the family archives.

A slightly amended version of this article first appeared in *The Glaven Historian: the journal of the Blakeney Area Historical Society*, No. 14 (2014), pp.2-29. Grateful thanks are made to the Society and its then editor, Richard Kelham, for permission to publish the article in full in this journal.

As listed in the Brewery History Society *Newletter*, No. 72, a much-abridged version was also published in *The Local Historian: the journal of the British Association for Local History*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (October 2015), pp.295-311, following the award of overall winner in the long article category at the BALH awards in June 2015.

References

1. The complete text of the diaries of Mary Hardy and Henry Raven, edited and annotated by Margaret Bird, was published by Burnham Press in April 2013. A great deal of biographical detail about the diarists, together with observations on the significance of their writing and details of all the volumes, is given on the websites:
maryhardysdiary.co.uk
www.burnham-press.co.uk

2. The 39 themes can be found by navigating from the top-bar heading:
maryhardysworld.co.uk/world-volumes

3. Cozens-Hardy, B. (1957) *The History of Letheringsett in the County of Norfolk*. Norwich: Jarrold & Sons Ltd.; Cozens-Hardy, B. (ed.) (1968) *Mary Hardy's Diary*. Norfolk Record Soc., Vol. 37.

4. Basil Cozens-Hardy's executors deposited Henry Raven's little notebook from the Pelican Brewery, Wapping Wall, in the Norfolk Record Office (NRO): ACC Cozens-Hardy 11/2/1976. In 1842 William Hardy jnr's nephew William Hardy Cozens took over the family business and adopted the name Cozens-Hardy.

5. The varied pattern of religious observance comes across clearly in the fourth volume, covering the later years (Bird, M. (ed.) (2013) *The Diary of Mary Hardy 1773-1809*. Kingston upon Thames: Burnham Press, Diary 4: Shipwreck and meeting house).

6. Southey, R. (new edn London, 1864) *The Life of Wesley and Rise and Progress of Methodism*. Vol. 1, pp.247-8.

7. Such rounds were advertised in advance and were often scheduled on market day to suit the taxpayers (eg Roger Kerrison's notice, as Receiver General for Norfolk, in the *Norwich Mercury*, 7 April 1781).

8. In the small outport of Blakeney and Cley, of the complement of thirteen customs officers (including the Collector), three served as riding officers on patrol from Mundesley to Pit's Point, these being the borders of the jurisdiction with Gt Yarmouth and Wells (The National Achives: Public Record Office (TNA: PRO) CUST 96/165, 20 July 1798).

9. Copeman, W.O. (1946) *Copemans of Norwich 1789-1946*. Norwich: Jarrold & Sons Ltd., pp.15-16.

10. de la Rochefoucauld, F. (1998) *A Frenchman's Year in Suffolk*, Scarfe, N. (ed.). The Boydell Press and Suffolk Record Soc., Vol. 30, p.96. The young aristocrat noted Bury St Edmunds as having 125 horses to serve the coaches and postchaises.

11. Woodforde, J. (1924) *The Diary of a Country Parson*, Beresford, J. (ed.). Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, Vol. 1, p.151, 13 April 1775; the bar was at St Stephen's Gate.

12. Kent, N. (1796) *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk*. London, pp.16-17. The statute duty was the parochial system of road repairs organised since 1555 by each surveyor of the highways and financed by the parish ratepayers.

13. Young, A. (1804) *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Norfolk*. London, p. 489.

14. The term 'tying' was then used in much the same way as today. The brewer controlled his outlet and retailer (the innkeeper), and could guarantee that his beer would be sold there if he owned the property freehold, copyhold or leasehold or had control more indirectly by means of a mortgage or bond. Those houses in which he sold his beer without securing such control are classed as supplied without tie, the distinction made on the slide (Fig. 8).

15. *Norwich Mercury*, 4 Dec. 1784. The coach was financed by private subscription, Mary Hardy (not her husband) being one of the subscribers. For details and an illustration of the newspaper notice see Bird, M. (2013) op. cit. Diary 2, pp. 146,147. [Diary volumes will hereafter be cited as Diary 2, Diary 3 etc.] For the Itteringham route see Cozens-Hardy, B. (1957) 'The Holt road', *Norfolk Archaeology*, Vol. 31, p.176.

