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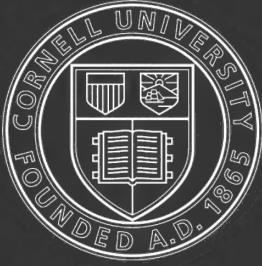
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A HISTORY OF
SURREY

The Victoria History of the
Counties of England

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE F.S.A.

A HISTORY OF
SURREY

VOLUME II

A HISTORY OF SURREY
EDITED BY H. E. MALDEN, M.A.

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTIES
OF ENGLAND
SURREY



LONDON
ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE
AND COMPANY LIMITED

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Frome and London*

INSCRIBED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE
THE TITLE TO AND
ACCEPTED THE
DEDICATION OF
THIS HISTORY



Stockholm Valley

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTY OF
SURREY

EDITED BY H. E. MALDEN, M.A.

VOLUME TWO



JAMES STREET
HAYMARKET

1905

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2017/05

A.194294

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The general and local editors desire to express their indebtedness to Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A., for the care and trouble taken by him in preparing the plan of Waverley Abbey and in writing the account of the buildings of that monastery ; and also to Mr. C. R. Peers, M.A., F.S.A., for many architectural details given in the Topographical section. They have also to thank the Committees of the Surrey County Cricket Club and the Marylebone Cricket Club for permission to reproduce pictures in their possession.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbrev. Plac. (Rec. Com.)	Abbreviatio Placitorum (Record Commission)	Chas.	Charles
Acts of P.C.	Acts of Privy Council	Ches.	Cheshire
Add.	Additional	Chest.	Chester
Add. Chart.	Additional Charters	Ch. Gds. (Exch. K.R.)	Church Goods (Exchequer King's Remembrancer)
Admir.	Admiralty	Chich.	Chichester
Agarde	Agarde's Indices	Chron.	Chronicle, Chronica, etc.
Anct. Corresp.	Ancient Correspondence	Close.	Close Roll
Anct. D. (P.R.O.)	Ancient Deeds (Public Record Office) A 2420	Co.	County
Antiq.	Antiquarian or Antiquaries	Colch.	Colchester
App.	Appendix	Coll.	Collections
Arch.	Archæologia or Archæological	Com.	Commission
Arch. Cant.	Archæologia Cantiana	Com. Pleas	Common Pleas
Archd. Rec.	Archdeacon's Records	Conf. R.	Confirmation Rolls
Archit.	Architectural	Co. Plac.	County Placita
Assize R.	Assize Rolls	Cornw.	Cornwall
Aud. Off.	Audit Office	Corp.	Corporation
Aug. Off.	Augmentation Office	Cott.	Cotton or Cottonian
Ayloffé	Ayloffé's Calendars	Ct. R.	Court Rolls
		Ct. of Wards	Court of Wards
		Cumb.	Cumberland
		Cur. Reg.	Curia Regis
Bed.	Bedford	D. and C.	Dean and Chapter
Beds.	Bedfordshire	De Banc. R.	De Banco Rolls
Berks.	Berkshire	Dec. and Ord.	Decrees and Orders
Bdle.	Bundle	Dep. Keeper's Rep.	Deputy Keeper's Reports
B.M.	British Museum	Derb.	Derbyshire or Derby
Bodl. Lib.	Bodley's Library	Devon	Devonshire
Boro.	Borough	Doc.	Documents
Brev. Reg.	Brevia Regia	Dods. MSS.	Dodsworth MSS.
Brit.	Britain, British, Britannia, etc.	Dom. Bk.	Domesday Book
Buck.	Buckingham	Dors.	Dorsetshire
Bucks.	Buckinghamshire	Duchy of Lanc.	Duchy of Lancaster
		Dur.	Durham
Cal.	Calendar	East.	Easter Term
Camb.	Cambridgeshire or Cambridge	Eccl.	Ecclesiastical
Cambr.	Cambria, Cambrian, Cambrensis, etc.	Eccl. Com.	Ecclesiastical Commission
Cant.	Canterbury	Edw.	Edward
Cap.	Chapter	Eliz.	Elizabeth
Carl.	Carlisle	Engl.	England or English
Cart. Antiq. R.	Cartæ Antiquæ Rolls	Engl. Hist. Rev.	English Historical Review
C.C.C. Camb.	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge	Epis. Reg.	Episcopal Registers
Certiorari Bdles. (Rolls Chap.)	Certiorari Bundles (Rolls Chapel)	Esch. Enr. Accts.	Escheators Enrolled Accounts
Chan. Enr. Decree R.	Chancery Enrolled Decree Rolls	Excerpta e Rot. Fin. (Rec. Com.)	Excerpta e Rotulis Finium (Record Commission)
Chan. Proc.	Chancery Proceedings	Exch. Dep.	Exchequer Depositions
Chant. Cert.	Chantry Certificates (or Certificates of Colleges and Chantries)	Exch. K.B.	Exchequer King's Bench
Chap. Ho.	Chapter House	Exch. K.R.	Exchequer King's Remembrancer
Charity Inq.	Charity Inquisitions	Exch. L.T.R.	Exchequer Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer
Chart. R. 20 Hen. III. pt. i. No. 10	Charter Roll, 20 Henry III. part i. Number 10	Exch. of Pleas, Plea R.	Exchequer of Pleas, Plea Roll
Chartul.	Chartulary	Exch. of Receipt	Exchequer of Receipt

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Exch. Spec. Com.	Exchequer Special Commissions	Misc. Bks. (Exch. K.R., Exch. T.R. or Aug. Off.)	Miscellaneous Book (Exchequer King's Remembrancer, Exchequer Treasury of Receipt or Augmentation Office)
Feet of F. . . .	Feet of Fines	Mon.	Monastery, Monasticon
Feod. Accts. (Ct. of Wards)	Feodaries Accounts (Court of Wards)	Monm.	Monmouth
Feod. Surv. (Ct. of Wards)	Feodaries Surveys (Court of Wards)	Mun.	Muniments or Munimenta
Feud. Aids	Feudal Aids	Mus.	Museum
fol.	Folio	N. and Q.	Notes and Queries
Foreign R.	Foreign Rolls	Norf.	Norfolk
Forest Proc. . . .	Forest Proceedings	Northampton.	Northampton
Gen.	Genealogical, Genealogica, etc.	Northants	Northamptonshire
Geo.	George	Northumb.	Northumberland
Glouc.	Gloucestershire or Gloucester	Norw.	Norwich
Guild Certif. (Chan.) Ric. II.	Guild Certificates (Chancery) Richard II.	Nott.	Nottinghamshire or Nottingham
		N.S.	New Style
Hants	Hampshire	Off.	Office
Harl.	Harley or Harleian	Orig. R.	Originalia Rolls
Hen.	Henry	Oxf.	Oxfordshire or Oxford
Heref.	Herefordshire or Hereford	p.	Page
Hertf.	Hertford	Palmer's Ind.	Palmer's Indices
Herts	Hertfordshire	Pal. of Chest.	Palatinate of Chester
Hil.	Hilary Term	Pal. of Dur.	Palatinate of Durham
Hist.	History, Historical, Historian, Historia, etc.	Pal. of Lanc.	Palatinate of Lancaster
Hist. MSS. Com.	Historical MSS. Commission	Par.	Parish, Parochial, etc.
Hosp.	Hospital	Parl.	Parliament or Parliamentary
Hund. R.	Hundred Rolls	Parl. R.	Parliament Rolls
Hunt.	Huntingdon	Parl. Surv.	Parliamentary Surveys
Hunts	Huntingdonshire	Partic. for Gts.	Particulars for Grants
Inq. a.q.d.	Inquisitions ad quod damnum	Pat.	Patent Roll or Letters Patent
Inq. p.m.	Inquisitions post mortem	P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
Inst.	Institute or Institution	Peterb.	Peterborough
Invent.	Inventory or Inventories	Phil.	Philip
Ips.	Ipswich	Pipe R.	Pipe Roll
Itin.	Itinerary	Plea R.	Plea Rolls
Jas.	James	Pope Nich. Tax. (Rec. Com.)	Pope Nicholas' Taxation (Record Commission)
Journ.	Journal	P.R.O.	Public Record Office
Lamb. Lib.	Lambeth Library	Proc.	Proceedings
Lanc.	Lancashire or Lancaster	Proc. Soc. Antiq.	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries
L. and P. Hen. VIII.	Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII.	pt.	Part
Lansd.	Lansdowne	Pub.	Publications
Ld. Rev. Rec. . . .	Land Revenue Records	R.	Roll
Leic.	Leicestershire or Leicester	Rec.	Records
Le Neve's Ind. . . .	Le Neve's Indices	Recov. R.	Recovery Rolls
Lib.	Library	Rentals and Surv.	Rentals and Surveys
Lich.	Lichfield	Rep.	Report
Linc.	Lincolnshire or Lincoln	Rev.	Review
Lond.	London	Ric.	Richard
m.	Membrane	Roff.	Rochester diocese
Mem.	Memorials	Rot. Cur. Reg.	Rotuli Curie Regis
Memo. R.	Memoranda Rolls	Rut.	Rutland
Mich.	Michaelmas Term	Sarum	Salisbury diocese
Midd.	Middlesex	Ser.	Series
Mins. Accts. . . .	Ministers' Accounts	Sess. R.	Sessions Rolls
		Shrews.	Shrewsbury

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

Shrops Shropshire	Transl. Translation
Soc. Society	Treas. Treasury or Treasurer
Soc. Antiq. Society of Antiquaries	Trin. Trinity Term
Somers. Somerset	
Somers. Ho. Somerset House	Univ. University
S.P. Dom. State Papers Domestic	
Staff. Staffordshire	Valor Eccl. (Rec. Valor Ecclesiasticus (Record
Star Chamb. Proc. Star Chamber Proceedings	Com.) Commission)
Stat. Statute	Vet. Mon. Vetusta Monumenta
Steph. Stephen	V.C.H. Victoria County History
Subs. R. Subsidy Rolls	Vic. Victoria
Suff. Suffolk	vol. Volume
Surr. Surrey	
Suss. Sussex	Warw. Warwickshire or Warwick
Surv. of Ch. Liv- Surveys of Church Livings	Westm. Westminster
ings (Lamb.) or (Lambeth) or (Chancery)	Will. William
(Chan.)	Wilts Wiltshire
	Winton. Winchester diocese
Topog. Topography or Topographi- cal	Worc. Worcestershire or Worcester
Trans. Transactions	Yorks Yorkshire

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

BEFORE the primacy of Theodore of Tarsus we cannot speak with certainty of any ecclesiastical organization in Surrey. During the last century of the Roman occupation of Britain the nominal religion of the empire was indeed Christianity, but whether the inhabitants of the then undefined portion of Roman Britain which became Surrey, were in any sense Christian, or had any ecclesiastical organization, there is no evidence to show. Among the Roman coins found at Farley Heath by Mr. Tupper¹ there was one or that singularly un-Christian emperor, Magnentius, bearing the XP monogram between A and Ω, and this is the sole monument probably of Romano-British Christianity in the county. There seem to be no ancient dedications of parish churches to British saints, nor any material remains in church buildings belonging to that epoch. There was a bishop in London, and as there was no Roman town in Surrey of a size to be worthy of a bishop's seat, the district may have been ecclesiastically dependent upon London. West Saxons, East Saxons and Kentishmen were equally heathen when they settled or conquered in Surrey. The probabilities of the source whence came the first conversion of the inhabitants to Christianity are involved in the questions of the extent and order of the political supremacies of Wessex, Mercia and Kent over Surrey. But the subsequent inclusion of Surrey in the West Saxon diocese of Winchester points to the nominal conversion having taken place under West Saxon rule. It was in 635 that Birinus baptized Cynegils² of Wessex, and was installed as West Saxon bishop at Dorchester on the Thames. As Mercian conquest southwards had not then begun Surrey was probably nominally in his diocese. According to Bede, Earconbert of Kent, who died in 664, 'overthrew all idolatry' in his dominions.³ It may be that his proselytizing zeal had already affected east Surrey and the Thames valley, for the connexion of the see of Canterbury with places in north-east Surrey is older than records go in some cases, and the alleged charter of Chertsey of 666 seems perhaps to refer to Earconbert's son Egbert as interested in Surrey. Subsequent arrangements and events however confirm the idea that the county as a whole was politi-

¹ Mr. Tupper's pamphlet, *Farley Heath*. The coins were given to the British Museum.

² *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* (Rolls Series), i. 46.

³ Bede, *Ecccl. Hist.* bk. iii. ch. viii.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

local priests with local offerings, and towards the practical allocation of duties within their respective boundaries to the priests who served in each settlement, or on each estate of a great man. But before the country was furnished with churches for every group of the population, the *matrices* or *baptismales ecclesie*, commonly called *monasteria*, or in English minsters, were the centres for the administration of the sacraments in districts larger than parishes. Even when village or manorial churches, *capellæ*, were existing, men were supposed to resort to the mother church three times a year, and to make offerings to it. The dignity of these greater than parish churches continued down to the eleventh century, perhaps later.¹ That there were such churches in Surrey is certain; where they were is a matter of conjecture. Alfred the ealdorman in the year 889 left by will specific gifts to the abbey of Chertsey, and then to all the minsters (*mynsterhamas*) of Kent and Surrey.² This does not mean monasteries in the later restricted sense, for there is no reason to suppose that there were any monasteries in Surrey in 889 except Chertsey, which was probably in ruins at the time, and it certainly does not mean merely parish churches. The minster in Southwark, named in Domesday, St. Mary Overie of later days, was probably one of them. There was perhaps another in Woking Hundred. Brordar an ealdorman in 777 desired to give a minster of his called Wocingas to the abbey of Peterborough. The grant was allowed by Offa in a charter given at Feoricburn *in regione Suthregeona*.³ Though Peterborough in later days held neither Woking Church nor Guildford in Woking Hundred, nor anything in Surrey, there are both time and occasions for the loss or transference of property since 777, and no other Woking is known to exist in England besides that in Surrey, and that this is meant is borne out by the place where Offa's charter was given. The four ancient deaneries of Surrey were Croydon, Southwark, Guildford and Ewell.⁴ The advowson of Ewell belonged to Chertsey Abbey under Richard I. and for an unknown time before.⁵ It is supposition only but not impossible that the 'mynsterhamas' of Surrey were Croydon, St. Mary Overie, a church in Woking Hundred perhaps St. Mary's Guildford, and Ewell, or Letherhead Church which was in the manor of Ewell in 1086. If so, they might be in fact the central churches of the ancient deaneries. Perhaps Farnham was another. The old parish of Farnham was co-extensive with the Hundred. These churches would form centres for the different inhabited districts of the county, as revealed to us by the Domesday Survey and by ancient names. When Christianity was recent in Surrey most of the

¹ See the summing up of many passages by Lord Selborne, *Ancient Facts and Fictions about Churches and Tithes*, pp. 56, 57, 303.

² Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, ii. 317.

³ *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* (Roll Series), i. 92; Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. 168.

⁴ If deaneries were ever collections of ten churches, as has been suggested, there is no trace of it in Surrey. There were four deaneries, and in Domesday there are churches named at fifty-eight places, excluding *monasteria*, and counting three on Bramley Manor as at one place.

⁵ The church of Ewell is not mentioned in Domesday.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

Weald was uninhabited, and Godley Hundred, which was the land of the abbey of Chertsey in fact, in the north-west of the county, was only inhabited along the Thames and Wey valleys, with a few outlying settlements upon the wastes of the Bagshot Sands.

We are not much assisted by material remains of church buildings in identifying ancient places of Christian worship in Surrey. The remains of pre-Conquest building are at any rate not extensive nor universally accepted as such.

During the Danish wars Surrey was continually overrun by heathen armies, from A.D. 852 to 1016.¹ Chertsey Abbey was sacked once, perhaps twice. A minster in Southwark cannot have escaped when the Danes were attacking London from the south side of the river. Any church which existed before the days of Cnut, unless in a very out-of-the-way place, must have been exposed to the ravages of those who specially vented their destructiveness upon Christian churches. Only after the time of Cnut was a church likely to stand unsacked and unburnt, and any existing remains are likely to be eleventh century at the earliest. We are on firmer ground when we come to the time of William. In the Domesday Survey churches are named in Surrey at the following places: Bermondsey, described as *nova et pulchra ecclesia*, Camberwell, Lambeth, Mortlake, Southwark (*monasterium*), Streatham, Lower Tooting, Walworth, all in Brixton Hundred; Ditton, Kingston, Malden, Petersham in Kingston Hundred; Stoke d'Abernon, Walton-on-Thames, West Moulsey in Emleybridge Hundred; Byfleet, Chobham (two) in Godley Hundred; Henley, Ockham, Send, Stoke, West Clandon, West Horsley, Wisley, Woking, Worplesdon in Woking Hundred; Farnham on the land of the Bishop of Winchester; Compton, Godalming (two), Witley in Godalming Hundred; Albury, Shalford, Bramley (three) in Blackheath Hundred; Abinger, Betchworth, Dorking in Wotton Hundred; Buckland, Gatton, Merstham, Nutfield in Reigate Hundred; Limpsfield, Oxted, Tillingdon,² Titsey, Warlingham (probably) in Tandridge Hundred; Epsom (two), Letherhead, Mickleham in Copthorne Hundred; Banstead, Beddington, Carshalton, Chaldon, Cheam, Coulsdon, Croydon, Merton, Sutton (two), Woodmansterne in Wallington Hundred; Great Bookham in Effingham Hundred. Chertsey Abbey also of course existed. The second church at Godalming was the ancient chapel at Tuesley, now gone. The second church at Epsom was Stamford Chapel, now destroyed. The second church at Sutton was Watendene Chapel, now destroyed. The chapel at Chobham has also disappeared. The three churches at Bramley were perhaps Bramley, Wonersh and Hascombe or Dunsfold or even Alfold; much of the land of the last three parishes was in the ancient manor of Bramley. This is not likely to be an exhaustive list of the churches existing in 1086. The Domesday Survey was not primarily concerned with churches. At Worth in Sussex, which is included

¹ *V.C.H. Surrey*, i. 331-8.

² Tandridge Church, on the manor of Tillingdon.

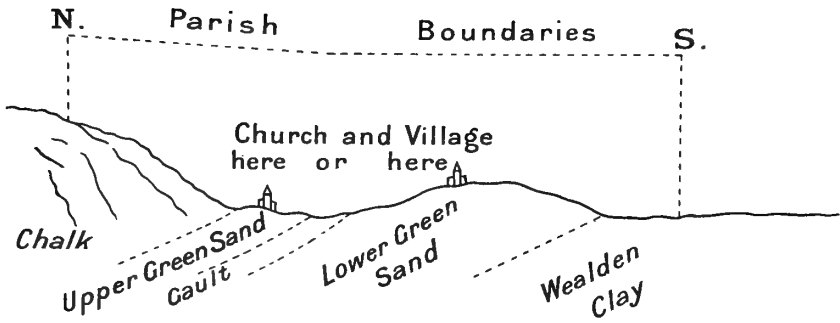
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in the Surrey Survey, the present church is very confidently dated by archæologists as pre-Conquest, but is not named in Domesday. No church is named in Guildford. Even if the present fabric of St. Mary's does not date from the Confessor's reign it is extremely unlikely that there was no church in the most populous place in the county in 1086. Nor is a church mentioned at Ewell, the subsequent head of a rural deanery, but, as suggested above, Letherhead Church may represent the ancient centre of worship here. It would be rash to affirm that these churches, with their subordinate chapels, represented exactly a parochial organization, and that the clergy, usually several in each, who served all these, had in every case an exact local sphere of duty, and received the tithes and offerings from that district. A century was to elapse before the parochial system was finally and completely organized by the Lateran Council of 1179-80. But the assumption which was accepted in the twelfth century, that the parish church had a right to the local offerings unless specific grants to another corporation had been lawfully made, was based upon the commonly existing and recognized state of things, and implied that a parochial organization and endowment was already the rule. Even in 1086, therefore, we may suppose that the churches enumerated in Surrey were generally, to all intents, parish churches.

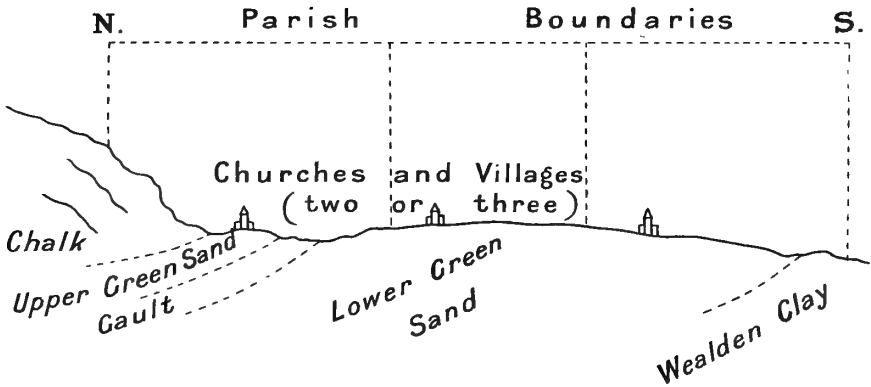
We may be sure that the ecclesiastical territories, great and small, originated in civil arrangements. As the dioceses represented kingdoms, so the parishes represented either settlements, villages or manors. No ecclesiastical authority ever fixed, as districts conveniently grouped round a central church, the boundaries of Godalming parish, for instance, with long straggling limbs like a polypus; nor the long narrow strip of Wotton parish, over six miles long and in places only half a mile broad. Some accident of settlement, dependent upon soil and water, some ancient political boundary, established their limits, as those also of the other parishes.

The arrangement of parish boundaries in accordance with the natural features which determined the position of settlements, is especially noticeable along the line of the chalk hills which intersect Surrey from west to east, from Farnham to Tatsfield. The southern face of the chalk forms a bold escarpment, running in a wonderfully true line from west to east, with the narrow Upper Greensand and Gault, the generally wider Lower Greensand, and then the Wealden Clay, in that order, to the south of it. The villages are with few exceptions a little below the Chalk escarpment, where springs abound, and where the soil is fairly dry and fairly fertile; the Upper Greensand, the Gault and the edges of the Lower Greensand being the best land. The parish boundaries here run up the chalk hills, including what was open land, arable on the lower slopes and good grazing land above. They reach southward over the Greensand, and where that formation is growing narrower, from Albury eastward, they generally reach over the Greensand down into the Wealden Clay, the old forest country. Where the Greensand is wide, there are parishes to the south entirely upon it, or partly upon it and partly reaching down to the Clay. The exceptions in Surrey to these arrange-

Usual arrangement of parishes
south of the chalk range.
A. where the Green Sand
is narrow.



B. where the Green Sand is wide.



SECTIONS SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF PARISH BOUNDARIES ACCORDING TO GEOLOGICAL FORMATIONS.

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ments are very few. They are Wanborough, an ancient liberty and settlement but not an ancient parish, where the church stands to the north of the Chalk, on the border between the Chalk and the Woolwich and Reading Beds, and the parish boundaries reach southward right across the narrow chalk of the Hog's Back on to the Greensand. Perhaps St. Nicholas, Guildford, is a similar case. In the east of the county, the villages of Chaldon and Tatsfield stand on the Chalk, and their parish boundaries run down the Chalk escarpment on to the Greensand. But generally the church and village are below the Chalk, with a part of the parish, to the north, upon it. The geological and geographical conditions enter here into ecclesiastical history, showing how ecclesiastical parishes owe their boundaries to other than ecclesiastical reasons.

This arrangement is not a convenient one for access to a central church. It often produces very long and narrow parishes like Albury, Abinger, Wotton, Godstone, Tandridge and Oxted. But it does give each village a share of each sort of soil. Settlements, grouped fairly closely together from west to east on the best land, extended their boundaries far to the north and south, over the bare downs on the one side and into the uncleared forest on the other, and became ecclesiastical as well as social divisions. A sketch map will illustrate the parochial arrangement of twenty-one parishes out of twenty-five in a line across the county from west to east.

Somewhat similar conditions on the northern side of the chalk hills, where the Chalk, though with a much less bold escarpment, runs in a distinct range from south-west to north-east, from Guildford to Croydon, produced a similar arrangement of parishes. The same long narrow form is consequently marked in many of them; in East Horsley, Effingham, both the Bookhams, Ewell, Cuddington, Cheam, Sutton and Carshalton especially. All these places north and south of the Chalk are named in Domesday,¹ and twenty-seven churches are there mentioned in twenty-five of the forty-five places. Ancient common fields existed till about a hundred years ago in the whole range of parishes on the northern face of the downs. The general probability is strongly in favour of their having all been ancient settlements, which existed before they were constituted as parishes in the ecclesiastical sense.

In the wild heaths of the Greensand to the south-west, and in the Weald, which was anciently forest, the settlements were of late and the parishes were probably of still later formation.² The settlements were often parts of manors, the central body of which lay in the more anciently inhabited districts. But the outlying parts of these manors were at some time formed into new parishes. Sometimes the date at which the parishes in the Weald were constituted is known, or is approximately recoverable. The very large parishes, whose original

¹ Except Puttenham; but a manor in Puttenham parish, Redessolham (Rodsell), is named.

² These places seem to have been occupied after the common law right of the parson to tithes of woodland elsewhere had been established. Woodland in the Weald does not pay tithe unless a specific grant can be shown. See under Frensham parish, in topographical section.

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settlement lay near the borders of the anciently inhabited district, and which stretched indefinitely perhaps into the forest, were divided as population grew and new villages came into existence. A similar process was going on in Sussex, and the delimitation of parishes must have been accompanied by the fixing of the county boundaries in the previously uninhabited forest. The old parishes hereabouts had been large. Farnham included the whole Hundred. Abinger, Dorking,¹ Blechingley, Godstone and Tandridge, reaching from the Chalk to the parallel line which the Sussex boundary makes with it, were or are from nine to ten miles long.

From the taxation of Pope Nicholas,² in 1291, it appears that the majority of the old Surrey parishes had come into existence by that time. Some of these more ancient and extensive parishes were still undivided however, especially in the Weald and in the north-west of the county. Thorpe did not in 1291 appear as a parish, and was probably part of Chertsey. Egham and Chobham and Chertsey were separate vicarages, but were taxed together. Kew, Sheen and Petersham were parts of Kingston. Putney and Mortlake were parts of Wimbledon. Horsell, Pirbright and Pirford were parts of Woking, but there were chapels of Horsell and Pirford, and of Pirbright. Bisley was probably part of Byfleet. Wisley did not appear as a parish, though there was a church there mentioned in Domesday. Probably it was taxed with Ockham, as in lay subsidies of the fourteenth century; the Domesday church may have gone to ruin, or the Pirford chapel, not named in Domesday but partly Norman, may possibly be meant by the Domesday church at Wisley.³ Chessington was not separated from Malden, nor Little Bookham from Great Bookham. Warlingham *cum Capella* meant Warlingham and Chelsham. Farnham *cum Capella* meant Farnham and Frensham. Seale and Elsted were parts of Farnham.⁴ Witley *cum Capella* meant Witley and Thursley. Chiddingfold *cum Capella* meant Chiddingfold and Haslemere. Bramley was part of Shalford. Hascombe was perhaps part of Shalford or Godalming. In 1305 Henry Husee died seized of the manor and of the advowson of the church of Hascombe, so that it must have become a parish very soon after 1291. Dorking *cum Capella* meant Dorking and Capel. Horne was part of Blechingley. To Coulsdon was attached the chapel of Whattingdon, which has not developed into a separate parish church, but was long since destroyed. St. Mary's was the parish church of Guildford, Holy Trinity not appearing. Wanborough was not a parish, though it appears as taxed among the temporalities of Waverley Abbey.⁵

¹ Dorking included Capel down to the fourteenth century at any rate.

² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 206, etc.

³ Possibly, not probably, for the ownership was different.

⁴ The earliest record I find of more than one chapel attached to Farnham is a licence for a lease of the tithes of Farnham 'et capellarum annexarum' in 1347 (Winton Epis. Reg., Edyngdon, i. 35.)

⁵ A *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* is copied into the end of Wykeham's Register (1367-1404) which the editor of the Register for the Hampshire Record Society supposes to be an earlier fourteenth century copy of Pope Nicholas' Taxation. It includes Wanborough, Hascombe, Bisley, Wisley, Okewood (chantry), Woldingham and 'Merewe,' as not taxed. The last is the Merrow land of the Priory of Boxgrove.

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That some of the south-western parishes were only recently constituted, or perhaps, though their churches were built and endowed, were not yet recognized as parishes in the fourteenth century, appears from the Subsidy Rolls of Edward the Third. The assessment there is usually by parishes, but Alfold, Dunsfold, Hascombe, Wonersh,¹ Cranleigh,² Ewhurst, Capel, Thursley, Chiddingfold and Haslemere do not appear, being taxed probably with the old manors to which their inhabited lands originally belonged, namely Bramley, Shalford, Shiere, Gomshall, Dorking, Witley and Godalming. Wisley was taxed with Ockham, being especially included by name with it.³

The deaneries in 1291 were Southwark, Ewell and Guildford in the Winchester diocese, Croydon in the diocese of Canterbury.

The difference between the *capella* and the *ecclesia* was that the former was not as a rule endowed with tithes; nor, as a rule, used for marriages and baptisms, and the neighbours who frequented it were bound to go to the *ecclesia* on certain greater festivals that the latter might not lose the offerings then made.

It would seem that the religious houses had a share in the building of churches and the formation of parishes in the outlying parts of the county. Lay holders of land, as well as monasteries, built churches on their manors, but a considerable proportion of the new parishes in Surrey were, it happens, on monastic estates. The churches in Godley Hundred, which, except Pirford, belonged altogether to Chertsey, were certainly the creation of the abbots. Possibly churches upon their other manors were founded by the abbey also. Pirford belonged to Westminster. Horley in the Weald was another Chertsey manor, and the church there may have been built by the abbey. It was appropriated, with a vicar appointed, in 1292.⁴

The advowson of Ewhurst belonged to Merton from time immemorial, Merton, Kingston, Effingham and Carshalton from the twelfth century; Limpsfield to Battle from the foundation of the abbey, but there was a church there by 1086. Charlwood was in the gift of Christchurch, Canterbury; Burstow, Gatton, Blechingley, Stoke next Guildford, St. Olave's Southwark and Dorking and the subordinate chapel, afterwards Capel parish church, were in the hands of the Cluniac priory at Lewes. Dorking and Capel were transferred to the Augustine priory of Reigate. Dorking, Gatton and Stoke churches were certainly older than either religious house. Probably the Cluniacs of Lewes built the chapel at Capel, where they, and afterwards the canons of Reigate, provided a service. It existed in 1129-71 from evidence of a confirmation to Lewes of churches in Winchester diocese by Henry de Blois. Perhaps they also built Burstow down in the forest. Frensham church was moved by Waverley Abbey in

¹ Wonersh was a chapel, to which the Crown presented in 1224. It was dependent on Shalford (Pat. 9 Hen. III. m. 8).

² There is an appointment of a *custos* of the church here in 1283 (Winton Epis. Reg., Pontoise, ff. 1, 6).

³ This Subsidy Roll is printed in the Appendix to the Political History in vol. i. 441.

⁴ Pat. 20 Edw. I. m. 11; cf. Pat. 6 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 17.

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1239,¹ so was presumably built, as well as then rebuilt, by the abbey. The advowson of existing churches at Leigh and Newdigate was granted by will to St. Mary Overie by Hamelin de Warenne in 1202. But Frensham, Horley, Ewhurst, Charlwood, Burstow² and Capel churches were probably founded by ecclesiastical corporations after the Conquest. Many earlier churches were probably founded by Chertsey. The church at Cheam, on an archiepiscopal manor, dedicated to St. Dunstan, was almost certainly the foundation of one of Dunstan's successors.

In Pope Nicholas' taxation there appear fifteen vicarages in Surrey, in churches belonging to religious houses, or in the case of Frensham to the archdeacon, and in the case of Godalming to the church of Salisbury. These had increased to thirty-eight in the *Valor* of 26 Henry VIII. The vicarages seem to date from the time of John de Pontoise, immediately after 1291, down to the end of the next century, and do not belong to the episcopate of any single reforming bishop. There were also seventeen chapels in the hands of religious houses, and three in the hands of the archdeacon, seventeen of which were to become parish churches in time.

The monastic and collegiate organizations of the county, probably influenced the formation of many of the Surrey parishes. Ultimately their absorption of parochial revenues, and the loss of these at the dissolution, dealt the heaviest blow at the efficiency of the parochial system which it has ever suffered.

Benedictines, Cluniacs, Cistercians, Carthusians, and Augustinian canons existed in several places ; all the orders common in England were represented in Surrey, except friars, who were found in only two small houses, one at Guildford and one at Sheen, a late erection. The Hospitalers too were absent, though they possessed some lands. But if a line be drawn diagonally across the county, from the south-west to the north-east corner, sixteen out of the nineteen houses, great and small, which have been enumerated in the Religious Houses section, will be found north-west of it, and three only south-east. Lingfield College was the only religious community in the Surrey Weald. The Chalk country, east of the Wey, north of the downs, and south of the Thames valley, which there is reason to believe was the earliest inhabited part of Surrey,³ has no religious house on it. A possible explanation is the complete want of water carriage there. The larger houses, which had considerable buildings, Waverley, Newark, Chertsey, Sheen, Merton, St. Mary Overie and Bermondsey, were all on the banks of rivers, up or down which stone and timber could be conveniently towed or floated. Even Lingfield might have had water carriage on the upper streams of the Medway ; and Tandridge and Reigate had building stone on the spot.

But though the religious houses were somewhat unevenly distributed about the county, their lands were scattered all about it, and their influ-

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Series), ii. 323.

² Burstow afterwards was in the gift of the archbishop (see *inter alia* Pat. 21 Edw. I. m. 12), and had been perhaps at an earlier date, for it was in Croydon deanery.

³ *V.C.H. Surrey*, i. 330.

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ence and that of other religious corporations penetrated the whole, through their possession of the rectories of so many parishes. There is nothing in modern life analogous to the influence upon its own neighbourhood of a great religious corporation in the middle ages, except perhaps the influence of the old universities in the city and town which but for them would be of very inferior importance. The great landowners, who controlled so much of the social and industrial and educational life of those about them, who lived however a separate life, under different laws and in a different position with regard to the rest of Christendom from their fellow countrymen, are only distantly approached by the masters and fellows of the colleges, who are often married men, who are always Englishmen, who are always amenable to the ordinary courts of the country, and who can pass at will out of the academic into the general life of their neighbours. The parishes were in any case served by men who had much in common with the inmates of the monasteries; but the appropriation of so many livings made half the parochial clergy outposts of the monastic body, and the ordinary life of the church was made to depend upon the zeal and activity of monks and canons. That zeal and activity decayed, and practical religion decayed with them. But as it turned out it was a difficult matter to destroy such an organization, and not to seriously impair the whole machinery of religion by so doing. It had been a mistake to allow the wide prevalence of the monastic appropriation of livings; it was a reckless outrage to set up lay appropriation instead. A mere enumeration of the Surrey parishes, the rectories of which were appropriated to monastic bodies, best illustrates the extent of the evil and the danger of the cure.

Forty-six parishes in Surrey, or more than a third of the old parishes, were appropriated to religious houses.¹ At least twenty others, whose advowsons belonged to religious houses, paid them some part of their revenue.² About one half, that is, were in one way or the other controlled by the monasteries, besides those appropriated or presented to by chapters. Of houses outside the county, St. Pancras at Lewes, a foundation of the first Earl of Surrey and de Warenne, held at one time many churches. In the confirmation of their charters by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, 1129-71, they appear as holding the churches of Blechingley, Gatton, Dorking *cum Capella*, Burstow, Stoke *juxta* Guildford, and St. Olave's Southwark, besides tithes or a share of tithes elsewhere. Of these Burstow was subsequently in the hands of Canterbury, Blechingly of the De Clares Earls of Gloucester, Gatton was alienated by the priory in the time of King John.³ Dorking *cum Capella* was alienated to

¹ It is impossible to give an exact proportion, because the number of reputed parishes was increasing. These appropriations are none of them later than the fourteenth century, except in the cases of changed appropriations, as Lingfield. Weybridge and Windlesham, both appropriated to Newark, were restored as rectories in the fifteenth century.

² In the *Taxatio* of 1291 there are twenty-seven pensions mentioned, and one appropriation, Carshalton to Merton. Appropriations increased later, but others besides Carshalton were appropriated before 1291.

³ *Inq. p.m.* 21 Edw. III. No. 60.

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the priory of Reigate ; only Stoke and St. Olave's remained till the dissolution, the advowsons being in the hands of the priory, but not appropriated.

The Hospital of St. Mary's Bishopsgate, possessed quite a block of property in Surrey. Shalford and Wonersh with Bramley were appropriated to it, and the advowsons of Dunsfold adjacent to these, and of Puttenham close by, also belonged to it, with pensions.

The southern suburbs were almost completely under the control of the religious houses on the spot, Bermondsey and St. Mary Overie, or of the Archbishop and the Bishop of Winchester. That the rest of the county was not more completely in the hands of houses or chapters outside the county is partly explained by the fact of Chertsey being an ancient foundation which had already secured some of the more valuable estates in Surrey, and of Bermondsey and Merton being early and highly favoured establishments. Looking at the situation and soil of the appropriated parishes, we should conclude that many of the more valuable places were in the hands of the monks and canons, or of the archbishop. The taxation of Pope Nicholas bears this out on the whole.¹

With the exception of the Carthusians at Sheen, the college at Lingfield and the Observant Friars at Sheen, the Surrey communities all dated from before the fifteenth century, as usual, for the fashion of the foundation and enrichment of monasteries waned rapidly after the thirteenth century. The Black Death had been such a blow to the existing monastic houses that it was impossible to keep them up to their former standard of numbers. It was clearly out of the question to expect new ones to be filled if founded. The numbers of the regular clergy were permanently reduced.²

It is indeed remarkable that in so small a county there should be as many as one great monastery and one house of friars, both at Sheen, founded so late as the fifteenth century. The endowment of chantries was the general form that religious endowments took in that century, and in the latter half of the fourteenth century, after the pestilence. The records of the suppression of these under Edward VI. show a fair number existing in Surrey, of about the usual date. Some however were older ; and in some others, not named in 1547,³ time had probably anticipated the work of the Reformers.

Thus there were chantries founded before the fifteenth century at Frimley, Ripley, Newark, Shiere, Southwark (two), Godalming, Okewood (more largely endowed in the fifteenth century), Farnham and Kingston (two), all reported upon by Edward the Sixth's commissioners. Of the fifteenth and sixteenth century foundations, they reported upon Croydon (two), Lambeth, Bagshot, Kingston (two), Guildford (two), Puttenham and Stoke d'Abernon. Also, in the fifteenth century the living of Walton

¹ Farnham in the possession of the Archdeacon, Dorking in that of Lewes Priory, Chertsey with its vicarages of Egham and Chobham in that of Chertsey Abbey, were the most valuable benefices in 1291.

² See Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, pp. 181 and seq. and 205 and seq.

³ Chant. Cert., 1 Edw. VI.

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on Thames, the chapel at Tooting Bec, and the manor of Dedswell in Sende had been appropriated to the support of chantries outside the county. Edward's commissioners also found land set apart for obits, tapers, etc., in Ashsted, Cranleigh, Effingham, Godalming, Letherhead, East Horsley, Blechingley, Ewhurst, Southwark, Horne and Shalford.¹

The detail of the history of chantries is better treated in another part of this work, under the places to which they belonged. The obvious point, with regard to the general ecclesiastical history of the county, is the comparative frequency in the returns of 1547 of foundations made after the fifteenth century had begun, and down to the eve of the Reformation. The record of Surrey chantries bears out what we find to be the rule elsewhere, that the fifteenth century was the age of chantries.

Yet it would be rash to associate this excessive care for the provision of masses in perpetuity for certain people with the last hundred and fifty years before the Reformation alone. Belief in Purgatory and in the efficacy of masses for the dead was certainly not confined to that period. The absence of any record of such foundations earlier may be susceptible of a different explanation. They may have been made and have been forgotten or misappropriated or diverted, for there had certainly been others not reported upon by Edward's commissioners. A priest was ordained to a chantry in Ashsted in 1346. There are what look like chantry chapels in Wonersh and Compton churches for instance, the latter with a room for the priest. There are similar remains elsewhere, such as Weston's chapel in Ockham church; the Loseley chapel in St. Nicholas, Guildford, which is older than the time when the Mores of Loseley began to use it as a mortuary chapel; the north aisle of Caterham old parish church; and the side aisles of Coulsdon and Warlingham. The chapel or chantry of La Vacherie was in the north aisle of Cranleigh church; it existed in 1297,² and there was another chantry in the south aisle. These seem to have been annexed to the rectory. Manning and Bray³ say that there was another chantry at Lambeth founded by Thomas Romaine before 1326. The chapel on St. Catherine's Hill near Guildford was in the hands of the rector of St. Nicholas, Guildford. It had a room for the priest. It existed in the thirteenth century, though the present building is later, and had it not been attached to the rectory would probably have been considered in 1547 to be a chantry chapel. There were at least six altars in St. Mary's Church, Guildford; and evidence that two of these were separately endowed. John de Warenne founded a chantry in Reigate Church in 1315, which does not appear in 1547. Bishop William Edyngdon founded a chantry in Farnham in 1351.⁴ A mere obit, or anniversary, with masses said by the parish priest, would be in still greater danger of being forgotten, or its emolument of being annexed without service rendered, in the course of time. The pious care for the perpetuation of tapers and of lamps, for the saying of a *Placebo* or a *Dirige* by a clerk in minor orders, was still more

¹ Chant. Cert., Surrey.

³ *History of Surrey*, iii. 496.

² Inq. p.m. 25 Edw. I. No. 50a.

⁴ Pat. 25 Edw. III. pt. 3, m. 11.

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likely to lapse by carelessness or dishonesty. We must allow therefore that chantries as we know them from the returns of 1547 are characteristic of the fifteenth century, with the years immediately before or after it; but we may be allowed also to suspect that not only was that age specially careful of individual souls, but that it was recent enough for its care of them not to have become obsolete before being forbidden altogether.

Ecclesiastical dignitaries were commonly resident in Surrey, especially near London. The bishop of the diocese held Farnham Castle from remote antiquity, and Esher from the days of Peter des Roches; and William Gifford, Bishop of Winchester, acquired Winchester House, close by the foot of London Bridge, from the newly constituted priory of Bermondsey in 1107. It became the usual headquarters of the Bishops of Winchester, who for so many generations almost *ex officio* royal ministers found it necessary to live near Westminster, when the king's court and the exchequer had finally removed thither from Winchester.

Similar reasons made it incumbent upon the archbishop to find a home near Westminster. A quarrel with the monks of Christchurch is given as a cause why Archbishop Baldwin started the design of acquiring Lambeth from the see of Rochester¹; but though this may have been a concurrent cause, convenience of administration in both Church and State was a more permanently working reason. Baldwin's design was completed by Hubert Walter, who had no such quarrel. Innocent III. tried to hinder the scheme, but Hubert had effected an exchange with Rochester in 1195,² and took up his abode where his successors have had their principal seat ever since. Croydon had belonged to the archbishops since the Conquest, if not before, but they did not habitually reside there till the fourteenth century. Addington was a mere modern exchange for Croydon, acquired in 1780.

The Archbishop of York had a house at Battersea. It was acquired by Laurence Booth when Bishop of Durham in 1461.³ He was translated to York 1477, and died 1480, and apparently by his gift or bequest the house became the property of the see of York. It belonged to York in Grindal's time.⁴

The Bishops of Rochester acquired a house in Southwark from the monks of Winchester, which they had obtained from the bishop, John de Pontoise.⁵ The date of the acquisition by Rochester is unknown. Besides the bishops, the abbots of Battle, Hyde, St. Augustine's and Beaulieu, and the prior of Lewes, had their suburban houses in Southwark. Three of the abbots were Lords of Parliament, and had frequent occasion to be within reach of Westminster. The abbot of Beaulieu was only excused attendance in Parliament in 1341 and onwards. The heads of the Surrey houses were not, as a rule, Lords of Parliament, and did not need London houses. But the resident ecclesiastics in Surrey, of whom we were speaking, were so numerous and so important in the southern

¹ *Reg. Roffense*, p. 434.

³ Close, 39 Hen. VI. 24 Nov. 1461.

² Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. 89, 90.

⁴ Lansd. MSS. 29, 15.

⁵ Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 773.

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suburbs that, with the priory of Bermondsey, they practically dominated most of the southern shore of the Thames, and half the population must have depended upon them as landlords or employers. The Bishop of Winchester dispensed justice too in the Clink liberty of Southwark. To judge from the complaints made by London of the disorders of Southwark, and from the undoubted public scandal tolerated there—the stews on Bankside in the bishop's liberty—the ecclesiastical rule was as inefficient in secular affairs as it has often proved elsewhere.

The ecclesiastical administration in its proper sphere went on with little of moment to record in most years, but now and then it worked with some friction. The office of archdeacon was notoriously unpopular. He was the minor ecclesiastical judge, before whom people appeared. William Inge, the archdeacon of Surrey in Edward the Third's time, was a litigious man, who went to law with the bishop. In 1331 he became somehow embroiled with the inhabitants of Kingston also. A mob, partly composed of fishermen, assaulted him and his servants, imprisoned him, and spoiled his goods.¹ Probably the Archidiaconal Court had failed to give satisfaction to Kingston, but such strong criticism of the courts spiritual is uncommon. The quarrel of Archdeacon Inge with his bishop was very violent. He objected to a charge of 20 marks a year upon the rectory of Farnham for the support of a vicar. He had paid it, he said, to Bishop Stratford as a matter of private bounty, but he refused to pay it to Orleton. There was much litigation. The archdeacon was excommunicated, but according to a letter from the bishop to the archbishop he went so far as to assault the former in Farnham churchyard, striking him on the mouth with a roll of paper, after interrupting his sermon in the church.² The archdeacon was at length compelled to pay all arrears to the bishop for the use of the vicar,³ and other matters were smoothed over. It is not a pleasing picture of the manners of the more highly placed clergy, but it was not usual. Inge was a turbulent fellow, but it is wonderful that such turbulence could be condoned. As a rule the registers are much less exciting. The registers of the mediæval bishops give us institutions to Surrey benefices, notices of visitations, but not very many results. As elsewhere the clergy were changed from parish to parish much more often than they are now; with a celibate clergy it was easier, and leave of absence for study is accorded fairly often. In the year including the first pestilence, 1349–50, the institutions are about ten times as many as usual,⁴ probably from death of clergy. In Surrey in one or other of the three great visitations the abbot of Chertsey, two priors of Merton, the prior of Reigate, and all the members of the hospital at Sandon, died.⁵ Probably therefore the pestilence was bad, but was not quite so destructive among the clergy as

¹ Pat. 5 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 9d.

² Winton. Epis. Reg., Orleton, 26, 6.

³ Pat. 21 Edw. III. pt. i. m. 9.

⁴ From a comparison of the registers of 1349 and the preceding few years.

⁵ Winton. Epis. Reg., Edyngdon, i. 49b. Within a week of appointing a new head to the hospital, owing to the death of all its inmates, the bishop boldly held an ordination in the chapel of Sandon hospital, 6 June, 1349.

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in some other counties. From the date of the great pestilence the number of the clergy ordained in the diocese falls off, and the rule of Archbishop Langton, that there should be two or three clergy attendant on each church, must of perforce have ceased to have been carried out. The Lollards were not specially troublesome in Surrey; certain of Wicliff's friends were inhibited from preaching there with the rest of the diocese. Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham *iure uxoris*) the Lollard martyr, had the advowson of Worplesdon in 1408.¹ The rector at the time was John Everdon, who had licence to celebrate mass in his rectory 26 May, 1408.² He was not probably of Oldcastle's appointing. If the latter put in a Lollard no trace of it remains. What heresy there was in the county made little show before the sixteenth century.

The occasional residence of the bishop at Farnham, and the care of his park there, give occasion for entries in the registers concerning what we should consider secular matters. Ecclesiastical history is elucidated however by the light thrown on some uses of ecclesiastical censures. William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester from 1367 to 1404, was a good, learned and active prelate. But one of the longest entries concerning Surrey in his register concerns the launching of the Greater Excommunication against 'certain sons of perdition who, by night as well as by day, with their machines, nets, snares, dogs, bows, arrows and other mysteries (*misteriis*) framed for the catching of rabbits, have taken, abstracted, caught, carried off and consumed, to the great peril of their souls, rabbits and other wild beasts out of the bishop's parks, chases, warrens, and woods at Crondall and Farnham.' The excommunication was to be published in the parish churches of Godalming, Compton, Puttenham, Peperharow and Witley, and in the chapels connected with them.³ It is to be observed that the bishop is confident that 'the sons of perdition' lived in Surrey, not upon the equally close Hampshire side of Farnham. Also they lived south of the Hog's Back, on the sand. They were 'heathers,' the disorderly men of whom we hear so much in secular history.

The actual presence of the mediæval bishops was apparently confined to west Surrey and Southwark. By the places whence their instruments are dated they were often at Farnham and Esher on their way to and from Winchester House, at that place itself, but seldom elsewhere in the county. Wykeham seems by this evidence to have been once in Guildford,⁴ once at Stoke and once sojourning at Merton Priory. Visitations were usually carried out vicariously. The Bishops of Winchester were too great men to be able to have much to do with an outlying part of their diocese. Besides the great men of an earlier period, such as Henry de Blois and Peter des Roches, every bishop who succeeded

¹ Feet of F. Div. Co. Trin. 9 Hen. IV. No. 36. ² Winton. Epis. Reg., Beaufort, 1. pt. 3, 35a.

³ Ibid. Wykeham, 2, 111a, dated 10 April, 1374.

⁴ A small parcel of land on the end of the Hog's Back, by the side of the old road coming down into Guildford was, and is, in Farnham manor. It was no doubt a lodging of the bishop's on one road from Farnham to Southwark.

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to the see between 1323 and 1486 was lord chancellor during his tenure of it. The great secular position of the bishop did not diminish in the sixteenth century, when the see was held by Fox, Wolsey and Gardiner.

During Henry the Eighth's reign great changes were made ecclesiastically in Surrey, as happened then everywhere. On the suppression of the six larger religious houses alone, estimated revenues of nearly £4,000 a year went from ecclesiastical into lay hands.

This did not of course represent all the change of property. The bishop, Gardiner, had to surrender his house at Esher to the king. The revenues of the bishopric fell from £4,095 16s. 5¼d. in 1529 to £2,380 2s. 4¼d. in 1568.¹ Two parishes, Cuddington and one in Southwark, were suppressed, the latter by the amalgamation of SS. Margaret and Mary Magdalene. Where the monasteries had put vicars into their appropriated churches, with an endowment, these survived; where the service had merely been done by one of the brethren it ceased, or was carried on by an underpaid curate. The chapels of Artington, Hallibourne, Watenden, Stamford, Brookwood, Wallington² (probably), and one at Chobham fell into ruin. The fabric of Okewood was barely saved, but its revenues went; St. Thomas' Hospital was suppressed, but the building remained to be bought back later by the city. Parochial revenues which had been in monastic hands of course disappeared from all religious use, and probably rather more than these. The people who immediately profited by the plunder approved of the changes. The important point and the difficult question for an ecclesiastical historian is to trace how far religious opinion went hand in hand with ecclesiastical policy, lagged behind or outran it. It is notoriously hard to gauge the state of religious opinion at any time or anywhere, and the difficulty is not least at the time of the Reformation in England. In that age it was possible to procure what were supposed to be representative Houses of Commons, who in the course of about thirty years passed Henry's Acts for the abolition of papal supremacy and for the setting up of a royal supremacy, which was in fact a spiritual despotism of the Crown; who passed the Six Articles strongly enforcing what we call Romanist doctrines; who repealed that Act and passed Edward's Act of Uniformity; who repealed that Act and restored papal supremacy; who passed Elizabeth's Act for a more guardedly expressed royal supremacy and her Act of Uniformity. The House of Commons could be packed and manipulated, but the House of Lords concurred in all these Acts, and though extensive alterations were made in the *personnel* of the lords, especially among the spiritual peers, yet the lay lords were nearly the same body from year to year and always gave the government of the day a majority. Moreover there is nothing to show that the greater number of the people at large did not go to church, whether they found there the Mass, the Communion service, the restored Mass or the restored Communion service.

¹ Loseley MSS. 22 Hen. VIII. (undated), and 28 Nov. 1568.

² Wallington chapel was ruinous in 1725, and part used as a barn. No service was held in it in the memory of man (*Wilks' Visitation*).

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A cardinal misconception in the minds of modern writers of strong religious prejudices is the supposition that the majority of English people between, we will say, 1529 and 1570 were either Romanists or Protestants in the commonly accepted sense of the words as used to-day. There were a few saints and there were more fanatics, and there were clear-sighted men who saw from the first whither arguments and divisions tended. To support the king's or the queen's government however was a more generally operating desire than any preference for this or that theological opinion. In certain parts of England there were reasons why real religious opinions should be stronger than they were in others. In more backward and primitive counties the influence of the monasteries and of the clergy in general was strong, and the clergy were generally conservative, and the monasteries were, while they lasted, absolutely opposed to the royal supremacy and to all religious change. In the trading towns and in the trading counties round the sea coast from Norfolk to Sussex religious opinions from the Netherlands and Germany came in the tracks of commerce, and foreign sectaries themselves were to be found. Surrey was not exactly in either of these categories, but was probably a fair epitome of the rest of England. The more remote country places were primitive enough to share old-fashioned opinions. The places along the Thames were open to London influence, In the course of time the places where the cloth trade flourished, Guildford, Godalming and the neighbourhood, were touched by new opinions. The glassmakers of Chiddingfold and Alfold—in the latter place French glassmakers, probably Huguenots, were buried in the churchyard—and even the workers in gunpowder and iron manufacturies were open to the influence of foreigners. Most of the foreigners in England, from Edward the Sixth's time onward, were Calvinists or Anabaptists. But the religious influences of London were not strongly marked among the population of the Surrey suburbs. Southwark, Bermondsey and Lambeth were a stronghold of great ecclesiastics and religious houses, upon whom a multitude of people depended for employment. Two archbishops, two bishops and five abbots had houses there, besides the local monasteries. The rest of the population along the riverside, and perhaps some of this ecclesiastically-dependent population, was so notoriously disreputable owing to the sanctuaries and separate jurisdictions which hampered justice, as to be quite outside any religious opinion whatever.

The number of persons who died for their religion in Surrey was inconsiderable and most of them cannot be taken to represent local opinion. Frequented highways were a favourite place of execution, when no newspaper reporter existed and the vigour of government required a public advertisement. St. Thomas' Waterings on the Kent road was a good place at which to hang a denier of the royal supremacy because so much of the traffic from the southern counties to London Bridge and back again passed by it. But it is no more certain that because a man was hanged there he belonged to Surrey than it is that a man hanged at Tyburn belonged to Middlesex. Be that as it may, Surrey

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soil was the scene of the following deaths for religion from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of Elizabeth. Lollardism furnished the first victim, and the story is curious because it is not recorded in the Acts and Monuments. On 19 February, 1513,¹ the bishop's chancellor had before him certain heretics of Surrey at Kingston-on-Thames. They were Thomas Denys of Malden in Surrey, Philip Braban, John Langborowe and Margery Jopson of Kingston. The case of Thomas Denys was most serious. Some twenty years before, when living at Waltham Cross, he had been convicted of heresy and had abjured and done penance at Waltham and at Paul's Cross. Not only had he relapsed but he had been exhorting others. He had visited John Jenyns, late detected of heresy, now deceased, and brought him 'a book called *Wiclif*' and bade him copy it; 'which John according to thy false and erroneous mynde and exhortation so did.' Denys' views were of the ordinary kind, denying a Real Presence, objecting to 'thymage' in the church, saying that a priest ought not to assoile one man of a wrong done to another. As a relapsed heretic there was no escape for him, and on 5 March he was handed over to the secular arm and burnt to ashes in the market-place of Kingston.

Philip Braban and the others submitted. Philip had been servant to Stephen Carder in Middlesex, whose father was burnt for heresy. This was perhaps William Carder of Tenterden, Kent, burnt in 1511 according to Fox. They had also associated with 'Lowes Joan late of heresy abjured,' who is also mentioned by Fox at Cranbrook. John Jenyns was a 'broderer,' or embroiderer; Denys, by his name, was perhaps of Walloon extraction, and Philip of the duchy of Brabant a Brabanter. They were not apparently natives of Surrey, but artisans or mechanics at Kingston for trade purposes, with friends in Kent and Middlesex. It is to be remarked that Fox knew of some of these poor people apparently. He mentions a Philip Brabant as inculpated in heresy, though not suffering, a little later. A burning in Kingston market-place was public enough, yet it is not in the *Book of Martyrs*. Was the bishop a kinsman to the martyrologist? The latter is not given to the omission of telling cases. He is equally silent about the submission extracted from some Hampshire men and women by the bishop in Farnham Church. One of these confessed in so many words to being a Lollard; all were Sacramentarian heretics; one denied purgatory, or any place for departed souls but heaven or hell.

After this year there is a gap in executions for religion in Surrey till after the breach with Rome.

On 8 July, 1539, John Griffith, vicar of Wandsworth, was hanged at St. Thomas' Waterings for denying the royal supremacy. With him suffered his servant and a Franciscan named Waire.² Stow calls him his chaplain. On 3 May, 1540, the severe impartiality of the government burned three Anabaptists as heretics on the highway beyond Southwark

¹ The whole story is circumstantially set forth in Fox's *Register*, iii. 69-71. It continues to 76 with those who submitted.

² Stow, *Chron.* 4, to p. 972.

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towards Newington.¹ This was down the other branch of the road from London Bridge, the Surrey not the Kent road. Two of the Anabaptists were foreigners, to judge by their names. The third name is not given. On 1 July, 1541, Sir David Genson or Gunston, a knight hospitaller, was hanged at St. Thomas' Waterings for denying the royal supremacy. Of course Anabaptists went about with their lives in their hands; however harmless they might be personally they suffered for the follies of their co-religionists. The Church and State can hardly have been much endangered by the vicar of Wandsworth, much less by his servant. A knight of St. John may have been a traitor to more purpose. In Edward's reign some Surrey men were hanged for the troubles of 1549, but there were other reasons for their discontent besides religion. In Mary's reign there is little trace of Protestant opinion in Surrey. The Bishop of Winchester, who was Chancellor and in fact Prime Minister, examined men accused of heresy at St. Mary Overie's, but they were not Surrey men nor holders of Surrey livings. During his episcopate, in Mary's reign, no one suffered as a heretic in his diocese. Under his successor, White, a native of Farnham, three martyrs were burned in St. George's Fields in May, 1557. Their names were Stephen Gratwicke, William Morant and King. The only point known about their origin is that Gratwicke was not a Surrey man, but lived at Brighton and tried to save himself by urging that he was only answerable to his ordinary, the Bishop of Chichester. The weavers and tailors, and poor men and women, whom the authorities in some dioceses, London and Canterbury and Chichester chiefly, ferreted out and burned for heresy, had evidently few counterparts in Surrey. White was not against persecution; he sat as the judge of heretics outside his own dioceses of Lincoln and Winchester successively. The same men too were sheriffs of Surrey and Sussex, John Covert, William Saunders and Sir Edward Gage. They were responsible for a share in twenty-seven executions for heresy in Sussex, but only Gage for any in Surrey. Sir John Ashburnham, the last sheriff of both counties under Mary, executed none in either county. The inference is that there were not many heretics in Surrey, or that they were not very strongly pronounced in their opinions and were able to keep them out of sight. In the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, when the penal laws were sharply enforced, Surrey was again the scene of some executions. William Way, alias Flower, was hanged as a recusant on 23 September, 1588, at Kingston. He was a secular priest. William Wiggles, another priest, was hanged at the same place on 1 October, 1588. On 12 July, 1598, John Jones, alias Buckley, a Franciscan, was hanged at St. Thomas' Waterings. At the same place John Rigby, a layman, was hanged on 21 June, 1600, and John Pibush, a priest, on 18 February, 1601. These may be fairly set down as sufferers for their religious opinions and as representing a certain existence of these religious opinions in Surrey. In the struggle between the queen's government and the forces of Rome religious dis-

¹ Stow, *Chron.* 4, to p. 974. Two of them were named Mauldeuens and Colens, so they were probably Netherlanders, not Surrey natives.

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affection was considered treason. The success of these seminary priests and of their converts was regarded as a political danger, whatever their professions or even intentions may have been, and the government, in self-defence, made the obligatory duties of their religion acts of treason.

But the zeal which led men to face boldly the stake as heretics, or the gallows with its worse accompaniments of the hangman's knife, as traitors, had been no more conspicuously common in Surrey than elsewhere in England during the earlier revolutions of the Reformation era. As a criterion of the religious opinions of the county we should in the first instance have been naturally disposed to examine the action of the clergy. The opinions of a parish priest and of his parishioners need not be the same, but they are more likely to be similar than not. The parish clergy were often the nominees of gentlemen in the county; they lived in the society of the farmers and tradesmen of their parish. They must often have been related to them. A professional feeling might to some extent actuate them in a direction opposed to lay opinion; but the usual difference in religion between clergy and laity is that the former hold the same religious opinions as the latter, only more strongly, with less reserve and latitude. If therefore the recorded instances of religious opinion, among the clergy, strong enough to make them defy the law, or to give up their livings for conscience sake, are but few, we must conclude that the religious indifference of the laity was very strongly marked indeed. The number of clergy who found it impossible to accept the successive changes of the Tudors in ecclesiastical matters was not large in Surrey as it was not large elsewhere.

No attempt has ever been made to compile a complete list of clergy who were deprived or resigned owing to their inability to accept the various changes from Henry the Eighth's Royal Supremacy Act down to 1559. But there is no evidence to show that in Surrey these changes were at all considerable. Institutions after deprivation or resignation are not more numerous than in ordinary times, and though men may have been deprived or have resigned for nonconformity, the reason does not generally appear. In 1559 and in the next few years under Elizabeth a few changes were made. Nicholas Sanders, the famous recusant and Romanist controversialist, author of *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesie* and *De Origine et Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*, attempted a list of beneficed clergy who refused to accept Elizabeth's religious settlement. It is avowedly imperfect on the side of omission, and has been shown also to contain a few names which should not be included, men ordained abroad after 1559, and men who conformed at first, but who for some reason were induced to change their minds after some years, and a few who never changed their minds or their benefices at all. Subsequent lists seem to have been based upon that of Sanders.¹ Now it is pertinent to our inquiry to remember that Nicholas Sanders belonged to a Surrey family, that of Sanders,

¹ The whole question of Sanders' trustworthiness has been exhaustively treated so far as available evidence allows in *The Elizabethan Clergy*, 1558-64, by the Rev. Henry Gee, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1898.

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or Saunders or Saunder of Charlwood. The Sanders family was generally recusant under Elizabeth; they were connected by marriage with the Copleys and with other families of Surrey recusants. If, as Sanders says, he relied upon personal knowledge and what information he could pick up among the English exiles abroad, and from the men of recusant families who were being trained for the English mission at Douai, Rheims and Rome, he was not likely to be in special want of information about Surrey clergymen. His words are, after enumerating Church dignitaries who were deprived, imprisoned or molested:—

Nec enim dubito quin alii praeterea valde multi hanc laudem meriti sint. Sed illos ego recensui quos aut ipse noveram, aut ab aliis hac dignitate motos esse acceperam. Presbyteri vero Parochiales, et alii clerici qui ob retinendæ Sedis Apostolicæ communionem, vel in vinculis defuncti, vel adhuc vincti, vel in exilium ire coacti sunt, multo difficilium enumerari possunt. Sed tamen ne Ordo ipse si penitus prætermittatur, injuriam sibi factam existimet, eos hic adjungam de quibus me audire contigit.¹

He then gives the names of nine priests who had been imprisoned, and then a considerable list of priests who had been deprived of their benefices. The curious point is that he gives no name which can be certainly identified as that of a Surrey parish priest, he gives no names of Surrey benefices, except in the case of Edmund Mervyn, the archdeacon of Surrey, who is not named among parish priests of course. In addition to the archidiaconal endowment of the rectory of Farnham he held the living of Sutton. Yet in fact some few Surrey clergymen were deprived in the first few years of Elizabeth's reign; the registers of Bishop Horne, and the *Sede Vacante* register before Horne became Bishop of Winchester, show it by institutions after deprivation. If Sanders had never heard of these cases, occurring in one case in Reigate, in the close neighbourhood of the property of his family, it shows either that his information was extremely defective or that the deprivations could not be twisted, even by a not very scrupulous partisan, into deprivations for constancy to the apostolic see. A great many ignorant and unfit men certainly had been put into livings during the great era of ecclesiastical spoliations under Henry and Edward's reigns. Many livings were vacant *propter exilitatem*, and the same reason, the diversion of parochial endowments into the pockets of the laity, either through the alienation of previous monastic appropriations or through direct annexation, must have caused an inferior set of clergy to be often in possession of what was no longer a decent living. Horne very shortly deprived some clergy whom he had himself instituted. He is more likely in the first instance to have instituted some disreputable clerk, or even a sectarian zealot who would be deprived for Protestant nonconformity, than a Romanist.

To make the indications from the registers more clear it is as well to note carefully the succession of the Bishops of Winchester, under whom changes were carried through.

Stephen Gardiner was bishop from 1531, and, though he was imprisoned by the council under Edward, was not deprived till 1551. He

¹ *De Visibili Monarchia*, lib. vii. 689.

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was a strong upholder of the royal supremacy, till the exercise of the royal supremacy by the regency ran counter to his equally strong allegiance to mediæval sacramental doctrine. He was not opposed to all reform; he had a share in the translation of the Gospels for Cranmer's Bible, was a prominent member of the Government which dissolved the monasteries and put down relic worship and pilgrimages, and was a reformer of manners. He was the kind of man who could be trusted to enforce discipline, an important consideration touching deprivations in his episcopate.

On his deprivation, John Poynt, or Ponet, was translated from Rochester to Winchester 23 March, 1551. He was an ardent reformer. His character otherwise does not concern us here, but he was unlikely to overlook disobedience to Edward's laws if he knew of it. When Mary succeeded in July, 1553, Gardiner was almost immediately restored. Poynt withdrew, and, after taking part in Wyatt's insurrection, went to Germany, where he died.

Gardiner died on 12 November, 1555. John White was translated from Lincoln to Winchester in 1556. He had been consecrated to Lincoln in the year 1554 in place of an Edwardian bishop deprived, and was quite in agreement with the policy of Mary and of Pole. He has a bad name from Fox as a persecutor, though as we have seen he had no great number of victims in his own diocese of Winchester. On the death of Mary he preached a funeral sermon, in which he said that 'a live dog is better than a dead lion,' which was taken as an insult to Elizabeth. He was sent to the Tower on 4 April and deprived on 26 June, 1559. His successor Robert Horne was not consecrated till 16 February, 1561. White was not at all likely to institute any but supposed adherents of the papal supremacy; Horne was certain to institute none but supporters of the royal supremacy.

Under these four bishops all the Surrey parishes changed their rectors or vicars at least once. But in the great majority the changes seem to have no connexion with the changes in the ecclesiastical laws, being at dates marked by no revolution, and for the ordinary reasons, after death and so on, and if after deprivation or resignation these are not more numerous than the ordinary cases. After Elizabeth's accession the arch-deacon was deprived, and Maurice Chauncey, the head of the restored monastery at Sheen, went into exile with his Carthusian monks to Bruges. There were forebodings as to what would happen among the clergy, who were supposed to be in general strongly opposed to the contemplated Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, and fears even of armed resistance seem to have been entertained,¹ but after all nothing much seems to have happened.

Soon after his consecration in February, 1560-1, Horne was making a visitation of his diocese. He had passed through Surrey when he wrote to Cecil as follows:—

¹ See *V.C.H. Surrey*, i. 378, 'Political History.' The government wanted an account of the arms, etc., of the clergy (Loseley MSS. 31 Dec. 1558. The council to Sir Thomas Cawarden).

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I have not found any repugning to the ordinances of the realm concerning religion, neither the ministers dissenting from the same, but conforming themselves as it was required of them, and in testification thereof have subscribed to the declaration for uniformity of doctrine. Nevertheless I have found many absent, and many churches destitute of incumbents and ministers.¹

He found little defiance of the law, but some evasion of an answer to his visitation inquiries; and, above all, many parishes not served. Thirty years of revolution had at any rate produced a state of inefficient ecclesiastical administration. The machinery had been set right so often that it naturally was working badly.

A complete view of the condition of every single parish during these thirty years would in many cases yield only negative results. The institutions recoverable from the bishop's registers generally tell no story of changes on account of opinion. Those for certain parishes however have been selected, and are set out in an appendix to this article, partly because in them there were suspicious deprivations or resignations, but partly because some of them give rather remarkable instances of want of disturbance. Summing up the cases here quoted, we see that in the Surrey livings, and separately served chapelries, rather over 140 in number,² no indication of religious opinion strong enough to lead to resistance to the law, or to self-sacrificing resignation, is to be observed among the greater number of incumbents. Some of the forty-two cases set forth below are selected to show the want of religious zeal in cases where such feeling might have been expected, being parishes where a man instituted in the moment of victory of one set of opinions continued holding his benefice during the victory of the opposite view. Others show that changes in a critical year were caused by death vacancies. There remain six cases in which dislike of Edward the Sixth's policy may have led to resignation or deprivation; sixteen cases in which Gardiner's return to power under Mary may have been the cause; one deprivation of unknown date, in Great Bookham; and eighteen cases in which Elizabeth's settlement might have been the cause. But of this last set only eleven are deprivations, and there is strong reason for thinking that some of them, especially in Peperharow, one in Shalford, and one in Witley, were not on account of recusancy. It must be added, to qualify the completeness of the comparative view of changes at different times, that Poynt's Register seems to be incomplete, and that the latter half of Gardiner's restored episcopate is missing.³ It would not be fair however to double the number, sixteen,⁴ of deprivations, resignations and *de jure* vacancies, which probably mean deprivations, to arrive at the total of those in his time caused by differences of religion. The first fourteen months of his

¹ *S.P. Dom. Eliz.* xvii. 23.

² The parish of Cuddington was extinguished, two in Southwark were united in 1538, some chapelries were destroyed, some separately provided for. Perhaps 142 was the number of incumbencies which should have existed at Elizabeth's accession.

³ Both Gardiner's (restored) Register and Poynt's are only copies of the originals. Mr. Baigent of Winchester considers them of James the First's time.

⁴ The resignation of Roger Norwode at Carshalton, instituted by Gardiner in 1553 and resigning that year or early in 1554, cannot be taken into account as a resignation on the ground of religion.

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restored episcopate would be more prolific in such removals than the last fourteen months. But there may have been some more, and it is at any rate clear that the impending restoration of Papal authority—it was not formally restored in these first fourteen months—and the removal of married clergy brought about more changes than the restoration of the royal supremacy brought about when Elizabeth succeeded. But at no time were the personal changes such as to indicate the general prevalence of any such antagonism as that which prevails between Romanists and Protestants now. If all the recorded cases are taken to be instances of conscientious objections to religious changes, they do not include more than about twelve per cent of the beneficed clergy of the county at any one time. The obvious conclusion is this, to which the secular history also bids us come, that religious indifference, and a feeling in favour of supporting the Government, were much more marked characteristics of the clergy, and therefore more decidedly of the laity, than either Romanist or Protestant zeal.

The political reasons for the dealings of the Government of Elizabeth with the Catholic recusants have necessarily thrown the story of the details of their persecution into the political section of this history.¹ Though Surrey was not originally in that attitude of decided hostility to the queen's policy which existed in the northern counties, there clearly was a good deal of conservative religious opinion hostile to Puritanism and distrustful of the royal supremacy, a feeling which could be easily excited into active recusancy by the labours of the seminary priests and Jesuits. This Romanist nonconformity was no doubt aggravated by the distinct Calvinistic line which was followed by Horne, the new Bishop of Winchester; for it was one of the difficulties of Elizabeth's position that she could not find sufficient men outside the Calvinist party to man the Church, and her *via media* was at once deflected in practice towards the ultra-reforming side, so that fewer of the conservative party could walk in it. The indictment of 120 recusants at the sessions between 1572 and 1579; fifty-six prisoners for recusancy in the gaols on the Surrey side, excluding the King's Bench, in 1582; forty prisoners in the King's Bench in 1585, though these were not necessarily Surrey people, tell a tale of widely spread dissatisfaction; for there would be ten who repined in secret to one who had the courage, or the ill-luck, to be in the way of arrest. Poor men these, for the most part, like those who petitioned Sir William More to the effect that they were starving in the White Lion prison.²

On 29 August, 1561, Bishop Horne was inquiring into the conformity of laity as well as of clergy.³ In 1562 the second Ecclesiastical Commission had been issued. On 19 March, 1563, Lord Montague was desiring from William More his report of his 'neighbours' opinions,' to lay before the bishop.⁴ Montague's own opinions were really Romanist, and he had spoken in the House of Lords against imposing the

¹ *V.C.H. Surrey*, i. 382, 387.

² Loseley MSS. v. pt. ii. 42; see *V.C.H. Surrey*, i. 584.

³ *S.P. Dom.* 3 *Eliz.* xix. 36.

Horne to Cecil.

⁴ Loseley MSS. x. 4.

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oath of royal supremacy. His co-operation with the Government is another instance of the supreme influence of respect for the Crown then with most people. On 5 November, 1569, the justices of the county were instructed to submit a form of agreement with the laws touching religious uniformity for signature to all the queen's lieges. Knights refusing to subscribe were to be bound over to good behaviour in the sum of £200, esquires in that of 200 marks.¹ It was not universally signed. The Loseley correspondence is full of references to declared and known recusants, men and women. Some of these were in custody. White, the ex-Bishop of Winchester, after being committed to the Tower, lived in London in his mother's house till his death in 1560. The ex-Archbishop of York lived in peace, but under surveillance, at his own house at Chobham in Surrey from 1563 till his death in 1578.² The Earl of Southampton and Francis Browne of Henley Park, brother to Viscount Montague, were successively kept in honourable custody at Loseley by Sir William More. In 1581 there were sixty-five recusants of property in Surrey, paying a regular composition for their recusancy.³ In 1587 there were in the county 105 recusants indicted, in the common prisons or discharged after making a submission which was probably feigned.⁴ Many of the gentlemen's families of the county were recusant, such as the Copleys of Gatton and Leigh, the Sanders of Charlwood and Ewell, Catesbys of Lambeth, Vauxe of Southwark, Brownes of Henley Park, Gages of Haling, Talbots of Mitcham, Furnivalls of Egham, Fromondes of Cheam, Southcotes of Westham, Hobsons of Woking, Lumleys of Wintershall. Naturally enough most of these names disappear from the ranks of landed gentry or sink into a much lower condition, from the harassing action of perpetual fines and compositions, besides imprisonment. Some gentry, like the Westons of Sutton, were notoriously Romanist in sympathy, but from management or favour kept on the safe side of the law under Elizabeth. Recusancy however was not confined to gentry. Yeomen,⁵ and such like, are continually referred to as arrested or suspected. The actual deaths in Surrey were few, as we have seen. But besides those executed in the county, Robert Gage, of the family of Gage of Haling, was hanged at Tyburn for complicity in the Babington plot. Ladies,⁶ and poor women and an old woman⁷ were among those imprisoned. In 1584 one Hardy of Farnham was imprisoned for indiscreet words concerning John Body, a gentleman, and John Slade, a schoolmaster, who had just been hanged as recusants at Andover and Winchester respectively. Walsingham himself thought it worth while to direct the inquiry.⁸ Search for books, ornaments, concealed priests, and for 'persons unknown,' which means priests, was constant. In 1578

¹ Loseley MSS. v. 6.

² Not 1579, as usually said. Montague refers to his recent death in a letter to Sir W. More, dated 12 Dec. 1578 (Loseley MSS. x. 71).

³ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* clvi. 42.

⁴ Loseley MSS. 1587, v. pt. ii. 68. ⁵ *Ibid.* v. 20, 48, 54. ⁶ *Ibid.* v. pt. ii. 68. ⁷ *Ibid.* v. i.

⁸ *Ibid.* iii. 61, Jan. 1584, and another undated letter. The executions were in Oct. and Nov. 1583. See also *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* clxvii. 15.

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the Lords of the Council urged the justices to discover if possible the 'massing priests' who were going about the country disguised as serving-men and artificers.¹ They were taking about with them consecrated superaltars for the performance of mass; but we do not hear of many of them being caught, which implies much popular sympathy. In 1591 a special commission was needed in Surrey, composed of the Lord Lieutenant, the bishop, the dean, archdeacon and chancellor of Winchester, Lord Lumley, Sir William More, his son George More and some half dozen others, justices and gentry, to inquire after and arrest seminary priests and Jesuits, who are reported to be in numbers in the realm,² striving not only to seduce people from their religion, but to renounce their allegiance and to adhere to the King of Spain and the pope. That this result was not always brought about was very much to the credit of the persistently persecuted recusants. The bearing upon the state of religious feeling in the county of the incessant exhortations to inquiry and arrest is that the sympathy for the 'massing priests' must have been pretty widely spread to enable them at all to elude the zeal of the justices. Leigh Place, Leith Hill Place, Smallfield Place and some other old Surrey houses contain or contained 'priests' holes.' But the steady pressure of laws which ruined the land-owning recusants, the complete control of the pulpits, the circulation of the Geneva Bible with Calvinistic comments, and above all the identification of conformity and patriotism, worked in Surrey as all over England. Within the lifetime of men who remembered the reluctant supersession of the mass by the Communion Office in Surrey parish churches, the Communion Office itself, celebrated as Elizabeth's Prayer Book directed, came to be considered superstitious by a Puritan generation.

Puritan nonconformity began to appear in Elizabeth's reign. In 1572 John Field and Thomas Wilcox, ministers, tried to organize Presbyterianism at Wandsworth.³ In 1586 John Udal, a Puritan lecturer at Kingston, was accused of holding conventicles. He was tried in 1590 at Croydon Assizes on a charge of attacking the queen's authority, and condemned to death. He was spared at Whitgift's intercession, and was pardoned in 1592, but died almost immediately afterwards.⁴

The more eccentric manifestations of religious opinion early manifested themselves in some parts of Surrey. Sectaries were ordered to be apprehended in 1560. In 1561 information was laid before the justices of the 'divylsh devices' of sectaries about Wonersh and Dunsfold, weavers probably, for these were cloth weaving villages, and perhaps foreigners or companions of foreigners. The name of David Orch, who

¹ Loseley MSS. v. 15. The Council to the Justices, 5 Sept. 1578.

² Ibid. 23 Nov. 34 Eliz.

³ Collier, vi. 19, quoting Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*.

⁴ He was not vicar of Kingston, as the *Dict. of Nat. Biography* says. Stephen Chatfield was instituted in 1574 and died as vicar in 1598 (Reg. Horne, 100a, & Bilson, 7a). For his trial see *State Trials*, 1271, and Strype's *Whitgift*, 314. For his pardon see *Acts of the Privy Council*, 21 May, 1592. His attack was not really on the queen's authority, but on the bishops'. It is abusive, and intolerant of all opinions but rigid Calvinism.

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was expected to be at St. Catherine's Fair and who was to be arrested if possible, does not sound English.¹ In 1580 the Family of Love attracted notice in Surrey. They were Anabaptists, but also were real offenders against order and decency. The hard worked justices had to vary their labours in regulating the price of corn and pedlars' licences, the levy of troops, the raising of loans, the punishment of poachers and the search for 'massing priests,' by examining, 'with the aid of godly preachers,' 'those who are fallen into the hereasye termed the familie of love.'² No wonder that one of them describes himself as 'extreme wearie' with examining suspected persons. The spread of Romanist and sectarian opinions was made more probable by the decay of the parochial system owing to the extreme poverty of some of the livings through lay annexations of their revenues. Between 1584 and 1589 the inhabitants of Ewell complained of the absolute destitution of their vicar.³ The chapelry of Okewood, practically a parish, was endowed by the Government with 5 marks a year in place of considerable revenues annexed in 1547; and such cases were not singular. There was also a dearth of well qualified men to fill livings, and very little sense of responsibility must have been felt by lay patrons when they made some of their presentations. Sir William More was certainly a good specimen of the man in authority then, upright, business-like and honourable in his dealings. But the Appendix shows that suspicion attaches itself to a presentation of his to the living of Compton in 1554. Again in 1583 he presented John Slater, who was instituted by Bishop Watson.⁴ He was deprived by Bishop Cooper in 1586.⁵ In 1598 Bishop Cooper wrote to Sir William for information concerning a vagrant and mendicant person named John Slater alias Thomas Edmondess, who had held the living of Compton.⁶ Clergymen, like other people, may come down in the world, but the sort of case was too common then; and the two unfortunate presentations by so good a man as Sir William More are suggestive. The clergy were generally of an inferior social class. John Cowper gave to Sir William More a good character, from her late master, of 'a very sober mayd and honest' whom his parish clergyman, perhaps of Capel or Newdigate, was desirous of marrying.⁷ A match with a servant maid was a becoming marriage for a parish priest. Bishop Cooper of Winchester was the son of a tailor. Archbishop Abbot was the son of a poor cloth weaver of Guildford. They were both learned men, and well worthy of advancement, but how many more do they indicate, of similar birth and of a barely sufficient or insufficient education who obtained minor preferments? The carefully trained Jesuits, and even the seminary priests, were picked men.

¹ *V.C.H. Surrey*, i. 382, and Loseley MSS. 19 Sept. 1560, and 28 May, 1561.

² Loseley MSS. 11 Oct. 1580, v. 17, and 30 Dec. 1580. The Council was directing a special inquiry about them at the time. They were chiefly in the Winchester, Ely and Norwich dioceses and were no doubt a foreign importation (*Acts of Privy Council*, 1580-1, p. 233).

³ Loseley MSS. ii. 14 (no date), but the 'poor vicar,' Richard Williamson, was instituted in 1584 and his successor in 1589.

⁴ Winton Epis. Reg., Watson, 11b.

⁵ *Ibid.* Cooper, 8a.

⁶ Loseley MSS. xi. 28, 6 July, 1598.

⁷ *Ibid.* 18 Oct. (no further date). The letter is quoted in Kemp's Loseley MSS.

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For their career zeal was a necessity and learning was provided. The Calvinistic lecturer, or conductor of 'prophesyings,' had zeal too, and no social or educational disadvantage compared with the benefited clergy.¹

Of the Bishops of Winchester who presided over Surrey, after Elizabeth's accession, Robert Horne was a Calvinist. He had been dean of Durham under Edward VI. and an exile under Mary. He was a learned man, but was a zealous destroyer of the ancient rites and beauty of worship which Elizabeth would have liked to see preserved in order to conciliate the conservative majority of her subjects. He was fully occupied in establishing the Elizabethan settlement, but he died in 1579, just before the more rigorous persecution of the recusants began under the Act of 1581.

His successor, John Watson, 1580, to January, 1584, was a man of a different school. He was an M.D. of Oxford, who had relinquished medicine for orders, and had managed to hold a stall at Winchester under both Edward VI. and Mary. He further conformed under Elizabeth, and was made archdeacon of Surrey in 1559 after Edmund Mervyn's deprivation. He was dean of Winchester from 1572 to 1580. The persecution of the recusants raged in his time, but he was perhaps personally not very zealous. He was old and in ill-health. On 4 May, 1581, he wrote to Sir William More that owing to his grievous ill-health he must depute his visitation to his chancellor.² A great part of his correspondence with the Surrey county magnates is concerned with encroachments upon his timber and game at Farnham, and the queen's intended visit there.

His successor was Thomas Cooper, a man of great learning and of high character, Bishop of Lincoln 1570 to 1584, of Winchester 1584 to 1594. He may be said to have fully represented the official view of the time as to the position of the Church, equally severe upon Romanist and Puritan nonconformity. He was active in suppressing the recusants, and at the same time was attacked in the Martin Marprelate tracts, with a violence and scurrility which shows that he was considered worth powder and shot by the party which they represented. His answer, 'An Admonition to the People of England,' is at all events superior in gravity and decency to the work of his assailants. Penry, the author of some of the Marprelate Tracts, was hanged at St. Thomas' Waterings in 1593; but he was not otherwise connected with Surrey, except that he had consulted with Udal at Kingston about his publications. Cooper's zeal against the recusants had a result for which he was not perhaps prepared. He had been pressing upon the council the deportation of the worst offenders of the labouring class to serve as pioneers in the army in the Netherlands, where one would suppose they would desert to

¹ A subsequent Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bilson, said at the Hampton Court Conference that the chief cause of the inefficiency of the clergy was the presentation of 'mean clerks' by the laity, whom the bishops were compelled to institute by writs of *quare impedit*.

² Loseley MSS. date cited.

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the Spaniards on the first opportunity, and the imprisonment of the better sort. The council answered that as the gaols were likely to be over full, the bishop was to take care of the less dangerous characters in his house at Farnham.¹ Dr. Cooper consequently lost the use of his finest house, which became a sort of prison. In the dealings with recusants at this time it appears incidentally that Waverley Abbey was still habitable, for on 7 March, 1591-2, the curate and four inhabitants of Farnham made a presentment that the parish harboured no Jesuits, seminaries (sic) nor open recusants, but that William Pyke, gentleman, living at Waverley Abbey, had a wife and family who had not attended service at Farnham for three years.² The whole of Cooper's time is full of the presentments of recusants, male and female, gentle and simple; though Surrey was not quite so full of them as Hampshire, and the Hampshire side of Surrey was fuller than the other. Bishop Cooper found the career of a bishop zealous for the rights of his see, as well as for uniformity, expensive. He wrote to Sir W. More on 5 January, 1591, that he had spent £300 on litigation in the last two years, and intended to put up with some injuries in the future 'in these quarrelsome times when persons abound who wish ill to the church.'³

Cooper died in 1594 and was succeeded by William Wickham, for a few weeks of 1595, and he dying was succeeded by William Day in 1596, who died the same year and was succeeded by Thomas Bilson. He like his predecessor was a strong supporter of authority, as understood by the existing Government. He wrote in favour of the rebellion of the Netherlands against Philip II. at Elizabeth's orders, and against the want of obedience of English Romanists to the queen. He wrote in favour of episcopal government, opposed the Puritan demands at Hampton Court, and yet was Calvinist enough to satisfy the Calvinistically educated James I.⁴ He died in 1616, and recusancy as a serious trouble in Surrey was dead before he was. There were a few recusants still paying impositions and fines, but the rank and file had been crushed out of existence, and they are no longer presented at sessions from all over the county. James Montague followed from 1616 to 1618, then Lancelot Andrewes, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, a member of the rising Laudian party but more judicious, more spiritual and more successful than Laud. He died at Winchester House in 1627, and was buried at St. Mary Overie's. Richard Neile, of the same party but not of the same spirit, a man of distinctly an inferior kind, followed till 1632, then Walter Curle of the same way of thinking. The important point to notice with regard to the history of the opinions of the county is that these bishops had ceased to have to deal with any large number of Romanist recusants, but were not free from threatenings of trouble with Puritans, not generally as nonconformists but as a party in the Church. The

¹ *Acts of Privy Council*, 1590, p. 27.

² Loseley MSS., date cited.

³ *Ibid.* viii. 26.

⁴ 'The elect cannot perish,' a heading in Bilson's *Effects of Christ's Sufferings*, is proof enough of how nearly Calvinist the high churchmen were.