16. The accident happened on 4 June 1796 (Diary 3, p. 277).

17. The undated publicity flyers can be found in most Norfolk churches. The images change over the years, but the claim carries such power that it re-appears with each new edition.

18. Parliamentary papers: Command papers - Accounts and papers (1822), XXI.139. Halifax Excise Collection had 13 common brewers and 845 publican brewers; Hull had 35 and 61. Norwich Excise Collection, for the eastern half of Norfolk, had 34 common brewers to 39 publican brewers; Lynn, for the western half, had 37 and 91.

19. Donnachie, I. (1979) *A History of the Brewing Industry in Scotland*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd. p.118. His maps depict the relationship between terrain and wholesaling, pp.120, 121.

20. Mitchison, R. and Leneman, L. (1989) S*exuality and Social Control: Scotland 1660-1780*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, p.21.

21. The alehouse register has survived for many of the years 1789-99 (NRO: C/Sch 1/16).

22. Clark, P. (1983) *The English Alehouse: A social history 1200-1830*. London: Longman, pp.55, 58. He produces far more statistics than can be alluded to here, but the point remains the same: Norfolk had ample provision for drinkers.

23. Labour tables will form part of volume 2 of the forthcoming analysis of the diaries, *Mary Hardy and her World 1773-1809*, by Margaret Bird; see note 2

24. OECD iLibrary: OECD (2013), 'Average annual working time', Employment and Labour Markets: Key tables from OECD, No. 8 (<http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/employment/average-annual-working-time_20752342-table8>) accessed 21 March 2016. The hours of the Hardys' men also exceeded working-time averages 1750-1830, with the exception of those in the agricultural sector. See Voth, H.-J. (2000) *Time and Work in England 1750-1830*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, pp.129, 270, 267, 249, 268, 272.

25. See Diary 1, p. 83, 29 November 1774; p. 288, 20 August 1778.

26. Francis Sheppard gives 10 miles as the usual maximum in eighteenth-century Oxfordshire and Berkshire (*Brakspear's Brewery, Henley on Thames, 1779-1979*. Henley on Thames (1979) p.3). Terry Gourvish quotes 15 miles for Norwich brewers 1793-1820, Gourvish, T. (1987) *Norfolk Beers from English Barley: A history of Steward & Patteson 1793-1963*. Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, p.20. In fact they were bolder: see note 27 below. Richard G. Wilson states that in Suffolk as late as 1826 'Little Bury beer was sold beyond a radius of ten or twelve miles', Wilson, R. (1983) *Greene King: A business and family history*. Oxford: The Bodley Head & Jonathan Cape, p.15.

27. The Norwich brewer John Day had a radius of up to 22 miles over to Gt. Yarmouth in the east and Stibbard in the west; Chapman Ives of Coltishall was prepared to go 19 miles across the marshes to Halvergate and 21 miles south to Hingham, *Norwich Mercury*, 11 October 1794, 14 May 1796.

28. The notice for Henry Hagon's Letheringsett brewery which attracted William Hardy stated that there was 'no other brewery near for several miles', *Norwich Mercury*, 29 July 1780.

29. Sheppard, F. (1979) op. cit., p.92, with the memories of Fred Sadler in the years after 1909. For Watney's, see Janes, H. (1963) *The Red Barrel: A History of Watney Mann*. London: John Murray, pp.188-9.

30. Mathias, P. (1959) *The Brewing Industry in England 1700-1830*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, p.78.

31. William Hardy's valuations 1797 (Cozens-Hardy Collection), to be tabulated in *Mary Hardy and her World*, Vol. 2.

32. Diary 2, pp.338, 363, 7 June 1791, 11 May and 16 May 1792. Seaborne cargoes do not form part of this study.

33. Diary 2, pp.122, 123, 160, 196, 262, 5 April and 7 April 1784, 26 May 1785, 4 October 1786, 4 December 1788. The innkeepers John Fuller, Samuel Mobbs and John Bullock were from Bodham, Bessingham and the White Lion at Holt. Mrs Twiddy has not been identified and her house not traced; Ann Bishop was from the Cock at Whitwell, near Reepham.

34. Diary 2, p.290, 23 October 1789. This was John Metcalf of the Fighting Cocks at Wells, placing his first order. 'To speak for' is to order, as in bespoke tailoring; porter is a dark beer like stout.