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Surrey born archbishop, George Abbot, belonged of course to this conforming Puritan party. He was no doubt born and educated in the opinions which he subsequently held. To the poor clothiers of Guildford and Godalming, the class from which he sprang, Protestantism and Calvinism were convertible terms. Arminianism they had only heard of as a heresy; and Anglicanism, whether as understood by Parker, by Hooker, by Bancroft, by Andrewes, by Laud, or as now understood, was unintelligible to them. Such a state of things was the lasting result of the ruin of the moderate reformers under Edward VI. and Mary. When a man of this class, like Abbot, became a man in authority, he was as keen in the suppression of nonconformity as Laud himself. The rule of the Calvinists in power was the more dangerous, because it aimed at enforcing uniformity of opinion, whereas Laud tried to enforce chiefly uniformity of practice. Yet perhaps the latter produced more immediate dissatisfaction, because it could be enforced, while the former could not. So far as Surrey was concerned there was little nonconformity which attracted attention in those days. There was certainly widespread Calvinism everywhere. The changes in favour of outward decency in the care of churches and their furniture, and above all the removal of the Communion tables from the body of the church to the east end, do not seem to have provoked any special resistance in Surrey as they did in some places. This last change, we must remember, fell to the lot of Dr. Curle to carry out chiefly, after the judicious rule and immense personal influence of Andrewes had paved the way by peaceful means. When Laud carried out his metropolitan visitation of the whole province of Canterbury, which began in 1634, he found little to complain of in the whole diocese of Winchester; only, it is said, that there was a small increase of Romanist recusants in some places, which means that the laws were less rigorously executed and concealed recusants showed themselves, and three or four ministers were lax in their catechizing of children. The whole diocese, including Surrey, had been brought into very good order.¹

There had been one pleasing feature of the period under review, the foundation of institutions which to some extent took the place of the destroyed monasteries, with regard to the needs of the time. Practical religion, and philanthropy enlightened for the age, was manifested by the foundation of Archbishop Whitgift's Hospital at Croydon in 1596 for poor men and women and for scholars; of Edward Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich, begun in 1613, for poor men and women and for scholars; and of Archbishop Abbot's Hospital of the Blessed Trinity at Guildford, for poor men and women, incorporated in 1622.

To revert however to the more contentious side of ecclesiastical history. As in secular so in ecclesiastical matters the county of Surrey was close under the eye of authority, and the form of churchmanship favoured by the authorities of the time was likely to be enforced in the greater part of the district. The archbishop lived in Surrey; the diocesan

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, xx. 21 Feb. 1636-7.

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of the county, the Bishop of Winchester, was usually at Farnham Castle or at Winchester House in Southwark. Whatever opinions might prevail among the private patrons of livings, a part of the diocese of Bishops Andrewes and Neile, and their county of residence, was not likely to be in the hands of an ultra-Puritan clergy. More than a fourth part of the beneficed clergy were found to be so hostile, or so objectionable for some reason or other to the Long Parliament, that they were ejected from their livings.

From the time of their meeting in 1640 the Long Parliament began to entertain complaints of the doctrinal, disciplinary or political offences of clergy, and to take upon themselves their removal, suspension or correction.

Mirth Waferer, parson of Compton, Surrey, was the second case in England so dealt with, 8 December, 1640.¹ On 11 February, 1642, Mr. John Nelson of Mickleham was suspended. During the same period two Puritan lecturers were established in the county by Parliamentary order, one at Farnham on 1 September, 1641, and one at Chertsey on 31 May, 1642. When the Committee of Plundered Ministers set to work, not only to relieve 'such godly and well affected ministers as have been plundered,' but 'to consider what malignant persons had benefices which being sequestered might be supplied by others,' and ultimately 'to enquire into scandals and offences alleged, and put out of their livings such as had offences proved against them,' they found some forty vacancies in Surrey, already made by the Parliament, or made them themselves. Those livings which appear in the extant proceedings of the committee are Abinger, Beddington, Bermondsey, Betchworth, Byfleet, Camberwell, Camberwell School, Dulwich College Chapel, Capel, Charlwood, Chiddingfold, Chipstead, East Clandon, Cranleigh, Croydon, Ewhurst, Farnham, Godalming, St. Nicholas' Guildford, Holy Trinity Guildford, Hedley, West Horsley, Letherhead, Newington, Nutfield, Okewood Chapel, Putney, Reigate, Richmond, St. George's Southwark, St. Olave's Southwark, Wisley and Woodmansterne.² To these Walker, in *The Sufferings of the Clergy*, adds Barnes, Ewell, Mickleham, St. Thomas' Hospital, Thorpe and Worplesdon. All these seem to be genuine cases. The incumbent of Worplesdon was Thomas Comber, D.D., the deprived Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. The journals of the two houses also bear witness to the sequestrations of Ashsted and Lambeth, not recoverable from the Committee of Plundered Ministers' proceedings, nor named by Walker; and they confirm the sequestrations of Barnes, Camberwell, Capel, Chiddingfold, Ewell, Godalming, St. Nicholas' Guildford, West Horsley, Mickleham, Newington, St. Olave's Southwark, St. Thomas' Hospital Southwark.³ There was a violent conflict in East

¹ *Lords Journals*, iv. 105, 250. Waferer was accused of using scandalous words about the twelve lords who petitioned the king in the north to call a Parliament. A new presentation to Compton was made in 1642, so he was probably deprived, though it is not on record.

² *Minutes of Proceedings, etc.* Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 15669, 15670-1.

³ See lists of sequestrations and appointments in Shaw, *History of the Church of England during the Civil Wars, etc.* vol. ii. Appendix ii. A.

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Horsley between the churchwardens and people on the one side and a minister presented by the committee in 1645 on the other. But the late incumbent, Mr. Twisse, whom the parishioners favoured, was himself put in by Parliament in 1643,¹ and was no royalist but sat in the Assembly of Divines. The right of presentation to East Horsley lay with the archbishop, who was dead in 1645. Compton may be probably added. In addition to Mirth Waferer's reflections upon the lords, he was also accused of an enormity committed in the company of Dr. Nicholas Andrewes, who was vicar of Godalming and rector of St. Nicholas' Guildford. Four inhabitants of Godalming were prepared to swear that the two had gone together to Southampton to eat fish, and had drunk the pope's health and called him 'that honest old man.' We are tempted to ask, Were the four witnesses there disguised as 'drawers'? Such pitiful rubbish was thought good enough to be presented to Parliament, and seriously considered. Andrewes was a pluralist, but the real secret of the denunciation of him was that he was not a Calvinist. He would not preach at burials and baptisms, he would not admit a Calvinist lecturer into his church, he said that week day sermons were only an occasion for women to come together to gossip, and 'that the silliest creatures had the longest ears.' All which was gravely told to the Parliament, with the farther enormity that when he did preach he said, 'Fie upon the doctrine that the greatest part of the world shall be damned.'² The prevalent Calvinism of Godalming could not abide such opinions. He was deprived and imprisoned, and according to Walker died of the hardship of his imprisonment.

The complaints against Dr. Andrewes are set out at greater length than most of those preserved, but they are all much alike. It is not the fact that the 'scandalous ministers' were as a rule very scandalous. Whatever fault might be found with Laud's administration, we may remember that he had been wholly without fear or favour in visiting offences against morality, and that he and the bishops under him had for some years been doing their best to correct irregularities of conduct among what was not a wholly satisfactory body of clergy, of whom the worst were undoubtedly the nominees of laymen. Drinking and tippling in alehouses is often alleged. In the absence of specific evidence about this we may remember that it might merely mean frequenting what answered to the club, where yeomen and gentlemen even were accustomed to meet. There is too much evident *animus* displayed to make us believe that it was always drunkenness that could be proved. The charges were some of them ridiculous, for instance the Rev. John Allen, curate of Capel, was accused *inter alia* of having written a charm against the toothache. One curious point is connected with his story. The tithes of Capel, which had once belonged to the priory of Reigate, were wholly in lay hands, and the impropriator paid the curate what he

¹ *Commons Journals*, iii. 344.

² Loseley MSS. A paper dated only 1642. A complaint of the parishioners of Godalming, etc.

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liked. Mr. Cooper, the then owner of the tithes, was a Parliamentarian, but he declined to pay Mr. Allen's successor; perhaps he had been cured of toothache by Mr. Allen, or perhaps he merely thought it a good opportunity to save money. At any rate he declined, and successfully upheld his contention in a lawsuit that he was only obliged to pay whom he liked, and that if he was not allowed to pay Mr. Allen he need pay no one else. The successor had to be provided for out of the lands of the chapter of Winchester.¹ It is interesting to see how even the dominant party had to bow to the law. One point all the deprived clergy shared in common—they had spoken disrespectfully of the Parliament,² of Puritan practices, or of both; and generally had obeyed the rubric by refusing to administer the Communion except to kneeling communicants, and had withstood the removal of the altar and rails from the east end of the church, and the taking down of 'superstitious pictures,' or in other words the breaking of their church windows and the defacing of the roof and walls. Unfortunately there was a strong feeling in many places against the clergy, based, we may be sure, a good deal upon dislike of the ecclesiastical courts and of clerical rule; a feeling which afterwards led to opposition to those who supplanted the 'scandalous ministers.' Theological opinion had more to do with English action in the seventeenth century than in any other before or since, but it was not all powerful even then. Its local extent and progress are as hard to define as they usually are elsewhere, but there are indications of them. For the tracing of the history of opinion in the county it is interesting to notice that subsequently (see p. 35 below) there were two parts of Surrey in which the Presbyterian organization was really established, without doubt. One of these was south London, where nearly all the beneficed clergy of the Laudian days were removed under the Long Parliament; the other is the south-east of the county, where there is a large block of parishes whence the dominant Puritan party found it unnecessary to remove any. Clearly Presbyterians were put into possession of the parishes of south London, and for some reason or other the clergy of the south-east were conformable to the Presbyterian organization. The attitude of the laity had something also to do with the success or failure of the Presbyterian experiment. London was notoriously favourable to it, and possessed the numerous middle class necessary for working it successfully. Possibly south-east Surrey, where the iron works flourished, and where fuller's earth was dug, and where there were fewer very influential resident gentry than in the parts nearer London, was also a good middle class neighbourhood. The north-west, the old bailiwick of the Forest of Windsor, was too thinly inhabited, and with too disorderly a population, to have any opinions except those of the gentry who had parks and houses there. Guildford and Godalming were Puritan, but probably as much Sectarian

¹ For a time Capel was vacant, and the registers show that baptisms, burials, and marriages were performed elsewhere for Capel people.

² As the curate of St. Thomas' Hospital, who said that all who entered the service of the Parliament were rogues and rascals.

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as Presbyterian. Farnham was Cavalier and High Church, as became the Bishop of Winchester's pocket borough. In more remote places all religious changes seem to have been very easily accepted. The malignant clergy were in several cases, as at Godalming, Charlwood, Farnham, Guildford, Barnes, Worplesdon, presented by bishops, capitular bodies, or colleges. But it was not enough for the dominant Parliament, which was ruling England, to remove the Royalist clergy. Some ecclesiastical organization was called for by the Puritan clergy, and the naked Erastianism of Church government by the Parliament alone was not approved even by all the laity. On 5 March, 1646, the Commons passed an ordinance for the establishment of a parochial Presbyterian system, and the Lords concurred on 14 March. But this system upon which the Parliament had been labouring at intervals for some time was one imposed from above, not one which had naturally grown up in any county, at least in a complete form. The Parliament divided counties into *classes* of certain geographical extent, and nominated ministers and lay elders in each *classis*. These were to form an *ad interim* body who were to preside over the process of parochial election of elders, to certify the fitness of those named, and then to give place to the naturally formed *classis* of delegates from the parishes. It does not therefore follow that because we have a complete classical organization established for Surrey by an ordinance of Parliament, we are also to assume that the real Presbyterian system actually existed in its complete form in the county.¹ Yet it is very possible that such was the case. Southwark with Lambeth, Bermondsey, Newington and Rotherhithe formed the tenth of the twelve classical divisions of London, where the system certainly was really organized. Another of the classical divisions of Surrey, that of Reigate, can be shown to have existed. The whole county was so much under the influence of London that it would not be surprising if it was all similarly organized. Yet we cannot positively affirm this to be the case. The Sectaries, who not without reason considered the Presbyterian system of discipline to be as dangerous and oppressive as the old ecclesiastical rule so far as they were concerned, were fairly strong in Surrey, and we may be pretty sure that their system existed side by side with any more comprehensive organization.

The classical scheme for Surrey was sanctioned on 16 February, 1648, by the Committee of both Houses appointed *ad hoc*.²

The first *classis* included Farnham, Elsted, Seale, Wanborough, Frensham, Ash, Frimley, Pirbright, Windlesham, Shalford, Bramley, Hascombe, Alfold, Dunsfold, Haslemere, Chiddingfold, Witley, Thursley, Hambledon, Godalming, Peperharow, Puttenham, Compton.

The second *classis* included Dorking, Capel, Ockley, Abinger, Wotton, Shiere, Ewhurst, Cranleigh, Albury, Wonersh, St. Martha's (Marter the hill originally), Mickleham, Effingham, Great Bookham,

¹ See Shaw, *History of the Church of England during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth*, ii. 22. Dr. Shaw has so fully investigated all the available evidence that it is only possible to follow him.

² Printed by A.M., London, 1648, Brit. Mus. E. 4.3.1.

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Little Bookham, Fetcham, Letherhead, Betchworth, Ashsted, Headley, Newdigate.

The third *classis* included Guildford, Artington (that is St. Nicholas' Guildford), Stoke, Mewsey, East Clandon, West Clandon, East Horsley, West Horsley, Ockham, Send and Ripley, Woking, Pirford, Horsell, Wisley, Byfleet, Egham, Thorpe, Chertsey, Bisley, Chobham, Worplesdon.

The fourth *classis* included Kingston, Cobham, Stoke d'Abernon, Esher, Walton on Thames, Weybridge, East Moulsey, West Moulsey, Thames Ditton, Long Ditton, Epsom, Malden, Chessington, Ewell, Petersham, Richmond, Mortlake, Barnes, Putney, Wimbledon, Merton.

The fifth *classis* included Croydon, Wandsworth, Battersea, Clapham, Camberwell, Streatham, Tooting, Addington, Beddington, Carshalton, Chaldon, Coulsdon, Sandersted, Woodmansterne, Bansted, Mitcham, Warlingham, Titsey, Farley, Chelsham, Warlingham, Tatsfield, Caterham, Cheam, Sutton, Morden.

The sixth *classis* included Reigate, Lingfield, Horne, Crowhurst, Godstone, Tandridge, Oxted, Blechingley, Limpsfield, Horley, Buckland, Gattin, Charlwood, Leigh, Nutfield, Merstham, Chipstead cum Kingswood, Walton on the Hill, Burstow.

The limits of the old deaneries are of course not respected. But a naturally growing organization would probably have followed the boundaries of the old Hundreds, which are here we may say ostentatiously disregarded with no gain in convenience. It looks much as if a desire to be singular had prompted the grouping of Cranleigh, Wonersh, Newdigate and Hedley in one *classis*, of Guildford and Egham in another, of Wandsworth, Battersea, Titsey and Tatsfield in a third.

The one certainly existing *classis*, the sixth or Reigate division, is also one in which geographical convenience is better considered than in most of the others. It includes the greater part of Reigate and Tandridge Hundreds. The evidence for its existence is the dedication of a pamphlet on Presbytery, by William Ley, 'Minister of the Word at Charlwood, Surrey, to the right worshipful and reverend gentlemen and ministers of the *classis* at Reigate.'¹

Among the lay elders originally nominated were a few of the leading men of the county, such as Sir Ambrose Browne, Mr. George Evelyn, Sir Richard Onslow, Mr. Nicholas Stoughton, Mr. Arthur Onslow, Mr. Henry Weston, Sir John Dingley, Mr. Drake, Sir John Evelyn, Sir Poyning More, Sir William Brereton. These men were not all really Presbyterian, one at least was a man of doubtful character, and it is not wonderful that the system did not flourish under such direction.

The very essence of Presbyterianism as it had been developed in Scotland, and as the Scots and their allies wished to reproduce it in England, was the supremacy of the ecclesiastical power. This was precisely what most English people disliked. They did not want to exchange

¹ Shaw, ii. 435. The treatise is intended to stir up the newly appointed *classis* to do their duties.

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‘old priest’ for ‘new presbyter.’ Many people were not hostile to the old Church government, provided that it did not govern laymen; and those who were hostile to it were more often Sectaries than Presbyterians. The real question in England was not between two systems of comprehensive and universal territorial Church government, but between the Anglicans and the Congregationalists. When the former were discredited by the extreme position taken by their leaders, and by the defeat of their friends in the field, it was the latter who had their chance; not the supporters of a system with no real root in England, but imported ready made from Scotland.

Among the sects which appeared in Surrey, and assumed some organized form during the Commonwealth period, were the Quakers. Fox in his *Journal*¹ records a meeting at Reigate in 1655. The Friends already existed in the neighbourhood. They mentioned to him Thomas Moore, J.P., as a ‘friendly, moderate man,’ whom he afterwards found ‘serviceable to the Truth.’ From this meeting Fox went to the house of Thomas Pachins, probably of Newdigate, and then to Horsham. When the insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy Men in London shortly after the Restoration led to a general arrest of Sectaries, Fox says that Pachins was dragged out of a sick bed to prison, where he died. Fox is very amusing on his visit to Farnham during the Protectorate. He put up at the ‘Bush,’ and the ‘Professors’ of the town came to argue with him, and ordered ale and faggots, but left him to pay the bill. He had his gentle revenge by writing to ‘the priest,’ who was turned out in 1662, and so may be supposed to have winced at the address, pointing out how ill he had taught his people. The visit of Fox to Surrey in 1655 seems to be the beginning of a very vigorous growth of Quakerism in the county. His Reigate meeting was perhaps not the first actually held in Surrey. In June, 1677, it is recorded that Richard Bax of Capel had held a monthly meeting at his house for upwards of twenty years. A burial ground was acquired near Richard Bax’s house in 1672, and meetings were also held at another house in Capel, at Reigate, Farnham, Godalming, Worplesdon, Guildford, Eashing, Parkgate, Blechingley, Kingston, Charlwood and Dorking. Ambrose Rigg of Gatton, Rowley Fitchbourne of Reigate, and other gentry or substantial yeomen, several of the Bax family, Constables, Steeres, Butchers, Bookers, Peters, Wallis, and other well known Surrey names belonged to the Quakers in their early days. The village of Capel was a centre of the society; they were fairly numerous there, and round about in Dorking, Ockley, Charlwood, and as far as Reigate, where another burial ground existed. The meeting house in Capel only dated from 1725. The Friends had before met at Pleystowe and Kitlands, the houses of two of the Bax family. In 1674 a collection had been made for building a meeting house in Guildford.²

¹ Folio, London, 1694, p. 171.

² Fox, *Journal*, and MS. collections of the late Rev. T. R. O’Fflahertie, taken from books of the society in custody of Mr. T. W. Marsh, Dorking.

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The Independent congregations of Surrey are hard to trace from the beginning, except in one case in Southwark. There, close under the shadow of Winchester House, a congregation of Brownists had met in 1592, and men from the same neighbourhood, who met in Deadman's Place, Southwark, were cited before the House of Lords on 13 January, 1641.¹ The Long Parliament had just met, and the attack upon Laud had begun, but in both Houses, and more especially in the Lords, there was a great deal of anxiety not to let the party of what was considered true Protestant reform be associated with licence in religion. These people however were not to be suppressed, and an Independent congregation in Winchester Yard, which received a licence under the Indulgence of 1672, may be considered the representative of this of 1641, and possibly even of that of 1592. Otherwise it would be hazardous to say that there is any trace of congregational organization existing at the time of the Civil Wars and continued without interruption, till after 1688 and the Toleration Act allowed the sects to exist freely. It is really quite impossible to specify the opinions of the men who were in possession of the Surrey parishes during the Commonwealth and Protectorate. The parochial and congregational organizations were confused, and what was in fact an Independent congregation, attracted by a special minister, might be in possession of a parish church to which the minister had been appointed by Cromwell's Commissioners for Approbation of Public Preachers. The two members for the Barebones Parliament nominated for Surrey by the congregations were Samuel Highland and Lawrence Marsh, but the congregations which they represented are unknown. Subsequent persecution and licensed toleration may reveal some of them.

With the Restoration came round the triumph of the party ejected in 1642-5. At Charlwood and at St. Mary's Newington the formerly deprived Royalist clergy claimed immediate reinstatement. But the wear and tear of twenty years had naturally made many changes, and the livings vacated by the 'Bartholomew confessors,' who resigned in 1662, were by no means always those into which the Parliament or the Committee of Plundered Ministers had put new men at the beginning of the Civil Wars. Some benefices were vacant, or had been consolidated with others, but all over the county men were in possession who had either been put in since the beginning of the Civil Wars or had conformed to the changes required. It remained a question how many would conform once more. Calamy has probably preserved the names of all who were conscientiously compelled to resign. They number twenty-seven, omitting four whom Calamy believed to have come from Surrey but whose livings he cannot name. Their names were Beaumont, Glyde, Smith and Story. The benefices vacated were Ashsted, Bermondsey, Byfleet, Clapham, Coulsdon, Long Ditton, Dorking, Egham, Ewell, Farnham, Fetcham, St. Nicholas' Guildford, East Horsley, West Horsley,

¹ *Lords Journals*, 13 Jan. 1640-1.

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Kingston, Lambeth, Merstham, Mortlake, East and West Moulsey consolidated, Ockley, Pirbright, St. George's, and St. Olave's, and St. Saviour's, and St. Thomas' Southwark, Walton on Thames, and Worpleston. Comparing this list with the Royalist sequestrations we can see that, as in the former case, the clergy in south London were completely changed. Decided Puritans had been put in there, not only in London, but in the populous places on the Thames, who could not accept the Act of Uniformity of 1662. The block of south-eastern parishes, which had seen so few changes earlier and had organized Presbyterianism since, were again little changed. Charlwood, Coulsdon and Merstham on the borders of this territory saw changes, but the general opinion here was in the direction of concurrence in the existing authority whatever it might be.

Nonconformity of course was organized after 1662 in many places in the county, more especially in Southwark and in the clothing towns of Guildford and Godalming, and about Dorking.

In 1669 Archbishop Sheldon tried to obtain returns of the nonconformist congregations in the province of Canterbury. The period was favourable for their observation, for after the fall of Clarendon in 1667 the tendency of the Government was less intolerant of dissent and conventicles could meet more freely. The returns of meetings held in Surrey are curiously local, there being large meetings in some places and no meetings at all recorded in many others. Of course there are most about London. In St. Olave's, Southwark, there was one in Mill Lane of about 200 people. There was another in Morgan's Lane, and another in Farthing Alley of 500 or 600 people, some of good quality. The denominations of these are not mentioned, but clergy who had held livings under the Commonwealth officiated in them. At Horsley Down about 100 Fifth Monarchy men used to meet in a warehouse, and at another house 'built on purpose' at Horsley Down 200 or 300 Quakers. In Shad Thames 1,000 Anabaptists met in a house 'built on purpose.'

In St. Saviour's, Southwark, 100 Presbyterians met in Montague Close. At a house near St. Mary Overie's Dock 150 Fifth Monarchy Men and Independents met; at another house 100 Anabaptists, at another 60, and in two large meeting houses in Globe Alley 600 'Presbyterians and Independents.' The last were presided over by Mr. Wadsworth, the late rector of Newington.

At Ewell were 50 Presbyterians, to whom Mr. Batho, probably the late rector of Ewell, ministered. At Kingston 100 people 'of several opinions' and 40 Quakers met. Mr. Mayo, late vicar, officiated for the former. The 'several' means perhaps 'Separatist' opinions. At Horne a few Anabaptists met monthly in a farmer's house. At Esher 40 or 50 people of unspecified opinions met once a month. Thomas Moore is mentioned among them, perhaps Fox's friend and a Quaker. Godalming, which some thirty years before had been so bitter against Dr. Andrewes, seems to have been very full of nonconformity. Some 700 or 800 people belonged to a conventicle held every Sunday in 'the time

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of Divine service,' and there was a monthly conventicle of 400 or 500 at the house of a Quaker. In St. Mary's parish, Guildford, 60 to 100 Anabaptists met; at Weybridge above 100 Presbyterians. At Newdigate 100 'Presbyterians and Quakers,' a curious combination, met, among them the widow of the late rector. At Dorking there were four meetings of about 300 Presbyterians, of about 100 Independents, of about 50 Anabaptists, and of Quakers. The last was probably really in Capel, where there were Quaker meetings of which records remain, otherwise these must be added. Mr. Wood, late rector of North Chapel in Sussex, presided over the Presbyterians of Dorking at his own house. Mr. Feake, a noted Fifth Monarchy man who had driven even Cromwell to repressive measures against him, preached to the Independents.¹ In 1680 and in 1683 there are notices in the Loseley Papers of conventicles in St. Nicholas parish, Guildford, and in Stoke next Guildford, the latter attended by inhabitants of Worplesdon. There is a tradition that Bunyan used to visit Guildford, staying with a friend in a house in Quarry Street. If true, the Anabaptist congregation in St. Mary's parish, in which Quarry Street lies, may have heard him. Godalming was clearly very largely inhabited by nonconformists, and they must have formed a very considerable part of the population of Dorking. Some smaller meetings were possibly overlooked, but the people of the whole of the east of the county were clearly content to take things ecclesiastical as they found them, the monthly meeting at Horne, and a notice that there has been no meeting at Blechingley 'since Edmund Blundell the Anabaptist went away from thence,' being the only exceptions. The Conventicle Act notwithstanding, it is clear that meeting houses were built and that congregations assembled openly. Under the Cabal Ministry, who agreed at least in this that they were not Anglican, there was a good deal of practical toleration.

How many of these meetings became the origin of permanently organized nonconformist congregations is an interesting question. The Quakers of the Dorking neighbourhood, of Capel parish especially, seem to have a continuous history and a troubled one, for they got into difficulties even after the Toleration Act by their refusal to pay tithe, and in 1690 Anne Bax, widow, suffered distress for refusing to contribute to the cost of the militia. Nevertheless, as usually happened, many of the Quaker families were prosperous people. At Reigate and at Guildford they also continued to meet.

The Indulgence of 1672 reveals some more Separatist congregations in Surrey. Independents received licences in Southwark, at Winchester Yard, and in a house on London Bridge; Anabaptists at Gadbrook near Betchworth and in Croydon; 'Presbyterians and Independents, one congregation,'² at Mortlake; Presbyterians at Maid's Lane, Southwark,

¹ The returns are in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth. Mr. A. R. Bax printed the part relating to Surrey in the *County Arch. Trans.*, vol. xiii. pt. ii.

² Does that mean that the Voluntary Associations of Baxter's invention, by which Presbyterians and Independents were to be united, had been attempted in Surrey?

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in St. Mary Overie's parish, at Kennington, at Chertsey and at Dorking under Mr. Wood ; bodies unnamed in Rotherhithe, in St. Mary Magdalene's parish in Southwark, in the Borough near the Bridge House, at Kennington, at Clapham (2), at Battersea, at Blechingley, at Cobham, at Dorking, at Frimley, at Guildford (2), at Godalming, at Kingston (2), at Ockley (2), at Pirbright and at Walton-on-Thames. Some of these are pretty clearly the same congregations which were reported to Sheldon in 1669, but all cannot be identified. Evidently about London the Separatists were strong ; clearly, as by the other lists, the extreme south-east of the county had no such congregations and the whole eastern part had fewer than the western part.

To turn to the history of the Established Church ; in 1660 Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury before the Civil Wars, was translated to Winchester, but died early in 1662. Dr. Pearson, famous as the author of *Pearson on the Creed*, became archdeacon of Surrey in 1660. In succession to Duppa in 1662, Bishop Morley was translated from Worcester to Winchester. Morley was a moderate man who had been nominated to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, but had not sat with them, at least not continuously. He had once preached before the Long Parliament. Afterwards he had left England. He was a good man and charitable ; but with regard to Surrey he left his chief record in repairing Farnham Castle. Farnham Castle was half ruinous from the effects of Waller's siege in 1642, and from the deliberate dilapidations ordered by Parliament to make it indefensible in 1648. He rebuilt it, or a great part of it, at considerable expense and resided there. Winchester House ceased to be an episcopal residence. It had been sold by the Parliament in 1649, and though it was recovered for the see after the Restoration it was no longer used. Morley indeed bought another house at Chelsea for the see. Lambeth was restored to Juxon the new archbishop, and also Croydon archiepiscopal palace, which he repaired and used as a residence. It was not till 1780 that it was sold, having become ruinous, and Addington, also in Surrey, bought with the proceeds. The third great episcopal house of Southwark, Rochester House, had been sold to a layman in 1546. The houses there of the abbots of Lewes and of Battle and the rest had of course disappeared in the Reformation time. York House, Battersea, which had been sold during the Commonwealth, was restored to the see of York. One Surrey parochial clergyman was raised to the episcopate after 1660, the Rev. John Hacker of Cheam, who though a Royalist had managed to keep his vicarage all through the *Interregnum*, was offered the see of Gloucester, and then was offered and accepted Lichfield in 1661.

One more displacement of clergy occurred before the reasonableness of the eighteenth century made sufferings for conscience sake unusual. The Church of England had preached non-resistance so vigorously that some of the more conscientious clergy could not bring themselves to repudiate James II., nor take the oaths to William and Mary. The Nonjuror Schism was the result. Those who refused the oaths were

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deprived of their benefices from February, 1691, and considering themselves the true exponents of the Anglican tradition tried to perpetuate their society. Their numbers were not very considerable, except in the diocese of Chester and the neighbourhood, though there were many names of note among them. Only six are recorded in Surrey.¹ These were Thomas Bradley, rector of Walton on the Hill and vicar of Carshalton; Alexander Mackintosh, rector of Woodmansterne and chaplain to the first troop of the Life Guards under the Earl of Feversham, who was obviously a Scot, and therefore if a churchman at all would be a high churchman, and his military chaplaincy shows his party; John Holbrook, rector of Titsey; Jeremiah Oakley, rector of Sutton; Dr. Matthew Brian, curate of Newington Butts and rector of Lymington in Somerset, an author and poet in a small way, who gathered a secret Jacobite congregation in St. Dunstan's Court, Fleet Street, which was discovered in 1693, when he was imprisoned²; William Higden, lecturer and curate of Camberwell, who in the reign of Queen Anne, when allegiance to a high church Stuart proved possible to several of the nonjurors, took the oaths, and in 1709 published a book on the lawfulness of acknowledging her Majesty. He was quickly rewarded under the Tory régime, got his D.D. in 1710 from Oxford, and a stall at Canterbury in 1713. How, if at all, he settled matters between his conscience and his allegiance in 1714 I do not know; but he certainly acknowledged George the First, for he did not abandon his preferment. Canon Overton (*History of the Nonjurors*, Appendix) adds Henry Johnson, master of Wandsworth School, and Henry Jones, master of the same, possibly one man really. The most illustrious of the nonjurors, Archbishop Sancroft, not a Surrey clergyman but a Surrey resident, left his houses in Surrey, retiring from Lambeth with the same dignity with which he had headed the Seven Bishops against the king to whom he still considered his allegiance due. David Lindsey, curate of Croydon, and Dr. Winford, a rector in Surrey, have been added, but are not given in Kettlewell's life, and I cannot discover the name of the latter among beneficed clergy in Surrey at any time.

The history of every diocese tends to become more and more a part of general ecclesiastical history, as local differences disappear. A county like Surrey containing no cathedral city has few distinctive ecclesiastical records after the successive great changes of the Reformation and Revolution periods are passed. That Dr. Mews, Bishop of Winchester in succession to Morley in 1684, reverted to his former military profession at the time of Monmouth's rebellion, put his horses to drag the royal cannon, and, it is said, himself directed the artillery fire at Sedgemoor, is not Surrey ecclesiastical history. His successor, Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bishop of Winchester in 1707, one of the Seven Bishops who took the oaths to William and Mary, is equally unconnected with Surrey. Hoadley,

¹ *Life of the Rev. John Kettlewell*, prefixed to his works, Appendix V. He himself was a non-juror of note, and no doubt knew all his brethren.

² *Dict. of National Biography*.

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bishop from 1734 to 1761, is well known elsewhere. His name reminds us at once of the decay of church life. It seems that nonconformity was not very vigorous either. In 1715 a list in a MS. book compiled by a Surrey Independent minister¹ gives twenty-one congregations of Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists. The numbers are put against nine of them, ranging from 350 to 50 persons. In the only case where the numbers given in 1669 and 1715 can be compared, Dorking, they have fallen off in the latter year. But there were 150 Independents in Ockley, where in 1669 was 'no conventicle,' but where two were licensed in 1672. Yet all the farmers² in Ockley had seats in church, and in answer to the visitation questions of Bishop Richard Willis in 1725, it appears that there was no meeting then in Ockley.³ Elsewhere too it appears from this visitation that nonconformist meetings had very greatly diminished. Many parishes return 'no nonconformists,' others two or three families.

It so happens that there is a return of Roman Catholics having estates in Surrey about the same time,⁴ under an Act of 1 George I., by which all recusants had to register their estates and their values. There were nineteen left in Surrey, but they were not by any means all resident. Few of the old names are there. Weston of Sutton is one, Copley no longer of Gatton and Leigh, Gage no longer of Haling, Henry Viscount Montague, once a Jacobite minister at St. Germain, are others. Montague's estate in Surrey is only £10 annual value. Weston's, upwards of £900, is worth more than a fourth part of the whole nineteen.

Quiet times ecclesiastically had come to Surrey as to other counties. We may be allowed to suppose that Surrey was no worse off than the rest of England in clerical neglect of duty, want of episcopal control, nepotism and jobbery, and in the ruin of church fabrics by the neglect and ignorance of rectors and churchwardens. These latter probably did more mischief to the fabrics of parish churches than all the Reformers and Parliamentary Commissioners and soldiers ever perpetrated. Well into the nineteenth century it was possible to pull down a partly Norman, partly fourteenth century church, as at Egham in 1817, and to build a Bath brick erection, with stone dressings, a pediment supported by pilasters at the west end, and a tower surmounted by a dome—'a neat and commodious edifice,' in the language of the time. The original church was partly ruinous, that is, had been neglected. Shalford, Albury, St. Nicholas Guildford, Holy Trinity Guildford, Titsey, Merrow, St. Mary Overie and many other churches had a similar history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet at the beginning of the dark ages it was possible for a local builder to rebuild the tower of Ockley Church in 1699 perfectly plainly, but in a style which is easily mistaken for that of the thirteenth century. At Ockley there is also evidence of a fashion in

¹ Add. MS. 32057, quoted by Mr. A. R. Bax in *Surrey Arch. Collections*, xiv. 2. There is no return of Southwark, where surely there were congregations.

² Vide infra.

³ 1725 returns at Farnham Castle.

⁴ Aubrey's *Surrey*, App.

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church seating, which probably went on in many other places too, for there is no reason why this country parish should be singular, whereby the men and women sat in different seats. All the seats of the church were apportioned by the churchwardens, so many for the men, so many for the women of all the different farms and houses, but with the men and women in different parts of the church, the women behind the men on both sides of the church. The arrangement was made in 1619 when Andrewes was Bishop of Winchester, but continued in the eighteenth century apparently.¹ It must have originated with Andrewes. No one else can be credited with such combined zeal for and knowledge of antiquity as to introduce a practice from the third century Didascalia.²

It is somewhat characteristic of the age that the most eminent incumbent of a Surrey living in the earlier eighteenth century was not great as a clergyman, though there is no evidence that he was a bad one. This was John Flamsteed, who was Astronomer Royal during Sir Isaac Newton's lifetime without being clearly the wrong man for the place. He was rector of Burstow from 1684 to 1719. His eminence seems to go beyond that of Thomas Herring, who was rector of Blechingley from 1731 to 1737, and afterwards Archbishop of York and Canterbury successively. Edmund Gibson, archdeacon from 1710 to 1715, the translator of Camden, and Hugh Boulter, archdeacon of Surrey 1715-9, Archbishop of Armagh 1723-42, who was the leader of the tolerant party in Ireland, are more notable perhaps than Herring for personal eminence.

The standard of what was expected from the clergy in the eighteenth century was pitched as low as might be, in accordance with the neglect of their duty by the bishops of that age.³ The much abused Restoration period had seen more vigorous efforts to encourage clerical duties, but not always with success. Dr. Morley had concerned himself with the laxity of his clergy, and had attempted to remedy it in some cases. But the result shows the general supineness of the times. Morley left £20 a year to augment the livings of Holy Trinity and St. Mary's, Guildford, on condition of their being united, stipulating that the incumbent should reside in the united parish and do the duty; a necessary *proviso*, as of the last two rectors of Holy Trinity, one also held St. Nicholas, Guildford, and the other Hambledon, ten miles away, where he died. Sir Richard Onslow added £200 as a capital sum for the same purpose. Whereupon in 1699 the livings were united by Act of Parliament, with a *proviso* for sermons and presumably services in the churches alternately. Similarly at Farnham, Morley augmented the vicarage, on condition that the vicar should reside, say daily service and catechize the children on Sundays. In 1810 he did not reside, there were no daily or holy day services, and

¹ Churchwardens' books, Ockley. The plan is copied out into an eighteenth century book.

² Didascalia, bk. ii. ch. 57. See Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, p. 36.

³ An exception must be made in favour of Richard Willis, bishop from 1723 to 1734. He was of course a Whig, but he was a careful bishop and a great promoter of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

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the children were not catechized. This had been the case for a long time.¹ If this was the state of things under the eye of the bishop, we may conclude that they were as bad elsewhere.

The recovery of ecclesiastical life dates from about the time that Sir G. P. Tomline, bart., was bishop, 1820-7. Some of the old faults of nepotism, which had been so common in the eighteenth century, were not ended, but the evangelical movement had stirred both the clergy and the laity, and the standard of clerical duty was being slowly raised. A Surrey suburb of London, Clapham, had become the very fount and heart of the evangelical party in the later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries. Mr. Thornton, Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Zachary Macaulay were all near neighbours there, with other less eminent men of the same school.² That so many leading laymen of the party lived thereabouts was in part an accident. Undoubtedly their presence and liberality had an effect upon church life and church buildings in the south London suburbs and the neighbouring parts of the county. The succeeding bishop belonged to the school which they represented. Charles Richard Sumner, bishop from 1827 to 1868, lived the life which the ecclesiastical ruler is fortunately now expected as a matter of course to live; but his active care of the diocese was a new thing since the Revolution, almost, one may be inclined to think, since before the Civil Wars. The first archdeacon of Surrey collated by him was Samuel Wilberforce, 1839-45. The name alone calls up an ideal of clerical duty different from what had prevailed. The successors of Sumner, Samuel Wilberforce, Edward Harold Browne and Antony Wilson Thorold have shown how genius, wisdom and a sense of duty in administration are not confined to one school nor to one class of mind. Nor has the great succession ceased in the living generation.

Besides the vigorous revival of the Anglican Church in the nineteenth century two strong religious movements had their chief manifestation in Surrey. That Edward Irving, the Scotch Presbyterian, should have founded the Irvingite or, as its followers call it, the Catholic and Apostolic Church, was apparently the result of his meeting with Mr. Henry Drummond of Albury. The two came together over the common interest of the translation of a book on the Second Advent by Lacunza, a Spanish Jesuit, in 1826. Irving was constantly at Albury, and the two friends formed the centre of a small circle of neighbours and visitors who used to meet to discuss the prophecies of the Old Testament. In 1829 the *Morning Watch* periodical was established and carried on by the Albury circle chiefly. In 1832 the community came into existence. Mr. Henry Drummond, a banker, a landowner, a beneficent landlord, an active magistrate and later M.P. for West Surrey for thirteen years, was one of the high priests of the movement. It was his liberality, as well as early association, which made Albury one of the chief seats of the sect.

¹ The vicar was not resident as early as 1725 (*Willis' Visitation*).

² John Venn, the famous evangelical clergyman, a native of Clapham, was vicar from 1792 to 1813, on the presentation of Mr. Samuel Thornton.

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It still has many adherents in the neighbourhood, and there is a church built by Mr. Drummond.

The other movement was owing to the natural talents of Mr. Spurgeon, who became minister of the New Park Street Baptist Chapel, Southwark, in 1854. His audiences soon became so large that the Surrey Gardens were used as a place for his preaching. In 1861 the Metropolitan Tabernacle was opened near Newington Causeway, and became the centre of a great deal of religious and philanthropic work which still continues. Mr. Spurgeon died in 1892. He had really made a sect of his own. Whereas the Calvinism in which Irving had been educated found its ultimate development in a movement which might well have been absorbed into that of the Tractarians had they been ten years earlier in their appearance, the Calvinism of Mr. Spurgeon was of the robust early type, and he quitted the Baptist Union in 1887 because they were not sound in their Calvinist doctrine. Shortly afterwards he left the Liberation Society, probably from sympathy with the evangelical clergy of the Church in their opposition to the critical spirit of modern learning. The success of Mr. Spurgeon was to some extent local. The great lower middle class population of the Surrey suburbs furnished an ideal audience for his somewhat unconventional eloquence, inspired as it was by imperishable conviction and by complete confidence in the final judgment of John Calvin in all points of controversy and criticism.

The church development in rural Surrey has also been influenced by local conditions. The great number of new ecclesiastical districts, with handsome and endowed churches, would never have existed but for the nineteenth century taste for beautiful scenery, which has made Surrey the favourite abode of rich men, who have both gathered together and provided for the various needs of a new population in their respective neighbourhoods.

APPENDIX No. I

A list of institutions, etc., selected to show all the deprivations and resignations for religious opinions recoverable in the county of Surrey during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary and the beginning of Elizabeth, with the addition of other parishes in which there appears a significant absence of change :—

ADDINGTON.—Thomas Berington was deprived in 1551 for refusing to pay his tenths to the king.¹ His is clearly a case of a man who had or developed objections to one feature of the royal supremacy.

ALFOLD.—John Pell was instituted on the deprivation of Antony Lisley, 19 June, 1554.² Thomas Tristram, instituted by Bishop White in February, 1559,³ just at the end of his episcopate, after it was clear that now or never the Romanist party must make a stand, and when White would surely be anxious to institute only men of his own way of thinking. He nevertheless went on undisturbed under Elizabeth.

ASH.—Thomas Whitehede was instituted to the rectory *de iure notorie vacante* in 1554.⁴

BANSTED.—John Moyses was instituted on the deprivation of Miles Braghwate in May, 1554.⁵

BATTERSEA.—William Gray was instituted 10 March, 1562, after the resignation of an incumbent put in under Elizabeth after a previous death vacancy.⁶

¹ Winton Epis. Reg., Poynt, 3a.

² Ibid. Gardiner, 9b.

³ Ibid. White, 14a.

⁴ Ibid. Gardiner, 9.

⁵ Ibid. 9.

⁶ Ibid. Horne, 4b.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

- BERMONDSEY.**—St. Mary Magdalene : John Lewis was instituted to the living *de iure vacante* March, 1554.¹
- BLECHINGLEY.**—Robert Harvie was instituted 15 August, 1554, to the living *de iure vacante*,² and went on till 1575.
- BOOKHAM MAGNA.**—Matthew Standley was instituted by Horne in 1561,³ after the deprivation of John Hylton, who was instituted by Gardiner in 1543.⁴ But when Hylton was deprived is not apparent. It may have been under Edward or Mary. Standley was himself deprived in 1580. If it was for recusancy he took a long while to make up his mind.
- CARSHALTON.**—Thomas Abbot resigned in 1553. His successor Roger Norwode, instituted by Gardiner in 1554,⁵ very shortly resigned, and Richard Redeworthe, instituted by Gardiner (f. 9), accepted the Elizabethan settlement.
- CATERHAM.**—Matthew Feiler resigned 1553. His successor William Clerke, instituted by Gardiner,⁶ went on under Queen Mary and Elizabeth.
- CHALDON.**—The rector instituted by White in 1558 died in 1562, so that a change here had no connexion with religion.
- CHIDDINGFOLD.**—Thomas Berton, instituted by White in 1557 after a death vacancy, resigned early in 1559.⁷ John Elys was instituted by White on 30 March, 1559,⁷ five days before the bishop was sent to the Tower, and was deprived in 1561.⁸ No doubt a case of deprivation for recusancy.
- CHIPSTED.**—John Meares, a priest instituted by Poynt under Edward on the resignation of William Iherye, held his living peacefully in Mary's and Elizabeth's reigns, dying in 1571.
- CHOBHAM.**—Robert Newman was vicar by gift of Queen Mary in 1557, Richard Olde by Queen Elizabeth's in 1560 and Thomas Broadhurst by Queen Elizabeth's in 1561. No reason appears for the first two changes, but one may have been on account of religion. The last was after the death of Olde.⁹
- COMPTON.**—Antony Cayshe, instituted by Gardiner 1547, was deprived by Gardiner when he had been restored to the see in 1554, and Rees David was instituted.¹⁰ According to Symmes's MSS. John Sargeante, whom Gardiner instituted to the neighbouring parish of Peperharow, was holding Compton between 1554 and 1569, so perhaps Rees David disappeared from clerical life. The very Welsh name is curious, appearing in Surrey, and when in the Loseley MSS., under date 11 March, 1565-6, we find that William More, the patron of Compton, had for some years entertained Rees Apdavia, a Welsh servant, whom he that year turned into his cook, binding him as an apprentice in his kitchen, there is a grievous suspicion that More had tried to run the living of Compton cheaply by putting in a vagabond Welsh clerk of the lowest class, and that we have here one of the ecclesiastical scandals which had to be set right by authority, irrespective of religious party. The advowson of Compton had been in the hands of a religious house before More's father got it.
- COULSDON.**—John Drane was instituted by White in 1557, William Clerke by Horne in 1562.¹¹ There is no mention of deprivation or resignation.
- DORKING.**—John Glover was instituted by Poynt in February, 1552, on the resignation of Nicholas Nycholls,¹² and went on under Mary and Elizabeth.
- EFFINGHAM.**—John Hunt resigned in 1551.¹³ William Thompson was instituted by Poynt on nomination by the Crown,¹³ and there is no fresh institution in Mary's reign ; there was a new institution in 1562. Hunt's resignation of course may have been caused by dislike of Protestantism, but the nominee of Edward's regency is not likely to have been recalcitrant in 1562. He may have withdrawn under Mary, and the living may have been among the many found vacant by Horne.
- EGHAM.**—Thomas Moulde was appointed to the living by Letters Patent in January, 1560.¹⁴ What became of the previous vicar, instituted in 1541, does not appear.

¹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Gardiner, 7b.

⁴ Ibid. Gardiner, 45b.

⁷ Ibid. White, 14b.

¹⁰ Ibid. Gardiner, 10b.

¹³ Ibid. 2b.

² Ibid. 10b.

⁵ Ibid. 7a.

⁸ Ibid. Horne, 4b.

¹¹ Ibid. Horne, 7a.

¹⁴ Rymer, *Fœdera*, xv. 585.

³ Ibid. Horne, 4a.

⁶ Ibid. 9b.

⁹ Ibid. 4b.

¹² Ibid. Poynt, 4.

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- EWHURST.**—Edward Percyvall, instituted by White on 5 February, 1559, held the living till 1579. Compare the case of Chipsted.
- FARLEY.**—John Turck was instituted by Horne in 1564,¹ after the deprivation of Richard Bedworth.
- GATTON.**—Thomas Marten, instituted by Poynt in 1552, was dead in 1562. He had apparently gone on under Edward and Mary.
- HORLEY.**—Here too an institution in 1561 was after a death vacancy.
- LEATHERHEAD.**—William Walkeden, instituted by White in 1557, resigned in 1561.²
- MERROW.**—Thomas Williams was instituted on the deprivation of John Alen, 9 August, 1554.³ Alban Luthwyche, or Latwicke, instituted by Horne in 1561,⁴ was deprived in 1562.⁴ If he was a recusant he had conformed and then changed his mind, but his deprivation may have been for other reasons.
- MICKLEHAM.**—Richard Elys was instituted in 1562,⁵ after the deprivation of a predecessor about whose name and date there seems to be no certainty.
- MORDEN.**—John Mantell resigned and Robert Buste was instituted⁶ 1554. Henry Bradshaw resigned 1562.⁷ These might be conscientious resignations. A Robert Buste, perhaps the same, died as incumbent of Titsey in 1581.
- NEWDIGATE.**—Queen Mary in her first year appointed Henry George to the rectory, then *de iure vacante*, by Letters Patent.⁸ He was instituted by Gardiner.⁹ No successor appears till 1576, so that the nominee of Mary seems to have found no difficulty in Elizabeth's settlement.
- PEPERHAROW.**—John Sargeante, instituted by Gardiner in 1554, in place of John Elis, resigned,¹⁰ was deprived, and John Shire instituted in 1561.¹¹ There may here be a double case of change on account of religion, or Sargeante may have been deprived as a pluralist (see Compton, above). This is probable, for evidently some doubt was attached to Sargeante's position, for he was instituted over again by White in 1558 as well as by Gardiner in 1554.¹²
- REIGATE.**—R. Skynner was instituted 1562 *vice* Henry Norman, deprived.¹³ Norman had only been instituted in 1557 by White.
- SEND.**—John Gates was instituted, on the deprivation of John Lyne, on 9 August, 1554.¹⁴
- SHALFORD.**—Richard Durdane, instituted in 1557, was deprived in 1561.¹⁵ Robert Fawcet, then instituted as his successor, was deprived in 1564.¹⁶ It would clearly be very unsafe to assume that this second deprivation was for recusancy.
- SHIERE.**—The living was vacant by death in 1555. Henry Latham, instituted by White in 1558,¹⁷ went on quietly under Elizabeth.
- SOUTHWARK, ST. GEORGE'S.**—The living was vacant in 1559,¹⁸ and William Lattyer was instituted 2 July, 1561, after the resignation of the former incumbent.¹⁹
- STOKE D'ABERNON.**—Richard Wheteley, instituted by White in February, 1559, resigned in 1561.²⁰ This looks like a case of conscientiousness on the part of one of White's priests.
- STOKE-NEXT-GUILDFORD.**—A contrary case, for William Stoughton, instituted in August, 1558,²¹ went on under Elizabeth. The Stoughtons were a Puritan family later, but William Stoughton's Puritanism cannot have been obvious in 1558.
- SUTTON.**—Edmund Mervyn, archdeacon of Surrey, was instituted to the living *de iure vacante* on 4 July, 1554,²² and was deprived in 1559.
- TITSEY.**—William Danby was instituted to the living *de iure vacante* on 31 August, 1554.²³
- WALTON-ON-THE-HILL.**—Robert Copley was deprived in 1561.²⁴ One suspects a connexion with the recusant family of Copley of Gatton. His probably is a case of recusancy.

¹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Horne, 8b.

⁴ Ibid. Horne, 2b, 6b.

⁷ Ibid. Horne, 7b.

⁹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Gardiner, 8b.

¹² Ibid. White, 13a.

¹⁵ Ibid. Horne, 4a.

¹⁸ Lansdowne MSS. 454, f. 8.

²⁰ Ibid.

²³ Ibid. Gardiner, 10.

² Ibid. Horne, 4a.

⁵ Ibid. 6a.

⁸ Rymer, *Fœdera*, xv. 349.

¹⁰ Ibid. 10b.

¹³ Ibid. Horne, 4a.

¹⁶ Ibid. 8b.

¹⁹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Horne 2b.

²¹ Ibid. White, 11b; Le Neve, p. 67.

²² Ibid. 10b.

³ Ibid. Gardiner, 10b.

⁶ Ibid. Gardiner, 8b.

¹¹ Ibid. Horne, 4a.

¹⁴ Ibid. Gardiner, 10b.

¹⁷ Ibid. White, 12a.

²⁴ Ibid. Horne, 4b.

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- WANDSWORTH.—John Knolls resigned in 1551.¹ His successor George Sharp, instituted by Poynet, went on under Queen Mary and died in 1561.²
- WINDLESHAM.—John Hill was instituted in March, 1562,³ in succession to John Twistleton, who had been instituted in 1554, after the resignation of the last incumbent.⁴
- WITLEY.—James Grayn was instituted on 7 September, 1552, on the resignation of Robert Strudell.⁵ It was here that ‘the lewd and naughtie curate’⁶ had got into trouble for ‘using words’ in 1544; and it seems as if the example was contagious, for Thomas Byrche, who had been instituted by White in 1558, was in difficulties for ‘uttering lewd words of the Queen’s Majesty’ in March, 1559,⁷ before the passing of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. He was deprived in 1564,⁸ but whether for recusancy or otherwise is unknown.

APPENDIX No. II.

ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTY

The county was anciently wholly in the diocese of Winchester, with the exception of the eleven parishes or districts included in the ancient deanery of Croydon, which were in the diocese of Canterbury, for a possible reason suggested above.⁹ The four ancient deaneries were Ewell, Guildford, Southwark and Croydon.

By the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., imposed in 1291, it appears that the named parishes were distributed in the deaneries as follows:¹⁰

EWELL.—The rectories of Addington, Ashsted, Beddington, Betchworth, Blechingley, Buckland, Chaldon, Chipsted, Cobham, Coulsdon, Cuddington, Crowhurst, Long Ditton, Esher, Ewell, Farley, Gatton, Godstone, Hedley, Horley, Letherhead, Lingfield, Limpsfield, Malden, Merton, Mickleham, Morden, Nutfield, Oxted, Sandersted, Stoke d’Abernon, Sutton, Tandridge, Tatsfield, Titsey, Walton-on-the-Hill, Warlingham, Woodmansterne.

The rectories and vicarages of Bansted, Caterham, Carshalton, Epsom, Farley, Kingston, Mitcham, Reigate.

GUILDFORD.—The rectories of Abinger, Albury, Alford, Ash, Great Bookham, Byfleet, Chiddingfold, East Clandon, West Clandon, Compton, Cranleigh, Dorking, Dunsfold, Effingham, Ewhurst, Fetcham, Guildford St. Mary’s, Guildford St. Nicholas’, Hambledon, West Horsley, Leigh, St. Martha’s, Merrow, Merstham, Newdigate, Ockham, Ockley, Peperharow, Puttenham, Shalford, Shere, Stoke-next-Guildford, Walton-on-Thames, Weybridge, Windlesham, Witley, Wonersh, Worplesdon, Wotton.

The rectories of Bisley, Little Bookham, Guildford Trinity, Hascombe and Wisley do not appear in 1291.

¹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Poynet, 2b.

² Ibid. Horne, 4a.

³ Ibid. Horne, 4b.

⁴ Ibid. Gardiner, 8.

⁶ Ibid. Poynet, 5.

⁶ *V.C.H. Surrey*, i. 381.

⁷ *Acts P.C.* (1558–70), pp. 64, 92.

⁸ Winton. Epis. Reg., Horne, 9b.

⁹ Ante, *Ecc. Hist.* p. 3.

¹⁰ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 207–8. Chapels, not named, existed in Chiddingfold, Coulsdon, Dorking, Farnham, Warlingham and Witley parishes.

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The rectories and vicarages of Chertsey, Farnham, Godalming, Send, Woking.

The vicarages of Chobham and Egham.

The chapels of Horsell, Pirford and Pirbright.

SOUTHWARK.—The rectories of Battersea, Bermondsey, Clapham, Lambeth, Rotherhithe, Southwark St. George's, Southwark St. Margaret's, Southwark St. Mary Magdalen's, Southwark St. Olave's, Streatham, Tooting.

The rectories and vicarages of Camberwell, Wandsworth.

CROYDON.—The rectories of Barnes, Burstow, Charlwood, Cheam, East Horsley, Merstham, Newington, Wimbledon.

The rectory and vicarage of Croydon.

The *Valor* of 26 Henry VIII. recognizes three deaneries : Ewell, Southwark and Stoke.¹

Ewell comprehended the ancient deanery of Croydon, excepting the rectories of East Horsley and Newington ; and the whole of the old deanery of Ewell, except the rectories of Beddington, Coulsdon, Sutton and Titsey ; with Capel, Crowhurst, Thames Ditton, Leigh, Lingfield, Merton, East Moulsey, West Moulsey, Putney, Mortlake, Tandridge and Wimbledon, all perpetual curacies, and Woldingham a donative. Leigh had been in Guildford ; Mortlake, Putney and Wimbledon had been in Croydon. Horne rectory in Ewell was erected by Act of Parliament in 1705.

Southwark included all the old parishes, with the rectories of Beddington, Coulsdon, Sutton and Titsey, taken from Ewell, and Newington from Croydon ; with what became Southwark Christ Church and Southwark St. John's² rectories, with Southwark St. Saviour's and Southwark St. Thomas' perpetual curacies.³

Stoke included the old parishes of Guildford deanery, with East Horsley taken from Croydon, and the perpetual curacies of Elsted, Frensham, Horsell, Okewood, Pirbright, Pirford, Seale, and the donative of Chilworth. The perpetual curacy of Leigh was taken from it and added to Ewell.

The chapels of ease of Chelsham (Warlingham parish), Chessington (Malden), Haslemere (Chiddingfold) were in Ewell deanery. Bramley (Shalford parish), Frimley (Ash), Ripley (Send), Thursley (Witley) were in Stoke deanery.

Bishop Sumner, in 1829, redistributed the county into seven rural deaneries, as follows :—

North-West Stoke, including Ash, Bisley, Byfleet, Chertsey, Chobham, Egham, Frimley, Horsell, Pirbright, Send and Ripley, Walton-on-

¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 28, 68. From the Clerical Subsidy Rolls it would appear that the alterations in the deaneries here set out were made in the reign of Henry VIII.

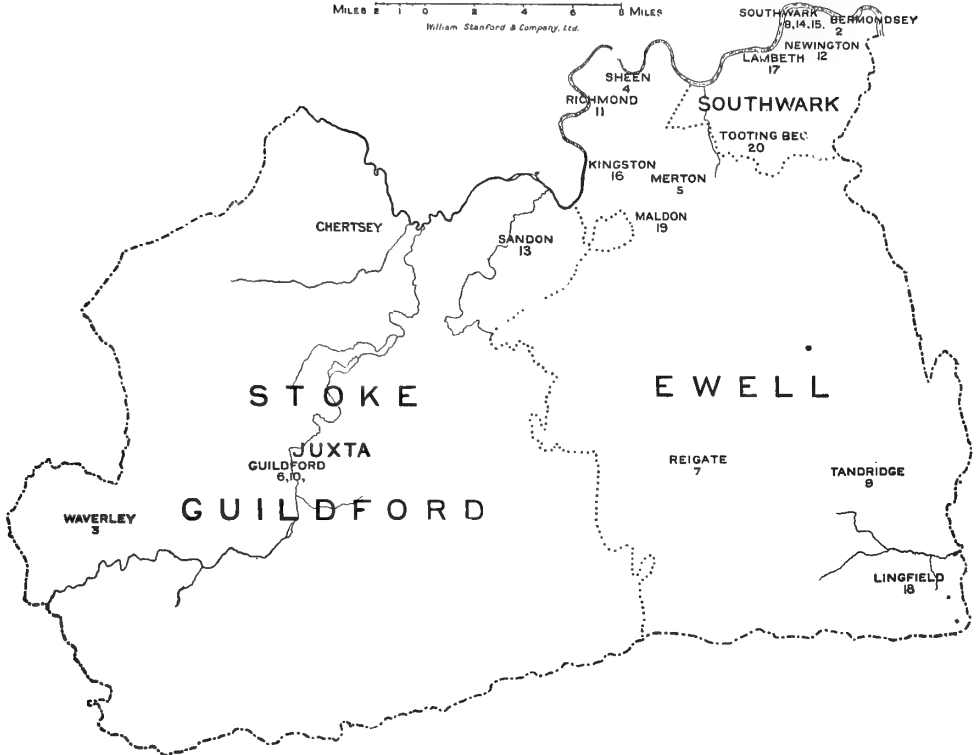
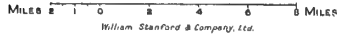
² Christ Church and St. John's were erected as separate parishes by Acts of Parliament in 1671 and 1733 respectively.

³ These were not parishes however till 1541 and 1553 respectively. St. Saviour's was formed by the amalgamation of the rectory of St. Margaret's and the vicarage of St. Mary Magdalen in 1541, St. Thomas' on the refounding of the hospital in 1553.

ECCLESIASTICAL MAP
OF
SURREY

Showing Rural Deaneries in 1535 and Religious Houses

Scale



RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

BENEDICTINE MONKS.

1. Chertsey Abbey.

CLUNIAN MONKS.

2. Bermondsey Abbey.

CISTERCIAN MONKS.

3. Waverley Abbey.

CARTHUSIAN MONKS.

4. Sheen Priory.

AUSTIN CANONS.

5. Merton Priory.
6. Newark Priory, (Guildford.)
7. Reigate Priory.
8. Southwark Priory.
9. Tandridge Priory.

FRIARS.

10. Guildford, Dominicans.
11. Richmond, Observants.

HOSPITALS.

12. Newington.
13. Sandon.
14. Southwark, St. Thomas the Martyr.
15. Southwark, Leper.

COLLEGES.

16. Kingston, St. Mary Magdalene
17. Lambeth.
18. Lingfield.
19. Maldon.

ALIEN PRIORY.

20. Tooting Bec.

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Thames, Weybridge, Windlesham and Bagshot, Wisley and Pirford, Woking, Worplesdon.

South-West Stoke, including Chiddingfold and Haslemere, Comp-ton, Elsted, Frensham, Godalming, Hambledon, Peperharow, Putterham, Seale, Witley, Thursley.

Stoke division of Guildford, including Albury, Altold, East Clandon, West Clandon, Cranleigh, Dunsfold, Ewhurst, Guildford Trinity and St. Mary's, Guildford St. Nicholas', Hascombe, Merrow, Shalford and Bramley, Stoke, Wonersh.

South-East Stoke, including Abinger, Betchworth, Great Bookham, Little Bookham, Buckland, Dorking, Effingham, Fetcham, Hedley, West Horsley, Letherhead, Leigh, Newdigate, Ockham, Ockley, Oke-wood, Shere, Walton-on-the-Hill, Wotton.

South-East Ewell, including Addington, Blechingley, Caterham, Chaldon, Chipsted, Coulsdon, Crowhurst, Farley, Gatton, Godstone, Horne, Horley, Limsfield, Lingfield, Nutfield, Oxted, Reigate, Sandersted, Tandridge, Tatsfield, Titsey, Warlingham, Chelsham.

North Ewell, including Ashsted, Bansted, Beddington, Carshalton, Long Ditton, Thames Ditton, Epsom, Esher, Ewell, Ham, Kew and Petersham, Kingston and Richmond, Malden and Chessington, Merton, Mitcham, Morden, East Moulsey, West Moulsey, Stoke d'Abernon, Sutton, Woodmansterne.

Southwark, including Battersea, Bermondsey, Camberwell, Lambeth, Rotherhithe, Streatham, Southwark Christ Church, Southwark St. George's, Southwark St. John's, Southwark St. Olave's, Southwark St. Saviour's, Southwark St. Thomas', Tooting, Wandsworth. Farnham, where the archdeacon of Surrey was rector, was outside these rural deaneries.

The old parishes of Croydon deanery, being each a peculiar of the see of Canterbury, were not affected.

Not only were the rural deaneries redistributed, but the office of rural dean was in fact revived by Bishop Sumner, and the method of appointment altered. Anciently the rural dean had been appointed and removed by the bishop or by his authority, or by the archdeacon acting under him.¹

By a later practice, not common elsewhere, the parochial clergy had annually elected the rural deans in Surrey.²

The office had become a sinecure, or even non-existent, when in 1829 Bishop Sumner restored appointment by the bishop, the office to be held *durante Episcopi bene placito*, and committed to the rural deans the inspection of the fabric of churches and ecclesiastical buildings, and duties in connexion with the induction of parochial clergy.

Shortly after this the diocesan boundaries were altered in Surrey, in

¹ Quod de caetero tam decani quam apparitores eorum per nos, aut officialem nostrum, archidiaconum, vel officialem eorum, communiter eligantur et amoveantur similiter communiter per eosdem (Bishop Henry Woodlock, *Constitutiones*; Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 299).

² Dansey, *Horæ Dec. Rurales*, vol. ii. app. 358-9.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

1837, Addington and Lambeth being transferred to Canterbury. In 1846 all the parishes of Southwark, with Battersea, Bermondsey, Camberwell, Clapham, Lambeth, Rotherhithe, Streatham, Tooting, Wandsworth and Merton were transferred to London.

In 1877 all the parishes above which had been given to London, together with all the parishes in Kingston, Brixton, Wallington, Tandridge and Reigate Hundreds, forming the then Parliamentary divisions of East and Mid Surrey, were handed over to Rochester. The change had the effect not so much of subjecting the London suburbs and half Surrey to an obscure Kentish city as of bringing the see of Rochester up to London, the greater annexing the less.

A new distribution of rural deaneries was necessitated in both the Winchester and Rochester dioceses in Surrey.¹

Henceforward the deanery of Emley comprised the old parishes of Chertsey, Egham, Esher, East and West Moulsey, Thames Ditton, Thorp, Walton-on-Thames, Weybridge; with the newly-formed ecclesiastical parishes of Addlestone, Long Cross, Botleys and Lyne, Ottershaw, Claygate, St. Paul's East Moulsey, Hersham and Oatlands.

Guildford contained Albury, Ash, Chilworth (a revived parish served by Albury), East and West Clandon, Cranleigh, Ewhurst, Holy Trinity and St. Mary's Guildford, St. Nicholas' Guildford, Merrow, Shalford, Stoke, Wonersh, Worplesdon; and the ecclesiastical parishes of Grafham, Shamley Green, Bramley, Wyke.

Letherhead contained Ashsted, Bansted, Great Bookham, Little Bookham, Cobham, Cuddington (a revived parish),² Effingham, Epsom, Ewell, Fetcham, Hedley, East and West Horsley, Letherhead, Stoke D'Abernon, Walton-on-the-Hill; and the ecclesiastical parish of Christ Church Epsom.

Farnham contained Farnham, Frensham and Seale; and the ecclesiastical parishes of Churte, Tilford, Wrecclesham, Rowledge,³ Tongham, Hale in Surrey and Bentley in Hampshire.

Woking contained Bisley, Byfleet, Chobham, Frimley, Horsell, Ockham, Pirbright, Pirford with Wisley, Ripley, Send, Woking, Windlesham with Bagshot; and the ecclesiastical parishes of Valley End, St. John's Woking, York Town.

Dorking contained Abinger, Dorking, Capel, Mickleham, Newdigate, Ockley, Shere, Wotton, Okewood; and the ecclesiastical parishes of Coldharbour, St. Paul's Dorking, Holmwood, North Holmwood, Westcott, Ranmore, Holmbury with Peaslake, now a separate district.

Godalming contained Alfold, Chiddingfold, Compton, Dunsfold, Elsted, Godalming, Hambledon, Hascombe, Peperharow, Puttenham, Witley, Wanborough—revived; and the ecclesiastical parishes of Farn-

¹ The schedule of the rural deaneries and parishes was published in the *London Gazette*, 7 May 1878, 2925.

² It had been destroyed, and the church and village pulled down, by Henry VIII. in 1526 (see *V.C.H. Surrey*, i. 367).

³ The church is just in Hampshire; the district extends into Surrey.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

combe, Shackleford, Busbridge, Haslemere, Shotter Mill,¹ Milford, Thursley.

The part of the county handed over to Rochester was divided into the following deaneries :—

Barnes : containing Barnes and Wimbledon, with Mortlake, Putney, and nine subordinate districts.

Beddington : containing Beddington, Carshalton, Cheam, Coulsdon, Farley, Malden with Chessington, Merton, Mitcham, Morden, Sandersted, Sutton, Woodmansterne, Warlingham with Chelsham, and five ecclesiastical districts.

Godstone : containing Blechingley, Caterham, Crowhurst, Godstone, Horne, Limsfield, Lingfield, Oxted, Tandridge, Tatsfield, Titsey, Woldingham, and six ecclesiastical districts.

Kingston : containing Kew with Petersham, Kingston, Long Ditton, with thirteen ecclesiastical districts.

Reigate : containing Betchworth, Buckland, Burstow, Chaldon, Charlwood, Chipsted, Gatton, Horley, Leigh, Merstham, Nutfield, Reigate, and eight ecclesiastical districts.

Streatham : including Streatham, Tooting, Wandsworth, and sixteen ecclesiastical districts.

The above are all in the archdeaconry of Kingston.

The archdeanery of Southwark includes the deaneries of Battersea ; containing Battersea, with thirteen districts.

Camberwell : containing Camberwell, with twenty-eight districts.

Clapham : containing Clapham, with sixteen districts.

Kennington : including parts of Camberwell and Lambeth, with ten districts.

Lambeth : including Lambeth, with nine districts.

Newington : containing Newington, with eleven districts.

Southwark : containing Bermondsey, Rotherhithe and the old Southwark parishes, with twenty-three districts.

¹ Shotter Mill district was in Farnham parish, but is geographically connected with Godalming Hundred.

NOTE

In addition to the coin of Magnentius mentioned above (p. 1, line 9) coins of the same emperor and of Constantius II. with the XP monogram are among a number found at Croydon in 1903. Specimens are in the Museum of the County Archæological Society, Guildford.

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF SURREY

INTRODUCTION

IN the following pages a brief account is given of each of the suppressed religious houses of the county. Considering its area, the number of these establishments was unusually small, but several of them were of considerable importance. The Premonstratensian or White Canons had no house in the county, nor was there a single convent of nuns of any order. The reference given by Tanner to Black nuns at Horsley and to White nuns at Oxenford (under Waverley) are not supported by any further evidence; if they ever existed, their life was of brief duration. The meanly conceived attempt of Edward II. to substitute Dominican sisters for Dominican friars at Guildford, though strongly urged, was a failure.

The Benedictines held the mitred abbey of Chertsey of old foundation. The oldest but by no means the wealthiest of the English Cistercian abbeys was at Waverley.

At Bermondsey was one of the most noteworthy houses of the Cluniac order which became an abbey towards the close of its life. The story of its administration, rendered so difficult through the long wars with France, is as disastrous as was usually the case with the Cluniac houses in England. It was saved from destruction at the beginning of the fifteenth century by obtaining a charter of denization. In addition to Bermondsey there was but one other alien priory in the county, namely the small one at Tooting dependent upon the great Norman abbey of Bec.

The Austin canons had one of their most wealthy establishments at Merton; and there was another of much celebrity at Southwark. They had also smaller houses at Reigate, Tandridge, and Newark near Guildford.

The little welcome extended to the friars in Surrey is somewhat remarkable; it is especially strange that there was not a single house of any one of the mendicant orders in connection with the considerable population of Southwark. The Dominicans had a large house at Guildford under special royal patronage. The story of the treatment by Henry VIII. of the Observant friars of Richmond founded by Henry VII. is one of peculiar sadness. Tanner's statements as to Carmelites at Sheen and Crouched friars at Guildford are not correct.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

As to hospitals, which occasionally, like the hospital of Sandon united to St. Thomas' Southwark, are difficult to distinguish from small priories of Austin canons, the Surrey examples are varied and fairly numerous. The most important, with a chequered history, is that of St. Thomas the Martyr, Southwark; there was also at Southwark a hospital for lepers of early foundation. There was a medical hospital at Newington of which but little can be learnt.

The county affords four instances of foundations of the collegiate type. The one at Lambeth, sought to be founded in the twelfth century by Archbishop Baldwin, and subsequently by his successor, Archbishop Hubert Walter, can scarcely be said to have been established, for it was almost immediately extinguished by the jealousy of the Canterbury monks. The twelfth century foundation at Maldon, by Walter de Merton, was speedily transferred to Merton College, Oxford. The instance at Kingston was more of the nature of a small collegiate chapel associated with a hospital. Lingfield, however, is an instance of a genuine collegiate establishment, which, like others throughout England, was not only intended to supply worship of special dignity and to serve as a chantry on a large scale, but also included an eleemosynary foundation, supporting thirteen poor men who resided in the college with the chaplains and clerks.

The accounts of the remains of these religious houses are reserved for the topographical portion of the history; where they will be described under their respective parishes.

HOUSE OF BENEDICTINE MONKS

I. THE ABBEY OF CHERTSEY

The Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter of Chertsey was founded in the year A.D. 666¹ by Erkenwald, afterwards Bishop of London,² who became its first abbot, the new foundation being endowed with lands by the munificence of Frithwald, Subregulus of Surrey, under Ulfar, King of the Mercians, who in subsequent accounts is associated with Erkenwald as co-founder. In the first charter of the foundation Frithwald recites that, for the augmentation of the monastery first built under King Egbert, he had granted 200

dwellings and 5 dwellings in a place called Thorpe to Erkenwald the abbot.³ This charter was witnessed and confirmed by King Ulfar and specifies the boundaries of the donation.⁴ A charter of privileges granted by Pope Agathon (678-82) was brought personally from Rome by the abbot then raised to the metropolitan see.⁵

Subsequent kings confirmed the possessions of the monastery: Offa, King of the Mercians, in 787, at the request of Cynedritha his queen, and Ceolnod the abbot;⁶ Ethelwulf in 827;⁷ and King Athelstan in 993.⁸ From the year 850, and onwards through

¹ This is the year given in the account of the abbey in the Chertsey chartulary preserved among the Cott. MS. Vitel. A. xiii. f. 20. The Annals of Dunstable (*Ann. Mon.* [Rolls Ser.] iii. 8) give the year 678, and Reyner, from Capgrave's *Life of St. Erkenwald*, makes it as early as 630.

² Bede records that after building Chertsey the saintly Erkenwald raised the abbey of Barking, where he established his sister as abbess. This famous house was therefore a sister foundation to Chertsey (*Hist. Eccles.* lib. iv. cap. 6).

³ Cott. MS. Vitel. A. xiii. f. 20.

⁴ Grave doubts have been cast upon the authenticity of the early charters, and particularly as to the charter above referred to. The style of the king, witnesses and bounds all contain errors probably of a thirteenth century scribe.

⁵ Cott. MS. Vitel. A. xiii. f. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.* f. 32.

⁷ *Ibid.* f. 32d.

⁸ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* ii. 697.

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the ninth century, the monastery shared the perils of the country threatened by the incursions of the Danes. This contact with national history is reflected in the pages of their chronicle; it narrates the story of the struggle against the heathen, describes the dangers to which all the coasts were exposed, and in particular the counties of Kent, Surrey and Sussex, the fruitless efforts of the kings, the death of King Ethelbert 'broken with many labours,' and culminates in the account of the attack on the monastery itself, the slaughter of Beocca the abbot, Ethor the priest, and ninety monks, their home burnt down, and their lands wasted.¹

Many years elapsed before the work of restoration was begun. Then Ethelwald, Bishop of Winchester (936-84), sent to the abbot and convent of Abingdon commanding that thirteen monks be sent to colonise a new house on the old site. There they elected one of their number abbot, and a new church was raised.² It was also divinely revealed to a certain monk that the bodies of those who had been slain by the heathen should be removed from the place where they were resting and honourably collected and placed in a wooden shrine, which was accordingly done.

The new colony however, did not remain long undisturbed. In 964 King Edgar, inflamed by the reforming zeal of Dunstan, drove forth the inmates sent by Ethelwald and established regulars there with Ordbright as their abbot.³ After these vicissitudes the house seems to have entered upon a period of ease and prosperity wherein its borders became enlarged.

Edward the Confessor certified by charter to Stigand the archbishop and Harold the earl that he had granted to Christ and St. Peter of Chertsey that town with the towns of Egham, Thorpe and Chobham,⁴ and that the abbot and convent should have soc and sac, tol, theam and infangneith within all their manors, and also confirmed the gift by a previous charter of the Hundred of Godley.⁵ The 'Saint of England' further added to the endowment the village and church of White Waltham, Berks, with woods and 20 acres of pasture at Cookham.⁶

The house seems to have enjoyed the

favour and protection of the Conqueror,⁷ who confirmed the possessions which the abbot and convent held in the time of King Edward with soc and sac, and conferred on them rights of warren, liberty of the chase, the right to keep dogs, and take hares, foxes, etc., within all their lands in Surrey, with a mandate addressed to the sheriff, the king's foresters and ministers that the abbot and convent should not be molested.⁸

The Domesday Survey shows that the estates held by the abbey were already very considerable and not confined to the county of Surrey alone,⁹ and they were later increased by further donations from the descendants of the Conqueror.

Royal favour was accompanied by support from Rome. Pope Alexander III., recalling the privileges accorded by his predecessors, confirmed to the abbey the tithes of Chertsey, Egham, Thorpe and Chobham,¹⁰ and ordained that the abbot should not retain them in his own hands, or expend them in other uses, but that they should be applied by two honest men to the repair of the abbey and the maintenance of its offices.¹¹ The Welsh priory or cell of Cardigan with its appurtenances, the churches of Holy Trinity and of St. Peter of 'Berwyke,' the chapels of St. Peter of Cardigan and St. Michael of Tremain which had been granted to the abbey by Rees Ap Griffin, Prince of South Wales, for his soul, and the souls of his wife, his parents and his sons, was confirmed by successive bulls of the popes, Alexander III. and IV.¹² Alexander III. also forbade the

⁷ It is recorded, however, in the chartulary before mentioned that 'at this time the monastery was again destroyed and all its possessions carried away, so that there remained only that little which the inhabitants of the monastery now possess.' An account is given of the battle of Hastings and of the burial of the vanquished Harold at his abbey of Waltham (*ibid.* f. 47).

⁸ *Ibid.* f. 53.

⁹ *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 307, and *Hants.* i. 472.

¹⁰ Cott. MS. Vitel. A. xiii. f. 69.

¹¹ *Ibid.* f. 74.

¹² *Ibid.* ff. 72, 75. During the administration of John de Hermondesworth a petition was presented to the Bishop of St. David's by the abbot and convent, and John Barnet, prior or rector of the parish church of Cardigan, praying him to terminate the contentions and brawls which had arisen in connection with the tithes of this church, and to determine whether they were received by right of the said church being an impropriated benefice or a dependant cell of Chertsey. The abbot appointed proctors to represent him when the case should be heard, but the bishop's decision is not given (*Exch. K.R. Misc. Bks.* f. 62).

¹ Cott. MS. Vitel. A. xiii. f. 33-34.

² *Ibid.* f. 35.

³ *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Series), i. 222-3.

⁴ These indeed formed the nucleus of the original endowment.

⁵ Cott. MS. Vitel. A. xiii. f. 50.

⁶ *Ibid.* f. 51.

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promulgation of any sentence of interdict or excommunication on any abbot or monk,¹ and Alexander IV. enacted that the chrism, holy oil, consecration of altars or churches, and ordination of clerks should be undertaken by the diocesan bishop, and forbad that any chapel or oratory should be built within the bounds of the parish save by the consent of the abbot and diocesan.²

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the abbey was engaged in many disputes, the settlement of which, involving litigation and papal arbitration, must have greatly taxed its already diminishing resources. Finally in the case of disputes involving but slight issues the house resorted to less official mediation 'in order to save extortion.'³

Up to the end of the thirteenth century there was a marked absence of appropriation in connection with this house. The taxation roll of 1291 shows that the annual value of the various Surrey manors of the abbey amounted to £135 19s. 8d.⁴ There was in addition an income of £7 os. 7d. from temporalities in seven London parishes,⁵ and £7 from the diocese of Salisbury.⁶ The only spirituality reckoned is a pension of £1 19s.

¹ Cott. MS. Vitel. A. xiii. f. 71.

² Ibid. f. 72.

³ These disputes had relation chiefly to tithes and can be briefly enumerated. In 1198 with the rector of the church of Compton (Exch. K. R. Misc. Bks. 25, f. 34). Early in the thirteenth century Peter des Roches effected a compromise between the abbot and the parishioners of Chobham (ibid. f. 44-5), which, as in many other instances, required adjustment later on. In 1228 a dispute was settled with the rector of Cobham, who was also dean of the cathedral church of Old Sarum (ibid. f. 52). In 1297 silence was imposed on the rector of Walton, and the claim of the abbey upheld (ibid. f. 54d). In 1237 an amicable arrangement was made with the priory of Newark as to tithes within the parish of Chertsey (ibid. f. 53). Twice the abbey had to settle with the abbey of Westminster as to rival claims (*Cal. of Anct. Deeds*, ii. B. 1853, and Exch. K. R. Misc. Bks. 25, f. 57). In 1279 a contest took place with the rector of Fetcham (ibid. f. 50), and in 1308 a dispute between John de Rutherwyk and the rector of Chipstead was settled by the arbitration of Philip de Barthou' (ibid. f. 36). By a compromise in 1283 the parishioners of Bisley agreed to pay 3 lbs. of wax yearly to the abbey for right of sepulchre (ibid. f. 48). The most heated dispute of all arose in 1405 between Thomas de Colverdone and the vicar of Chertsey as to the tithes of the parish church, it being one with the conventual church (ibid. f. 55).

⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 206.

⁵ Ibid. 11b.

⁶ Ibid. 192.

from a London church.⁷ The monastery probably began to realise the fluctuating nature of the greater part of an income derived mainly from land and subject to agricultural depression, and sought to remedy this distress by resort to appropriation. The Bishop of Winchester in 1292 permitted the abbot and convent to retain to their own uses the church of Bookham which was of their patronage, then void by the resignation of John of London, the late rector, so that they presented a suitable person to perform divine service there. It was stated as a reason for this concession that the funds of the monastery had of late materially decreased by exactions, by pestilences, and by inundations of water that affected animals, flocks, and other property of Chertsey. The grant which was confirmed by the Crown, recited the permission granted to the abbey by Pope Clement III. in 1190 whereby they might retain in their own hands the parish churches of Bookham, Epsom, Ewell, Waltham, Horley, Cobham, and Coulsdon, and the chapels of Chertsey and 'Wetesdon.'⁸ In 1313 licence was obtained from the king for the appropriation of the churches of Horley and Epsom,⁹ and in 1380 Richard allowed the convent to appropriate the church of Ewell,¹⁰ the three churches being already of their advowson. John de Benham obtained the church of White Waltham, Berkshire, in 1348.¹¹

In 1402, during the vacancy of the see of Winchester, the Archbishop of Canterbury ordered an inspection of the muniments of the abbey of Chertsey, in order to ascertain what spiritualities were held by the abbot and convent and the genuineness of their title, that an exemplification of the documents might be made at the request of the brethren. The petition of the convent sets forth that whereas they held lands 'in various parts of the world,' they possessed only the muni-

⁷ Ibid. 20b.

⁸ Pat. 20 Edw. I. m. 11. Repeated bulls from Rome show that alienation of the property of the abbey was taking place. In addition to bulls of Alexander IV., addressed to the Chancellor of Salisbury, of Gregory X. to the Prior of Dorchester, and of John XXI. to the Prior of Reading, revoking any such alienation, a bull of Gregory X. deposes the Abbot of Dorchester to hear and determine the complaint of the convent against the Rectors of Walton and Bisley and the Vicar of Chertsey for the retention of tithes (Exch. K.R. Misc. Bks. 25, ff. 8, 9, 10).

⁹ Pat. 6 Edw. II. pt. ii. m. 17.

¹⁰ Ibid. 4 Rich. II. pt. i. m. 27.

¹¹ *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* (Rec. Com.), vol. ii. 182d.

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ments which they required for their own use and had no duplicates. It was found on examination that the abbey held the parish churches of Chertsey and Egham with the chapel of Thorpe, the parish churches of Chobham, Great Bookham, Epsom and Horeley. They had also the following pensions: 20s. from Ewell, 20s. from the vicarage of Epsom, 8s. from Compton, 5s. from Ash, 6s. 8d. from Weybridge, 3s. from Cobham, 10s. and 6 lbs. of wax from the vicarage of Chobham, 3 lbs. of wax from Bisley, 50s. from the prior of Merton for a portion of tithes from Effingham, 15s. from the rector of Chipstead for tithes of Pirbright and Lovelane, and 13s. 4d. from the rector of Esher. The exemplification subsequently made was examined and compared with the originals and passed by a public notary of the Court of Canterbury.¹

A long and complicated series of negotiations² resulted in the acquisition by the abbot and convent of the church of Stanwell 'in proprios usus' in 1422, the grant being confirmed by Henry VI. in 1433.³ Several years later Edward IV. granted a licence for the appropriation of the church of St. Andrew, Cobham, providing that a perpetual vicarage should be founded and due provision made for the yearly distribution of a competent sum to the poor of the parish from the issues.⁴

That the abbey of Chertsey, in common with other monastic foundations, suffered much from the diminution of its revenues during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is evident. In the December following the election of Abbot John de Uske in 1370⁵ the bishop of Winchester wrote to the abbot of Hyde that the king had excused the abbey and convent of Chertsey from payment of the triennial tenth.⁶ In the petition of the king and abbot to the Bishop of London for the appropriation of Stanwell church are assigned various reasons for the poverty of the house: that charges had considerably increased owing to the concourse of people to the hospice and

the demands on hospitality, which the monks were unable to meet on account of lessened resources. The abbey derived its sustentation mainly from arable land, and this remained sterile and uncultivated owing to the scarcity of labour following on epidemics and pestilences. The houses and buildings pertaining to the monastery had been reduced to ruins by violent storms, and had collapsed through no neglect on their part, in consequence of which their rents were much reduced.⁷ In 1421 Henry V. made them a grant of £15 a year out of the great custom of London, which was subsequently confirmed by Henry VI.⁸

It is natural to find the head of a large and influential house like Chertsey filling an important position in the county, and contemporary records frequently mention him as chosen to fill offices outside this limit, and enjoying the personal favour of the king. In 1058 Abbot Siward was made Bishop of Rochester.⁹ Wulfwold was one of the six abbots (four of them Englishmen) who entered into a curious bond of confederation with Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, and his monks between 1072 and 1077.¹⁰ Odo was dismissed by William Rufus in 1092, and his place taken by Ralph Flambard of ill fame; but immediately on the accession of Henry I. Odo was restored to his former position.¹¹ A few years later Abbot Hugh was sent on an embassy with Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury and Herbert, Bishop of Norwich, from the king to the pope, returning the following year.¹² In the same way the abbot of Chertsey was sent with Raymond, a monk of St. Albans, in 1198, by Richard I. to treat with the pope.¹³ The abbey is said to have been rebuilt in 1110 by Abbot Hugh,¹⁴ pre-

¹ Exch. K. R. Misc. Bks. 25, f. 25d.

² Pat. 1 Hen. VI. pt. iii, m. 29.

³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 187.

⁴ They agreed to adopt the Benedictine rule and to be in unity as if all their seven monasteries were one monastery, and to be 'quasi cor unum et anima una,' to sing two masses every week in each monastery for all the brothers, on Monday and Friday. The abbots also professed obedience to God and to their bishop for their common need, that is, that each of them should perform, and for his own account buy a hundred masses, and bathe a hundred needy men, and feed them and shoe them. And each to sing himself seven masses, and for thirty days set his meat before him and a penny upon the meat (*Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc.* [Rolls Ser.], iii. xviii.).

⁵ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 37, 40.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 45.

⁷ *Matt. of Paris. Hist. Minor.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 75.

⁸ *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 369.

¹ Exch. K. R. Misc. Bks. 25, f. 32, et seq.

² The abbot and convent conceded to Henry V. the manor of Petersham, which he was desirous of obtaining, and the advowson of the church of Ewell, reserving to themselves an annual pension of 20s. out of the church, in exchange for which the king granted to them an acre of land, and the advowson of the church of Stanwell.

³ Pat. 1 Hen. VI. m. 20, 21.

⁴ *Ibid.* 5 Edw. IV. pt. ii, m. 27.

⁵ A full account of the proceedings at the election of this abbot is given in the *Register of Bishop Wykeham* (Hants Rec. Soc. i. p. 27).

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 123.