35. Mathias, P. (1959) op. cit., pp.104-5.

36. Diary 3. The 21 individual entries 1793-97 are indexed under 'beer', sub-entry 'nog'.

37. Diary 3, p.29, 21 December and 23 December 1793.

38. Diary 1, p.302, 12 December 1778; Diary 3, p.83, 24 June 1794.

39. Diary 3, pp.229-36, 14-22 December 1795.

40. Diary 3, pp.176-7, 179, 1 June and 6 June 1795; p.266, 28 April 1796. The pattern of beer deliveries to the Crown at Weybourne and the Crown at Sheringham, both tied houses, is immediately clear from the numbers as reflected in the index entries to Henry's diary (Diary 3). He carefully distinguishes the camp from the Crown at Weybourne.

41. Kent, N. (1796) op. cit., p.20.

42. TNA: PRO WO 30/100, p.5, 11 July 1797.

43. Diary 4, p.112, 19 Apr. 1800; see also pp.110, 111, 113. *Nelly* had been captured by the Dutch in 1797 and her ship's papers confiscated in Amsterdam.

44. Vince, J. (1987) *Discovering Carts and Wagons*. Princes

Risborough: Shire Publications, p.8.

45. Diary 3, p.383, 1 August 1797. Robert Farthing (d.1806 aged 65) was a Blakeney coal and cinder merchant. The Hardys did not collect coal or cinders by wagon.

46. Diary 2, p.168, 15 October 1785.

47. Woodforde, J. (1924) op. cit., Vol. 4, p.20.

48. Diary 4, p.279, 1 Nov. 1804; see also pp.280-1.

49. Diary 4, pp.255-6, 12 February 1804; see also pp.257-9. Capt. John Coe, his crew of three including 28-year-old Richard Randall of Cley, and the ship's boy perished near Blakeney Pit in a severe storm. The captain's wife was Hannah Lynes, daughter of the Hardys' innkeepers at the King's Head, Cley.

50. Diary 3, p.133, 23 December 1794; p. 323, 9 December 1796.

51. Diary 2, p. 73, 28 November 1782.

52. Burn, J. (16th edn, 1788) *The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer*, Vol. 4, p.137. The day or weekly labourer had no such protection under statute. It was the annual hiring which, as also for the maidservant and farm boy, gave security.

53. Diary 2, pp.103, 111-12, 23 October 1783, 6-8 January 1784; p.70, 2 November 1782.

54. See note 53; also the detailed editorial annotations beside those entries.

55. Thompson, E.P. (1968) *The Making of the English Working Class*. London: Penguin Books. The often-cited study by Ann Kussmaul has a large number of flaws, the most glaring being her unnecessarily limited definition of a farm servant as unmarried and living in: (1981) *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

56. Mathias, P. (1959) op. cit., pp.35, 36

57. Diary 1, p.403, 26 December 1780.

58. Diary 1, pp.72, 132, 11 October 1774, 4 Sept. 1775; the rents were low, at only £2 10s and £3 p.a.

59. Diary 4, p.54, 10 October 1798. Thompson paid only £2 in rent (William Hardy's accounts 1797, Cozens-Hardy Collection).

60. Carolyn Steedman gives a clear analysis of the tax system relating to servants, Steedman, C. (2009) *Labours Lost: Domestic service and the making of modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, pp.129-98). See also Burn, J. (16th edn, 1788) op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 139.

61. Jonathan (no surname) stayed with the Hardys 1776-82, moving with them to Letheringsett along with one of the maids and also the Frary family. He was trusted to drive the wagon 22 miles from Letheringsett, and he made seven beer deliveries while at Coltishall, across a 12-mile radius (Diary 1).

62. Diary 3, p.81, 17 June 1794.

63. Burn, J. (16th edn, 1788) op. cit., vol. 4, pp.135-6

64. Diary 3, p.133, 23 Dec. and 24 Dec. 1794.

65. Rule, J. (1981) *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry*. Beckenham: Croom Helm, pp.212-13. This is also a theme pervading E.P. Thompson's (1993) *Customs in Common*. London: Penguin Books. Rule's quotation in the extract is from another work by Thompson: his article, (1978) 'Eighteenth-century English society: class struggle without class', in *Social History*, Vol. 3, No. 2, p.153. Employer-workforce relations will be explored further in *Mary Hardy and her World*, Vol. 2.

66. Diary 2, p.282, 15 July and 25 July 1789. There had been a fight, one of the maids serving a warrant on the other for assault.