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sumably a relative of King Stephen, whose charters refer to him as *nepos meus*.¹ Abbot Aymer returned the knight-service of the house in 1166 as three knights and the knights' fees held of it as four.² Martin, prior of Thetford, was appointed abbot during the lifetime of his predecessor, Bertan, in 1197, and is said to have been uncanonically elected. An incident which occurred at his installation heightened his impression of illegality among the monks. Just as the abbot was entering the church in procession, the servant who was holding the pall fell to the ground and died.³ Abbot Alan was one of the signatories to the re-issue of Magna Carta in 1225.⁴ In 1273 Edward I. addressed a mandate to Abbot Bartholomew bidding him attend at Kingston on the following Monday and see to the due observance of the king's prohibition of a tournament, which it was proposed to hold on that day. If not able to go personally, he was to send the sub-prior and cellarer or two discreet monks.⁵

The administration of the successor of Abbot Bartholomew was marked by great increase of the estates held by the abbey, and much improvement of their property and buildings, due to the energy and administrative ability of John de Rutherwyk (1307-46). Much space is devoted in the chartulary of the monastery to an account of the improvements and additions of the abbot, whom it described as '*religiosissimus pater, prudentissimus et utilissimus dominus*.' His attention was not confined to territorial undertakings alone. In 1311 he presented the conventual church of Chertsey with red velvet vestments,⁶ and a few years later had the tabula hanging above the high altar painted,⁷ and bought images of St. Catherine and St. Margaret and a new pastoral staff.⁸ By his care also the chapel at Chobham⁹ and the chancel at Epsom church were repaired,¹⁰ and a new chancel built at Egham.¹¹ With the exception of the year 1335, during the whole of his rule, which lasted nearly thirty-nine years, the abbot's ardour as a landlord suffered no check. In that year a spirit of discontent

seems to have manifested itself among the brethren, for a complaint was made containing among other things that the abbot had acquired many possessions, the value and extent of which they were unable to estimate. 'The abbot,' it is stated, 'being not a little troubled in his mind ceased from such acquisition, and rested that year from the labours of his body and the fatigues of his heart.'¹²

John de Rutherwyk seems to have met with favour from Edward II. and his queen. In 1308 he obtained a pardon from the Crown for a debt of £10 of his predecessor,¹³ and in 1310 a licence to acquire lands and rents to the value of £50.¹⁴ In the same year the king notified the barons of the Exchequer that by request of '*notre treschere compagne*,' the Queen of England, he had pardoned the abbot of Chertsey the service which he owed the king for the war in Scotland, and that this release is to be inscribed on the rolls of the Exchequer.¹⁵ In connection with the same war, the following December the king acknowledged his indebtedness to the abbey for £22 7s. 6d. for 5 quarters of wheat and 100 quarters of malt, being part of the supplies levied by the king for the war.¹⁶ In July 1322 Edward II. called upon the abbot to admit a married couple as royal life pensioners, sending to them John de Arden of Chobham, who had long served the Crown, together with Agnes his wife. They were to receive as much as Gunnora de Windsor, then deceased, had for her maintenance at the late king's request.¹⁷ A relative of the abbot's, William de Rutherwyk, who had granted to the monastery all his goods and chattels in Egham and Thorpe, also received a life pension with Alice his wife.¹⁸

The rule of Abbot John was marked by the erection of two chantries within the conventual church. In 1318, in return for the sum of £100 granted by Philip de Barthon, archdeacon of Surrey, the abbot arranged that a monk should be specially deputed to celebrate masses at the altar of Holy Cross for the good estate of his benefactor, and for the souls of Richard his brother, his parents and all the faithful dead; and that the two brothers, Philip and Richard, should be had in remembrance by the brethren in all their masses, and their names inscribed on

¹ Cott. MS. Vitel. A. xiii. f. 57.

² *Red Book of the Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 198.

³ Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*. i. 303.

⁴ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 232.

⁵ Pat. 1. Edw. I. m. 15.

⁶ Exch. K. R. Misc. Bks. 25, f. 174.

⁷ *Ibid.* f. 177d.

⁸ Lands. MS. 435, f. 108.

⁹ Exch. K. R. Misc. Bks. 25, f. 179.

¹⁰ Lands. MS. 435, f. 140.

¹¹ *Ibid.* f. 133d.

¹² *Ibid.* f. 156.

¹³ Exch. K. R. Misc. Bks. 25, f. 173.

¹⁴ Pat. 3 Edw. II. m. 24.

¹⁵ Exch. K. R. Misc. Bks. 25, f. 173.

¹⁶ Pat. 4 Edw. II. pt. i. m. 6.

¹⁷ Close, 16 Edw. II. m. 34d.

¹⁸ Exch. K. R. Misc. Bks. 25, f. 232.

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each missal of the church and in their martyrology, and named daily in the chapter with other benefactors. Also that the sacrist should distribute yearly on the anniversary of the said Philip 20s. to the brethren and 6s. 8d. to the poor, and that both he and his brother should be participants in all the spiritual privileges and exercises of the house.¹

When Philip de Barthon' died in 1327, he bequeathed a sum of £250 to the abbey for the augmentation of the two chantries already founded within the conventual church. By a covenant with his executors the abbot and convent agreed to provide two secular chaplains in their house, and to maintain them in food and lodging and everything necessary for divine service; to pay them 5½ marks a year, and to provide them a fitting chamber near the great gate of the garden within the abbey, and to keep the same in repair, and to find them a clerk to minister to them, sufficient bedding, and two cartloads of firewood, when provision was made for the chamber of the abbot. The chaplains were to officiate, one at the altar of St. Leonard in the nave, and the other at the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr. One mass was to be celebrated early in the morning before the mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the other at a fit hour at midday between the end of the mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the celebration of high mass. They were to take the oath of obedience to the abbot, and to be removed if found unfit or disobedient. 'And always in the principal mass, they should turn to the people who were hearing mass, and should say a pater-noster for the souls of Philip de Barthon', his brother, and his family and the faithful departed.' The former distribution of 26s. 8d. on the anniversary of Philip de Barthon' was to be kept up.²

By another agreement, in 1314, with the rector of the church of Coulsdon the abbot and convent consented, in return for a certain tenement in Coulsdon, to provide a secular chaplain to celebrate for the good estate of the donor when living, and for his soul and that of Geoffrey de Conductu his brother, when dead.³

¹ Exch. K. R. Misc. Bks. 25, f. 187.

² Ibid. f. 188.

³ Ibid. f. 326. Similarly in return for a grant of lands made by Hawysia, the widow of Walter de Gloucester, knt., the abbot and convent agreed to pay annually 10 marks towards the sustentation of two chaplains serving a chantry founded by Hawysia for the soul of her husband in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Haydor in the county of Lincoln (ibid. f. 180), and 5 marks to a chaplain at

In February 1342, on the strength of recent legislation,⁴ John de Rutherwyk obtained an important concession that on the voidance of the abbey the prior and convent should retain the custody and full and free administration of the temporalities (saving to the king knights' fees and advowsons) at a rent to the Crown of 50 marks for each four months, or part of four months, of such voidance. No escheator, sheriff or other bailiff or minister of the king, was to intermeddle in the custody, further than that at the beginning of each voidance the escheator or his minister should take a simple seisin within the gates of the abbey in the name of the king, and not stay there more than one day.⁵

The abbey is said to have been attacked in an insurrection of 1381 during the abbacy of John de Uske; the record states that the court rolls and other muniments were burnt by the malice and rebellion of the insurgents against the peace of the king.⁶

In consequence of complaints of great dilapidations committed by Thomas Angewyn, who was elected abbot on the death of John de Hermondesworth in 1458, an inquiry was instituted by commission of the Bishop of Winchester to William Wroughton, a monk of Winchester, and the abbot was compelled to resign. The bishop at the request of the convent selected Wroughton to fill the vacant place in March 1461-2.⁷ In 1464 Wroughton himself was deposed, and on 12 February Edward IV. granted a licence to the abbot and convent to elect a head in the place of William Wroughton deprived,⁸ whereupon they re-elected Angewyn.⁹ The bishop, however, on the grounds of a lack of due formality in the election, collated John May to the vacancy on the 19 March 1464-5.¹⁰ During his rule the abbey was called on

the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church of Littleton (London Diocese) founded by Thomas de Littleton, former rector of Spaxton, and now of Harrow (ibid. f. 191).

⁴ In consequence of waste and damage done to ecclesiastical property during voidance it was enacted in 1340 that in the case of the vacancy of a bishopric or abbey or priory, etc., the value of the voidance might be paid in money (Stat. 14 Edw. III. cap. 4).

⁵ Pat. 16 Edw. III. m. 36.

⁶ Exch. K. R. Misc. Bks. 25, f. 173d.

⁷ Pat. 2 Edw. IV. m. 21.

⁸ Ibid. 4 Edw. IV. m. 9.

⁹ Ibid. 5 Edw. IV. pt. i. m. 13.

¹⁰ Winton Epis. Reg., Waynflete, i. pt. ii, f. 137. The causes which led to the deprivation of Abbot Wroughton cannot now be ascertained, but there appears to have been some great irregularity. An

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to give a resting-place to the remains of Henry VI. The body of that unfortunate king 'found dead' in the Tower was shown for some days in St. Paul's in order to disarm suspicion, after which it was taken on a barge to the abbey of Chertsey to be buried,¹ where it remained till removed to Windsor by Henry VIII.

In comparison with the abundance of material for the external history, there is but scanty information as to the internal condition of this house. It is probable, however, that as the abbots were held in so high esteem their rule was satisfactory, and as we hear of no scandal touching the abbey it may be inferred that its condition was good. It was diligently visited during the administration of Bishop Wykeham of Winchester, either personally or by commission, but no comment throws light on this point.² During the abbacy of John de Rutherwyk, a dispensation was applied for on behalf of John de Winton, priest, a monk of Chertsey for wounding a thief. The petition recounts that a thief at night time broke into the infirmary where the monk was lying ill in bed. A struggle took place between the robber and some servants who were roused, in which the thief received deadly wounds on the head, but by whom the blows were struck was uncertain in the confusion. The monk, suddenly aroused from sleep by the

entry on the Pat. Rolls 15 March 1465, recites that the king was entitled to 50 marks from the abbey when it became void by the cession of Thomas Angewyn; that the said sum was granted by the king in 1462 to his sister Anne, Duchess of Exeter (Pat. 1 Edw. IV. pt. v. m. 18); that the new abbot, William Wroughton received the letters patent of this grant and letters of acquittance of the duchess; that afterwards, on 6 February 1464-5, when the abbot was deprived of his office and dignity, there was another voidance of the abbey; that the deprived abbot carried off the said letters to places unknown, so that John, now abbot, and the convent cannot exonerate themselves of the 50 marks, having no receipt to show, but that the king was willing not only to pardon them that sum, but also the 50 marks due for the second voidance (Pat. 6 Edw. IV. pt. i. m. 17).

¹ Gale's *Hist. of Croyland*, i. 556. Warkworth, *Chron. of the first Thirteen Years of Edw. IV.* (Camden Society), 21

² On 29 October 1381 the house was visited by commission of the bishop (*Wykeham's Reg.* [Hants Rec. Soc.], ii. 328). The bishop gave notice of his intention to visit the abbey on Monday next after Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, 1378 (*ibid.* 404). And the abbot and convent were cited to appear for a visitation at their chapter house on Wednesday next after St. Matthew, 1392 (*ibid.* 436).

noise of this conflict, and hardly conscious of what he was doing, leapt from his bed and seizing a sword from one of them struck the thief on the ear and jaw; but in the opinion of the medical men and others this particular wound was not a deadly one. The abbot suspended the monk from celebrating mass and sought counsel of the bishop, who, inasmuch as John de Winton had not mutilated any member of the thief, nor, in the judgment of the medical men, been the cause of his death, decided that he need no longer abstain from celebrating mass.³

Certain regulations made in the thirteenth century mention the various officers of the monastery and illustrate their duties. Abbot Adam by the consent of the convent assigned certain rents for the celebration of his anniversary, to be received by the almoner, and distribution made to the brethren of bread, wine and fish, and of bread to the poor. The same distribution was to be made on the anniversary of Abbot Alan, and the almoner should also on the Feast of Blessed Mary Magdalene, according to ancient custom, distribute bread, wine and curd cheese-cakes.⁴ Among other customs we read that the cellarer was bound to provide cheese for the refectory of the convent; the chamberlain was to receive £20 from the cellarer for clothing for the brethren, and grease to anoint the shoes of the preaching brethren seven times in the year; the chamberlain had to provide towels for the lavatory and for the ceremony of the washing of feet, and on the Vigil of All Saints he was to find the abbot and convent sandals of white cloth.⁵ The office of the pittance is not mentioned till the time of John de Benham, and it is stated that he founded it.⁶

When the abbey was visited on 28 April 1501, by Thomas Hede, commissary of the prior of Canterbury, during the voidance of the sees of Canterbury and Winchester, the number of the inmates had fallen, and it would seem, in spite of conflicting witness, that the house was largely in debt. The abbot⁷ testified to the due performance of all their religious duties, both in the day and night offices; that there was not the full statutory number of monks; that the rents

³ *Reg. of Rigaud de Asserio* (Hants. Rec. Soc.), p. 423.

⁴ Cott. MS. Vitel. A. xiii. f. 82d.

⁵ *Ibid.* f. 79.

⁶ Exch. K. R. Misc. Bks. 25, f. 173.

⁷ Thomas Peket or Pigot was consecrated Bishop of Bangor in 1500, but was allowed to retain the abbey in *commendam*.

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of assize amounted to eighty marks; that the seal was kept in the treasury under four keys, which were in the respective custody of the abbot, the prior, the sub-prior, and one of the senior monks; and that the monastery was not in debt, nor had it any valuables pledged. Robert Pendu, the prior, stated that silence was observed by the monks in the proper places and times, and that the officials rendered annual accounts of their respective offices. Thomas Grey, the almoner, said that the constitutions of the order of St. Benedict were not read in the chapter house, and that he had heard it said that the house was £1,000 in debt. John Parker, the sub-prior, testified that the house was in debt, but to what extent he knew not, as the abbot during the preceding years had omitted to render his accounts. Thomas Marshall, a monk, returned *omne bene*, save that there was a debt of 100 marks for the bull permitting the abbot to be bishop of Bangor. William London, sub-chanter, had heard it said that the house was in debt, but he knew not to what extent. John Batyn, a professed monk in acolite's orders, considered that *omne bene* save that the constitutions were not read in chapter. Other monks had either nothing to depose or returned *omne bene*.¹

The Valor of 1535 gives the clear annual value of the abbey as £659 15s. 8½d.

Dr. Legh was Cromwell's agent in the visitation of this abbey during the rule of John Cordrey, who was elected on the resignation of John Parker in 1529.² Writing on 29 September 1535, he takes exception to the report made at a recent visitation of the Bishop of Winchester and Sir William Fitzwilliam, undertaken by the king's orders, stating that all was well. He forwarded his 'comperthes' in which he alleged that seven were incontinent, four guilty of unnatural offences, and two apostates.³ It is difficult to

reconcile this account with the report of the Bishop of Winchester, an experienced monastic visitor, reinforced by Sir W. Fitzwilliam, the treasurer of the king's household, little likely to err on the side of indulgence towards such gross irregularities in a religious house, nor did succeeding events bear out the probability of the existence of such immorality. It is impossible to believe that the king would have translated the abbot and convent of Chertsey to so important a new foundation as he eventually did, if he had given general credence to the report of Cromwell's agent.⁴ Moreover Cordrey was placed on the commission of the peace for Berks in 1537, so soon as he had removed to Bisham.

On 5 July 1537, a charter was granted for a new foundation of the late priory of Bisham.⁵ It was to consist of an abbot and thirteen monks of the Benedictine order, who were to pray for the good estate of the king, and of his consort, Queen Jane, and its style was to be 'King Henry the Eighth's new monastery of Holy Trinity of Bustesham.' Of this foundation John Cordrey was to be the first abbot with the privilege of wearing a mitre.⁶

The following day, 6 July, Chertsey Abbey was surrendered by John Cordrey, the abbot, William the prior, and thirteen of the brethren. Their deed of surrender⁷ recites unmistakably that they did so on the understanding that the king intended to re-establish them at Bisham.

On 18 December 1537 the late community of Chertsey entered their new home, endowed with the lands of their late abbey as well as those of the dissolved priories of Cardigan, Beddgelert, etc. Six months later Richard Layton, writing to Cromwell, describes the state of poverty in which he found the house of Bisham. It had not existed long enough to receive the new revenues. 'Plate and household stuff very little, I had to borrow a

¹ Canterbury Sede Vacante Register.

² In the same year of his resignation John Parker granted the manor of Mylton or Middleton, with 100 acres of land, 200 acres of pasture, and a water-mill in Egham and Thorpe to the Bishop of Winchester at his request for the benefit of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and its scholars. Exch. K. R. Misc. Bks. 25, f. 245.

³ Dr. Legh's report goes on to state that among the abbey relics was the arm-bone of St. Blasius, through which they gave wine in cases of illness; there was also an image of St. Faith before which they placed a candle on behalf of sick persons, and maintained that if the candle remained lighted till it was consumed the sick person would recover, but if it went out he would die (*L. and P. Hen. VIII.*, ix. 472).

⁴ Probably there was a lack of agreement among the brethren, and on 1 November of the same year six of the monks sent a joint letter to complain of the abbot's 'mis-doings,' and to beg that Cromwell would consider their case. They stated that since the visitation he had sold wood, and was bargaining away Chobham Park, had conveyed away the plate, and whereas he had stated in his letter that the portership had been given away, which 'you requested,' it had not been granted under the common seal (*ibid.* ix. 736).

⁵ An old house of Austin Canons in Berkshire which had been dissolved and granted to the king by William Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, the late commendatory prior, on 5 June 1536.

⁶ *Ibid.* xii. (2) 1311 (22).

⁷ Court of Aug. Surrenders, No. 54.

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bed from the town for Dr. Carne and myself. Cattle none, but a few milch kine; grain none; vestments few. The abbot has sold everything in London, and doubtless within a year would have sold the house and lands for white wine, sugar, burrage leaves, and 'seke,' whereof he sips nightly in his chamber till midnight. For money to despatch the household and monks we must sell the copes and bells, and if that will not suffice, even the cows, plough oxen and horse; and the church we stir not. The grain crop is the fairest I have seen, and there is much meadow and woodland. Because of the hay harvest we retain the carters and ploughmen. To-day we despatch the monks who are desirous to be gone. Yesterday when we were making sale of the vestments in the chapter house, the monks cried a new mart in the cloister and sold their cowls. Bissham, 22 June.¹

In the same letter Dr. Layton refers to John Cordrey as 'a very simple man, the monks of small learning and less discretion.'

Whatever the cause the king's royal foundation was doomed, and on 19 June 1538, only six months after his establishment, the abbot again made surrender.² With this broken man ended the long line of the abbots of Chertsey.³

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vol. xiii. pt. i, 1239.

² *Ibid.* 1218.

³ Two references to John Cordrey occur after his deprivation. The payment to him of a pension of £33 6s. 8d. for the last half year ending Mich. 30 Hen. VIII. among the treasurer's accounts (*Aug. Office*). And in connection with a bill of complaint of Jane Bastyan for a certain tenement or brewhouse within the parish of Chertsey, which she claimed against Mary Merrye, tenant in possession, by right of a lease of the late abbot of Chertsey to one Leonard Henry of Chertsey, by whom the interest in the estate was sold to the plaintiff. The indenture, dated January 1529, was to have taken effect at Michaelmas last past. The defendant suggested that the deed exhibited by the plaintiff was secretly drawn up by the abbot at the time of the dissolution 'with intent to deceive the King's Majesty of his good and perfect right in the premises without the consent or assent of the convent, and without their knowledge and agreement.' (*Aug. Off. Proc.* 148.) A writ was issued for the case to be tried to determine whether the indenture in question was made, sealed and delivered with the knowledge and assent of the late monastery, and whether the date it bore was the correct one. The witnesses were two former inmates of the late abbey, one of whom deposed to the effect that he remembered Leonard Henry, servant of John Cordrey, and brought up in the monastery from his childhood, obtaining a lease of the abbot by indenture under the common seal which was deposited in the chest whereof the

ABBOTS OF CHERTSEY

Erkenwald,⁴ 666
 Ceolnod,⁵ occurs 787
 Beocca,⁶ occurs end of ninth century

 Ordbright,⁷ 964
 Daniel, circa 1025
 Seward,⁸ consecrated bishop of Rochester
 1058
 Wulfwold,⁹ occurs 1072, died 1084¹⁰
 Odo,¹¹ 1084-92 deposed
 Ralph Flambard,¹² 1092
 Odo,¹³ 1100 re-elected
 William,¹⁴ circa 1106
 Hugh,¹⁵ 1107
 Daniel
 Aymer,¹⁶ occurs 1166
 Bertan
 Martin,¹⁷ 1197
 Adam,¹⁸ circa 1206
 Alan,¹⁹ 1223
 John de Medmenham,²⁰ 1261-70
 Bartholomew de Winton,²¹ 1270-1307
 John de Rutherwyk,²² 1307-46
 John de Benham,²³ 1346-61
 William de Clyve,²⁴ 1361-70

abbot kept the key, for which seal Leonard Henry paid 10s. to be divided amongst the convent after the custom of the house. He further deposed that the deed shown him by the Commissioners was that very true deed and seal of the abbot and convent above referred to, delivered about a year before the suppression of the house. The other witness corroborated the statement of the first (*Aug. Off. Misc. Bks.* 111. f. 4). Probably this deed was not surrendered to the king's Commissioners with the other muniments of the house.

⁴ *Cott. MS. Vitel. A. xiii. f. 20.*

⁵ *Birch, Cart. Sax. i. 349.*

⁶ *Cott. M.S. Vitel. A. xiii. f. 34.*

⁷ *Anglo-Sax. Chron. (Rolls Ser.), i. 222-3.*

⁸ *Ann. Mon. (Rolls Ser.), ii. 187.*

⁹ *Hist. of Church of York (Rolls Ser.), iii. 13.*

¹⁰ His death is recorded *Anglo-Sax. Chron. (Rolls Ser.), i. 352; Ann. Mon. (Rolls Ser.), ii. 34.*

¹¹ *Ann. Mon. (Rolls Ser.), ii. 37.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 40.

¹⁴ *Cott. MS. Vitel. A. xiii. f. 55.*

¹⁵ Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 297. He was a physician. *Hist. of Church of York (Rolls Ser.), ii. 143.*

¹⁶ *Red Book of the Exch. (Rolls Ser.), i. 198.*

¹⁷ *Ann. Mon. (Rolls Ser.), ii. 65.*

¹⁸ *Cott. MS. Vitel. A. xiii. f. 92.*

¹⁹ *Pat. 7 Hen. III. m. 4.*

²⁰ *Ibid.* 45 Hen. III. m. 7.

²¹ *Ibid.* 56 Hen. III. m. 1.

²² *Ibid.* 1 Edw. II. pt. i. m. 18.

²³ *Ibid.* 21 Edw. III. pt. i. m. 7.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 35 Edw. III. pt. iii. m. 14

A HISTORY OF SURREY

John de Uske,¹ 1370-1400
 Thomas de Culverdone,² 1400-19
 John de Hermondesworth,³ 1419-58
 Thomas Angewyn,⁴ 1458-61-2
 William Wroughton,⁵ 1461-2, 1464 de-
 posed
 Thomas Angewyn,⁶ 1464-5, re-elected
 John May,⁷ 1464-79
 John Peket or Pigot,⁸ 1479-1504
 John Parker,⁹ 1504-29
 John Cordrey,¹⁰ 1529-37. Afterwards
 abbot of Bisham for six months.

An eleventh century oval seal,¹¹ showing the north side of the conventual cruciform church with central tower of three decreasing stages, and with round-headed windows, north and west porches, and east apse. Legend: + SIGILLUM · SANCTI · PETRI · CEROTIZ · ÆCL'Ë; the 's' in 'SANCTI' is angular; the 'c' in 'SANCTI' and 'ÆCL'Ë' is of square form.

A thirteenth century oval seal.¹² *Obverse*: Damaged; remains of same legend as on previous seal. *Reverse*: A small pointed oval counter seal; St. Peter crucified head downwards. Legend: SOLUE · JUBTE · DEO · CULPAR · PETRE · CATENAS.

Pointed oval seal¹³ of John Medmenham,

abbot (1261-70). *Obverse*: Full length of abbot on a corbel under a trefoiled canopy, in right hand a crozier, in left hand a book. Legend: + JOHANNIS · · · CERTESEYE.

Reverse: Same as in the previous seal.

Pointed oval seal¹⁵ of Bartholomew de Winton, abbot (1270-1307). Full length of abbot on a corbel under a trefoiled canopy, in right hand a crozier, in left hand a book; on each side a small niche containing a saint's head, on the left St. Peter with the keys, on the right St. Paul with the sword. Legend: S' BARTHOLEMI : DEI : GRA : ABBATIS : CERTESEYE.

Fragments of pointed oval seal¹⁶ of the Sacristy, 1466. St. Peter under trefoiled niche; below a half length kneeling figure, probably of the sacrist.

Pointed oval seal¹⁷ of Thomas Pigot, abbot 1489. The abbot full length in enriched canopied niche, right hand raised in blessing. Legend defaced in each instance.

Imperfect pointed oval seal¹⁸ of John Parker, abbot, 1520. The abbot standing in enriched niche, a crozier in right hand. Legend: . . . BATIS DE CHERTSEY.

Very imperfect seal¹⁹ of John Cordrey, abbot, 1531.

HOUSE OF CLUNIAc MONKS

2. ABBEY OF BERMONDSEY

The priory of St. Saviour's, Bermondsey, was founded in the year 1082 for monks of the Cluniac order by Alwin Child, a citizen of London.¹⁴ It was not however till some years later that a colony from the important house of St. Mary, Charité-sur-Loire, arrived to take possession of the new settlement. The four monks, Peter, Richard, Osbert and

Umbald, who arrived on 16 April 1089,²⁰ are said to have been brought over through the instrumentality of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury.²¹ Peter was appointed the first prior.

The various rent charges in the city of London, which Alwin their founder had assigned to the monks were augmented by the gift of the manor of Bermondsey²² by William Rufus. This manor, the nucleus of all future possessions, was retained by the

¹ Pat. 44 Edw. III. pt. ii. Winton Epis. Reg., Wykeham, i. f. 27. Pat. 1 Hen. IV. pt. viii. m. 12.

² Winton Epis. Reg., Wykeham i. ff. 309-11; Pat. 2 Hen. IV. pt. i. m. 38. 19.

³ Ibid. 7 Hen. V.

⁴ Ibid. 2 Edw. IV. m. 21.

⁶ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. 5 Edw. IV. pt. i. m. 13.

⁷ Winton. Epis. Reg., Waynflete, i. p. ii, f. 137. Pat 19, Edw. IV. m. 18.

⁸ Pat. 19 Edw. IV. ms. 16, 13.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv. pt. iii. 5522.

¹⁰ Ibid. 5627, 5782.

¹¹ B. M. Seals, 2899.

¹² Add. Chart. 5546, 5547.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 425.

¹⁶ B. M. lxxii. 59.

¹⁶ Add. Chart. 5487.

¹⁷ Harl. Chart. 44. B. 51, 52, 53, 54, 55.

¹⁸ Ibid. 62.

¹⁹ Ibid. 46.

²⁰ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 427.

²¹ *Leland's Collect.* tom. i. p. 263.

²² Lansd. MS. 863, f. 91. This grant included that part of the manor then called Bermondsey, the other part called Rotherhithe was reserved to the Crown. One moiety was given to the priory by Hen. I. (*Dugd. Mon.*, v. 100), and the other to Robert Fitzhamon, which later came into its possession in 1397-8 (Pat. 21 Rich. II. pt. iii., m. 25).

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convent in uninterrupted possession till the year 1417, when, a writ of 'Quo Warranto' being brought against them, they were successful in obtaining a verdict in their favour.¹ Other gifts quickly followed, many of which are recorded in the foundation charter of Rufus confirming the manor of Bermondsey and church of St. Saviour 'to the monks of Caritate.' Among them may be mentioned the manor of 'Bridesthorn' with lands in 'Widon' and in Hardwicke, and a rent charge of 10s. a year out of a mill at Sutton, the grant of Wynebald de Baalun, sold later by the convent in order to purchase the manor of Richmond in Bengeo, Herts, for which they gave 160 marks; the church of Hardwicke with tithes of Easington in the county of Gloucester, a moiety of the manor of Upton, Berks, with advowson and tithes of the church granted by the same benefactor.² The advowson of the church and tithes of Ampney Crucis in Gloucestershire were granted to the brethren by Odo de Tirone, a knight of Wynebald's, in 1092, and in the same year the manor of Preston³ near Yeovil in Somerset by Ansgar Brito, also a knight of this same donor.⁴ Robert Bluet, the chancellor, in 1093, when he was appointed to the see of Lincoln, bestowed on the monks of Bermondsey the manor of Charlton in Kent, and in this same year a manor in Little Hallingbury in Essex was granted to them by Geoffrey Martel by the consent of Geoffrey de Mandeville, with tithes of Alferton in Great Dunmow.⁵ The manor of Cowick, now called Quickbury, in Essex, was added to the endowment in 1098 by Richard Guet.⁶ When Alwin Child died in 1094⁷ he had ample grounds for confidence in the security and future prosperity of the foundation so richly endowed.

The affection and respect displayed towards the order of Cluny by the Norman kings and their descendants was especially marked in the case of Henry I. and he was regarded by the abbots of Cluny as one of their most

generous patrons and friends.⁸ He confirmed to St. Saviour's, Bermondsey, the donations of Rufus and his followers, to which had been added other gifts: the advowson of the rectory of Fyfield in Essex by Maud, the wife of Asculf, and Graald her son, with a confirmation of the tithes granted by Roger, knight of John Fitz-Waleran, in 1094,⁹ the gift by Nigel de Mandeville of lands in Balham,¹⁰ the advowson of the rectory of Englishcombe in Somerset by Hawise de Gurnay, wife of Roger de Baalun, and the manor and advowson of the church of Kingweston bestowed on the convent in 1114 by Mary, the wife of Eustace, count of Boulogne, and sister of Queen Maud, her husband confirming the gift 'for the repose of her soul' in the following year.¹¹ The king himself granted by charter out of his domain Rotherhithe, Dulwich, a hide of land in Southwark,¹² and the manor of Waddon in Croydon,¹³ and in the year 1132 the advowson of the churches of Shorne and Cobham.¹⁴ The brethren also received the royal licence for the exchange of the manor of 'Andretesbury' granted to them by Ivo de Grentmainsil for the manor of Widford, Herts,¹⁵ and for other gifts within and without the city of London, including a grant by Thomas de Ardern and his son of the church of St. George, Southwark, with tithes of corn in Horndon and lands belonging to London Bridge.¹⁶

⁸ Duckett: *Rec. Evid. of Cluny*, p. 42.

⁹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 431.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 430. ¹¹ *Ibid.* 431-2.

¹² This comprised a moiety of that part of the manor of Bermondsey still retained by the Crown (See note 22, p. 64).

¹³ Charter of Hen. I. (Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 100). Waddon was afterwards exchanged with the Archbishop of Canterbury for the rectory of Croydon (*Papal Letters*, iv. 327).

¹⁴ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 434.

¹⁵ Ivo mortgaged his estate to Robert, Count of Meulan and Earl of Leicester, before starting for the Holy Land, and died on the journey. Robert reversed the exchange, but it was renewed by his son, subsequently the convent came to regard the Earl of Leicester as the original donor. This manor with the manors of Upton, Cowick, Little Hallingbury or Monksbury, and Bengeo or Richmond, was afterwards demised to Adam de Stratton, who was ejected in the reign of Edward I. and the manors seized into the king's hand, who restored them to the convent in 1290 (*Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Series), iii. 467), being demised a second time to Stratton, they again became forfeited but were restored and confirmed by Edward II. (Pat. 11 Edw. II. pt. i. m. 10).

¹⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.) iii. 433.

¹ Inq. p.m. 5 Henry V. No. 60 (a).

² *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 427.

³ This manor was confirmed to the convent in the Crown suit of 1417 already referred to, when it appeared that the religious were bound to provide two chaplains to pray for the soul of the donor for ever (Inq. p.m. 5 Hen. V. No. 60 [a]).

⁴ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 427.

⁵ *Ibid.* 428.

⁶ *Ibid.* 429. He is styled the brother of the Countess of Warren in the Annals, a statement which is challenged by Manning, *Hist. of Surrey*, i. 189.

⁷ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 428.

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During his reign Stephen granted to the brethren 40s. rent out of Southwark¹ Grove, a member of the manor of Wantage,² and the advowson of the church of Writtle, Essex.³ In 1141 they obtained a charter giving them considerable liberties and immunities, that they should possess their lands quit of suits and quarrels, shire and hundred, and should hold their court with right of soc, sac, tol, theam, and infangnethf, with all free customs within and without the burgh.⁴ Other gifts during the same reign were the church of St. James of Derby by Waltheof son of Sweyn confirmed by the king in 1140⁵; the manor of Warlingham in Surrey by William de Waterville and Robert his son⁶; the moiety of Greenwich, afterwards called Deptford, by Walchelin de Mamynot,⁷ and 6,000 herrings out of his manor of 'Erchelawis,' with one acre of land by Alan Pirot.⁸

Henry II.⁹ granted to the prior and convent rights of free warren throughout all their lands in Surrey,¹⁰ in 1159 confirmed to them the advowson of the rectories of Camberwell, Bengeo, Warlingham with chapelry of Chelsham, Fyfield and Beddington,¹¹ and in 1174 the church of Birling in Kent, the gift of Walchelin de Mamynot.¹² Further grants of land and charters of privileges were obtained in succeeding reigns.¹³ In 1213 Prior Richard, with the consent of his convent, built an almonry or hospital for lay brethren and boys against the wall of the cellarer's building in honour of St. Thomas the Martyr.

It was arranged that the almoner should pay the cellarer 10s. 4d. at Michaelmas towards the expense. Like the rest of the Cluniac monasteries the hospital was to be exempt from all Episcopal jurisdiction.¹⁴ The taxation roll of 1291 shows that Bermondsey was a wealthy foundation with widely scattered possessions. The temporalities were valued at £228 19s. 8½d. yearly, and included lands or rents in the dioceses of Rochester, London, Lincoln, Chichester, Salisbury, Bath and Wells, Winchester and York. The spiritualities worth £50 3s. 4d. per annum were in the dioceses of London, Lincoln, Norwich, Salisbury, Bath and Wells, Winchester, Worcester, and Ely.¹⁵

Sundry suits involving their title in lands were brought against the prior and convent at different times. The most important, that of the Crown in 1417 for their possession of the manors of Bermondsey, Preston and Stone, has been already referred to.¹⁶ In 1247 Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, released his claim to the advowson of the church of Camberwell, a grant made to the priory by William, Earl of Gloucester, in the reign of King Stephen, and subsequently disputed by his descendants.¹⁷ In 1272 a protracted suit commenced between the prior of Bermondsey and the abbot of Hyde concerning a division between the lands of the priory in Warlingham and the abbot's lands in Sanderstead.¹⁸ The dispute was still in progress in January 1274-5, when the abbot appointed representatives in his suit before the king against Henry the Prior and Walter le Bailif de Warlingham, William Atteful of Warlingham and others, on a plea of trespass, and was not then terminated.¹⁹ The forfeiture of

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 435.

² *Ibid.* 436. ³ *Ibid.* 437. ⁴ *Ibid.* 436.

⁵ *Ibid.* All that is known of the somewhat obscure history of this church, which became a cell of Bermondsey, is given in the *Victoria County History of Derbyshire*. It consisted of a prior and two monks, and was visited with other houses of the Cluniac foundation (*Visitation of Engl. Cluniac Foundations*, pp. 30-43); the prior received a pension with other members of this house at the Dissolution (*L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. (1) 821).

⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 437.

⁷ *Ibid.* ⁸ *Ibid.* 439.

⁹ Robert Prior of Bermondsey was one of the witnesses to the Convention between Stephen and Henry Fitz-Empress (Rymer's *Fœdera* (Rec. Com.), i. pt. i. 18).

¹⁰ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 443.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 440. ¹² *Ibid.* 443.

¹³ Signs of mutual good will are abundant; the priory received confirmation of charters in 1268 when Henry III. bestowed 500 marks on the daughter of Thomas, formerly Count of Savoy, 45 marks of which sum was forthcoming from the prior of Bermondsey (Rymer's *Fœdera* (Rec. Com.), i. pt. i. 475).

¹⁴ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 452.

¹⁵ Transcripts of Charters No. 33 gives a pancarta of the possessions of Bermondsey.

¹⁶ Inq. p.m. 5 Hen. V. No. 60 (a).

¹⁷ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 460.

¹⁸ Close, 1 Edw. I. m. 11d. The abbot, who had caused himself to be excommunicated for being in sick bed against John, then prior of Bermondsey before the Justices of the Bench in the suit between John and the abbot by the late king's writ, sought licence to rise, which was granted because the late king died before the abbot was seen according to custom, and also because John had become prior of Wenlock and another had been set in his place as prior, who early in the following year obtained a licence to cross the seas until Michaelmas, and nominated Ralph de Derby a monk of Bermondsey, and William Godyn to act as his proctors in all pleas (Close, 1 Edw. I. m. 11d and 9d).

¹⁹ Close, 3 Edw. I. m. 24d; and Pat. 4 Edw. I. m. 9.

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Adam de Stratton in 1277-8, to whom the convent had demised much land, led to many petitions to Parliament after the restoration of the property to the priory from the tenants of the evicted party and from his brother Henry de Stratton, who claimed the restitution of a bond for a pension of 40s. made to him by the prior and convent of Bermondsey, which had been included among the deeds of his brother taken into the king's custody at the time of his ejection.¹ In 1293 a plea of the prior against the exercise of the king's right to present to the church of Camberwell during a vacancy came before the Court of Chancery. The prior stated that his immediate predecessor had presented a certain Geoffrey de Wytelbyri to the vicarage of Camberwell, being of the advowson of the priory. Before Geoffrey's institution the prior died, and the priory came into the king's hands, whereupon the king, ignoring the former presentation, presented his clerk to the same. The prior held that this presentation was to the prejudice and disinheritance of the priory, and supplicated the king to revoke it. The case however being tried in full council it was found that the king had acted within his prerogative and that of his predecessors, and the Bishop of Winchester was ordered to admit his presentee.²

¹ *R. of Parl.* i. 54-8, 171.

² *Ibid.* 116. Other disputes, mainly relating to tithes, can be briefly enumerated. In 1146 between Prior Clarembald and the Bishop of Worcester respecting tithes in Lytelhoo by Charlton (*Ann. Mon.* [Rolls Ser.], iii. 438). With the Abbot of Bec in 1227 for tithes in Dorset (*ibid.* 456). Two years later it was arranged by the mediation of Pope Gregory that the priory of Bermondsey should retain the tithes of Lewisham, paying annually to the abbey of Ghent 2 candles of 1½ lb. (*ibid.* 457). In 1224 by a composition between the priors of Bermondsey and Merton the tithes in Carshalton were let to the priory of Merton in perpetuity for the annual sum of 20s., to be paid on the morrow of All Saints' with a penalty in default of payment of 60s. in subsidy to the Holy Land (*ibid.* 463). In 1229 with the rector of Lambeth (*ibid.* 457). In 1236 with the rector of Woodchester (*ibid.* 458). In 1240 with the abbot and convent of St. Osyth, or Chich, by Colchester respecting tithes in Oakley (*ibid.* 459). In 1241 and 1245 with the prioresses of Ankerwyke and Haliwell, or Holywell, for tithes in Greenford and East Dulwich respectively (*ibid.* 459). In 1252 an agreement was made with the prior and convent of Thetford respecting tithes in Ditton (*ibid.* 462), in 1274 with the abbot of Bayham for tithes within the parish of West Greenwich let to the abbey and

The relations of the brethren with their tenants and neighbours were not always of the happiest description; scuffles were not unknown and complaints were lodged of rough treatment on the part of the monks. A commission was appointed by the Crown in March 1303 to inquire into the complaint of seven of the tenants of the manor of Waddon, Surrey. It was alleged to have been ancient demesne, and whereas the king had ordered the prior not to exact from the tenants of that manor any other customs or services than they were accustomed to perform when the manor was in the hands of the king's progenitors, yet Prior Henry with Brother Bartholomew de la Douse and others by night plundered the goods of Robert le Wylde to the value of £100 and others in proportion.³ There was a further statement of these charges in 1304, but the result is not known. In November 1317 Henry Spigurnel and Geoffrey de Hertepole were deputed to hold a commission on the complaint of Simon de Stowe that Peter, prior of Bermondsey, had with others broken into his house at Southwark, assaulted him, and carried away his goods.⁴ Again, the following May, Hugh le Despenser the elder stated that Peter and Brother Bartholomew de la Douse, of whom complaints had already been made, had robbed him of goods at Bermondsey.⁵ Unfortunately the result of the judicial enquiry into these doings is never given. The religious had also complaints to make of robbery and marauding expeditions on the part of their neighbours. In April 1284 a great outrage was committed at the priory. Certain persons made forcible entry there, broke open the doors of the prior's chamber and the chests and coffers there, carried away £68 in money together with silver vessels and jewels of gold to the value of £40, and imprisoned the prior himself, Eymon his

convent (*ibid.* 465). In 1362 the priory recovered tithes in Charlton Camvyle, Somerset, in a suit against the prior of Kenilworth (*ibid.* 477). In 1363 John de Cobham, founder of a college of five chaplains at Cobham, and the prior of Bermondsey agreed that when the church should be vacant John and his heirs should nominate a person from the said college or from the priory of Bermondsey (*ibid.* 477). In 1428 an agreement was entered upon by Thomas Thetford, abbot of Bermondsey, and Nicholas Buklond, master of the hospital of St. Thomas Martyr in Southwark, respecting lands held of the abbot and convent and an ancient rent due to them (*ibid.* 486).

³ Pat. 31 Edw. I. m. 30d.

⁴ *Ibid.* 11 Edw. II. pt. i. 18d.

⁵ *Ibid.* pt. ii. m. 11d.

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chaplain, and John de Fyfyde his yeoman.¹ A commission was instituted to make due enquiry, but with what success is not known. The parson of the church of Ludgershall, Bucks, was at one time found guilty of taking the corn of the prior of Bermondsey.² A convenient means for reprisal and for exhibiting ill-will towards the priory lay in the fact that its position rendered it always open to the danger of inundation from the Thames unless the dykes and ditches which protected it were well guarded and maintained. In 1313 a commission was appointed to investigate the complaint of the prior of Bermondsey that certain persons at Bermondsey, Rotherhithe, Camberwell and Peckham, had cut and carried away his corn growing on the lands lately assigned to him in these places. Revenge was probably the motive for this depredation, for in the evidence it appeared that in order to recoup the Bishop of Bath and Wells and the prior of Bermondsey, who had suffered much loss and damage through the flooding of their lands from the Thames, and to compensate them for the charges which they had incurred in repairing the breach of the wall and bank near Bermondsey, the lands of those individuals who were bound to assist in such repair, and had refused, were delivered over to the bishop and prior until they should be satisfied in these expenses.³ In the year 1346 the prior complained that Alan Ferthying of Southwark and twelve others broke and threw down his close and dykes at Bermondsey, and dug so much in his several soil there that by the throwing down and digging 140 acres of meadow were inundated, and the profit thereof entirely lost to him. Added to which they felled his trees and carried them off with other goods, and assaulted his men and servants, so that he lost their services for a great time.⁴ On one occasion the contumacy displayed by the prior and brethren led to their excommunication by the Pope. In December 1363 Urban IV. confirmed to Gregory de London, layman, gold embroiderer of the pope's household, a mandate of Alexander IV., ordering the dean of

St. Paul's to command 15 marks a year to be paid to him by the prior and convent of Bermondsey. As they did not pay the money the dean issued a sentence of interdict, and cited them to appear within three months, and on their disregarding this, by authority of papal letters, he excommunicated and suspended the prior, sub-prior, cellarer, sacristan and convent. Again citing them, Gregory himself having appeared, the case was heard by the Bishop of Palestrina, and in the rebellious absence of the other party, judgment was given in his favour. The priory was condemned in costs and to remain excommunicate till they had made full satisfaction.⁵

Appeals were constantly made by creditors of the house in order to get their claims settled, for, in marked contrast to the importance enjoyed by Bermondsey, its vast possessions and imposing rent roll, are the accounts of its struggle with dire poverty from the twelfth century onwards, ever hampered by debt and threatened with destitution. In addition to the losses they suffered by the flooding of their lands in the low-lying district surrounding Bermondsey and the economic causes which impoverished all religious foundations during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the policy of the Cluniac order itself seems to have contributed to that want of good government which might have overcome, or partially overcome, these natural difficulties. It was the aim of Cluny to keep dependant houses in entire subjection to the parent house, and to regard their heads merely as the nominee of the abbot of Cluny, or in the case of Bermondsey of the prior of La Charité, to which house it was immediately subject, to be appointed, suspended and recalled at will.⁶ From the year 1134, when the fourth prior died, to 1184, during which time eleven priors had borne rule, only one died at his post; and this short term of office which marked the government of the convent was aggravated by the mortality among its heads in certain years,⁷ caused no doubt by the

⁵ The pope confirmed the sentence and the Bishop of London and Archdeacon of Essex were ordered to enforce judgment (*Papal Reg.* i. 404-6).

⁶ This explains the frequent discrepancy between the 'Annals' and other records as to the rule of many of the priors. The brethren probably continued to regard as their head one who for a time had been recalled and suspended, while the records note *ad interim* appointments.

⁷ To quote special instances, in the year 1186 occurred the death of three priors, Constantine, Henry de Soilly, and Adam (*Ann. Mon.* [Rolls

¹ Pat. 12 Edw. I. m. 13d.

² *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), Easter, 17 Edw. I. p. 281.

³ Pat. 7 Edw. II. pt. i. m. 16d.

⁴ *Ibid.* 20 Edw. III. pt. ii, m. 15d. The tenants of Letcombe and Challow chose a more respectful method of stating their grievance. They wrote the prior that his manor of Letcombe was not being well kept, and prayed him to examine its state and apply remedies and let them know his pleasure by the bearer (*Anct. Corresp.* vol. 37, 51).

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damp and unhealthy situation of the monastery.¹ When the frequent absence of the prior beyond seas at the parent house, and the many occasions on which on his appointment he received letters of protection from the king to last for a period generally of six months, and occasionally of a year, eighteen months or even two years, are taken into consideration, it is difficult to discover what opportunity there was for good administration.

The earliest reference to Bermondsey in the extant original records of Cluny occurs in connection with the chapter general held at Cluny 1237-8.² The financial condition of the house was at that time so deplorable—bordering on bankruptcy—that it was considered advisable to appoint a special delegate to immediately represent them. Brother Geoffrey³ was accordingly commissioned by the convent of St. Saviour to state in terms of abject humility and distress that their house for the last three years had been suffering grievously from lessened tithes, seasons of dearth, and every kind of disaster, and to implore aid, as they were at present a spectacle to both king and kingdom and almost utterly consumed by poverty.⁴ It is noticeable that there is an entire absence of scandal in connection with Bermondsey, and that investigation into the causes of this financial distress led to no worse discovery than the lack of government of the material goods of the house and a want of forethought in not discerning that perpetual alienation of property, which so many priors resorted to in order to stave off present difficulties, only rendered the burden more intolerable for their successors. Like other Cluniac foundations the house claimed to be exempt from episcopal jurisdiction and was visited by those appointed for the task at the annual chapter general. In 1262 John, prior of Gassicourt,

and Henry, prior of Bermondsey, under the authority of Ives de Poyson, twenty-fifth abbot of Cluny, held a visitation of the English Cluniac houses. It was found on enquiry at Bermondsey that all devotional offices were most properly and becomingly performed, that the rule of silence and the correction of abuses were rigidly fulfilled, and that almsgiving and hospitality were carried out according to established custom. There were thirty-two monks and one lay brother in residence. The debts of the house at that time amounted to 266 marks.⁵ The number of inmates⁶ varied very much with the fortunes of the house; later the standard number sank much below thirty-two. At the next visitation, 1275-6, the number of the brethren had fallen to twenty; the debts of the house amounted to 1,000 marks of silver, in addition to an annuity of £100 to be paid to one of the king's chaplains and his successors in perpetuity and the alienation of several manors belonging to the priory. With regard to its internal condition the visitors, John, prior of Wenlock, and Arnulf, equerry to the lord abbot, stated that 'before our coming the visitors of the prior of La Charité visited and corrected what was amiss.'⁷ In January 1275-6 the custody of the house was committed to the prior of Wenlock during the king's pleasure on account of its inability to meet its debts;⁸ this was followed by the resignation of Prior Henry de Monte Mauri and the death of two successors in the same year. The report of the next visitors of the priory shows that matters had become much worse. The prior of Mont-Didier in France and the prior of Lenton, the delegates in 1279, reported that 'the state of this house is simply deplorable.' The number of the brethren, which should have been thirty-two, had sunk to eighteen, and on being asked the reason for this diminution the prior answered that the convent was overwhelmed with debt, and on that account, owing to the orders of the diocesan and the wish of the abbot, some of the brethren had been withdrawn. The prior

Ser.], iii. 446); in the year 1222 there died Geoffrey, Odilo, and Hugh, followed in the following year by the deaths of priors Odilo and Hamon (ibid. 455). In the year 1276 Henry de Monte Mauri resigned, and two of his successors died in the same year (ibid. 465), in 1290 again three priors died in quick succession, John Norman, William de la Charité, and Peter (ibid. 467); the death of two heads in one year was no uncommon occurrence.

¹ The Bermondsey annalist mentions that in 1228 the hospital of St. Mary Overy, was removed to another site where it could obtain more abundant water and better air (ibid. 487).

² Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Abbey of Cluny*, ii. 194-5.

³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. 122. Prior Henry is not given by the Annals under this date, and his may have been an *ad interim* appointment in the absence of Prior Gwicard.

⁶ When Clarembald, fifth prior in succession was elected first abbot of Feversham in 1148, twelve of the brethren were transferred from the priory to the new foundation (*Ann. Mon.* [Rolls Ser.], ii. 438).

⁷ Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Abbey of Cluny*, ii. p. 124.

⁸ Pat. 4 Edw. I. m. 32.

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acknowledged that the debt of the house originally amounted to 700 marks and was now 2,300 marks. The visitors severely reprimanded him for the increase, particularly as the number of monks had been reduced during the past four years. It also appeared that since the time that Prior Henry had temporary charge of the convent for a year and a half, he (Prior John) had sold a property called Ompton, for which he had received 500 marks. Also he had received from Adam de Stratton 700 marks to be distributed over a term of seven years for a wood called Chavor; they reported that there was something underhand about this transaction. He had also sold other wood to the value of 600 marks and had alienated other estates. The brethren were living correctly, observing their rule and performing becomingly their sacred and devotional offices. The necessaries for the subsistence of the fraternity in grain and stock were sufficient until the time of the next harvest. The visitors summed up the prior's financial delinquencies by reporting that on succeeding, he had found the house indebted to the amount of 300 to 400 marks, that during the time when Prior Henry was in charge things went from bad to worse, that Prior John had augmented the convent's pecuniary obligations to 2,300 marks on his own showing and admission, that he had entirely made over to Adam de Stratton four manors, in return for which Adam was only under obligation to reduce the convent debt by 1,500 marks.¹ The monastery was taken under the king's protection in 1284 at the request of the prior of Coulanges, proctor general of the prior of La Charité, who at the same time received letters of safe conduct to visit and correct excesses of houses of the order.²

An inundation of the Thames on 18 October 1294, which submerged the lands of the brethren and broke the embankment at Rotherhithe,³ must have considerably added to their embarrassments, and in the following year the king placed the monastery in the custody of David le Graund on account of its debts, with instructions for repairing the breach at Rotherhithe.⁴ William de Carleton, who succeeded to the custody in

1296, received a licence to demise the lands of the priory in Birling and Charlton, Kent.⁵ Edward II. granted the prior and convent exemption during pleasure from contribution to the king's use at the prayer of Queen Isabel on the occasion of a similar disaster in 1309.⁶ Nearly two years previously the prior had received a royal request for the loan of two good carts and horses to be at Westminster early on St. Stephen's day to help to carry the equipment of the king's household to Dover. The king engaged to pay the costs of the men leading the carts and of the horses in going and returning.⁷ Edward II. made some attempts at managing the affairs of this distressed house; his efforts though well-intentioned were not always judicious, and did not succeed in advancing its fortunes. In April 1310 he wrote to the abbot of Cluny with a request that at his next chapter general he would provide Brother Peter de Sancto Laurentio, monk and almoner of the priory of Bermondsey, with a fitting priory of his order in England.⁸ This request being apparently productive of no result, he wrote again two years later on the death of Prior Henry to urge the appointment of Brother Peter to Bermondsey,⁹ to whom the temporalities of the priory were restored on 28 October 1312.¹⁰ During his rule licence was obtained from the king to appropriate the church of Chelsham with the chapel of Warlingham, for which privilege the convent paid a fine of 40 marks.¹¹

Prior Peter de Sancto Laurentio died in 1319 and so did Geoffrey de Delviz who followed him,¹² to whom succeeded another Peter who proved a very difficult subject to both king and superior.¹³ The prior of La Charité evidently distrusted him from the outset, but the king, whose favour Peter had secured, requested him to abate the suspicion and malevolence that he had of his subordinate prior of Bermondsey and gave instruc-

⁵ Ibid. 25 Edw. I. pt. i. m. 23.

⁶ Ibid. 2 Edw. II. pt. i. m. 7.

⁷ Close, 1 Edw. II. m. 12d.

⁸ Ibid. 3 Edw. II. m. 6.

⁹ Ibid. 6 Edw. II. m. 27d.

¹⁰ Pat. 6 Edw. II. pt. i. m. 13.

¹¹ Ibid. 8 Edw. II. pt. ii. m. 19.

¹² *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 470.

¹ Duckett, *Visit. of Engl. Cluniac Foundations*, pp. 20-2. Again there appears an irreconcilable discrepancy between the statements in this Visitation as to the prior and his predecessors and the account given in the Annals.

² Pat. 12 Edw. I. m. 4.

³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 468.

⁴ Pat. 23 Edw. I. m. 6.

¹³ In apparent contradiction to the statement of the Annalist as to the death of Peter de Sancto Laurentio in 1319, an entry occurs among the patents (1 Edw. III. pt. ii, m. 23), for protection for Peter de Sancto Laurentio, late prior of Bermondsey. See also Close, 15 Edw. II. m. 25, where it would appear that the two Peters are one and the same—Peter de Sancto Laurentio.

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tions to his clerks not to meddle further with the custody of the issues of the house, which had been delivered to them at the request of the prior and convent on account of debt,¹ in the hope that the prior would so rule that religion and alms might be properly maintained.² Such hope was short-lived however, for in the following month, November 1320, the king wrote to the prior of La Charité begging him to recall the prior of Bermondsey, and to abstain from sending another prior until the king had informed him of some circumspect and industrious man, at the same time acknowledging that he had been mistaken in his judgment of Peter, but that at the time he was not so cognisant of the convent's affairs. The defaulter should be wholly excused in disobeying the voidance of him made by the prior of La Charité at his chapter general as the king was responsible for that action.³ Meantime the custody of the priory was granted to the provost of Wells and John de Lodelowe, sub-prior of Bermondsey, with the usual instructions as to applying the revenues towards the discharge of its debts.⁴ The prior of La Charité having replied in a pleasant manner the king wrote again the following spring to thank him for his agreeable answer, and to nominate John de Cusancia, monk of Lewis, a wise and circumspect man supported by the protection of powerful friends, to the vacant position, expressing a hope that the spiritualities and temporalities of the house might be reduced to a better state by John's regular and wholesome example, wise solicitude and circumspect diligence.⁵ Peter however was not so easily disposed of, probably calculating on the vacillating nature of the monarch he applied to influential neighbours with such success that not long after, the king was persuaded to retain him 'by the request of the mayor and certain citizens of London,' and to restore the custody of the house into his hands.⁶

¹ Pat. 13 Edw. II. m. 2.

² Close. 14 Edw. II. m. 17. During this custody two petitions were presented by John de Bresville of London and William le Tonelour for the payment of 7 marks and 100s. respectively due to them for a corrody. (*R. of Parl.* 14 Edw. II. 1, 372-5).

³ Close, 14 Edw. II. m. 13d. The superior was informed at the same time that the value of lands, churches, and rents demised during the time of this prior for term of life and for term of years amounted to £292, and that the money thence arising was wholly exhausted.

⁴ Pat. 14 Edw. II. pt. i. m. 4.

⁵ Close, 14 Edw. II. m. 9d.

⁶ *Ibid.* 15 Edw. II. m. 25.

According to the *Annals* in 1321 death closed his further career.⁷

In January 1323-4 an order was issued for the arrest of Walter de Suto, then prior of Bermondsey, and two of the monks on the grounds that they had knowingly harboured in the priory certain rebels against the king, James de Darytone, Percival his brother, and Peter de Monte Martini and others from 6 December 1322 until 23 January 1322-3, and permitted them to depart.⁸ The accused were committed to the Tower, and the priory again was committed to custodians.⁹

The following April 1324 John de Cusancia, the king's former nominee, received the temporalities.¹⁰ The sheriff of Surrey was directed to set at liberty the prior of Bermondsey and his monks recently arrested as aliens and to restore all goods and possessions, the prior engaging to send none out of the realm nor leave the kingdom without the king's special licence.¹¹ When the priory of Lewes became void in the same year John de Cusancia and James his brother, prior of Prittlewell, were suggested by the king to the abbot of Cluny as suitable presentees to the Earl of Surrey, patron of the priory of Lewes, for him to make choice of either according to ancient custom.¹²

In the year 1327 a dispute arose between the prior of Bermondsey and Walter de Duluyd who claimed to be prior. The king was again moved to interfere, and having declared the waste and impoverishment of the house by the indiscreet rule of former heads, he committed the custody of it to two of his clerks, by whose advice and counsel Prior John was to appropriate the profits to the benefit of the house, the payments of its debts and the maintenance of the brethren. All persons were at the same time prohibited from lodging therein or carrying away anything

⁷ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 470.

⁸ This was probably in connection with the rebellion of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. The priory of Pontefract of the Cluniac order was suspected of sympathy with this unfortunate nobleman (Duckett, *Rec. Evid. of Cluny*, p. 26; Rymer's *Fœdera*, ii. pt. ii, 726), which may have tended to darken suspicion of other houses of the same order.

⁹ Pat. 17 Edw. II. pt. i. m. 7. The *Annals* (iii. 471) state that Prior Walter died in the year 1323 and was succeeded by John de Cusancia, and this date is quoted by Manning. If the story of the claimant in 1327 were correct, it would appear that the date of his death was recorded prematurely.

¹⁰ Pat. 17 Edw. II. pt. ii. m. 19.

¹¹ Close, 18 Edw. II. m. 37.

¹² *Ibid.* 18 Edw. II. m. 34.

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without the consent of the custodians.¹ Brother Walter seems to have obtained an opportunity to state his case, for shortly after the king himself wrote to La Charité detailing the circumstances of his story and requesting the prior to put him in possession of the priory, again representing the fallen condition of the house owing to the want of good government.² The following year a more happy state of things prevailed, and the custodians were withdrawn, peace having been established between Walter and the prior.³ But the story of sordid struggle still runs on, and in 1332 the house 'greivously burdened by debt,' incurred through the neglect of late priors, and 'other misfortunes,' was again taken under the king's protection.⁴ Discontent with their government was at this time very general in English Cluniac houses.⁵

Bermondsey was sequestrated as an alien priory in August 1337, and the prior appointed custodian. The king ratified the lease made by John de Cusancia of the appropriated church of Shorne within the diocese of Rochester for five years so as to better ensure payment of the farm of the custody,⁶ which amounted to £100.⁷ In 1338 the convent probably suffered from another inundation of their property, as it is recorded that in March of that year the king granted the prior respite until Michaelmas for the payment of the £100 due, in consequence of the damage suffered by the priory suddenly

and without their fault.⁸ In an undated petition addressed to the king which may probably be assigned to this time, the brethren state that, in addition to the impoverishment of the house, involving the alienation of property so that what remained was barely sufficient to sustain them, a tide of the 19 February had destroyed their ditches and dykes, and done much damage to their property, consequently they begged for the payment of the £100 to be remitted.⁹ The prior and convent received a discharge from the exactions of the Earl of Surrey, who as keeper of the maritime lands in Sussex called on them to provide four men-at-arms and archers by virtue of their lands in that county. It was proved however that the farm paid to the king for the custody of the priory included such lands.¹⁰

Alienation of the priory estates went on apace and heavy debts accumulated during the long administration of John de Cusancia.¹¹ In 1340 the prior and convent were bound in a large sum of money to William de Cusancia the king's clerk, which they were unable to pay on account of the 'intolerable charges' daily incumbent upon them in keeping in repair the breach of Bermondsey,¹² Edward III. granted a licence for the convent to appropriate the church of Beddington in the year 1347 and to acquire lands and tenements to the value of £20.¹³ In 1373 began the rule of the most successful administrator of the priory of Bermondsey. Richard Dunton, the first Englishman to hold the office of superior, secured a charter of denization for the monastery in 1381 by the payment of a fine of 200 marks,¹⁴ and from that date on-

¹ Pat. 1 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 6.

² Close, 1 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 17d.

³ Ibid. 2 Edw. III. m. 29.

⁴ Pat. 6 Edw. III. pt. i. m. 18.

⁵ In 1331 they presented a joint petition to Parliament on the subject. Bermondsey was instanced as a priory that ought to have had from thirty to forty monks, whereas it had not a third of that number. They complained that they had no election; that they were sometimes kept as long as forty years without taking their vows, that there were not twenty professed in the whole province, and that the French monks, however few, were always masters. They asked that the prior of Lewes might be empowered to take professions (Reyner's *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, App. iii. 147). One grievance at least remained unrectified. Among the Paston Letters occurs one to the Vicar General of the abbot of Cluny, dated 1430 [?] on behalf of the 'poor house of Bromholm,' wherein, the writer states, are 'divers virtuous young men' that have been there nine or ten years, and by delay of their profession many inconveniences are like to fall (*The Paston Letters* [ed. J. Gairdner] i. 29).

⁶ Pat. 11 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 11.

⁷ Close, 11 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 27; and 12 Edw. III. pt. i. m. 19.

⁸ Ibid. 12 Edw. III. pt. i. m. 31d.

⁹ Anct. Pet. 1606.

¹⁰ Close, 13 Edw. III. pt. i. m. 4.

¹¹ Besides the 'large sum of money' to William de Cusancia during the years 1341-2 the prior acknowledged his indebtedness for the sums of 40*l.*, 40 marks, and 500*l.* (Close 13 Edw. III. pt. i. m. 17d; pt. iii. m. 24; 16 Edw. III. pt. i. m. 28). John de Cusancia was able however in 1328 to buy back a grant of a corrody and lease of premises made by Peter the late prior to Nicholas de Tunstalle, paying to the said Nicholas the sum of £40 3*s.* 4*d.* for his release of the charters. Close, 2 Edw. III. m. 29d.

¹² Ibid. 14 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 10.

¹³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 474.

¹⁴ Pat. 4 Rich. II. pt. iii. m. 5. In a petition addressed by Richard Dunton to John, King of Castile (Duke of Lancaster) to enlist his support, the prior points out the charges on an alien house and the draining of its resources caused by the alienation of property in order to meet such charges. Anct. Pet. 4628.

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wards the house, while remaining true to the Cluniac rule, ceased to owe temporal allegiance to the abbey of Cluny, or the priory of La Charité, and became a conventual chapter electing its own superior.

In 1401 a petition was addressed to Henry IV. in favour of the priors of Crespi and Dampierre about to visit the Cluniac foundations in England.¹ Confidential instructions were sent to the agents in respect of their mission, and they were warned to be very cautious at Bermondsey, and to seek the advice of Brother Thomas de Bermondsey rather than of the prior, 'who knows nothing.'² Several years later the abbot refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the prior of Lewes, vicar-general of the order, when cited by him for a visitation, and the king supported his refusal and prohibited any attempt to hold the visitation at Bermondsey.³ This occurred in 1432-4 and is the last recorded attempt of a formal visitation of Bermondsey, although a statement drawn up as to the numbers of the religious in houses of the English and Scotch Cluniac foundations at the beginning of the fifteenth century seems to have formed part of a visitation report. We learn from it that the constituted number of the monks was then twenty-four, that there were five masses celebrated daily, three with music and two low masses, although there were formerly six daily celebrations. Hospitality, almsgiving, silence and all other monastic obligations and duties, as enjoined by rule, were well observed.⁴

The great conventual church so long building had been dedicated in January 1338-9 in honour of St. Saviour with the high altar in honour of St. Saviour, the Blessed Virgin and All Saints. At the same time had been dedicated three other altars by Peter Bishop of Corbavia, who occasionally acted as suffragan of London, Winchester and Canterbury: the altar of Holy Cross, the altar 'Drueh' in honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. Thomas the Martyr, and the altar by the door of the monks' cemetery in honour of St. Andrew, St. James and all the Apostles.⁵ Prior Dunton had the nave of the church covered with lead in 1387 and placed new glass windows in the presbytery; the high altar and morning altar⁶ he decor-

ated with gilded reredoses.⁷ During the rule of Abbot Thetford in 1430 the cloister of the convent was re-roofed with slate.⁸ The prospects of the priory seemed considerably brighter during the successful rule of Prior Dunton⁹; he resigned in 1390 and was succeeded by John Attilburgh, under whom Bermondsey was erected into an abbey by Pope Boniface IX. at the request of king and prior. Almost immediately on his elevation, however, John Attilburgh, the last prior and first abbot of Bermondsey (1390-9), obtained a dispensation in 1397 from Boniface IX. to hold a benefice with cure, in addition to the priory, in consideration of the great quantity of money that he spent against schismatics and rebels of the Roman church. He acted as president of the chapter-general of the order in England. In 1399 the abbot resigned in order to become Bishop of Athelfeld.¹⁰ On his resignation the convent granted him a pension of 40 marks for food and clothing, but subsequently refused payment, and the matter was brought before the Roman Court.¹¹ Following on the election of his successor Henry Tompston early in 1400,¹² the abbey was found so over-burdened by the bad government of the late abbot, that it was committed to the custody of the king's delegates¹³ and a commission was appointed by the archbishop to inquire into the charges made against John Attilburgh of illicitly alienating the property of his late charge,¹⁴ an order having been issued for his arrest.¹⁵ The conduct of the ex-abbot as delegate of the abbot of Cluny in England, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury and prior of Thetford,¹⁶ points to a rather rough and overbearing disposition.¹⁷

altar was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin and All Saints (*Ann. Mon.* [Rolls Ser.], iii. 450).

⁷ *Ibid.* 481. ⁸ *Ibid.* 487.

⁹ In 1384 Richard II. bestowed on the priory tenements in two London parishes with annual rent of 24*l.* *Ibid.* 481.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 483. ¹¹ *Papal Letters*, v. 77, 162, 349.

¹² *Pat. 1 Hen. IV.* pt. v. m. 23.

¹³ *Ibid.* pt. vii. m. 29.

¹⁴ *Reg. of Thomas Arundel*, f. 399.

¹⁵ *Pat. 1 Hen. IV.* pt. vii. m. 11*d.* The order for the arrest of the ex-abbot stated that he proposed to go to foreign parts to seek for things prejudicial to the king, his crown, and the abbey of Bermondsey.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 14 Rich. II. pt. i. m. 4.

¹⁷ Pope Boniface IX. wrote to the Bishop of Lincoln ordering him to investigate the complaint of the sub-prior of Northampton as to a visitation by John, prior of Bermondsey, and Henry, prior of 'Derby,' pretending that they were sub-delegated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. (*Papal Letters*, iv. 454-5.)

¹ Duckett, *Rec. Evid. of Cluny*, p. 19.

² Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Abbey of Cluny*, i. 184.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 37. ⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 209.

⁵ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 473.

⁶ In the year 1206 the body of Peter, the first prior, was translated to the enlarged church, and on the following Feast of St. Barnabas the morning

A HISTORY OF SURREY

Of the rule of the abbots who followed John Attilburgh there is little to tell. The administration of the abbey by Henry Tompston was commended by the prior of Lewes in a letter addressed to the prior of St. Martin des Champs.¹ In 1475, in return for their release of a rent of 18s. in the Stileyard, London, which was to be given up to the merchants of the Hanse the abbot and convent were relieved from the future charge of any corrody or sustentation granted by the king or any of his successors.² John Marlow, abbot of Bermondsey, died in 1516, it was said of the plague.³ When elaborate preparations were made to do honour to the Emperor Charles V. on his visit to England in 1522, the abbot of Bermondsey was one of the six English abbots nominated to attend upon 'my Lord Legate at Dover.'⁴ On the resignation of Robert Shuldhham in 1525 the convent as a mark of favour allowed him to make choice of his successor, Robert Wharton, to whom the temporalities were restored on 1 October 1525.⁵ To William Vaughan, D.C.L., king's chaplain, was assigned the pension which a new abbot was bound to give to a clerk of the king's nomination.⁶

The Valor of 1535 returned the clear annual value of the abbey at £474 14s. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

In June 1536 Robert Wharton was promoted to the vacant see of St. Asaph, the king sanctioning his holding the abbey *in commendam*.⁷ The bishop apparently lent himself to the surrender of the abbey, which was accomplished on 1 January 1537-8. His compliance did not go unrewarded and he received the large pension of £333 6s.⁸ Richard Gale the prior was granted £10, Thomas Gaynesborow, prior of Derby, £7, the sub-prior and three other monks £6 each, four other monks £5 6s. 8d. each, and two others much smaller sums.⁹

The work of despoliation had already be-

¹ Duckett, *Chart. and Rec. of Abbey of Cluny* ii. 237. Sir John Falstaff, writing to John Paston in 1455, informs him of important letters sent to 'my lord Privy Seal and the abbot of Bermondsey' (*Paston Letters*, i. 356).

² *R. of Parl.* 14 Edw. IV. vi. 123.

³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ii. pt. 1, 1832.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 2288 (3).

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 1621.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1736 (24).

⁷ *Ibid.* 1256 (47).

⁸ In 1554 Wharton was translated to Hereford. Taking into consideration the date of the surrender and the preferment to which the abbot was advanced, it has been thought probable that the abbot was put in by the court with a view to its surrender.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. pt. 1. 821.

gun. A special object of veneration since 1117 had been an ancient crucifix found close to the Thames in that year¹⁰ and placed in an honourable position in the conventual church to which it drew many pilgrims.¹¹ The sixteenth century diary of a citizen of London, under an entry of 24 February 1538, describing the Bishop of Rochester's sermon on that day at Paul's Cross, and the destruction there of the Kent 'Roode of Grace,' adds: 'There was the pictor of Saynte Saviour that had stood in Barmsey abbey many yeres in Southwarke takyn down.'¹²

John Husee wrote to Lord Lisle 21 March, 'pilgrimage saints goeth down apace,' and instanced Our Lady at Southwick, the Blood of Hales, St. Saviour's and others. On the following day he wrote to Lady Lisle and stated that the image of St. Saviour's as well as others had been taken away.¹³

That life and colour which is inseparably connected with Bermondsey must be sought elsewhere than in the somewhat sordid recital of debt and mismanagement. As a condition of the grant of the manor this foundation of the king's progenitors was supposed to incorporate within its buildings a residence for the use of the sovereign if he should call for it. From this condition may have sprung the custom of bestowing here distressed queens and individuals important enough to call for some measure of supervision. As early as 1140 William, Earl of Mortain, after a stormy career, retired to the monastery and took the habit of the monk.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 432.

¹¹ Towards the end of the thirteenth century forty days of indulgence were granted to those who contributed to the fabric of a church of St. Saviour, Bermondsey, or who visited it for the purpose of adoring the holy cross. *Excerpts from Register of John Romane*, Archbishop of York; Harl. MS. 6970, f. 97.

¹² Cott. MS. Vesp. A. xxv. f. 41.

¹³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. (1) 564, 580. In the Wriothesley Chronicle (1485-1549), i. 77, it is stated that the rood was taken down on 2 March by the king's command.

¹⁴ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 436. This was the son of Robert, Earl of Mortain and Cornwall, brother of Ivo, Earl of Kent and half-brother of the Conqueror, who possessed a hide of land in the manor of Bermondsey at the time of the General Survey (Dugdale, *Baronage*, tom. i. p. 24). Perhaps his choice was actuated by a feeling of gratitude, for under the year 1118 the *Annals* (p. 432) contain the following entry: 'In this year by the miraculous virtue of the Holy Cross was William earl of Mortain delivered from the tower of London.'

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Katherine, the widow of Henry V., passed the remainder of her life within the convent, and Elizabeth, queen of the Yorkist monarch Edward IV., was condemned by an order in Council in 1486 to forfeit all her lands and goods and be confined in Bermondsey Abbey, where she died. William de Ramsey or de Scotia, who during the reign of Edward III. received letters of safe conduct for himself and his attendants during their sojourn in England, was placed in 1377 under the care of the prior of Bermondsey for a year, until his health should be re-established and he could return to Scotland.¹

Many of the benefactors of this favoured house were buried within its walls: Adelaide or Adelize, wife of Hugh de Grentmaisnil and mother of Ivo; Mary, sister of Queen Maud and wife of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, from whom the brethren obtained the manor of Kingweston. Walchelin de Mamynot is said to have died here.

The king exercised his prerogative to present boarders to the prior and convent for life maintenance. In 1313 William de Topclyve, who had long served the king, was sent by Edward II. to receive the necessaries of life in food and drink in place of Thomas le Long,² and on his death the convent received William Bale.³

The Earls of Gloucester, early benefactors of the priory, also claimed the right to receive maintenance within the monastery when they should be at Bermondsey.⁴ Ralph, Earl of Stafford, who had married Margaret daughter and heiress of Hugh de Audley, Earl of Gloucester, died in 1372 seized of a lodging within the priory.⁵

The Bishop of Winchester formerly claimed of this house, though itself exempt from diocesan visitation, annual procuration for one day when visiting that part of the diocese. In 1276 this claim was revived and resisted, and a compromise was at length effected whereby the prior and convent agreed for themselves and their successors that on the first coming of a bishop to Bermondsey after his installation they would meet him in procession and in lieu of entertainment pay him that year at his own house in Southwark 5 marks and every succeeding year 2½ marks. Further that whenever the bishop should go beyond seas, the prior and convent would meet him on his return in procession.⁶

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera* (Rec. Com.), iii. pt. ii. 1079.

² Close, 6 Edw. II. m. 6d.

³ *Ibid.* 16 Edw. II. m. 14.

⁴ *Inq. p.m.* 21 Edw. III. No. 59.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. m. 46 Edw. III. No. 62.

⁶ Winton. Epis. Reg., Pontissara, ff. 109-55.

The size and importance of the monastery made it at an early date suitable for large assemblies and councils of state. The large council said to have been held by Henry II. at Bermondsey during Christmas 1154, when the nobles discussed the affairs of the kingdom and the prospects of peace,⁷ was probably held at the convent itself as being the only building of sufficient magnitude on that side of the river for such a purpose. On St. Calixtus day 1249 a chapter of the Benedictine order was held here at which several measures for the reformation of the order received consideration.⁸ Here in the reign of Henry I. many of the magnates of the kingdom having taken the cross met to deliberate on the order of their journey,⁹ and Robert de Chance, queen's clerk, was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle in 1258 by the Bishops of Salisbury and Bath.¹⁰

This contact with English political events and proximity to the centre of vast and important life lends more lustre to the abbey of Bermondsey than can be found in the record of its internal history.

PRIORS OF BERMONDSEY

Peter,¹¹ 1089, died 1119

Herebran,¹² 1119, died 1120

Peter,¹³ 1120

Walter,¹⁴ died 1134

Clarembald,¹⁵ 1134, made first abbot of Faversham 1148

Robert of Blois,¹⁶ 1148, resigned 1155

Roger,¹⁷ 1156, made abbot of St. Owen

1157

Adam,¹⁸ 1157, made abbot of Evesham

1161

Geoffrey,¹⁹ 1161, resigned 1163

Peter,²⁰ 1163, resigned 1166

Raynold,²¹ 1166, resigned 1167

⁷ *Gervase of Canterbury* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 77.

⁸ *Matt. of Paris* (Rolls Ser.), v. 81; *Chron. Joh. Oxenede* (Rolls Ser.), p. 180.

⁹ *Matt. of Paris* (Rolls Ser.), v. 102.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 678.

¹¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 427.

¹² *Ibid.* 433. ¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 433-5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 435. Robert de Bellismo is given as prior of Bermondsey in the reign of Stephen by Manning. (*Hist. of Surrey*, i. 192). It was the use of Cluny and I.a Charité occasionally to appoint temporary priors during a short period of recall or suspension both at this date and in the two following centuries, which may explain discrepancies between the *Annals* and other records.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 438-9. ¹⁷ *Ibid.* 439-440.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 440-1. ¹⁹ *Ibid.* 441.

²⁰ *Ibid.* and 442. ²¹ *Ibid.* 442.

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Roger,¹ 1167, made abbot of Abingdon
 1175
 Robert de Bethleem,² 1175, resigned 1176
 Werric,³ 1176, made abbot of Faversham
 1178
 Bertrand,⁴ 1178, died 1184
 Constantine,⁵ 1184, died 1186
 Henry de Soilly,⁶ died 1186
 Adam,⁷ died 1186
 Henry,⁸ 1186, made abbot of Glastonbury
 1189
 Richard Norman,⁹ 1189, died 1201
 Hugh,¹⁰ 1201, died 1210
 Richard,¹¹ 1210, transferred to Wenlock
 1221
 Hugh,¹² died 1221
 Geoffrey,¹³ 1221, died 1222
 Odilo,¹⁴ died 1222
 Hugh,¹⁵ died 1222
 Odilo,¹⁶ died 1223
 Haymo,¹⁷ died 1223
 Hugh,¹⁸ 1223, died 1225
 Gilbert,¹⁹ 1225, died 1226
 Hugh,²⁰ died 1226
 William,²¹ 1226, died 1227
 Josbert,²² 1227, died 1229
 Bernard,²³ died 1229
 Aymo,²⁴ 1229, died 1231
 Hugh,²⁵ 1231, died 1234
 Peter,²⁶ 1234, died 1240
 Humbert (Ingelbert or Gilbert),²⁷ 1240,
 died 1245
 Roger,²⁸ 1245, died 1247
 Imbert,²⁹ 1247, died 1253
 Hamon,³⁰ died 1253
 Simon,³¹ 1253, died 1255
 Hamon,³² 1255, died 1258
 Gwicard,³³ 1258, transferred to Wenlock
 1265
 John de Chartres,³⁴ 1265, died 1273
 Henry de Monte Mauri,³⁵ 1273, resigned
 1276

John,³⁶ died 1276
 Peter,³⁷ died 1276
 John,³⁸ 1276, died 1278
 Peter de Monte Sancti Vincentii,³⁹ 1278,
 died 1283
 Robert,⁴⁰ 1283, died 1285
 Henry Northam orde Bono Villar,⁴¹ 1285,
 died 1288
 John Norman,⁴² 1288, died 1290
 William de la Charité,⁴³ died 1290
 Peter,⁴⁴ died 1290
 Henry,⁴⁵ 1290-3
 William la Charité,⁴⁶ 1293
 David le Graund,⁴⁷ } custodian, { 1295
 William de Carleton,⁴⁸ } 1296
 Peter de Sancto Simphoriano,⁴⁹ 1297, died
 1298
 Henry,⁵⁰ 1298-1312
 Peter de Sancto Laurentio,⁵¹ 1312, died
 1319
 Geoffrey de Delviz,⁵² died 1319
 Peter,⁵³ 1319, died 1321
 Walter,⁵⁴ died 1321
 Henry,⁵⁵ 1321, transferred to Wenlock
 1323
 Walter,⁵⁶ 1323-4
 John de Cusancia,⁵⁷ 1324, resigned 1359
 John de Caroloco,⁵⁸ 1359, died 1363
 Peter de Tenolio,⁵⁹ 1363, died 1372
 Richard Dunton,⁶⁰ 1372-3, resigned
 1390
 John Attilborough,⁶¹ 1390-9

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 442, 444.

² *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* and 445.

⁵ *Ibid.* 446

⁸ *Ibid.* 446-7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* and 452.

¹¹ *Ibid.* and 445. A patent under 16 John (m.4) gives Hugh as prior of Bermondsey in 1215, 'being beyond seas on the king's service.'

¹² *Ibid.* 455.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.* and 456.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.* and 459.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.* and 460.

³⁵ *Ibid.* and Pat. 50 Hen. III. m. 31.

³⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Series), iii. 464-5.

³ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.* and 446.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.* 447-9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.* and 457.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.* and 458.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.* 460-1.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.* 462.

³³ *Ibid.* and 463.

³⁶ *Ibid.* ³⁷ *Ibid.* ³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.* and Pat. 7 Edw. I. m. 9.

⁴⁰ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 466.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* and Pat. 13 Edw. I. ms. 6, 23.

⁴² *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 467.

⁴³ *Ibid.* ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* The *Annals* retain Henry as prior till his death in 1300 but the Patent Rolls record other appointments, possibly the monastery continued to regard him as their true head.

⁴⁶ Pat. 21 Edw. I. m. 5.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 23 Edw. I. m. 6.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 25 Edw. I. pt. 1, m. 23.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 26 Edw. I. m. 30.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 27 Edw. I. m. 42.

⁵¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 469; Pat. 6 Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 13.

⁵² *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 470.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* and Pat. 15 Edw. II. pt. ii.

⁵⁵ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 471.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* and Close, 16 Edw. II. m. 3d.

⁵⁷ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 471, 476. Pat. 17 Edw. II. pt. ii, m. 19.

⁵⁸ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Series), iii. 476.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 477.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 478 and 481.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* Pat. 14 Rich. II. pt. 1, m. 5. *Papal Letters*, v. 349.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

ABBOTS OF BERMUNDESEY

John Attilborough, made Bishop of Athel-
feld, 1399

Henry Tompston, 1400, died 1413¹

Thomas Thetford, 1413, died 1432²

John Bromley, 1432, resigned 1473³

John Marlow, 1473, died 1516⁴

R(ober) Shuldham, 1516, resigned 1525⁵

Robert Wharton,⁶ 1525-38

Imperfect impression of eleventh century circular seal⁷ representing the Saviour seated, with right hand raised and left hand holding a book. Legend: SIGILLUM SCI SAL

Thirteenth century prior's seal,⁸ attached to a document of 1266; small oval, representing the Flight into Egypt; with tondured head in base under trefoiled arch. Legend: SIGI ORIS . BERMUNDESEYE.

Another thirteenth century oval prior's seal,⁹ representing the Saviour seated under a trefoiled canopy, with sun on right and moon on left; in base a tondured head. Legend: ORIS . s BMONDSE On the reverse a small circular counterseal of seated Virgin and Child. Legend: MATER . DEI . MEMENTO . MEL.

There is an imperfect impression of a fine pointed oval¹⁰ thirteenth century seal attached to a document of 1439: *Obverse*—Our Lord seated, with right hand uplifted in blessing, and orb in the left; the field a semé of stars. *Reverse*—The small figure of our

Lord transfigured in a vesical frame of clouds, with hands uplifted.

The fourteenth century circular seal (impression¹² attached to document of 1356) bears: *Obverse*—Our Lord transfigured on the mount between Moses and Elias. In the base the half lengths of Sts. Peter, James and John. Legend:—SIGILL' : ECCL'IE : SCI : SALVATORIS : DE BERMUNDESEYE. *Reverse*—A small circular counterseal, bearing our Lord, half length, with right hand raised in blessing and holding the orb in the left. Legend: +EGO : SUM : VIA : VERITAS : ET : VITA.

Fine circular fifteenth century seal;¹³ good impression attached to foundation charter of Henry VII. chapel at Westminster. *Obverse*—Our Lord, with uplifted hands, transfigured in rays of glory, with half-length of Moses and Elias emerging from the clouds; the field semé with stars, and the sun and moon on each side of our Lord. Below are the three disciples seated in natural attitudes. Legend: SIGILLUM COMMUNE MONASTERII SANCTI SALVATORIS DE BERMUNDESEYE. *Reverse*. Our Lord seated on a rainbow, with right hand blessing, and orb in left. Demi-angels on each side bearing arms of France and England, and England respectively; the field semé with stars, and sun and moon below the shields. Beneath the rainbow are five half lengths, the mitred crozier bearing abbot and four of the monks. Legend:—SALVE NOS XPE SALVATOR PER VIRTUTEM SANCTI CRUCIS.

HOUSE OF CISTERCIAN MONKS

3. ABBEY OF WAVERLEY

A peculiar interest and importance attaches to the history of the abbey of the Blessed Mary of Waverley, inasmuch as it was the first house established in England of that great order which William de Malmesbury described as 'the surest road to Heaven.'¹¹

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 483. Pat. 1 Hen. IV. pt. v, m. 23. *Papal Letters*, V. 349.

² *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 484. Pat. 1 Hen. V. pt. ii, m. 25.

³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 487. Pat. 13 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m 13.

⁴ *Ibid. L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ii. pt. i, 1832.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. pt 1, 1621.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Engraved in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, vol. ii. pl. vi.

⁸ *Ibid.* ⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Harl. Chart.* 44 B, 16

¹¹ *William de Malmesbury* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 380.

This Cistercian monastery was founded on 24 November 1128 by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester,¹⁴ who brought over from the abbey of Aumône in Normandy twelve brethren with their abbot¹⁵ to form the first colony. The name of the superior was John. Both he and the bishop lived only to see the foundation; the former died at Midhurst 1128-9 returning from a general chapter.¹⁶

The bishop's foundation charter bestowed on the house all the land at Waverley with meadow and pasture and two acres of meadow at Elsted, together with pannage for their

¹² B.M. lxxii. 56, 57. Wilkinson, *op. cit.*

¹³ Engraved in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, vol. ii. pl. vii.

¹⁴ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 221.

¹⁵ It was the practice of pioneer colonies to proceed in such numbers typical of Our Lord and the Twelve Apostles.

¹⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 221.

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swine and liberty to cut wood for fuel and other purposes in his woods at Farnham.¹ Henry de Blois, brother of King Stephen, who succeeded Giffard in the see of Winchester, added to his predecessor's endowment a virgate of land at 'Wanford' and full rights of pasture at Farnham with licence to cut and dig turf, heath, stone and sand.² The charter set out in detail the bounds of the abbey estates: 'From the oak at Tilford, called the King's Oak, along the king's highway to Farnham, as far as Winterborne, and from thence along the bank which runs from Farnham to the hill called Richard's Hill, and across the said hill and the bridge of "Wanford" to the meadow of Tilford called Ilvetham's Mead, and so on to the oak from whence this perambulation sets out.'³ Among other early benefactors of the house were Adeliza, Queen of Henry I., who granted to the abbot and convent the grange of Northolt,⁴ and King Stephen who gave them Neatham near Alton,⁵ and by his charter, at the request of his brother⁶ 'their father, founder and bishop,' granted that the abbot and convent of the Blessed Mary of Waverley should hold their lands quit of pleas and complaints, geld and danegeld and all secular service in frankalmoin under the king's protection.⁷ Pharamus de Bologne, nephew of King Stephen, sold to the brethren the manor of Wanborough for the sum of 125 marks of silver, the sale being confirmed by charter of Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, lord of the fee.⁸ All grants up to 1147 were confirmed to the monastery by a bull of Pope Eugenius III., who also, in a clause of the same bull, exempted the abbey from all payment of tithes for their cattle and for such lands as were in their own occupation.⁹ Richard I. confirmed to the abbey the privileges and liberties granted by his predecessor King Stephen, together with further benefactions: grants of land by Robert de Venus and William his son and other donors.¹⁰ John

confirmed the charter of liberties granted by his predecessors and added fresh gifts.¹¹ During his reign Gilbert de Basseville, lord of the manor of Worplesdon, granted to the convent a piece of land within his lordship afterwards called 'la Newe Rude.'¹² Henry III. having recovered certain lands in Neatham which he claimed as belonging to his demesne bestowed them on the abbey in 1239,¹³ and about this time also Savaric de Bohun confirmed a grant made by his ancestors of one mark yearly out of his mill at Midhurst for the maintenance of one monk in augmentation of the convent.¹⁴ By a grant of Richard Malherbe de Bouegath in 1281 Hugh, abbot of Waverley, and his convent came into possession of two acres of meadow lying between their own holding and the Itchin.¹⁵ The following year John Dabernon gave permission to the brethren to take turf from his wood called Stokewood to repair their fosse situated between their land and the said wood, letters in acknowledgment being issued by the abbot 'lest that which had been granted by favour should after be demanded as a right.'¹⁶ The charter of liberties granted by Stephen and confirmed by his successors was inspected and confirmed by Edward II. on the 27 January 1317-8.¹⁷

Comparatively the abbey of Waverley was but slenderly endowed. In the Taxation Roll of 1291 the temporalities of the monastery amounted to £98 1s. 8d.¹⁸ Contrasted with the vast estates of a foundation like Bermondsey such a modest rent roll sinks into insignificance, yet comparison can only result in admiration of the energy and wise government displayed by those who ruled the abbey, qualities so conspicuously lacking in the case of the richer house, but enabling the poorer to cope with difficulties and times of depression under which the other succumbed. In common with Bermondsey the Cistercian house suffered much from devastating floods, bad seasons, loss of crops, but embarrassments which mainly constitute the history of Bermondsey proved but temporary checks in the annals of the Blessed Mary of Waverley. It is a tribute to the rule and discipline maintained by the house that from its foundation to the year 1291¹⁹ seven of the brethren were

¹ Pat. 11 Edw. II. pt. ii, m. 36 (*per Inspex.*).

² Ibid. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Chart. 11 Edw. II. No. 41 (*per Inspex.*). William de Albini, Earl of Arundel, the second husband of this lady, died in the monastery in 1176. *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 240.

⁵ Chart. 11 Edw. II. No. 41.

⁶ Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester.

⁷ Chart. 11 Edw. II. No. 41.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 342. Exemption from the payment of tithes was not a privilege of Waverley alone, it was granted to the whole order *Privileges of the Cistercian Order*: Dugdale, *Mon.* v. 228 et seq.

¹⁰ Cart. Antiq. S. 20.

¹¹ Chart. 11 Edw. II. No. 41.

¹² *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 273. ¹³ Ibid. p. 321.

¹⁴ MSS. Dodsworth Bodl. Libr. xxx. f. 49.

¹⁵ Add. Chart. 37,677. ¹⁶ Ibid. 5,548.

¹⁷ Pat. 11 Edw. II. pt. ii, m. 36.

¹⁸ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 13, 109, 139, 192, 196, 206, 215.

¹⁹ The annals of the house cease with that year, and personal details as to the heads themselves become more scanty from that date.

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selected to be abbots and several were chosen as heads of other foundations. The vitality of Waverley is evidenced by its many offshoots. Garendon Abbey in Leicestershire, Ford Abbey in Devonshire, Combe in Warwickshire and Thame in Oxfordshire were daughter houses, and no less than eleven Cistercian abbeys were descended from Waverley. The priority claimed by her over all other houses of the order in England was for a time disputed by Furness,¹ but established by the decision of 1232 that the abbots of Furness should have precedence through the whole generations of Aumône in England and Savigny in England, while the abbots of Waverley should have precedence everywhere, not only in the chapters of the abbots assembled in England but throughout the entire order.²

The exemption claimed by the Cistercians by right of papal indulgence from the payment of tithes, and assistance in those aids or subsidies to the king which it was customary to call on all ecclesiastics to grant, was at first strenuously upheld by them, and in the case of Waverley, as senior house of the order, drew upon the brethren much unfavourable attention in the days of the earlier Plantagenets. The wisdom of a gradual withdrawal of their opposition seems to have occurred to them in the reigns of Edward I. and his successors. At the time of the third Crusade in 1188 a heavy tax was laid on the whole of Europe by the authority of the pope. The poor, we are told, suffered grievously under this exaction, but the Cistercian order was exempt.³ For the ransom of Richard I. in 1193 money was collected throughout the kingdom, abbeys and shrines were despoiled of their gold, silver and precious stones. Even

the sacred vessels on the altars were not spared. The Cistercians, in whose houses precious metals were not found,⁴ were compelled to contribute one year's wool.⁵

With the accession of John commenced a period of trial for the abbey of Waverley. The opening years of the thirteenth century were marked by natural misfortunes and losses. A violent storm in July 1201 did much damage to crops, the abbey buildings were flooded and all but carried away.⁶ John, the sixth abbot, a man whose character and rule seems to have won the veneration of all, died at Merton on 16 September.⁷ The rainfall of the year 1201 was followed by general failure of crops and consequent seasons of dearth. Nevertheless William, rector of Broadwater, undeterred by these misfortunes, laid the foundation of a new church at Waverley in March 1203-4,⁸ but in the same year such a grievous famine and mortality arose in the district that the brethren were dispersed abroad in other religious houses owing to lack of sustenance.⁹ King John's dispute with the pope resulted in the kingdom being laid under an interdict in 1208, followed by the seizure of all ecclesiastical property by the king,¹⁰ that of William de Broadwater being confiscated among the rest. In the same year however John spent the last days of Holy Week at the abbey¹¹ and seems to have been favourably impressed by his hosts, for on leaving he issued an order for the release of the rents and possessions of William, priest of Broadwater, that the church of Waverley which he was building at his own expense might be continued.¹² In 1210, however, John was endeavouring to extort money by every means in his power,

¹ A house of older foundation, but originally of the Benedictine order. Being an offshoot of Savigny in France, it only became Cistercian later during the rule of the fifth abbot.

² *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 311. An indult granted by Pope Alexander IV. in 1258 exempting the Cistercians from the payment of money to prelates, nuncios and legates demanding it under letters of safe-conduct was addressed to 'Waverley and all Cistercian monasteries in England' (*Papal Letters*, i. 359). On a later occasion in 1401, during a schism in the Papacy, a mandate was addressed to both abbots of Waverley and Furness exempting them temporarily from the jurisdiction of the abbot of Cîteaux, who had espoused the cause of the anti-popes Clement VII. (*Chron. Mon. de Melsa* [Rolls Ser.], iii. 258) and Benedict XIII., calling on them to convoke a general chapter of the order in England and Wales for the purpose of choosing *diffinitores* (*Papal Letters*, v. 358).

³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 245.

⁴ Simplicity in their houses was enjoined on the Cistercians by their statutes, which forbade them to multiply pictures, images, and ornaments 'out of keeping with our poverty.' The windows of their abbey churches were originally white-glazed.

⁵ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 248. It is said that the Emperor Henry offered the king's ransom to the Cistercians to be made into chalices and thuribles, but they, loving Richard and loathing the plunder, refused. *Matt. of Paris, Hist. Minor.* [Rolls Ser.], ii. 58.

⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 253.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 255.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 260.

¹¹ Close, 9 John, m. 5. An order dated at Guildford 6 April 1208 gives directions for R. de Cornhull to be paid five marks for two tons of wine and carriage from Pagham to Waverley 'for the expenses of our household there' (*ibid.* m. 4).

¹² *Ibid.* 9 John, m. 4.

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and the Cistercians¹ having refused to contribute, Waverley fell under the heavy displeasure of the king: 'Waverley with all her privileges withdrawn and monks and lay brethren scattered abroad throughout England, patiently sustained the wrath of the king. Abbot John III. in fear (of the king) left his house and fled away by night, and the king forbad any of the Cistercian Order to cross the sea or to come over into England.'² In 1212 John, continuing his persecution of all ecclesiastics in the kingdom, and especially the Cistercians, extorted from them false letters resigning their property to him.³ The king's irritation against Waverley seems to have allayed when peace had been made with the pope,⁴ and in October 1214 the abbot of Waverley, with the abbot of Reading and other envoys, was sent on a mission in the king's service in connection with which the treasurer of the Exchequer was directed to pay the abbot of Waverley the sum of ten marks,⁵ and the bailiffs of Dover were instructed to find the envoys a good and secure ship to carry them, the charges for which would be made good at the Exchequer.⁶

On 10 July in the same year, 1214, the new church, the building of which had been carried on in spite of many difficulties, had so far advanced that five altars were dedicated by Albin, Bishop of Ferns, in the presence of Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester. At the same time the cemetery of those who had died during the interdict was blessed, and the consecration crosses of the church anointed and blessed.⁷ The spring called Ludwell, which had abundantly supplied the lavatory and aqueduct constructed by the brethren in 1179⁸ and had served all domestic offices, dried

up in 1216.⁹ Brother Simon then began to consider how this inconvenience might be remedied, and gave himself to the task of discovering a fresh spring, in which after a diligent search he was successful, and brought the water by an underground conduit to the house. The new spring was named St. Mary's Well.¹⁰ The building of the church proceeded slowly, and the builder, William de Broadwater, passed away long before his task was completed, and was buried near the south wall of the church in 1222: 'on whose soul may He have mercy who alone after death is able to heal.'¹¹ It was not until 1278 that the work was fully accomplished. On the feast of St. Matthew in that year it was dedicated in honour of the glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God,¹² by Nicholas de Ely, Bishop of Winchester, who granted a year's indulgence to all present in pious devotion, and forty days' remission in perpetuity to all who should frequent the church on the anniversary of its dedication. Joy and feasting marked this great occasion, and the bishop, in order that nothing should be wanting that could add to the general happiness, supplied ample provisions at his own expense for all assembled throughout the nine days' solemnities.¹³ Six abbots and other prelates with knights and ladies¹⁴ not a few were among the concourse, and it is even stated, probably with some exaggeration, that as many as 7,066 sat down to meat on the first day.¹⁵ At an earlier date than the building of the great church the chapel of the infirmary was dedicated at the latter end of 1201¹⁶ by Albin, Bishop of Ferns, previously mentioned, himself a Cistercian monk. Abbot Adam, who resigned his office in 1219¹⁷ but lived till 1229,¹⁸ established a new ordinance for his house, a private mass to be said for all guests dying in the infirmary of the seculars on the day or morrow of their burial.¹⁹ Giffard, the tenth abbot, instituted a private mass to be

¹ Matt. of Paris states that the order was compelled to pay 40,000 pounds of silver. Matt. of Paris, *Hist. Minor.* [Rolls Ser.], ii. 123.

² *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 265. Both at this time and in subsequent difficulties they were prohibited attending their general chapter. Matt. of Paris, *Hist. Minor.* [Rolls Ser.], ii. 123.

³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 268.

⁴ It is stated that during the interdict the order fell under the ban of the pope for celebrating divine service in their churches, and when by special concession celebrations were permitted weekly in conventual churches, they were prohibited from sharing the privileges. Matt. of Paris, *Hist. Minor.* [Rolls Ser.], ii. 132.

⁵ Close, 16 John, m. 18.

⁶ *Ibid.* It appears from entries in Pat. 16 John, m. 11, that they were sent to the towns of Ghent and Ypres to bring back certain moneys due to the king.

⁷ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 282.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 241.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 284.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* The pipes were found in 1903 in the parlour south of the chapter house.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 296.

¹² It was a rule of the Cistercians that all their houses should be founded in honour of the B.V.M.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 390.

¹⁴ The rule which forbad the entrance of women within a Cistercian monastery made an exception on the occasion of the dedication of an abbey church, when they were permitted to enter during the nine days' celebration (*Cistercian Statutes*, ed. by Rev. J. T. Fowler, p. 22).

¹⁵ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iv. 474.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 253.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 292.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 305.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

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said on the anniversary of all who had annually benefited the brethren, and ordained that at the festivals of Christmas and All Saints candles should burn on all the altars of the church while Divine office was being celebrated at both evensongs, at nocturns, at lauds and at masses.¹ Additional ordinances made at the general chapter of Citeaux held in 1238 decreed that commemoration should be kept of the Blessed Benedict and Bernard at vespers and at lauds throughout the order;² and, in 1257, that from henceforth there should be twelve *rasuræ* during the year, whereas before there had never been more than seven, and that the abbots should wear copes and the ministers of the altar dalmatics, a use which was in future followed.³ It was decreed in 1255 that on the day of St. Dominic, founder of the Order of Friars Preachers, and on that of the 'Blessed Peter, martyr of the same order,' there should be twelve lessons read throughout the entire order,⁴ and similarly in 1259 that twelve lessons should be read on the day of St. Francis, founder of Friars Minor, and on the day of Blessed Robert the abbot, two masses in each convent of the order.⁵ Waverley like all Cistercian houses was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction and visited by commissioners specially deputed by the general chapter. In the year 1188 a visitation of the English houses of the order by deputies of the general chapter is recorded, in the course of which the abbots of Tintern and Bordesley were suspended.⁶ This is the sole entry relating to such visitation, and information as to the number of the brethren and the internal condition of the monastery is lacking. At the time of the election of Abbot Christopher in 1187 it is stated that there were 120 lay brethren and seventy religious in the house and about thirty plough teams at work on the estates.⁷

The relations of the abbey with John's successor seem to have been very friendly in spite of his struggle with the Cistercian order on the vexed question of aids to the king, from the payment of which they still claimed

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 316-7.

² *Ibid.* p. 319. ³ *Ibid.* p. 349.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 348. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 351.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 345.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 344. The 'conversi' or lay brethren are frequently mentioned. 'The Cistercian family was divided into two distinct parts, the *monachi* and the *conversi*. All were equally monks in that they had taken the three monastical vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but the name was reserved to the former who were what would now be called the choir brethren.' *Cistercian Statutes*, ed. J. T. Fowler, p. 95 n.

exemption.⁸ In 1225, when the estates of the realm granted Henry III. a fifteenth of all their movables in return for his confirmation of Magna Charta and the Charta de Foresta, the brethren of the order in England agreed to contribute 2,000 marks of silver 'as much for the sake of their liberties as to gain the good will of the king.'⁹ This diplomatic concession under the name of 'courtesy' was frequently repeated, though probably the exemption of the order as a right was not yielded. The royal favour was shown in a visit paid by Henry III. to the abbey of Waverley in the same year. He was received by the community on 16 December 1225 in solemn procession; on the morrow he entered the chapter-house, and at his own request was admitted associate of the order.¹⁰ The following year John de Venuz, the king's forester, was directed to allow the abbot of Waverley to take five oaks out of his bailiwick¹¹; a similar order was given in 1231, permitting the abbot to take timber out of his wood of Wanborough for the building of his church,¹² and again in the year 1270 permission was granted to John de Eton, sub-prior of Waverley, to take six oak trees in Aliceholt forest for timber. Transgressions against forest law,¹³ which came before the king's cognisance seem to have been treated with leniency and fines applied to the use of the convent itself.¹⁴ In January 1226-7 letters of protection to last until Easter 1228 were granted to the abbot.¹⁵ Besides the visit of the king, on Palm Sunday,

⁸ In 1242 Henry III. ordered the Archbishop of York to call together the abbots of that order in England and with persuasive words induce them to comply with his request for assistance towards his needs beyond sea. The archbishop's diplomacy failed, however, the Cistercians stood upon their rights and refused to contribute one year's wool as was suggested, in consequence they were again debarred from attending their general chapter. *Matt. of Paris*. [Rolls Ser.], *Chron. Major*, iv. 234-5). Two years later, by way of reprisal, they were forbidden to sell their wool, as they had refused the king aid for Gascony (*ibid.* p. 324). In 1256, having again resisted all efforts to induce them to yield, the king seized the occasion of their returning from a general chapter to exact toll or passage money. Many being unprepared for this demand had to sell cowl and tunic in order to satisfy the exaction (*ibid.* v. 587).

⁹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 300.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 301.

¹¹ Close, 10 Hen. III. m. 29.

¹² *Ibid.* 15 Hen. III. m. 14.

¹³ *Ibid.* 9 Hen. III. ms. 6, 9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 30 Hen. III. pt. 1, m. 9.

¹⁵ Pat. 11 Hen. III. pt. 1, m. 9.

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1 April 1245, Eleanor, the sister of Henry III. and wife of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, described as 'a sincere lover of our house,' was permitted by papal indulgence¹ to enter the abbey accompanied by her husband, two sons—Henry and Simon—and three handmaidens.² The countess entered the church at the very moment of the elevation of the host at the high altar during the celebration of the mass of the Blessed Virgin, a coincidence which the bystanders ascribed 'not to chance but to divine appointment.' She offered a very precious cloth, which was to be placed on the altar on the days on which the relics there were to be exposed. Having been present at the sermon in the chapter-house, at the procession and at high mass, and having kissed the wood of the Lord (a relic of the true cross), she retired from the abbey greatly edified. Afterwards the convent received of her gift 25 marks and a further sum of 18 marks for the fabric of the church, and also by her aid the house accomplished the purchase of 125 acres of land at Neatham.³ In the autumn of 1252 another lady obtained papal sanction to enter the abbey precincts. Isabel, Countess of Arundel, the widow of Hugh de Albini, visited the abbot to consult him in reference to founding a Cistercian abbey at Marham. She entered the chapter-house and was admitted an associate, and bestowed 4 marks and a cask of wine on the convent as a pitance.⁴

Waverley at this time seems to have attained to a very influential position. An incident which occurred in 1240 affords a striking illustration of the social life of the period and of the power wielded by the church; it would also tend to confer considerable prestige on the abbot of Waverley as one of the chief actors. At Eastertide of that year a young man arrived at the abbey, a shoemaker by trade, who was appointed to

exercise his craft as shoemaker to the house. He followed his trade peaceably for some months, but on 8 August a certain knight arrived with his comrades for the purpose of arresting the young man on a charge of homicide. Notwithstanding the protests of the abbot and elder monks, who pleaded their privileges, and stated that the whole of their precincts were as much sanctuary as the very altars of the church,⁵ they seized the young shoemaker and carried him off forcibly in bonds and committed him to prison. Dismayed at this bold defiance of their undoubted rights, and foreseeing that acquiescence in this violation of their precincts might result in the loss of all distinction between places sacred and places secular, the brethren agreed to suspend all celebrations until redress had been obtained, and the case was laid by the abbot before the legate Otho, who was then in England. As he proved remiss in the matter the abbot proceeded to the king with a complaint of grievous irreverence on the part of his officers, and a demand for the immediate restitution of the alleged offender. The king was inclined to grant the request, but the abbot's suit was opposed by the council, and he had to be content with a promise that his petition should be duly heard, on condition of his withdrawal of the interdict that he had laid upon his house. At last, after much trouble and labour, Abbot Walter Giffard's persistence won the day, and it was acknowledged that the enclosures of Cistercian abbeys and granges were exempt by episcopal authority from civil action, and all persons violating the same were *ipso facto* excommunicated. Thereupon the prisoner was restored and brought back to the abbey, and the violators of Holy Church, having been cited by the legate to appear at the gate of the monastery, there to make satisfaction to God and the abbot, were absolved, having previously been publicly scourged by the dean of the house and the vicar of Farnham.⁶ The miraculous virtue supposed to attach to sacred places and buildings is illustrated in the following incident, which is stated to have occurred in 1248. A youth fell headlong by accident from the summit of the church tower to the ground without receiving the slightest injury. For some time he lay breathless, and was supposed to be dead, but in a little while he recovered breath, began to speak, and in a short time completely recovered.⁷

The abbey of Waverley suffered many

¹ Cistercian houses were strictly closed against women. An incident which is recorded under the year 1246 (*Ann. Mon.* [Rolls Ser.], ii. 337) illustrates the importance attached to this rule. In that year the king and queen with their children were present at the dedication of the abbey church of Beaulieu or Bewley, during the celebrations of which Prince Edward fell ill and remained in the monastery three weeks attended by the queen, his mother. At the next visitation of the abbey the abbot and cellarer were suspended on account of this breach of the rule and because they had supplied meat to the seculars.

² *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 336.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 344-5.

⁵ *Cistercian Statutes*, ed. by J. T. Fowler, p. 36.

⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 325-7.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 340.

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times from devastating floods during the reign of Henry III. In 1233 inundations occurred throughout England, and great injury was done to the property of the convent; bridges and stone walls were carried away by the flood, which rose in places to a height of 8 feet.¹ Another inundation occurred on 28 November 1265, when all the offices of the abbey on the lower site were submerged and the monks had to take refuge in the church, treasury and hospice for the night, several days elapsing before the buildings could be cleansed from the deposits of mud.²

The abbot of Waverley was summoned in December 1264 with other barons and prelates to consult with Simon de Montfort on the affairs of the kingdom, the king having been taken prisoner by the barons,³ and he was also among those summoned to attend Parliament held at Westminster in the September following the death of the great leader in 1265. The abbot and convent probably showed themselves favourable to Simon de Montfort and his party, for they incurred the displeasure of the king about this time; they received however a pardon for their 'transgressions' from Prince Edward, which was confirmed by the king on the departure of the prince to the East, with a mandate that they and their men should not be molested or disturbed.⁴

During the reign of Edward I. the abbot of Waverley seems to have attended the general chapter of the Cistercian order with regularity. In June 1277 the then abbot, Hugh, received protection till All Saintside for this purpose,⁵ and again in 1280,⁶ 1281,⁷ and 1285,⁸ he crossed the seas probably with the same object. His successor, Abbot Philip, had licence in like manner to cross the seas in 1288.⁹ In connection with this security it is recorded that in May 1277 the king granted letters of acquittance to the abbot of Waverley for the sum of £262 os. 10d. that had been paid by him at Winchester as a 'courtesy' from the abbot and other abbots of the Cistercian order,¹⁰ and a year later another acknowledgment was made of a further sum of £638 6s. 8d. in part payment of a 'courtesy' of £1,000 granted to the

king by the whole order in England.¹¹ In 1282 the abbot and convent received a licence to appropriate in mortmain lands of their own fee to the value of 100s.¹² The abbot of Waverley wrote in 1291 to Edward I. to petition that the house, now in grievous poverty owing to the failure of crops for the last year or so, might be taken under his protection and placed in the custody of Hugh Despenser, Earl of Winchester, for two years.¹³

Notwithstanding the favour and security¹⁴ enjoyed by the abbey at this period, sundry suits were brought against the brethren involving their liberties. In 1280 they were summoned respecting their alleged obligation to attend the king's court at Alton. Judgment was given in their favour on the ground that neither the abbot nor his predecessor had done suit at the court since the charter of King John freed them of all such suit and service.¹⁵ In another suit brought by the Crown against the abbey for the possession of land at Essendon, which the abbot and convent claimed by a grant of King John, the king's advocate contended that the land in question was not contained in the charter produced by the abbot, and judgment was stayed until further inquiry could be made.¹⁶ In 1283 a protracted suit commenced between the abbot and convent of Waverley and Peter de Sancto Mauro, archdeacon of Surrey, respecting certain small tithes. The dispute lasted fifteen years, and after various appeals was finally settled by the Bishop of Winchester to the satisfaction of both parties, each side paying its own costs.¹⁷ In 1303 the sheriff of Surrey distrained the abbot for scutage towards the war in Scotland; the abbot claimed that his lands were held in frankalmoin by virtue of the charter of King John, and orders were sent to the barons of the exchequer to grant acquittance to the abbey if the plea could be substantiated.¹⁸ By a successful suit in 1316

¹¹ Ibid. 16 Edw. I. m. 13.

¹² Ibid. 10 Edw. I. m. 13.

¹³ Anct. Pet. 13716.

¹⁴ An order sent to the abbot in January 1278-9 with directions as to the goods deposited in the abbey by Benedict, a Jew of Winchester (Close, 7 Edw. I. m. 10), shows the use that was made of monasteries as repositories for valuables.

¹⁵ *Plac. de quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 770. The charter of John confirming to the abbey its liberties and freedom from all secular service had been exhibited before the king's justices itinerant at Guildford the previous year (ibid. 747).

¹⁶ Ibid. pp. 812-5.

¹⁷ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 400-1.

¹⁸ Madox, *Hist. of the Exch.* i. 670-1.

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 312.

² Ibid. pp. 368-9.

³ Rymer, *Fœdera* (Rec. Com.), i. pt. 1, 449.

⁴ Pat. 53 Hen. III. m. 12.

⁵ Ibid. 5 Edw. I. m. 14.

⁶ Ibid. 8 Edw. I. m. 9.

⁷ Ibid. 9 Edw. I. m. 7.

⁸ Ibid. 13 Edw. I. m. 20.

⁹ Ibid. 16 Edw. I. m. 10.

¹⁰ Ibid. 5 Edw. I. m. 15.

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the abbot recovered 50 acres of arable land and 100 acres of pasture at 'Quidhampton' near Overton in Hants.¹

A glimpse is given into the domestic arrangements of the house by a licence with safe conduct for a year granted in 1284 and the following year by Edward I., for lay brethren and men of the abbot of Waverley to proceed to Yarmouth with horses and carts to buy herring² and other fish.

In 1305 the abbot of Waverley was appointed with other commissioners to treat with the Scots on the affairs of Scotland.³ In the last year of Edward I. he was represented at the Parliament held at Carlisle in January 1306-7 by Henry de Wynton the sub-prior,⁴ Robert de Stoke, a monk of

Waverley, being sent as one of the proctors of the abbot of Bindon.⁵ By a royal mandate the abbot of Waverley was directed to read the Statute of Carlisle twice yearly in full chapter.⁶

The relations of the abbey with Edward II. and his successors maintained a very uniform character. The abbot received a licence to attend the general chapter of his order in 1312, and to take £20 with him for his expenses;⁷ letters of protection were granted for one year in 1313, 1316 and 1317,⁸ probably for the same purpose; and again a permit to attend the general chapter in 1331 was obtained from Edward III.⁹ Edward II. called on the convent for aid in money and¹⁰ provisions¹¹ during the war with Scotland, and in February 1321-2 they were requested to raise as many men-at-arms and foot-soldiers as they could to march against the adherents of the Earl of Lancaster, and to muster at Coventry on the first Sunday in Lent.¹² The abbot and convent received a guarantee from Edward III. that the sum of £10 lent by them for the expenses of his French expedition in 1347 should be repaid at Christmas in the following year,¹³ and a similar promise was made by Richard II. in March 1378-9 for the sum of £20 lent him in like manner.¹⁴ Numerous entries in the Close Rolls of Edward II. show that the house at that period had recourse to borrowing money from lenders of various descriptions, and in 1330 the abbey, which was stated to be 'largely of royal foundation,' was taken under the protection of the king, who placed it in the custody of John de Stratford, Bishop of Winchester, who was to receive all rents and issues, and apply them, after reserving reasonable sustenance for the abbot and convent, to clearing off the debts of the monastery and restoring its estate.¹⁵ In addition to the confirmation of their charters by Edward II.,¹⁶ the brethren took the precau-

¹ Rot. Orig. 9 Edw. III. m. 24. Various small matters of passing moment arose from time to time. In the reign of Edward III. no distinction seems to have been made between those of the Cistercian order and other ecclesiastics when grants of aid were made to the king. The abbot of Waverley is mentioned as a collector in the archdeaconry of Surrey (Close, 13 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 16), and in August 1337 the sheriff of Southampton was directed to go to the prior of St. Swithin and the abbot of Waverley, who were remiss in sending the money which they owed the king, and in the event of their refusal to distrain their goods and possessions (Close, 11 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 40). In 1339 an order was sent to the keeper of the maritime lands in the county of Sussex not to distrain the abbot to find two men-at-arms on account of his holding in Chilgrove, the value of which did not exceed 40s. yearly, as it had been shown that the abbot had already sent men-at-arms for the safe custody of Southampton and the maritime lands there to the extent of his ability (ibid. 13 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 10). Later in that same year the keeper of the maritime lands in the county of Southampton was ordered to discharge the abbot of Waverley of providing a man-at-arms at Portsmouth beyond one whom he maintained there (ibid. 13 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 13). In 1340 Edward III. directed his escheator to restore a plot of land to the abbot and convent which had been forfeited to the king in consequence of a return stating that it had been appropriated by them without licence, the abbot's plea that the plot was of the soil of John Dabernon and not of the king, and that he and his predecessors had held it from time immemorial as parcel of their manor of Oxshott (Close, 14 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 7), having been verified on an inquisition taken by the king's order (Inq. a. q. d. 14 Edw. III. No. 25). Among the escheats in the reign of Henry VI. was found land at le Wyke and Frith near Alton that Abbot Henry had acquired without the king's licence (Trq. p.m. 12 Hen. VI. No. 50).

² Pat. 12 Edw. I. m. 2, and 13 Edw. I. m. 8.

³ Close, 33 Edw. I. m. 13.

⁴ *Parl. Writs.* (Rec. Com.), i. 898.

⁵ *Rolls of Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 191.

⁶ Ibid. p. 218. The abbot of Waverley was summoned to a council of the clergy held at Westminster in 1294 and to Parliaments held in 1295-6, 1300, 1301-2-5 (*Parl. Writs* [Rec. Com.] i. 897-8).

⁷ Close, 6 Edw. II. m. 30d.

⁸ Pat. 7 Edw. II. m. 14; 9 Edw. II. m. 4; 11 Edw. II. pt. i, m. 22.

⁹ Ibid. 5 Edw. III. pt. ii, m. 27.

¹⁰ *Parl. Writs* (Rec. Com.), ii. div. 3, 1593.

¹¹ Close, 3 Edw. II. m. 5d.

¹² Ibid. 15 Edw. II. m. 17d.

¹³ Pat. 21 Edw. III. pt. ii, m. 23.

¹⁴ Ibid. 2 Ric. II. pt. ii, m. 27-8.

¹⁵ Ibid. 4 Edw. III. pt. ii, m. 23.

¹⁶ Ibid. 11 Edw. II. pt. ii, m. 36.

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tion of obtaining in January 1345-6 an exemplification of a certificate of their liberties as confirmed by the charter of John.¹ In 1312 Edward II. granted the monastery a patent for receiving annually a pipe of red wine in the port of Southampton for the celebration of the blessed Sacrament, a donation subsequently confirmed by Edward III.² Richard II. granted a pardon to the abbot of Waverley in February 1385-6, on payment of a fine of five marks, for his refusal to send a horse as promised to the Chancery for carrying the rolls of Chancery, and delivering them to John de Waltham, the keeper.³

A trial which took place in the reign of Edward III. involving the king's right to impose boarders on the abbey of Waverley as a house 'almost of the foundation of his progenitors' is of interest, as it established the protest of the abbot and convent against the royal pretension, and secured the recognition of the fact of which they made their boast, that they were of the foundation of the Bishops of Winchester. Early in the fourteenth century a practice seems to have grown up of sending men to the abbey to receive a life maintenance, and the abbot and convent, while denying any obligation, had admitted the boarder 'as by request.' Thus in 1315 Walter Mantel, who had long served the then late and present kings, was sent to receive a like allowance that had been received by William le Poleter.⁴ In February 1327-8 Henry de Ditton was sent to receive a similar allowance to Walter Mantel,⁵ and in 1329 John de Alvidele to receive maintenance as William de Greyby had received at the late king's request.⁶ In 1334, when Richard Charrer was sent in place of Michael Charrer, deceased,⁷ Abbot Robert addressed letters of protest to the king⁸ and to Michael de Wath, keeper of the rolls of Chancery,⁹ on the subject of these impositions, in which he pointed out that the abbey of Waverley was of the foundation of the Bishop of Winchester, and 'what we hold from you seigneur we hold of the gift of your progenitors in free and perpetual alms and by no other service,' and begged that it would not be required of the convent to give maintenance to Richard le Charrer as Michael le

Charrer had received not of right, but by the special request of the king's father and 'la reine Marguerite,' the house being 'grievously encumbered by debt.'¹⁰ The matter did not come to an issue till the year 1340, when the abbot was summoned for contempt of the king's writs, calling on him to admit Walter de Denham, the king's yeoman, in place of Walter Mantel, deceased.¹¹ The whole matter being brought before the court, the king alleged that William de Basyngstoke or Poleter had been admitted by Abbot Philip by the order of Edward I., that Walter Mantel had succeeded him at the mandate of Edward II., and that he could by his prerogative demand admittance to this house, almost of royal foundation, for Walter de Denham. The abbot recited the foundation of the house by one William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, and its liberties granted by King Stephen at the request of Henry de Blois, his brother, who had succeeded as father, founder and bishop, and confirmed by subsequent charters, and pleaded that boarders had been admitted in the abbey contrary to the charter of the brethren, and at the king's request and not as of right. The king's advocates were unable to further sustain his right, and judgment was given for the abbot, who in the following year obtained an exemplification of the tenor of the plea.¹²

The friendship which existed between the abbey and the Bishops of Winchester furnishes a very pleasant side to the history of Waverley. Like all Cistercian houses the convent was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, and no licence from the Crown was required for the election of superiors. The abbot received benediction at the hands of the diocesan, to whom he made profession of obedience, 'saving the rights of his Order,' but he was not instituted by the bishop. The confidence and affection which characterized their connection seem to have continued throughout the history of the monastery unclouded by anything resembling the stormy passages which occasionally strained the bishop's relations with his own fraternity. The size and importance of the monastery probably made it a convenient centre, and here in December 1204 representatives of the priory of Winchester were directed by King John to meet the Archbishop of Canterbury to hear his wishes respecting the choice of a bishop to the vacant see,¹³ a

¹ Pat. 20 Edw. III. pt. iii. m. 6.

² Chart. R. 5 Edw. III. m. 1, No. 4.

³ Pat. 9 Ric. II. pt. ii. m. 29.

⁴ Close, 9 Edw. II. m. 22d.

⁵ Ibid. 2 Edw. III. m. 34d.

⁶ Ibid. 3 Edw. III. m. 4d.

⁷ Ibid. 8 Edw. III. m. 26d.

⁸ Anct. Corresp. xxxix. 132a.

⁹ Ibid. 132.

¹⁰ Ibid. 132a.

¹¹ Close, 13 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 5d.

¹² Pat. 15 Edw. III. m. 6.

¹³ Pat. 6 John, m. 5.

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conference which ended in the election of Peter des Roches to the bishopric. This famous ecclesiastic was present on two occasions during the building of the new and great abbey church, when altars were dedicated, and on his death in 1238 the affection which Waverley shared with his own cathedral city was expressed by his heart and bowels being buried in the abbey while his body found a resting-place in the cathedral.¹ On a later occasion there was a great gathering of prelates in the abbey church for the consecration of John Bregon as Bishop of Hereford on 2 June 1269 by Nicholas, Bishop of Winchester, assisted by the Bishops of Worcester, St. David's, Llandaff, Salisbury, Bath, Exeter, and Coventry and Lichfield.² In January 1355-6 Bishop William Edendon, in the conventual church of Waverley, assisted by the Bishops of Salisbury and Chichester, consecrated Thomas de Percy as Bishop of Norwich.³ By the permission of William de Raleigh, Bishop of Winchester, and the consent of Peter de Ryevals, rector of Alton, the abbot and convent were permitted in 1250 to celebrate divine service in the oratory which they had built within the grange of Neatham, saving the rights of the mother church of Alton and the chapel of Holybourne; there was to be no ringing of bells, the sacraments were only to be administered to the brethren, confessions of secular persons were not to be received unless on the point of death, and all the servants of the grange were to attend the chapel of Holybourne, to hear divine service and receive the sacraments as hitherto, and to remain subject to it.⁴ Bishop Raleigh died abroad the same year, and was buried at Touraine. Before leaving England he gave a site on the heath within his warren of Farnham to the abbey to make a fishpond, for which the abbot and convent were to pay a rent of half a mark yearly. The fishpond was begun in 1250, but not completed that year.⁵ Perhaps the benefactor whose kindness was most gratefully acknowledged by the brethren was bishop Nicholas de Ely, whose generosity on the occasion of the dedication of their church

in 1278 has been already mentioned. He visited the convent on Maundy Thursday in 1274, and consecrated the chrism, afterwards dining in the frater with the brethren, but at his own charges.⁶ On his death on 12 February 1280-1 he was buried in the abbey church he had so recently dedicated; three days later his heart was carried by the Bishop of Norwich and the Bishop of Bath and Wells to the cathedral at Winchester, and there deposited.⁷ By his will he bequeathed 200 marks to the abbot and convent of Waverley. It was not till the year 1310 that the brethren established a lasting memorial of their great benefactor. A licence having been obtained for Ralph de Staunford, parson of the church of Alton, and Hugh Tripacy,⁸ parson of the church of Martyr Worthy, to give the manor of Courage with one messuage, 59 acres of land, 5 acres of pasture and 4 acres of wood at Chieveley, to the abbot and convent of Waverley for the sustentation of a chaplain to celebrate daily in the conventual church for the soul of Nicholas, Bishop of Winchester,⁹ the monastery undertook that one of the brethren should be deputed by the week for the daily celebration of a mass in the chapel of the Blessed Mary at the gate of Waverley, or failing that in the greater church for the soul of 'Lord Nicholas de Ely, of good memory, late Bishop of Winchester, whose body lies buried in our monastery.'¹⁰ On the bishop's obit spicery was to be distributed to the monks to the value of five marks, and another mark to be delivered to the cellarer as a pittance for the convent; on the same anniversary twenty shillings' worth of shoes should be distributed by the porter to aged widows and the poor at the abbey gate.¹¹ Another benefactor of the abbey whose obit was observed by the brethren was a certain Maud of London, described as 'a kind of mother of the monks of Waverley' (*mater quodammodo monachorum*), who died in 1263 and was buried in the chapel of the infirmary.¹² 'Almost all her goods as well in

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 383-4. ⁷ *Ibid.* p. 393.

⁸ Two of the bishop's executors.

⁹ Pat. 4 Edw. II. pt. 1, m. 23.

¹⁰ Winton. Epis. Reg., Woodlock, f. 138.

¹¹ *Ibid.* They also engaged to find a wax taper to be set in the brass candlestick erected at the head of the bishop by his executors, to burn there on his anniversary, and on other solemn days at high mass. To maintain a marble cross set up for the soul of the said bishop by his executors at Froyle, and in case of its being injured or thrown down by lightning, thunder, or other storm, to erect another in its place (*ibid.*).

¹² *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 353.

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 319. It was the intention of Peter des Roches and an object for which he had laid aside money to found two Cistercian abbeys which were afterwards erected by his executors under the names of Edwardstowe or Netley and Clarté-Dieu in France (*ibid.* p. 323).

² *Ibid.* pp. 375-6.

³ Winton. Epis. Reg., W. de Edendon, vol. ii. f. 57d.

⁴ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 342.

⁵ *Ibid.*

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life as in death she gave to Waverley.¹ and by will she bequeathed to the convent 100 marks to be laid out in lands out of the proceeds of which two pittances should be distributed yearly, one on her own anniversary in February, and the other on the anniversary of Lebert, her husband on 13 December.² Also a lamp was to be provided to burn every night in the chapel of the infirmary until after the celebration of masses in the winter time, and in summer time until after lauds.³ In 1362 John de Netherhaven bestowed lands in Farnham upon the abbey for the yearly celebration of his anniversary in the conventual church.⁴ Bishop William Edendon, who died in 1366,⁵ and William of Wykeham in 1404,⁶ each left the sum of £10 to the abbot and convent of Waverley to pray for the soul of the donor. On 8 March 1339-40 the then Bishop of Winchester, Adam Orleton, issued a mandate proclaiming sentence of excommunication against certain evil-doers who had injured and made away with the goods and possessions of the abbey;⁷ and Bishop Wykeham in January 1367-8 issued a general sentence of excommunication against trespassers on the house, manors or granges of the monks of Waverley, in consequence of the grave complaints of the abbot.⁸ The sentence was repeated in 1375,⁹ and in the following month a monition against those who withheld tithes from the convent was published.¹⁰ A petition was addressed to the abbot of Citeaux, father-general of the order, in 1316, by Henry Woodlock, Bishop of Winchester, requesting him to grant permission for Robert de Redenhale and Amice his wife, a virtuous couple, who had acquired a perpetual corrody in the monastery of Waverley, and had erected at their own expense certain houses outside the gate of the monastery near to the chapel of St. Mary at the

convent gate, to end their days at the abbey.¹¹ The abbot and convent were probably willing enough to extend a welcome to a nominee of their perpetual patron and benefactor, who had moreover himself shown generosity to their house and other houses of the order, and intended, according to the bishop, to bestow upon them eventually legacies of considerable value.

The entries relating to this foundation during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries up to the dissolution are very scanty; probably the abbey under wise management contrived to exist with lessened resources at least as well as wealthier foundations. The clear annual value of the house, according to the *Valor* of 1535, amounted to £174 8s. 3½d., the gross income being £196 13s. 11½d.

Cromwell was pressed by Sir William Fitzwilliam and another correspondent to favour the promotion of John, abbot of Waverley, to the vacant see of Bangor in August 1533.¹² John Salcot, alias Capon, abbot of Hyde, was however consecrated Bishop of Bangor at Croydon on 19 April 1534. John, abbot of Waverley, was probably successor of Thomas Skevington as abbot of Beaulieu. The last abbot of Waverley was William Alyng. Dr. Layton was Cromwell's agent in the visitation of the religious houses of Surrey, Kent and Sussex. He visited Waverley on 26 September, 1535, and the following day wrote a letter to the visitor-general, in which his views as to the inmates of the abbey were probably somewhat prejudiced by the lack of entertainment shown him by his hosts. The bearer of the letter, the abbot himself, he admitted to be 'honest but not one of the children of Solomon. Every monk is his fellow and every servant his master. . . . Yesterday, early in the morning, sitting in my chamber in examination, I could neither get bread nor drink, neither fire of those knaves (the servants) till I was fretted, and the abbot durst not speak to them. . . . It shall be expedient for you to give him a lesson and tell the poor fool what he should do.'¹³ The simplicity and sincerity of the abbot is shown in the touching letter he wrote to Cromwell on 9 June 1536:—

To the right honourable Master Secretary to the King.

Pleaseth your mastership I received your letter on the viith day of this present month and hath endeavoured myself to accomplish the contents of

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 353.

² With the money a tenement in Surbiton was bought of Richard de Totteford and 29s. 6d. reserved out of the rent for two pittances (*ibid.* p. 354).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Inq. p.m.* 36 Edw. III. 2nd Nos. No. 13.

⁵ *Surrey Arch. Coll.* viii. 190.

⁶ *Ibid.* This great prelate made some stay at Waverley early in the year 1376-7, when by the machinations of John of Gaunt his temporalities had been seized into the king's hand, and himself forbidden the court.

⁷ *Winton. Epis. Reg.*, Orleton, vol. i. f. 71.

⁸ *Ibid.* Wykeham, vol. ii. f. 2d.

⁹ *Ibid.* f. 128d.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* f. 129d.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Woodlock, f. 193d.

¹² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vi. 1001, 1006.

¹³ *Ibid.* ix. 452.

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them, and have sent your mastership the true extent value and account of our said monastery. Beseeching your good mastership, for the love of Christ's passion, to help to the preservation of this poor monastery, that we your beadsmen may remain in the service of God with the meanest living that any poor men may live with in this world. So to continue in the service of Almighty Jesus, and to pray for the estate of our prince and your mastership. In no vain hope I write this to your mastership, forasmuch as you put me in such boldness full gently, when I was in suit to you the last year at Winchester, saying, 'Repair to me for such business as you shall have from time to time.' Therefore, instantly praying you, and my poor brethren with weeping yes!—desire you to help them; in this world no creatures in more trouble. And so we remain depending upon the comfort that shall come to us from you—serving God daily at Waverley. From thence the ix day of June, 1536.

William the poor Abbot there, your chaplain to command.¹

It is evident that the fair site of the abbey possessed attractions in covetous eyes. J. Husee, writing to Lord Lisle a few days previously suggesting religious houses that it might be desirable for the king to grant him, remarks, 'I am told Waverley is a pretty thing.'² On 14 June 1536 Sir Richard Page wrote to Cromwell stating that divers of the commissioners who were sitting at Waverley for suppressing that house had sent for him. He desired to know the king's pleasure in the matter.³ The abbey was doomed; notwithstanding its celebrity the smallness of its endowment brought it within the mesh of the earlier Act for the suppression of religious houses. Abbot Alyng not many days after his earnest appeal surrendered his house and estates to Richard Weston and the other commissioners,⁴ and the site of the monastery, the house of the foundation of the bishops of Winchester, passed into the hands of Sir William Fitzwilliam, K.G., treasurer of the king's household.⁵

ABBOTS OF WAVERLEY

John,⁶ died 1128
 Gilbert,⁷ 1128-9
 Henry,⁸ died 1182
 Henry of Chichester,⁹ 1182, resigned 1187
 Christopher¹⁰ (abbot of Bruerne, Oxf.),
 1187, removed from office 1196

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* x. 1097.

² *Ibid.* x. 1058. ³ *Ibid.* 1135.

⁴ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. cccvii.

⁵ Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. pt. ii. m. 6.

⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 221.

⁷ *Ibid.* ⁸ *Ibid.* p. 242.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 244. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* and p. 250.

John II. (hospitaller),¹¹ 1196, died 1201
 John III. (cellarer),¹² 1201, died 1216
 Adam (sub-prior),¹³ 1216, resigned 1219
 Adam II.¹⁴ (abbot of Garendon, Leics.),
 1219, resigned 1236
 Walter Giffard¹⁵ (abbot of Bittlesden,
 Bucks), 1236, died 1252
 Ralph¹⁶ (abbot of Dunkewell, Devon),
 1252, resigned 1266
 William de London,¹⁷ 1266
 William de Hungerford,¹⁸ resigned 1276
 Hugh de Leukenor,¹⁹ 1276, died 1285
 Philip de Bedwinde,²⁰ 1285
 William,²¹ occurs 1316
 Robert,²² occurs 1335
 John III.,²³ 1344
 John IV.,²⁴ 1349, died 1361
 John de Enford,²⁵ occurs 1385-6
 William Hakeleston,²⁶ 1386, died 1399
 John Brid,²⁷ 1399-1400
 Henry,²⁸ occurs 1433
 William,²⁹ occurs 1452
 William Martyn,³⁰ 1456
 Thomas,³¹ occurs 1478 and 1500
 William,³² occurs 1509
 John,³³ occurs 1529
 William Alyng,³⁴ occurs 1535

A pointed oval counterseal³⁵ (A.D. 1282) represents a hand and arm holding a crozier; on the right a crescent and star; on the left a branch of five foliations. Legend: CON-[TRASIG:] ABBACIE: DE: WAVERLEIA.

A pointed oval fourteenth century seal³⁶ represents the crowned seated Virgin, with Holy Child on left knee, and flowering branch in right hand, beneath a trefoiled canopied

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 253. ¹² *Ibid.* and p. 286.

¹³ *Ibid.* and p. 292. ¹⁴ *Ibid.* and p. 316.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* and p. 345. ¹⁶ *Ibid.* and p. 373.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* ¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 387.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* and p. 403. ²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Rot. Orig. 9 Edw. II. m. 24. He was a monk of the convent.

²² Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbies*, ii. 236.

²³ Winton. Epis. Reg. Orilton, f. 125. This abbot fell a victim to the plague in 1349.

²⁴ *Ibid.* Edendon, ii. f. 21.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Wykeham, ii. f. 224-5.

²⁶ *Ibid.* i. f. 305d.

²⁷ *Ibid.* i. f. 302d. The last three abbots had been monks of Waverley.

²⁸ Inq. p. m. 12 Hen. VI. No. 50.

²⁹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Waynflete, i. f. 20.

³⁰ *Ibid.* f. 40d.

³¹ *Ibid.* ii. f. 15 and Harl. Ch. 75 G. 14.

³² Winton. Epis. Reg., Richard Fox, ii. f. 144.

³³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv. pt. iii, p. 2697.

³⁴ *Ibid.* ix. 452.

³⁵ Add. Chart. 8548, 26, 611.

³⁶ Harl. Chart. 75 G. 14.

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niche. On each side three roses. In the base, under an arch, the abbot in prayer. Legend : S' ABBATIS ET CONVENTU . . . E WAVERL . . .

An imperfect pointed oval seal¹ of the thirteenth century, attributed to Waverley,

represents a dexter hand and vested arm issuing from the right, and grasping two keys in pale : in the field on the left a star of six points, on the right a crescent ; legend—SIG - - - - - IE.

HOUSE OF CARTHUSIAN MONKS

4. THE PRIORY OF SHEEN

In the year 1414 Henry V. founded at Sheen, Richmond, a priory, known as the House of Jesus of Bethlehem, for forty monks of the Carthusian order. This was the last of the religious foundations of Surrey. The foundation charter² describes the site with much nicety. It was built on the north side of the royal manor house, on a piece of land 3,125 feet long by 1,305 feet 8 inches broad, extending from 'Hakelok' by 'Diverbussh' on the south to the cross called 'Crosasshe' on the north. The buildings were on a fine scale, but as there were only thirty sets of chambers round the great court or cloister, it would appear that the original design of a house for forty monks was reduced to that number.³ According to the Carthusian rule each monk lived and fed apart, they only met in common in quire and chapter.⁴

The considerable property assigned to this royal foundation largely consisted of the possessions of the suppressed alien priories. The endowments included the alien priories of Ware, Hertfordshire ; of Hayling in Hampshire ; of Carisbrooke, in the Isle of Wight ; of Lewisham in Kent, including the manors of East Greenwich and East Combe ; all the estates of the abbey of Lyre in England and Wales, or 700 marks out of the royal revenue if these should ever be recovered ; the weir of Petersham, with fishery rights ; and the manor of East Hendred, Berks. The spiritualities were very considerable, and included the advowsons and appropriations of the churches of Ware in Hertfordshire ; Belgrave, in Leicestershire ; Byfield, Marston St. Lawrence, and Middleton Cheney, Northamptonshire ; Lewisham and Marden, in

Kent ; Hayling, Upper Clatford, and St. John's Southampton, in Hampshire ; Carisbrooke, Arreton, Freshwater, Godshill, Whippingham, Newchurch, and Newtown, in the Isle of Wight ; Winterbourne Stoke, in Wiltshire ; Basildon, Easthampstead, and Sunningfield, in Berkshire ; the four churches of Wareham, in Dorset ; Linton, Bridstow, Westeord, Much Marcle, Fownhope, Lene, and Areland with tithes of various other lordships, in Herefordshire ; 'Tuddenham,' Lydney, and Chedworth, with tithes of other lordships, in Gloucestershire ; Eastham-cum-Hanley, Feckenham, Tenbury, and tithes of the forest of Malvern, in Worcestershire ; Elmdon, in Essex ; Hellingly, in Sussex ; and Padbury, in Buckinghamshire. Another royal gift of the founder was that of four pipes of red wine annually at Candlemas.

This wholesale bestowal of the property of alien priories on the new foundation, though authorized by the parliament of Leicester, did not pass without strong protest. The abbot and convent of the Benedictine abbey of St. Evroul, Normandy, wrote an earnest appeal to the Carthusians of Sheen, in the year 1416, to restore the property with which Henry V. had endowed them and which had belonged to them for centuries. In their case, as they stated in this letter, their English possessions had been their chief source of income, and at one time had supplied them with £2,000 a year. Owing to frequent wars between France and England they had of late obtained nothing from this source, and had in consequence been obliged to reduce their quire monks from forty to less than twenty. They appealed to justice and ecclesiastical traditions, stating that no state policy or fear of foreign wars could justify the Carthusians in retaining property thus obtained. Eleven years were consumed by the monks of St. Evroul in a vain endeavour to regain their English property. In 1427 they carried their case to Rome, but failed.⁵

There is a fifteenth century chartulary of this priory among the British Museum manu-

¹ Harl. Chart. 79 E. 12.

² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 31-2, from the Charter Rolls 3 and 4 Hen. V. m. 8. Pat. 2 Hen. VI. pt. iv. MS. 27, 26, 25.

³ Willis' *Mitred Abbeys*, ii. 337, where an account of the dimensions of the house is cited from a MS. copy of Florence of Worcester.

⁴ *Constitutions of the Order*, Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. pt. 1, v.-xii.

⁵ Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, i. 60.

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scripts entitled *Registrum privilegiorum et terrarum monasterii de Shene*. It contains abstracts of charters and other particulars relative to the possessions of the alien priories of Ware and Hayling, and the rest of the property bestowed upon it at its foundation.¹

Among the Lansdown MSS. (No. 1201) is a small fifteenth century manuscript on vellum described as a *Formulare et Consuetudinarium Carthusianorum de Shene in com. Surr.* It opens with the form of receiving postulants and novices, in English, inserted on paper. On the postulant seeking admission the prior first asked four questions, as to whether the candidate had been professed in any religious order, whether he had any impediment to taking holy orders, whether he was suffering from any incurable disease, or whether he was in debt or owed any money? If these were answered satisfactorily, the candidate retired, and the prior thus addressed the chapter:—

Venerable Fathers, you have heard his humble petition, you see with what earnest desire he solistes to be received to our order. Bee pleased therefore, to let me knowe your mindes whether you judg him fit to be admitted or noe.

What thinke you fater Vicar? etc.

The candidate was then recalled, if the decision of the chapter was favourable. On readmission the following was the procedure:—

Pr. Quid petis?

Postulans prostratus. Misericordiam.

Pr. Surge.

Post. Supplico, etc.

Pr. The convent hath deliberated of your humble petition. And now our Statutes doe appoint me breefly to set before your eyes the strictness and austeritie of our order, and the length and prolixitie of the divine office as well of the day office as the night office, which in the wynter is farr longer, besides the office of our Blessed Lady which you are to say daylie in your cell; morover you are to say yearly a hundred dead offices in private, likewise many Psalters (or as wee tearme them monachales) which you are yearly to say unless you performe them in masses. For your cloathing and lodging after you have received the habitt you can make no further use of lyncen except handkerchers, towels and the like, but for your

¹ Cott. MS. Otho B. xiv. The first 149 folios relate to Sheen, the remainder of the 280 folios are a chartulary of Pipewell Abbey and certain general chronicles. There are also various rentals of different manors pertaining to the priory of Sheen in the time of Henry VIII. in another of the British Museum volumes; but in neither of these are there names of priors or other details as to the monastery (Cott. MS. Jul. C. ii. ff. 279-86.)

body you are to weare a shirte of heare and a cord aboute your loynes and a wolen shirte. You are to lie upon strawe or a bed of chaffe with a blanket betweene. For your diet it is a perpetuall abstinence from flesh insomuch that in the greatest or most dangerous sickness you can expect no dispensation theirin. Also a good parte of the yeare we abstaine from all Whitmeates, as in Advent, Lent and all the Fridayes of the yeare, besides many other fasts both of the church and of our order in which wee abstain from Whitmeat.

Likewise from the exaltation of the holie Crosse untill Easter wee fast with one meall a day except some few days of recreation before Advent and Lent. For silence and solitude it ought to be perpetuall except when our Statutes giveth license or that you aske leave. These be the generall observances of our order common to all as well as seniours as juniours. But besides these generall there are some particular ordained and appointed for novices or newly professed to exercise them in the purgative way, and for their soner attaining of humility and solid vertue. As is the dressing up of Alters, sweeping of churches and chappels, making cleane of candelstickes, serving of others and suchlike. Which workes by how much they are more vile and contemptible in the eyes of the world, by so much they are more precious and meritorious in the sight of Almighty God, and by how much that men, wether more noble better learned or of greater talents doth willingly and affectionately perform the same for the love of God by so much soner they will obtain remission of their sinnes, be purged from their reliques, be freed from their former evill habitts and obtaine puritie of hart humility and other solid vertues, which are not gotten without humiliation and therefore those who doe flye or withdraw themselves from ye works of humility, doe deprive themselves of the best meanes to gaine the vertue it-selfe. These according to our Statutes and the Custome of our house I have layed unto you. Putas te ista posse performare?

The postulant made reply in Latin, that with the help of God and the prayers of the brethren, he trusted to be enabled to fulfil the rules. Then he knelt before the prior, and placed his hands within those of the prior, whilst the superior stated that he admitted him to the fellowship (*societatem*) of the order, but that before his profession he had liberty to depart.

The following are the heads of the Latin portion of the book: *De novitio induendo: De professione novitiorum: De visitatione egrati: Quomodo tractandum sit qui moritur: Quid agendum sit cum defertur nobis mortuus a foris: Quid agendum sit in trecenario at anniversario extraneorum: Forma absolvendi personas ordinis in extremis agentes: Tria responsoria que cantantur in exequiis mortuorum.*

The book concludes with four pages in English * for the receiving of conversi (lay

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brothers) this forme to be kept as nere as we can to the order of the heddhouse, as by letters from thence to the same, and also by the booke of their customes apperithe.' The father was, in the chapter house, to lay before the candidate the hardness of the order as in the case of the monks. If the house agreed to receive him, the lay brother was to be received with the kiss of peace both by the monks and lay brothers. When he had kissed them all the father put on him a converse cowl. At the end of high mass the prior, with the father vicar, the proctor and the sexton (sacrist) brought him up to the high altar where he made his prayer. After the *Veni Creator* and other prayers he was conducted to his cell. At his profession the lay brother went up to the high altar in his cowl and long cope, after the offertory had been sung, and there openly read his profession in English and received the benediction lying prostrate.¹

By his will of 1415 Henry V. left 1,000 marks for the completion of the house of Sheen, repeating that he had endowed it for the support of forty Carthusian monks, and bidding his executors see that the number was sustained.²

In the year 1416 an anchorage for a recluse was founded, endowed with an annual rent of twenty marks issuing out of the manors of Lewisham and Greenwich; the first recluse or chaplain to occupy it was John Kingstone.³

An inspection and confirmation were granted to John Ives, the prior, and the convent of Sheen by Edward IV. in 1461 of the foundation charter and of the grant by Henry VI. in 1442 of sixty-four acres of land in Sheen, and that they might pray for the good estate of the king and Cicely his mother and for their souls after death, and the souls of the king's father Richard, late Duke of York, and his progenitors.⁴

Licence was granted in June 1466 to the prior and monks to make a subterranean con-

duit from a spring called 'Welwey,' alias 'Pickwelleswell,' to their house, and to repair the pipes of the conduit when necessary. Henry V. had granted them leave to make a conduit from a spring called 'Hillesdenwell,' but the supply of water was insufficient.⁵

In July 1474 licence was obtained by Prior William Wildy for the acquisition in mortmain after inquisition, of land, tenements and rents to the value of £50 yearly.⁶

Edward IV. in 1467 granted to Queen Elizabeth his consort the manor and lordship of Sheen to hold for life, and she by letters patent of 1 April 1479 granted to John Ingilby, prior, and the monks of Sheen 48 acres of land in West Sheen, parcel of the manor to hold for her life. Whereupon the king by letters patent of 25 May confirmed this estate to the monks and granted it to them in free alms for ever.⁷

In July 1480 Prior Ingilby, in conjunction with Robert Houglot, Richard Newbryge, clerk, and four others, obtained licence to found a perpetual gild or fraternity for themselves and other persons, both men and women. The brethren and sisters were to elect from themselves yearly a warden for the governance of the gild and the custody of its possessions; the fraternity was to have a common seal and to be termed the Gild of St. Mary in Bagshot. Licence was also given to acquire in mortmain lands and rents to the value of £10 yearly, to find a chaplain to celebrate in the chapel of St. Mary in Bagshot for the good estate of the king and queen and of the brethren and sisters of the gild, and for their souls after death, and to do other works of piety according to the ordinance of the founders.⁸

On 4 August 1480 the priory obtained licence for the acquisition in mortmain of lands, tenements and rents to the value of £100 yearly.⁹

It is related of one Godwin, a monk of this convent, that in the latter end of March 1502 he murdered the prior of the house in a cellar, but whether it was Prior Ingilby or some other that succeeded him, and whose name is lost, is uncertain.¹⁰

On Sunday, 12 January 1510, Henry VIII. was at the Sheen charter-house, and made an offering of 33s. 4d.¹¹

According to Stowe, the body of James IV.

⁵ Ibid. 6 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 17.

⁶ Ibid. 14 Edw. IV. pt. ii, m. 22.

⁷ Ibid. 19 Edw. IV. m. 25.

⁸ Ibid. 20 Edw. IV. pt. 1, m. 10.

⁹ Ibid. m. 2.

¹⁰ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.*, i. 420

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ii. p. 1449.

¹ The interesting 'Statutes of the laye Brethrens, Shene,' are set forth at length in English in a small paper book of 126 folios among the British Museum Add. MSS. 11,303. From them we gather that the lay brothers at Sheen, as elsewhere, had their houses apart from the monks' house, in what was termed the Lower House; that they had there their own chapel, where mass was celebrated twice or thrice weekly, and where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved, and that they were not to be shorn clerkwise, or to learn grammar or to sing, or even to be suffered to ascend to the state of monks.

² Rymer's *Fœdera*, ix. 290.

³ Winton. Epis. Reg. Waynflete, ii. f. 37.

⁴ Pat. 1 Edw. IV. pt. vi, ms. 15-18.

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of Scotland was buried at this monastery after the battle of Flodden Field, in 1513. 'After that the Earl of Surrey had taken order, and set the North in good quiet, he returned to the Queene with the dead body of the Scottish king, which body being inclosed in lead, as I have been informed was conveyed to Shine, a monastery in Surrey founded by King Henry the Fifth, whose it remained for a time, in what order I am not certaine, but since the dissolution of the House, to wit, in the raigne of King Edward the Sixth Henry Grey then Duke of Suffolke there keeping house, I have been shewed the same body (as was affirmed) so lapped in lead throwne into an old wast roome, amongst old timber, stone, lead, and other rubble.'¹ This statement is supported by a passage in a book called *The Flower of Fame*, printed in 1575. 'The dead body of the King of Scottes was found among the other carcasses in the fiede and from thence brought to London, and so through London streets on horseback. And from thence it was carried to Sheene (neere unto Brentford), whereat the Queen then lay, and there the perjured carcas lyeth unto this day unburied.' The Scots however steadily maintained that the body found and conveyed to London and thence to Sheen was not that of their king; nevertheless, Stowe's statement is apparently correct.

In 1516 licence was obtained by Thomas Pygot and Richard Broke, serjeants-at-law, and others to alienate to the House of Jesus of Bethlehem, Sheen, possessions to the annual value of £15 15s. These possessions included the manor of Portpole and lands in St. Andrew's, Holborn.²

Dr. John Colet, the learned dean of St. Paul's, was allowed to build himself lodgings within the precincts of the monastery of Sheen. Discovering the sweating sickness to grow upon him, he retired to Sheen, 'spending the little remainder of his days in devotion, and surrendered up at length his last breath to Him that first gave it, on the 16th of September 1519.'³ His body was however taken back to St. Paul's for burial.

On 28 April 1528 John Jobourn, prior of Sheen, as visitor of the order, consented to the alienation by the monastery of the Carthusian house, the Salutation, near London, of a tenement in London of the gift of Sir Robert Reede, late chief justice of the Common Pleas, in exchange for other lands more profitable.⁴

Among the alms of Katharine of Arragon for the year 1529 is the sum of £7 6s. 8d. to the convent of Sheen.⁵

In March 1530 Prior Jobourn, was one of the parties to an indenture tripartite touching lands devised for finding two secular priests in the chapel of All Angels beside 'Breyford Brygg.'⁶

On 1 November 1530, Prior Jobourn granted to the king the convent's possessions in Lewisham and East Greenwich,⁷ and an indenture was entered into on 5 September 1531 between him and the king for an exchange of these manors for the site and precinct of the late priory of Bradwell, Bucks, with lands in nine parishes of Buckinghamshire and two of Northamptonshire, together with seven advowsons, as held by John Ashby, the late prior; also the chantry lands of Beddington, and other lands lately belonging to Cardinal's College, Oxford.⁸

In common with other English Carthusians, the prior and convent of Sheen were very reluctant to take the oath of supremacy in favour of Henry VIII., which was generally enforced in 1534. The Carthusians were almost as zealous in opposing the royal action as were the Friars Observant.⁹ On 7 May 1534, Roland, Bishop of Lichfield, and Thomas Bedyll wrote to Cromwell that they had accomplished the business at Sheen, the prior, convent, and novices having taken the oath. The prior and proctor had shown themselves honest men and faithful subjects, and exhorted the Observants of Richmond to do the same.¹⁰ A letter to Lord Lisle, of 13 May, mentions however that the priors of the Charterhouses of London and Sheen were both in the Tower.¹¹

There is also a letter extant of this year, apparently of the month of August, from one John Pyzaunt, a monk of Sheen, to Sir John Alayn, alderman of London, which though loyal to his house and order, shows that there was difference of opinion amongst the brethren. He asked for Sir John's intercession with 'Mr. Secretary,' for, though many of them were ready to conform with the king's wishes, 'others I think will rather die from a little scrupulosity of conscience, and would not

⁵ *Ibid.* 6121.

⁶ *Ibid.* 6264.

⁷ *Ibid.* 6711.

⁸ *Ibid.* v. 403, 627 (22).

⁹ See the subsequent account of the friars of Richmond.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vii. 622.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 671. For the piteous story of the appalling treatment of the London Carthusians on the scaffold and in prison, see Froude's *Hist.* ii. ch 9; and Gasquet's *Monasteries*, i. 202-43.

¹ Stowe's *Annals*, 494.

² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ii. 1760, 1778.

³ Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses* (Bliss), i. 26.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv. 4221.

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give way for sorrow and despair of salvation, losing peradventure both body and soul which were greatly to be lamented.⁷ He besought the alderman to speak some good word for the obstinate ones that they might be suffered and borne with.¹ Henry Man, proctor of the house, which was the title of the third official, was the leader of those who were apparently ready to comply with the king's wish.

In June 1535 Robert Marshall, one of the Sheen monks, wrote to Cromwell stating that he had of late been at home in the house of Sheen, and made inquiry whether the king's commission sent by the Bishop of Winchester for the king's supremacy was declared among the brethren in their chapter-house, and to strangers and others in church every Sunday and holy day. He asserted that this had not been done, adding that those of his brethren who were the king's friends were shocked and greatly offended with vicar and proctor. As a true subject Marshall declared that he felt he must reveal this matter to Cromwell. This was evidently written during the absence of Prior Man.²

Writing to Cromwell on 8 August 1536, Prior Man stated that his 'lordship' had put in the commission for the visitation of their religion that the brethren should preach within their monasteries. He understood this to mean that their priors who might ride abroad should preach also in other churches, but wanted assurance on this point.³

In March 1538 Prior Henry showed himself amenable to Cromwell's wishes in the matter of the advowson of Godshill.⁴

On Easter Day 1538 one Dr. Cottys, a secular priest, preached in the charter-house, Sheen, a sermon which was said to be sinister and seditious. A version of parts of it was sent to Cromwell by Robert Singleton. 'To be brief,' wrote Singleton, 'the sermon seemed to be to blaspheme against the king and you that be of his council, and to seduce the people from the Son of Man to the abominacion standing in the Holy Place.'⁵

The *Valor* of 1535 showed that the clear annual value of this well-endowed house was £800 5s. 4½d.

The house surrendered, through the influence of Prior Man, early in 1539. The prior was assigned the great pension of £133 6s. 8d., and small sums to eighteen of the other monks.⁶ The prior's complacency was

further rewarded by his being made dean of Chester, and in 1546 he was promoted to be bishop of the Isle of Man, retaining his deanery *in commendam*.

The site of this charterhouse was granted in 1540 to Edward, Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset; and on his attainer in 1552 to Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, who made the house his residence. But on 26 January 1557, Queen Mary replaced the Carthusian monks in their house of Sheen, making Maurice Chauncy their new prior, and granting them a moderate endowment. With the accession of Elizabeth however the few religious houses that Mary had refounded were again dissolved, and Sheen once more became Crown property.

Maurice Chauncy, the last prior of Sheen, was one of the few religious of the London charterhouse who purchased their lives of Henry VIII. by compliance with his wishes, and on its dissolution obtained a pension of £5. In his future penitence he deeply bewailed that he had not shared the crown of martyrdom, and spoke of himself as 'the spotted and diseased sheep of the flock.' The Carthusians, who were for a short time gathered together under Prior Maurice at Sheen during Mary's reign, were the scattered remnant of the various English charterhouses. Several died during their brief sojourn at the restored house, and the rest followed their superior into exile on Elizabeth's accession. Prior Maurice died at Paris on 12 July 1581; two years later his history of the sufferings of the Carthusians under Henry VIII. was printed, of which Mr. Froude made so much use in his graphic and sympathetic account of their treatment.⁷

PRIORS OF SHEEN

John Widrington, elected 1414
 John Bokyngham, ,, 1431
 John Ives, occurs 1461
 William Wildy, occurs 1474 and 1477⁸
 John Ingilby, ,, 1479-80⁹
 John Jobourn, ,, 1504, resigned
 1534
 Brian, elected 1534
 Henry Man,¹⁰ occurs 1535-9
 Maurice Chauncy, occurs 1557

⁷ Gasquet's *Monasteries*, i. 203; ii. 405-6.

⁸ Pat. 14 Edw. IV. pt. i. m. 26, 25; pt. ii. m. 23; 16 Edw. IV. pt. i. m. 26; 17 Edw. IV. pt. ii. m. 31.

⁹ Ibid. 19 Edw. IV. m. 25; 26 Edw. IV. pt. i. m. 10, 2.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII* viii. 585.

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vii. 1091.

² Ibid. 959. ³ Ibid. xi. 244.

⁴ Ibid. xiii. (1), 35, 422, 423. ⁵ Ibid. 819.

⁶ Aug. Off. Misc. Bks. ccxxiv. f. 3b.

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The fifteenth century pointed oval seal¹ represents the Nativity of Our Lord, with the star of Bethlehem above, and a demi-angel holding a scoll. In the base are the quartered arms of France and England. Legend : SIGILLU : COME : DOMUS : IHU : DE : BETHLEEM : IUXTA : SHEEN : ORDINIS : CARTUYS.

A smaller pointed oval seal⁶ of fifteenth century has the Nativity treated after a natural and picturesque fashion, in a different way to the larger seal. The shield of France and England and the legend are the same.

The seal of the latter foundation by Queen Mary⁷ treats the Nativity after a rude fashion. Legend : JESU · BETHLEHEM · SHEENE.

HOUSES OF AUSTIN CANONS

5. PRIORY OF ST. MARY OF MERTON

Various dates have been assigned for the foundation of this Austin priory. Stowe states that it was founded in 1092, but the *Annals of Waverley*² and Matthew Paris give the year 1117,³ which seems the generally accepted date. The foundation charter of Henry I.,⁴ dated 1121, granting the royal town of Merton to canons regular to enable them to erect a permanent church and conventual buildings in honour of the Blessed Virgin, speaks of them as already established there. An early MS. of the College of Arms gives however some interesting details which appear to reconcile varying accounts.⁵ According to that narrative Henry I. gave the manor of Merton to Gilbert Norman, sheriff of Surrey, who in the year 1115 built a temporary monastery of timber at this place. He then requested and obtained the king's patronage for accomplishing the work, and applied to the prior of the regular canons at Huntingdon for assistance. The prior of Huntingdon assigned Robert Bayle, the sub-prior, to superintend the work. On his arrival at Merton, Gilbert delivered to him the newly erected buildings, of which Robert became prior, and bestowed two plough-lands, a mill of 60s. rent and some villeins, promising eventually to grant the whole manor. The founder brought prelates and nobles of the land to see the place and recommended it to their patronage. Among others Queen Maud expressed her interest in the welfare of the new foundation. After two years the prior, expressing his dissatisfaction with the site, which seems to have been close to the parish church, obtained the founder's consent to remove to the spot where

the priory eventually stood. A chapel of wood was speedily built there and consecrated by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester. The prior went in procession, with fifteen brethren, to the new monastery two years and five months after his appointment, the founder and an immense crowd being present. Queen Maud and her son visited the new habitation. The queen's death in 1118 was a great blow to the rising house for the king was at that time averse to the settlement of lands on religious houses, and refused his consent to the bestowal by the founder of the manor of Merton. In 1121, a crusade was being prepared, and a meeting of prelates and nobles was held at Winchester. Gilbert and Prior Robert attended and promised as a contribution that the convent would raise the sum of one hundred pounds of silver and six marks of gold. This generous contribution towards the crusade won the king's consent, and a definite charter for the establishment of the priory under royal patronage and for its endowment with the manor of Merton to be held free and quit of all exactions as it was held by the Crown with right of soc, sac, tol, theam and infangnethef⁸ was the result. On their return from Winchester Gilbert assembled all the men of the village in the convent and surrendered the manor and its villeins to the prior and canons, who then numbered twenty-three brethren.

The first stone of the new priory church was not laid 'until 1130, the founder laying the first stone, the prior the second, and the brethren, who then numbered thirty-six, each laying one in succession. Gilbert died in July of that year and was buried within the convent walls.⁹ He is stated by Dugdale, on the authority of Leland, to have added to the endowment of the

¹ B. M. lxxii. 63.

² *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 216.

³ *Matt. of Paris, Hist. Minor* (Rolls Ser.), i. 222.

⁴ *Cart. Antiq. R. U.* 5.

⁵ *College of Arms MSS. No. xxviii.*; Lysons, *Environs of London*, i. 339-41.

⁶ B. M. lxxii. 64.

⁷ B. M. D.C.H. 57.

⁸ *Cart. Antiq. R. U.* 5.

⁹ *College of Arms MSS. No. xxviii.*; Lysons, *Environs of London*, i. 339-41.

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priory the church of Kingston-on-Thames with the chapelries of Thames Ditton, East Molesey, Petersham and Sheen.¹ The cloister and other buildings were completed in 1136, when the canons were inducted by the Bishops of Rochester and St. Asaph, deputed for that purpose by William de Corbeuil, Archbishop of Canterbury.² In 1156, during the rule of Robert, the second prior,³ Henry II. gave to the canons the manor of Ewell in Surrey with its members, Kingswood and Selswood.⁴ In 1252 Henry III., inspecting and confirming the charters granted by his predecessors to the priory, confirmed, among others, a charter of Henry II., granting that all the goods of the canons of St. Mary of Merton should be free of toll and passage and all custom throughout England, that they should have pasturage for their breeding mares and pannage for their swine in all royal forests, and that they should not be impleaded by any tenant holding of their demesne except before the king or his chief justice.⁵ A charter of Richard I. confirmed to the canons all gifts made to them to be held fully and freely as other abbeyes and religious houses held with right of soc, sac, tol, theam and infangnethef, free of all secular service and quit of suits, plaints of the shire and hundred court, the payment of geld and danegeld and money pertaining to murder and theft.⁶

Among other grants to the prior and canons were lands in Alconbury and Upton confirmed by Henry III.,⁷ and the church of Effingham, said to have been bestowed by William de Dammartin.⁸ the father of Odo de Dammartin, founder and benefactor of the Austin Hospital of Tandridge.⁹ Frequent mention in the records of

the reign of John show that the canons had at this time secured an influential position and full recognition. An order was sent by the king in 1205 to the bailiffs of the port of Portsmouth directing them to find a passage for the king's nuncios, one of whom was a canon of Merton, proceeding on the king's business to Normandy, and to take from them security that they were leaving on no sinister pretext and that they carried nothing beyond personal provision.¹⁰ In 1214 Henry, canon of Merton, was elected prior of Carlisle.¹¹ The priory seems at one time to have been entrusted with articles of considerable value. John granted letters patent on 27 June 1215, testifying that he had received at Winchester by the hands of Adam, the cellarer of Merton, valuables committed to the custody of the prior of Merton by royal command.¹² In 1218 Prior Walter, 'spurning the pomp and riches of the world and loving the quietness of solitude,' resigned his office in order to assume the habit of a Carthusian monk.¹³ The sub-prior and canons received a licence from the king to elect a successor to their late head,¹⁴ and on 6 November the royal assent was given to the election of Thomas the cellarer. He was one of the arbitrators in the settlement of a dispute in 1222 between Eustace, Bishop of London, and the abbot of Westminster as to the subjection of the abbey to the see of London.¹⁵ His death occurred in September of the same year. In the December following during a great tempest which raged throughout England, causing many deaths and untold damage, the tower of Merton priory was blown down,¹⁶ and to assist in repairing the damage thus caused the prior received permission from Henry III. in 1225 to take six old oak trees from Windsor Forest.¹⁷ On 1 December 1230 Archbishop Richard conse-

all other acts and benefits in their house (Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vii. f. 86).

¹⁰ Close, 6 John, m. 4.

¹¹ Ibid. 16 John, m. 2.

¹² Pat. 17 John, m. 22.

¹³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 290.

¹⁴ Pat. 2 Hen. III. m. 1.

¹⁵ *Matt. of Paris, Chron. Major* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 75.

¹⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 76.

¹⁷ Close, 9 Hen. III. m. 7. In 1343 the priory contributed twelve oaks from its woods at Kingswood for the king's chapel at Westminster. John de Baddeley and William de Hesle were appointed to fell the oaks and to cause them to be taken through the wood and thence to Westminster, the carriage being provided at the king's charge by the counsel and advice of the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex (Pat. 17 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 11).

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 425.

² Decem. Scriptores, 1664.

³ Robert II. followed Robert Bayle, who died in 1150. A list of priors up to 1307 is given in the Merton Chartulary (Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vii. f. 196).

⁴ *Cart. Antiq.* R. U. 5.

⁵ *Cart. R.* 36 Hen. III. m. 11, and Add. MS. 6166, p. 464.

⁶ Ibid. and *Cart. Antiq.* R.G.G. 18. This pancarta of Henry III. was inspected and confirmed by Edward III (Cart. 10 Edw. III. no. 44) and Henry VI. (Pat. 3 Hen. VI. pt. ii, m. 10).

⁷ *Cart. R.* 36 Hen. III. m. 11.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 245.

⁹ A charter of Walter, seventh prior of Merton, dated 1217, testified that he and the canons of Merton had admitted into the fraternity of their house Odo de Dammartin, the founder, and all the brothers and sisters and benefactors of the Hospital of St. James of Tandridge, to be participants in all their prayers, alms, fastings, vigils, and in

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crated Elias of Radnor Bishop of Llandaff in the conventual church of Merton; this raised a protest from the monks of Canterbury at the ceremony not taking place in the cathedral church.¹ Prior Giles de Bourne resigned in 1231 in order to become a Cistercian monk at Beaulieu, and was succeeded in his office by Henry de Basinges, subcellarer of that house.²

During the rule of this prior several striking scenes in connection with national history took place at the monastery. Hither in 1232 fled for sanctuary Hubert de Burgh, the great justiciar of England, whereupon the king ordered him to come forth and abide the issue of the law, but Hubert, distrusting the king, declined to leave his asylum. Henry III. being enraged ordered the lord mayor of London to summon all citizens that could bear arms and to take Hubert alive or dead. An armed mob of 20,000 speedily assembled and marched on Merton. As they neared the priory the hunted man took up his station before the high altar to await what might befall, but to the great relief of the prior and canons wiser counsels prevailed with the king, and at the eleventh hour the array was dismissed. Eventually Hubert de Burgh left the priory under what he believed to be a royal safe-conduct.³ The large buildings of the monastery were used in 1236 for the holding of the Parliament which passed the famous *Statutes of Merton*, thus named from the place of assembly.⁴ It was here also that in 1217 Cardinal Gualo, the pope's legate, concluded the peace between Henry III. and the French prince.⁵ Prior Henry died at the close of 1238, and was succeeded in January 1238-9 by Robert de Hexham, in whose time the seal of the priory was renewed in silver; it was received on 11 December 1241.⁶ The prior of Merton, together with the abbot of Malmesbury, was suspended for opposing the demands of the papal emissary sent to England in 1244 to extort money

from the clergy by every means, especially from the religious orders, and armed with plenary powers to excommunicate, suspend and punish.⁷ A charter of Eustace, who became prior in 1249, granted to Sir John de Haunsard and Lady Gundreda his wife the right of participating in all the spiritual blessings in the house and of choosing their place of sepulture within the church, before the altar of which two canons should be assigned successively to celebrate for their souls. On the news of the death of one or the other the convent engaged to receive the body with tolling of bells and obsequies to be made as for a prior. Their names should be entered in the martyrology of the house, their anniversary kept, and a pittance made for both to the value of one mark.⁸

A sum of 600 marks was bequeathed by Peter Chaseporc, who died on the eve of Christmas 1255, to buy land in England to build a house of canons from Merton.⁹

During the rule of Gilbert de Asshe in 1258 convocation of Canterbury was summoned to meet at Merton Priory under the presidency of Archbishop Boniface, when articles of much importance were promulgated.¹⁰ In the same year the archbishop granted a licence to the prior and convent permitting them to appropriate the church of Patricbourne to their own use, and ordained that in future the prior of Merton should present a canon whom the archbishop and his successors should admit to the church.¹¹ The convent at the request of Walter de Merton, founder of Merton College, consented to remit to the use of its scholars the advowson of the church of Malden.¹² The canons obtained a licence from the Crown in 1299 to appropriate the church of Effingham in their own patronage and of the annual value of twenty marks.¹³

The taxation roll of 1291 affords abundant evidence of the wealth of this house. In addition to a very large number of advowsons, appropriations and ecclesiastical pensions the priory then held temporalities in thirty-two London parishes of the annual value of £39 1s. 6d.¹⁴; their temporalities in the diocese of Winchester amounted to £43 9s.,¹⁵ and

¹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 77.

² *Ibid.* iii. 128. He was the second prior to leave his order for one of more rigid discipline. The communities of the order of St. Augustine, while leading a quiet, regular, religious life, do not seem to have made any aim at the severity and self-mortification which distinguished some of the other orders.

³ *Matt. of Paris, Chron. Major.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 224-5-6.

⁴ *Ibid. Hist. Minor.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 386-7, and *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 249-53.

⁵ *Lambarde's Dict.* 212.

⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 329.

⁷ *Matt. of Paris, Chron. Major* (Rolls Ser.), iv. 284-5.

⁸ *Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vii. 115d.*

⁹ *Matt. of Paris, Chron. Major* (Rolls Ser.), v. 484.

¹⁰ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 411-22.

¹¹ *Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vii. f. 117.*

¹² *Ibid. f. 142.*

¹³ *Pat. 27 Edw. I. m. 30.*

¹⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 10.

¹⁵ *Ibid. p. 206.*

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they held property in twelve counties outside the dioceses of London and Winchester.

The prior of Merton was summoned with other prelates to the Parliament held in 1264 to consult with Simon de Montfort on the affairs of the realm.¹ He was also summoned to attend the Parliaments held in 1295 and 1299.² There was a large exodus of ecclesiastics from England in 1274 to attend the Council of Lyons, and early in that year Prior Gilbert of Merton received letters of protection to last until midsummer.³ In 1285 the king, being as he represented in urgent need of money, borrowed £500 from a tenth⁴ collected from the clergy of the province of Canterbury in aid of the Holy Land and deposited in Merton Priory, promising by letters patent that the loan should be repaid within a certain time, and in the meantime to hold the convent harmless against the pope and any nuncio. The canons had to wait a considerable time before the borrowed money was returned. A petition, undated, addressed to the king by the prior urgently requested that he would restore the £500 in which he was bound by letters obligatory; two-thirds of the money had been paid already, and he was bound to furnish the remaining sum by Easter under pain of interdict.⁵ On 1 March 1302-3 the king, reciting the circumstances under which the money was taken, confirmed his letters patent of the previous October, assigning to the prior and canons for eight years in return for the money which they had been obliged to find, the farm of £30 paid by the prior of Banwell for the manor of Chesterton, and a rent of assize of £32 18s. 10d. in the city and suburbs of London forfeited by the notorious Adam de Stratton. These grants amounting to £503 10s. 8d., the king exacted a return of 70s. 8d. at the end of the term.⁶ The prior of Merton received in common with other religious houses frequent requests for aid during the reign of Edward II. Thus

in December 1307 he was asked to furnish two good carts and horses to be at Westminster on St. Stephen's Day to carry part of the royal equipment to Dover, the king promising to pay the expenses of the man leading the carts and of the horses in going and returning.⁷ In June 1310 came a request for victuals in aid of the Scotch war,⁸ and a demand in the following August for the sum of twenty marks to be paid to the keeper of the king's wardrobe, which sum the king had previously requested the prior to pay, and his excuses for not complying with the royal request were considered insufficient.⁹ A certain slackness at this time may have been due to want of funds; the Close Rolls of Edward II. record the acknowledgment of large debts on the part of the convent to citizens and merchants of London, foreign lenders and others. In 1309 the prior and canons obtained a licence from the Crown for the appropriation of the church of Cuddington of their own advowson.¹⁰ The Bishop of Winchester in confirming the appropriation refers to the 'manifest poverty' of the house occasioned by no fault of the convent, but the result of the care displayed in ministering to the poor and the exercise of frequent hospitalities.¹¹ In 1317 the priory mortgaged to Philip de Barton, archdeacon of Surrey, all tithes of corn and fruit and the great tithes of the church of Effingham for a term of six years, thus securing a loan of £26.¹² The charges on the house by way of corrodies and pensions must have been great, and the king seems to have exercised to the full his prerogative in this respect as patron. On 25 January 1312-3 Lambert Clays, who had long served the king and his father, was sent to the prior and convent to receive maintenance in their house for life.¹³ Similarly in June 1317 Alan de Sancto Botulpho,¹⁴ and in December 1318 Geoffrey de Thorpe¹⁵ were bestowed there as royal life pensioners. During the reign of Edward III. Thomas Holbode, carrier (*portitor*), of the king's wardrobe was sent in April 1331 to receive such maintenance in the house as John

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera* (Rec. Com.), i. pt. I, 449.

² *Parl. Writs* (Rec. Com.), i. 737.

³ Pat. 2 Edw. I. m. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.* 14 Edw. I. m. 17.

⁵ Anct. Pet. 6318.

⁶ Pat. 31 Edw. I. m. 33. The convent was not even allowed to retain this bare return of the loan undisturbed. In June 1306 the king, having assigned the farm of Chesterton to Margaret, queen consort, for life from Easter 1304, so that the prior and convent had only received £45, granted them in lieu thereof £50 yearly, which Henry de Cobham rendered at the Exchequer for the farm of the city of Rochester and the castle guard rents there until the loan should be cleared off (Pat. 34 Edw. I. m. 16).

⁷ Close, 1 Edw. II. m. 12d.

⁸ *Ibid.* 3 Edw. II. m. 5d.

⁹ *Ibid.* 4 Edw. II. m. 4.

¹⁰ Pat. 2 Edw. II. pt. ii, m. 4.

¹¹ Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vii. f. 146.

¹² *Ibid.* f. 184. This ecclesiastic figures in the records of many of the religious houses in the diocese, and he seems on many occasions to have accommodated them in the way of loans; to Chertsey he left a large bequest to found a chantry.

¹³ Close, 6 Edw. II. m. 15.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 10 Edw. II. m. 5d.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 12 Edw. II. m. 19d.

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de Bul, deceased, had had by the late king's request,¹ and again in 1340 Bartholomew de Langele was sent to receive the maintenance which the convent provided for Nicholas de la Garderobe at the request of Edward I.² John Mareys was sent as a pensioner in March 1342-3 in the place of John Nichol, deceased.³ In accordance with the practice of imposing a king's clerk on houses of royal patronage on the occasion of the creation of a new prior, the convent received in May 1335 following the election of Thomas de Kent, Richard Murymouth, until such time as he should be provided by them with a suitable benefice.⁴ On similar conditions Henry de Borewell was granted a pension in 1340 on the succession of Thomas de Lytlynton as prior.⁵ Besides these charges Stephen de Staplebrigg, a Templar, was sent to do penance in the monastery of St. Mary Merton, and in 1313 Henry de Cobham, keeper of the late Templars' lands in Surrey, was ordered to pay to the Bishop of Winchester the arrears for his maintenance, to wit 4*d.* a day from the time of his appointment as keeper and to continue to pay the same.⁶ A few years later the Bishop of London, in accordance with a bull of Pope John XXII., sent to the convent Thomas Totty, a lay brother of the late order, to end his days there.⁷

The priory was involved from the days of John in frequent suits which must have harassed them to some extent if it resulted in no pecuniary loss. In Michaelmas term 1202 a suit was impending between Simon, son of Richard, and the prior of Merton respecting half a virgate of land in Fifhide. The prior claimed that the plot in question was parcel of Ewell, a manor which had been granted to the canons by Henry II. to be held in free alms as the king held it in desmesne, and the plea being maintained the assize did not proceed.⁸ In Easter term 1206 William, clerk of Tunbridge, was sued by the prior and canons for an annual rent of 2*s.* claimed by them as the gift of Roger, son of Odo, who confirmed by charter to the

church of Merton in free alms his gift of all that land which the widow Alditha held of him. Judgment was deferred till certain inquiries could be made.⁹ In the same term the prior summoned Brian, son of Ralph, and Gunnora his wife for the advowson of the church of Malden as that which Eudo de Meldon gave with his body in free alms to the convent. The verdict is not given,¹⁰ but as the church was bestowed later, on the scholars of the college founded by Walter de Merton, it would appear that the convent were able to maintain their claim. The prior of Merton brought a suit against Samsen de Molesey in Trinity term 1212 for having diverted the course of the water at Molesey to the injury of the free tenant of the priory there.¹¹ During the reign of Henry III. there appears to have been some violence in connection with the chapel of Ropley. The sheriff of Southampton was ordered to remove the lay force by which the men of the prior of Merton were being obstructed, so that they might have free entry to the chapel, and to take pledges from those causing the obstruction to appear before the king to answer for their violence. The sheriff was further commanded to attach Master Alberic, the official of the archdeacon of Winchester, to answer for his action in collating and instituting to the chapel contrary to the claim of the king, in whose hands the right of presentation had devolved by reason of the voidance of the see of Winchester, and enjoined to remove all force cleric or lay, and to take all who obstructed to answer for what they had done.¹² In the year 1253 a dispute arose between the king's bailiff and the convent, and on the morrow of the Feast of St. Martin, Henry de Tuglur, the prior's bailiff, was attached to answer to the king why they had neglected to convey the king's treasure through the district of Kingston as required by his bailiff, why they neglected to keep vigil in the aforesaid vill which pertains to the preservation of the king's peace, and why they refused to appear with arms before the king's constables according to their assignment. The king's bailiff said he had duly admonished them and gone round from house to house, but brother Stephen, the prior's bailiff, went to each house and forbade them to fulfil these demands. The prior's bailiff asserted that the prior had a charter of King Richard which acquitted him of such service. The king's bailiff further alleged that they refused to keep watch or

¹ Close, 5 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 16*d.* The following year the prior of Merton was requested with other ecclesiastics to aid Edward III. with a subsidy in connection with expenses incurred by the marriage of the king's sister Eleanor to the Count of Guelders (*ibid.* 6 Edw. III. m. 16*d.*).

² *Ibid.* 14 Edw. III. m. 27*d.*

³ *Ibid.* 17 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 18*d.*

⁴ *Ibid.* 9 Edw. III. m. 25*d.*

⁵ *Ibid.* 14 Edw. III. m. 25*d.*

⁶ *Ibid.* 7 Edw. II. m. 20.

⁷ London Epis. Reg., Gravesend, f. 45.

⁸ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 35.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 50.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 86, 91.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 113.

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do service at hue and cry except at a certain place. To this it was answered that they kept watch in the town of Kingston and suit of hue and cry where and when they were bound, but that they were never required to keep watch beyond the water outside the town of Kingston, but within the town as the other men of the town do 'pro homine mortuo,' and not beyond the water which is at the end of the market towards Guildford.¹ The prior and canons secured a recognition of their liberties by the justices itinerant of Edward I. in 1278,² but they had to sustain frequent suits for the possession of property in different counties. They were successful in obtaining verdicts in suits brought against them for their right to hold a court in connection with the church of Patrichbourne,³ for their sake within the city and suburbs of London,⁴ and for the possession of the manors of Worth, Kingswood, Selswood, and Ewell of ancient demesne.⁵ Judgment was reserved for hearing before the Treasurer and barons of the Exchequer in suits respecting courts held by them within the counties of Buckingham⁶ and Hertford,⁷ and for their right to hold a view of frank pledge and erect gallows in their manor of Alconbury in county of Huntingdon.⁸ In the reign of Edward III. they were summoned to show their right to hold a view of frank pledge in Meppershall in the county of Bedford, the king's attorney contending that it was not claimed in the last *iter*. Judgment was given against the prior who was amerced.⁹ These suits are perhaps only such as might be expected in connection with a house acquiring large property in different counties, but it shows a vigorous determination not to relinquish any of the rights or profits of the house. Edward III. in 1345 ordered inquiries to be made in Surrey 'whether as is said, the prior and convent of Merton and their predecessors have unduly acquired to them and their house lands held of the king and others beyond the lands granted to the house at its foundation,'¹⁰ but the result of the inquiries is not known. The prior was impleaded by his tenants of Selswood, member of the manor of Ewell, in Michaelmas term 1316, for demanding of them more service than was due of custom,

to which he made reply that no more was required than that which a predecessor recovered by law in a former suit and that the tenants themselves had failed to perform the service to which they were bound and judgment was given to the prior accordingly.¹¹ A petition to the king from his 'poor tenants of ancient demesne of manor of Merton' indicates a very harsh and summary method of dealing with their tenants by the canons. The petitioners recite that, whereas the manor had been made over by King Henry on condition that the tenants should hold their lands by certain services and customs according to ancient usage, the prior who then was and William de Kent, his fellow monk, came to the houses of the tenants and broke open their chests and took away the muniments and charters belonging to the said tenants and carried them away and had further assaulted them. The tenants claimed redress, and prayed that the prior should be summoned to show why he had abused them of their heritage, 'of which their predecessors had been enfeoffed by King Harold, and that the king would grant protection to his poor tenants of Merton,' so that no man might do them wrong or molest or do bodily harm to them or their chattels.¹² In addition to the large estates already held by the prior and canons of Merton they obtained a licence in 1337 from Edward III. to acquire in mortmain land and rent not held in chief to the yearly value of £10,¹³ and a similar grant was made them in January 1388-9 by Richard II.¹⁴

During the reign of Edward III. an important recognition was obtained from the Crown respecting the custody of the temporalities of the priory during voidance. On 27 March 1335 the sub-prior and convent complained that during the voidance occasioned by the death of Prior William de Brokesburn the issues of the temporalities had been received and levied by the king's escheator, whereas they and their predecessors had hitherto received all issues on such occasions, time out of mind, without

¹¹ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 325. In the course of the suit it was alleged by the prior that he possessed the right to claim from each tenant one pig in every ten and two pigs in every twenty, and if a tenant had less than ten pigs a penny could be claimed for every pig. For examples of a similar customary claim in Domesday see *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 291.

¹² *Anct. Pet.* 3007.

¹³ *Pat.* 2 Edw. III. pt. iii, m. 30.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 12 Rich. II. pt. ii, m. 28.

¹ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), 136.

² *Plac. de quo war.* (Rec. Com.), 281.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 313, 342.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 473. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 739.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 85-6. ⁷ *Ibid.* p. 289.

⁸ *Ibid.* 303. ⁹ *Ibid.* p. 39.

¹⁰ *Pat.* 19. Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 12d.

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the king or his progenitors receiving anything, and they prayed for the restoration of the issues accordingly. The king ordered an inquiry to be made into the matter,¹ with the result that the escheator was ordered not to intermeddle further with the temporalities of the priory of Merton, but to permit the sub-prior and convent to receive and dispose of the issues thereof without hindrance as they had done in times past, the inquisition having proved that it was the custom for the king's officer immediately after the death of a prior to enter the priory and place a man to guard the outer gate, which is called the great gate of the priory, in the king's name, to stay there during the voidance without receiving anything except his reasonable maintenance.²

Merton, like other houses following the Augustinian rule, was subject to episcopal jurisdiction and open to diocesan visitation. Towards the end of 1304 a visitation of the priory during the voidance of the see of Winchester was held by the Archbishop of Canterbury, when various irregularities were alleged against the prior, Edmund Herierd. Eventually, in consequence of these charges, the prior, whilst vehemently protesting his innocence, was compelled to resign on 25 September 1305. Permission was granted him to occupy rooms within the priory suitable for himself and any one member of the house whom he might choose to live with him; he was also assigned a squire of the body and a servant to attend on him, with a suitable allowance for each.³ The Bishop of Winchester notified the vacancy to the king, as patron, and licence was granted to elect a successor. The chapter met on 1 December, but could not agree, some voting for the re-election of the late prior and the rest making choice of William de Brokesburn. Apparently the numbers for each were equal, and a double return was made to the bishop, who endeavoured to bring about a compromise, but without success, and on 3 December certified their proceedings to the king.⁴ Edward I. issued a mandate to the bishop to provide a head for the priory of Merton 'out of the bosom of that church,' in order to settle the discords that had arisen since the cession of Prior Herierd. By the king's ordinance the elected persons came before the bishop, and of their own free will renounced all right they might

claim from their election; but the proctors of the parties elected not having come with power of renunciation or of submitting to the bishop's ordinance, the bishop dismissed the elected persons. Thereupon the sub-prior and convent unanimously consented to the provision of a prior by the bishop if the royal assent were given.⁵ The bishop's choice fell upon Geoffrey de Alkembury, one of the canons, and to him the temporalities were restored on 6 March 1305-6.⁶ During these proceedings the ex-prior endeavoured to strengthen his party among the canons by lavish entertainment and bringing counter-charges against his opponents, with the result that he was reduced to the position of an ordinary canon, and ordered to spend the remainder of his days with his brethren in the cloister.⁷

In July 1316, the see of Winchester being again void by the death of Henry Woodlock, the Archbishop of Canterbury commissioned certain clerks to visit all religious houses in the diocese with the exception of the priory of Merton, specially reserved to the visitation of the archbishop himself.⁸ The succeeding Bishop of Winchester, John de Sandale, held large ordinations in the conventual church of Merton in March 1316-7 and in September 1318.⁹ William, Bishop of Nantes, acting for the diocesan, visited the priory in June 1382, and dedicated three altars and two altar tops (*altaria portatilia seu super-altaria*).¹⁰ Notice of the bishop's intention to hold a visitation of the priory was forwarded to the prior from Southwark on 28 June 1387.¹¹ In the following September the bishop addressed letters to the convent, exhorting them to adhere more closely than they had been doing to the original constitutions of St. Augustine.¹² In the absence of any gross scandal, however, perhaps the most serious blame attached to the monastery by Bishop Wykeham was their neglect to keep in fitting repair the churches and chapels of which they were the rectors. On 6 November the bishop commissioned the Dean of Ewell to cite the prior and convent and the

⁵ Pat. 34 Edw. I. m. 38.

⁶ *Ibid.* m. 33.

⁷ Winton. Epis. Reg., Woodlock, f. 33.

⁸ Reg. of Sandale (*Hants Rec. Soc.*), 341. The visitation of this priory appears to have been reserved to the archbishops in the voidance of the see of Winchester.

⁹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Sandale, ff. 53-61d.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Wykeham, ii. f. 198.

¹¹ *Ibid.* f. 230d.

¹² The rules, extending to a great length, were to be enrolled and recited twice a year (*Bodl. Library Laud. MS. 723, f. 52*).

¹ Close, 9 Edw. III. m. 30.

² *Ibid.* m. 28.

³ Winton. Epis. Reg., Woodlock, f. 34.

⁴ *Ibid.* ff. 31-2.

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vicar of Kingston-on-Thames to appear before him or his commissary to answer for dilapidations in the chancels of East Molesey, Sheen and Thames Ditton, dependants of the church of Kingston.¹ In the case of the church of Effingham their neglect seems to have been successfully carried on for some years, for when the bishop, on 20 April 1388, issued a monition to the prior of Merton, he stated that at several visitations of the church it was apparent that the chancel was notoriously in a ruinous state in respect to roof, walls and windows, and complaints were made by the parishioners that no one could enter, and service could not be held in the chancel. He added that he had refrained from interfering in the hopes that the work would be undertaken, but the prior was then peremptorily admonished to have the chancel repaired before the feast of St. Michael next ensuing, in default of which he should himself cause the same to be repaired at the cost of the monastery, and should proceed against the canons for contempt of his mandate.²

During the fifteenth century entries of interest relating to this house become scantier. Licence was granted in 1424 during the rule of Thomas Shirfeld, at the request of Katherine, the king's mother, for William Cheyne and others to convey to the priory of Merton the manor of Combe, Surrey, in order that celebration might be maintained in the conventual church for the good estate of the king and his mother while living, and for their souls after death, and for the souls of the king's progenitors, Henry IV. and Henry V., and of Charles, the father of the queen dowager, and of all the faithful departed. The sum of £40 was paid by the convent to obtain this licence.³ The prior and canons were called on in 1477 to pay an annual pension of 100s. to William Clyfton, one of the king's trumpeters.⁴

The monastery was visited on 30 April 1501, during the voidance of the sees of Winchester and Canterbury, by Dr. Thomas Hede, commissary of the prior of Canterbury. The prior and canons were severally examined. John Gisbourne, then prior, said that divine services were suitably ordered, the house was not in debt, and the seal was kept under three keys, of which one was in the custody of the prior, and the others of the sub-prior and precentor respectively. William Sand-

wyche, sub-prior, Robert Doo, precentor, and the master of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, with fifteen of the canons, all testified *omne bene*. William Smyth, sub-deacon, thought that the master of the novices was not sufficiently strict in correcting them, and Canon John Marshall stated that there was not due provision made for the sick in the infirmary.⁵ In July 1513 a licence to alienate in mortmain to the priory of Merton 24 acres of meadow and 116 acres of pasture in Cornburgh was obtained by John Norton and John Baker, clerk.⁶

The *Valor* of 1535 estimated the clear annual value of this wealthy foundation at £960 16s. 6d.

Dr. Legh, as Cromwell's agent, visited Merton, which owing to some mistake he termed an abbey, in September 1535 and dismissed two canons. Writing to Cromwell he said he would have dismissed ten more, but waited to know his pleasure, as then there would only have been eight left.⁷ The reason for this dismissal he does not state.

Three years later, on 13 April 1538, the priory was surrendered by John Ramsey, prior, John Debnam, sub-prior, and thirteen other inmates, among whom is entered John Page, scholar of Oxford, to Richard Layton and Edward Carne.⁸ On the day of the surrender Layton wrote to Cromwell to the effect that there were at 'Merton Abbey' 18 fat oxen, whereof Sir Nicholas Carew desired part, 40 fat sheep, 200 quarters of malt and £30 in ling and haberdynce. Cromwell was to certify him by the bearer if he wanted any of these things reserved for his own household.⁹ Rich pickings for those who would divide the spoil! On 9 May pensions were assigned to the dispossessed canons. To the prior was granted a pension of 200 marks, to the sub-prior and another £8, to Thomas Paynell £10, and £6 13s. 4d. each to eleven of the others. Cromwell signed the pension list, and added a note to the effect that he had promised a house and garden in Trinity Lane, London, to the prior for life.¹⁰ The fabric of the church and conventual buildings were at once pulled down, and the materials used in the building of Nonsuch Palace.

⁵ Canterbury Sede Vacante Register.

⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* i. 4335.

⁷ *Ibid.* ix. 472.

⁸ Deeds of Surrender, No. 152.

⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. (1), 783-5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* xii. 1, 963. The name Bowle or Bowlle was an alias of Ramsey.

¹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Wykeham, ii. f. 82d.

² *Ibid.* f. 236.

³ Pat. 2 Hen. VI. pt. iii, m. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.* 16 Edw. IV. pt. ii, m. 13.

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PRIORS OF MERTON

Robert Bayle,¹ circa 1115-50
 Robert II.,² 1150-67
 William,³ 1167-77-8
 Stephen,⁴ 1177-8
 Robert,⁵ -1186
 Richard,⁶ 1190-8
 Walter,⁷ 1198-1218
 Thomas de Willst,⁸ 1218-22
 Giles de Bourne,⁹ 1222, resigned 1231
 Henry de Basinges,¹⁰ 1231-8
 Robert de Haxham,¹¹ 1238-9-49
 Eustachius,¹² 1249-52
 Gilbert de Asshe,¹³ 1252-92
 Nicholas Tregony,¹⁴ 1292-6
 Edmund de Herierd,¹⁵ 1296, resigned
 1305
 Geoffrey de Alkmondbury,¹⁶ 1305-6-7
 William de Brokesburn,¹⁷ 1307-34-5
 Thomas de Kent,¹⁸ 1334-5-9
 John de Lytlynton or Littleton,¹⁹ 1339,
 deposed 1345
 William de Friston,²⁰ 1345-61
 Geoffrey de Chaddesley, 1361-8
 Robert de Wyndesore,²¹ 1368-1403
 Michael Kymptone,²² 1403-13
 John Romeney,²³ 1413-22
 Thomas Shirfeld, 1422, resigned 1432
 William Kent, 1432

¹ A list of priors and the date of their death or resignation is found up to the year 1307 in the Merton Chartulary (Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vii. f. 196). The Chronicles of Merton in the Bodleian give a list of priors from the foundation up to 1432.

² Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vii. f. 196.

³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid. ⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. Prior Walter resigned to take the Carthusian habit. Pat. 2 Hen. III. m. 1.

⁸ Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vii. f. 196; he was cellarer of his house (Pat. 3 Hen. III. m. 6).

⁹ Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vii. f. 196; Pat. 6 Hen. III. m. 2. Prior Giles resigned his office in order to become a Cistercian monk at Beaulieu (*Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), iii. 128.)

¹⁰ Pat. 16 Hen. III. m. 10; Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vii. f. 196.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid. Pat. 20 Edw. I. m. 15.

¹⁴ Ibid. 20 Edw. I. m. 14; Cott. MS. Cleop. C. vii. f. 196.

¹⁵ Ibid. Pat. 25 Edw. I. m. 23.

¹⁶ Ibid. 34 Edw. I. m. 33; Cleop. C. vii. f. 196.

¹⁷ Ibid. Pat. 35 Edw. I. m. 12.

¹⁸ Ibid. 9 Edw. III. pt. i, m. 29.

¹⁹ Ibid. 13 Edw. III. pt. ii, m. 18.

²⁰ Ibid. 19 Edw. III. pt. ii, m. 22.

²¹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Wykeham, i, pt. 1, f. 12.

Pat. 1 Hen. IV. pt. v. m. 38.

²² Ibid. f. 335.

²³ Ibid. Beaufort, i. f. 49.

John Kingston,²⁴ occurs 1479, died 1485
 John Gisbourne,²⁵ 1485-1502
 William Sayling,²⁶ 1502-20
 John Lacy,²⁷ 1520-30
 John Ramsey,²⁸ 1530-8

A very fine pointed oval seal exists of this monastery.²⁹ Matrix made in 1241. *Obverse*—The blessed Virgin crowned seated on a throne, with Holy Child crowned on left knee; in the right hand a short sceptre. The background is diapered with quatrefoiled flowers. Above is an elaborate canopy, representing the conventual church, with central tower, and spire, and pinnacles at each end. On each side is a vesica-shaped countersunk panel, containing the head of a tonsured canon facing the Virgin. Legend: 'SIGILL' : ECCLESIE : SANCTE : MARIE : DE : MERITONA. *Reverse*—St. Augustine on a corbel, holding a crozier in the left hand, and giving the blessing with the right. Above is a canopy, representing a church very similar to the one on the obverse. Legend: MUNDI : LUCERNA : NOS : AUGUSTINI : GUBERNA. On the rim of the seal is the legend: AUGUSTINE ' PATER ' QUOS ' INSTRUIS ' IN ' MERITONA ' HIS ' CHRISTI ' MATER ' TUTRIX ' EST ATQUE ' PATRONA.

6. THE PRIORY OF NEWARK

Tanner and Manning and Bray, followed by the editors of the *Monasticon*, state that the priory of Aldbury in the parish of Send, afterwards called Newark or the New Place by Guildford,³⁰ was founded by Ruald de

²⁴ Pat. 19 Edw. IV. m. 31; 20 Edw. IV. pt. i, m. 25; Harl. MS. 433, f. 200.

²⁵ Pat. 2 Ric. III. pt. ii, m. 19.

²⁶ Winton. Epis. Reg., Fox, i. f. 17.

²⁷ Ibid. iv. f. 26; *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iii. 753.

²⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv. 6172, 6200, 6296.

²⁹ Cott. Chart. xxi. 25; Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surre.*, i. 258; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 246.

³⁰ On the Patent Rolls of Edward III. (Pat. 5 Edw. III. pt. ii, m. 23) is a protection for a year dated August 1331 for the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr at Guildford for collecting alms. It seems clear that this entry had reference to the priory of St. Thomas the Martyr of Newark near Guildford, as it is occasionally difficult, as already stated, to distinguish between hospitals and small Austin priories.

It may however be said that at the end of Spital Street, at the junction of the London and Epsom roads, in the parish of Holy Trinity, Guildford, but on the border of Stoke, a small ancient building known as the Spital was standing up to the last century. The person who held the land was

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Calva and Beatrice de Sandes his wife, in the time of Richard I. A long charter of inspection and confirmation, granted by Edward II. in 1320,¹ quotes the grant of Ruald and Beatrice by which they gave to God and the blessed Virgin and the blessed martyr Thomas and to the canons there serving God, in free alms, the land called 'Hamma de Papworth,' with all its appurtenances of woods, water, mills, fisheries, etc., half a hide of land at Ford, a little croft and a carucate of land adjoining it on the south, the church of Send with the chapel of Ripley, and the church of Shipton with the chapel of Snodington in Hampshire, to construct there in the place called Aldbury a church in honour of the blessed Virgin and the glorious martyr Thomas.

The same confirmation charter also recites the release to the canons by Beatrice after her husband's death of the Hamm of Papworth, then in her own power; the gift of Prior John of Aldbury of all his lands called Redecumbe in his manor of Mienes;² the gift by Andrew Bukerel, citizen of London, of the manor of West Bedfont (Middlesex) and his estate at Stanwell; the gift by Thomas de Hertmere of the manor of Hertmere in Godalming, together with rents under Guild-down, and at Putlond in Compton; and the gift in 1260, by Ralph de Treyon and Alice his wife, of lands in the manors of Burnham and Kirkeshye.

It would appear however that the charter of Ruald and Beatrice *temp.* Richard I. was one of re-founding rather than founding (as indeed is implied by the actual phraseology), and that the canons regular of St. Austin at Aldbury were of a far older establishment. The register of Bishop Woodlock states in 1312 that the house was first founded by a Bishop of Winchester. The house not unnaturally gradually changed its name from Aldbury to Newark or the New Place (*novo loco*) of St. Thomas near Guildford.

In 1262 the following churches were in the hands of this priory:—Woking, with its

known as the prior or master, and under that name paid 6*d.* a year as quit rent to the lord of the manor of Stoke. (Manning and Bray, vol. i. p. 19). The land however was reckoned as part of the manor of Poyle, now in the hands of Smith's Charity Trustees, and the house behind it is known as Poyle or Spital House. One sick person, or cripple, seems to have been entertained here still in the eighteenth century (see Manning and Bray, cited above).

¹ Cited at length, *Monasticon*, vi. 383-4.

² This gift was confirmed by Bishop Pontoise in 1285, and by Bishop Woodlock in 1312.

chapels of Horsell and Pyrford; Leigh; Send; St. Martha, Guildford; Wanborough; Shipton; Weybridge; and Windlesham, with its chapel.³

In 1279 Robert the prior was summoned to justify his claim to hold court and view of frank-pledge at Ripley, and justified his position by citing the grant made to his predecessor, Prior Thomas, about twenty years before.⁴

At the same time Prior Robert made good his right to free warren over his manor at Newark; to the market at Ripley (though none then attended); and the assize of bread and ale, and view of frank-pledge at Puttenham.⁵

John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, stayed at this priory on two or three occasions about 1281 and 1283, and several letters from him are dated from Newark.⁶

The taxation roll of 1291 shows that the temporalities pertaining to this priory were at that date considerable. The priory held tenements or rents in ten London parishes, producing an income of £5 16*s.* 3*d.*; elsewhere in that diocese their temporalities produced £7 4*s.* 1½*d.*; in Rochester diocese they amounted to £1 6*s.*; and in Winchester diocese to the large sum of £27 10*s.* 3½*d.*

During the rule of Alexander Culmeston an elaborately appointed chantry was founded in Newark Priory. On 20 November 1382, John Newdigate and Laurencia, the widow of Peter atte Wode, assigned £6 14*s.* rents of the priory and convent of Stoke, with the assent of the abbot of Bec in Normandy, which rent the priory of Stoke were accustomed to receive of the priory of Newark, for the founding of a chantry of one canon in priest's orders in the conventual church of Newark, for the good estate of the king and Bishop Wykeham, and of Laurencia whilst living, and of the soul of Peter, and the souls of the king, bishop and Laurencia when dead. It was ordained that this chantry mass should be celebrated every Saturday at the Lady altar with special collect; that the priory were to find all things needful, such as vestments, ornaments, book, light, bread, wine, chalice, altar cloth, and napkin, and a suitable clerk to serve; that the canon thus celebrating should be entitled each week to 7*d.* from the rents at the hands of the prior; that the

³ Certified from episcopal registers, not now extant, by Bishop Waynflete in 1464.

⁴ *Plac de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 737.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 747.

⁶ *Reg. Epistolarum, J. Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i. 196, 197; ii. 548, 549, 764, 1018.

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obsequies for the founders' souls should be observed yearly, *placebo et dirige* on 10 February, and a mass of requiem on the morrow; that if through pestilence or other cause the number of canons should become so reduced that one of them could not celebrate this weekly mass, that then the duty should be assigned to some secular priest; that if a secular chaplain could not be found, that then the prior on the day of default should distribute to the poor at the gate of the monastery 3*d.* to pray for the souls of the founders; that every prior of Newark immediately after episcopal confirmation should swear on the Gospels in chapter to maintain this chantry; that the ordinance of the chantry should be read in chapter each Advent and Lent; that on the anniversary the prior should receive 14*d.* and each canon 7*d.* from the rents as a pittance; that if the chantry mass was ever omitted, without lawful impediment, that 2*s.* should be forfeited for each omission to the Bishop of Winchester, who was to use such fine in alms; that each successive prior, within six days of his confirmation and installation, was to make every canon take an oath in chapter to see to the observance of this foundation, under pain of ecclesiastical censure; that if the prior should not take the oath within three days, or neglect to impose it on the canons within six days, that he should forfeit 2*s.* for every day of default to the bishop, and that if the bishop or his official, or the guardian of the see when vacant should at any visitation detect any disorder contrary to the tenor of this ordinance, the prior and sub-prior should have liberty to be heard thereon, with an opportunity of purgation by the oath of six trustworthy persons.¹

On 19 January 1387, Bishop Wykeham appointed a commission for the visitation of Newark Priory; and on 7 February a mandate was issued for the citation of various persons to answer charges arising out of this visitation.²

The eventual result of this visitation seems to have been the cession of Alexander Culmeston, the prior, on the ground of infirmity, and the acceptance of his resignation by Robert, prior of Merton, under commission of the bishop, on 25 October 1387. At the same time John Chesterton, canon of Newark, was removed from the priory, by the bishop's orders, on account of various scandalous excesses, and placed in custody within the priory of Merton.³

An annuity of twenty marks was granted by Henry V. to Thomas (Pyrie), the prior, and the convent of St. Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr, of Newark near Guildford; this was confirmed in 1423 by Henry VI. At the same time Henry V. sanctioned the transference by the priory of Newark to the abbey of Chertsey of the manor of West Bedfont and certain lands in Middlesex,⁴ which concession was also confirmed by his successor.

Dr. Hede, as commissary for the prior of Canterbury, visited Newark Priory on 25 April 1501, during the vacancy of the sees of both Canterbury and Winchester. A certificate was exhibited by Canon Christopher Bold to the effect that Lawrence Harryson the prior was absent on a pilgrimage to St. James (of Compostello). The canons were then severally examined. William Baxter, sub-prior, testified to the good and spiritual condition of the house; when asked as to its temporal estate he said he could not reply, as the present prior did not render the accounts of the priory; the seal was left under four keys in the respective custody of the prior, sub-prior and two of the senior canons. Christopher Bold, George Swift, William Hurton, William Morton, Peter Muschamp, and Nicholas Broddoke had no complaints, but knew nothing of the financial position of the house. William Lanley and William Horrow were content to testify *omne bene*, and John Johnson said that the annual rents of assize amounted to 300 marks and that the house was not in debt.⁵

John Grave, who had been instituted to the vicarage of Send in 1533, resigned that benefice in 1534 and was appointed prior. He was prior at the time of the *Valor* of 1535, when the clear annual value of the house was declared at £258 11*s.* 11½*d.*

Richard Lipscombe was appointed prior just before the surrender of the house in 1538. Prior Richard received a pension of £40, seven of the canons £5 6*s.* 8*d.*, and one £6.⁶

An inventory was taken by Dr. Legh on 15 January 1539, when the following plate was despatched to the master of the jewels in London.

Fyrste a basyne and ewer, iii standinge masers, ii saltes with one cover, xxii spones, a knife the hafte of the same covered with sylver plate, iii chalices, a cross enamelled, ii small belies, a paxe,

⁴ Pat. Rot. 1 Hen. VI. pt. iii, m. 24; et 5, m. 20, *cal.*

⁵ Canterbury, Sede Vacante Register.

⁶ *L. and P. Hen. V. III.* xiii. (2), 1196; xiv. (1), 1355.

¹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Wykeham, iii. ff. 191-3.

² *Ibid.* iii. f. 226b.

³ *Ibid.* iii. f. 182.

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i censor, a shippe for incense, ii cruettes, vi small relics of cristall covered with silver, an other of cristall with copre and gilte, iii litle crosses of wode covered with silver plait—cccxi ounces.

There were also three bells in the steeple and a clock.

The ornaments of the church (other than the plate sent to London) with the stuff and utensils of the house were sold for £35 13s. 8d. The corn, hay, and cattle and all husbandry gear realized £52 3s. 8d.

'Rewards,' or temporary payments till the pensions were paid, were given to the prior of £6 13s. 4d., and 40s. to each of the eight canons. Forty-one servants and hinds received £18 6s. 8d. for their quarter's wages.

PRIORS OF NEWARK

John,¹ temp. Ric. I.
 Richard,² occurs 1259
 Thomas,³ occurs circa 1259
 Robert,⁴ 1272
 Geoffrey de London, resigned 1280
 Walter de Chapmannesford, elected 1280,⁵
 1281
 Roger de Eynham, collated 1312,⁶ resigned
 1344
 John de Burton, collated 1344⁷
 Alexander Culmeston, resigned 1387
 Thomas Pyrie, elected 1387⁸
 Robert Adderley⁹
 Thomas, occurs 1415¹⁰
 William Whalley, died 1462
 Richard Brigge, elected 1462,¹¹ resigned
 1486
 Lawrence Harrison, elected 1486,¹² re-
 signed 1514
 John Haskenne (Johnson), elected 1514¹³
 John Grave, elected 1534, occurs 1535
 Richard Lipscombe, elected 1538

¹ Dugdale's *Mon.* vi. 383-4.

² Cott. MS. xxvii. f. 92b

³ *Plac. de Quo War.* (Rec. Com.), 737.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Cal. Pat. 8 Edw. I. ms. 17, 7.

⁶ Winton. Epis. Reg., Woodlock, ff. 171-2. His election was declared informal, but he was appointed by the Bishop.

⁷ *Ibid.* Orlton, i. ff. 126-7.

⁸ *Ibid.* Wykeham, i. f. 182-4.

⁹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. p. III.

¹⁰ Mentioned in *Inspeximus* of 1423, Pat. I Hen. VI. pt. v. m. 21.

¹¹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Waynflete, i. f. 118. He became prior of St. Mary Overy, Southwark.

¹² *Ibid.* ii. f. 118b.

¹³ *Ibid.* Fox, iii. f. 30a.

7. THE PRIORY OF REIGATE

The small priory of Reigate was founded for Austin canons¹⁴ at the beginning of the thirteenth century by William de Warren, Earl of Surrey, and Isabel his wife. It was dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Cross. The founder died in 1240. The chief of its temporalities were the priory manor of Reigate and the manor of Southwick in Sussex, together with various tenements and rents in the parishes of Reigate, Horley, and Burstow.¹⁵ The taxation of 1291 gave the annual value of the temporalities of this priory as £9 5s. 8d., of which 6s. 8d. came from Felthorpe in Norfolk.

William Sebem and Ralph Hosier, two London citizens and benefactors of the order, took upon them the religious habit under Prior Adam about 1298.¹⁶

R. de Froyle resigned his office of prior after a long rule on 15 March 1309. He was allowed an annual pension and a chamber in the house, which grant was however resisted by his successor until the necessary episcopal pressure had been applied.¹⁷

An order was made by the king on the treasurer and barons of the exchequer in June 1310 acquitting the master (called prior in the privy seal) and brethren of the hospital of the Holy Cross of Reigate of 55 marks that had been demanded of them in part payment of a debt of 100 marks, in which they were bound to the late Adam de Stratton as sureties of William de Radeweld.¹⁸ From the title of the hospital here given, as well as in one or two early evidences, it seems obvious that part of the original scheme of this small priory was the maintaining of the poor and sick by brethren of the Austin rule.

Confirmation was made in mortmain in October 1328 of divers grants to the prior and canons of Holy Cross, Reigate, namely a messuage and land at Reigate, by the Earl of Surrey; a quit claim of 3s. yearly rent in Nutfield, by Sir Ralph de Cobham; and a water mill at Wonham with a pond and water course in East Belchworth, and 26s. 8d. yearly rent there by Roger de London of Reigate.¹⁹

Licence was granted in 1334 for the alienation in mortmain by the prior and con-

¹⁴ Stevens and others are mistaken in calling this a house of Crutched Friars.

¹⁵ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, i. 294-302: Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 517-9.

¹⁶ Cox's *Magna Britannia*, iv. 448.

¹⁷ Winton. Epis. Reg., Woodlock, ff. 104, 116b, 147.

¹⁸ Close, 3 Edw. II. m. 4.

¹⁹ Pat. 2 Edw. III. pt. ii, m. 18.

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vent of Lewes to the prior and convent of Reigate for the advowson of the church of Dorking and for the appropriation of the church by the latter.¹

A considerable bequest of a messuage, mill, and about 170 acres of land, meadow, and wood in Burstow and Horley was made to this priory in September 1334 to find two of the canons to celebrate daily for the souls of Alan de Warwick and Emma his wife and all the faithful departed.²

Prior Timberden died in 1337; in September of that year John atte Greth was elected by his brother canons. This election was at first vacated by the bishop on the plea of uncanonical form, but John atte Greth was eventually collated to the office by the bishop as in the case of a lapse, he being held to be suitable for the position.³ The same process was gone through in the following election.⁴

Licence was granted on 8 July 1345, at the request of Queen Philippa, for the alienation in mortmain by John de Mickleham to the prior and convent of Reigate of the advowson of the church of Mickleham and for its appropriation by the convent.⁵ On the resignation of Prior Scoteney in 1367 the sub-prior and canons invited Bishop Wykeham to appoint a successor, and his choice fell on John Kente, canon of Heringham Priory, Sussex; the formal licence of Richard Lord Arundel, the patron of the priory having been first obtained, the election was confirmed on 9 December.⁶

On 14 October 1374, during the vacancy on the death of Prior Kente, Bishop Wykeham issued his mandate to the sub-prior and convent forbidding them to allow parishioners to attend mass and other offices in the conventual church to the neglect of their parish church under pain of excommunication. At the same time a monition was issued to the parishioners to frequent mass at their parish church; they were charged with going on Sundays and festivals to an early mass at the priory church, and before that was scarcely over hurrying off to spend their time in drinking booths or in other profane and dishonourable occupations.⁷

On 20 November 1374 Richard Warnham, the prior elect, appeared before William Lozyngge, the bishop's chancellor, with

brothers Roger atte Watere of Dorking, John Mertsham and John Combe, canons of Reigate, bringing a certificate of Warnham's election. The chancellor declared the election void through a defect in form, but, by virtue of his power as bishop's commissary, appointed Warnham prior in the room of Kente deceased.⁸

In July 1377 the bishop issued his commission to the prior of Merton to hold a visitation of Reigate Priory⁹; but there is no record of any injunctions following the visitation.

Prior Warnham died on 31 May 1395, when the chapter's choice fell on John Yakesley, with the assent of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey as patron. The bishop however once again found the election bad in form and annulled it, but on 14 August appointed Yakesley prior on his own authority.¹⁰

Prior Yakesley resigned his office in June 1397. The proceedings at the deferred election of his successor in this small priory are set forth at length in the episcopal registers and are worth citing.

On Saturday, the morrow of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (15 September 1397), being the day three months after the resignation of Yakesley, the sub-prior and brethren met in the chapter-house, by virtue of a precept from Lord William Arundel, patron of the house, in the presence of the scrutineers, Robert de Spaldyng and Robert Bucke, nominated by the king for that purpose, and this is what then took place: The first to enter the chapter-house was John Combe, the sub-prior. He did not vote, but said, 'Some of my brethren are men of good condition and of judgment unimpeached,' and went out. The next was John Lawrence, and he voted for William Holm. The next was John Tanrygge, and he voted for John Combe. The next was William Holm, and he voted for John Lawrence, and so did Robert Bychet. Then the sub-prior came back and said he should vote for the brother who had the most votes, provided he was a member of the house and of good conversation. This result was then announced and written on three billets (*cedulæ*), one of which was sent to Sir William Arundel; another was retained by Robert Spaldyng, and the third remained at the priory. According to this John Lawrence was elected with three votes, but the sub-prior and canons agreed to petition the bishop to admit which of the candidates he in his discretion thought

¹ Pat. 8 Edw. III. pt. ii, m. 34.

² *Ibid.* m. 24.

³ Winton. Epis. Reg., Orlton, i. f. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. f. 101b.

⁵ Pat. 19 Edw. III. pt. ii, m. 26.

⁶ Winton. Epis. Reg., Wykeham, i. f. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.* iii. f. 115b.

⁸ *Ibid.* i. f. 5b.

⁹ *Ibid.* iii. f. 155b

¹⁰ *Ibid.* i. f. 252.

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best. The result was that the bishop annulled the election of Lawrence, and on 5 November appointed the sub-prior, John Combe.¹

Prior Combe died in 1415. The Winchester institutions are unfortunately missing from 1415 to 1447. In 1449 the priory was vacant, for on 27 September Bishop Waynflete appointed Henry Swetenham, a canon of Norton in Cheshire, to act as temporary administrator.² The appointment of the priors of this house was, so far as there is evidence, either by lapse or deputation, left to the bishop.

In 1512 the priory was vacant and the numbers of the brethren reduced, for which reasons the bishop collated to the vicarage of Dorking, which was in their gift.³

The clear annual value of the priory in 1535 was £68 16s. 7d. In that year there were three canons in residence in addition to the prior. The monastery was suppressed on the feast of St. Anne, 26 July 1536,⁴ John Lynden, the prior, obtaining a pension of £10.⁵ The three canons possibly at once obtained benefices; at all events they received no pensions.

PRIORS OF REIGATE

- Adam,⁶ circa 1298
 R. de Froyle,⁷ resigned 1309
 Walter de Timberden, elected 1309,⁸ died 1337
 John atte Greth, collated 1337,⁹ resigned 1341
 John de Pyrie, collated 1341,¹⁰ 1349
 Robert de Scoteny, elected 1349, resigned 1367
 John Kente, collated 1367,¹¹ died 1374
 Richard Warnham, collated 1374,¹² died 1395
 John Yakesley, collated 1395,¹³ resigned 1397
 John Combe, collated 1397,¹⁴ died 1415
 John Hervest, resigned 1452

¹ Kirby's *Wykeham's Registers* (Hants Record Soc.), i. 212-3.

² Winton. Epis. Reg., Waynflete, ii. f. 5.

³ *Ibid.* Fox, iii. f. 8b.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ix. 798.

⁵ Aug. Misc. Books, vol. ccxxxii. f. 28b.

⁶ Cox's *Mag. Brit.* iv. 448.

⁷ Winton. Epis. Reg., Woodlock, f. 104, 116b, 147.

⁸ *Ibid.* 111. ⁹ *Ibid.* Orilton, i. f. 65b.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* i. f. 101b. ¹¹ *Ibid.* Wykeham, i. f. 7.

¹² *Ibid.* i. f. 5. ¹³ *Ibid.* i. f. 252.

¹⁴ Kirby's *Wykeham's Registers* (Hants Rec. Soc.), i. 212-3.

Henry Swetenham, collated 1453,¹⁵ resigned 1459

John Morton, collated 1460, resigned 1468

John de Aspley, collated 1468¹⁶

Alexander Shott, circa 1496

William Major, occurs 1517, resigned 1530

John Lynden, elected 1530,¹⁷ surrendered 1536

8. THE PRIORY OF SOUTHWARK

The original name of this priory, St. Mary Overy, signified St. Mary over the river. Stowe recites a tradition, which he had from the lips of Linsted, the last prior, that, long before the Conquest, there was at Southwark a house of sisters endowed with the profits of a ferry across the Thames; but that afterwards it was converted into a college of priests who, in the place of the ferry, built the first wooden bridge over the Thames and kept it in repair. This tradition, however, is not supported by any known authority. Whatever may have been the nature of any earlier foundation on the same site, it was in the year 1106 that the order of regular or Austin canons was established at St. Mary's, Southwark.¹⁸

The founders or refounders at this date were William Pont d'Arch and William Dauncey, two Norman knights. It is said that Bishop Giffard lent them much assistance, and in 1107 built the nave of the church; hence he was sometimes termed the founder.

The principal grants that were made to the canons in the twelfth century were the church of St. Margaret, Southwark, by Henry I., lands at Banstead by Mansel de Mowbray; two weighs of cheese at 'Badleking' in the manor of Kingston Lisle in Berkshire; lands at 'Waleton' by Alexander Fitzgerald; 60 acres of land at 'Wadeland,' Foots Cray, by William de Warren; the tithe of his farm at Southwark, and confirmation of grant of a stone building which had belonged to William de Pont d'Arch, by King Stephen; the church of All Saints, Graveney, confirmed to them by Archbishop Lanfranc; and five city churches and many other advowsons from divers donors.¹⁹

¹⁵ Winton. Epis. Reg., Waynflete, ii. ff. 47b, 48, 96.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ii. f. 160, etc.

¹⁷ Winton. Epis. Reg., Wolsey, f. 63b.

¹⁸ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Series), iii. 430, iv. 374.

¹⁹ These benefactions and several others are set forth in detail by Manning and Bray (*Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 562-5); original transcripts or ab-

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On 11 July 1212 a terrible fire broke out on the Surrey side of the water, occasioning the loss of about 1,000 lives, in which the priory church, together with London bridge with its houses and chapels, were consumed. The conventual buildings were also all destroyed save the frater.¹

In 1215, when the prior and canons had moved into their new house, having temporarily occupied the hospital of St. Thomas, an important agreement was made between Prior Martin and the archdeacon of Surrey, warden of the hospital, which is cited in the subsequent account of the hospital. The rebuilding after the fire was materially helped by the munificence of Peter de Roche, Bishop of Winchester, who also built a spacious chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, which afterwards became the parish church of that name, and the south aisle of the priory church.²

In 1244 Bishop William de Raleigh, having incurred the enmity of the king, dared not tarry in his episcopal house, which adjoined the priory, but took refuge with the canons, and thence escaped by boat down the Thames to France.³

On 15 February 1260 there was a great gathering in the priory church of Southwark, when Henry de Wengham was consecrated Bishop of London by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the Bishops of Worcester, Chester and Salisbury, and Richard, King of Germany.⁴

In the time of Prior Stephen the priory church was begun to be rebuilt. A thirty days' indulgence was granted in 1273 to all penitents who contributed to the fabric.⁵

In 1284 John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, visited the monastery, where it appears there was some friction among the brethren. On 21 May in that year he issued injunctions to the prior for the better order of the house. He commanded that no canon should on any account enter the city of London or the town of Southwark without another canon or lay brother, or eat

tracts of most of these characters are to be found in Cott. MS. Faustina, A viii.; or in Nero, C iii., where there are various original early charters of Southwark Priory on ff. 188, 196, 197, and 201.

¹ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Major* (Rolls Series), ii. 536; *Ann. Mon.*, ii. 82, 268. The date (1207) given for this in the *Annales of Bermondsey* is clearly a mistake.

² Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 560.

³ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Major* (Rolls Series), iv. 285-6; *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls Series), ii. 270.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 443.

⁵ Harl. MS. 5871, f. 184.

or drink there unless with peers or prelates; that silence should be maintained in the church, choir, cloister and frater; that the sub-prior should not only study the dignity of religion, but also the bonds of charity, and should correct the faults of the brethren with due gentleness, especially in the absence of the prior; that the money of the house should be placed in the hands of two of the brethren, who should account for it to the prior. The archbishop inveighed particularly against 'the detestable crime' of any of the brethren holding property, and put any so doing under excommunication. He at the same time removed Hugh de Chaucumbe, the cellarer; William de Cristeshall, almoner and infirmarer; and Stephen, the chamberlain and sacrist, injoining that one canon should not hold the offices of almoner and infirmarer.⁶

The taxation roll of 1291 shows that the income then accruing from temporalities was considerable, viz. in Winchester diocese, £27 1s. 3d., of which above £22 was for rents in Southwark; in Chichester diocese, £2 1s. 4d.; in Rochester diocese, £8; in Lincoln diocese, £3 15s.; and in London diocese, rents out of no fewer than forty-seven parishes, amounting to £70 3s. 5½d. The only spiritualities entered are a pension of 13s. 4d. for the prior out of the rectory of St. Mildred's, Poultry, and 2s. for the canons out of the rectory of St. Bartholomew the Less.

From an ecclesiastical taxation of a later date, cited in the priory register,⁷ it appears that the priory then held the rectories of Graveney, worth yearly 8 marks; Wendover, 42 marks; Stoke Poges, 18 marks; Reigate, 20 marks; Betchworth, 24 marks; Banstead, 20 marks; Mitcham, 20 marks; Addington, 12 marks; Newdigate, 12 marks; St. Margaret, 13 marks; St. Mary Magdalen, 6 marks; and Tooting, 40s. There were also pensions to the priory of 4s. from the church of St. Mary Magdalen, of 2s. from Newdigate, of 20s. from Woodmansterne, of 4s. from Tooting, of 5 marks from Swanscombe (Kent), and of 13s. 4d. from Leigh.

On the day of Sts. Philip and James 1304 the following nineteen were the professed of the priory: William Waleys, prior; Adam de London, fraterer; Henry de Kersalton, pittancer; Henry de Blockele; Peter de Cheynham, precentor; Ralph de London, cook; John de Gatton; Geoffrey de Wend-

⁶ *Reg. Epistolarum*, J. Peckham (Rolls Series), ii. 717, 718.

⁷ Cott. MS. Faust, A viii. f. 166b.

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over; John de Lechlade; Roger de Wynton, sub-prior; Roger de Reygate, cellarer (erased); Symon de Westminster; John de Cantuar; John de Northampton; John de Wynton, sub-cellarer; Robert de Kancia, cellarer; Robert de Wells; and John de Ardenere.¹

In May 1313 the prior and convent of Southwark obtained licence for the appropriation in mortmain of the church of Newdigate, which was of their advowson.²

Henry de Cobham, keeper of certain of the late Templars' lands in Kent, Surrey and Sussex, was ordered in October 1313 to pay to the Bishop of Winchester the wages of 4*d.* a day assigned by the late Archbishop of Canterbury and the whole provincial council for the maintenance of Richard de Grafton, a Templar placed in the priory to do penance.³ The priory had to maintain other pensioners: thus in April 1315 Peter, prior of Southwark, and his chapter granted to Thomas de Evesham, clerk of the king's chancery, in consideration of his good service to them, a yearly pension of 100*s.* for life out of their manor of Tadworth;⁴ and in October 1319 Hugh de Windsor was sent to the priory for his maintenance, in consideration of his good service to Queen Isabel.⁵ And again a grant was made by Edward III. in February 1344, at the request of Richard, Earl of Arundel, who would have to come to London very often to treat of various matters for the king, that he should lodge in the priory, and have the use of suitable houses (chambers) there for him and his household during the king's pleasure.⁶

Pardon was granted to the priory and convent of Southwark in 1314 for having acquired in mortmain, without the late king's licence, various shops and messuages in Southwark, and lands in Mitcham, Chelsham and Kidbrook;⁷ and in January 1332 a like pardon was granted them for entering without licence from the king's progenitors into six marks of rent in London, bequeathed to them by Sabina, late the wife of Philip le Taillour, citizen of London, for daily celebration for the souls of Philip and Sabina.

¹ Cott. MS. Faust, A viii. 49b. Another list drawn up in 1298 gives a total of twenty-one, but several are erased; and another of 1302 (both on f. 50b) gives nineteen.

² Pat. 6 Edw. II. pt. ii, m. 9.

³ Close, 7 Edw. II. m. 23.

⁴ Ibid. 8 Edw. II. m. 9*d.*

⁵ Ibid. 13 Edw. II. m. 15*d.*

⁶ Pat. 18 Edw. III. pt. i, m. 48.

⁷ Pat. 7 Edw. II. pt. ii, m. 23.

⁸ Pat. 6 Edw. III. pt. i, m. 27.

The Bishops of Winchester not infrequently used the priory church. For instance, Bishop Sandale held ordinations there in 1316, 1317 and 1318;⁹ on 10 March 1352 John Sheppey was consecrated Bishop of Rochester in this church.¹⁰

The priory was again burnt or severely damaged by fire in the reign of Richard II. Considerable repairs and rebuilding were at once undertaken.¹¹ The work must have been accomplished by the beginning of the year 1390, for on 7 February Bishop Wykeham commissioned his suffragan, Simon, Bishop of Achonry, to reconcile the conventual church of St. Mary Overy and the annexed church of St. Mary Magdalen, and to dedicate the altars and graveyard.¹² To this work John Gower, the poet, is said to have been a liberal contributor. Bishop Wykeham again on 12 February 1391, obtained the services of John, Bishop of Sodor, to reconcile the church of St. Mary Overy, the adjoining parish church of St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Mary's chapel in the conventual farmery, and their respective graveyards, after pollution by bloodshed.¹³ The nature of the affray or accident is not known.

The bishop gave notice on 7 January 1395 of his intention to visit the priory on the Wednesday after the conversion of St. Paul¹⁴ and in June 1397 he commissioned John Elmere, the official, William Stude, an advocate of the Court of Arches, and John de Ware, to visit it.¹⁵ The result of this latter visitation was that the newly appointed prior, Kyngeston, was found to be suffering from so serious an infirmity as to be incapable of ruling his house, and that the discipline had in consequence become very lax. The custody of the house was therefore committed to the sub-prior and John Stacy, another of the canons, with full power of punishing excesses and delinquencies. They were to call to their aid, if necessary, William Stude and John Ware, the bishop's visiting commissioners. No canon was to leave the house except for some grave cause and with a special letter from the two custodians, under pain of imprisonment. The sub-prior was enjoined to have an account of rents received during the last four years made up for audit: and the bishop also put forth several other

⁹ Stubbs' *Registr. Sacr. Angl.*, 77.

¹⁰ *Sandale's Register* (Hants Rec. Soc.), passim.

¹¹ Stowe's *Chronicle*, 542, 597.

¹² Winton. Epis. Reg., Wykeham, iii. f. 241*b.*

¹³ Ibid. iii. f. 249.

¹⁴ Ibid. iii. f. 279.

¹⁵ Ibid. iii. f. 293*b.*

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practical injunctions for the due management of the temporalities.¹

In March 1398 Prior Weston was licensed by the bishop to let benefices appropriated to the priory, with a proviso that none of the buildings belonging to these rectories were to be used as taverns or for any illicit or dishonourable trades that might bring discredit on the church. In the following month the bishop visited the priory.² In February 1399 Prior Weston was admonished by Bishop Wykeham not to alienate the endowments of the house.³

By his will dated 15 August 1408 the poet Gower left his body to be buried in the priory church; 40s. to the prior; 13s. 4d. to each priest-canon; 6s. 8d. to each canon in his novitiate; to each valet within the gates 2s., and to each serving boy 12d. For the service of the altar of the chapel of St. John, where he was to be buried, he left two full sets of vestments, one of 'blew' baudkyn mixed with white colour, and the other of white silk; one large missal and a new chalice.⁴

In 1406 the marriage of Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent, with Lucy, daughter of the Duke of Milan, who brought her husband a dower of 100,000 ducats, was celebrated in the parish church. Stowe records another wedding in this church of some importance in February 1424, when James I., King of Scotland, after a captivity of eighteen years, was released and married Lady Joan Somerset, daughter of the Duchess of Clarence by her first husband, John, Earl of Somerset.

In the ninth year of the rule of Henry Werkeworth, in the year 1424, there was hanging in the tower of the priory a ring of seven bells. The first, called Augustine, weighed 38 cwt. 7 lb.; the second, Mary, 27 cwt. 3 qr. 13 lb.; the third, Stephen, 19 cwt. 3 qr. 7 lb.; the fourth, Ave Maria, 15 cwt. 9 lb.; the fifth, Laurence, 13 cwt. 7 lb.; the sixth, Vincent, 7 cwt. 21 lb.; and the seventh, Nicholas, 5½ cwt. 9 lb. But in that year Prior Henry caused the bells to be increased in weight and number so as to form a ring of eight bells, which were hung in the newly constructed tower of the priory church on the vigil of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1424. The first bell, called Trinity; the second, Mary; the third, Augustine; the fourth, Laurence; the fifth, Gabriel; the sixth, All Saints; the seventh,

John the Evangelist; and the eighth, Christopher.⁵

On the death of Prior Henry Werkeworth in January 1452, the usual brief was sent forth from the convent inviting the prayers of those of other religious houses for the rest of his soul. A copy of this document, wherein the highest praise is given to the late prior—*vir industrie laudabilis*—is extant among the Peck. MSS.⁶

John Bottisham, the prior, who resigned in 1462, was granted a pension of twenty marks, in addition to his maintenance at the prior's table; also board and cloth for a gown for his servant. The ex-prior was further assigned a suitable chamber in the priory with a fire-place and wood for 300 fires; also six quarters of charcoal, and nine dozen pounds of tallow candles.

In 1469 the middle roof of the nave fell in; it was repaired with woodwork, as also was the roof of the north transept.⁷

A grant was made by Edward IV. to Southwark priory in 1475 of the advowson and appropriation of the parish church of West Tilbury, Essex, on condition of the convent promising to celebrate daily within their church a mass of St. Erasmus the Martyr, in which the priest should pray for the soul of the king's father, Richard, Duke of York, and for the good estate of the king and his consort Elizabeth, and for Edward Prince of Wales, and the king's other children, and for their souls after death.⁸

Dr. Thomas Hede, commissary of the prior of Canterbury, visited the priory on 6 May 1501, during the vacancy of the sees of Winchester and Canterbury. Prior Michell reported favourably of the spiritual condition of the house, but he stated that there was a debt of £190 when he entered on his office, and that the debt did not now exceed £100, and that there were no valuables pledged. The seal was kept in the sacristy under four keys, the respective custody of which was in the hands of the prior, sub-prior, sacrist, and precentor. He had not ordered a balance sheet for that year, but was prepared to do so when requested. Richard Hayward, sub-prior, testified that silence was duly observed at the proper times and places; and that the debt of the house was the fault of the predecessor of the then present prior. William Kemp, sacrist, Richard Holand, precentor, canons John Hale, Thomas Archer,

¹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Wykeham, iii. ff. 296-7.

² Ibid. iii. f. 301b.

³ Ibid. iii. f. 309b.

⁴ Taylor's *Annals of St. Mary Overy* (1833).

⁵ Cott. MS. Faustina, A viii. f. 79b.

⁶ Add. MS. 4937, f. 266.

⁷ Taylor's *Annals*, p. 28.

⁸ Pat. 15 Edw. IV. pt. ii, m. 10.

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John Corcar, Richard London, William Godwyn, Thomas Eustache, Humphrey Furnor, and William Major, acolyte, were content to report *omne bene*. William Walter, acolyte, said that he had been professed for six years and was two years ago ordained acolyte, but that he had not been presented for further orders. John Hall, acolyte, 21 years of age, said he had been professed for seven years, and was ordained acolyte four years ago.¹

An important chapter of the canons regular of St. Austin was held in their chapter house, Leicester, on Monday, 16 June 1518, when 170 joined in the procession, of whom 36 were *prelati* or heads of houses. As night came on they adjourned till Tuesday morning at seven, and when they again assembled the prior of Southwark, with every outward demonstration of trouble and sorrow, appealed for a stricter and verbal observance of their rule. His manner and address excited much stir, but he was replied to by many, particularly by the prior of Merton. On the first day of this chapter a letter had been read from Cardinal Wolsey observing with regret that so few men of that religion applied themselves to study. On Wednesday, the concluding day of the chapter, Henry VIII. and his then queen were received into the order.²

In 1535 the clear annual value of this priory was declared to be £624 6s. 6d. Their rents in Southwark alone realized £283 4s. 6d.

‘On November 11th of this year there was a great procession by command of the king, at which were the canons of this church, with their crosses, candlesticks, and vergers before them, all singing the litany.’³

Prior Bartholomew Linsted and the convent ‘surrendered’ on 27 October 1539. The prior obtained a pension of £100, two of the monks £8 each, and nine monks £6 each. A note to the pension list, which was signed by Cromwell, stated that the prior was to have a house within the close where Dr. Mychell was dwelling.⁴

PRIORS OF SOUTHWARK

Aldgod,⁵ 1106; died 1131
 Algar, died 1132
 Warin, died 1142

¹ Canterbury Sede Vacante Register.

² Cott. MS. Vesp. D, i. 63.

³ Taylor’s *Annals*, 28.

⁴ *L. and P. Henry VIII.* xiv. (2), 40.

⁵ The names of the priors are taken principally from Cott. MS. Faustina, A viii. f. 118b, p. 177, and Harl. MS. 544, p. 100.

Gregory, died 1151
 Ralph, died 1155
 Richard, 1155; ruled 9 years
 Valerian, about 1164
 William de Oxenford, died 1203
 Richard de St. Mildred, died 1206
 William Fitz-Samari, died 1207
 Martin, elected 1207; died 1218
 Robert de Osenay, elected 1218; died 1225
 Humphrey, elected 1225
 Eustace, elected 1243
 Stephen
 Alan, died 1283
 William Wallys,⁶ 1284. This prior is said to have ruled for 23 years
 Robert de Henton, collated 1292⁷; deposed shortly after⁸
 Peter de Cheyham, 1306.⁹ This prior is said to have ruled 28 years
 Thomas de Southwark, elected 1327¹⁰; resigned 1331
 Robert de Welles, elected 1331; died 1348
 John de Peckham, 1348; resigned 1359
 Henry Collingbourne, ? 1361; died 1395
 John Kyngeston, elected 1395¹¹; died 1397
 Robert Weston, elected 1398¹²; died 1414
 Henry Werkworth, 1414; died 1452
 John Bottisham, elected 1453; resigned 1462¹³
 Henry de Barton, elected 1462; died 1486
 Richard Brigges, collated 1486¹⁴; died 1491
 John Reculver, elected 1491¹⁵; 1499
 Robert Michell, elected 1499; resigned 1512
 Robert Shouldham, 1512
 Bartholomew Linsted (Fowle), c. 1512; surr. 1539
 The pointed oval seal¹⁶ of the eleventh

⁶ In 1283-4 a prior was dean of Arches (*Peckham Reg.* [Rolls Series], ii. 645; *Ann. Mon.* [Rolls Series], ii. 400); a prior was deposed 1284, (*Peckham Reg.* [Rolls Series], iii. 1065. See also *Cal. of Papal Reg.* v.)

⁷ Winton. Epis. Reg., Pontissera, f. 11.

⁸ *Ibid.* Woodlock, f. 13.

⁹ *Ibid.* f. 20. He was elected by the chapter, but owing to an informality the election was void and the bishop appointed on his own authority.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Stratford, f. 104b.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Wykeham, i. ff. 248-9.

¹² *Ibid.* iii. ff. 296-7.

¹³ *Ibid.* Waynflete, ff. 42, 45b, 113b.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* f. 113.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Courtenay, f. 10.

¹⁶ B.M. lxxii. 65.

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century represents a king standing, with crown having loose straps ending in trefoils as in the great seal of William II.; in the hands is an inscribed scroll (illegible). Legend: SIGILLUM S^CE MARIE SV^DWERKEN-
SIS ECCL'IE.

Of the second seal¹ of the twelfth century there are only imperfect impressions.

Obverse: The Blessed Virgin on a throne, with Holy Child on left knee, and a fleur de lis in right hand; within a pointed oval inscribed: AVE : MARIA : GRACIA : PLENA : DNS : TECUM : BENEDICTA. Legend: SIG
. E : SAN ERCHA.

Reverse: A small counterseal of an angel issuing from clouds. Legend: AVE : MATER : MISERICORDIE.

The third seal,² used by Prior Henry Collingbourne in 1375, and by Prior Robert Weston in 1414, is pointed oval, and has canopied niches, within which are the crowned Virgin and Child, St. John Baptist with Agnus Dei, and St. John the Evangelist with eagle. In the base is the prior kneeling. The legend is destroyed.

Of a seal *ad causas*,³ used in 1383, there is only an imperfect impression, of which the lower half is wanting. It is a pointed oval, and represents the Annunciation. Legend: GILL . BE K. AD : CAUSAS.

A seal used by Prior Henry Werkworth in 1422, bears the crowned seated Virgin and Holy Child. The impression is imperfect.⁴

9. THE PRIORY OF TANDRIDGE

This priory,⁵ as was the case with many of the smaller Austin priories throughout the country, was originally founded as a hospital for priests and poor brethren and sisters. It was dedicated to the honour of St. James and founded about the end of the twelfth century, for three priests under the Austin rule and several poor brethren. Odo, the son of William de Dammartin, was the founder and a considerable benefactor. The two charters of Odo cited in the *Monasticon*⁶ only name him as a benefactor. By these he gave to the hospital

of St. James all his land in Warlingham, with the windmill and all appurtenances together with all his relics, two silver cups wherewith to make a chalice, with all vestments and books belonging to his chapel, and all his stock of cattle at Southwick. One of the witnesses to the second of these charters is Thomas de Willst, prior of Merton, who held that office from 1218 to 1222. But a charter of Walter, prior of Merton, dated June 1217, definitely names Odo as the founder of this hospital, and admits him, and all the brethren and sisters and benefactors of the hospital into the fraternity of the house of Merton.⁷

In June 1285 licence was granted for the alienation in mortmain by William de Acstede to the prior and convent of Tandrige of a carucate of land in Oxted.⁸

The taxation roll of 1291 returns the annual value of the temporalities of this small house, at Warlingham, at £2 6s. 8d. The parish church of Tandrige was at the same time declared of the annual value of £6 13s. 4d. This rectory was soon afterwards appropriated to the priory. In November 1302 the prior and convent obtained licence to hold the advowson of the church of Crowhurst, the gift of Henry de Guildford.⁹

Bishop Woodlock visited the priory on 21 November 1308. A month later he forwarded elaborate orders to the prior and convent. No special laxity was charged against the house, and the orders were of the usual character, namely as to attendance at mass and the quire offices, silence, keeping the doors, uniform habit, uncurtained beds in the dormitory, etc. This episcopal confirmation of their rule was ordered to be read in chapter four times a year.¹⁰

In an episcopal certificate as to vacant preferments dated 2 February 1309, it is stated that the income of this priory barely sufficed for the support of its ministers.¹¹

The house suffered much under the negligent rule of Prior Thomas de St. Alban, and on 22 November 1312 Charles de Seggeford,

⁷ Cott. MS. Cleop. C vii. f. 86.

⁸ Pat. 13 Edw. I. m. 16.

⁹ Pat. 30 Edw. I. m. 3.

¹⁰ Winton. Epis. Reg., Woodlock, ff. 148-9. This register contains full accounts of the dismissal by the bishop in 1308-9 of Henry de Pecham, cellarer of the priory; he was sent to the priory of Newark, there to be kept in solitary confinement, the priory of Tandrige paying 12d. a week for his maintenance. After four months' absence Henry was permitted to return to Tandrige. All these documents are set forth at length in an appendix to Major Heale's article.

¹¹ Ibid. f. 101b.

¹ Dugdale's *Mon.*, vi. 171.

² Add. Chart. 15672; Harl. Chart. 53, H 16.

³ Harl. Chart. 43, i. 43.

⁴ Harl. Chart. 44, i. 58.

⁵ There is a long article on 'Tandrige Priory and the Austin Canons,' by Major Heale, in *Surrey Arch. Coll.* ix. pp. 19-151. A variety of documents and extracts from the Winchester Registers are there cited at length. Much of the article is concerned with the order of Austin Canons in general.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.*, vi. 604.

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rector of Coulsdon, was appointed by the bishop to act as the prior's coadjutor,¹ and a commission was issued to him together with Nicholas, rector of Oxted, and Master John de Tycheseye, in August 1321 by the Bishop of Winchester, to inquire into the grave charges made against the prior, with power of canonical coercion.² The result of this inquiry was to bring about the resignation of Prior Thomas. Again the administration of Prior John Hansard, the next prior but one, was so bad that Bishop Stratford interdicted his interference with the temporalities, and appointed Lawrence de Rustington to act as coadjutor.³

In 1352 Walter de Mertsam (probably a brother of the Prior John) had licence to alienate to the priory two messuages, 180 acres of land, 14 acres of meadow, 13 acres of wood and 2s. 8d. rent in Tandridge and Walkhamsted.⁴

Prior Richard Frensh died on 9 December 1403. Thereupon the canons elected William Sonderesshe in his place, with the licence of William Warbylton, the then patron of the house. His name was submitted to the bishop's commissaries in March 1404. The election was found to be invalid *non ob defectum persone sed vitium forme*. Bishop Wykeham declared the election void, but forthwith collated William Sonderesshe to the priory on his own authority.⁵

A rental of the priory was drawn up by the prior in the year 1451, when John Hammond was prior; a copy of that part relative to the rents of assize and farm rents in Tandridge itself is still extant.⁶

The *Valor* of 1535 gave the clear annual value of this priory at £81 7s. 4d. The priory then held the rectory of Tandridge worth £13 6s. 8d., the rectory of Crowhurst £8 6s., and half the rectory of Godstone *alias* Wolkensted £3 11s. 8d. John Lyngfield, the last prior, obtained a pension of £14.⁷

¹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Woodlock, f. 478.

² Winton. Epis. Reg., Asserio, f. 5b.

³ Ibid. Stratford, f. 81.

⁴ Pat. 25 Edw. III. pt. i, m. 12.

⁵ Ibid. i. f. 345. The Winchester institutions are missing from 1415 to 1446.

⁶ Harl. MS. 4785, f. 1.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. (2), 1196.

PRIORS OF TANDRIDGE

Thomas,⁸ occurs 1226

Adam,⁹ occurs 1235

Humphrey,¹⁰ occurs 1263

Walter,¹¹ collated 1306, 1309

Thomas de St. Alban,¹² collated 1309, resigned 1323

Henry de Pecham,¹³ elected 1323, died 1324

John Hansard, elected 1324

Philip de Wokingham, collated 1335, deposed on non-residence 1341

John de Mertsam,¹⁴ elected 1341, resigned 1380

Richard Frensh,¹⁵ collated 1380, died 1403

William Sonderesshe,¹⁶ elected 1404

John Fremyngham,¹⁷ 1441

John Hammond, occurs 1451, resigned 1458

John Grannesden,¹⁸ elected 1458, resigned 1463

John Odierne,¹⁹ collated 1463, died 1464

William West,²⁰ 1464, resigned 1467

John Kirton,²¹ elected 1467, resigned 1469

Robert Mitchell, occurs 1469, 1474

William, occurs 1478

Robert Mitchell II.,²² occurs 1495

Robert Wodd,²³ collated 1499

John Foster,²⁴ occurs 1500, 1507

Robert Mitchell II.,²⁵ occurs 1520, 1524

John Lyngfeld,²⁶ collated 1525, occurs 1529

⁸ Feet of F. Surr. 10 Hen. III. No. 74.

⁹ Ibid. 19 Hen. III. No. 181.

¹⁰ Ibid. 49 Hen. III. No. 177.

¹¹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Woodlock, f. 40b.

¹² Ibid. f. 108b. He was formerly a canon of Newark.

¹³ Ibid. Asser. ff. 481-2. He was formerly cellarer of the house.

¹⁴ Ibid. Orlton, f. 109b.

¹⁵ Ibid. Wykeham, iii. f. 186b.

¹⁶ Ibid. i. f. 345.

¹⁷ Ibid. Waynelete, i. f. 15.

¹⁸ Ibid. ff. 90b, 103b.

¹⁹ Ibid. f. 108b. He was formerly a subprior.

²⁰ Ibid. f. 135b.

²¹ Ibid. f. 154.

²² Ibid. ii. ff. 142, 150, 156, and *ibid.* Langton, ff. 15, 56.

²³ Ibid. Langton, ff. 51, 52.

²⁴ Ibid. ff. 54, 55.

²⁵ Court Rolls, Harl. MS. 785.

²⁶ Winton. Epis. Reg., Fox, v. f. 95.

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FRIARIES

10. THE HOUSE OF DOMINICAN FRIARS OF GUILDFORD

Queen Eleanor of Provence, the widow of Henry III., founded a house of Dominican friars at Guildford, on the east bank of the river, a little to the north of the High Street, on the site where the militia barracks formerly stood, at the end of Friary Street, opposite to the royal park across the river; but the exact date of the foundation is not known. The late Father Palmer in his essay on this house¹ has made it manifest that the Dominicans were not established at Guildford at the time of the death of the young prince Henry, which took place at Guildford on 20 October 1274. Further he has offered fairly satisfactory proof that this house was founded by Eleanor of Provence, in affectionate remembrance of her grandson, and that the foundress listened to the desire of the young prince's mother in the choice of the order, for Eleanor of Castile was the nursing mother of the friar-preachers. The heart of the boy prince was deposited in the church of this priory, and was solemnly exposed as the anniversary of his death came round. On 17 May 1306 the Princes Thomas and Edmund, sons of Edward I. by his second wife, Margaret of France, were present in this church at a mass for the soul of their half-brother, and made an offering of 21*d*.

On 6 March 1275 Edward I. granted to the friars a road leading from Guildford to the royal park, to be enclosed for enlarging their area.²

Various benefactors were forthcoming to assist the friars in the erection of their church and house. John de Westpurl gave the timber for the dorter and £100 in money to the building fund. Sir Hugh Fitz Otho built the quire, and Lady Clarisan gave the stalls.³ The king granted them four oaks fit for timber out of Guildford Park in 1294 as well as two leafless oaks fit for fuel.⁴ In 1298 Edward I. granted them six more leafless trees from the same place for a like purpose.⁵ The king was at Guildford in May 1302, when he gave 4*s*. to the friars for a day's food on three separate occasions. On

18 May he was present at the mass in their church celebrated for the soul of Sir Arnold Gavaston, and made an oblation of 5*s*. 4*d*. Edward II. on coming to Guildford in 1324 gave 8*s*. to the twenty-four friars for a day's food. Edward III. at visits paid to Guildford in 1331, 1334, 1336 and 1337 made like gifts for a day's food at 4*d*. a head, according to the number then in residence, which varied from 24 to 17.⁶

Henry IV. was at Guildford on 12 February 1403. The king and royal family lodged at the friary, and before leaving a gift of 40*s*. was made to cover the damage done to the house vessels and gardens in entertaining the royal guests.⁷ By letters patent of 4 November 1504, Henry VII. granted to Prior Venables and the convent 40 cartloads for firewood every year out of the royal park at Henley and the common of Worfesdon; in return for this, two masses were to be celebrated every week by two friars at the Lady Altar for the good estate of the king, of Margaret his mother, of Henry, Prince of Wales, and his other children, and for their souls after death.⁸

In the University Library, Cambridge, is an obituary calendar of Guildford Friary, which gives the names and dates of the death of the priors and other persons connected with the house.⁹

In the year 1318 Edward II., desirous of carrying out the intentions of his mother to found a monastery of Dominican sisters, formed the economical design of refunding this house and appropriating it to Dominican sisters instead of friars. To further his project he wrote divers letters to Pope John XXII. in 1318-9, and eventually despatched two Dominican friars, Richard de Burton and Andrew de Aslakeby, to Rome to plead in person.¹⁰ It was proposed to endow this

⁶ *Reliquary*, xxvi. 10.

⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸ Pat. 20 Hen. VII. pt. 1, m. 27.

⁹ Ll. ii. 9. This is a fourteenth century folio containing several tracts bound together, all of which formerly belonged to the Guildford Dominicans. It includes the constitutions of the Friars Preachers and the rule of St. Augustine; the calendar is on fl. 42-5. There is a transcript of it by Tanner in the Bodleian MS. 342. Most of this is reproduced by Father Palmer in his article in the *Reliquary*.

¹⁰ Rymer's *Fœdera*, iii. 702, 734, 753; *Mon.* vi. 1494.

¹ *Reliquary*, xxvi. pp. 7, 20.

² Cant. R. 3 Edw. I. No. 19.

³ Obituary Calendar, University Lib., Cambridge.

⁴ Close, 22 Edw. I. m. 3.

⁵ *Ibid*. 27 Edw. I. m. 9.

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nunnery, intended to support seven Dominican sisters, with the appropriation of the Hampshire rectory of Kingsclere. The Bishop of Winchester was persuaded to support the scheme, and he also wrote to the pope soliciting permission to appropriate Kingsclere to the contemplated nunnery. But the various applications failed, and the friars continued to hold the house according to the original foundation.¹

On 20 June 1321 Bishop Asserio licenced Richard de Erberfelde, Thomas de Leddrede, Richard de Guildford, William de Newport, John de Dene, Geoffrey de Godalming and William Mandeville, friars of Guildford, to hear confessions and to preach.²

Pope Benedict XII. in 1336 issued a mandate to the Bishop of Winchester, the abbot of Netley and the prior of St. Denis to carry out ordinances and concessions touching those who left religious orders, having special reference to Arnold Lym, of the order of Friars Preachers, who had left the convent of that order at Guildford, and desired to be reconciled.³

Richard Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, by will dated 4 March 1393, ordered that the houses of friars should be looked after by his executors, especially those of Arundel and Guildford, as they were bound to pray for the souls of his father, mother, wife and himself. Sir Reginald Bray, knight, was also a benefactor. By his will, proved 28 November 1503, he bequeathed to every house of friars in England 40s. to pray for his soul for two years, and to the friars of the house where his mother lay buried the large sum of £200, at the rate of £10 a year, to say mass for the souls of Dame Katherine his wife, Richard his father and Jane his mother.

Henry VIII. built himself a hunting lodge within the precincts, and professed great love and affection for the friary. Among the privy purse expenses of Henry VIII. in July 1530 is a 'reward' of £5 to the friars of Guildford, and also the large sum (evidently for some special service) of £12 10s., through the Duke of Norfolk, to a friar called Anserois at Guildford. The gift of £5 to the friars was renewed in July 1531.⁴ It has been conjectured that these gifts were in return for the labours of some of the community, who were known to be skilled in horticulture,

in laying out the royal gardens and grounds at Guildford as mentioned hereafter.

The treaty with Scotland was ratified by Henry VIII. at the house of the Blackfriars, Guildford, on 2 August 1534, in the presence of Robert, abbot of Kinlos, ambassador of Scotland, the Bishop of Winchester, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Northumberland, Thomas Cromwell and others.⁵

John Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, wrote to Cromwell on 10 August 1536, in favour of the friars of Guildford, begging that the king would grant them a perpetual alms for the relief of their poverty.⁶ This was followed by a petition to the Crown direct from the Friars Preachers. They stated that their house, which was now of Queen Jane's foundation and whose first foundress was Queen Eleanor, the wife of Henry III., together with the place of honour that the king had built within their precincts, were now decaying; that they had no property, but lived on alms which had of late much fallen off, so that they often wanted even food, and were unable to serve the king 'in setting out trimming and fashioning ground and gardens about the king's place,' and that they begged the 'grant of some "benefice" prebend, free chapel, corrody, commandry or order and governing over any house of alms and prayers.'⁷

Sir William, the treasurer of the household, writing to Cromwell on 1 August 1537 from Guildford, which Henry VIII. was about to visit, recommended him to lodge at the parsonage of St. Nicholas 'as the Freres is but a little house and will be sore pestered at the King's being there.'⁸ In October of that year the king, after his sojourn at this friary, granted William Cobden, the prior, and the house of the Black Friars, Guildford, an annuity of 20 marks in pure alms.⁹ The friars had however no enjoyment of this annuity, for the house was 'surrendered' by Prior Cobden and six other friars to the 'lord visitor' on 10 October 1538.¹⁰

By 'the lord visitor' is meant Richard Ingworth, the renegade friar, then suffragan-bishop of Dover. The visitor sold certain goods to pay the debt of the house, and drew up the following inventory:—

'The Black Freers of Gilforde.'
This Indenture makith mencyon off all the

¹ *Sandale's Register* (Hants Rec. Soc.), pp. 279-86.

² *Bishop Asserio's Register* (Hants Record Society).

³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii. 53.

⁴ Add. MSS. 20, 30, ff. 33, 77.

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vii. 1031, 1032.

⁶ *Ibid.* xi. 260.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1439.

⁸ *Ibid.* xii. (2), 415.

⁹ *Ibid.* 1008 (33).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* xiii. (2), 580.

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staple remayning in the house of the Blacke Freecrys of Gilforde receyved by the lorde visitor under the lorde prevey seale and delyvored to John Dabarne meyor and to Daniel Muggge to see and order to the kingis use with the howse and all appertences till the kingis plesure be futher knowen.

The Quere. It. at the hey altar a feyer tabill of alabaster. It. at the endis of the altar tabillys peyntid with ymagery. It. a tabernakill over the altar with an ymage of our lady. It. before the aulter a clothe hanging of clothe of badkin with a frontlyt motley velvit. It. an aulter clothe on the altar. It. a canopy over the sacrament, At eche (end) of the altar a frame for an altar. It. ii gret candelstickis of laten. It. a feyer egill for a lecturne laten. It. feyer stallys well sileid (ceiled) with an orgeyne lofte. It. a peyer of orgaynys. It. ii pore lecternys tymber. It. a tumbe with a marbill stone on the north side of the quere. It. under the stepill a feyer lofte, under that a stall. It. in the stepill ii bellis a gret and a small.

The Churche. It. a proper chapell sileid with a tabill alabaster on the altar. It. a feyer desk within the partclose. It. ii setis to knele before the altar. It. ii othere auters in the churche within the partclose with tabyllis alabaster before eche altar a feyer sete within the partclose and ii setes to knele before eche altar. It. a tumbe of marbil and a feyer candelbeme new without the partclose. It. iii tabillys allabaster on iii frameis for aulterys, ii pueis (pews) with diverse other setis.

The Vestrey. It. ii feyer framys for vestimentis with allmerys and a borde to laye on vestments. It. the upper part of the sepulcre woode.

The gret Kechin. It. a gret leade in a furnas. It. ii gret chymneis with racks to rost. It. ii chopping bordis and in the enner howse a cesterne of leade to water barly.

The entre betwixe both kechinns. It. ii setis framys to sett on.

The litill kechin. It. ii frameis of leade to water fische. It. dressing bordis.

The Pasthe. It. a gretboltinge hoche. It. a gret trowe to knele in with a borde over yt. It. ii molding bordis, an olde trowe under. It. in the ynner howse a hoche for brede. It. a gret chopping borde. It. an other small borde and a plank with racks of wood to hange flesche.

In the yarde. It. a feyer well with buckitt and chenyis to drawe water. There was also 105 ounces of plate, broken and whole.¹

The king retained this priory in his own hands, converting the house into a good dwelling as an occasional royal resort.

PRIORS OF THE DOMINICAN FRIARS OF GUILDFORD

William de Guildford,² died 1324

¹ Exch. T. R. Chap. Ho. B.₁₉²

² These are taken from the *Obituary Calendar* of this house in the University Library, Cambridge (Ll. ii. 9). The following priors are also mentioned, mostly of an earlier date, but only the

Bernard Hermann, died 1373
William Andrew (Bishop of Meath), died 1385
Robert Tenowes, died 1404
Richard, died 1415
Thomas Wocking, died 1425
Hugh Stonhard, died 1428
Richard Graveney, died 1469
Thomas Tydman, died 1477
Marcellinus Akorton, died 1482
Robert Trenorsat, died 1505
John Venables, died 1519
William Cobden, circa 1537-8

11. THE HOUSE OF THE FRIARS OBSERVANT OF RICHMOND

Henry VII. in 1499 founded six English houses for Friars Observant, of which Richmond was one. These friars were a reformed branch of the great Franciscan order, instituted about 1400 by St. Bernadine of Sienna. After Henry VIII. had been several years on the throne, he wrote more than once to Pope Leo X. in favour of the Observants, especially those of Greenwich and Richmond, declaring his deep and devoted affection for them, and saying that it was impossible to adequately describe their zeal night and day to win sinners back to God, and that they presented the very ideal of Christian poverty, sincerity and charity.³ Henry on several occasions gave special alms to the Richmond friars, who possessed no property save the site of their house, although they were often remembered in wills.⁴

Towards the latter part of his reign the king took a dislike to these friars, who protested against the putting away and subsequent divorce of Catherine. But even among them the king and Cromwell could find tools. Friar Laurence, writing to Henry VIII. on 29 August 1532, to certify him of what was done at their provincial chapter,

days of the month of their respective obits are given: Nicholas de Monyngton, 29 April; John de Wonersh, 23 May; William de Farnham, 24 July; John Gregory, 16 August; John de Trotterworth, D.D., 21 August; John Stook, D.D., 28 August; Walter de Huveldersham, D.D. September; John de Godalming, 17 December.

³ Ellis' *Original Letters*, 3rd ser. i. 165.

⁴ A will dated 14 April 1524, of which the name is illegible, leaves to the friars of Richmond 10s. and six sheep for a trental of masses (*L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv. 248). Sir John Starington, alderman of London, by will of 31 December 1524, left 40s. to these friars (*ibid.* 952). Lord Darcy, in 1526, granted them an annuity of five marks (*ibid.* 2527).

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stated that Father Robynsone had been chosen 'discrete' for their convent of Richmond to the said chapter. Laurence voted against him, knowing he was not in favour with the king, and recorded a conversation alleged to have taken place in which Robynsone defended his action and utterances, and said he would never take any promotion at the king's hands. In another communication from Laurence to Cromwell, he stated that he was forbidden to write to the king or Cromwell under pain of imprisonment, but proceeded to traduce his brethren, and promised to 'communicate *viva voce* with the latter.'¹ Laurence did his best to make further mischief later in the same year by writing again to the king and to Cromwell. His letter to the former begins by saying that he was in the greatest anguish of heart, for his father minister (the superior) had put him out of office for his communications, saying 'I will not obey the king but the religion.'²

Richard Lyst, a lay brother of the Greenwich Observants, wrote at great length to Cromwell on February 1533, stating that in less than three quarters of a year five of the brethren had gone over the walls out of our religion, namely three from Greenwich and two from Richmond; little credit however can be given to any of his statements.³

In spite of all remonstrance, the divorce of the king was announced on 23 May 1533, and on 1 June Anne Boleyn (to whom Henry had been secretly married some months before) was crowned at Westminster. One of the boldest to rebuke Henry was Friar Peto of the Observants, who had been transferred from the priory of Richmond to that of Greenwich. In May, at the latter house, Peto preached a sermon of singular vigour and plainness as to sin in high places. Henry ordered Dr. Curwin, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin and Bishop of Oxford, to answer him in the same place on the following Sunday, and attended to hear the confutation. But, at the end of the sermon, Friar Elstow answered Curwin from the rood-loft to the king's discomfiture.⁴ On the Monday Peto and Elstow were brought before the council, and apparently escaped with a severe reprimand and exile.

John Coke, clerk to the Merchant Adventurers at Antwerp, wrote to Cromwell in June 1533, stating that Peto and other friars of

Richmond, Greenwich and Canterbury were at Antwerp, writing books against the king's marriage with Queen Anne; he had got hold of three of their letters which he enclosed.⁵

This is not the place to enter into the remarkable story of Elizabeth Barton, 'the holy maid of Kent,' a nun of St. Sepulchre's, Canterbury, and her supposed revelations and ecstasies.⁶ But the Observants of Richmond were among those accused of conniving with her denunciation of the king's conduct. Father Hugh Rich, the warden or minister of the Richmond friars, was imprisoned for a long time on this charge. On Sunday, 23 November 1533, he, together with the nun and several other priests and two laymen, was placed on a high scaffold at St. Paul's Cross to do public penance. Dr. Capon, the bishop-elect of Bangor, was the preacher, and specially blamed the two Observant friars, Hugh Rich and Richard Risby of Canterbury, for maintaining the quarrel of Queen Catherine against the king.⁷ After the sermon the nun and her companions were taken back to the Tower. Eventually Father Rich and the rest, were condemned unheard by a special act of attainder and executed as traitors at Tyburn on 5 May 1534. It is said that Fathers Rich and Risby were twice offered their lives if they would accept Henry as supreme head of the English Church.⁸

The Friars Observant and the Carthusians were foremost among the small minority of the religious of England who offered serious opposition to the Act by which the papal authority over religious houses was transferred to the king, and his supremacy in the church openly proclaimed. All the houses were called upon to sign a formal assurance of their acceptance of the change.

Notwithstanding the execution of their warden for refusing to recognize the supremacy of Henry, the majority of the Richmond Observants remained steadfastly opposed to the new order of religion. Rowland Lee, one of the king's chaplains, lately preferred to the see of Coventry and Lichfield, together with Thomas Bedyll, the clerk of the council, were commissioned by Henry to make a final effort to bring about the submission of the Richmond Observants. Lee and his companion wrote to Cromwell saying they

⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vi. 726.

⁶ The best account is that given in Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, i. 110-50.

⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vi. 1460, and vii. 72.

⁸ Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, i. 150.

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv. 1259, 1260.

² *Ibid.* 1738, 1739.

³ *Ibid.* vi. 168.

⁴ The story is told with much graphic detail in Stowe's *Annals*.

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only received order to visit Richmond at six o'clock on the previous Saturday evening (15 June 1534), but departed that night reaching the town between 10 and 11. The next morning they first had communication with the warden and one of the seniors named Sebastian: and after that, with the whole convent, begging them to affix their seal to the articles of supremacy: but they only met with a resolute refusal. At last the convent was persuaded to leave the settlement of the matter to their seniors, 'otherwise called "discretes,"' who were four in number. They then arranged that these four friars should meet them on the morrow (Monday 17 June) at the house of the Greenwich Observants and bring their convent seal with them. At Greenwich, however, the king's commissioners met with resistance from all the friars of that house, as well as from the Richmond deputies. Bishop Lee recited the arguments he used to Cromwell, adding: 'all this reason could not sink into their obstinate hearts,' and they resolved 'to live and die in the observance of St. Francis' religion.' The style of reasoning adopted by the bishop and the official of the council was not very likely to

be convincing according to their own showing. When the Observants cited the rule of St. Francis as to the pope, the commissioners coolly remarked that they considered that part had been forged by some malicious friars.³

There was but one way, in the opinion of Henry, to deal with these friars who refused to be convinced. The whole order of the Observants was speedily suppressed, and within a few days of the visit of Lee and Bedyll to Richmond and Greenwich two cartloads of these friars passed through the city to the Tower.⁴ By the beginning of August four of the Observant houses including that of Richmond were emptied of their occupants, and the other two were daily expecting to be expelled. At the end of the month, Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador, wrote that all the Observants had been driven from their monasteries, and had been for the most part distributed in several monasteries, 'where they were locked up in chains, and worse treated than they would be in prison.' Fifty of the Observant friars died in prison, but some of them obtained leave through Wriothesley's influence to retire into France, Scotland and Ireland.

HOSPITALS

12. THE HOSPITAL OF NEWINGTON

There was an ancient hospital here dedicated to the honour of Our Lady and St. Catherine; but we have not been able to learn anything more concerning it than that it continued until 1551, when, as is stated by Strype, their proctor had protection or license to solicit alms granted by Edward VI.¹

13. THE HOSPITAL OF SANDON

The hospital of Sandon, in the parish of Esher, dedicated to the honour of the Holy Spirit,² is said to have been founded at the beginning of the reign of Henry II. by Robert de

Wateville.⁵ It was augmented early in the reign of Henry III. by William de Percy with an income of 20 marks which Salley Abbey, Yorks, paid him for the manor and forest of Gisburn, and also with 80 acres of land in Foston, Leicestershire. This augmentation was granted to the master and brethren of the hospital for the purpose of supporting six chaplains for divine offices within the house.⁶

On William de Percy's death his heart was buried before the Lady altar in the church or chapel of this hospital, and here too was interred the body of his wife Joan. Giles, the warden or prior of the house, and the brethren covenanted with Sir Wymond Raleigh to keep a lamp and a taper of two pounds weight burning before the Lady altar whenever masses were said.⁷

¹ Strype, *Eccles. Mem. Edw. VI.* p. 516.

² In three or four instances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the hospital is named as dedicated to the honour of St. Mary Magdalen; but it is termed the hospital of the Holy Spirit in the deed of augmentation of Henry III., and also in the patent uniting it to St. Thomas' Southwark. This may be one of those cases in which the whole house had one dedication, whilst the rebuilt chapel had another.

³ Cott. MS. Cleop. E iv. 40.

⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* vii. p. 28 of Mr. Gairdner's preface.

⁵ Manning and Bray, *Hist of Surr.* ii. 749.

⁶ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi. 676, where this charter is cited in full.

⁷ *Ibid.* vi. 676.

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There were further augmentations granted to the hospital during the reign of Henry III.¹

License was granted in January 1331 for the warden and brethren of the hospital of Sandon by Kingston to acquire in mortmain land and rent, not held in chief, to the yearly value of £10.² In this year the hospital found itself in such straits that the bishop issued a commission, consisting of Richard, chaplain of Walton, and William de Holton, constable of Farnham, to inquire into the condition and administration of the house, and to provide some remedy for their wants.³

Warden Brounchild resigned on 30 November 1331, when the custody of the hospital was awarded by the bishop to John de Crokford. The wardenship was kept vacant until November 1333, when the brethren were allowed to elect; they chose John de Crokford, and the bishop confirmed the appointment.⁴

In 1338 the brethren were all dead, save warden Crokford, who was induced to resign. Bishop Orilton collated John Askham to the office; but Crokford refused to give up possession, and both Askham and Crokford were cited to appear before the bishop's commissary for inquiry and judgment. The registers do not record the result.⁵ The terrible Black Death made a clean sweep of the warden and brethren of this hospital in the beginning of 1349,⁶ but the Bishop of Winchester boldly held an ordination that summer in the chapel of the desolated house.⁷

During the wardenship of William Masse the hospital, as might have been expected, suffered from the non-residence of its warden, and on 27 November 1371 he was cited to appear at the parish church of Waltham to answer interrogatories as to his administration of the hospital and to produce an inventory of the goods.⁸ John Ware, who succeeded Masse, was also a pluralist. The house was visited in November 1374 by William Lozyng, the chancellor of the diocese, and John de Kelsey, under the bishop's mandates.⁹ The usual fault in the smaller religious houses was the improper administration of the property. On this account probably at the institution of

John Carles as warden in 1391 he was pledged to keep an inventory of the goods of the hospital, and to return an annual statement of accounts.¹⁰ Notwithstanding his pledges however he was cited on 15 June 1400 to show cause why he should not exhibit an inventory.¹¹

In May 1396 excommunication was pronounced, at the instance of Warden Carles, against certain persons unknown, who had entered the hospital close, and carried off and concealed vessels, utensils, charters, muniments, and ornaments of the house; at the same time the financial difficulties of the hospital are manifested by excommunication being also pronounced against tenants who were in arrear in their rents.¹²

Carles resigned in 1401, and on 26 April of that year Hugh Strenger, 'highly commended to us for his virtues and probity,' was instituted as his successor, making oath, like his predecessor, to deliver to the bishop annually a faithful inventory of the hospital goods.¹³ It is strange that so energetic a bishop as Wykeham should have been so unfortunate in his choice of incompetent and scandalous clerks to have the rule in this hospital. On 12 December 1401 Strenger had to be inhibited from felling timber for sale,¹⁴ and in June 1404 a commission was appointed to receive the warden's purgation on a charge of incontinence.¹⁵

The financial position of this hospital came to so low an ebb in the time of Henry VI. that on 13 February 1436 the crown granted leave to the Bishop of Winchester to unite it to the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, Southwark. The patent states that the hospital was of the patronage and foundation of the bishop's predecessors, and gives the dedication as that of the Holy Spirit.¹⁶

14. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. THOMAS, SOUTHWARK

Within the precincts of the monastery of St. Mary Overy there was a building appropriated to the use of the sick and the poor, which maintained certain brethren and sisters.

This adjunct of the priory is said to have been founded by St. Thomas of Canterbury, and after his canonization was called by his name.¹⁷ At the time of the disastrous fire of 1213 this building was much damaged;

¹ *Feet of F. Surr.*, quoted by Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* ii. 750.

² Pat. 4 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 10.

³ Winton. Epis. Reg., Stratford, f. 58.

⁴ Ibid. ff. 126, 137.

⁵ Ibid. Orilton. i. f. 123; ii. f. 68b.

⁶ Lowth's *Wykeham*, 84.

⁷ Winton. Epis. Reg., Edendon, i. f. 49b.

⁸ Ibid. iii. f. 60.

⁹ Ibid. Wykeham, iii. f. 116.

¹⁰ Ibid. i. f. 218.

¹¹ Ibid. iii. f. 321.

¹² Ibid. iii. f. 289.

¹³ Ibid. i. 316-17.

¹⁴ Ibid. iii. f. 342.

¹⁵ Ibid. iii. f. 365b.

¹⁶ Pat. 14 Hen. VI. pt. i. m. 4.

¹⁷ *Cal. of Papal Pet.* (P.R.O.), i. 304.

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Amicius, who was Archdeacon of Surrey from about 1189 to 1215, was then *custos* or warden of the hospital. The canons at once erected a temporary building for the reception of the poor at a little distance from the priory, and within its chapel they held their own services whilst the priory was being rebuilt.

Meanwhile Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, disliking the situation, added to the endowment of the hospital, and built a new house, which, though still in Southwark, was on a site where the water was purer and the air more healthy.¹ This new hospital, which was also dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr, was completed by 1215.

In 1215 an indenture was made between Martin, prior of the church of St. Mary, Southwark, and the canons of that place, and Amicius, Archdeacon of Surrey, warden of the hospital of St. Thomas, Southwark, and the brethren thereof, whereby the former granted that the brethren and sisters of the old hospital of St. Thomas might transfer themselves into the new hospital of the like dedication (which had been founded as the property of the church of Winchester, and was free from all subjection to the church of St. Mary), together with all their goods, rents and lands, saving the lands which the prior and canons had always retained to their own use, to wit the whole land of Melewell or Milkwell in Camberwell and Lambeth, with the place of the old hospital and the whole of the garden in Trinity Lane, which Ralph Carbonel sold to the old hospital quit of all demand on the part of the warden and brethren against the said canons. In exchange for the land of Melewell, the canons gave the brethren 13s. rents in Southwark. The canons also granted that the market for corn and other goods, which used to be at the doors of the old hospital, should be transferred to the doors of the new hospital. They also provided that the old hospital (in ruins from the fire), on the withdrawal of the brethren and sisters, be shut up for ever, on condition that the canons might build whatever they liked on the plot, except a hospital, and they bound themselves that never hereafter should another hospital be built by them

in the public street of Southwark. All writings that had been obtained from the pope or king *pendente lite* were to be surrendered, so that every occasion of litigation might be taken away.²

There is a large paper chartulary of this hospital, consisting of 321 folios, at the British Museum, which was drawn up about the year 1525.³ It is not quite complete, and lacks unfortunately the first leaf. It begins at the top of the page, which is lettered *fundacione* with the end of an episcopal charter of confirmation of the grant of the tithe of hay in all his lordships made by Reginald de Brettyngherst to the brothers and sisters of the hospital. The first charter recited in full is a brief confirmation by Bishop Peter des Roches. This is followed by a grant of a cemetery and burial rights to the hospital by the prior and convent of St. Mary, Southwark, under certain restrictions.

The hospital agreed not to have more than two bells weighing 100 lb. in their bell tower (*campanario*), and to pay 6s. 8d. yearly to the priory and 12d. yearly at Easter to the vicar of St. Mary Magdalen. Burial was to be granted not only to all such as died within their own precincts, but also to all others who might desire it, and who were not parishioners of either St. Mary Magdalen's or St. Margaret's. This concession by the priory was obtained by the interference of Peter des Roches, who was Bishop of Winchester from 1205 to 1238.⁴

A later instrument however given in the chartulary shows that the rector of St. Margaret's, as well as the vicar of St. Mary Magdalen's, secured 12d. a year by this agreement as to the cemetery, and the subsidy of the priory was reduced from 6s. 8d. to 2s.⁵

In 1238 the warden and brethren granted to Luke, Archdeacon of Surrey, a hall in the chapel, stable and other appurtenances within the hospital precincts, for life, for his own occupation. He covenanted for himself and successors that they should not by virtue of this grant claim any authority, jurisdiction, property or succession in the same to the damage of the warden and brethren. The archdeacon in 1249, under the title of Luke de Rupibus, papal sub-deacon, released to the hospital all his dwelling rights.⁶

¹ *Ubi aqua est uberior et aer est sanior. Annales Monastici* (Rolls Series), iii. 457. The date given for this translation of the hospital in these Annals is 1228, which is clearly wrong, as Amicius is mentioned as Archdeacon of Surrey, a post he did not hold after 1215. There is also a mistake in the previous date of the fire, which is given as 1207 instead of 1213.

² Pat. 33 Edw. I. pt. i, m. 2. At that date there was an inspection and confirmation of a chirograph of 1215.

³ Stowe MS. 942.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* f. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.* ff. 4, 4b.

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All archidiaconal rights of visitation were ceded to the hospital, so that no archdeacon of Surrey nor his official could exercise any kind of jurisdiction over any persons, regular or secular, within the hospital in any causes, civil or criminal. The brethren or their commissary had sole cognizance of all such matters, and also had the proving of the wills of persons dying within their precincts. For these concessions the house paid an annual pension of 5*s.* 4*d.* to the archdeacons of Surrey at Easter. Nevertheless the hospital was not strictly a peculiar, for the bishop claimed and exercised powers of visitation.¹

The following are the chief grants to the hospital in the earlier part of the thirteenth century cited in the chartulary: Alice de Chalvedon, widow, granted circa 1235 all her lands in Chaldon; in consideration whereof Adam de Merton and the brethren agreed to find her a suitable bed within the hospital for life, with all reasonable necessities such as would suffice for two sisters of the house, and to her maid as to one of the maids of the house; she was also to have 5*s.* 6*d.* a year for her clothing and fuel, but to demand nothing else.² Everard de Caterham gave lands and 2*s.* rent at Caterham;³ John de Marlow, clerk, gave mills and osier beds at Marlow, in Buckinghamshire,⁴ and Richard de Clare, Earl of Hertford, and his son, Gilbert de Clare, lands worth £20 a year and quit rents in the manor of Marlow.⁵

A commission was issued in November 1276 to inquire into the complaint of the brethren of the hospital, that Ralph le Aumoner and many others, claiming authority from Nicholas, Bishop of Winchester, and asserting that the custody of the hospital belonged to the bishop, entered without leave of the brethren, and consumed and wasted the possessions, victuals and other goods of the hospital.⁶

There was a considerable dispute at the time of the election of Richard de Hulmo as master in 1295, the bishop claiming the sole appointment, but eventually he compromised matters by nominating the choice of the brethren.⁷

In 1299 Isaac the Jew conveyed a house to the hospital, and that this grant might

hold good, instead of a seal, he subscribed his name in Hebrew characters according to the Jewish custom.⁸ On 18 April 1305 licence was granted to the master and brethren to acquire in mortmain 8 acres of land in Charlton by Greenwich from Robert de la Wyke; 4 acres of land in Combe and Greenwich from Ranulph, vicar of Greenwich; and 1½ acres of land in the latter places from John and William, sons of William le Flemmyng, all for the maintenance of the poor and infirm within the house.⁹

Licence upon fine was obtained in June 1309 for the alienation in mortmain to the master and brethren of this hospital of yearly rents to the value of 28*s.* 2½*d.* in Beddington and Bandon, the gift of Walter de Dynesle, clerk, and of a messuage in Southwark, the gift of William de Hameldon, chaplain.¹⁰

In the following year there was a large bequest under similar licence, by Simon de Stowe, of a messuage and various plots of land in Beddington, Bandon, Mitcham, Southwark and Newton for the sustenance of the poor in the hospital;¹¹ and again in 1311, by Walter de Huntingfield, of a mill, a messuage, 4 tofts, 63 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow and 6*s.*¹² of rents. In 1313 there was a further bequest by Dulcia le Drapere of a messuage and 8 acres of land in Beddington.¹³

Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, granted in 1314 to the master and brethren of the hospital the advowson of the church of Blechingley in exchange for all lands and tenements which they held in the towns of Beddington, Bandon, Woodcote, Mitcham and Croydon, and for the mills that they held in the parish of Marlow, Bucks. In the following year they obtained licence to appropriate the church of Blechingley.¹⁴

In June 1321 Stephen de Bykleswade, master, and the brethren and sisters, in consideration of the great benefits they had received from Henry de Bluntesdon, almoner to the late King Edward, ordered a daily mass at the Lady Altar for the said king and for Henry and his parents and benefactors.¹⁵

In February 1323 Bishop Asserio, after visitation, gravely admonished the master of the hospital as to the irregular lives led by

¹ Stowe MS. 942, ff. 5, 6, 330.

² *Ibid.* ff. 292-3.

³ *Ibid.* f. 309.

⁴ *Ibid.* ff. 313-14.

⁵ *Ibid.* 315 f. etc.

⁶ Pat. 4 Edw. I. m. 3d. There is no entry pertaining to the hospital in the taxation rolls of 1291.

⁷ Winton Epis. Reg., Pontissera, f. 52; Stowe MS. 942 f. 106.

⁸ Stowe MS. 942, f. 106.

⁹ Pat. 33 Edw. I. pt. i. m. 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 2 Edw. II. pt. ii. m. 43.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 4 Edw. II. pt. i. m. 22.

¹² *Ibid.* 4 Edw. II. pt. ii. m. 18.

¹³ *Ibid.* 6 Edw. II. pt. ii. m. 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 8 Edw. II. pt. ii. m. 13.

¹⁵ Winton. Epis. Reg., Reynolds, f. 352, m. 6b.

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the brethren and sisters.¹ It was then ordered that they should all follow the rule of St. Augustine, and that the master should eat with the brethren.²

On 1 December 1326 the Bishop of Winchester granted to the master and brethren of this hospital, for the health of the souls of himself, his parents, Adam le Chaundeler and Joan his wife, and for the support of the sick poor resorting to the hospital, lands in Wimbledon, which he had acquired jointly with John de Windsor, his clerk, of the gift of Joan Chaundeler. This grant received royal confirmation in 1329.³

Stephen de Bikleswade's administration as master seems to have been careless, as he was several times suspended and the custody of the house assigned to others; but in February 1330 he was formally reinstated by the bishop, and continued in office until March 1338.⁴

This hospital, like almost every English religious house, suffered sadly at the time of the Black Death. In 1349 Walter de Marlowe, brother of the hospital, sought and obtained dispensation from illegitimacy at the hands of Pope Clement VI. in order that he might be appointed prior or master. The petition stated that the mortality amongst the brethren had left no one so fit to rule as the said Walter.⁵ In 1350 a chantry was established in the lady chapel for the soul of Ralph Nonley of Halsted.⁶

In 1357 the hospital presented an interesting petition to Pope Innocent VI., and obtained that which they sought. It was stated therein that the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, founded in Southwark by the saint himself, was resorted to by such numbers of the poor and sick that the master, brethren and sisters of the rule of St. Augustine could not support their charges without alms; they therefore prayed for an indulgence of two years and eighty days to those who should visit the hospital at Christmas, Easter, the feasts of the Blessed Virgin and Sts. Peter and Paul, and on Good Friday, and who should lend a helping hand to the hospital.⁷

Henry Yakesley was appointed master by Bishop Edendon in 1361. The election devolved on the bishop owing to the death of

all the brethren save one, but a special reservation of the future right of the brethren was entered.⁸

In January 1372 the bishop deputed three commissioners to visit the hospital.⁹

Nicholas de Carrew paid the king 20s. in 1379 for licence to alienate to the master and brethren six messuages, three shops and one garden in Southwark; one messuage and 2 acres of land in Lambeth; five cottages and 1 acre of meadow in Bermondsey Street—in exchange for the manor called 'Freres-manoire,' a watermill, and two gardens in Beddington, Croydon, Mitcham and Carshalton.¹⁰

On the death of William de Welford in 1381 the bishop, as patron of the house, committed the custody to John Okeham and Robert Eton, the only two of the brethren then living.¹¹ During the vacancy, on 9 December 1381, the bishop sent a letter to the two custodians instructing them to admit Thomas Gouday, chaplain, to the fraternity.¹² On the same day brothers Okeham and Eton invited the bishop to appoint to the mastership, whereupon the bishop delegated John de Bukyngham, canon of York, to admit Gouday as master, who took the oath of canonical obedience on 13 December.

Licence was granted to Edmund Halstede, on 2 July 1385, to have mass said in the chapel within the graveyard of the hospital until fifteen days after Michaelmas.¹³

The bishop gave notice of a personal visitation of the hospital on 28 June 1387.

In 1388 Thomas, the master, and the brethren were charged with having appropriated to themselves a piece of ground outside their church, formerly common to the men of Southwark for selling and buying corn and other merchandise, and with stopping up a king's highway called 'Trynet Lane'; but it was found on inquisition that the hospital had enjoyed these premises since the time of King John, when the house was built.¹⁴

At the time of the death of Thomas Gouday on 17 December 1392, there were then four brethren of the house in addition to the master, namely John Okeham, Thomas Sallow, Henry Grygge and John Aylesbury. The bishop as patron and diocesan granted them on 18 December licence to elect; but

¹ Winton. Epis. Reg. Asserio, f. 20b.

² Stowe MS. 942, f. 330.

³ Pat. 3 Edw. III. pt. i. m. 32.

⁴ Winton. Epis. Reg., Stratford, ff. 9, 12, etc. Stowe MS. 942, ff. 280, 307.

⁵ *Cal. of Papal Petitions*, i. 165; *Cal. of Papal Registers*, iii. 330.

⁶ Stowe MS. 942, ff. 31, 32, 324.

⁷ *Cal. of Papal Petitions*, i. 304.

⁸ Stowe MS. 942, f. 330.

⁹ Winton. Epis. Reg., iii. f. 626.

¹⁰ Pat. 2 Rich. II. pt. ii. m. 19.

¹¹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Wykeham, i. f. 119.

¹² *Ibid.* i. 126.

¹³ *Ibid.* iii. f. 218.

¹⁴ Stowe MS. 942, f. 181.

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the brethren on the following day devolved their right on the bishop and asked him to nominate. Wykeham's choice fell on Henry Grygge, and he was duly appointed on 15 January 1393.¹

It appears that Grygge sold some of the possessions of the house contrary to his oath to Bishop Wykeham,² and in 1399 he withdrew into foreign parts, when the custody of the hospital was committed to John Aylesbury, one of the brethren.³ On 25 February 1401 William Sharpe made his profession as a brother of the hospital. On the morrow the bishop renewed the custody to John Aylesbury and issued a citation for Grygge to appear.⁴ In December following Grygge received papal absolution.⁵ Whether he ever returned to take up the duties of the office of master does not appear, but in July 1414 John Reed, a brother of the house, was elected and confirmed as master.⁶

In 1436 the hospital of Sandon in this county, being greatly reduced in revenue, was united to this house.⁷

A letter from Sir Thomas More to Wolsey, dated 16 March 1528, mentions the hospital of Southwark, and that the master was old, blind and feeble. Though in the gift of the Bishop of Winchester, the king was informed that Wolsey, as legate, might appoint a coadjutor, and he would like to have the same for his chaplain Mr. Stanley. The king had two reasons for asking this: first, that Stanley was a gentleman born; and secondly, if he could get rid of him he would like to have a more learned man in his place.⁸

Very shortly after this, namely on 20 May 1528, aged Richard Richardson resigned his office, being allotted a pension of 40 marks.⁹ Richard Mabbot was elected his successor on 22 May.

On 26 September 1535 Richard Layton, the monastic visitor, wrote to Cromwell to the effect that he was going to visit the exempt monastery of Bermondsey, Southwark, and 'the bawdy hospital of St. Thomas' on his return out of Kent.¹⁰ Layton's epithets and general language were usually coarse

and often untrustworthy, but in this case his reference to the hospital seems justified, for master Mabbot was undoubtedly lax in discipline and bad in personal character.

The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 gave the clear annual value of the hospital at £309 1s. 11d., of which sum only £42 4s. 0d. was spent on the poor and infirm. There were at this time three lay-sisters—originally the sisters were also professed and of the Austin rule—and there were forty beds for the poor.

A complaint was addressed by certain parishioners of St. Thomas' hospital to Sir Richard Longe and Robert Acton, in July 1536, against the master and brethren of the hospital, accusing them of maintaining improper characters within the precincts, refusing charitable relief to those in sickness, and even to those willing to pay,—insomuch that a poor woman great with child was denied a lodging and died at the church door, while rich men's servants and lemans were readily taken in,—refusing baptism of a child till the master had 3s. 4d., and other irregularities. The master was charged with often quarrelling with the brethren and sisters even in the quire of the church, of which strange instances were cited. As to the services in the church they complained that the usual three or four sermons in Lent had not been given, they had often scant two masses in a day, and they had been forced sometimes to seek a priest about the Borough to sing high mass. Moreover the master had put down the free school formerly kept within the hospital, although there was £4 a year for its maintenance, was guilty of 'filthy and indecent' conduct, openly kept a concubine, claimed to be 'lord, king and bishop' within his precincts, and sold the church plate, pretending it was stolen. The names of nine witnesses were appended to these grave allegations.¹¹

On 4 July 1538 Robert More, one of the priests of the hospital, confessed before Robert Acton, justice of the peace, that before the robbery of church plate the master sold two silver parcel-gilt basins, a silver holywater stock and 'spryngeyll,' a pair of parcel-gilt silver candlesticks, a parcel-gilt silver censer, and a pair of parcel-gilt silver cruets. He delivered £5 to Robert as his portion. The master was robbed of as much plate as would go into a half-bushel basket. The master consulted the brethren about selling his house at Deptford Strand. More said if he did so he would sore offend his prince. The master bade them do as he commanded, and

¹ Winton. Epis. Reg. i. ff. 224-5.

² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v. 497.

³ Winton. Epis. Reg., Beaufort iii. f. 315.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. f. 331.

⁵ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v. 497.

⁶ Winton. Epis. Reg., Beaufort, iii. 51, 52; Stowe MS. 942, f. 330.

⁷ Winton. Epis. Reg., Waynflete, ii. f. 57.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* iv. 4, 080.

⁹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Fox, v. f. 156b.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* ix. (1) 44

¹¹ *Ibid.* xi. 168.

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so they sold it deceitfully to John Asspelle, proctor of the arches.¹

An indenture was made in July 1538 between the king and Richard Mabbot, the master and the brethren, whereby the hospital exchanged their manor of Sandon by Esher with the parsonage of Esher, for the parsonages of Much Wakering, and of Helion Bumpstead, Essex.²

On 23 December 1539 Thomas Thurleby, clerk, the last master, was presented to St. Thomas' hospital, in the place of Richard Mabbot deceased. But this appointment could only have been made³ with the idea of effecting a quiet surrender, for on 14 January 1540 Thomas Thurleby, together with Thomas Ladde and Thomas Cowyke, surrendered the hospital and all its possessions to the king.⁴

PRIORS, MASTERS, WARDENS OR RECTORS OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. THOMAS, SOUTHWARK

Archdeacon Amicius,⁵ occurs 1213, 1215

Adam de Merton, occurs 1235

Thomas de Codeham, occurs 1248, 1251

Fulcher, elected 1261

Adam II.

Richard de Bicleswade, resigned 1283⁶

” ” (re-elected), died
1295

Richard de Hulmo, 1295⁷

Walter de Marlowe. 1316⁸

Stephen de Bykleswade, occurs 1321,
1338⁹

William de Stanton, occurs 1338, 1342

Walter de Marlowe, appointed, 1350, 1351¹⁰

John de Bradewyn (Bradeway) appointed
1356¹¹

Henry Yakesley, appointed 1361¹²; died
1377

William de Welfrid, appointed 1377¹³; died
1381

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii. (1) 1323.

² *Ibid.* xiii. (1) 1348.

³ *Ibid.* xiv. (2) 780 (37).

⁴ *Dep. Keepers' Rep.* viii. app. ii. 41.

⁵ The names and dates of the masters are all taken from the Chartulary (Stowe MS. 942), unless otherwise stated.

⁶ *Winton. Epis. Reg.*, Pontissera, f. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.* f. 52; *Stowe MS.* 942, f. 106; *Pat.* 23 *Edw. I.* m. 6, 7, 14.

⁸ *Canterbury Epis. Reg.*, Reynolds, f. 18b.

⁹ *Ibid.* Stratford, ff. 9, 12, etc.; *Stowe MS.* 942, ff. 280, 307.

¹⁰ The appointment of Walter de Marlowe seems to have been upset by his illegitimacy.

¹¹ *Stowe MS.* 942, f. 330.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Winton. Epis. Reg.*, Wykeham, i. f. 83

Thomas Gouday, appointed 1381; died
1392

Henry Grygge, appointed 1393¹⁴; occurs
1401

John Reed, appointed 1414¹⁵; died 1427

Nicholas Bokeland, appointed 1427¹⁶; resigned 1447

William Crosse, appointed 1447¹⁷; resigned 1478

William Beele, appointed 1478¹⁸; resigned
1487

John Burnham, appointed 1487¹⁹; died
1501

Richard Richardson, appointed 1501²⁰; resigned 1528²¹

Richard Mabbot, appointed 1528; died
1539

Thomas Thurleby, appointed 1539²²; surrendered 1540

The pointed oval seal²³ of this house represents a priest celebrating mass before an altar with a chalice on it. Legend: +s'. HOSP' : SCI : THOME : MART' : DE : SOWTHWERK' : AD : CAUSAS.

15. THE LEPER HOSPITAL OF SOUTHWARK

On the outskirts of the Borough was a hospital for lepers under the joint dedication of St. Mary and St. Leonard. Stowe speaks of it as the Loke or Lazar-house for leprous persons, which stood in Kent Street, without St. George's Bar, but he had failed to learn anything of its early foundation.²⁴

It was probably of twelfth century origin, like so many similar establishments outside English towns. The first notice that we have found of it occurs in the time of Edward II., when it had evidently been for some time endowed. The favours it obtained from Edward II. and Edward III. confirm the tradition that it was originally of royal foundation.

Protection was granted for one year on 4 June 1315 for the master and brethren of the hospital, and their men and lands.²⁵ The

¹⁴ *Ibid.* i. ff. 224-5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Beaufort, iii. ff. 51, 52; *Stowe MS.* 942, f. 330.

¹⁶ *Stowe MS.* 942, f. 330.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Winton. Epis. Reg.*, Waynflete, ii. f. 57. He resigned from age and infirmities.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.* Fox, i. f. 12b.

²¹ *Ibid.* v. f. 156b.

²² *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiv. (2) 780 (37).

²³ *B. M.*, lxv. 78.

²⁴ *Stowe's Survey* (ed. Thomas), 156.

²⁵ *Pat.* 8 *Edw. II.* pt. ii. m. 9.

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like was repeated in June 1316 for another year.¹ And again letters of protection were obtained from the same king on 10 April 1320 to last for two years.² On 27 July of the same year these letters of protection were renewed for two years, and at the same time the brethren were authorized, in consequence of the insufficiency of their income, to collect alms.³

Protection was again granted for two years, in September 1328, wherein it was stated that the brethren had no sufficient livelihood unless they were succoured by the faithful.⁴

This was one of the four leper hospitals built for the reception of these sufferers outside London, for the injunctions against lepers entering the city were numerous and stringent. The other three named by Stowe were those at Stratford le Bow, at Knightsbridge, and between Shoreditch and Stoke Newington.⁸

John Pope, by his will of 1487, gave to this hospital 6s. 8d. towards its repair and maintenance. It was for a long time under the care of St. Bartholomew's hospital.⁹

COLLEGES

16. THE COLLEGIATE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN, KINGSTON

Edward Lovekin, citizen of London, but a native of Kingston, built a chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen at Kingston in the year 1304.⁵ In conjunction with his brother Robert, he endowed it with ten acres of land, one acre of meadow, and fifteen marks of rent in Kingston, for the support of a chaplain to say daily mass for Edward and Robert and all their relatives and successors and all the faithful departed. License for the alienation of this property was obtained from the Crown in 1309,⁶ and at the same time leave was obtained from the bishop for the appointment and induction of a chaplain.⁷

¹ Ibid. 9 Edw. II. pt. ii. m. 14.

² Pat. 13 Edw. II. m. ii.

³ Ibid. 14 Edw. II. pt. ii. m. 23.

⁴ Ibid. 2 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 2.

⁵ Bishop Tanner, in his *Notitia*, terms this foundation a hospital, and says it was for the support of certain poor men as well as a warden and chaplain; but there is no reference to the poor men nor to the term hospital in the elaborate ordinances of John Lovekin, the refounder, and in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (ii. 47) this house is called the chapel of the Blessed Mary Magdalen in Kingston. There was apparently at an early date a hospital for lepers at Kingston, said to be of royal foundation. Manning and Bray (*Hist. of Surr.*, i. 343), quoting what they call 'Escheators Rolls,' state that in 1316 the lepers quitted the house, pulled down the buildings and carried off the materials; the escheator thereupon seized the site for the king and accounted for 10s. for a year's rent. It is possible that the college of St. Mary Magdalene may have been built upon the site of this leper hospital.

⁶ Pat. 2 Edw. II. pt. ii. m. 4.

⁷ Winton. Epis. Reg., Woodlock, f. 112b.

John Lovekin, son and heir of Edward Lovekin, soon after this last date, rebuilt the chapel and the priest's house, and in October 1352 obtained license from the Crown for a further endowment up to £12 per annum for the support of an additional chaplain.¹⁰ For this patent he paid 20 marks into the hanaper. He obtained the sanction for his new scheme of the bishop and chapter of the diocese, of the prior and convent of Merton as rectors of Kingston, and of the vicar of Kingston, and granted to the chapel and its chaplains 9 messuages, 10 shops, a mill, 125 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 120 acres of pasture, and 35s. of annual rent in Kingston, and two messuages of the yearly value of £4, in the parish of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, London.

The charter, dated 3 May 1355, provided that there should be two chaplains, one of them being warden, presented to the diocesan by John Lovekin or his heirs; that if two months elapsed on a vacancy without presentation, the appointment should lapse to the chapter of Winchester; that the chaplains, immediately after their institution, should swear to reside continuously and personally minister at the chapel, and not to engage in any other service or office whatsoever; that they should reside together in the appointed houses or manse, and that the warden should pay the chaplain (or chaplains if the number was increased) 40s. yearly in addition to necessary food, and a robe like that worn by the warden every Christmas; that the residue of the income, after deducting the necessary expenses of himself and the

⁸ Stowe's *Survey* (ed. Thomas), 184.

⁹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 634.

¹⁰ Pat. 26 Edw. III. pt. iii. m. 13.

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household, was to be applied by the warden for the benefit of the chapel and in no other way; that the warden should yearly make an inventory by indenture of the chapel's goods, one part to remain with the warden, and the other (to be exhibited yearly to the diocesan) with the senior chaplain; that the chaplains should have their meals together in the same apartment, and each sleep in his allotted chamber; that the warden should provide a competent clerk to serve at mass and to minister to the chaplains in their chambers; that the warden should supply the chaplains with comely surplices and amices trimmed with black fur for use in the chapel, and should also furnish books, chalices and other necessary ornaments for the chapel; that none of the chaplains, save the warden, should introduce any stranger at the expense of the house, but that threepence should be paid for a stranger at dinner, and twopence for every other entertainment; that the warden and chaplain should entirely abstain from taverns, and that the latter should not visit any house without leave of the warden; and that the diocesan had power to remove any refractory or incorrigible chaplain. An exceptional provision was also made to check any granting of a corrody or parting with any of their property, whereby the house was disallowed any common seal. Full regulations were made for the various daily services which were to be after the use of Sarum: on Monday mass was to be said for the founders: on Tuesday, the mass of *Salus Populi*, for the welfare of the king and queen and the bishop, and after their deaths the mass of St. Thomas the Martyr; on Wednesday, the mass of St. Mary Magdalen; on Thursday, the mass of the Holy Ghost; on Friday, the mass of the Holy Cross; on Saturday, the mass of our Lady; and on every Lord's Day and other festivals, the mass of the day. There was also a daily Requiem mass.

On 1 June 1355 these ordinances were confirmed by Bishop Edendon, with a certain stipulation in favour of parochial rights, namely, that mass should not be said in the chapel on any Sunday or special festival in the presence of any parishioner not residing in the manse, unless such parishioner had license from the vicar, save only John Lovekin, the founder; that the chaplains should themselves attend high mass at the parish church on the four principal feasts, and make their offerings; that no warden nor chaplain should administer sacraments or sacramentals to parishioners, or accept from them payment for masses; and that the chapel should

possess no rights of ecclesiastical sepulture.¹

John Lovekin, the refounder, was a fishmonger, a citizen of London: he was lord mayor in 1347, 1357, 1364 and 1365. He lived in the parish of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, and rebuilt that church shortly before his death, which occurred on 4 August 1368.² William Walworth, sometime apprentice to John Lovekin, lord mayor in 1373 and 1379, who attained fame as the slayer of Wat Tyler, considerably increased the endowments of the chapel in 1371, making provision for another chaplain.

On 11 January 1372, the bishop issued a commission for the duc auditing of the accounts of this foundation,³ and notice was served on Reginald Jurdan, warden of this chapel, on 11 September 1401, that the bishop would visit the house in the following month.⁴

In 1535 the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*⁵ returned the clear annual value of this foundation as £34 19s. 6½d. From an inquisition, cited by Manning, it appears that Charles Carew, the last warden, forfeited this chapel with its possessions to the Crown in March 1540, through being attainted of felony, though the nature of the felony is not stated.

In April 1547, the site and appurtenances were demised by the Crown to Richard Taverner for twenty-one years, at a reserved rent of £12 1s. 0d. The particulars contained bear out the idea that this establishment was something more than a chapel and house for a warden and two chaplains. Twelve lots are mentioned, namely: (1) the site of a free chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, with garden; (2) a small chapel called St. Anne's adjoining, with chambers and study over it; (3) an inner chamber, with a hawk's mew over it; (4) a small chapel called St. Loy's on the south side of St. Mary Magdalen's with a little place under it; (5) an old kitchen, with chamber adjoining, and a solar or loft over both; (6) a chamber under the kitchen, to the west of St. Mary Magdalen's; (7) a house next to the said kitchen; (8) yards on the north and west of St. Mary Magdalen's chapel; (9) a gallery over the said yards, leading from St. Anne's chapel to a small place and to two chambers called the master's lodgings; (10) a cellar and four small chambers under

¹ The foundation charter ordinances and stipulations are set forth at length in *Wykeham's Registers* (Hants Record Society), ii. f. 445-451.

² Newcourt's *Report*, 415, 483. His epitaph is given in Weever's *Fun. Mon.*, 410.

³ *Wykeham's Reg.* (Hants Rec. Soc.) iii. f. 62b.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. f. 337.

⁵ *Val. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.) ii. p. 47.

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the master's lodgings; (11) a granary; and (12) a stable and dovecote.¹

Probably there was an old hospital here for the poor, to which the chapel of Edward, and subsequently of John Lovekin, formed an adjunct. When Queen Elizabeth, in 1561, founded a free school here, it was said to be founded on the site of the old chapel and hospital. The chapel was turned into the schoolroom.

THE COLLEGIATE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN, KINGSTON.

CHAPLAINS (FIRST FOUNDATION)

Ralph de Stanle, instituted 1310²
John de Fre, instituted 1326
Peter de Lincoln, instituted 1331
Stephen de Stoke Goldington, resigned
1335
Robert de Fekenham, instituted 1335
John de Witham, instituted 1337
Walter Cok of Fenny Stratford, instituted
1344

WARDENS (SECOND FOUNDATION)

Elias de Bodeland,³ resigned 1367
Robert Simonde of Bikenore, instituted
1367,⁴ resigned 1394
Reginald Jurdan, instituted 1394, resigned
1403
John Hals, instituted 1403,⁵ resigned
1404
John Scarburghe, instituted 1404⁶
Richard Bowden, instituted 1405⁷
John Gorsuch, died 1448
William Sharp, instituted 1448
William Frome, instituted 1451
Peter Baxter, instituted 1464
Edmund Hampden, instituted 1476
Hugh Meredith, instituted 1485
William Carpenter, instituted 1485
William Kyrkeby, resigned 1522
Edmund Thurland, instituted 1522
Charles Carew, instituted 1535-1540

17. COLLEGE OF LAMBETH

Archbishop Baldwin (1185-90) proposed

¹ Letters patent 26 April 1547, cited by Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.*

² All the chaplains of the first foundation are taken from Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.*, i. 351, quoting from the Winchester Registers.

³ Winton. Epis. Reg., Wykeham, i. f. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.* Simonde became one of the chaplains of the house. *Ibid.* 228.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. f. 341.

⁶ *Ibid.* i. f. 348b.

⁷ The names of the following wardens are taken from Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.*, i. 355.

to found a college of secular canons, dedicated to the honour of his predecessor St. Thomas the Martyr, at Haddington, near Canterbury. But the project met with such strenuous opposition from the monks of Christ Church that he was forced to abandon the attempt. Desirous however of fulfilling his intention elsewhere, he obtained a site at Lambeth from the bishop and chapter of Rochester, and there the archbishop built himself a house and a church in honour of St. Thomas. In 1188 Baldwin began to build a fine chapel, intending to make it collegiate, with houses for the canons in an adjoining quadrangle; but soon after he went to the Holy Land, where he died. His successor, Hubert Walter (1193-1205), completed the chapel in 1199 together with the buildings for some of the canons; but the opposition of the Canterbury monks was so strenuous and their influence at Rome so great, that Innocent III. in April 1198 ordered the demolition of the chapel and the suspension of the clergy there officiating. The matter was referred to arbitration, and in 1202 the archbishop was allowed if he willed to form at Lambeth a foundation of not less than thirteen nor more than twenty canons regular of Prémontré. But this permission was never acted upon, and the short-lived project of a college at Lambeth came to an end.⁸

18. THE COLLEGE OF LINGFIELD

The chief founder of this college was Reginald Lord Cobham. On 16 March 1431 license was granted to the abbot and convent of Hyde, who were the patrons of Lingfield Church, to cede the advowson of the parish church to Sir Reginald Cobham, William Crommere, John Arderne, and John Bayhall, to convert it into a collegiate church, consisting of six chaplains, one of whom should govern as master of the collegiate church of St. Peter of Lingfield, and four clerks, together with thirteen poor persons, for the good estate of Reginald and his coadjutors and all other benefactors whilst living and for their souls after death. The college was to have a common seal, and to hold a messuage in Southwark on payment to the abbey of a rent of 20s. At the same time license was granted to Reginald and the others to transfer the advowson and rectory of this church to the newly founded college.⁹

⁸ Manning and Bray's *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 469-70; Tanner's *Notitia*, under Lambeth, Surrey; Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, 705, 708, etc.; *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 77-8.

⁹ Pat. 9 Hen. VI. pt. ii. m. 6.

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The college was built at the west end of the churchyard, with a first storey of freestone, but above that brick and timber. Aubrey, writing in 1719, describes the court and cloister of the buildings as nearly perfect.

On 1 March 1449 license was granted to Anne Cobham, lady of Starburgh, Sir John Fortescue, chief justice, Edward Sackville, Gervase Clifton, and others to alienate to the college the manors of Hexstede and Bylyshough, with appurtenances, and five messuages, two watermills, 128 acres of land, and 16*d.* rent in Lingfield.¹

The *Valor* of 1535 gave the clear annual value as £75. Provost Culpepper surrendered the college to Henry VIII. on 26 April 1544. The surrender is signed, in addition to the provost, by Anthony Sharde, priest; Richard Augur, clerk; and by Maurice Wells, Richard Rowell, and Thomas Woody.²

There are two inventories among the Loseley charters of this college; the one is a small roll, endorsed—"Inventory of the household goods cloaths money farming stock etc. of Jn^o Robson M^r of the College of Lyngfield 1 Aug. 1524"; and the other is an inventory of seven pages taken upon the dissolution of the house in 1544. These documents were printed in 1880 by Mr. Granville Leveson-Gower.³ The church was exceptionally rich in copes and vestments.

PROVOSTS

John Acton, 1431⁴
 John Wyche,⁵ died 1445
 John Wetecote, died 1469
 John Bow, appointed 1469⁶
 David William, died 1491
 John Knoyle, instituted 1491,⁷ died 1503
 Robert Blynkynsop, resigned 1520
 John Robson, instituted 1520, died 1524
 Edward Culpepper, LL.D., instituted 1524,⁸ and surrendered 1544

The pointed oval fourteenth century seal⁹ represents St. Peter seated in a canopied

¹ Pat. 27 Hen. VI. pt. ii. m. 28.

² Dept. Keepers' Reports, viii. app. ii. 28; Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv. 66.

³ *Surrey Arch. Coll.* vii. 228-245.

⁴ Winton. Epis. Reg., Waynflete, ii. f. 133.

⁵ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.*, ii. 353, gives this name and date from a gravestone then in the church.

⁶ *Ibid.* and Winton. Epis. Reg., Waynflete.

⁷ *Ibid.* Courtney, f. 42b. Knoyle was presented by Sir Edward Burgh in right of Anne his wife.

⁸ *Ibid.* Fox, iv. ff. 6b, 45b, 69.

⁹ B. M. lxii. 61.

niche, with tiara, in the left hand a patriarchal cross, and the right hand raised in blessing. In the base a half-length priest praying; and below this the arms of Cobham the founder. Legend imperfect:—
 COLLEGII SCI PETRI.

19. COLLEGE OF MALDEN

The great Walter de Merton, Chancellor of England, Bishop of Rochester, and founder of Merton College, the celebrated foundation at Oxford, whose charter of incorporation was obtained in 1264, was memorable as being the first in this kingdom to incorporate a body of persons for purposes of study, and to attempt to raise the condition of the secular clergy by bringing them into close connection with an academical course of study.¹⁰ This, however, was not the primary form of the great founder's intention; but, as for a few months Surrey had the honour of being the first seat of the munificent educational scheme of the learned Chancellor, some mention must be here made of the brief-lived experimental foundation initiated at Malden, and continued for ten years further on administrative lines.

Among the Malden title deeds in the Merton muniment room is a document assigning that manor, together with Chessington and Farley, for the sustentation of John de la Clythe and seven other *nepotes*, who are termed *scholares in scolis degentes*, and are stated to be living under an ordinance approved by the king, by the feudal lord, by the Bishop of Winchester, and by the Chapter of Winchester. This charter bears no date, but Bishop Hobhouse, with much ingenuity, has shown that it is of the year 1263, and probably of the month of September. From this document we learn that Walter de Merton placed eight of his nephews in his manor house of Malden, under a warden and chaplains, binding them down to a life of study and rule. It was intended to be perpetual in its benefits, for the vacancies as they occurred were to be filled up by relatives (*consanguinei*), or in default by others, who were to be nominated during his lifetime by the founder. Richard, Earl of Gloucester, his feudal lord, commended the institution to the protection of his successors.¹¹

In the original ordinance Walter reserved to himself and his household the occasional use of the manor house of Malden and of

¹⁰ Bishop Hobhouse's *Life of Walter de Merton* (1859), 9.

¹¹ Hobhouse's *Life of Walter de Merton*, ii. See also *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vi. 545-9.

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the two other manors so far as was consistent with the shelter and support of the scholars.

There has been considerable discussion as to the nature of this ordinance and to what purpose the house at Malden was devoted at the outset and subsequently. As Manning puts it: 'It seems, by all the expressions used in the several charters and other instruments, that there was a house at Malden for the use of the foundation in some respect; but it has been much questioned whether the founder first settled his scholars here, and afterwards removed them to Oxford, or whether it was for the ministers only who resided here to take care of the estates, whom he afterwards sent to Oxford to form one body with the scholars.'¹ On the whole the latter theory seems to be the soundest, and is that which has been adopted by the latest historian of Merton College.² At all events it is clear that when 1264 is reached, the *domus scolarium de Merton* was not to afford lodging for a band of scholars on the manor of Malden, but to find perpetual sustenance for twenty exhibitors at Oxford or some other university, and to sustain two or three ministers of the altar of Christ, residing at Malden. The foundation, according to Mr. Henderson, fell into two halves. The *domus* was at Malden in Surrey, where lived the custos or warden of the property, certain brethren of the foundation, and the ministers of the altar; but the *congregatio* or *societas* of the scholars was at Oxford. Once in the year some of the scholars visited the Surrey

domus, for on every recurring feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, eight or ten of the older and more discreet of the scholars were to come to the house at Malden, to inquire into the administration of the estates by the warden. If the scholars thought that the warden had failed to guard the property as though it was his own, they could appeal to the Bishop of Winchester. The election of the warden rested with the twelve senior of the twenty scholars.

When Walter de Merton published his second code of statutes in 1270, the *domus* at Malden still existed. The Malden house had its warden then elected by the thirteen senior scholars with the advice of the brethren (*seu aconomi*), who resided there and helped in the administration; its other inmates were the chaplains or ministers of the altar, then described as three or four, and the young scholars, *parvuli*, waiting for their promotion to Oxford. The senior member of the congregation of scholars at Oxford still annually visited Malden in July for administrative and audit purposes.

The final code of statutes, put forth in 1274, brought to an end the duplicate government of the house of trust and maintenance at Malden and the house of learning and literature at Oxford. The society had at that date property distributed in many parts of England; it was found that it could be administered as well from Oxford as from Surrey, and the Malden establishment came to an end.⁴

ALIEN HOUSE

20. THE PRIORY OF TOOTING³

The name of Tooting Beck or Tooting Bec still preserves the former association of a part of this town with the great Benedictine abbey of Bec in Normandy. A certain part of Upper Tooting, in the parish of Streatham, was given to the abbey of Bec in the life of the Conqueror by Richard de Tonebridge, and the abbey placed some monks there in charge of their property establishing a grange or small priory. The chapel at

Streatham mentioned in the Domesday Survey⁵ as paying 8*s.* may have been the church or chapel of this priory. The estate was sometimes accounted as a distinct alien priory and sometimes as a member of Okeburn, Wilts, which was the chief English cell of Bec.

The prior of Tooting (Theuteng) was appointed by Pope Innocent IV., in 1251, conservator of certain pensions from certain churches granted to the abbot and convent of Westminster.⁶

The taxation roll of 1291 returns the abbot of Bec as holding an income of £4 out

¹ Manning's *Surr.* iii. 3, 4.

² *Merton College*, by Bernard W. Henderson (1899), 2-5.

³ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 382-3; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi. 1053.

⁴ Brodrick's *Memorials of Merton College*, 317-40; Henderson's *Hist. of Merton College*, 17-20.

⁵ *V.C.H. Surrey* (i. 315).

⁶ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i. 271.

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of the church of Streatham as part of the alien priory of Streatham.

In 1315 it was said that the prior of Okeburn held the manor of Tooting (Totyng) Bec and Streatham of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, by the service of one knight's fee.¹ Hugh le Despenser, heir of the Earl of Gloucester, died seized of a knight's fee in Tooting and Streatham, which the prior of Okeburn held of him.²

¹ Inq. p.m. 8 Edw. II. No. 68.

² Ibid. 23 Edw. III. pt. ii. No. 169.

When the alien priories were definitely seized by Henry V. in 1414, Tooting Bec was granted to his brother John, Duke of Bedford. The duke died seized of it on 14 September 1436, whereupon it devolved on Henry VI. as his nephew and heir. Thereupon Henry VI. granted it to John Ardern for ten years at a rent of £19; which rent, with the reversion, was granted in 1440 to the college of Eton.³

³ Dugdale's *Baronage*, ii. 702.

SURREY MONASTIC SEALS



MERTON PRIORY.
(Obverse.)



MERTON PRIORY.
(Reverse.)



HOSPITAL OF ST. THOMAS,
SOUTHWARK.



SOUTHWARK PRIORY.



SHEEN PRIORY.



CHERTSEY ABBEY.



WAVERLEY ABBEY
COUNTERSEAL.



WAVERLEY ABBEY.

MILITARY HISTORY

THE warlike operations carried on in the county of Surrey have been described in the Political History. The military organization of this county has not differed from that of others. Everywhere before the Norman Conquest an obligation of universal service for the defence of the country existed, although in practice, except when an invader was actually upon the spot, universal service must have resolved itself into a delegated service of those most willing or most easily compelled to serve. It was notoriously difficult before the Conquest to interest the English in a war which did not affect them immediately in their homes, and added to this local feeling the difficulties of moving and supporting men at any distance naturally tended to limit the services of a county levy. Both in the earlier and later Danish wars the 'fyrd' of Surrey must have had ample opportunities of fighting on the spot; we can however bring no certain instance of their co-operation outside their own limits except in the year 853 or 854, when Huda the ealdorman of Surrey, leading his county levy, was killed in an unsuccessful attack on the Danes in Thanet.¹ It is certain that the county must have furnished a contingent to Harold's army at Hastings, perhaps sending most of its fighting force, for Leofwine, Harold's brother, had since 1065 held an earldom which included Surrey,² and probably four manors in the county. Harold also held eleven manors, mostly large, and perhaps others.³ Leofwine, and probably most of the chief English landowners, died on the field with Harold, as there is no indication that any, except Oswold the thegn, had not been in arms against William.⁴ The 'fyrd' was not abolished by the Norman kings or their successors, but encouraged and reorganized, as instanced by Henry the Second's Assize of Arms and Edward the First's Statute of Winchester. The knight-service, furnished in accordance with feudal tenure, was only supplementary to the still existing obligation of general military service.

A complete return of knight-service due from Surrey is apparently irrecoverable. In the Pipe Roll of 1156 the abbot of Chertsey is assessed for three knights' fees, the prior of Merton for one-third of a knight.⁵ In 1159 the Sheriff of Surrey accounted for £4 as a commu-

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* (Rolls Series), ii. 57.

² Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, ii. p. 419, App. G. p. 568.

³ Earl Harold held eleven; Harold, perhaps not always the late king, had held eight more (see *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 206 seq.)

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 281.

⁵ Pipe R. 2 Hen. II.

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tation for the services of four knights due from the abbey or Chertsey, 5 marks for the knights of the earldom, and 15*s.* from the canons of Merton. The note is added, 'nota quod in hoc comitatu non inveniuntur alia dona vel scutagia aliqua.'¹

In the great Inquest of 1166 the abbot of Chertsey answered for three knights' fees held by single tenants, and a fourth divided among five smaller holders. The Honour of Clare owed the services of twenty-eight and three-quarters knights' fees in the county of Surrey at this same date.²

In the *Testa de Nevill*, which preserves the list of services due in the early part of the thirteenth century, we find the following recorded:—

Held of the Honour of Clare, in Surrey, twenty-two knights' fees and a quarter; held of the Honour of Gloucester in Surrey, nine knights' fees and one-sixth; held of the barony of William of Windsor, five knights' fees; held of the king, in chief, eleven knights' fees and a quarter; held of the Honour of Warren, three knights' fees and a quarter; held of the abbot of Chertsey, two knights' fees and a half; held of the Honour of Dudley, four knights' fees; held of the earl of Hereford, and others, five knights' fees and two-thirds.³

In addition to these the Bishop of Winchester held five knights' fees at Farnham.⁴ These make a total of seventy knights and one-twelfth of a knight's equipment due from the county, and there are possible omissions.⁵ The lists of services in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* are less complete, but are probably based on the same returns, for they bear out this number. It is worth noticing that the heavy cavalry raised in the county in Elizabeth's reign included only eight lances in 1588, and ninety-six demi-lances in 1575, hardly more numerous and mostly less heavily armed than the thirteenth century feudal array. Indeed, when we remember that the feudal array was in practice reinforced by four or five troopers to each knight, and that, though the 'lances' in 1588 had servants with them, yet the ninety-six demi-lances probably represent the actual strength of the squadron, we see that the potential number of heavy cavalry was greater, about 1225, than the force in the field in the sixteenth century. The whole feudal levy however was never in the field all at one time.

Edward I. created a paid army in place of or to supplement feudal levies, and no doubt Surrey would furnish men for this force. The Earl of Surrey served continually in the Welsh and Scotch wars, and the Earl of Gloucester, the largest landholder in the county, in the Welsh wars. In 1322, when the whole realm of Edward II. was threatened with dissolution, even the southern counties were called upon to resist the Scots and the barons in alliance with them. Surrey

¹ Pipe R. 5 Hen. II.

² *Red Book of the Exchequer* (Rolls Ser.), i. 198.

³ *Testa de Nevill*, ff. 55-60. At end of p. 60 it is not quite clear whether two more fees should not be counted.

⁴ Lib. de Scut. 13 Edw. I. 19.

⁵ e.g. there is no specific mention of the service due for the Earl of Gloucester's manor and castle of Blechingley, neither are all the manors of the Earl of Warren accounted for.

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and Sussex, exclusive of Chichester, were called upon for 500 men.¹ They were to have hauberks, basinets and suitable weapons, by which it seems that they were all to be raised from the second and third classes under the Statute of Winchester, being infantry drawn from men with land valued above £10 and £5 respectively. Whether the authorities found so many men, and whether they actually got to the north, is another matter. In 1339 Edward III. raised from Surrey twenty men-at-arms, eighty armed foot and eighty archers, as professional soldiers for the French war, under the command of the Earl of Arundel, who, although he had not yet succeeded to the earldom of Surrey, was made joint Commissioner of Array in Surrey on 16 February 1339.² But it is not till the reign of Henry VIII. that we find a record of what may be considered the full fighting force of the county available for foreign wars. In the summer of 1544 Henry, during the war with France and Scotland, took Boulogne, but the sudden peace between the the Emperor and France gave the latter the opportunity of concentrating her attention upon England. In the following year they made an attempt on Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight at a time when Henry's relations with the Emperor were strained. On 26 July 1544 the Council wrote to Matthew Brown, John Gresham and Christopher More, knights, and to the sheriff, to make a general muster of the county.³ As a result of the review 400 men were ordered to be raised for immediate service, distributed and armed as follows: Southwark, six archers and fourteen billmen; the hundred of Brixton, four archers, twenty-six billmen; the hundred of Wallington, four archers, twenty billmen; the town of Croydon, four archers, six billmen; the hundred of Tandridge, six archers, twenty-four billmen; the hundred of Reigate, four archers, eighteen billmen; the hundreds of Blackheath and Wotton, four archers and thirty-two billmen; the hundred of Godalming, eight archers and twenty-eight billmen; the hundred of Farnham, six archers and twenty billmen; the town of Guildford, four archers and twelve billmen; the hundred of Woking, six archers and twenty-four billmen; the hundred of Godley, four archers and twenty-two billmen; the town of Kingston, four archers and sixteen billmen; the hundreds of Kingston and Emley-bridge, six archers and twenty-four billmen; the hundred of Cophorne, six archers and eighteen billmen; the hundred of Effingham, four archers and sixteen billmen. The captains appointed were Thomas Hall of Compton, gentleman, and William Creswell of Farnham.⁴ There are some interesting points about the levy. The numbers are based presumably upon those of the general muster taken earlier in the year. The two towns of Southwark and Kingston were slightly more numerous re-quisitioned than Guildford and furnished double the number of Croydon, the only other place separately treated. Brixton was the most populous hundred apparently, with Southwark it furnished fifty men; Woking the next, with Guildford, furnishing forty-six; then Godalming with

¹ Pat. 15 Edw. II. pt. 2, m. 19.

³ Loseley MS. vi. 13.

² *Fœdera*, Rolls Ed., Edw. II. 1070.

⁴ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 664.

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thirty-six ; then Wallington, which included Croydon, thirty-four. The archers, one-fifth of the force, numbered only eighty. In spite of the encouragement of the Government, by statutes enjoining practice, the art of using the longbow, which as a military weapon could not be mastered by the light of nature but necessitated long and careful training, had evidently decayed. Except on the Scotch border, England had been comparatively peaceful for sixty years. The incentive of war, continuously furnished from the days when Edward I. organized English archery down to the end of the Wars of the Roses, was needful to keep up archery in its perfection. There was no musketry in the levies, although powder mills were in existence in Surrey.¹ The musket was not a military weapon in England till the Netherland wars, forty years later. In 1548, notwithstanding the English victory at Pinkie in the previous year, the Scots were active in expelling the English garrisons left in their country, and were supported by the French. In consequence of this, on 4 February 1548, musters were ordered in Surrey,² and on 2 April the beacons were commanded to be put in order.³ When Mary's war with France began Viscount Montague, as Lord Lieutenant, gave orders on 3 May 1557,⁴ for an array of the county forces, and on the next day⁵ received directions to hold all his men ready to march to the defence of Calais. The apprehensions felt of a French attempt on Calais were dispelled by the victory of St. Quentin in August, only however to be realized in the subsequent January. The only letter in the Loseley papers which seems to bear on levies for the rescue of the place is dated 8 January, the day after the town capitulated.⁶

The Earl of Arundel had been appointed Lord Lieutenant on 25 March 1558,⁷ and on 12 May he ordered William More to muster and train men for the war in the Netherlands against the French.⁸ He was reappointed by Elizabeth immediately after her accession, and received her warrant⁹ to raise and equip 100 able men, the queen evidently thinking it well to have some small armed force round her. But there was also a general muster and view of armour about that time. It is referred to in a letter of 26 December 1558 from Richard Bydon (or Bedon), who had been captain of musters in Mary's reign, to William More,¹⁰ mentioning that the bishops and clergy 'have of late tyme procured to their possession a greate quantitie of armor and weapons,' and that the Council were anxious to have a return of the weapons in the hands of the clergy as well as of the laity. However poorly equipped the regular levies of the county might have been, it is evident from the inventory of arms taken from Sir Thomas Cawarden at the time of

¹ See *V.C.H. Surr.* ii. article on 'Industries.'

³ *Ibid.* xii. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.* x. i.

² Loseley MS. xii. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Loseley MS. xii. 16. A letter from the Council to Bray, More and Bedon, enclosing originally some commission now missing. Bedon, a servant of the Lord Lieutenant, had been employed in raising levies the year before.

⁷ *Ibid.* xii. 19.

⁹ *Ibid.* 21 November 1588.

⁸ *Ibid.* xii. 20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 25.

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Wyatt's rising¹ that men of property sometimes had the means of arming a considerable number of followers, and the sixteen great pieces of ordnance taken from him show how necessary it was for the queen to regulate the making of cannon in the iron-founding districts of the Weald.² There was no good reason for a private person to have a train of artillery, although fortunately he was not likely to have enough powder to make it very dangerous.

The insurrection of the northern earls, to liberate Mary Stewart in the autumn of 1569, alarmed the Government, and led to the calling out of the Surrey musters. Already in that year, on 1 May, a review of arms and men had been ordered,³ and on 24 November, William, Lord Howard of Effingham, was commanded to hold the whole force of the county ready to march at an hour's notice.⁴ Several letters and orders are preserved, showing that the county was in a stirring state of armed expectancy for all the latter part of the year. One or two interesting details appear. William Poyntz of Reigate was not to be a captain in the Surrey forces, because he had no estate in the county. In the revived militia of 1757 the officers were obliged to have property, or to be heirs to property in the county. Another less respectable difficulty appears in the case of Poyntz, namely, that he was a servant to Mr. Thomas Hennage, a gentleman employed by the Government, 'who would be sorry to lose his services.'⁵ On 3 December Lord Howard ordered that noblemen's servants should be exempt from service, to suit their masters' convenience.⁶ On 10 December Grindal, Bishop of London, begged off his servant, Fynden of Mortlake, on the ground of the inconvenience to himself.⁷ Even in 1588 the Earl of Huntingdon begged off a servant, and in 1590 Walsingham himself made the same request.⁸

The musters were held from year to year, and occasional orders were given for the training of 150 'able men.' Surrey was supposed to be able to furnish 6,000 'able men,' but only 1,800 'armed men' and 96 demi-lances.⁹ On 22 April 1577, the Commissioners of Array, who had expostulated against the number of men required in Surrey, were answered by the Council that the number had been fixed in proportion to the size of the county. It appears that the 150 'able men' called out were to be trained to use the caliver, a lighter fire-arm than the musket, fired without a rest.¹⁰ It was not till 1580 that all the militia was again bid-den to be in readiness for immediate service.¹¹ Invasion was expected, or thought possible; 'the kynges of Spagne his Armada lythe at Jeb-eraltera.' It was in the winter of 1579-80 that the beacons had been fired by mistake, and the troops had actually been put in motion towards

¹ See *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 375.

² As was done in 1576 and 1588: Loseley MS. vii. 9 B and 31 October 1588.

³ Loseley MS. xii. 33.

⁴ *Ibid.* vi. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.* vi. 19.

⁶ *Ibid.* vi. 20.

⁷ *Ibid.* viii. 14. This was just before Grindal's translation to York. Perhaps there his servants could not be let off so easily, when Leonard Dacre was in rebellion in the following year.

⁸ *Ibid.* viii. 56, vi. 57.

⁹ *Ibid.* vi. 8, xii. 40.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* vi. 23. Calivers could be bought for 13s. 4d. and morions for 5s. each.

¹¹ *Ibid.* xii. 42, iv. 84.

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the coast.¹ But Gibraltar was not a port whence England would be attacked, and the expedition proved to be against Portugal.

On 10 November 1580 the Council sent long instructions to the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Admiral, to the effect that all neighbouring Princes were at war, and that these wars were carried on by much larger forces than formerly. He and his deputies were consequently to make a careful inspection of weapons in the county, to cause deficiencies to be made good, to prepare lists of horses available for war, and to make a new assessment of horses and armour due from men for their estates. They were specially to provide for properly equipped demi-lances and light horse, the latter apparently were to carry pistols.² On 8 June 1587, 150 men were ordered to be pressed for service in the Low Countries.³ The levies raised against the Armada, and in the years preceding it, from the breaking out of open war in 1585, have been dealt with in the Political History.⁴ The total number of men who were supposed to be assembled, in the county and with the armies at Tilbury and Stratford in 1588, amounted to about 6,600 foot and 260 horse, not far removed from the computed levies of 1575, most of these however were insufficiently armed. The musketry was nearly all sent to the armies in Essex, where there were 1,000 Infantry under Leicester at Tilbury, and 500 under Lord Hunsdon at Stratford. Scarcely half of these had firearms, and the remainder of the supposed 'armed men' had only 32 calivers among 377 men, mostly archers. How the remaining levies called out in the county were armed, we can only conjecture, but they could scarcely have had more than bows and bills. With the armies were 8 lances, 90 light horse and 29 servants of the gentlemen armed with petronels or carbines. One hundred and twenty light horse were also at Croydon.⁵ The light horsemen had been substituted for demi-lances, but were more heavily armed and mounted, in some cases at least, than the ordinary light-horsemen. They were if possible to have 'saddles after the fashion of the largest northern light horseman,' a jack, that is, a leathern doublet with iron plates, or a cuirass, or 'Almaine rivet,' a kind of body armour, and a burgonet or a scull cap. No offensive weapons are prescribed except 'a case of dagges' in the pommel of the saddle, which means pistols in holsters. These were the recommendations of the Council for the arms of the light horse issued on 1 March 1584.⁶ But it does not follow that the 120 horse at Croydon in 1588 were so well equipped. The total force in 1588 and its disposition, 8 lances, 90 light horse, and 1,500 infantry with the armies in Essex, three bodies of 836 infantry at Godstone, Reigate and Dorking respectively, and 2,500

¹ *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 391.

² Loseley MS. vi. 28, 29, 30. Unfortunately much mutilated, especially at the interesting point of the equipment of the cavalry.

³ *Ibid.* vi. 48.

⁴ *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 378-92.

⁵ Harl. MS. No. 168. A return of the armed men in April 1588. Not quite so many as the 1,522 infantry and 138 horse there enumerated seem to have been present in July in Essex.

⁶ Loseley MS. vi. 57; Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* i. 665.

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infantry and 120 horse at Croydon is supplied by a letter of Lord Buckhurst.¹

The Bishop of Winchester besides writing a circular letter to his Surrey clergy, ordering them to provide 100 men, furnished supplies.² Though the Surrey Horse were sent home from Tilbury on 4 August,³ for want of provisions, a county force was still held in readiness on 24 August.⁴ These were no doubt the 1,871 trained men, as the great musters at Croydon, Reigate, Godstone and Dorking can hardly have been kept together through the harvest time.

For the offensive warfare which followed the victory of 1588 many levies were made in Surrey. For a contingent which joined the unfortunate expedition of Drake and Norris to Portugal in 1589,⁵ the people of Southwark complained that they were over-assessed compared with the rest of the county.⁶ One Thomas Cawte took his bounty money and deserted, which was not perhaps a singular case.⁷ He was sought after, but his apprehension is not mentioned. Forty-five men were raised for service in France in 1593, under a Captain Marshall, a kinsman of Lord Howard of Effingham.⁸ On 24 January 1594 fifty men were ordered to be raised to serve under Sir Francis Vere in the Netherlands. Their clothing and swords cost £100, which the Lord Lieutenant thought an overcharge.⁹ In 1594 a thousand men were raised in the county, in four bands of 250 men each, commanded by Sir Francis Weston, Sir Francis Carew, Sir Thomas Browne and George More.¹⁰ Later on, fifty of these (first a hundred were ordered but fifty were excused), were sent to Brittany, when Henry IV. of France took Brest by aid of an English force.¹¹ In 1595 sixteen hundred men were trained under Captain Geoffrey Dutton, with the object of providing reinforcements from their ranks for Vere's force in the Netherlands. Some of them deserted, when drafted for the purpose, and the Lord Admiral was anxious that they should be arrested, not to be hanged but 'rather to reclayme them and instruct them in the discipline of war.'¹² In the same year there was a levy of horse, the number not stated, for service in Ireland.¹³ In September there was a general muster of horse and foot in the county, under Captain Dutton.¹⁴ The horse certainly were by this time all equipped with firearms, for the Lord Admiral appointed David Woodroffe to be captain of the 'pistoalers,' and Brand of Moulsey, captain of the 'petronelles.'¹⁵ Mr., afterwards Sir David, Woodroffe found that urgent private affairs hindered his serving, and he was superseded by Mr. Compton of Godalming. As Woodroffe's wife was niece to the deprived Marian Bishop of Winchester, and as he himself was otherwise

¹ Cant. Cath. Lib. MS. Y. 7, 5 and compare Acts of P. C. Eliz. 23 July 1588, *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 392.

² Loseley MS. xi. 18.

⁵ Ibid. xii. 68.

⁸ Ibid. xi. 55.

¹¹ Ibid. vi. 72; 27, 28 July 1594.

¹⁵ Ibid. 8 June 1595

¹⁶ Ibid. xi. 64. The petronel was a carbine used by cavalry.

³ Ibid. vi. 55.

⁶ Ibid. vi. 56, xii. 71.

⁹ Ibid. vi. 66.

¹² Ibid. i, 4 April 1595, vi. 77.

¹⁴ Ibid. v. 81.

⁴ Ibid. date cited.

⁷ Ibid. viii. 110.

¹⁰ Ibid. 31 May 1594.

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related to recusants, there may have been other reasons for his resignation. But it shows a lack of zeal that Compton should also be begged off by the Marquis of Winchester, on the ground that he was his servant. He was at first excused, and then straitly charged upon his allegiance to undertake the duty, the Lord Admiral having discovered that the excuse was frivolous.¹ In April 1596 the Spaniards were besieging Calais, and 500 men were raised in Surrey under Sir Richard Wingfield for the force to be sent to its relief. It is well known that Henry IV. thought that Calais rescued by English troops would be as bad a loss to France as Calais taken by the Spaniards, and declined the assistance. The men were to sail from Dover, but to reach Dover from Surrey were to march first to Gravesend, presumably to sail thence to Dover; from which it may be gathered that the cross country roads must have been either very bad or non-existent.² This force, which did not go to Calais, was subsequently sent on the expedition to Cadiz in the same year.³ It was a time of very active warfare. In July 50 men were raised to garrison Flushing.⁴ In September 100 men were sent to Picardy, under Sir Thomas Baskerville, to help to defend Boulogne.⁵ On 21 October orders were given to call out the whole strength of the county and to move 3,000 men into Kent and Hampshire,⁶ as it was thought that the Spaniards, not from Spain but from Calais or the neighbourhood, might try to retaliate for 'the shame and disgrace done him in his owne kingdome.' The invasion against which the Surrey men were actually mustered by order dated 6 November 1596,⁷ was not expected to attempt a landing in Sussex but in Kent or Hampshire, that is Dover or Portsmouth, as Sussex was neither worth attacking for itself, compared with the two ports on either side of it, nor had it any good through communication to London. This great levy was allowed to go home again, but on 9 May 1597 one hundred and fifty picked men were ordered into training under Mr. Oliver St. John⁸ ready to be sent whenever they might be required.

On 18 July fifty 'masterless men' were ordered to be apprehended and confined in Bridewell till they could be sent as soldiers to Picardy.⁹ It was not the first time that such material had been requisitioned in this way. The Lord Lieutenant had been ordered on 8 September 1585 to seize at fairs and places of meeting the 'stoute vagabonds and masterlesse men' of the county and send them up under charge of the constables to London *en route* for the Low Countries, 'that the countrie might be delivered of such unnecessary members and they withall employed to some good use.'¹⁰ We seem to know these levies, from the account of one who had no doubt seen the like: 'Pitiful rascals, food for powder, food for powder; they'll fill a pit as well as better.' On 22 December 1598 the Council wrote to the Lord

¹ Loseley MS. vi. 91-3.

⁴ Ibid. vi. 96.

⁷ Ibid. vi. 104.

¹⁰ Ibid. vi. 43, xii. 61.

² Ibid. vi. 95.

⁵ Ibid. vi. 98-100.

⁸ Ibid. vi. 108.

³ Ibid. vi. 105.

⁶ Ibid. vi. 102.

⁹ Ibid. vi. 144.

Identical letters relating to Sussex and Surrey; the Lord Admiral was Lord Lieutenant of both.

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Admiral to command him to raise 100 'choice men' for service in the Low Countries,¹ as 2,000 men had been withdrawn thence to Ireland, after Tyrone's victory on the Blackwater. These were not to be vagrants nor masterless men; so the experiment of the previous year had apparently not been satisfactory. On 22 March 1599 thirty men who were to have been raised for Ireland were remitted on a payment from the county of £90,² but on 6 May 1599 there was a general muster; affairs were believed to be very serious that year since the French had made peace with Spain.

The whole levy of the county was on 10 August 1599 again called out and ordered to Southwark on apprehension of an immediate invasion³; they were however sent home on 26 August, but commanded to keep themselves in readiness. Sir William More, whose estate was as great as that of nearly any gentleman in the county, furnished one lance and two light horsemen. At the end of the year 100 men were sent to the Low Countries.⁴ On 14 January 1600 fifty soldiers had been levied for Ireland, and from a specification of their arms it appears that there was no archery among them, and that more than half carried firearms. In all new levies there was to be a proportion of sixty-four firearms to thirty pikes and halberds in 100 men, with six officers and sergeants.⁵ On 29 September 1601 fifteen additional men were required for Ireland, on 6 October fifteen more, and on 7 January 1602 another fifteen.⁶ The number is a regular proportion assessed upon Surrey of the large force which it was necessary to send over owing to the support given to the Irish rebels by the Spaniards in Kinsale. On 27 March 1602 'all idle and dissolute persons' in the county were to be arrested and sent to the army in the Low Countries.⁷ In July of the same year soldiers destined for Ireland, possibly the levies of the previous autumn, were only on their way to Bristol⁸; these were the last levies mentioned in the war time of Elizabeth's reign. The strain upon the country had been undoubtedly serious, and the final sweeping together of all the vagrants who could be caught, indicates the failure of respectable volunteers, and a disinclination to press many more of the working people.

The use of the bow had come to an end in these wars, not without a struggle on the part of the conservative world. Sir John Smythe, took the lead as a writer in favour of archery against musketry, till his book was suppressed by the Council, and he himself declared to have been some years in his dotage. This was in 1590; in 1588, as already stated, many of the effective force of trained men in Surrey were armed with bows; in 1600 bows were not used. The government however could not afford to let the practice of archery decay completely while the supply and practice of musketry was insufficient. There is an order from the Council to the sheriffs and justices of

¹ Loseley MS. vi. 118.

⁴ Ibid. vi. 120.

⁷ Ibid. date cited.

² Ibid. vi. 116.

⁵ Ibid. 14 Jan. 1600.

⁸ Ibid. xii. 112.

³ Ibid. xi. 73.

⁶ Ibid. vi. 123, 124, xii. 110.

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Surrey under Elizabeth, saying that the queen understands that the late orders for the 'training of shot' have caused people to neglect the bow as unserviceable, but that she reminds them that the old statutes for encouraging archery are in force and that they are not to be laid aside.¹ In 1625 one William Neade invented a combined bow and pike, which took the fancy of Charles I., who on 12 August 1633 issued a proclamation from Oatlands in Surrey commanding the observance of the ancient statutes about archery and giving a patent to Neade and his son to instruct the trained bands in the use of his combined weapon.² But neither in Surrey nor elsewhere did the highly skilled practice of archery continue to exist. It appears from the old parish books at Shere that two bows had been kept in the parish and apparently let out for practice, as the profits of the loans went to keep up the light before the rood in the church. In the seventeenth century, when archery was quite dead, Aubrey seems to preserve a tradition of the site of the butts at Guildford, though he mixes up apocryphal tradition with his statement.³

When at the end of the reign of James I. England became involved in the Thirty Years' War, the Council wrote on 23 June 1624 to the Lords Lieutenant, the old Earl of Nottingham and his son, asking them to allow the Earls of Oxford, Southampton and Essex, and Lord Willoughby (afterwards Earl of Lindsey), to raise troops in Surrey for the support of the States General of the United Provinces against the Roman Catholic League and the Emperor.⁴ The king had just undertaken to send over 6,000 men, and Oxford, Essex and Willoughby had commissions as colonels of foot.⁵ Apparently volunteers were not plentiful, for on 10 November of the same year the deputy lieutenants were ordered to press 200 men.⁶ This was part of the force commanded by Count Mansfeld, which suffered much and achieved little in the subsequent years. The misdirected but energetic war policy of Buckingham under Charles I. led to further levies, and a review of the county horse was ordered for 28 November 1625 on Fetcham Downs.⁷

There was a muster of the forces of the county, excluding Brixton, Wallington and Reigate hundreds,⁸ about this time which showed 3,711 able men, 1,000 trained men with arms, 500 untrained men and partly armed, 63 curassiers and 55 dragoons.

On 23 May 1625 there was an order for 150 men to be levied in

¹ Loseley MS. vi. 52. The order has the date completely obliterated, and all the signatures of the Council are gone except those of the Earl of Lincoln and James Crofte. The former died January 1585. On 10 Nov. 1580 there were orders about 'training of shot,' Loseley MS. vi. 28, so this order is probably between 1580 and 1585.

² Pat. 9 Chas. I. m. 9; Rymer, xix. 469.

³ Aubrey iii. 320. The battle here after the taking of Odiham in 1216 will not fit in with history, but the name of Robin Hood's Butts given by Aubrey may likely enough mean a real butt for meaner archers. It was on the Hog's Back (see Russell, *Hist. of Guildford*, p. 31).

⁴ Loseley MS. vi. 127.

⁵ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1623-5), 248.

⁶ Loseley MS. vi. 128.

⁷ *Ibid.* 9 Nov. 1625.

⁸ *Ibid.* vi. 156. Undated and imperfect, but the Earl of Nottingham and Viscount Wimbledon were joint Lords-Lieutenant when it was taken, which makes it after 1626 and before 1635 when the Earl of Arundel was appointed with them. It is probably the muster of 1626 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1625-6, 390), or that of 1628 (*ibid.* 1628-9, 334).

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Surrey to make up the deficiencies of the force wanted for Lord Wimbledon's unfortunate expedition to Cadiz.¹ In 1627 the same Lord Wimbledon, who had become joint Lord Lieutenant of the county in December 1626, wrote, in answer to a demand of the Council for soldiers, that sixty men had been pressed and were taken to St. Katherine's by the Tower for embarkation, but that there being no one to receive them they had 'broken away,' and deserted successfully in a body.² Since then he had raised forty-eight more and was endeavouring to make up the required number of 100 for this expedition.³

In 1627, at the time of the first efforts to relieve La Rochelle, the deputy lieutenants complained that the country had been put to great expense by the billeting of soldiers at the rate of 3*s.* 6*d.* a week, and their passing through at 8*d.* a day, also the furnishing of 800 men, 600 of whom were clothed at 12*s.* 6*d.* each, besides press and conduct money.⁴ The trouble about the billeting of soldiers was constant,⁵ and Surrey was specially affected, as it lay on the road to Portsmouth, where troops were gathering for the relief of La Rochelle.

On 28 January 1628 the deputy lieutenants wrote to the Council that they had billeted 420 men, that 130 more had been sent out of Hampshire into Farnham with no order from the Council, though Farnham was already much impoverished by many charges and through the plague, and that they had been put to expense by passing 1,000 more men through the county.⁶ Later in the same year on 22 September they sent a certificate to the effect that £1,800 16*s.* 4*d.* were still owing to the billeters of soldiers since 31 December 1627.⁷ A further difficulty appears in a letter from Lord Wimbledon to the deputy lieutenants, dated 15 October 1628, complaining that men purchase substitutes to serve for them and then neglect to pay them.⁸ The war was popular in its origin, but it cannot be said that the people displayed much patriotism in supporting it.

The next levies of soldiers in the county were for the array against the king at the breaking out of the civil wars. King and Parliament were contending for the command of the militia. A meeting was fixed on 18 June 1642 at the house of the Earl of Nottingham at Letherhead, where the deputy-lieutenants were requested to come together to set the militia in order⁹; and they met again for the same purpose at the same place on 12 August.¹⁰

'Surrey' was one of the counties which had immediately obeyed the declaration of the Houses touching the militia, issued on 18 June 1642, the day of this first meeting, bidding them not to attend to the King's commission of array.¹¹ Only Captain Quennel of Haslemere had

¹ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* (1625-6), 37.

² Loseley MS. xi. 80.

³ *V.H.C. Surr.* i. 400.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1628-9), 334.

⁵ *Ibid.* xi. 81.

⁶ Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.* i. (iii.) 680.

⁷ *Ibid.* (1627-8), 147.

⁸ Grose, *Military Antiquities*, ii. Appendix 8, p. 30.

⁹ *Cal. of S. P. Dom.* (1627-8), 531-2.

¹⁰ Loseley MS. date cited.

¹¹ *Ibid.* vi. 133.

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attempted to assemble a company for the king, and his seventy-two half-armed men had laid down what arms they had by 1 August.¹ The Surrey militia was called out to garrison Farnham and Kingston, and to join the army of the Earl of Essex covering London, quarters being provided for them at Tottenham Court.² They took no part in the only serious fighting, the storming of Brentford by the king, but were no doubt under arms at Turnham Green. On 14 February 1643, by a Parliamentary Ordinance, 500 dragoons were raised in Surrey under Nicholas Stoughton for the defence of the county.³ In connexion probably with the raising of this regiment a warrant was issued on 23 May 1643 for taking horses or an equivalent in money from the county. Eleven horses were to be requisitioned from Sir John Dingley and Sir Mat. Brand; two dragoons or £3 10s. from the parish of Stoke next Guildford; two dragoons or £2 10s. from Esher, and so on.⁴ Sir Richard Onslow was in command of the county militia generally, which served under the orders of Sir William Waller in the campaigns of 1643 and 1644, but its particular service was to defend the county, and it could not be conveniently or safely marched far from it. By an ordinance of 18 July 1643 it was decided to form an association of Hampshire, Sussex, Kent and Surrey to raise a 'moving body' of horse and foot. The organization of the association was not completed till the autumn, and on 30 November the Commons ordered the county to raise 850 foot by voluntary enlistment, and if that failed by impressment.⁵ A warrant was issued for the impressment of soldiers in Brixton and Wallington hundreds on 16 December 1643.⁶ When the ranks of the New Model Army had to be filled up in 1645, after the enrolling of men from previously existing regiments there was no question of voluntary enlistment, but the 8,000 men still wanting were pressed in the counties where the Parliament was supreme, Surrey among others. Three hundred and fifty men formed the number first demanded from Surrey,⁷ and in 1646 200 more were ordered to be pressed.⁸ Whatever might be its contribution of men, Surrey had to provide money in plenty for the military service of the Parliament. By an ordinance of 13 January 1645 £2,000 a month was laid on the county for the English army, and on 1 February 1645 £2,100 a month for the Scottish army in England. This was in addition to the charge for the local forces in garrison about Farnham, Guildford and elsewhere.⁹

After the failure of the insurrection of the Earl of Holland in 1648 a Parliamentary ordinance sequestrated the real and personal estates of delinquents in Surrey to raise a troop of horse in the county,¹⁰ and on 28 August a company of foot also had to be provided by the same means. The militia remained permanently embodied, and comprised both horse and foot. In 1650 Major Audley's Surrey troop of horse was ordered

¹ Loseley MS. vi. 174.

² *Commons Journ.* date cited.

³ *Commons Journ.* 30 Nov. 1643.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1644-5), 359.

⁵ *Commons Journ.* dates cited.

⁶ *Ibid.* vi. 166, 168, 169.

⁷ *Cal. of S. P. Dom.* (1641-3), 461-2.

⁸ *Cal. of S. P. Dom.* (1641-3), 505.

⁹ *Ibid.* (1645-7), 319.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 24 Aug. 1648.

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to Scotland, after the battle of Dunbar.¹ In the next year, when Charles was marching into England from Scotland, a new regiment of foot was hurriedly raised in Surrey under Sir Richard Onslow as colonel and Mr. George Duncombe as lieutenant-colonel,² no doubt partly or chiefly by volunteers from the embodied militia. The Militia Commissioners were ordered to sit at Kingston daily to prepare for the war and to guard the town, and on 1 September Major Fenwick was commanded to raise a force to defend the county.³ In July Sir Richard Onslow and Mr. George Duncombe were ordered to raise troops for the militia in the west of the county.⁴ There seems to have been great difficulty in collecting the troops, for letters were sent by the Council of State in August complaining of the delay and ordering the forces first to Dunstable and then to Oxford to join Major-General Fleetwood's army formed to meet the Scotch army at Worcester.⁵ They were too late to share in the victory of Worcester, and Sir Richard Onslow, after the accession of Charles II., took credit to himself, probably falsely, for this delay. One lasting trace remained of the constant association at this time between the militia and the New Model Army. The latter wore red uniforms, and red seems to have been adopted for the militia as well, for at a muster of a company under Captain Covert at Godalming in 1684 the men were instructed to come with arms and ammunition and furnished with red coats.⁶ Previous to this the only indication of uniform which we find is in a pamphlet called *The Marching of the Train Bands*, written by an officer of the Tower Hamlets company, describing Waller's campaign in October and November 1643, whence it appears that the Surrey militia, which was then at Farnham, wore green coats.

There was a muster of the Surrey militia once more at least in the seventeenth century. In 1697, when the negotiations for the treaty of Ryswick were in slow progress, a general review of the militia of the country was held. The Surrey force, under the Duke of Norfolk as Lord Lieutenant, numbered 1,209 men from the country districts and 910 from Southwark, with 132 horsemen.⁷ The array however was more remarkable for its numbers than for its efficiency. Little more is heard of the militia for many years.⁸

The 'Constitutional Force,' upon which the defence of the country and the maintenance of order were supposed to depend, was in fact absolutely useless soon after the end of the civil wars of the seventeenth century. Parishes and landowners were required to furnish and to equip men, according to an assessment of value; and for a few years after 1660 there were among them some who had served in a regular force, or who had been associated with the regular army under Cromwell's major-generals, but as these died out all chance of efficiency died out with them. The nearest loafer and poacher was the handiest man to send to

¹ *Cal. of S. P. Dom.* (1650), 352.

² *Ibid.* (1651), 531.

³ *Ibid.* 382, 394.

⁴ *Ibid.* 285.

⁵ *Ibid.* 358, 360, 373.

⁶ Loseley MS. 16 May 1684.

⁷ Egerton MS. 1626 et seqq.

⁸ The supposition of Colonel Davis (*History of the Second Regiment of the Royal West Surrey Militia*, p. 70) that the Surrey Militia took part in the campaign of Sedgemoor, is erroneous.

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a muster, unencumbered as he was with claims of regular industry, and sometimes able to provide his own gun. Dryden's satire has the ring of truth in it—

Stout once a month they march, a blustering band,
* * * * *
Of seeming arms to make a brief assay,
Then hasten to get drunk, the business of the day.

In the earlier eighteenth century the only militia that had a chance of doing anything during the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 mutinied and ran away; after this it was thought necessary to supersede them by regiments specially raised. Fourteen noblemen each undertook to raise a regiment in his own county, and some succeeded. Lord Onslow, Lord-Lieutenant of Surrey, formed an association to raise a regiment, and on 9 October 1745 a meeting was held at Kingston; the regiment, however, does not appear to have taken the field.¹ It was still a fixed principle with all political parties that only a militia force was safe for the country, and that a standing army was a menace to its liberties. The Whigs had protested for three generations that a standing army was a support of royal despotism in the hands of the Stewarts, and they continued to protest even after the danger had passed, when probably a standing army was their chief safeguard against the Restoration. The Tories considered all standing armies to be tainted with the original sin of the New Model; while patriots out of office thought them to be fields for corrupt influence on the part of ministers; nor were they very much mistaken. The Seven Years' War broke out, and ministers had seriously to consider the defence of the country. There was a disgraceful panic about invasion. Hessian and Hanoverian troops were hurried over for defence against the French; the Dutch were begged in vain to lend us 6,000 men. Townshend introduced a new Militia Bill.² Regiments were to be raised by ballot, armed and equipped at public expense, paid, supplied with uniforms, and above all drilled into a state of efficiency. It was in fact a compulsory service for the men drawn by ballot, for the fee of exemption, £10, was entirely beyond the reach of a poor man. Something very like a rebellion followed.³ The cry was raised that the regiments were to be sent abroad; but the people really had lost all confidence in the Government, and were not prepared for an organization in their own defence under a ministry which they despised and a dynasty to which they were indifferent. Pitt came into power and revived the public spirit. In 1758 the militia was not unpopular, and voluntary enlistment became common. Eight hundred rank and file in one regiment were at first fixed as the Surrey force; it was not however till 1759 that the arms and accoutrements were ready for them.⁴ Sir Nicholas Hacket Carew of Beddington became colonel on 3 March 1759, in the place of

¹ *Gazette*, 3 Dec. 1745.

² Stat. 30 Geo. II. cap. 25.

³ *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 427, and see *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxvii. 43.

⁴ Davis, *Historical Records*, 'Second Royal West Surrey Regiment of Militia,' p. 77.

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Lord Onslow resigned. In June 1759 there were 147 men short of the 800 required. There were ten companies raised at Croydon, Southwark, Kingston, Camberwell, Reigate, Chertsey, Clapham, Guildford, Putney, Godalming, and of these only Croydon was at the full strength of eighty rank and file. The forty sergeants and twenty drummers were, however, complete, and the numbers were quickly filled up by voluntary enlistment and the ballot. There were supposed to be three officers to a company, including the colonel commanding and the major, who were at the head of the Croydon and Southwark companies respectively, but the officers were six short of the required number.¹ On 3 November 1759 the regiment was divided into two battalions of East and West Surrey. The former comprised the companies from Croydon, Southwark, Reigate, Kingston and Clapham; the latter those from Guildford, Godalming, Chertsey, Camberwell and Putney. The adjutant to this battalion was Lieutenant Francis Grose, the author of the work on military antiquities and other books, whose commission is dated 3 November 1759. Grose was subsequently adjutant to the Hampshire Militia, in which Gibbon the historian was a captain. The service was now distinctly popular. Foreign service was not thought of, and the chances of invasion had disappeared. The military spirit of the country was high as the news of victory after victory in America, Germany and on the sea poured in. The militia, arrayed in red coats with white facings, red waistcoats and breeches, white gaiters and cocked hats, armed with musket, bayonet and sword, marched up and down Surrey, Kent and Sussex, quartered in public houses on the march, drew a shilling a day and had no more onerous duty to perform than the guarding of French prisoners. Once the second battalion went as far north as Northampton and the first battalion as far west as Salisbury, but they were seldom so far from home. In December 1762 they were sent to the neighbourhoods where they had been raised preparatory to being disembodied, which was effected by Sign Manual Warrant dated 22 December 1762. On 26 February 1763 the two battalions were reformed into one regiment, and Francis Grose received a new commission as adjutant on 3 March following. He was promoted to be captain on 1 January 1766.

In 1780, during the Gordon riots, the Surrey Militia was marched up to St. George's Fields, but the irresolution of the authorities kept it there while the mob demolished the Surrey prisons and wrecked private houses. When at last the courage of the king enabled the military forces to be employed freely, they took part in the fighting on the night of 7 June, and were probably among the militia who cleared Blackfriars Bridge.²

The breaking out of the French Revolutionary War was the occasion for a revived military activity in Surrey as elsewhere. The militia was embodied on 1 December 1792, before war had begun. The Surrey

¹ Davis, *Historical Records*, 'Second Royal West Surrey Regiment of Militia,' p. 80. Under the law a property qualification existed for officers according to their rank.

² *Annual Reg.* xxiii. 260 seq.

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regiment was 601 effective rank and file in 1793; it was made part of a force intended to defend the southern counties from invasion, and was at Dover, and in camp at Brighton during this year. An Act was passed in 1794¹ to encourage the raising of volunteer corps. Lord Leslie, who resided at Shrub Hill, Dorking, immediately set on foot the formation of a regiment of yeomanry cavalry, and a subscription was opened in the county for providing arms for the public defence.² In this year barracks were built at Croydon for cavalry; and at Guildford the old house of the Dominican Friars underwent its last transformation, being turned first into barracks for cavalry and then for the militia. In 1797 the Surrey Militia was again organized as two regiments, the old number, a nominal 840, being doubled. The second regiment was called the first Supplementary Regiment, or the second Surrey. In 1798 a second supplementary regiment, or the third Surrey, was ordered to be raised. It was found however so difficult to make up the second Supplementary Regiment to anything approaching the intended numbers, 856, that the attempt was abandoned, and the third Surrey disbanded.³ Some of the men who might have been in its ranks were in the volunteer corps which were being rapidly formed at this time.

In 1798 a series of Acts provided for the employment of the English Militia regiments in Ireland, where rebellion and French invasion were imminent: and for the raising of volunteers and yeomanry to take their place in England.⁴

On 4 July 1799 the king reviewed the Surrey volunteers and yeomanry on Wimbledon Common. The force numbering 676 cavalry and 1958 infantry. Of the former Lord Leslie's Surrey Yeomanry, 253 strong, was the largest corps. There were ten other troops varying in strength from the Richmond Yeomanry 80 strong, to the Wandsworth Volunteers 25 strong. There were 24 companies of infantry, ranging from the Holmsdale Volunteers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Petrie, M.P., 208 strong, to the Mortlake volunteers 42 strong. The Clapham company, 120 men under Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Thornton, M.P., were partly pikemen. Henry Smith, of the Camberwell volunteers, published a description of the review. The infantry manœuvred, and fired three volleys: and then 'the gentlemen of the Surrey Yeomanry' went through the sword exercise before his Majesty. The king expressed himself much pleased with the appearance of the men.⁵ After the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens the number of infantry volunteers was much increased. At a meeting under the Lord Lieutenant at Epsom, on 8 July 1803, the county was divided into three zones, the southern reaching to two miles north of the chalk hills, the northern comprising the rest of the county excepting Brixton Hundred and Southwark, these two forming the third division. Each of the two main divisions was further subdivided into three parts, from Hampshire to the Wey at Guildford, from the Wey to the Epsom and London road, from that road to

¹ Stat. 34 Geo. III. cap. 16.

² Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* i. 676.

³ Davis, p. 128.

⁴ *Parl. Hist.* xxxiii. 1358, 1423.

⁵ *Times*, Fri. 5 July 1799.

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Kent. Each part was put under an officer, called lieutenant¹ of the division. The Duke of Cambridge was in supreme command. In an official return quoted by Colonel Davis² there were in 1803, 8,105 volunteers in Surrey, but according to a return of 1806 furnished to Mr. Manning³ the infantry numbered 4,846 and the cavalry 509. This was after Trafalgar, when invasion was not expected. The organization was clearly different from what it had been in 1799. Different places gave their names to corps. Remote country villages made a good show, Thursley with 61 volunteers, Lingfield and Crowhurst with 70, Witley 131, Godalming 203. Guildford had only 112, but 64 cavalry belonged to it. Lord Leslie's yeomanry, 318 strong, were still the bulk of the cavalry. If we consider the strength of the militia, over 1,600 men, and the number of regular soldiers in the country, these figures are highly creditable to a county whose population in 1801 numbered 269,043. In 1804 the militia received the title of a Royal Regiment and consequently assumed blue facings.⁴

In 1809 new measures were taken to raise what was called a local militia. The regular militia, about 80,000 in the whole United Kingdom, was constantly embodied; some of the regiments were serving in Ireland, whither the second Surrey Militia went in 1811, and volunteering from the militia into the regular army was sedulously encouraged. A man received a bounty of 10 guineas on enlisting into an embodied militia regiment, and for enlisting into the regular army from the militia he received 10 guineas for a seven years service, or 14 guineas for an unlimited term. Any young country fellow could get 24 guineas in a year besides his pay, a magnificent sum a hundred years ago, approximating to two years agricultural wages. The regular militiamen accordingly passed into the line rapidly. They fought in the Peninsula; and in 1815 there were men in the ranks of the Guards at Waterloo in their Surrey militia jackets.⁵ But a strictly local force, answering to the old militia was required, to utilize men who could not afford the time for constantly embodied service, and who did not wish to enlist in the line. The Local Militia Act was therefore passed.⁶ The real meaning of the creation of this local militia was that the patriotic impetus which made men zealous members of the volunteer corps could not be counted upon as a permanent influence, when once the fear of invasion had become very remote. It was necessary to introduce a new organization, and to pay the men, in order to retain the services in some military force of those who had been the infantry volunteers. The mounted corps, composed of men of a rather higher social condition generally, were able to continue. The three regiments of Surrey local militia were intended to number 3,584 men. They actually mustered 2,730 rank and file, or rather over 3,000 of all ranks. Their headquarters were at Guildford, Kingston and Croydon, and they were evidently partly drawn from those

¹ *Times*, 9 July 1803.

³ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* i. 678.

⁶ Cotton, *A Voice from Waterloo*, p. 10.

² Davis, *Royal West Surrey Militia*, p. 151.

⁴ Davis, *Royal West Surrey Militia*, p. 149.

⁶ Stat. 48 Geo. III. cap. 111.

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who had composed the infantry volunteers ; for these dwindled to about half their previous strength. As the regular militia reinforced the line, the local militia was intended to reinforce the regular militia. In 1812 the local militia force was increased to five regiments of a nominal strength of 5,344 men of all ranks, with headquarters at Guildford, Kingston, Croydon, Putney and Clapham,¹ and in the following year the infantry volunteers were all disbanded, except the Southwark volunteer regiment, and the Rifle company, originally the Bermondsey company.

In 1814 the Surrey regular militia furnished a considerable number of volunteers to a Provisional Militia Battalion for foreign service. They sailed for the South of France, but arrived in the mouth of the Garonne just after the news of Napoleon's abdication had been received. They had the satisfaction of being fired on by the French, without loss (by mistake the French officer afterwards declared), but saw no real service. In 1814 the regular militia was disembodied, and the local militia disbanded, the yeomanry cavalry however still remained. On the return of Napoleon from Elba the regiments of regular militia were again called out, and recruiting ordered, but they were disembodied after Waterloo. The regiments were not called out for training again till 1820, again in 1831, and after their disbandment another twenty years elapsed before they were revived in 1852. In the disturbed times between 1819 and 1832 the locks and bayonets of the militiamen's muskets were usually kept at the Tower. The yeomanry, mostly composed of farmers' sons, could be usually trusted to act for the Government, but it was by no means certain that the militia could be equally depended on. Only the permanent staff, officers and sergeants, were warned to be in readiness to support the civil power during the riots of November 1830.² The regiments were in a state of suspended animation, at the best. They had probably no rank and file, and only superannuated officers and sergeants, some of them veterans of the war. The yeomanry no longer formed a separate regiment, but became a troop of the Hampshire regiment of Hussars. The memory of Lord Leslie's squadron remains at Dorking in the public-house sign of 'The Surrey Yeoman'—a yeomanry trooper, not a farmer. In 1852 the militia was revived by the Act of Parliament,³ and the present era of the life of the Surrey militia regiments set in.

The Surrey Imperial Yeomanry was organized during the South African War in 1900. The Hon. Henry Cubitt, M.P., is now in command of this corps.

The present volunteer movement was started in the month of May 1859, when the policy of Napoleon III., who had just begun the war in Lombardy with Austria, was exciting grave suspicions in England. In that month meetings were held in Kingston, Richmond, Dorking, Reigate, Croydon and in the London suburbs. The volunteers who first responded to the call included many men of good social standing ; in

¹ Stat. 52 Geo. III. cap. 38.

² Home Office Letter Book, vii. 199 ; see *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 429.

³ Stat. 15, 16 Vict. cap. 50.

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Reigate sixty-eight described as 'gentlemen' gave in their names as privates. In June a meeting was held in Guildford. It was proposed by Mr. Henry Drummond, M.P., and seconded by Mr. Guildford Onslow, that a corps be formed, and the motion was carried with enthusiasm. Mr. Martin F. Tupper took a prominent part in the committee which arranged this meeting.

There were the usual prophecies of failure by one party in the local press. It was gravely urged too that it was dangerous to distribute weapons 'which would kill at half-a-mile'; and it was said the donkeys on the commons and harmless passengers would be shot by the dozen. But only at Kingston did any real hitch occur. The proposal to start a corps was made there in May, but in July the effort was abandoned for want of support. Ultimately however, 10 March 1860, a Kingston corps was enrolled. About the same time the Farnham corps was also enrolled, Mr. Ward of Willey Park being the first captain.

As elsewhere the composition of the volunteer force in Surrey altered a good deal after about the first ten years of its existence. At present the four battalions of the East Surrey Brigade have their headquarters at Camberwell, Wimbledon, Kingston and Clapham Common; the four battalions of the West Surrey Brigade have their headquarters at Croydon, Guildford, Bermondsey and Kennington Park, respectively.

Volunteering in Surrey claims special attention because the National Rifle Association, established 'to give permanence to Volunteer Corps, Naval and Military, and to encourage rifle-shooting,' has made its home in the county, and has held the great rifle shooting competitions at Wimbledon and Bisley in Surrey, without which neither the numbers of the volunteers nor the shooting of the regular forces would probably be what they are. The Association was formed in 1860, and was incorporated by Royal Charter 25 November 1890. In the year of its formation it held the first meeting on Wimbledon Common. Her late Majesty presented the Queen's Prize, which was shot for with the Whitworth muzzle-loading rifle, and won by Private Ross of the 7th North Yorkshire. In 1871 the Queen's Prize was first shot for with a breech-loader, the Snider in the earlier stages, the Martini-Henry in the final stage, the winners with the breech-loader being Private Mayfield, Robin Hood Rifles, in the first stages, and Ensign Humphry, Cambridge University, in the final stage. The same year saw the competition for the cup then newly given by the late Rajah of Kolapore for teams representing the mother country, the colonies, dependencies and federations of the empire, marking a stage in the growth of the meeting as an Imperial contest. The Queen's Prize was first shot for with the present service rifle, .303 magazine rifle, in 1897, when it was won by Private Ward, 1st V.B. Devon. The Elcho challenge shield, open to teams representing England, Scotland and Ireland, was first shot for in 1862. The China Cup was in 1865 given by British residents in China for competition among volunteers of British counties.

After twenty years of the meeting at Wimbledon it began to be

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recognized that the space was too much restricted for convenience or even for safety, but it was not till 12 July 1890 that the first meeting was held at Bisley. The Pirbright ranges in the neighbourhood had been utilized before this for regular troops from Pirbright barracks and Aldershot, and occasionally for volunteers. The great open expanse of country owned by the Government in the neighbourhood made it a suitable place. The National Rifle Association was incorporated the same year to enable it to acquire and hold land for the purposes of the meeting. It now holds 93 acres. The whole of the land utilized for ranges and encampments of competitors is about two square miles, the bulk of it being Government property. Two hundred and fifty targets are so disposed as to be in use simultaneously if necessary. His Majesty King Edward VII. continued the King's Prize in succession to the Queen's Prize, and it was first won in 1901 by Lance-Corporal Ommundsen, Queen's Edinburgh.

The removal to Bisley has lessened the number of entries, the proximity of Wimbledon to London had perhaps unduly swelled them; nevertheless the removal has improved the efficiency and business-like character of the meeting. There on Cowshot Common, named in the alleged earliest extant charter dealing with boundaries of Surrey land,¹ representatives of the military strength of the Empire from every quarter of the world are encamped every summer.²

THE SURREY REGIMENTS

Surrey gives a territorial title to two distinguished regiments, the West Surrey and the East Surrey, so designated on the re-arrangement of the battalions of the line according to the scheme of Mr. Cardwell, completed in 1881.

The historical associations of the two regiments with the county are, however, of the slightest. When after the Restoration the army of the Protectorate was disbanded, steps were taken to re-enlist a certain number of men for the army which Charles II. intended to keep on foot. Two regiments were raised to garrison the fortress of Tangier, acquired by the king's marriage with Katherine of Braganza. One was the regiment subsequently known as the Third of the line, the Buffs, now the East Kent; the other was the Second of the line, the Queen's, now the West Surrey. The only original connexion of this latter with Surrey was that it was first mustered 1,000 strong upon Putney Heath on 14 October 1661,³ and that it was raised by and placed under the command of Henry, Earl of Peterborough, the owner of the manor of Blechingley, who had served in the Earl of Holland's abortive Surrey insurrection in 1648.

¹ The Chertsey Charter of, it is said, A.D. 675.

² The editor is indebted to the courtesy of Colonel Crosse, Sec. N.R.A., for the greater part of the information about Wimbledon and Bisley.

³ Mercurius Publicus, Oct. 1661.

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The regiment proceeded to Tangier, of which garrison Lord Peterborough was commandant, and saw service against the Moors. While there, it was recruited by a large draft of the remains of one of the regiments raised for the garrison of Dunkirk, made available by the sale of the place to France.

The Lamb and Flag was an old badge of the House of Braganza, and it was therefore given to the West Surrey regiment as being the Queen's regiment. Percy Kirke was appointed colonel of the regiment in 1682,¹ whence the nickname of Kirke's Lambs. The record of the services of the regiment belongs rather to English history; but, in passing, it is permissible to suggest that the bad name associated with it for its actions in Monmouth's rebellion is probably not deserved. Military execution among a rebellious population necessarily implies brutal treatment. The insurgents who fought at Sedgemoor were brave men, but the rising was a singularly mischievous attempt, and was bound to call for strong repression. Legend has added to Kirke's crimes, but nothing actually done by Colonel Kirke prevented William III. from employing him at the relief of Londonderry and elsewhere. His son commanded the regiment in the eighteenth century.

The Queen's fought in Flanders under William and Marlborough, and in Spain under Galway, sharing in the defeat of Almanza. Later on it was in garrison at Gibraltar, but not during the famous siege. It served under the Duke of York in Holland in 1799, under Abercrombie in Egypt, under Wellington in the Peninsula from Vimiera to Toulouse, in India, in China and in Afghanistan. It was, as the West Surrey, on the north-west frontier of India in 1897-8, and subsequently in South Africa. When the campaign on the north-west frontier was over, Sir William Penn Symons, who was afterwards killed at Talana Hill in South Africa, issued the following order:—

8 May 1898.

I cannot permit the West Surrey regiment to leave the Khaibar force without giving you an expression of my thorough appreciation of your brilliant services since you have been under my command in the field. Whilst you were with me in cantonments in Ambala I formed a high opinion of the efficiency of the battalion. It has been more than justified throughout the Tirah campaign; no matter what the occasion, whether on picket duty, foraging, advancing or retiring, we all had sure confidence that if the Queen's were in it there need be no anxiety. The great care taken by the officers of the men, good discipline, especially on the march, sound instruction of all ranks in their profession as soldiers, all combine with *esprit de corps* to make you the smartest and best all round British infantry battalion that I know. I am very sorry to lose you. I wish you good-bye and the best of good fortune.

The West Surrey justified its character in Natal.

The history of the West Surrey is a plain story of one regiment. That of the East Surrey is more complicated. By the scheme completed in 1881 the Thirty-first, called the Huntingdonshire regiment, and the Seventieth, called the Surrey regiment, were amalgamated to form the two battalions of the East Surrey. There was only a nominal

¹ Scott, *British Army*, iii. 427; Colonel Davis, *History of the Queen's*, i. 205.

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connexion of the latter with Surrey before, but there was a real connexion between the two battalions.

In 1702, at the beginning of the war of the Spanish Succession, three regiments, which would now be called Marines, were raised for service with the fleet. They took part in Ormonde's expedition to Vigo, in Rooke's capture of Gibraltar, in the Prince of Darmstadt's and Peterborough's capture and defence of Barcelona, and in other operations in the Mediterranean. After the Peace of Utrecht there was an intention of disbanding them, but George the First's government, apprehensive of a Jacobite rising and a Swedish war, kept them together as three regiments of the line. They were subsequently numbered the Thirtieth, Thirty-first and Thirty-second. The Thirty-first fought in the war of the Austrian Succession, and distinguished itself at Dettingen and at Fontenoy, suffering so severely in the latter defeat that it was not sent to Scotland in 1745. At the opening of the Seven Years' War the regiment was however quartered in Scotland. It was determined to raise a second battalion, which was recruited principally in Glasgow. In 1758 this second battalion was separated from the other, and called the Seventieth regiment of the line. It was practically a Scotch regiment, but in 1782 George III. was pleased to order that all regiments should have some territorial or other title, besides their number, and the Seventieth was called the Surrey regiment, the Thirty-first the Huntingdonshire. The Surrey regiment was in the West Indies during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, and took part in the capture of Guadaloupe. It lost heavily by war and climate. A *depôt* was established in 1810, not in Surrey but at Ayr. This was moved to Stirling in 1811, and the regiment itself returned to the same place, and in 1812 received the certainly more appropriate title of the Glasgow Lowland Regiment. In 1825, however, the name of the Surrey Regiment was restored to it—a purely fancy designation. The Thirty-first meanwhile had seen severe service all through the Peninsular war, a second battalion having been raised for it, nominally the Huntingdonshire, at Chester in 1804. The regiment also took part in the American war, one battalion being with Burgoyne when he surrendered at Saratoga. The second battalion was disbanded in 1814. One wing of the regiment was in the *Kent* East Indiaman when she was burnt in 1824 at sea. The first battalion of the Thirty-first was in the first Afghan war and in the Seikh wars, at Sebastopol and in China. The Seventieth was at Peshawur when the Indian Mutiny broke out in 1857, and also served in the New Zealand war. The final amalgamation was a curious bringing together of battalions separated since 1758. The regimental headquarters are at Kingston, which is only 'East Surrey' by a figure of speech. The headquarters of the West Surrey are more properly at Guildford.

All the troops in the county are under the Home District command. Guildford is the *depôt* of the No. 2 Regimental District, which comprises the Royal West Surrey regiment, first and second battalions,

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the third Militia battalion (Second Royal Surrey Militia), the Surrey Imperial Yeomanry ; the first (Croydon), second (Guildford), third (Bermondsey) and fourth (Kennington) Volunteer battalions of the Royal West Surrey regiment.

Kingston is the depôt of the No. 31 Regimental District, which comprises the East Surrey regiment, first and second battalions ; the third and fourth Militia battalions (first and third Surrey Militia) ; the first (Camberwell), second (Wimbledon), third (Kingston) and fourth (Clapham) Volunteer battalions of the East Surrey regiment.

SCHOOLS

RESearch into the history of Surrey Schools is greatly hampered by the absence of any Chantry Certificates,¹ properly so-called. In default of these we have no precise information as to how many and what schools there were at the crucial epoch of 1548, when their endowments were confiscated to Edward VI., some to perish altogether, some to be revived under the name of the king for whose benefit they were plundered, or of his successors who, in their turn, enjoyed the plunder.

The Surrey Schools of real antiquity, of which a pre-Reformation origin can be proved, or with certainty inferred, are but three : Kingston, Guildford and Croydon. There is little doubt that schools existed also at Southwark and Farnham, whose dates can be traced back to within fifteen years of the dissolution of the chantries ; for in both of these the Bishops of Winchester, one of whose duties it was to see to the efficiency of schools, were more or less continuously resident. Of the other Grammar Schools of the county, Dulwich, Camberwell, Battersea, Charterhouse, the origins are well defined. The development of the places in which they are, as well as of the schools themselves, is too late to give any claim to greater antiquity than the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to which they belong.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES

Of all the ancient schools of the county, that now called Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, at Kingston-on-Thames (which was the place of coronation of many early English kings), appropriately claims precedence.

¹ At the Record Office there are two so-called Chantry Certificates for Surrey, Nos. 47 and 48. The first, taken under the Act of 37 Hen. VIII. 1546, is only a certificate of how many chantries in Surrey and Sussex had been dissolved without licence from the Crown since 4 February 1536, and comprises only one chantry in Surrey. The other is undated, but is late in the reign of Edward VI. and gives only the names of fifteen chantry priests who were in receipt of pensions out of the then dissolved chantries.

It has one unique title to fame in being the earliest, so far as is yet known, of English schools to be called in set terms a Public School. So it was called in an official document, at a date which brings it back to the middle of the fourteenth century. The document of title is a letter written by William of Edington, as Bishop of Winchester, who in that capacity was Ordinary of Kingston, and thereby charged with the superintendence of schools and education there. It is addressed to the prior of the cathedral monastery of Canterbury, asking him to return the belongings of the headmaster of Kingston Grammar School, which had been detained in the Almonry of the monastery, then occupying the site on which the present Grammar School of Canterbury, the King's School, now stands. The letter is preserved in a copy entered in the Priors' Register at Canterbury². A translation of it runs as follows :—

My lord and dearest friend in Christ. The law of friendship teaches that hurtful wounds should be revealed most carefully to him who gives help or healing, and at a crisis seeks the help (suffragia) of friends. We heard some time ago on the report of our beloved sons and parishioners of the town of Kingston, that they to their grief being without a teacher or master³ of their boys and others coming to the said town, where a school has been accustomed to be kept, made an agreement and entered into a contract, confirmed by sureties, with one Hugh of Kingston, clerk, born in the said town, lately the worthy pedagogue,⁴ as it is said, of the scholars in the

² Canterbury Cath. Library. Reg. L. f. 59b. Per episcopum Wintoniensem pro uno petagogo scolas exercendo. It is printed in the late Dr. Sheppard's *Litteræ Cantuarienses*, Rolls Series, II, 464. Owing to its not being indexed this document had escaped attention until the writer found it in 1896 in the original Register while searching for information about Canterbury School.

³ Informatore seu magistro puerorum enrundem et aliorum in dicta villa, ubi consueverunt scole exerceri, confluencium, tediose carentes.

⁴ Nuper scolarium in domo elemosinarie vestre digno, sicut dicitur, petagogo.

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house of your Almonry, that he should undertake the instruction and teaching of the said boys and of other scholars in the said town and preside over the Public School there, first about Michaelmas and again at Christmas last. And the said Hugh came before us and was sworn on the holy Gospels, and publicly undertook faithfully to perform the promises. But your fellow-monk, the Almoner of your house aforesaid, being, as we hear, troubled and annoyed at the said Hugh's leaving, seized or sequestered some poor goods (*bona modica*) of his, and keeps them still under sequestration, thinking by these means to recall the said Hugh to his service. In the name of that friendship, in the soundness of which we have undoubting faith, we require and ask your fatherhood, that you would be good enough with salutary warnings to order the said Almoner to restore and deliver the said goods to the said Hugh, or to the bearer of these letters in his name, and that he will hold the said Hugh excused for not returning; seeing, if it please you, that by law magistrates should be created from their own town, and the vine-dressers² of the people be chosen from the same place. And if you have any wishes in our power to fulfil, pray confidently let us hear your pleasure. May the Almighty grant you sound and long life in all prosperity. Written at Esher, 7 April 1364.

This letter shows that the school to which Hugh of Kingston was inveigled away from his school at Canterbury was a school of some consequence. It had already traditions as a Public School, i.e. a school open to all, to which scholars were accustomed to flock, not only from Kingston itself, but from elsewhere. The want of a master for it was felt by the inhabitants as a loss and a grievance until it was supplied. So when it was supplied the master was sworn in before the bishop, and the bishop interested himself personally on his behalf. We may gauge its status by a glance at the Almonry School at Canterbury. The Almonry had been established or reorganized in 1319³ to consist of six chantry priests and an unspecified number of scholars 'all to sing and read, and at least ten years old at admission.'⁴ The original endowment of the priests, of whom the schoolmaster was apparently one, was six 'Lanfranc's liveries,' paid by the cathedral monastery to which it was

attached. The 'livery' consisted in daily rations of a loaf of bread, the same as the monks had, and of 1½ gallons of beer, or 1½*d.* in money, and in addition 3*or.* 4*d.* a year for kitchen, and 2*or.* a year for clothing and shoes, with competent food and drink, at a separate table. In 1328 the church of Westcliffe, near Dover, was definitely assigned to the Almoner for the endowment of this establishment, the object of which was to supply a choir for the Lady Chapel, and on high days the cathedral itself. The school was sufficiently famous for Queen Philippa⁵ to nominate one Richard of Beddingfield for admission to it to be 'found (i.e. maintained) as other free scholars there.' The Almoner who seized Hugh's goods and chattels, perhaps not undeservedly, as he had abandoned his post at Canterbury without notice, was one Peter of Sales, or Salis, several of whose account rolls are preserved, but they do not unfortunately give any details about the school either as to boys or masters, the only items specifically referring to the scholars by name being payments sometimes for linen, sometimes for canvas for table cloths for them, and small items of 2*s.* 5*d.* or 2*s.* 7*d.* 'for flesh and fish bought in the town for scholars in the Almonry in default of alms this year.' In the ordinary way the boys appear to have lived, like the choristers at Winchester College, who went to school with the scholars, on the broken meats from the monks' and chaplains' tables. Like the Winchester choristers, they were charity boys, and waited on the monks in the infirmary when not attending service in the choir, or school in the Almonry. The number of scholars and the emoluments of the master at Kingston must have been considerable to attract Mr. Hugh away from the flesh pots of Canterbury, though apparently a patriotic desire to return to his own home proved one of the compensations.

It is vexatious that we have no more light on the place where the Kingston school was and how it was maintained, whether merely by the fees of scholars, or by the town, the bailiffs and commonalty, or through perhaps the Trinity Guild, or partly by two or more of these ways. It is tempting to think that it was in fact maintained on the same spot in the same building, and by the same endowments as it is now, being the chantry chapel of St. Mary Magdalen⁶ in Norbiton, which still forms the Assembly Hall of the school.

¹ Ut informacioni et doctrine dictorum puerorum et aliorum scholarium in dicta villa intendere, et *scolas publicas* gubernaret.

² Vinitores, vine-dressers, i.e. teachers, from the common Bible metaphor of the nation as a vine, and God as the owner of the vine-yard.

³ Cambridge Univ. Lib., Ee. v. 31, f. 213.

⁴ B. M. Cott. MS. Gabba, E. iv. f. 92.

⁵ *Literæ Cantuarienses* (Rolls Series).

⁶ Its history has been collected by Major Alfred Heales, London, Roworth & Co., 1883, reprinted from *Surrey Archaeological Society Transactions*, viii.

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This chantry was founded by Edward Lovekyn in the year 1309, under letters patent of the crown of 11 January,¹ and of the Bishop of Winchester of 20 July² that year. It appears to owe its foundation to its founder's gratitude at unexpected payment of a bad debt due from the crown. Edward Lovekyn had supplied 'the provision made for the king's household (oustel) at the party (partie) which he gave on his betrothal to my lady the queen'—Edward I.'s second wife, Margaret. The contract was for 1,000 marks, equivalent, probably, to about £20,000 of our money. The fee farm rent of the town of Kingston payable to the crown was assigned to Lovekyn for repayment of the sum; but he could not get the rent as Kingston had been assigned to the queen as part of her dower. So he was then given a charge on the tithes payable to the king from the neighbouring abbey of Chertsey, to the extent of £240, but the abbot refused to pay without authority under the great seal, which was accordingly given by a patent, 29 November 1303. A further patent, 11 April 1307, was made out charging another £240 on the revenues of the duchy of Aquitaine, but this patent was not acted on before the death of Edward I. It therefore apparently became void. A new patent confirming it was granted by Edward II., 16 July 1309, and on the next day the episcopal license for the chantry was granted. So that it does really appear that gratitude for recovery of the debt was a proximate cause of the foundation of the chapel and school. The endowment consisted originally of a rent-charge of 5 marks (£3 6s. 8d.). Robert Lovekyn, the founder's heir, seems to have withheld payment, as first the bishop, in 1312,³ and then the archbishop,⁴ in 1327, interfered on its behalf against him. Twenty years afterwards the chaplain was not resident, and the chapel is said, in the usual exaggerated language of the time, to have threatened ruin.⁵ In 1352 the founder's son or nephew, John Lovekyn, a stock fishmonger, Lord Mayor of London,⁶ rebuilt the chapel and obtained license to treble its endowment by grants of land to the value of £12 a year.⁷ On 7 May 1353,⁸ he granted two houses in the

street in which Lovekyn lived, in St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, London, 'in part satisfaction.'⁷ Two years later the new endowment, which comprised 9 messuages, 10 shops, a mill, 120 acres of arable land, 10 acres of meadow and 120 acres of pasture, besides rents of 35s. in Kingston, was completed. On 5 May 1355,⁹ Lovekyn executed his Foundation Ordinance regulating the endowment. The foundation was to consist of a warden and one chaplain, others being added if funds allowed, living together in the manse or mansion behind the chapel. The warden was to manage and receive the revenues, giving each of the other chaplains £2 a year and a gown, besides his board (which at this time cost about a shilling a week) and lodging in the manse. In chapel they were to wear amices with black fur. The duties specified were entirely chantry duties to say the usual Hours and Offices and Masses for the dead. There is not, it must be admitted, a word about keeping school. But this is by no means a conclusive argument against a school being intended as part of the foundation. Even William of Wykeham, in the Statutes of Winchester College, with its elaborate chantry provisions occupying sixty-eight closely printed octavo pages, hardly devotes five lines to the conduct of the school. Lovekyn's chantry was augmented in 1368 by John Wenge,¹⁰ and again in 1371,¹¹ by Sir William Walworth, the lord mayor who murdered Wat Tyler, and was Lovekyn's apprentice and executor, and married his widow.¹² There seems to be no evidence that there were ever more than two chaplains in the chantry.

The friction which appears from provisions in Lovekyn's chantry deed to have already existed between the vicar and the chantry chaplains, probably explains the next reference to the school at Kingston. On 27 November 1377, William of Wykeham, as bishop, confirmed¹³ an augmentation of the vicarage, which he had extorted from the Priory of Merton to which the living was appropriated, the canons of which took the profits, leaving the vicar a bare pittance. One of the last provisions of the ordinance

Heales supposed, a further endowment beyond that of the former patent.

⁹ Winton. Epis. Reg. Wykeham, f. 268, vol. ii. of Mr. T. F. Kirby's edition *Hants Rec. Soc.*

¹⁰ Exch. ancient deeds, p. 15, No. 18. It is, however, very likely that this deed was in pursuance of Lovekyn's will.

¹¹ Pat. 45 Edw. III. i. 12.

¹² *Hustings Wills*, ii. 117, 251.

¹³ Winton. Epis. Reg. Wykeham, f. 163a. Mr. Kirby, in his edition, ii. 287, only gives an English abstract of it.

¹ Pat. 2 Edw. II. ii. m. 4.

² Episc. Reg. Woodlock, f. 112b.

³ Winton. Epis. Reg. Woodlock, f. 125b.

⁴ Ibid. Reynolds, f. 56b.

⁵ Ibid. Edendon, ii. f. 7b. The phrase merely meant that it needed structural repairs.

⁶ He had been Sheriff in 1342, and was again Mayor in 1365 and 1366.

⁷ Pat. 26 Edw. III. iii. 13.

⁸ Ibid. 27 Edw. III. i. 7. This was not, as Major

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made on the occasion is, 'and it shall be lawful for the vicar that now is, and his successors, to appoint fit holy-water carriers¹ to serve the said church and chapels² and to keep or license others to keep³ a school for boys in letters, song, and other things up to and including Donatus.' This does not mean that the vicar might himself keep, or get someone to keep under him, a Grammar School. On the contrary, it shows that there was an authorised Grammar School on the domain of which the vicar wished, but was not allowed, to trespass. He was to confine his efforts to elementary instruction: reading, singing, and the elements of Latin grammar 'up to and including Donatus,' i.e. he might teach, or have taught, the parts of speech and accidence, but must stop short of syntax and construction. For Donatus meant the 'Ars minor,' or 'small grammar' of Ælius Donatus, a fourth-century schoolmaster at Rome, where he had St. Jerome as one of his pupils.⁴ It was the primer of the Middle Ages, so famous that an introductory book to any subject became known in English as a Donat.⁵

At Warwick, in the thirteenth century, a dispute between the Grammar School and the Music School was settled by the Dean and Chapter of the Collegiate church ruling that the Song Schoolmaster should 'keep and teach those learning their first letters the psalter, music and song,' while the Grammar Schoolmaster 'should have the Donatists (donatistas) and those going beyond it in grammar and dialectic.' So too the chantry priests connected with the parish church at Saffron Walden were in 1422 forbidden to trespass on the Grammar School there by teaching classics, and were confined to 'the alphabet, the graces and the lord's prayer.' On the other hand, at Breslau, in 1267, it was ruled⁶ by a Papal legate that 'there may be in the city by St. Mary Magdalen's church, a school in which the little boys may be taught

the alphabet with the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, creed and psalter and singing, so as to be able to read and sing: and also may hear Donatus, Cato and the Rules for Boys. But if they wish to learn more advanced books they must go on to the school of St. John in the castle.' Wykeham followed this line of precedents at Kingston, and by so doing bears testimony to the high standing of the Grammar School, for he prescribed the same standard as he did for his own school at Winchester, which he was already carrying on. No one was eligible as a scholar there⁷ who was not 'sufficiently instructed in reading, song and old Donatus.' These they were supposed to have learnt, in the reading and song schools scattered all over the country: which it was, in theory, the duty of every parish priest to keep.

The point of the references to holy-water carriers in connection with the school is this. In 1295, Bishop John of Pontissara had ordered that in the diocese of Winchester, in which Kingston was, only scholars should be employed as holy-water carriers. On 3 Jan. 1368-9, William of Wykeham directed this constitution to be enforced.⁸ It had, he says, 'been observed till a short time back,' but 'some, jealous of our scholars, have given the holy water to married men, lewd men not capable of this kind of schooling.' The vicar, it would seem, jealous probably of the connection of the Grammar School with St. Mary Magdalen's chantry, had not only been trespassing on its province in the way of teaching, but had not made its scholars, as he ought, the holy-water carriers of the parish. He thus deprived the school of a sort of exhibition; for the holy-water carriers had to take round the holy water to women in child-birth, sick persons, and so on, and received fees and gratuities for doing so.

From this date Kingston Grammar School disappears from view for 150 years or more, not, we must believe, because it ceased to exist, but because of the want of any records in which it was likely to be mentioned. The early town records of Kingston have all disappeared in quite recent times. The earliest extant Assembly Book or Minute Book of the Corporation begins only in 1680. It is in a modern binding and marked vol. 5, showing that when it was bound there were four earlier volumes. But all have disappeared. Man-

⁷ Statutes of 1400, but they were only a new edition of the original statutes of 1382, which have disappeared. See the writer's *History of Winchester College*, 91, 67-8; and *V.C.H. Hants*, ii. 265, 269.

⁸ Winton Epis. Reg. Pontissara f. 55; W. Wykeham, pt. iii, 16a.

¹ Habiles et ydoneas personas aque benedictæ bajalos.

² viz. Moulsey, Ditton and Sheen.

³ Scolas quoque puerorum literarum cantus et aliorum usque Donatum inclusive tenere seu aliis concedere.

⁴ Hieronymus in Ecclesiasten c. i.

⁵ New English Dictionary, 1362. Piers Plowman A. v. 123. Then I drove me among these drapers my Donet to learn. In 1449 Bishop Pecock published a 'Donet into Christian Religion' 'as the common donet berith himselfe towards the full kunnyng of Latyn, so this booke for Goddis laws.'

⁶ *The Universities of Europe*, Hastings Rashdall, ii. 602.

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ning and Bray, in 1811, quote a School Wardens' book, but it too has perished. The archdeacons of Surrey would have inquired as to the maintenance of the school in their visitations, but no record of these visitations remains.

So we hear no more of a school at Kingston until 3 April 1528, in the will¹ of Isabel Rothewood, widow of a London girdler, or girdle-maker. She, while directing her body to be buried in All Hallows, in Honey Lane, London, and giving munificent bequests to the 'Gurdelers' Company, seems to have been a Kingston heiress, and therefore gave a tenement and garden at the east end of the church to the 'Brige-maisters' for the support of Kingston bridge, and an obit in the church. She also directed her feoffees 'to stand seased' of two other tenements with gardens, one

between the water of Thames on the partie of the west and the king's highway on the east and the other in the south part of Clattering (now Clatter) bridge, to the use, mayntenance and supportacion of suche a free schole as shall be purchased, obteyned and gotten in Kingston aforesaid within 3 years next after my deceas; for the erudicion and techyng of scolers there forever, and that the said two tenements with the appurtenances be then made assure to the said freschole or to the use of the same, as by larned counsaill shall be advised for the mayntenance and supportacion of the same for evermore.

In case the said 'freschole' was not obtained within three years, then she directed the tenements to be sold and the proceeds divided into three parts, 'whereof I will and bequeth one equall parte to the fynding of pour scolers in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, ther studying Arte or divinitie': one-third for an obit in 'Alhalowen,' Honey Lane, and the other one-third among the poor. The will was proved 11 May 1528. What became of the bequest does not appear. It must not be argued from it that the old school had ceased to exist. It may be that the old school was not free, but that, as was usual with these ancient schools, tuition fees were charged, and this endowment was intended to make it free.

It has been said² that Lovekyn's chantry came to an end by the forfeiture of Charles Carew on 12 March 1539-40. The whole

chantry did not, however, come to an end. For the chantry certificate³ of 1546 mentions among those dissolved since 27 February 1535, the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, of which 'the yerely valew as apperyth by the Survey is £14 19s. 8½d., whereof to the bailiffs of Kingston, £4 6s. 5d.; the priest for his salary, £6 13s. 4d.; bred, wyne and waxe, 8s.; £11 8s.; and so remayneth, 41s. 8½d.' The Ministers' Accounts⁴ for 1546-7, show John Debenham, clerk, still celebrating, and receiving £6 13s. 4d., while 5s., was paid for bread, wine and wax. A certificate of pensions⁵ of chantry priests, which may be 1548 or may be later, shows John Depenham (*sic*) receiving a pension of £5⁶ a year in respect of his salary of £6 13s. 4d., less the tenth to the king of 13s. 4d.

These accounts record the property as having been acquired by the king from John Leygh, esquire, 'as appears by a rental of Geoffrey Chamber, surveyor of the lands acquired by the king, 23 May 1541.' The total value had been £24 19s. 10d. But at the date of the account, all the property let on rents at will amounting to £2 12s. a year, and all of it in Kingston worth £3 a year, with the chapel mills worth £4 a year, had been sold 10 December 1545 to John Broxholme and John Bellow (noted speculators in the lands of dissolved monasteries), to hold of the honour of Bolingbroke, Lincolnshire. There was therefore left only £2 6s. 6d. of rents of assize, and £11 a year from the chapel farm, which was let to John Evelyn, and 10s. a year for the rent of the chapel itself, with kitchen chambers and stable, let to John Warmesley. It has been conjectured⁷ that the forfeiture incurred by Charles Carew was due to some religious offence under the Six Articles Act. But unless there is a strange coincidence, without identity, of persons and names, the forfeiture was by Act of Attainder for the vulgar offence of robbery, and that of a relation. On 8 August 1540,⁸ Richard Benese,

³ Chan. Cert. 47. It is said to be 'founded by Edward Lovekyn as the Commissioners be certified by report, for there is no foundation,' i.e. foundation deed, 'to be showed, to pray for the King's Maiestie, John Lovekin and Mabel his wife and all Christen souls.'

⁴ *Heales*, p. 203, Min. Acc. 38 Henry VIII.—1 Edward VI. (incorrectly given as 38-39 Henry VIII. by *Heales*, p. 195).

⁵ Chan. Cert. 48, *Heales*, p. 230.

⁶ Not as *Heales*, p. 230, through some mistake of his copyist or printer, 5s. a year. It is cs. in the original.

⁷ Manning and Bray, *loc. cit.*, and *Heales*, p. 194.

⁸ Pat. 32 Henry VIII. p. vi. m. 28.

¹ P.C.C. 31 Porch 4b.

² Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, i. 356, quoting an Inquisition held under a commission from the Exchequer 4 January 1562-3, 5 Eliz., which Major Heales says he could not find.

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clerk, was presented to the rectory of Beddington (Bedington) in place of Charles Carewe, last incumbent deceased. Among the 'Remembrances' or Memoranda of Thomas Cromwell, for 10 November 1539,¹ is 'Charles Carew, his servants,' and others, including 'one of the Lady Karew's servants' for robbery. On 20 November, Charles Carew is noted among the prisoners in the Tower, and the same day Maude Carew wrote to thank Cromwell for his favour in redressing her late great losses. Charles Carew, thus condemned through Cromwell, was among those specially exempted, with Cromwell himself, from the king's general pardon just after Cromwell's fall. Under the description of Charles Carew, late of Benington² (which must be a misreading or misprint for Beddington), Surrey, gent., 'who has with divers others committed an abominable robbery, and with great violence spoiled and robbed Maud Carewe, widow, to her utter undoing, which robbery the said Charles has confessed,' he was included in an Act of Attainder of 1540.³ Maud Carew was the widow of Sir Nicholas Carew, who had himself been attained only a year before for his share in the Marquis of Exeter's rising. She was robbed of all her money, plate and rings, but all was recovered except £8 (in our money, £160) already spent by the robbers. It seems certain that this Charles Carew was the same person as the warden of St. Mary Magdalen chapel, and rector of Beddington, and was proceeded against by Act of Attainder instead of by a prosecution for felony, to prevent his getting 'the benefit of clergy.' It is quite possible, of course, that he was not in holy orders, though he held the rectory of Beddington and the wardenship of the chantry chapel, and so was properly described as 'esquire.'³ It seems probable that the second priest, John Debenham, was continued in receipt of his salary until the Chantries Act of 1548, because he was schoolmaster.

A movement seems to have been already on foot for the re-endowment of the school, when by will of 7 March 1556-7,⁴ Robert Hamonde of Hampton-on-Thames, gave his great close in the New Field to his wife for life, and after her death to his daughter Jane.

¹ *Cal. Sta. Pa.*, under date.

² 31 Henry VIII. c. 13.

³ In *Val. Eccl.* ii. 47, taken in 1535, he is however described as 'clericus'.

⁴ He directed his body to be buried in the Trinity chancel in Kingston church before his seat next the wall. Wills P.C.C. 18, Wrastley.

And I will that the said Jane shall pay yerely during the term of 21 yeres next following after my decease unto the Baylyfs and freemen of Kyngston £6 13s. 4d. to the intent that therewith the said Baylifs and Freemen shall within 2 hole yeres nexte after my decease erecte and sett upp a Free Grammar Schole in the said towne of Kyngeston to contynue for evermore, or ells I will that my said daughter shall not paye the said money nor any parte thereof.

He also gave the vicar and churchwardens of Hampton a house and an acre of land, the rent to be applied for fitting it for a 'Free Schole,' and then the vicar to have the whole rent, 'so that he will teach children freely.' But this is not called, and does not seem to have been intended to be, a Grammar School, but an Elementary School. This will was proved 17 June 1557. Again, the absence of documents prevents our knowing for certain whether this devise took effect. But it seems probable that the Bailiffs and the Freemen obtained the letters patent for the present schools partly in compliance with the terms of Hammond's will.

The letters patent are dated 1 March 1561. They recite that 'at the humble petition of our beloved subjects the Bailiffs and Freemen and inhabitants of our town of Kingston for the erection and establishment of a Grammar School,' the queen granted that there should be in Kingston such a school 'for the education, institution and instruction of boys and youths in grammar to endure for ever,' to consist of a Master (*pedagogo sive magistro*) and Usher (*sub-pedagogo sive hipodidasculo*).⁵ The two Bailiffs were incorporated as 'the Governors of the possessions, revenues and goods of the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth in the town of Kingston-upon-Thames, in the county of Surrey'. William Matson and George Snelling, the then bailiffs being named as the first governors. The queen then granted

all that our free chapel called Marye Magdalene chappell, in Norbiton in Kingston with its garden on the east, and a little chapel called St. Anne Chappell; a small study (unum parvum le⁶ Studie) and an inner chamber with the Hawkes Mew over it and S. Loye's chapel on the south side with a little place underneath it; and an old kitchen and a

⁵ *Heales*, p. 237, from Pat. 3 Eliz. pt. xi. m. 14.

⁶ It was the practice from very early times when words in the vernacular, then French, were introduced into Latin documents, to preface the vernacular word by the French article 'le,' and the practice was continued for centuries after English had become the vernacular language of England.

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chamber adjoining it; and a parlour (solarium) called a loft above the same kitchen and chamber and another chamber under the kitchen, on the west side of the chapel, situate across the footway leading from Kingston to London; and a house next the kitchen; also the yarde on the North, and another yard on the west, and a passage called a gallery (deambulatorium vocatum 'a galorye') above the yarde leading from S. Anne's chapel to the small place, and 2 chambers called the Masters lodging; also a celler and 4 small chambers under the Masters lodging;

with a barn and stable and a dove-cot, all which were let to Richard Taverner in 1547 for twenty-one years for £12 1s. a year. The property was granted to be held as of the honour of Hampton Court. Power was given to the Governors to make statutes with the advice of the Bishop of Winchester. Finally license was given to acquire and hold lands in mortmain to the value of £30 a year, besides the chapel.

The Bailiffs were left to make their own terms with Taverner, whose lease had still seven years to run. To obtain endowment for the school they obtained a further grant from the Crown by letters patent of 17 May 1564,¹ of the George Inn, 11 houses and 80 acres of land and other pieces of property in Kingston, which had belonged to the London Charterhouse, and were let to Taverner for twenty-one years, at £14 a year; and a 'toft' called Draggers, and six acres of land, part of the possessions of Merton Priory, near the chapel, let to one John Ord, for 26s. 5d. a year; a number of small fee farm rents amounting to 35s. 3d., and three gardens, which had belonged to the Lovekyn chantry itself; and finally a house and two acres of land in Ham, which had belonged to the Priory of Shene. The clear yearly value of the property is stated at £18 9s. 7d., and it was granted to be held in free socage of the manor of East Greenwich, but at a rent of the same amount, £18 9s. 7d. The patent concludes with an order that 'in consideration of this present grant, 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) a year, arising beyond the said rent of £18 9s. 7d. shall be paid by the Bailiffs and Freemen to the support and maintenance of the school aforesaid, and the Pedagogue or master of the same, quarterly.' Presumably, therefore, the rack rental of the property was a good deal more than the rents reserved on it.

The school must have been going on before this last charter, as in an extract given by Hamning and Bray from the lost

School Wardens' Book, it appears that in 1565 John Laurence resigned and Roger Foster was appointed master in his stead. The churchwardens' accounts for the year 1566-7 show that the old windows were taken out of the Magdalen Chapel and transferred to the church. The lead of the window-frames was melted down, and 140 pounds of lead from it sold for 13s. 6d. The glazier was paid 6d. a foot for setting up twenty-six feet of glass in the church windows,

and mor for myndyng (mending) all the windows about the church, gret and smal, with the old glase that came from the freskyll (free school) sometyme calyd the chappell, and for 700 quarrylls (carrols or diamond panes) of glass, and for leyd and soder for the same, and for 10 days work thereon, 20s.

It would seem that at one time a much more magnificent foundation for the school was contemplated. In 1585 an appeal for subscriptions in the nature of a 'Church Brief,'² was sent out on the Queen's directions, by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, and Charles Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, dated 'from the Court of Nonsuch, the fowerth of August,' on behalf of Kingston School.³

In it the archbishop and Lord Howard accordingly ask the bishop to 'deal effectually with your cathedral clergy, and such other of the cleargie and laitie of your cite as you shal thinke good, for a voluntary and free contribucion,' and also to send out three or four discreet preachers in each deanery to persuade the inhabitants of every parish to contribute 'towards the purchasing of certaine landes neare adjoyning to the sayde towne of the yearly value of £200 . . . and towards the buylding of certain other faire and convenient roumes meete for the said schole; whereby might be maintained for ever a scholemaster, two usshers with convenient salaries and 20 poore schollers with meate, drinke and lodging and their gownes yerely, together with a warden being a preacher, for the government and overseeing of al the rest.' The money received was to be paid over to 'Stephen Chatfield, chaplain

² A Church Brief was a circular letter addressed (before the Reformation under Papal and afterwards under Royal authority) to the Bishops of the various dioceses to permit sermons to be preached and collections to be made in their dioceses on behalf of the object set forth in the letter.

³ It was found in the Portfolio of Letters No. 8 of the Borough of Leicester by Miss Bateson, who is editing the Leicester Muniments.

¹ *Heales*, p. 242, from Pat. 6 Eliz. pt. vi. m. 4.

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to the Lord Admirall and Governor of the said school,' and 'Nicholas Zouche, gentleman, at the house of Maister Walley, stacioner at the great north door of Paule's.' As usual, we are left in the dark as to the actual result of this appeal.

There can, however, be no doubt that it failed, though sent out to every diocese in England, as the contemplated college on the model of Westminster was certainly never established.

From this time until the eighteenth century we know nothing of the school beyond the names of the masters, taken by Manning and Bray out of the lost School Wardens' Book. From these it is certain that the school occupied a good position in the scholastic world, as the masters were scholars and fellows of their colleges at Oxford or Cambridge. The first three masters, Roger Foster, 1565, Stephen Caulfield, 1573, in whose time a new school house or room was built at a cost of £75 16s. 8½d., and Mr. Kerton, 1584, have not been traced. John Phillip, 'Scholemaister of Kingston,' somewhere about 1577, dedicated to Sir William Moore a volume of Latin poems, followed by an English verse translation of the golden sayings of Senander, the dedication copy of which is still preserved at Loseley.¹ 'Mr. Whytyng,' appointed in 1588, was Justinian Whiting, a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, M.A., there 21 January 1586-7. 'Mr. Hancock,' in 1599, was Richard Hancock, of Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, Oxford, matriculated 1589, B.A. 1593. 'Mr. Beelsey,' 1609, is Robert Beeley,² scholar of Winchester, fellow of New College, and fellow of Winchester College, 1596. He retired to the rectory of Bedhampton in 1613. Henry Parton, 1620, was of Queen's College, Oxford, M.A. 18 January 1616-7. His successor in 1622—Thomas Tyro, or more correctly Tysoe, was of the same college, B.A. 1618; M.A. 1621, and left for the vicarage of Alfriston, Sussex, in 1626. William Burton, 1637, was also from Queen's College, and a fellow of Gloucester Hall 1630. He was usher of the fifteenth century foundation at Sevenoaks, under Farnabie, a famous schoolmaster and school author of his day. Burton himself published annotations on Clement's Epistles in 1647, and a *History of the Greek Language* in 1650, and seems to have held his school during the whole time of the civil war untroubled. He retired only in 1655.

¹ Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. vii. App. 665a.

² The name is given as Byby in Mr. Kirby's *Winchester Scholars*, under date 1576.

A very gorgeous document is preserved of 15 March 1693, wherein the bailiffs or governors by their letters patent appointed Robert Comyn schoolmaster, on the death of Thomas Rowell. A like patent on 22 June 1702 records the appointment of Henry Windsor on Comyn's resignation.

In 1722 new statutes seem to have been made, as the Court of Assembly ordered that the old statutes should be 'laid up in the chamber,' while 'copies of the instrument under the hand and seal of the Bishop and Bailiffs importing the several orders relating to the Grammar School at Kingston be hung up in the church and another in the Court Hall.' But all have disappeared.

In the first half of the eighteenth century Kingston had a very distinguished pupil in Edward Gibbon, the historian, under the headmastership of Dr. Woodeson, who had been a chorister and afterwards chaplain of Magdalen College, Oxford. He became headmaster of Kingston in 1732, and held the office for forty years. Besides Gibbon, seven at least of his pupils find places in the *Dictionary of National Biography*: Edward Lovibond, poet; George Steevens, Shakespearian commentator; Francis Maseres, mathematician and historian; George Keate, writer; George Hardinge, Welsh judge and author; Gilbert Wakefield, editor of classics and reformer in Church and State. Gibbon has given his own account of his school life in the *Autobiography*.

In my ninth year (January 1746) in a lucid interval of comparative health, my father adopted the convenient and customary mode of English education; and I was sent to Kingston-upon-Thames to a school of about seventy boys, which was kept by Dr. Woodeson and his assistants. Want of strength and activity disqualified me for the sports of the play-field, nor have I forgot how often in the year 1746 I was reviled and buffeted for the sins of my Tory ancestors. By the common methods of discipline, at the expence of many tears and some blood, I purchased the knowledge of the Latin syntax; and not long since I was possessed of the dirty volumes of Phaedrus and Cornelius Nepos, which I painfully construed and darkly understood. My studies were too frequently interrupted by sickness, and after a real or nominal residence at Kingston School of near two years I was finally recalled (December 1747).

The Corporation of Kingston conceived that their obligations to the school were met by paying a salary of £30 a year; which, while not riches, was not wholly inadequate even in

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the reign of George II., eked out by boarders' fees. But in 1800, during the mastership of the Rev. Thos. Wilson, which began 19 May 1797, they obtained the sanction of the Bishop of Winchester to new statutes, which restricted admission to the school to the sons of Freemen. The result is seen in the account given of the school in 1818.¹

The present master is the Rev. Thos. Wilson, whose salary is £30 per annum with a pretty good house and garden. He is bound by the will of the founder to teach the classics only, but it is said that he engaged on his appointment to teach reading and writing also. But very few persons send their sons, and at present it is stated that not more than 4 or 5 boys attend, so that the school is considered as of very little use to the town. None but the sons of Freemen are admissible.

In the account given by the Commissioners of Inquiry concerning Charities² in 1826, they say that the whole of the income of the property comprised in the patents was applied for the school 'as far back as can be traced.' This is a mistake, as, for instance, the first item of the George Inn was already in the town accounts of the sixteenth century treated as Corporation property. Besides, the eighty acres of land in Surbiton, comprised in the grant of 1564, which would then be of considerable and now of enormous value, nowhere appear in the rental given by the Commissioners. In 1826 the total income of the school was £93 13s. 4d., of which £20 13s. 9d. was derived from property sold on 'fee farm,' or fixed rents 200 years before. The master received only £30. There was no usher. There were no boarders. The school consisted only of fourteen scholars on the foundation, appointed by the governors, from among Freemen's children, for each of whom £1 a year was paid.³

Under the Municipal Corporations Act, 1835, the governorship of the school was transferred to Municipal Charity Trustees appointed by the Court of Chancery. In 1841 these trustees made statutes which fixed the age of superannuation at fifteen. The result of this degradation of the school may be seen in the very unfavourable report of Mr. D. R. Fearon, on his visit to the school in 1865, for

the Endowed Schools Inquiry Commission,⁴ when of 52 boys none could do a very elementary piece of Latin prose, or translate a passage of Émile Souvestre which they were reading; while Euclid was 'very bad.'

The master was nevertheless a Cambridge graduate, the Rev. William Rigg, who, however, to make a living, combined with the school the chaplaincy of the House of Correction and other clerical duty 'a few miles distant.' The second master, who received £80 a year and board, was also a Cambridge graduate.

In spite, however, of mismanagement, so great was the demand for some secondary education in Kingston, that the numbers had risen in 1867 to seventy. On 20 October 1874, Queen Victoria in Council gave the royal assent to a scheme made by the Endowed Schools Commissioners, the negotiations for which had been begun three and a half years before. This scheme created a Governing Body, consisting of the High Steward of Kingston (now the Earl of Rosebery), two representatives of the Town Council, two of the Surbiton Improvement Commissioners, two of the New Malden Local Board, with four Municipal Charity Trustees and two co-optatives. Under its management were placed the Grammar School, with some small local charities appropriated to education under a previous scheme, and Thomas Tiffin's Foundation. This was an Elementary School founded under the wills of two brothers, Thomas and John Tiffin, of 15 November 1638, and 17 November 1639. It was originally for four boys to be taught 'to write and cast accounts' and apprenticing them. The Corporation fortunately invested the money in seventeen acres of land in the West Field of Kingston, then an open field. In 1828, this land, with an addition made under an Inclosure Act, brought in only £39 a year; and twenty-two boys were taught at an expense of £14 a year, thirteen of whom were also clothed as blue coat boys at an expense of £22 10s.

The Endowed Schools Commissioners split the funds between the Grammar School and a lower school for boys and girls called Tiffin's Schools, and gave the bulk of the endowment for the latter, run at abnormally low fees.

The Grammar School under the scheme met, however, with considerable success. New class rooms and a new headmaster's house, with accommodation for twelve boarders were erected in 1877 on the opposite side of the road to the old chapel, which was itself restored

¹ Carlisle's *Endowed Grammar Schools*, ii. 577.

² C.C.R. xiv. 6 and 7.

³ Oddly enough, in spite of the explicit statement to this effect in the report of 1826, Mr D. R. Fearon, reporting to the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1867 (S.I.R. xi. 183) says that in 1826 the boys were taught 'free of charge.'

⁴ S.I.R. xi. 183.

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in 1886, largely by the assistance of the Surrey Archæological Society. The incubus of the restrictions of class and age being removed by the scheme, the numbers and status of the school rose rapidly under a new headmaster, the Rev. W. E. Inchbald, of Clare College, Cambridge, appointed in 1883. In 1895 there were 130 boys in the school. But in 1890 the income from endowment was trenced upon to provide handsome new buildings for the Tiffin Girls' School, the cost of which was charged, not on the Tiffin Schools only, but on the whole endowment.

The numbers were injuriously affected by the increased competition with Tiffin's School for boys, which had a larger income and larger grants from the Surrey County Council, and also by the fact that in 1897 King's College School removed from the Strand to a magnificent site on Wimbledon Common.

At one time the extinction of the old school was contemplated, but the Governors, headed by the Vicar, Mr. A. S. W. Young, Dr. Goodman, the present chairman, and the Rev. J. B. Mayor, came to the rescue. Having raised a subscription, to which they were the principal contributors, they have given Mr. Inchbald a *solatium* on his retirement after twenty-one years' service and provided new funds for the reinforcement of the depleted endowment.

The new headmaster, Mr. E. N. Marshall, was educated at Sedbergh School, and was an exhibitor of St. John's College, Cambridge, and then a Sixth Form Master at Loretto School near Edinburgh.

The school now bids fair to re-occupy the position it held in the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, as the Public School of Kingston and its neighbourhood.

GUILDFORD GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Guildford School is fortunate in having found its *vates sacer* as early as 20 July 1596. On that day George Austen (ancestor of the present Colonel Godwin-Austen of Shalford House) who had, as he tells us, for 26 years 'been thoroughly acquainted with the state of this Towne and Schole' as was his father before him for another 24 years,¹ thus bringing the story back to 1546, penned a preface to his history of the school. He dubbed his work 'A Monument for the Schole of Guldeford, beinge an Historicall discourse wherein the pryvileges, charters, donations

¹ John Austen was Town Clerk in 1546 and afterwards Mayor.

and rights of the same Schole are conteyned, the Fownder and benefactors thereof Recorded, the Litigious titles clered, doubts resolved, and other matters importinge the state thereof collected, by the studie, travell and charge of George Austen.'

On 20 December 1607 he solemnly gave three copies of this 'discourse,' finished up to date, one to the Corporation, another to the School, and a third to his family. The copy in the custody of the Corporation, still preserved, has been the source of all subsequent histories of the town and school.

Austen begins his account by saying, evidently with some surprise, that 'although this towne of Guldeforde be a very auncient Burrowe towne and a corporacion of very longe contynuanee even from the time of Henry III.

. . . yett doe I not finde that any Free Grammer Schole was ever maynetayned in the same untill in the beginnyng of the Reigne of Henry VIII. Though no trace of one might appear in the Town Records which Austen had before him, it is impossible to believe that there was not a Grammar School in connection with one of the ecclesiastical corporations of the town. In the chantry chapel which forms the northern apse at the East end of St. Mary's church by the castle, in the oldest part of the town, there was a chantry of St. John from the twelfth century at least. It is most probable that the chantry priest was also the schoolmaster of mediæval Guildford. However that may be, the present school was first placed in St. Mary's parish.

Its founder was one of the new class of educational benefactors, the successful London merchants, who had taken the place of successful churchmen as school founders, and placed the government of the schools in the hands of lay instead of ecclesiastical corporations.

Robert Bekyngham, citizen and grocer of London, made his will,² 3 November 1509, giving all his lands in Bromley, Kent, and Newington, Surrey, to his wife Elizabeth for life, and after her death he 'willed' that if the parishioners of St. Olave (Seynt Olaff), Southwark, in which he had directed his body to be buried, within 2 years after his death, 'purchase a corporacion of Our Lady Brotherhood kept within the said church,' then all the lands in Bromley and Newington were to remain to the brotherhood to find a perpetual priest to sing for his soul. But if they did not purchase the corporation, i.e. obtain a license in mortmain,

² Wills P.C.C. 21, Bennett.

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then I will that my said lands and tenements in Bromley and Newnton aforesaid be ordered after the good discrecion of the overseers of his will to make a Free Schole at the towne of Guldeford, or to be disposed in other goode works and deeds of charitie, as they shall think best to be done.

His wife was made executrix, and the overseers were headed by Thomas Polsted, whose name often occurs in the Guildford books, and was no doubt a Guildford man. The will was proved 13 November 1509. His wife died within a year.¹ What exactly happened as between St. Mary's Brotherhood in St. Olave's church and the school at Guildford does not appear. But probably Our Lady's Brotherhood, which, as will be seen, existed at the dissolution of brotherhoods and chantries in Edward VI.'s reign, took the Newington lands at all events. By a deed of 4 May 1512,² Polsted and others, the feoffees to the uses of Beckenham's will, conveyed the lands in Bromley to Sir George Manners, Kt., Robert Wintershull, esquire, and others,

to kepe and maynteyne a Free Gramer Schole in the said Towne of Guldeford, and that there should be a sufficient scholemaster there from thensforth to kepe the said schole, and freely to teach all children being in the same schole; the same Scholemaster to be named and appoynted and removed by the Maior of the said Towne for the tyme beinge and by fower of his most sadd and discrete bretheren, such as have been maiors of the same,

who were also to receive the rents of the property. Austen says that the lands in Bromley still remained to the use of the school, 'but what is become of the said lands in Newington, or when, howe, or by whome, and by what means the same were taken from the saide Schole, I think meet to be inquired of.' The school never had those lands. The feoffees had a discretion about the gift, and probably divided it, giving the lands in Newington for the benefit of St. Olave's and the lands in Bromley for Guildford School. The earliest Guildford corporation book now extant begins in 1514, and records the Gild Merchants at which the Mayor was elected, and the Law Day (*Curia Legalis*) held four times a year. At the Law Day on Monday after S. Hilary (13 January) 1518,

¹ Wills P.C.C. 32, Bennett. Her will, made 15 August was proved 7 November 1510.

² *Austen*, p. 34 of copy made in 1754 in the possession of the Governors of the Grammar School. The original has disappeared.

there is an entry that Thomas Atkinson 'entred and gathered the Scole howse rent' from Lady Day 1518, and 'so contynued 2 yeres' to Michaelmas 1519, and 'all thyngs rekend and alowyd to Thomas Atkynson for the scole howse' he 'hath payed 43*s.*, whyche he received in earnest of Thomas Tayler in bromeley.' In 1520 his successor, John Perkyne, paid a balance of 30*s.* 7*d.* unto 'Master Nycholas Elyott, for the menyng of the scoole howse.' Mr. Nicholas Elyott was probably the Schoolmaster, and if so the only one before the re-foundation of Edward VI., whose name is recorded.

After this the corporation used to appoint two of their number every year 'Schole masters for the Free Schole,' who accounted yearly to the Corporation for the rents.

In the rental of 1544³ there is a payment on account by Mr. Parishe and Mr. Martyn of 3*s.* 4*d.* for two planks for tables 'for ye scole' and 'to ye scolemaster for Mydsomer, Myghelmas and Crystmas, for his wages, after 30*s.* a quarter, £4 10*s.*' So his salary was £6 a year; not very magnificent, but rather above than below the average of the time.

The only complete account extant for the old foundation, and indeed for the School at all before 1810, is that for the year ended Lady Day 1545.

BROMLEY.

	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
In primis received from the inn in Bromley called the Hart (<i>le Hert</i>) and Le Litell house with a mede called the Hart mede	40 0
Item, the ferme ther wheryn Mounfeld now inhabiteth	43 0

GULFORD.

Item received for the corner house in Stoke Lane	20 0
Item for the Tonne ⁴	38 6
Item for the howse wherein Haltie dwel- lethe in	18 0
Item John Thomson howse	16 0
Total	£8 15 6

So that the Guildford property, as to the acquisition of which no evidence is forthcoming, was worth more than the Bromley lands, while there is no mention of any Newington property. We see how some of the Guildford property was acquired from an entry of 1520 when Robert Kateryché took 'a sertayn plott of grownd adioynyng

³ Austen did not mention these rentals, and his successors never seem to have looked for them.

⁴ The Tun Inn.

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unto the scole house,' undertaking to build a house on it by 1522 'as goode as Mowntery house,' to pay a pepper corn rent for his life, and 'after hys dysceace' to 'remayne to the town for evermore.'

In the account of the expenditure in 1544-5 is the item—

	£	s.	d.
Money payd to the Scholemaster the			
same yere	6	0	0

The school was not far from St. Mary's church. Austen cites a deed¹ of 3 September 1520, by which the corporation, the mayor and approved men granted to Robert Wintershull and others in trust for the school, a piece of land shaped like a coffin, 140 feet long, 129 feet broad North and East, where it abutted on the 'highway,' 60 feet broad in the middle, and only 28 feet broad at the south end, where it abutted on the castle ditch. This land he describes as 'formerly used for the Scholehouse and the habitation of the Scholemaster.'

This Guildford School held a high position in the annals of sport, furnishing as it does the first authentic mention in the mother tongue of the game of cricket as played there in the reign of King Edward VI. A trial took place in 1597 as to the inclosure of a piece of the town waste in the north town ditch, about an acre in extent, when evidence was given to the effect that for over fifty years it had been known as waste ground and that boys at the Free School of Guildford 'did runne and play there at Creckett and other Plaies,' and also that the same was used for the baiting of bears.²

An early distinguished scholar, when the old school was in St. Mary's, was John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, the son of George Parkhurst, of Guildford. According to Anthony Wood he was at Magdalen College School. But as he gave £20 to build the present Guildford School, and by his will³ gave all his books to its library, and Guildford has always claimed him as one of the five bishops who in one century issued from the school, it may safely be assumed that, if he did not spend all his school life at Guildford, he was certainly there in his early days. Born about 1512,⁴ he would have been at the school in its first decade.

Austen represents the passing of the Chantry Act in 1548 as the occasion for

¹ No longer forthcoming.

² See Article on Cricket, *V.C.H. Surrey*.

³ *Austen*, p. 50.

⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

the additional endowment procured for the school in the reign of Edward VI. The corporation, 'finding the Rt. Hon. William, Marquess of Northampton, the Lord Chamberlain, greatly to favour the said town, who was much resident at the King's manor house of Guildford within the park of Guildford, became humble suitors to him to effect the same, and he being kept in remembrance by Sir William More, now of Loseley, knight, then attending upon the said Lord Marquess, obtained of him letters of great favour' for 20 marks yearly out of two chantries charged upon the lands of the Archbishop of York in Battersea and Wandsworth, and £6 13s. 4d., out of the lands of the late chantry in Stoke D'Abernon, or 'D'Aborne,' as Austen always calls it.

Lord Northampton did not, however, become keeper of Guildford manor house till 1551, and the charter for the school was not obtained till by letters patent of 27 January 1553,

On the humble petition of the mayor and approved men of Guldeforde and many other our subjects of the whole country near,

it was granted that there should be a Grammar school

'to be called the Free Grammar School of King Edward the Sixth to endure for ever, for the education and instruction of boys and youths in grammar,' and that Grammar School 'to consist of a master or teacher and an usher or undermaster (uno magistro seu pedagogo et sub-magistro seu hipodidasculo)'

An annuity of £6 13s. 4d. charged on farms, called High Pollesden farm in Great Bookham and Champneys, in Stoke D'Abernon, part of the dissolved chantry of Stoke D'Abernon, and another of £13 6s. 8d. issuing out of the lands of the Archbishop of York in Battersea and Wandsworth (Batrechesey and Wandlesworth) were then granted. The appointment of the master and usher was given to the mayor and approved men, subject to the advice of William, Marquess of Northampton, keeper of the manor of Guildford and his successors in that office. Statutes were to be made by the mayor and approved men with the advice of the Bishop of Winchester for the time being. The patent is much shorter than usual, as the mayor and approved men, being already a corporation, no incorporation and no license in mortmain were considered necessary.

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Apparently before the new charter was obtained the school had been moved from its old place in the Castle ditch, for on the front of the school its date is given as 1550,¹ and on 9 February 1551,² the 'late schole house' was let to Richard Monger as tenant at will. It was not, however, till 20 July 1555 that Thomas Smallpiece granted to the corporation the 'garden plott in the parish of Holy Trinity.' It is described as 'betwene the message³ sometye John Parrish, inholder, on the est parte, and a message of Smallpiece on the west, and a garden late of Thomas Combes,' bought by the corporation 'on the south.'⁴ So Austen⁴ must be mistaken in saying that it was only in 1557 the town began 'to builde the large Rome nowe used for the Schole house with the great chamber and garrett over them.'

In 1569 John Austen raised by subscription £106 13s. 4d., and began 'the Schoolmaster's Lodging' on the west or lower side of the school; but it was not finished till in 1586 George Austen raised a further subscription reinforced by fines for offences levied by county justices, and finished it. Meanwhile the schoolmaster lived in the wing on the east side of the school, meant for the usher's lodging, built by William Hamond, mayor of Guildford, in 1571, and connected by a 'gallery' with the Schoolmaster's Lodging. The south side of the 'gallery' was rebuilt in 1586 by George Austen for the Library to hold the 'bookes of divinitie,' chiefly theological, given, as we have seen, by John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich. These books, chained to the book-case after the fashion of the day, may still be seen in the Library.

A curious episode prevented the earlier completion of the master's lodgings. In 1557, during the Roman Catholic reaction under Philip and Mary, Southwell Minster

¹ Mr. Stevens assumed (*Surrey Arch. Soc.* x. ix.) that the date was a mistake. But the lease of 1551 shows that it is correct. Unless, indeed, the late school house was that used before Beckingham's foundation; which is not likely.

² Court Book in the 'Great Coffer' of the Town.

³ These neighbouring houses, known as Highgate and Somerset House, are still standing, though their fronts are now of eighteenth century work. As late as 1592 the corporation had to pay five marks, to buy off a claim of John Smallpiece, a descendant of the grantor, notwithstanding a fine duly levied.

⁴ According to *Austen*, p. 37. But from the entry given above out of the town accounts either he must be mistaken or the late school house must be that of the school before Beckingham's foundation.

was restored, and Heath, Archbishop of York, who was also Lord Chancellor, claimed the rent of £13 6s. 8d., part of the endowment granted to the school by Edward VI.'s charter, as belonging to 'the collegioners,' as Austen calls them, of the Minster, and withheld payment of it. He even called on Guildford to surrender their charter, saying that 'the school was but a means to breed empty heads to deceive the county.' Austen, however, argued that the chantry had not been a part of the college of Southwell Minster, but a corporation of itself. This was so. Austen gives at full length the foundation Ordinance made in 1482 by Robert Booth, Dean of York, the brother, and one of the executors of Lawrence Booth, Archbishop of York, 1476-80. He had directed the foundation of a chantry for two priests in a chapel of John the Baptist, at the south-west corner of the Minster, which he had begun but not finished in his lifetime. The license in mortmain was in 1481, and the Ordinance, the date of which is not given, is probably of the same year. It provided for two chaplains of Our Lady, Saint William and Saint Cuthbert, at the altar of St. Cuthbert, dividing equally the rent charge of £13 6s. 8d., and praying for the souls of Lawrence Booth and others. It is a curious coincidence that one of the two chantries was used as an endowment of Southwell Grammar School. In 1484⁵ William Barthorp, the first incumbent of the chantry, complained that he got nothing from the Grammar School master, though he did the work for him. On Barthorp's⁶ death the senior vicar choral claimed to be presented to the chantry according to a provision to that effect in the foundation deed, but the chapter asked him to give up his claim as, for the common good, they wanted to present some one 'who would be fit to teach the Grammar School.' So William Babyngton was appointed and sworn to teach the school. He was still doing so when he surrendered the chantry to Henry VIII. on 17 August 1540,⁷ at the same time that the Minster was surrendered. In the collusive suit in the Exchequer by which Southwell Minster was re-established under Mary, all the property of the Minster was set out; but no mention was made of this chantry, it not being a part of the college but a separate corporation. Heath, therefore, Austen

⁵ *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster* by A. F. Leach. Camden Soc. 1891, p. 53.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 177.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 185. The surrenders are printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

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alleges, had the roll of proceedings¹ falsified by causing forged interlineations to be made with reference to this rent, and thereupon refused to pay it to Guildford School. Heath was deposed in 1559. In 1562 the corporation of Guildford promoted and obtained a Private Act² for restoration of the payment. Austen unkindly points out that while the Act recites that the then Archbishop of York, Dr. Young, wished 'by all means the furtherance of the Schole,' he did, in fact, do all that lay in his power to prevent the restoration of the payment, and the Act was only passed on the Bishop of Winchester and Mr. William More, of Loseley, undertaking that he should not be charged with the arrears of the payment; and he was exempted by the Act accordingly.

Since that time the school has remained in undisturbed possession of its £13 6s. 8d. It was a pity that the amount of energy and the £40 of money expended by John Austen in recovery of this rent charge was not expended in buying land. The sum of £13 6s. 8d., which was an adequate endowment for a headmaster in 1481, and even in 1548, has long shrunk to the dimensions of a miserable pittance. But the whole endowment of Guildford School has been miserably mismanaged. It was not only peculiarly unfortunate in having rent charges on land instead of actual lands bestowed on it,³ but the lands it had were granted away on rent charges. Thus on 20 March 1598,⁴ the lands at Bromley, then let for £11 a year, nearly treble the rent paid in 1545, were granted away in 'fee farm for ever' at the fixed rent of £12 a year. Thus for an increase of £1 a year the school was deprived of what would now produce thousands a year. So, too, the Tun Inn in Guildford was sold in 1679 on a fixed rent charge. The same process was repeated with Hamond's endowment.

William Hamond had been intending to give the school a house and 40 acres of land in East Horsley, but bestowed them instead on his step-daughter Rose on her marriage

¹ K. R. Mem. Roll, 339. Easter, 4 & 5 Ph. and M. Communia Rot. xx. In the first place three lines had been erased and the account of the chantry property written in. In four other places the words referring to the chantry property have been interlined. There is no doubt that Austen's accusation is well founded. The Archbishop-Chancellor deliberately falsified the record.

² The Act is set out in an *Inspecimus* of 14 May 1563. *Austen*, p. 22.

³ Will, 27 May 1586. *Austen*, p. 60.

⁴ *Austen*, p. 121.

with Lawrence Stoughton, of Stoughton, procuring in exchange from the Stoughton family a grant⁵ in 1574 of the patronage of the rectory of Stoke, now practically part of Guildford, that they might present the schoolmaster to it, whenever it fell vacant 'for the incorraginge of lerned men to take upon them the saide place of scholemastershipp of the said schole.' Several of the masters enjoyed the living. But during the Civil War the Corporation and the then schoolmaster, John Grayle, sold the advowson to the then representative of the Stoughton family.⁶ The consideration was a rent charge of £6 13s. 4d. on Claygate manor, and the grant of some houses and lands in Guildford worth £5 a year. This would have been much more valuable than the rectory, which was after all only in the nature of a retiring pension. But hardly had the Corporation got these lands than they granted them away on a fee farm rent of £10 a year to Thomas Canfield, on 30 August 1658.

In 1596⁷ the rental of the school was £42 6s., so that Austen felt called on to recommend the increase of the master's pay from £20 to £24, and of the usher's from £10 to £13 4s. 8d., leaving £4 19s. 4d., which he considered an ample balance to meet the repairs. In 1671 this had grown by the new endowments to £72 18s. 3d., a very handsome endowment for the time. But the effect of the disastrous method adopted of dealing with the property was that in 1818 the rental had only risen to £87. The Battersea rent was now paid by Sir Walter St. John, who had acquired the lands of the archbishops of York there.

It seems to have been doubted whether the school went on during the interval between the charter of Edward VI. and the completion of the master's lodgings. But the name of the master in 1555, Thomas Barker, has been preserved. A letter written 16 April 1565, by Thomas Parrish or Parvyshc, student of Christ Church, Oxford, to William More, afterwards Sir William More, of Loseley, entreats him to 'encourage those good men of Guylforde . . . to make an ende of these scole which by your good help I doubtte not they have since worshipfullie begun.' It looks as if the school were not going on, but as he

⁵ The grant was invalid, as the arrangement was made with the life tenant of the Stoughton estates, but was confirmed by Lawrence Stoughton in 1598.

⁶ The transaction was effected by will of Nicholas Stoughton, confirmed by his cousin and heir 19 February 1655. *Austen*, p. 201.

⁷ *Ibid.* 73.

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adds, 'I marvell and am verie sorrie that there came no more good schollars thence to Oxford,' it would seem to be clear that some came. He goes on to say that if they want a schoolmaster 'here (i.e. Ch. Ch.) there be manie well learned in Latin, Greek and Hebrewe with whom wolde to God I might travell for Guildforde. But were the Schole once finished and honeyste stipende with reasonable conditions appointed for Master and Usher yowe shold have shortlie I warrantte yowe suche sueters, as for all learninge never came there yet.'

The school was very nearly getting a very magnificent endowment indeed. William Hamond, 'beinge a man blessed with great revenues, and no issue, nor like to have, had a full determination to founde and erect a colledge at and nere the said schole, and to endow it' with £500 a year in lands. He engaged Sir William Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay's interest, and with John Austen's assistance the necessary license in mortmain was ready drawn.¹ The Colledge was to consist of a President, three Preachers of the Gospel, two 'ministers,' twenty scholars, and six 'queristers' and singing men 'for instruction and teaching of the sciences of the theology, philosophy and music and other good arts,' and to be called 'The Colledge of the Holy Trinity in Guildford.' But after Austen's death, being weak and ill, 'and ever much inclyninge to the Romishe religion, was by some favouring that sect discouraged and drawne back to bestow his revenues and wealth some other way.' So he by 'the persuasion of one, Anthony Garnett, a massinge preest and sometyme fellow of Balliol Colledge, and then stewarde to the Lord Mountague,' gave it to Balliol. A letter is extant from Lord Mountague to More of Loseley, 7 July 1573,² asking him to find out from Hamond whether he has changed that part of his will by which he designs to provide for a schoolmaster and usher, he having been informed that he did. Hamond did indeed give £1,400 to Balliol by his will, 4 March 1574, if a debt of £1,100 due by John Apsley of Pulborough was paid. The school only got by the will a confirmation of the presentation to Stoke Rectory as already mentioned.

Though it missed becoming a college, the school seems to have had good masters and done good work. A distinguished master was Thomas Jarbarde or Jerbard, and who had on 26 July 1550,³ been admitted to the canonry and prebend of Highleigh in Chichester Cath-

dral, to which the headmastership of Chichester Cathedral Grammar School, commonly called the Prebendal School, was attached. As this preferment was frequently held by persons who had been headmasters of Winchester, Guildford School must have been of high status to draw Jarbarde away from his Chichester canonry and mastership. He died 26 August 1572, and was buried in Trinity Church, Guildford. An even more distinguished master was Roger Good or Goad, a scholar of Eton and of King's, who is said⁴ to have been master here, when made Provost of King's 28 February 1569-70. There is, however, some mystery about the dates, as they overlap with Jarbarde's mastership. It looks as if Goad was usher only, and not headmaster of Guildford. The earliest distinguished pupil of the school on its present site was Henry Cotton, who was at the school under Jarbarde before 1566, when he matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford. He became one of Queen Elizabeth's chaplains, and in 1596 tried,⁵ by the Queen's influence, to get elected Warden of Winchester, in spite of being ineligible by the statutes. Failing in this through the stout resistance of the Fellows, he was consoled with the bishopric of Salisbury in 1598. William Cotton, almost his contemporary at Guildford School, and probably a cousin who went to Queens' College, Cambridge, became Bishop of Exeter in 1598.

Francis Taylor's rule, 1570 (?) to 1578, was signalized by the presence of the six sons of Maurice Abbot, clothmaker or sheerman of the town. The eldest, Robert, matriculated at Balliol, Oxford, in 1577, aged 17, and in 1615 succeeded Cotton as Bishop of Salisbury. George, another son, also went to Balliol four years later than his brother. In 1581 he became Master of University Colledge, then Dean of Winchester, and after holding the bishoprics of Lichfield and London for a year each, became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1611. To him Guildford owes its finest building, the Trinity Hospital, or Abbot's Hospital. Yet another brother was Sir Maurice Abbot, M.P. for London, Lord Mayor, and one of the earliest directors of the East India Company.

The school was vacant in 1578 when Sir Francis Walsingham wrote to the Mayor recommending as master John Sandford or Sampford, who was thereupon appointed. The letter is in the town archives.

A glimpse of the inner life of the school, or at least of what it was intended to be,

¹ *Austen*, 42, 45.

² Loseley MSS. x. 48.

³ Chichester Epis. Reg. Day, f. 59.

⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁵ *V.C.H. Hants*, ii. 319.

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may be gained from the statutes dated 16 September 1608. They were, in fact, earlier, having been 'many yerres sithens drawn,' by George Austen, and 'sett downe in wrytinge with consent of the corpora-tion by the advice and helpe of sundry lerned men of both the Universities,' but they were delayed till he could find a fit time to get the approval of the Bishop of Win-chester. At last, being burgess for the town in the Parliament held in 1607, he gave them to the Bishop, Thomas Bilson. After 'con-ference hadd with the scholmaster of the colledge of Winchester,' Nicholas Love, Bilson, who had himself been Headmaster, of Winchester, approved them 16 September 1608. Austen's statutes are in the main an adaptation of Colet's statutes for St. Paul's school. Thus the provisions as to the master and usher, who, as at Winchester and Eton—which differed in this respect from the ordinary chantry school where the master had a free-hold—were told that they 'had noe place of perpetuity, but were removeable,' while the provisions for the case of 'sickness curable or incurable' are almost verbatim from St. Paul's statutes.

The school hours were 6.30—11 a.m. from 1 March to 1 September, and 7.30—11 a.m. from 1 September to March 1, and 1—5 p.m. throughout the year. But the master had not to be in school till half an hour later in the morning. At 8.45 the usher had a quarter of an hour off, 'and on his return the master may in the like sort, and for the like space withdrawe himself out of the sayd schole.' The unhappy boys seem to have been allowed no intervals.

Austen specially lays down that as the income of the school had increased, the masters' stipends were to be raised from £20 and £10 to £24 and £13 6s. 8d., but to abate again if the income fell. The school was a Free Grammar School, so there were no tuition fees; but town boys paid 6d. entrance fee, and 'if of the country, or a stranger,' 1s. entrance fee, and 8d. a year, viz. 1d. a quarter for 'brooms and rods,' and 4d. at Michaelmas for wax candles. Colet specially provided at St. Paul's for 'wax candles at the cost of their friends.'

There were not to be play-days above one a week, and they were to be on Tuesdays or Thursdays, and then only from 1 to 5 p.m. Saturday afternoon school ended at 4, and was devoted to learning the catechism (not, of course, our catechism, but probably that of Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's) in Latin or English, from 1 to 3, and from 3 to 4 the boys 'learn and practice Wrytinge for the mendinge

of there hands.' On 'half-hollydays' or 'Saints eves' 'they were to declayme briefly in gram-maticall or rhetorical questions.' The very useful practice of declamation and disputa-tion or argumentative speech-making still survived. At Winchester all the boys had to talk Latin; at Guildford the 'fower chief formes, shall in all their speeches within the schole use the latyn tongue.' 'Sabbath days and other hollidays,' were not wholly days of rest, as the boys had to go to church 'and take notes of the sermon.' The vacations were about a month in the year: at Christ-mas, St. Thomas' Day (21 December) to Monday after Twelfth day; Shrove Monday afternoon and Shrove Tuesday; Thursday before Easter to Monday after Low Sunday; and Thursday before Whitsuntide till the morrow after Trinity Sunday.

There was a yearly examination 'against the Great Law Day after Easter,' when 'some principall schollar was to make some breif oration.' The examination was to be from 8 to 11 a.m., and in the afternoon the two examiners 'were to declare their judg-ments to the Mayor and approved men,' and the 'schollers to have intermission from their studies all that day after following.'

It was specially provided that the whole number of boys was not to exceed 100, 'least peradventure the masters should be oppressed with multitude.'

It is rather remarkable, in view of the current though absolutely groundless notions entertained of the Parliamentarians being against schools, to find that the longest tenure of office that any headmaster at Guildford, or perhaps anywhere else, ever enjoyed was that of John Graile. He held office from 1645, when the Civil War was at its height, to his death at the age of 88, on 4 January 1697-8,¹ nearly 52 years. During his mastership the school received an endowment which in after years proved its salvation, in the shape of 10 acres of land in Stoke by Guildford, given by the will of Joseph Nettle, 27 Novem-ber 1671, for a leaving exhibition. It was to be for the maintenance of a scholar at Oxford or Cambridge 'who should have been taught and fitted for the University in the Free Grammar School of Guildford, and who should have read and learnt some Greek author, and be well instructed and knowing in the Latin tongue.' The further qualifica-tion was unfortunately added that the scholar was 'to be the son of a freeman of and within the liberty of the town of Guild-

¹ Inscription in old Trinity Church. *Russell's History of Guildford*, p. 132.

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ford.' Fortunately the endowment was not entrusted to the Corporation. So it was not converted into a rent charge, but retained in specie till about 6 acres of it were sold in 1867 for £2,700.

Arthur Onslow, speaker for 33 years, 1725-61, whose mighty monument is in Trinity Church, was one of Graile's pupils.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, in the hands of John Pearsall, or Pershall, appointed in 1757, the school fell on evil days. On 13 February 1765, the Corporation minutes of a 'Guild-merchant' held that day show 'that there is not one scholar taught in the said school, nor has been nearly a twelvemonth past, so that the places of master and usher are reduced to sinecures . . . owing to the intolerable negligence and misbehaviour of the master.' The usher, David Morgan, was not proceeded against, but the payment of the master's salary was 'suspended till further orders.' This was a weak course to adopt. If the Governors had removed Pearsall under the statutes, they would probably have succeeded, but the withholding of salary could not be justified, and in legal proceedings Pearsall was successful.¹ His negligence may no doubt be attributed to his being a pluralist, holding also the living of Warehorne, in Kent, and claiming the baronetcy of Peshall. In 1769 he was succeeded by Samuel Cole, who, on 24 November 1777, received a present of £100 from the Corporation 'for his diligence, care and industry in raising the' school 'to upwards of 60 scholars, and at his own expense hitherto for the space of eight years last past, providing proper ushers and assistants.' £20 a year was also to be paid for the future 'during pleasure.' So that he enjoyed the magnificent salary of £44 a year, out of which to pay assistant masters. He eked out his salary by being rector of Merrow. In 1804 he was succeeded by his son William Hodgson Cole, who in 1819² was vicar of Wonersh. A natural consequence of the inadequacy of the endowment was that the number of free boys had been reduced to ten, and the headmaster had to depend on boarders for his livelihood. W. H. Cole had between 30 and 40. On 1 July 1819, the Corporation further reduced the free boys to six on the appointment of the Rev. John Stedman, who combined the mastership with the curacy of Trinity Church. In 1822 Henry Ayling was appointed, and he was rector of Trinity as well. In 1835 new statutes were made,

which provided that after Ayling's time the free boys should be raised to ten. The entrance fees were slightly raised, to 5s. for the town; 10s. for outsiders; and 3s. a year being 9d. a quarter for brooms and rods; and 1s. for wax candles; while the school hours, which were to be seven, were left to the headmaster to settle, as also 'two vacations of reasonable time.' The stipends had, it is stated, been advanced for some time to £42 13s. 4d. for the master, and £20 for the usher. With such stipends, and no fees imposed on day-boys, which would have been contrary to the charter, the school could only be carried on as a boarding school. The free boys were not allowed to mix with the boarders in playtime, for the grounds belonged to the master and usher, and the master combined both offices, and if he chose to let the boarders enjoy the play-grounds, that was a privilege which he was not bound to concede to those who paid nothing for it.

As a boarding school the school was at its zenith in the days of Henry Gordon Merri-man, D.D., a scholar of Winchester, 1839, then scholar and fellow of New College. After being for two years an assistant master at Winchester College and then tutor of New College in 1850, he became headmaster of Bridgenorth Grammar School in 1851, and in 1859 became headmaster of Guildford. In 1867, when the school was visited by Mr. H. A. Giffard, as assistant commissioner for the Endowed Schools Enquiry Commission,³ there were 114 boys in the school, of whom only 19 were day-boys, including 10 free boys or foundationers. It was stated by Mr. Giffard to have been an exclusively 'classical' school, Latin and Greek being thoroughly well taught, while mathematics were also good. 'English history is by no means neglected.' The upper boys had 'a facility in English composition amounting in one or two cases to excellence.' This is a somewhat exceptional feature for that time. French was weak and natural science 'almost entirely neglected.' From an account given by Mr. Arthur Cardew, a Senior Examiner in the Board of Education, it would appear that the last statements must be taken relatively. He says that French was rather a strong point. The school was largely used as a preparatory school for Winchester, and he himself was sent there for that purpose. When he went to Winchester he found himself decidedly better prepared in French than his contemporaries from other schools. While natural science was not taught in school,

¹ *Surrey Arch. Soc.* ix. 32 b, x. 120.

² Carlisle's *Endowed Schools*, ii. 572.

³ *Schools Inquiry Commission Report*, ii. 171.

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botany and natural history were cultivated out of school. Long country walks were encouraged. In those days the country came up almost to the doors of the school, and wood and down were open in some of the most beautiful rural scenery in England. The boarders had overflowed into the houses on both sides of the school, and Allen House opposite, which had large grounds, was also in their possession. The school, in fact, was a very good school preparatory for the public schools, and was for those who stayed later a public school itself, on a somewhat less expensive scale than the great public schools.

After Dr. Merriman retired to a college living in 1876, Mr. C. H. Jeaffreson was appointed headmaster, the first lay headmaster for several centuries. As he had not a good boarding connection the numbers rapidly went down, and in January 1879 he removed to Battersea Grammar School, taking the few remaining boarders with him, and leaving in the school only twelve 'free scholars' and four other day-boys. When the Charity Commissioners were invoked, and Mr. D. R. Fearon visited the school in May 1879, he found one boy, beside the free boys, under a temporary master.

The Commissioners proceeded to try and resuscitate the school by a new scheme, consolidating with the Grammar School the Nettle Exhibition and the lower grade school, started in 1855 under a scheme of the Court of Chancery out of the surplus funds of Abbot's Hospital. They also sought aid from the rich Poyle Charity.

The school, through the neglect of the day-boys, had become thoroughly unpopular, and so the people of Guildford would do nothing to help it. After nearly ten years the Commissioners at length made a scheme, which was approved by Queen Victoria in Council on 11 November 1885. By this scheme the Nettle Exhibition endowment was joined to that of the Grammar School, under a fairly representative body, consisting of the High Steward, Mayor and Chairman of the School Board of Guildford, a representative of the Bishop of Winchester, two representatives of the Guildford Town Council, and two of the Municipal Charity Trustees, with five co-optatives. To them in 1900 were added two representatives of the Surrey County Council.

The Rev. Arthur Sutton Valpy, M.A., Rector of Holy Trinity, was appointed chairman, and Mr. F. F. Smallpiece vice-chairman. The tuition fees were fixed at £12 a year, for boys over 13 years.

Under the scheme the accumulations of

the exhibition endowment were utilized to add the new class rooms and science rooms.

Through the liberality of many residents in the town and neighbourhood—notably that of Mr. Thomas Wilde Powell, of Piccards Rough—a considerable sum was collected for the thorough repair of the buildings, and for the conversion of the many small, badly lighted and ill-ventilated rooms into the excellent new schoolroom and class rooms which are now a striking feature of the school. These alterations were carried out without affecting the external appearance of the school buildings, and were completed in 1890.

Meanwhile the Board of Governors had appointed in 1889 the present headmaster, Mr. J. C. Honeybourne, M.A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The school, after being closed for about twelve months, was re-opened in September 1889, in a hall hired for the purpose. A year afterwards the scholars were again occupying the school premises. The steady increase of scholars, whose numbers recently exceeded 120, and the requirements of the modern system of education necessitated increased accommodation. The large laboratory built in the school close, and the Valpy and Powell class rooms (1897), named after the gentlemen who gave the funds required for their erection, were added to the original buildings. Assisted by the County Council, and with help from the endowment, other improvements have been made, thus forming accommodation adequate for the present number of pupils and the varied work of the curriculum.

Nettle's Exhibitions are awarded annually, but are tenable, under the new scheme, at any place of higher education approved by the governors, and the old Free Scholars are now represented by ten King's Scholars, who are elected on the result of an open competitive examination.

The school is inspected every three years by the Board of Education, and the latest report (May 1904) states that 'the school is in a high state of efficiency.'

SOUTHWARK SCHOOLS.

We pass now to Metropolitan Surrey; that part of the ancient county of Surrey now formally included in the modern county of London, and which was always suburban and consisted of dependencies of London. The earliest of these suburbs to assume an urban form was, as its name implies, in the beginning only an out-work of the great city, across the river, the borough of Southwark. In it

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we naturally look for the earliest school. But we find no evidence of one before the days of Queen Elizabeth, when there existed two schools, which have now been united, St. Saviour's and St. Olave's Grammar Schools.

The absence of evidence as to what there was in the way of a school before, has been supplied by a bad guess started by the great Elizabethan antiquary, Stow, in his Survey of London. Fitzstephen, cleric and judge, in the famous *Description of London*, which formed a prelude to his life of St. Thomas of Canterbury,¹ written about 1170, tells how 'in London three principal churches of the city have famous schools of privilege and ancient pre-eminence (*dignitate*), though sometimes through personal favour to some one noted for his learning (*notati secundum philosophiam*) more schools are allowed,' and describes how on feast days the boys of those three schools met and held disputations and contests in grammar, in verse and in Latin epigrams. The three schools were, as shown by many other documents, St. Paul's School (the Grammar School of the cathedral school of St. Paul, which was granted to and incorporated by Colet in the present St. Paul's School), St. Martin's-le-Grand, the school of the ancient collegiate church of that name, and St. Mary-le-Bow, which was the 'peculiar' of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the seat of the principal ecclesiastical court of England; the Court of the Arches or the Bow, and took its name from the church in which it sat. By Stow's time the ancient glory of the two latter schools had been forgotten. So he, casting about to identify the three schools of Becket's day put rightly St. Paul's for the first, but for the second, St. Peter's at Westminster,² while the third he says

seemeth to have been in the monastery of St. Saviour at Bermondsey in Southwark. For other priories as of St. John by Smithfield, St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, St. Mary Overies in Southwark, and that of the Holy Trinity in Aldgate were all of later foundation.

His history is here all wrong. Except St. John's, Clerkenwell, all these priories were in existence when Fitzstephen wrote, while Westminster School was not.³ His geography

¹ Materials for the History of Thomas à Becket. Rolls series, iii. 3.

² Liber custumarum.

³ Stow's evidence for the early existence of Westminster School was a passage in Ingulph's *Chronicle*, a fifteenth century forgery or romance. There seems not to have been any school at West-

minster as erroneous as his history. Neither Westminster nor Bermondsey was in London. Fitzstephen himself describes Westminster as a village two miles from London; while Bermondsey, being in another county, across the river and under a different ecclesiastical, and, therefore, scholastic jurisdiction, could still less be supposed to be in London. Moreover, it would be against all we know of monastic houses to suppose that they kept schools for anyone but their own novices. Schools were founded by private benefactors, some of whom were, no doubt, priors or abbots, and were placed under the mastership or governorship of monasteries, while as landlords or lords of manors or as being in possession of episcopal or archidiaconal jurisdiction, abbots and priors sometimes kept school boarding houses for the aristocracy. But that it was any part of the duty, in theory or in practice, of monasteries as such to keep schools, that is, public grammar schools for the use of the public, is a mere delusion. At Bermondsey Abbey there is no trace of any school. But the Annals of the Abbey record,⁴ how in 1213 Prior Richard founded on the Cellarer's property a house, built against his wall, called the Almonry or Hospital of the lay brethren and of boys, in honour of St. Thomas the Martyr. The Prior directed the Almoner to pay the Cellarer 10s. 4d. a year rent; and the said Almoner was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction like the monastery itself. Analogy with Canterbury⁵ and Winchester⁶ Westminster, and Durham, suggests that the boys in this Almonry, who acted as choristers and page-boys to the monks, were in a sense a school, that is that a grammar-master was provided for them; but the number of boys did not exceed thirteen, and it was in no sense a public grammar school, though possibly outsiders were by favour admitted to benefit by the tuition. But at Bermondsey there is no positive evidence of a school. A school in connexion with St. Mary Overies might be a more hopeful quest, since before it became a Priory it was a collegiate church, and, as happened at Christchurch Hants, St. Paul's Bedford, and at Derby, among other places, the school may have been kept alive when the church passed under the 'dead hand.' Or there may have been

minster, except the novices' school, which was not a real school until the reign of Edward III. when a Grammar School was started in the Almonry about 1354. See *Journal of Education*, January, 1905.

⁴ B. M. Harl. 231.

⁵ We saw above under Kingston how there was a school in the Canterbury Almonry.

⁶ *V.C.H. Hants*, ii. Ancient Schools.

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one in its famous appanage, which has outlived it, St. Thomas' Hospital. But no evidence is forthcoming of such a school, which would have been a direct ancestor of St. Saviour's School. So, too, there is no evidence forthcoming as to the educational doings of the gilds or brotherhoods and chantries, of which there were several¹ in St. Olave's Church.

ST. SAVIOUR'S SCHOOL

The present school, so far as it represents St. Saviour's, can trace a direct proprietary connexion with one pre-Reformation institution, the Gild or Brotherhood or Fraternity of the Assumption of our Lady in St. Margaret's Church, Southwark, the memory of which is now only preserved in the place-name of St. Margaret's Hill. This gild was founded, or at least incorporated under letters patent of Henry VI., 9 May 1449.² In 1536 the churchwardens of St. Margaret's were incorporated³ by Act of Parliament. In 1540⁴ another Act of Parliament recited these incorporations, stated that the late monastery of S. Mary Overey 'upon certeyne good considerations is nowe dissolved, and the parishe church of St. Margaret prostrate and converted to other use,' and that the parishioners of St. Margaret's and of St. Mary Magdalen Overey now use the Priory church as a parish church. So 'forasmuche as the said church of Sainte Mary Overey is a very greate church and very costely to be maynteyned with reparacions,' the two parishes were united, and four or six churchwardens, to be elected by the parishioners, were incorporated as 'Wardeyns of the parishe church of Saincte Savoyur in Southwarke, in the county of Surrey,' as St. Mary Overey was thenceforth to be called, and the property of the Gild of the Assumption and of the Churchwardens of St. Margaret's was vested in them.

The accounts of the churchwardens of St. Margaret's for 1520-1, 1525-6, 1528-9, 1530-1, 1534-5, and 1539-40 are extant. Part of an account of the 'Maisters' of Our Lady Brotherhood for 1527, and an account of the 'Petty Maisters of the Fraternyte of our Lady' for 1533-4 are also

¹ See supra, will of founder of Guildford Grammar School.

² Recited in Inspecimus of Act of Parliament of 1540 incorporating Churchwardens of St. Saviour's, preserved in the vestry of St. Saviour's.

³ Ibid., and Cal. Sta. Pa. 28 H. VIII. c. 31.

⁴ Ibid. and cf. Cal. Sta. Pa. Dom. 31 Henry VIII. No. 498, iii. c. 64 (o. n. 49).

extant,⁵ but neither contains any school payments,⁶ unless 'Sir Rychard our Lady preste who took for ys styptent £7 6s. 8d. a year' was also a schoolmaster. The churchwardens' accounts for 1539-40 show very large sums received in subscriptions amounting to over £45 (£900 at least of our money), of which 'of my lord bysshope of Winchester,' Stephen Gardiner, £24 13s. 4d., but whether this was collected or given by him is not clear. This was for extensive works at the church, apparently building a Rood Loft. Unfortunately there are no accounts or records of the churchwardens' proceedings between 1540 and 1557, except one quarter's accounts for Midsummer 1552. This contains payments for Bottrell the preacher, £3 6s. 8d.; Sir Doughty, the curate, 40s.; Sir Inglysbeye, 20s.; Sir Thomas, 13s. 4d. It seems likely that the last two may have been schoolmaster and usher. It appears in some loose records⁷ that on 22 May 1540 the bishop and Richard Longe of the King's household entered into a bond for 400 marks to be paid by the parishioners for buying the church of St. Mary Overey, and the final instalment of this sum, £266 13s. 4d., was duly paid by the churchwardens in 1544. On 30 January 1543 the churchwardens obtained a lease of the rectory of St. Saviour's for 21 years at £47 5s. 4d. a year, the net value of the two rectories of St. Margaret's and St. Mary Magdalen.⁸

Almost immediately after Elizabeth's accession they sold a quantity of old plate 'for the purchase of the new lease of our benefyce,' which new lease had been granted two days before, 6 June 1559,⁹ on the surrender of the unexpired residue of the old lease. The surrender was 'for this, that henceforth a grammar school for the teaching erudicione) of boys of the said parish should be built by the churchwardens, and be adorned (decoretur) with a learned schoolmaster (magistro erudito)

⁵ St. Saviour's Vestry. Lady Day, 11-12 Henry VIII. etc. They contain some interesting items such as payments for pew-money, for watching the Sepulchre at Easter, for dressing of torches for Corpus Christi day, for decorating the church with boughs and birch at Midsummer, brooms at Easter, holly and ivy at Christmas; for procession to St. Mary Overey's on St. Mary's Day, called 'Overyng,' etc., but no school payments.

⁶ The rental of the Brotherhood amounted to the considerable sum of £24 14s. 8d., with £2 9s. more from voluntary contributions and 9s. 10d. for 'hyer of our lady taperis' for burials apparently.

⁷ De libro recognitionum, Henry VIII. f. 191.

⁸ Vestry Book, 1559, 8 June.

⁹ Copy lease among churchwardens' records. Pat. 1 Eliz. pt. iii.

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for the teaching and instruction of the boys aforesaid.' The lease was for 60 years, from Lady Day, 1559, at the old rent of £47 5s. 4d. It contained a covenant that 'the aforesaid present Wardens and their successors will within the term of two years after the date of these letters patent at their costs and charges erect and build a fit and convenient house for a Grammar School there to be held within the parish of St. Saviour's aforesaid for the teaching of boys there, and will convert the same house when so erected and built to the use of a school, and will within the said term of two years adorn the same house or school with a learned and discreet¹ man in the place of schoolmaster there, and will pay a convenient stipend or salary to the same schoolmaster and his successors for the time being during the said term of 60 years.' They were also to pay two curates and bear all other burdens anciently issuing out of the same rectory.² There was a further covenant to keep the school house in repair.

The parish did not wait for the building of a new school house under the terms of the lease, but at once, 31 August 1559,³ agreed that 'the schole house should be erectyd up in the church house, late in the paryshe of Seynte Margarets,' and that 'the old chappell⁴ behynd the chansell should be lett oughte toward the bennyfytt of the same schole.' On 14 September the vestments were sold for £14 6s. 8d., 'for the lease and reparacions,' and copper and brass vessels to the extent of another £15 14s. 8d.

On 21 April 1560 the Vestry appointed a 'commyssion for the ereccion of the school to knowe the good benevolens of the parysshe toward the erreccyon of the same,' and another to 'oversee the works of the scoole howse.' On 23 October another committee was directed to draw up 'Orders, rules and constitutions to be used in the contynuance of the Free Skoole.' We may fairly assume that the School was now established, if indeed it had not been at work since the previous

¹ Discreto. The contemporary translation of this word is 'sad.'

² Including the curate (Kewrate) at £13 6s. 8d., these payments came to £22 9s., including 'ledyn tokens at Easter' with other 'superstitious' payments which had ceased.

³ Vestry Minute Book I. This book begins 25 July 1557 with an entry recording how the Vestry 'dyde send John Sadlar the Clarke and Lawranse the sexton to prison to the Countar for ther dysobedyence in servinge of god within the quere.' Probably Mary's death saved their lives.

⁴ i.e. the Lady Chapel. It was let to a baker, and there were frequent complaints of the nuisance he created.

September. On 24 November four persons were elected the first 'Wardens for the scole' for a year to 'the morrow after Alsoule day,' i.e. 3 November. On 4 March 1561 a lease of the 'scole howse' was handed to the schoolwardens. On 16 May 1562 it was agreed to buy the 'scole howse' of Matthew Smythe for £42. £14 was given to the schoolwardens 'for the purchasyng of the lycens, and the great seale and other charges belonging thereto.'

The freehold, however, was not purchased. But on the last day of May 1562, Smyth, in consideration of £40 paid, granted the governors a lease for 'tenne hundred yeres, comonly called a thousand yeres' at the rent of 1s. 6d. a year if demanded, 'and that message or tenement now commonlie called or known by the name of the newe Scoole house . . . nigh unto the parish church theare late in the holdinge of one Mr. John Sackkile esquier, and wherein at this present Christopher Hockland, Scoolemaister of the Scoole aforesaid, nowe dwellith.' The rooms are then described, 'one hall with a chymney in the same, one faire parlor, one little buttrey, one kitchen with a chymney in the same, one greate warehouse, one little cole house, one great seller vawted and arched of stone, one large chamber or loft with a chymney in the same next over the said parlor and wherein the scollers of the same schoole doe usuallie sit and be taught.' There were three other chambers, 'and a greate withdraught house or privvy with a long entre leadinge to the same,' and a garden 18 yards long by 17 broad. 'Which said premises are part of the capitall greate message or tenement Inne, sometymes called Colbans Inne, and nowe more commonlie called and known by the name and sygne of the Grene Draggon, wherein the said Matthew Smith now dwellith.' A right of way through the yard of the inn to the kitchen was granted, in winter from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., and in summer from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., and at all times daily.

On 4 September next, however, Smythe wanted to be let off his bargain, offering £6 13s. 4d., 'towards the maintenance of the said scoole.' This was agreed to if he gave a bond for the money. But on 17 November, having failed to do this, the matter was referred to counsel, 'Mr. Kete, sergeant of the lawe.' There are several further entries, but it does not appear whether the purchase from Smith was carried out. It was probably not the old church house of St. Margaret's in which the school was placed in 1559, but some building near St. Saviour's church.

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On 4 June 1562 the patent or charter was sealed. It recited that William Emerson, John Sayer, Richard Ryall, Thomas Cure and eight others named 'and other discreet and more substantial inhabitants of the parish of St. Saviour's within the Borough of Southwark had lately designed, and erected a Grammar School in which the boys and youths, as well of the poor as the rich, inhabiting within the said parish, might be skilfully and successfully instructed and educated in grammar,' and had asked for a charter. The Queen, therefore, willed that there should be a Grammar School for the education, institution and instruction of the boys and youths of the parishioners and inhabitants, to be called 'the Free Grammar School of the parishioners of the parish of St. Saviour's in Southwark,' and incorporated a body of six 'Governors of the possessions, revenues, and goods' of the school. There are two remarkable things in this charter; one is that the school is, in terms, expressed to be for the inhabitants of the parish only, instead of being as usual for the parish and 'the whole countryside' or 'the neighbourhood'; the other is that the school was not called after the reigning sovereign, as was usual from the time of Henry VIII. to that of Charles II. inclusive, even when the Crown contributed not a penny of endowment, but was called simply the Grammar School of the parishioners. Such frank recognition of the facts is unusual. It is probably due to parochial jealousy of the neighbouring parish of St. Olave which was also at this time in process of founding a school, though, as will be seen, it was of a lower grade and actually of a later date.

The six 'Wardens for the same schoole appoynted elected and named in her grace's said letters pattend,' headed by John Olyve and Thomas Cure,¹ lost no time in making the statutes,² which the patent empowered them to make with the consent of the bishop, and which had, as we saw, been in course of preparation in October 1560.

They were headed 'Orders made for the Grammar schole late erected in Southwarke within the paryshe of Saynte Saviour's, other wise called Saynte Mary Overeys, A.D. 1562.' The month and day are not given.

¹ Among them Thomas Byll has been misread (Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, ii. 583, and elsewhere) into Biff.

² The original Statutes bound in two parchment leaves from a fourteenth century Norman-French romance, and signed 'Per me Robt. Winton,' are preserved in the muniment safe at St. Olave's School.

The Governors 'with other inhabitants, calyng to mynde that among many good and laudable workes acceptable before God, one of the chefeste and moste principalle is the erection of a grammer schole for the good education and bringynge up of youthe in the love, feare and knolydge of God and his most holy word, in good nourture towarde the worlde and theyr parents, and fynally in letters and understandinge of the tongues in which is hidden and layde up the treasure of all divine and human knolydge' had founded the school and now made the 'statuts.' These were in the main a transcript *mutatis mutandis* of Dean Colet's statutes of fifty years earlier for his 'new Scole of Poules.' They even took the title of 'Hyghe Master' for the 'chefe teacher,' and surmaster or 'submaster' for the 'Hussher,' with the requirement of being 'learned in good cleane latten lyterature, and also in greake, yf any suche may be gott,' forgetting that Greek which was the possession of the few in 1512 was known by every young University man in 1562. The 'wages,' however, were much less. Instead of Colet's mark a week, or £34 13s. 4d. a year with a 'livery' of a gown, the High Master (he is also called 'Hede Master') of St. Saviour's, had only £20 and the usher £10. There were also some notable differences. While Colet entertained 'children of all nacions and countres indifferently to the noubmer of 153 . . . as they be offeride' at an entrance fee of 4d., St. Saviour's was narrowly parochial. 'All children of the parysshe mete to be entred in to the grammer shal be taught fre, payinge for theyre fyrst entrance to the master 2s. 6d., and 8d. per annum, viz. 2d. a quarter towards bromes and rodds.' The number was limited to 100, 'lest peradventure the masters be oppressed with multitude,' but no 'hable' parishioner was to be refused. In the week after Michaelmas every boy had to bring a pound of wax candles. No one was to be admitted 'but he shall first be examinede by the master afore the Wardens whether he can rede englyshe and lattyn perfectly and wright his name.' The founders had no idea of their Grammar School being used as an elementary school.

A special provision, for which there was no counterpart in the 'Fre Scole of Poules,' and it is inserted, probably at a later date, in a different hand, is headed, 'For the better maynetening of ye Master and Usher, allowaunce of xl forayne schollers borne out of ye said parishes.' It provides 'for as much as the schole . . . as yet is not endowed with any sufficient revenues . . . it is . . . agreed

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that the Hiegh Master shall be allowed at his choise and owne appointment to take . . . fourtye schollers . . . for his owne advantage, conditionally that the said master shall fynde one hable and lerned usher to teach under hym at his owne charges.' The school was, therefore, to be 'free' only for parishioners.

Oddly enough the school hours were more severe than Colet's. His were 7 to 11 a.m. and 1 to 5 p.m. all the year round. At St. Saviour's, probably owing to the bishop adopting the hours of Winchester College (which was a boarding school), they were 6 to 11 a.m., and 1 to 6 p.m. in summer; and the same as at St. Paul's in the winter. But while Colet said sternly, 'I will they have no remedies,' and the master was to be fined 40s. if he gave one, at Southwark 'the master shall not geve lycence to the scholers to playe but ons in a weeke, which shalbe on Tuesdaye or Thursdaye.' This again seems derived from Winchester where Tuesdays and Thursdays are still 'remedies' in the summer, and half remedies in winter.

As to 'what shall be redde in the schole' a marked advance on Colet's statutes is to be noted. Colet talked a great deal about 'all Latin adulterate which ignorant blind fools brought into the world,' being put away and 'the very Roman tongue of Tully and Salust and Virgil and Terence' used. But his notion of clean Latin was authors not even of the silver age, but of much baser metal, whose very names are unknown to the 'scholars' of to-day. At Southwark the list is Cicero, Terence, Ceaser (*sic*), Valerius Maximus, Justinus, Erasmi Apothegmata, in prose: 'Virgill, Horatius, Juvenall, Persius, Ovide Metamorphoses' in verse, and, in a tag evidently borrowed from Colet, 'especially and above all suche Christian poets as Juvencus, Prudentius, Palengenius, 'with suche other.' For religious instruction *Erasmi ex Plutarcho*, 'Castalion upon the Scripture, Aesop and Calvin's (Calvin's) Catechisme in Latyn and Greake, the New Testament in Greake.' The boys were to go to church in 'the quire' on Sundays, holy days and other festival days 'with their psalme bookes and bookes of prayer,' and on Wednesdays and Fridays 'in the Lente' to be present 'at the Latynye or common suffrages,' while on holy days 'the best scholers shall versify upon a chapter of the Newe Testament.'

What follows represents St. Paul's custom. 'Once every yeaere, that is to saye in September, or after Bartholomew Eve,' the Wardens were to invite men of learning and worship 'to the Schole or Church in St. Mary Overeys

to examen the scholers, and 'when these apposers be, the scholars shall have libertye to playe twoe dayes together for the better cncoragynge them to theyre books.' The vacations were from St. Thomas day, 21 December, to the morrow of the Epiphany, 7 January; Shrove Monday and Tuesday; Wednesday before to the Monday week after Easter; and the week of Pentecost. But they had holiday tasks. 'The younger scholers shall exercyse their pen and learne to wright in the schole,' while 'The elder sorte shall at the same tyme make verses of the Nativitye of our Saviour Jesus Christe, of his passion and resurrection, and at Shroftye of the dyspraye of wine and drunkennes.'

On 9 July 1569 the Vestry agreed that 'Mr. Rowlye shall be amytted (*sic*) to be our scolemaster in the steade of Mr. Ockland, who hath the gyvyn us warnyng to departe.' Mr. Ockland is no doubt the Christopher Hockland mentioned in 1562 (p. 175), the first High Master.

Very soon after the charter endowments began to come in. On 27 January 1563 Margaret Bullen, widow, 'for the accomplishment of her husband's mynd and good wyll towards the maintenance of the Grammar Scoole' promised to pay 40s. before Christmas. But the chief endowment came, oddly enough, from the rival parish, and from a man hitherto regarded as the founder of St. Olave's School, Henry Leeke, a brewer, who by will¹ of 12 March 1460 gave out of the rents of tenements which he held in the precinct of St. Martin's-le-Grand from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, £20 a year, out of which £8 a year was to go

Towards the findinge and erection and maynteynyng of a Free Schole in the paryshe of Saincte Savyour in Southwarke. Provided allwaies that if in the sayde parysshe of Saincte Olave there be erected and sett up furnished and kept one Free schole within the space of two yeres from the date hereof, that then the same £8 willed and bequeathed to the schole in the paryshe of Saincte Savyours in Southwarke, shalbe and remayne to the saide Free Schole, so to be erected and maynteyned in the said parysshe of Saincte Olave, during the tyme aforesaid and not otherwise. Provided allwaies that during solong tyme as the said £8 shalbe paid all the children and schollers borne or dwellinge in the said parysshe of Saincte Olave shall paie nothinge at the same schole.

¹ Wills P.C.C. 24 Mellershe, 12 March 1559-60. Leeke is in several places in the St. Olave's Vestry Book described as 'otherwise Hovile' or Howell. Was Leek a nickname for a Welshman?

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Leeke was a parishioner of both parishes, as he described the Dolphin Inn which he bequeathed to his daughter as situate in both, though his mansion house with brew-house, wharves, etc., was in St. Olave's. The will was proved on 13 April 1560, and it is perhaps significant that it was on 21 April that, as we saw, St. Saviour's bestirred itself, 'to know the benevolens of the parish.'

On 22 February 1563-4, a Committee was appointed to 'survey what and how much of the church lands and tenements are mete to be assured to the Governors of our new erected Grammar School,' and to 'exhibit a paper book drawn thereof at large' before Lady Day. There is no entry of what was done, and it is probable that unfortunately nothing was done. From the earliest extant account of the School Governors, that for 1571,¹ it appears that the endowment consisted only of a rent of £5 paid by John Peycock, the property in respect of which it was paid not being specified; 26s. 8d. of John Phillpott for the gift of Thomas Dove; and 39s. 'of the steward of the Ospytall' for the gyfte of Mr. Cure. The other two items were £4 of Mr. Leeke's gift, and £14 'in redde monye' from the churchwardens which the Vestry Book shows to have been 'levied and gathered of the parishioners at the rebellyon of the North in anno 1571,' but not used. The payments, quitrents, and other outgoings only show repairs and building of a 'kyttchen' at the master's house. The only school item is 'For the dynner 2 September, at the scoole howse for the Disputacion day for the children, £3 8s. For 7 bookes for the children the same daye, 7s.' The master and usher were paid their salaries of £20 and £10 a year direct by the churchwardens. When the freehold of the rectory was, in 1612, bought from the Crown for £600, the grant unfortunately specified those sums as the salaries of the master and usher with the result that the churchwardens never paid any more,³ and these sums being

¹ Preserved in the earliest extant Governors' Minute Book, beginning in that year.

² St. Thomas' Hospital. The gift was of four houses in Chequer Alley by deed of 1559. In 1594 they were let for £10 a year, but out of this £2 a year had to be paid in doles. Cure, generally called in the accounts 'Mr. Cewer Esquire,' was sadler to Elizabeth, as he had been also to Edward VI. and Queen Mary. A modern and faulty reproduction of the inscription on his tomb is to be seen in the N. aisle of the Chancel of St. Saviour's. He founded also a 'College' or Alms-house.

³ Though in 1661 the stipends of the chaplains

also mentioned in an Act of Parliament of 1661, which substituted a rate for tithes in respect of the rectory, they came to be regarded as a fixed rent-charge, and are still paid as such.

So in yet another school was the design of the founders frustrated by legal misinterpretation of practice.

There is very little evidence forthcoming as to the state of the school. In the account for 1575-6, there are entries of fees paid by seven 'foreigners,' or outsiders; one from Barmsey, i.e. Bermondsey, two from the Hospital, i.e. St. Thomas' Hospital, Thomas Galyarde and John de Courtey, who paid 5s. a quarter, while Harrysonne, 'the glazier in the Spittell,' paid 2s. 6d. a quarter; the rest varying between 2s. and 2s. 6d. a quarter. In the same year three entrance fees are recorded.

Thomas Bracebridge (Brasbrygs), who was High Master from 1578 to 1581, had money difficulties. For in the former year he was ordered to pay 40s. to his brother's widow, and in the latter year he had extracted from his successor, Thomas Rawlings, payment of £5 4s. 6d. for certain fixtures including a 'poumpe' and a 'waynskot' (wainscot), whereas he ought not 'to ax or demaunde enythinge.' On 24 December 1582, entry is made in the Governor's book with some solemnity how 'Mr. George Wall was stalled master of our free gramer skole by hus the Governors.' In 1584⁴ the detailed bill for the apposition dinner is preserved, but as it is not stated how many people attended we do not know how '3 pottells of claret wine for 2s., 3 quarts of sack for 1s. 6d., and other 3 pottells of claret for 8d., and ale, 3d.' compare with modern examples.

In 1594-5 the Governor's accounts are extant,⁵ and show receipts £52, including £20 from the churchwardens for the wages of the master, Mr. Yemans, while Mr. Madox, 'houssher,' received half that from the endowment. In 1596 the Governors' Minute Books⁶ record that Mr. Yemans was given 'towards hys housekepeyng, and gret charge thys hard yere past, £3 6s. 8d., and farder that his wages shalbe hereafter, £26 13s. 4d.' In 1604 his next successor but one, Mr. John Faucett (Favsett or Fawset), had reverted to £20. In 1612-3 Mr. William Todd, an Oxford

which were £30 in 1612 had been increased to £100.

⁴ St. Saviour's Vestry Muniments.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Muniments at St. Olave's and St. Saviour's Grammar School.

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man, received £20, but the usher had £5 'for his better maintenance' beyond his wages of £10.

In 1608 we find the actor, Mr. John Trehearne, elected a Governor, and next year 'Phyllip Henslow,' the theatre owner, while Edward Allen, his son-in-law, the actor-manager, founder of Dulwich College, signed the book as assistant. In 1612-3, 30s. was paid for 'procuringe the sight of the orders of divers famous Schooles, and for a collection of them into one booke.' This collection has, alas! disappeared. But it resulted in 1614 in new statutes for the school, which were thought necessary, perhaps through the purchase of the rectory, and the establishment of leaving exhibitions by John Bingham, who like the former benefactor Cure, was the King's saddler.

The statutes were by way of 'further and larger explanacion of the former orders,' with the advice and approval of Thomas Bilson, then Bishop, who as we saw was an ex-Head Master himself.

The Master is now required to be chosen 'with the advice of the Bishop of Winchester, or in his absence some learned man at the Governors' discretion,' The Governors were empowered to increase the master's stipend 'when the stock shall arise, or in the mean space by encreasing of schollers and fees of strangers.' To the master's qualifications were added that he was to be an M.A.

sounde in christian religion accordinge to the lawes of this land . . . well skilled in the Latin tongue and able to teach grammar oratorye and poetry and the Greeke, as also the principles of Hebrew . . . being much approved for seaven yeares for a good facilitye and dexteritye in teaching and profiting children, he that is born in the parishe, and brought up in the schole to be preferred.

A curious negative qualification was 'not to practize physick.'

The two upper forms (it was formerly four) 'shall onelye speak latine in the schole.'

The Scholars of the highest form shall be every year carried to the Merchant Taylors School and to Westminster upon their election days, that there they may see the manner and fashion of the scholars, orations and exercises which may serve for good directions to them either to do the like or better approve their own.

Repetition was not to be a mere exercise of memory, but a lesson in deportment and elocution

'to frame the presence, good grace, countenance, standinge, pronunciacion and every-thinge that maye commende their carriage all their lives.'

When given play days

'the highest forme shall declaim and some of the inferior fourmes act a scene of Terence or some dialogue. Their plays shal be shootinge in longe bowes, chesse playe, runninge, wrestlinginge, leapinge. Players for monye or betters shall be severly punished and expulsed.'

These are the earliest school statutes in which games are mentioned otherwise than as saying what boys shall not play.

A quaint specimen is given of the form of admission of a boy.

'I, John Tompson (the first, second, or third, &c.,) sonne of Richard Thompson, of the parish (etc.), chaundler, of the age of 7 years and 3 monethes, readinge and learninge in the Accidents and enteringe into propria quae maribus, &c., and also Tully, his second epistle amonge those gathered by Sturmius, and Corderius Dialogues, &c, was admitted into the Grammer Scoole (&c.), 19 January 1611.'

Provision was made for two leaving exhibitions tenable at Oxford or Cambridge, endowed by John Bingham, Esq., one of the Governors. He had given six houses in Kent Street for the endowment. They were let on 10 March, 1617-8 for 31 years at 40s. a year each on repairing leases, 40s. fine being paid down. Mr. Bingham survived till 1625. The exhibitors were to be poor, with preference first to 'sons of some decayed governors of the school or vestrymen,' next to sons of parishioners, and thirdly to sons of natives of the parish though living out of it.

On 10 April 1618 the first master under the new statutes was elected in the person of Mr. Francke, out of seven competitors.

In 1620, 27 May, a controversy arose between the master and usher 'about the breaking up of the Schoole' and 'furriners,' which was settled on the terms that 'of the breaking up' the master was to have two-thirds, and the usher one-third, 'to be gathered up by one of the auintest schollers and delivered to the school maister.' So the freedom of the school was as usual tempered by 'presents.' Of the foreigners the master was to take the whole profit of those under him, and half those under the usher. In 1622 the master and the usher were each given 50s. a quarter above their wages 'for their painfull and carefull care in the

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bringing upp of his schollers.' On 21 April 1623, the first election of a 'Bingham scholar,' John Parvish, 'born in the parish' and 'a freschole scholler,' took place. The exhibition was £6 a year. On 14 November the same year John Lawrence was given Randell Carter's gift of £7 a year tenable at Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

The status of the school is shown by the contest which took place on 23 January 1624, when Davidge, the usher, told the Governors he had been beneficed in Somersetshire 'and soe with weeping teares took his leave and had the Governors' good words, and soe parted.' Mr. Chamberlyn, a minister and preacher, and Master of Arts of Exeter College, Oxford, 'a curate, and had but 35s. a quarter,' was the first applicant, and wrote epistles in Latin, Greek and Hebrew to the Bishop. He was put out because he wanted to 'exequite ministeriall functions preaching once a month as well, and also had taken his father an old man and sexton of SS. Ann and Agnes, Aldersgate, where he was curate, by the beard, and told him he was a better man.' So Mr. Dyks, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, 'a batchelor and a mere layeman,' was elected. In August 1637, for the first time, one who had been brought up in the school as a boy was elected master, in the person of Thomas Audley. He was probably disapproved by the bishop, as his successor, Carroll, who had also been brought up in the school, certainly was. At all events Audley, elected in August, had vacated by December.

During the Civil War and the Commonwealth, London being the stronghold of the Parliament men, the school went quietly on, John Phillipps, elected in June 1638, being succeeded by Hezekiah Woodward in 1644, and he in 1648 by Nicholas Anger who was 'very well approved for his way of teaching and dilligence therein.' Several 'Bingham scholars' of the period, brought up in the school, were elected ushers. There is a curious list of books left in the school on 4 January 1643, on the incoming of Hezekiah Woodward. There were five dictionaries and lexicons, including Scapula's.

On 8 November 1681 Mrs. Dorothe Appellton added to the Foundation an English School by a gift of a rentcharge of £20 a year for teaching 30 poor boys.

In January 1691 Mr. William Symes, or Symms, of Balliol College, Oxford, inaugurated his mastership with a large register. The keeping of a register was required by the statutes, but all other specimens, if there were any others, have

disappeared. This register was admirably kept up for about three years, and then, as such things do, tailed off into intermittent entries, which were made till 1768: after that they wholly ceased till 1814. This register shows 51 boys admitted in 1691, and 24 in 1692, so that the school must have been full. At the end of the book is a note, dated 20 April 1731, of some of the scholars who went to the University in Symes' time. They were 13 in number, and included fellows of Balliol and Corpus at Oxford, and of St. John's at Cambridge.

On Symes' death in 1734, the usher, Samuel Willan, was promoted to the mastership with disastrous results. On 26 November 1746 it was found by the Governors that he had

often absented himself for many days together, and very frequently came into the Schoole disordered with Liquor and . . . by means of such ill-conduct . . . altho' in former times . . . there has been near 100 scholars there are now not above ten . . . and only one of them is in any sort under his care, the others being under . . . the Reverend Mr. Thomas who has assisted . . . in the stead of an Under Master.

So he was deprived. In 1753 Mr. Davis, the Headmaster, was given a gratuity of £80 'for an encouragement,' and this became a permanent addition to the Headmaster's salary, the total income of the school being then about £250.

A note at the end of the 1691 Register gives sixteen boys sent to the Universities while the school was under the Rev. W. L. Fancourt from 1794 to 1814. When he came he found 23 free boys. In 1819¹ there were 68 foundationers, but only two others. The Headmaster received £100 a year and a house, the usher £70 and a house, and the writing master £40, the endowment being about £380. At this time the entrance fee had been raised to £1, and the quarterage, for brooms, etc., to 5s.

In 1843 the site of the school was taken for the Borough Market, and new buildings erected in Sumner Street, by what is now St. Peter's church. They consisted only of one large hall and a class room with a Master's Boarding house.

A scheme made by the Court of Chancery in 1850 consolidated the writing school with the Grammar School and introduced modern subjects into the curriculum; allowed eight boarders to the master and to the usher; and imposed fees on all boys. The result was that

¹ *Char. Com. Rep.*, i. 212.

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in spite of the smallness of the endowment, about £400 a year, there were, in 1864,¹ 109 boys in the school under the Reverend Edmund Boger,² a fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. They were all day boys as it was not worth any one's while to keep only eight boarders. Open scholarships and appointments in the Indian Civil Service and the like were still gained by the school. The street, however, in which the school was built was narrow and mean, the surrounding population sank into a lower and lower class, and the whole neighbourhood had become less and less residential, except for the very poorest. So in Canon Boger's later years, from 1875 onwards, the school began to dwindle until, in 1883, it contained only 60, and in 1892 only 28 boys. Canon Boger retired soon after the coming into operation of a scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts approved by the Queen, 15 October 1894. A Cambridge Wrangler succeeded, but with the then site and buildings nothing could restore the school. In 1896 it numbered 19 boys. When finally closed and merged in St. Olave's Grammar School by a scheme approved by the Queen in Council, 20 November 1899, only three or four boys represented this ancient foundation in the amalgamated school, called St. Olave's and St. Saviour's Grammar School.

Its name is also preserved in the fine girls' school, known as 'St. Saviour's and St. Olave's Grammar School for Girls,' established under the same scheme out of the joint funds of the two schools. This is situated in New Kent Road, Southwark, and was opened by the Princess of Wales on 14 March 1903. There Miss Frodsham, one of the products of the Holloway College, with a staff of ten mistresses (exclusive of visiting teachers for special subjects) now shepherds a flock of 186 girls. If this school can do as good work as its male progenitor did for over three centuries, Thomas Cure and John Bingham and the other Elizabethan worthies of St. Saviour's may 'watch from their graves' with interest this novel result of their labours and benefactions.

ST. OLAVE'S SCHOOL

St. Olave's parish first set to work to found a school on 13 November 1560, when the churchwardens were directed, in the same terms as had been used at St. Saviour's, 'to seke to know the benevolence of the inabytance

. . . watte theye will gyve towards the setting up and mayntenaunce of a free skolle,' and notice was given to the tenants of 'romes, wych ys apoynttyed to make a fre skolle of, for to departe' at Midsummer 1561. It is noticeable how much worse the spelling and writing is in St. Olave's than in St. Saviour's Vestry Book.

On 22 July 1561 the churchwardens of St. Olave's were ordered to receive the monies due from Leeke's executors 'towards the ereccyon or setting up of a fre scolle graunted by hym in hys wylle . . . and to prepare a scolle master for to teche the pore menes cheledarne there accordyng to the quenes in-gouncyones (i.e. injunctions), and furdar to prepare a scollemaster, wyche shalbe suffy-cyent to teche the cheldarne . . . to write and rede and caste acompthe.' He was only to take 'mene cheledarne.' The 'church-hawle' was 'to be made ready with benchys and setts and al thyngs necessary for the said scolle . . . agenste,' Michaelmas. Presumably therefore Michaelmas day 1561 is the beginning of St. Olave's School.

We hear no more of it till 26 February 1563-4, when John Tyler, 'scolemaster of the free scole,' was hired for 13s. 4d. a year to act as Vestry clerk 'to rejester all such orders and decrees as the said vestry shall decree.' Under the designation of 'Mr. Tyller,' on September 1565 he 'grauntted to gyve up the skowlle mastershippe' on Michaelmas day; having his 'wages then dew,' being £5, and for 'of affrey (a free) gift 10s.' The Vestry 'payking (? packing, dividing) how (who) should be skowlle master, fell to William Johnson one hand more than to our usher and mecaton (mister) clerk was electyd ussher, the skowlle master to have £12 by the yere and our new housher £4 by yere.' It is fair to schoolmaster Tyler to say that he did not make this entry in the Register, the minutes during the time he acted as Vestry clerk being quite lucid intervals of spelling and diction compared with those before and after. At the same vestry 'it was decreed that the skowlle master to have at the entry of every skoller, 6d., and at what tyme every suche skoller is so lernyd that he begynneth to wryte, the skowlle master then to have 8d.' From all this it is clear that the school was of quite a different grade to that of St. Saviour's, and was indeed purely elementary. This is made even clearer by a minute of 10 June 1566, when the churchwardens and 'assistance' were given

aucthoritye to seke by all wayes and meanes to have the schooll of the parochie to

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission Report*, x. 121.

² Transformed into Bodger in the Report.

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be ratyfyed and confirmed to be made a free scholle for the children of the sayd parishe, untill suche tyme that they sayd children can be lerned to rede awrighte sufficiently tyll they be abell to goo to servyce, or elles other wyse to goo to grammer, as their frendes shall thinke for them most fetyst at that tyme.

'An order for the scholemaster and husher and schollers,' made the same day, directed that they should be there at 7 a.m., throughout the year. On Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays they were to go to church 'to remaine untill all service be done to helpe to singe the psalmes and saye the servys.' On the other days of the week eight of them were to be sent to morning and evening prayer 'servinge of God,' taking it in turns 'whereby they may be the better edyfied in ther learninge.'

As the two schools of St. Saviour's and St. Olave's were not above 100 yards apart, being separated by little more than the width of the approach to London Bridge, it would have been best for both if they had remained as they were, one the Grammar or upper school, and the other elementary. But Leeke's bequest was an apple of discord. St. Olave's school not having been erected within the two years, St. Saviour's¹ brought a suit against Leeke's executors for the bequest, which St. Olave's, on 10 April 1567, directed the churchwardens to defend. On 3 April 1568, Thomas Cure and others were directed by St. Saviour's 'to talke with the parishioners of Saynt Ollyves and come to agreement with them and looke what order the parties shall take for the matter in controversy for the scole,' and on 12 May 1568 was paid in part payment of 'costs of the suet.' The suit was not ended till 1570, when it apears to have been settled on the terms of each parish taking half the bequest for its school. The suit drove St. Olave's into making their school a Grammar School. On 21 January 1569-70, new 'Ordres for the schole' were made, a new entrance fee being imposed, 'Yf he be a grammaryon, 2s. 6d.'; while 'every scholar shall bringe quarterlye 2d. to the master towards roods (rods) bromes and ink . . . and yerly 5s. for candell,' but 'the master shall take nothinge of dutie of any scholler when they do breake up scholle.' On 11 April it was settled that the master was to have 20 markes (£13 6s. 8d.), and the usher, William Stanmore, 20 nobles

¹ Called in the St. Olave's Vestry Book 'St. Mary Audereys.'

(£6 13s. 4d.). On 25² July 1571, letters patent establishing the school were obtained. The queen granted that the school so erected should be a Grammar School for the instruction

of the boys and youths³ of the parishioners and inhabitants as well in grammar as in accidence and other low books and in writing . . . and shall be called the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth of the parishioners of the parish of Saint Olave in the county of Surrey,

consisting of a master and under master or usher. The governors were to be sixteen in number. Those named were headed by Anthony Rushe,⁴ the parson, or rector, and William Bond, minister, or, as we should say, curate-in-charge. The license in mortmain was up to £50. Though St. Olave's obtained, and St. Saviour's did not, the use of the Queen's name in its title, it is clear that the school was of a lower type altogether than that of St. Saviour's, and, though grudgingly made a Grammar School in name, it was made clear in the charter that accidence and lower books were allowed, which they would not be in a Grammar School proper.

On 24 March 1571-2, Statutes were made. The Governors determined to appoint two of their members wardens or overseers for the year. On 2 August 1571

the expences and charges that ys rysen and grone about the sute to the prince and to the Parliament-house for the obtayninge of the Queen's majesties letters patents amountinge to the sume of

(an exasperating blank in the MS. prevents us from knowing how much), was defrayed out of 'the money collected for the setting forth of souldyers' against 'the Rebellion in the North.' The 'Scholemaster' and the 'Husser' were directed to 'teach the schollars no bookes in Englishe, Latten or writing that is not lawfull by gods lawes and the princes godly procedings.' Greek is not

² The date is given as 27 July by Carlisle, ii. 578; 26 July by the Governors, in *Schools Inquiry Report*, iii. 73; and 27 July in the translation of the charter at p. 70. The right date is 25 July.

³ Wrongly translated 'children and younglings,' *S.I.R.*, iii. 73. But *juvenes*, so far from meaning something younger than children, means youths, those who had just past boyhood, which ended at fourteen.

⁴ Carlisle, ii. *S.I.R.*, iii. 74, and elsewhere, misread into Bushe.

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mentioned, and no doubt was not intended to be taught.

They shall teach the whole catechisme set out by the Queenes authoritie to the younger sort, and then as they encrease in lerning, that . . . which is translated into englishe lately sett out by the Dean of Pawles (Nowell) which is by the canons appointed to be taught in Grammar Scholes.

At St. Saviour's the catechism was, as we saw, to be in Latin or Greek.

The Master now at the bigynning must take paines to teache the accidence, the Prince's grammar, and so to traine up from booke to booke suche children as we shall appoint unto him. And also to helpe the Hussher to heare one half of the petytes. The Hussher shall sett copies unto the scholers of good matter, sentences of scripture . . . teaching them to read playnly and distinctly. . . .

They were to take them to church on Sundays and holydays

and after any sermon . . . examyne some to see what they bring awaie and to commend the good to their incorrigment, and so the contrary.

The masters shall not use to 'slacke or mysse their howers in commynge to the schole,' viz. 7-11 a.m. and 1-5 p.m. The Master was to have £3 16s. 8d. a year

for a tyme till we see what store of grammarians will increase, and he shall have leve and licence to take 6 schollers of his friends to helpe his lyvinge.

A striking proof of the low grade of the school is the fact that the usher was to have the same salary

for that we have now and so is like to contynue many more schollers at writinge than at grammar Seeing we have here great number of pore people in our parische who are not able to kepe their children at grammar, But being desirus to have them taught the Principells of Christen Religion, and to wright, reade and cast accomptes, and so to put them forth to prentice.

The usher divided 'all profits' from entrance fees and the like equally with the master. The amount of entrance fees and quarterage 'for rods, brooms and incke, so that the schole maie be kept cleane' was the same as in the orders of 1570. If their friends do not find them 'convenient books for their learning and paper' complaint was to be made to the Wardens, and if they are not

found within a week 'then to be discharged of the schole.' On 'the saboth daie,' other holydays, Wednesday, Monday and Saturday they to be at evening prayer, and 'every tyme that he shall mysse . . . to have fowre stripes.' The 'bigger sort' to be at school at 6 in summer and 7 in the winter on pain of three stripes; but 'this exactness of commynge not to be so nearely expected in the yonger sorte.'

These orders were 'sene, perused and allowed' by the Bishop 'who also after examination had, hath admitted John Paine, late of Cambridge, student,' apparently he had not taken a degree, 'to be scholemaster here, and Richard Marloe, who was our scholemaster before, shall now remaine as Ussher.' A subsequent statute made next year, 12 March 1572-3, placed Richard Marlow as he is now spelt, still more on an equality with the master by allowing him also to take six schollars 'to make his most profite and advauntage of.'

It may be observed that nothing is said as to authors to be read. It is probable the boys were not intended to proceed beyond the elements of grammar. Nothing was said about examination. None appears to have been held till 16 March 1584-5, 'it was decreed . . . that the schollers of our schole shall twyce in the year be examined by some learned men to see how they profite.'

The statutes of these two schools have been set out at some length because they have been much quoted in the controversy which raged at the time of the passing of the Endowed Schools Acts 1869, and has often broken out since as to the meaning of the term 'Free Grammar School.' While they really furnish cogent evidence that 'Free Grammar School' meant a Grammar School in which the teaching was free, i.e. gratuitous, they have been cited¹ as showing 'that free grammar school was not in this case taken to mean "unpaid education" is clear.'

The statutes explain the Charter. 'All children of the parish meet to be entered in the Grammar shall be taught free, paying for their first entrance, 2s. 6d., and 8d. a year, 2d. a quarter, towards brooms and rods.' There was a further payment for candles. No one reading this without a thesis to prove could have supposed that it meant anything else than what it says, viz. that the teaching

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission Report*, vii. 326. Report on the Metropolitan District by D. R. Fearon, Assistant Commissioner, afterwards Secretary to the Charity Commission and then a Charity Commissioner.

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of grammar was to be gratis ; but the endowment did not provide charwomen and so 2*d.* was required for brooms, to keep the school clean,' as the St. Olave's Statutes express it. Nor did it provide lights : so candles were to be found or paid for by the parents. In all these things the Statutes merely followed the precedent of older free schools. Colet's Statutes had provided that the scholars of St. Paul's were to provide their own wax candles ; and also an entrance fee, though it was only 4*d.*, the endowment being very large, while 2*d.* for brooms was not needed as the entrance fees were to go ' to the pore scoler that swepeth and kepeth the scole clene.' With the small endowment of St. Saviour's and St. Olave's the entrance fees were higher, and went to eke out the Master's pay.

The two schools were both slenderly endowed at first, and St. Saviour's, though for long its resources were more ample and its masters better paid, never obtained a really adequate endowment.

Until the nineteenth century St. Olave's School was always in a small way, and so far as it was a Grammar, or, as we might now say, a Secondary School at all, was looked on with grudging eyes by its own parents.

The management of the finances remained in the hands of the churchwardens. The expenses were met out of the general funds of the parish ; the endowment consisting only of half Leeke's gift, i.e. £4 a year ; of Richard Dowsett's gift, by will 3 December 1561, a rentcharge of 40*s.* on tenements in Long Lane, Bermondsey ; afterwards augmented by John Lamb, one of the Governors who died in 1577, and gave by deed 19 November 1572, two messuages in Sea Coal Lane, now Fleet Lane, in London, and by Thomas Bullman, also a Governor, who in 1574, gave, by will, confirmed by deed of his widow, 14 August 1574, four messuages in Little Britain.

It was only 4 May 1579, under Thomas Reve's mastership, that it was determined by an order of Vestry to assign a separate endowment for the Grammar School. Six of the Governors were appointed ' to take order with Mr. Godyer and Mr. Eggelfelde to pass over Horseydowne to the use of the Schole.' Horseydown, corrupted to Horsleydown, on part of which the school now stands, was a piece of unenclosed grass land of about 15¹ acres on which the inhabitants possessed rights of common for cattle. As part of the possessions of Bermondsey Abbey, it had been

sold by the Crown to Sir Roger Copley ; but was bought by trustees for the school in 1553, though the Vestry, as late as 1602, still exercised jurisdiction over it. The school owes its later development and present prosperity mainly to the immense augmentation in the value of Horsleydown in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Grammar School master's berth was not a very attractive one, with a writing master as usher, who was already in possession, and was evidently the pet of the Governors, and on an equality with his nominal, and no doubt social, superior in pay and position. On January 4 1571-2, Christopher Orlande presented himself for election with letters from the Bishop of Winchester and Fleetwood, Recorder of London. The Vestry agreed to give 20 marks ' to teche so many grammaryons as we think shall be found met for the same, viz. 10 or 12 at the first,' but the master was also to ' helpe the hussher to teache the petytes, since we muste kepe suche an hussher as ys abell to teache writinge.' If, however, ' Richard Marlow will not tarry as hussher,' Orlande was to have the whole salary, and find his own usher and ' teache grammer, wrytinge and petytes according to the erectyon of our said schole.' Orlande went away to obtain the consent of the rector, Dr. Rushe, and returned in a week's time ; but ' because he could not enter at once,' though the Vestry conceded he might enter at the ' half-quarter,' not a fortnight away, ' he refused our offer, and went his way being angrie, and set the matter lighte.'

On 27 January 1572 the Vestry appointed John Payne, who was recommended by Mr. Payne of Bermondsey, to enter at Lady Day. He was apparently usher at Ipswich school, as 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid him for his expenses ' coming from Ipswyche.' The minister, and Richard Marlow the nominal usher, were appointed to draw up the statutes, on 12 March 1573. By them, Marlow was allowed, like the Headmaster, to take six paying 'schollers to make his most profits and advantage of.' The Headmaster's place was probably not very pleasant ; at all events, in 1574 Mr. Payne left at Midsummer. He was succeeded by John Nashe, who in turn went at Christmas, 1578. It was found necessary to increase the master's pay, and Thomas Reve, the next master, on 6 May 1579, was given £20 instead of 20 marks, and he stayed for seven years.

A somewhat remarkable personage succeeded on 21 November 1586. This was Robert Browne, who gave his name to the

¹ So stated in Governors' Minute, 22 May 1649, setting out the whole title.

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Brownists, and has been hailed as 'the father of congregationalism.' He came under very strict 'artycles,' signed by him in the Governors' Minute Book, aimed at preventing his recurring to the turbulent practices and anti-episcopal preachings, which had led him into defiance of the bishops of Ely and Norwich and into several prisons. The article tied him down not 'to intermeddle with the mynestre or disturb the quiet of the parishioners by kepinge any conventicles or conferences with any disordered persons,' to take the children to church, and attend communion himself. He appears to have been desirous of turning over a new leaf as he stayed at Southwark quietly for five years,¹ and then only left to take a living to which he was presented by Lord Burghley, who was a relation, and had several times protected him from persecuting bishops. At Southwark his successor was appointed in the person of Mr. Sadlington, on 25 June 1591. The unimportance of the Grammar School may be gathered from the Vestry's order, 19 July 1592, that the treasurer 'shall convert the kitchen presently to a schoolhouse for the gram-marians.'

Quiet times seem to have prevailed in the school, as the Governors' minutes consist of nothing else but appointments of new Governors and letting of lands, until 18 June 1623, when the Governors decided 'to take counsell about their difference with Nathaniel Bugg, the then master.' The difference seems to have been on the question of pay, for on 25 July Bugg asked that 'he might with their loves and leave depart and rezine,' the Governors promising a 'gratuitie towards his better preferment.' On 2 August, Richard Vaughan, the newly elected master, was made to sign the book to the effect that if he 'be contentious,' or 'does not content himselfe with the stipend allotted to him,' he is to be fined 20s. for the poor, and 'if he continue' to be removed. The masters after this were generally required to sign undertakings of the same sort in various forms in the Minute Book, so that an excellent series of their autographs is preserved. The series is not complete, however, for no record remains of the accession of the next master, John 'Pemblabearey' (probably Pendlebury), but only of the election of his successor, Alexander Blackhall, 20 April 1636.

¹ In the Life by Dr. Jessopp in the *Dict. Nat. Bio.* he is said to have been appointed master of Stamford Grammar School at this time. Like several other of the statements in that singularly unsympathetic account this seems to be a mistake.

A school account during the time of the Commonwealth² for the year 1655-6, shows that Horsleydown was let for £112 a year, Benjamin Chapman, the schoolmaster, was paid £30, the writing master, William Bassett, £18, and Mr. Edward Hone, the usher, or English master, £20. In that year by a deed of 30 October 1656, the Governors granted the churchwardens, for the relief of the poor, a large slice of Horsleydown for 500 years at the rent of a red rose. This Red Rose estate, as it is called, now produces about £1,500 a year. Another large part of the endowment was now alienated from education altogether, the Governors being empowered to apprentice boys, and also 'to set up a work house for the setting pore persons of the parish att work.' In 1691 the Artillery Hall on Horsleydown was used for the purpose, but in 1725 a workhouse was built.

After the Restoration, the Governors obtained a new charter, dated 2 May 1664. One main object of it seems to have been to restrict admission to the Governing Body previously unhampered, to members of the Church of England. It also enabled the Governors to extend the elementary schools by appointing several ushers. One solitary thing was done for the Grammar School, out of rivalry no doubt with the superior school at St. Olave's, viz. licence to give leaving exhibitions to the Universities. The licence in mortmain was extended to lands of the value of £500 a year.

In 1704 silver spoons were given as prizes to the two best boys in the Latin school, as it was now called. But the usual jealousy of the upper school prevailed, and on 22 November 1705 it was ordered that the second silver spoon was to be given to the best boy under the usher. In 1706 the usher, Mr. Barrow, was given £40 additional salary on condition of assisting at the sacrament as often as there shall be need,' so that the church took its toll even of a purely educational endowment. This usher was the usher of the Latin school. During the eighteenth century the ushers generally succeeded to the mastership. The revenue rapidly grew, investments in South Sea and India bonds being made at frequent intervals. In 1705 the income was about £350; in 1725 over £70; but the bulk of the increase went to multiplying ushers and assistants

² 'In the possession of the writer,' Manning and Bray, iii. 601, i.e. apparently Mr. Bray. If found, it ought to be recovered by the Governors for the School.

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in the English and writing schools, in doles to the poor, and in clothing charity school boys. In 1719 the first University Exhibition, consisting in a payment of £12, was given to one George Gwin. In 1729¹ the ancient portrait of Queen Elizabeth, which hangs in the Governors' room at the school, was acquired under circumstances which do not vouch for its being authentic. On 30 May 1732 the masters were directed not to 'ask or receive any money for admittance or breaking up of the boys or their parents who do not pay to the poor of this parish, or demand any money of any person whatsoever on account of any admittance or breaking up.' The breaking-up money was a customary payment, which existed in all schools,² and partly mitigated the rigour of the freedom of the Grammar Schools. In 1757 not only were the masters directed not to take payment from the very poor or to demand payment from any, but the right of any payment whatever was particularly forbidden, 'That no master take any payment from any boy of any kind under pain of suspension.'

In 1818,³ in spite of the heavy slices taken off the property for eleemosynary purposes, the school income had increased to £1,000 a year. The Latin School consisted of 60 boys under two masters, the Writing School of 40 boys under two masters, and the English or Reading School of 150 boys under three masters. No payments whatever were made for fees, whether tuition or other, and books were supplied gratis. It was stated in subsequent chancery proceedings that the books were sold by the boys to buy sweets. The school was in a very low state educationally. Though there were £80 exhibitions to the University, the value being relatively about twice what £80 is now, they were hardly ever applied for. The son of the then headmaster, Mr. Blencowe, obtained one in 1809; and since then another clergyman's son had

been given one. Before that, there had been no applications for many years.

In 1830 the old school, which stood on the side of Tooley Street,⁴ opposite St. Olave's church, was pulled down to make the approaches to the present London Bridge. On 17 November 1835 a new school was opened in Bermondsey Street at the eastern end of the parish.

A scheme of the Court of Chancery, 21 July 1837, which chiefly concerned the management of the property, directed the Grammar School to be called the Classical School, increased the exhibitions to four of £40 each, and ordered them to be advertised, as only five exhibitions had been applied for in 36 years.

In 1849 the new school was expropriated by the London and Greenwich Railway Company for its station, and the school was for some time carried on in a warehouse at Maze Pond. Eventually in 1885 new school buildings were placed on the present site, described in 1865⁵ 'as a fine gothic mansion, built for architectural effect rather than scholastic use—which, however pompous, shows little knowledge of educational requirements.' The school itself at that time consisted of a classical school of 190 boys and an English school of 281; the average attendance being about 420. But the classical school was a misnomer. Only six boys learnt Latin, and two Greek, and thirty French. Of the four assistant masters in it, three were elementary teachers, while only sixteen boys were above fourteen years old. In 35 years since 1830 only thirteen exhibitions had been applied for. Thus one of the largest school endowments in the country, over £5,000 a year, was wasted in giving elementary education to 420 boys.

In 1859 the Rev. Andrew Johnston was appointed Headmaster, and gradually matters were improved. An attempt to introduce non-parishioners into the schools was made, and at length their admission was sanctioned by a Chancery Scheme in 1869. The school rapidly improved, so that in 1879 the Headmaster was able to report that the Classical School consisted of 'free parishioners and strangers paying six guineas per annum (more than 300 in number).' The numbers in fact rose from 13 to 320. Two other divisions of

¹ Governors' Minutes, 12 February 1728-9, 'A motion having been formerly made that *an original picture* of Queen Elizabeth, the founder of this Free School, should be bought, Samuel Pugh, Esq., one of the Governors, generously offered at his own proper costs and charges to provide such picture; which he hath accordingly done and made a present thereof to this court which they gratefully accept.'

² Even the scholars of Winchester and Eton had to pay £10 a year, a substantial fee at this time. A tender-conscientious Head Master at Winchester left £20,000 to his successors to abolish this illegal exaction in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

³ C.C.R., i. 209.

⁴ Tooley really is a corruption of St. Olave's. In the first Vestry Minute Book the church itself is several times called Saint Toools, just as the Brotherhood of St. Ann's is called in the same book Saint Tane.

⁵ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, vii. 632.

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the school were maintained, the Commercial and the English, which were eventually merged and became the Public Elementary School for the district. This school was discontinued under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners at Christmas, 1897, the Board Schools being found better equipped and more efficient. Numerous scholarships were available for the boys of the parish to pass on into the Grammar School as constituted by a scheme made under the Endowed Schools Acts, 1 May 1890, and the foundation has for many years been able to boast not only that a complete educational¹ ladder was provided, but also that good use was made of it. Many instances of boys of poor parents being sent on to the Universities and there acquitting themselves well are recorded. The success of the school in the direction of the University is clearly shown by the Open Scholarships won by the boys at Oxford and Cambridge. These placed the school among the first 20 schools in the kingdom in the Public Schools Record, which was annually published by Mr. E. T. Cook, successively in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Westminster Gazette*, the *Daily News*, and now in the *Daily Chronicle*. In 1891-2 six scholarships were won, making the number for the six years, 21.

The rebuilding of the school was resolved upon in 1892, and commenced in November of that year. Mr. Johnston, after 34 years work at the school, died before much progress had been made. He was succeeded by Mr. W. G. Rushbrooke in 1893. Mr. Rushbrooke was educated at the City of London School, whence he won a scholarship at St. John's College, Cambridge, was placed in the first class in the Classical Tripos and became a Fellow of the College.

ST. OLAVE'S AND ST. SAVIOUR'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The present school is known as the St. Olave's and St. Saviour's Grammar School, and the funds of the two rival Grammar Schools have been merged and Grammar Schools for boys and girls are under this joint Foundation.²

BLECHINGLEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Space does not permit more than a mention of the unfortunate history of Blechingley Grammar School. It was founded by deed of

John Whatman,³ 8 September 1564, who granted a house and 5½ 'burgages' for a Free School. But in a deed of 1631 it is stated that the house and property had been misapplied for the purposes of an almshouse for the poor. The heirs of the original grantees by this deed conveyed the property to John Evans of London, gentleman, who expended £400 in buying some more lands, about 33 acres in all, and started the school under the Rev. Robert Blackwell.

Statutes were made 22 April 1656, largely modelled on those of Camberwell, for a Free Grammar School, the master 'to teach, freely and without gift or reward whatsoever, in the English and Latin tongues, and to write and cast accounts according to the rules of arithmetic, 20 male children of the poorest inhabitants of Blechingley and born in the parish.' The income was too small to maintain a proper grammar school. In 1820 a Mr. Heaseman, who had been master for many years, died and left the house in so dilapidated a state, that the next master, Mr. George Quilton, ruined himself in restoring it to a fit state by the aid of the timber on the school land. Latin had already disappeared, and the school was and remained elementary. By a scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts, 7 July 1874, the bulk of the endowment was legally appropriated for elementary school purposes, with an optional provision for exhibitions to places of higher education.

FARNHAM SCHOOL⁴

Farnham Grammar School is in West Street. It is commonly but erroneously said to have been founded by Dr. Harding, President of Magdalen, Oxford, in 1611.

Aubrey says that the school was probably an ancient chapel⁵ or chantry. His opinion is of some weight because he saw the old school building, which stood in the churchyard, and which the Vestry sold by auction in 1758 for £42. It was possibly endowed with the revenues of a chantry established in Farnham Castle by Bishop William Edington in 1351, which chantry was endowed with a rent from Southwark, and a house, three acres of land, and a rent of eight marks in Farnham.⁶

Dr. Harding, President of Magdalen, the reputed founder of the school, in 1611, was only the benefactor of a previously existing school, for by his will he recognized it as then

³ Char. Com. Rep. xiii. 528.

⁴ The editor is indebted to Mr. H. E. Malden for this article.

⁵ *Natural Hist. and Antiq. of Surrey*, iii. 345.

⁶ Pat. 25 Edw. III. pt. iii. m. 11.

¹ See evidence of Rev. T. W. Sharpe, Royal Commission on *Secondary Education*, 1894-5.

² See under St. Saviour's School, p. 181 above.

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ing, sustentation and reliefe of certain maymed poore, needie or impotent people to have continuance for ever . . . to consist of one Wardeine which shall be the head of the said Hospitall, and of maymed poore or impotent persons not exceeding in all the number of forty, which shall be the bodye and members of the said Hospitall.' The corporate name was 'the Wardeine and Poore of the Hospitall of the Holie Trinitie in Croydon of the Foundation of John Whitegift, archbishop of Canterburie,' the common seal being inscribed 'Sigillum Hospitalis Sancte Trinitatis in Croydon.' The corporation was licensed to hold lands up to £200 a year. Statutes were to be made by the archbishop.

There is no trace of a school in the foundation deed. In this respect the archbishop followed ancient precedent. Of the many scores of colleges, hospitals, and chantries which maintained schools, it is exceedingly rare to find any mention of the school in the foundation deed, a fact which accounts for the prevailing ignorance as to pre-Reformation schools. For where, as in the case of Surrey, there is no chantry certificate left to tell us that a school was maintained by the chantry, and we have nothing but the foundation deed or license in mortmain on the patent roll to go by, we should not know that a school had been maintained. The particular duties of the hospital or chantry, as the case might be, were defined, not in the foundation deed, but in the statutes.

In this case the statutes at once reveal the school, and show that it was a very important part of the foundation.

First I do ordeine that the number of the bretheren and sisters of the saide Hospitall shalbe ever thirtie at the least and so many more, under xl. in all, as the revenues may beare; Of the which number of bretheren one shall teache a common school in Croydon in the schoole house there by me builded.

'Chapter 10. Of the Election and placinge of the members of the Hospitall' having vested the appointment of the brethren in the archbishop, proceeds,

Item, I ordeine and appoint that the poore brother appointed to be the schoolemaster shall be a person well qualified for that function; that is to saye, an honest man, learned in the Greeke and Lattin tongues, a good versifiere in bothe the forsayde languages and able to write well (if possible it bee).

He was to have for his lodging

'the house builded for that purpose adjoininge¹ to the saide Hospitall and nere unto the saide schoolhowse.'

His stipend was to be £20 'with other further commodities and corne or wood' as other poor brethren had. The archbishop is particular that the houses built for the 'schoole howse and schoolemaster shalbe for ever employede to that use onely and no other.'

The school was therefore a Grammar School and a Free (i.e. gratuitous) Grammar School. But it was only free for the poor of Croydon parish. Chapter 17 provided that

The Schoolemaster shall freelye teache suche of the children of the parishe of Croydon, without exactinge any thinge for their teachinge, as are of the poorer sorte, suche as shalbe so accounted by the vicar or curate of Croydon and two of the better sorte of the inhabitants; but yet it shalbe lawfull to and for the said schoolemaster to receive that which is voluntarily bestowde upon him by any of the said poorer sort of parishioners of Croydon. If the saide schoolemaster shall exacte to muche for their teachinge or refuse to teache them, the same shall be ordered or moderated by the Archbishopp.

The schoolmaster was 'besides teachinge of his schollers' to act as clerk, 'making entries into the lidger bookes,' and also chaplain saying 'publike prayers,' morning and evening, in the chapel of the Hospital on 'workinge days,' excepte Wednesday and Friday mornings and Saturday afternoons, when the poor brethren, except the schoolmaster, were to go to church two and two.

The warden, who was elected by the rest of the brethren (and if the votes were equal, that side on which the schoolmaster was, prevailed), was to receive £6 a year, the other four brethren £5; but the schoolmaster, as we have seen, £20. In fact, though the warden was the nominal head of the corporation, the schoolmaster was the principal person. He was exempt from the restrictions of the other brethren as to qualifications of poverty, residence and employment, from the procession to church and the provisions as to absence from the hospital and the like, and he was to join with the warden in trying and, if need be, admonishing refractory members. If he himself needed correction it was (chapter xix.) to be done by no one less than the archbishop. It was only the precedent set in Elias Davy's Hospital, by which the warden was one of the brethren,

¹ Not *in* the Hospital.

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and perhaps a desire not to make the scholastic duties secondary instead of primary, that prevented the schoolmaster being termed Master of the Hospital.

Stow, mentioning Whitgift's foundation under the year 1600, speaks of it almost as if the school was a separate institution. 'This yeare . . . Whitgift . . . did finish that notable and memorable monument of our time, to wit, his Hospital . . . in Croydon . . . then founded and builded of stone and bricke for reliefe and sustentation of certaine pore people; as also a fair school house for the increase of literature, together with a large dwelling house for the schoolmaster his use.'

The term 'common school' has been rather absurdly misconstrued¹ as if it was an exceptional term and pointed to a vulgar or lower grade school, 'one instance of a common school founded for both classes, comprising within itself the germs of both the modern primary and the modern secondary schools.' But the term common in this connexion means nothing more than public, like 'common council,' or 'common hall' for town hall. It was simply a Free Grammar School 'for the poor as well as the rich,' as the phrase had run for many years; and the founder had no intention we may be sure of providing elementary education. No doubt the usual tests of admission to a Grammar School of being able to read and knowing the accidence were intended to be imposed.

The first master was 'Ambrose Brygges, Mr. of Arte, married and of the age of xlviij yeres, entered scholemaister, 31 Marche A.D. 1600.' Mr. Briggs, as he is otherwise called, received a salary from the archbishop of £3 6s. 8d. a quarter, or £13 6s. 8d. a year. He only stayed a year, 'John Irelande, Mr. of Artes and student of Christchurche, of the age of twenty-seven years,' entering 24 June 1601.

In his time, Edward Burton, late Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 'Comisarye of London and Officiall' to the Archdeacon of Middlesex, was admitted a poor brother, and, next day, warden—which looks as if it was desired to make the wardenship an important post. But the salary was not adequate, and Mr. Burton had no successors of the same stamp. Ireland was paid at the same rate as Briggs up to Christmas 1601, but afterwards at the higher rate of £20 a year. The archbishop died on 29 February 1603-4, and that year Ireland took over the

accounts from Samuel Finch, the vicar, who had hitherto managed the hospital. Thenceforward the schoolmaster kept the accounts and managed the affairs of the hospital, and made the payments to the warden and brethren. The rental for the year 1605 amounted to £156 odd.

'An Inventrye of suche things as belonge at this present both to the Schole and Hospital'² begins: 'Imprimis there belonge to the Schole as yet 4 books, viz. A Coper's dictionarie and Barret's dictionarie and two Lexicons both of Scapula,' showing that both Greek and Latin were taught.

Ireland 'relinquished his place, 4 July 1606,' and was succeeded by Robert Davies. He stayed for ten years. His successor, 'William Nicolson, Mr. of Artes and Chaplin of Magdalen College in Oxford, under the hande and seale from George Abbot, then archbishop of Canterbury, was sworne and admitted Schoolmaster and brother of the Hospital, 3 July 1616, aetatis sue 24, in the rome of Robert Davis,' and then follows a word which is carefully obliterated.

Another entry in the register supplies the missing word. In 1616 'By the most reverent father in God, George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, was holden a visitation in the chapell of the Hospital . . . by his commissioners Dr. Ridlye and Dr. Hayward and proroged untill the 25 of June following to Bow Church in London and then to the 28 of the same month, at which time Robert Davies, schoolmaster, and Nicolas Feild, poore brother, were expelled.' Their offence is not stated. It has been suggested³ that the offence was embezzlement, but the source from which the suggestion came was apparently tainted by a desire to make out that all the schoolmasters were corrupt. Of Davies it says, 'It is noticed that for several quarters, from 1612 till he was turned out, there was no money found in the Hospital almsbox, and that afterwards money was found in it regularly every quarter.' But the facts are quite otherwise. It happens that in the two last quarters of 1612 the amounts found in the money-box are not stated, but the amounts found in the two quarters stated in 1614 are more than the whole amounts found in the four quarters of 1610 or 1611. In 1615 the amount is entered for each quarter and so in 1616; and

² Reg. i. f. 289.

³ *History of Whitgift Grammar School*. W. D. Hayward, Croydon, 1892. The early history of the Foundation consists of little more than a list of masters supplied with very inaccurate notes by the late Warden of the Hospital.

¹ Report of Mr. D. R. Fearon, *Schools Inquiry Commission Rep.*, vii. 468.

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the amounts found happen in fact to be on the whole larger during Davies' time than afterwards. It is absurd to suppose that the brethren would have been quiescent for four years if informed that for three quarters running there was no money in the box, which was in fact opened before the assembled brethren. The item of the amount found in the box is always specified in a separate entry at the end of the accounts and all that happened was, that in the quarters in question, the entry of the amount was carelessly omitted. As a poor brother was expelled at the same time with the master it is most likely that the offence for which they were expelled was some matter of religion or internal dissension.

William Nicholson was a person of some note in his day. Beginning life, as a good many distinguished scions of Oxford colleges did, especially those of New College and Magdalen, as a chorister, he took his B.A. degree at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1611,¹ and became master at Croydon, no doubt very soon after taking his M.A. He resigned the school, 2 February 1629-30, for preferment in Wales, the rectory of Llandilofawr, which was followed by the archdeaconry of Brecknock in 1644. Dispossessed during the Commonwealth, he was given a Canonry of St. David's in 1660, which he continued to hold with divers sinecure rectories along with the bishopric of Gloucester, to which he was appointed in 1661, till his death ten years later.

Of John Webb, his successor, little is known. Said to be of Magdalen, he seems to have taken his M.A. degree at Magdalen Hall, 25 June 1628.² Though appointed master by Archbishop Laud, he was discreet enough to retain his place and carry on the school quietly throughout the Civil War, Croydon being in the hands of Parliament, and only vacated office by reason of death, on 16 April 1648. Henry Tubbe or Tubbs, the benefactor mentioned below was under Webb for seven years before admission to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1635.³

Noris Wood, of Trinity College, Cambridge, aged 30, succeeded, being appointed 'under the hands and seals of E. Corbett, minister of Croydon, and John Rawlinson, rector and parson of Lambeth.'

On 21 March 1651, Thomas Day, of Christ's College, Cambridge, was on the resignation of Wood, appointed by 'the Rt. Hon. Sir William Brereton, Knight and Baronett,'

he having had the grant of the manor of Croydon and the archbishop's powers there. That the hospital went on just as usual may appear from the admission as a poor sister of the hospital in 1658 of Mrs. Clarke, 'kinswoman of the Founder.' The school, too, kept on the even tenor of its way. In a fly-leaf of the Register⁴ it is recorded how 'Mr. Henry Tubbs, Master of Arts, sometime schollar in this school, gave 40s., which was paid by Dr. Samuell Bernard⁵ for the buying of books for the use of the school about the year 1655, and with that moneys was bought Brodeus upon the Greek Anthologies, Ruderus upon Martiall, and a Poeticall Dictionarie; which are still in the school, 1658.' We find John, son of George Price, Esquire, of Esher, who had been four years under Mr. Day, admitted⁶ a fellow-commoner of St. John's, Cambridge, in 1657. Tubb and Price, to say nothing of the high academic qualifications of the masters, sufficiently demonstrate the falsity of the notion that the old school was no good. Day's end is not recorded, but he was probably turned out on the Restoration.

On 29 September 1662, John Philips, 'sometime of New Colledge in Oxon,' was nominated by Archbishop Juxon. He had been scholar of Winchester College in 1616,⁷ scholar of New College 1623, Fellow 1625-1629, taking his M.A. degree 15 January 1631.⁸ His death as 'Schoolmaster of the Hospital in Croydon' is entered in the Hospital Register as occurring on 6 August 1668.

William Crowe, his successor, aged fifty-two, 'sometime of Gonville and Caius Colledge in Cambridge,' entered 9 December 1668, on Archbishop Sheldon's nomination. He published in 1672 a catalogue of English writers on the Scriptures.⁹

In 1673¹⁰ the people of Croydon groaned under a vicar who spent what time he could spare from drinking and stealing books in London, in harassing the people with suits for tithes. Complaint was made to the Privy

⁴ Reg. i. f. 4, 6. This entry too is travestied in the *History of Whitgift Grammar School*, p. 10, where Brodeus or Brodie appears as Brokus and Martial as Maxtiak, and 'Dictionarie' is Frenchified into Dictionaire.

⁵ Vicar of Croydon.

⁶ *Admissions*, etc., I. i. 131.

⁷ Kirby's *Winchester Scholars*, p. 167.

⁸ Foster's *Alumni Oxon.*

⁹ *Catalogus scriptorum in sacram paginam. Wood, Athenæ Oxonienses*, ii. 344, 480.

¹⁰ Ducarel's *Account*.

¹ Bloxam's Register of Magdalen College, i. 29.

² Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*.

³ *Admissions*, etc. (ed. J. B. Mayer, 1893), I. i. 26.

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Council, one of the articles of which was 'he hath caused the gentry to leave the town to the ruin thereof, spoiled the school so that no gentlemen's sons come to it.' The case created such a stir that it was heard by the King in person, and the vicar was eventually got rid of. Whether owing to the excitement caused by this, or why otherwise, Crowe committed suicide, 10 April 1675.

John Shepherd, 'sometimes of Wadham Colledge Oxford, B.C.L.,'¹ came in on 17 April. In his time the school boasted of a graduate who was also a poet for its usher, in the person of John Oldham, the son of a Puritan minister. Oldham took his B.A. degree at St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, in 1670, and then became usher 'to the Free School at Croydon.' Here 'some of his poems being handed about, he was honoured with a visit by the earls of Rochester and Dorset, Sir Charles Sedley and other persons of distinction. Mr. Shepherd, the Headmaster, was not a little surprised at this visit, and would have taken the honour of it to himself, but was soon convinced that he had neither wit nor learning to make a party in such company.' Oldham left Croydon in 1678 to become a private tutor, in which capacity, notwithstanding that devotion to the bottle which characterized him, like most of the poets of the day, he remained, until smallpox carried him off, at an early age, in 1686. Shepherd's character has been most unjustly aspersed with regard to certain expenses in travelling to look after the school property at Northampton.² He is said to have 'charged £5 10s. for riding his own horse 11 days.' The charge is arrived at by compounding in one two different items: one a charge of £5 10s. for his whole expenses to and from Northampton for himself, his servant, and 2 horses for 11 days, including their hotel bills; the other, a charge of £1 1s. for the use of the horses on 2 separate occasions, 11 days and 3 days each, a very low and reasonable charge.

The accounts are perfectly open and Shepherd leaves the court without a shadow of a stain upon his character.

John Caesar, of Christ College, Cambridge, probably from Camberwell (where there was a large family of Caesars), 'entered Schoolmaster and Prior of the said Hospital, 11 June 1681,' on the nomination of Archbishop Sancroft. The libeller has again been at work on his character regarding the accounts of the school. He is alleged to have defrauded the hospital of £184 19s.

¹ Foster's *Alumni Oxon.* f. 42.

² *History of the Whitgift Grammar School*, p. 10.

The only pretext for the allegation made is a memorandum of 4 December 1702, that 'His present Grace now Lord Archbishop (Tenison) hath of his own pious charity given unto the poor of this House, £100, which is now locked up in the chest, and is in lieu of as much money misapplied by Mr. Caesar the late schoolmaster, which money is at all times to defend law suites.' What Caesar had done was to fail to keep up this nest-egg in the Treasury against the rainy day of law, having divided up the whole income among the inmates. In the less litigious days of the eighteenth century it was not necessary to be always defending titles, as it had been in less settled times.

Of the state of the school under the next master, the Rev. Henry Mills, of Trinity College, Oxford, we incidentally get some interesting peeps in the 'Bangorian controversy' a politico-theological pamphlet war which raged fiercely in the years 1717-9. Beginning with an assault by Andrew Snape, Provost of Eton, on Benjamin Hoadly, non-resident Bishop of Bangor and resident vicar of Streatham, for his assertion in a sermon of the right of rebellion against authority, it soon degenerated into a personal attack on Hoadly for keeping in his house as tutor, one Francis de la Pillonnière, an ex-Jesuit and alleged Free-thinker, who had been French usher at Croydon School. It transpired that Dr. Snape's authority for Pillonnière's views was the wife of our Master; and eventually Mills himself had to publish two defences and counter-charges to the attacks made on him by Hoadly and Pillonnière. So far as it is now possible to form an opinion it would appear that the charges brought by the Frenchman against Mills were a compound of reckless inventions and gross exaggerations. In Mills' *Full answer to Mr. Pillonnière's reply to Dr. Snape*—the full title is several lines long—some interesting side lights are thrown on Mills' career and on the school by documents printed in it. A testimonial from the Dean and Chapter of Wells, given in view of Mills' application for Croydon, says that he had 'raised the reputation of this school³ far above what former masters could effect in many years.' Mills himself claims 'two flourishing schools raised by me, the first from a small one, this from none at all.' He was a Prebendary of Wells, and also rector of Dinder,

³ The Cathedral Grammar School at Wells. After a history of some 600 years the Dean and Chapter of Wells allowed this school to fall into abeyance at the end of the eighteenth century.

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so that Croydon School must have been a post with some possibilities in it to make it worth his while to give up Wells. He says of it, 'a school sunk in its reputation, nay quite gone, was risen again in your neighbourhood (i.e. the neighbourhood of Streatham) and became a flourishing one.' Incidental mention is made of Mr. Wells, a Fellow of King's, 'living under my roof with Mr. Pillonnière as my assistant,' and Mr. Edwards, 'a Latin usher,' while a succession of French ushers are mentioned. £30 a year, with board and lodging, was the salary paid to Mr. de la Pillonnière, who succeeded a Mr. de Cize, and was followed by Mr. Ronere. On engaging Mr. Pillonnière, Mr. Mills informed him that he had 'but few scholars that learned French, but hoped their number would increase,' and they did increase by seven or eight in one quarter. There were a considerable number of boarders—the actual number is not stated. But one of the charges was that Pillonnière was really dismissed, not because the archbishop had objected to Mills employing a Jesuit, who could produce no evidence that he had ceased to be one, but because Pillonnière had once complained that the meat was bad and the boys would not eat it. One of the allegations against Pillonnière was that he objected to taking the boys to church, and when there read French books instead of the Prayer-book, that he called the church of England 'a beast' in conversation with the boys, and ridiculed Mills for teaching them the Articles, which he derided. On the other hand, Pillonnière accused Mills of being a Jacobite, of keeping a portrait of the Pretender, and of speaking against King George I. Mills had, it appeared, made himself unpopular with some nonconformists by objecting to their sending a boy dressed in fancy attire, riding about on a donkey, in derision of Christmas day, when the boys were on their way to church. Some dissenters however, who signed a testimonial in favour of Pillonnière, expressly disclaimed a passage in it reflecting on Mills, which they said was added after they had signed it. Mills himself adjoins two largely signed addresses, one by the tradesmen of the town, the other by parents and gentry, testifying to their confidence in him and his conduct of the school. There seems, indeed, clear evidence that the school was flourishing under him, and attended by a considerable number of boys, both day-boys and boarders, and that while a classical education was given, modern ideas had so far been imparted that learning French was provided for and encouraged.

Mr. Mills held office for more than twenty years after this very unedifying controversy. In 1732 he published an *Essay on Generosity with a particular view of Archbishop Whitgift's Foundation in Croydon, Surrey*. It is largely composed of some rather fulsome flattery to the then Archbishop Wake in the form of comparisons with Whitgift. He describes himself then as rector of Mertham as well as Master of Whitgift's Hospital.

Next year he compiled a school book, called by the high-sounding name of *Pueritiae formandae artifex*, or 'the Craftsman on the formation of youth.' It was apparently republished in 1741¹ with a long Latin preface addressed to William Oliver, doctor at Bath, on the general subject of education, the thesis of which is that as 'at first poetry was the only subject of instruction, when learning was in its cradle, with poetry therefore I begin.' The book was accordingly a collection of pieces from the Latin poets arranged under alphabetical headings of subjects—*ars, avertia*, and the like. The fact that Mills took the trouble to compile the book for use in his own school and to publish it shows that the schoolmaster was probably, as required by the statutes, a good versifier, and that the school was at all events fairly frequented. In the preface he sets out a course of instruction, which may be supposed to be that which he himself pursued. The constant speaking of Latin was recommended. The course includes Lucian and Greek epigrams, and for those 'who wished to be clerics' Hebrew grammar and *Lyra Prophetica*. The standard aimed at and no doubt attained was at least as high as that of the great public schools. The preface speaks with some scorn of those who set up private schools 'and whisper to mothers the advantages they confer,' and 'as the custom now is attempt to deceive the public by calling a Grammar School an Academy.' The contempt into which the very term Academy has now fallen, even 'Academies for Young Ladies,' is a justification of Mr. Mills' strictures.

We hear nothing of the school under Samuel Staveley 1742, John Thomas Lamb 1751, Hugh Hodgson, of Lincoln College, Oxford, 1774-1801. John Rose, who came in the latter year, was a Lambeth boy, who, bred up at Merchant Taylors' School and St. John's College, Oxford, was for nearly twenty years undermaster at Merchant Taylors', before taking the mastership at Croydon.

¹ *Pueritiae formandae artifex* authore Hen. Mills Scholae Croydoniensis Preceptore. Londini apud J. Pemberton in Fleet Street MDCCXLI.

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It is to be feared that he did not make the school a success, as, although he was also rector of a city church, St. Martin's, Outwich,¹ he seems to have actually done what his predecessors are wrongly accused of doing, and to have falsified the hospital accounts for his own benefit. This he did partly by paying himself twice over, once as schoolmaster, and again, as Hugh Rose a poor brother; and partly by taking an undue proportion of the fines paid on renewal of leases. A bill in Chancery was filed against him, and he was called on to repay £529 *2s. 7d.* to the hospital. He had to resign.

He was succeeded in 1812 by J. C. Bisset. Bisset informed Lord Brougham's Commission² in 1832 that he had at first some fifteen or sixteen private pupils in the school, but had never had any free scholars, as those who wanted the free education did not want the classics, so he arranged with the National schoolmaster to teach them. The National School was actually held in the Grammar School, which thus ceased to be used at all.

That the Archbishops of Canterbury, visitors and patrons of the hospital, and with far more power over it than the ordinary visitor enjoyed, should thus have acquiesced in this abuse of the most important part of the foundation, and flagrant breach of trust, is a striking illustration of the impotence of visitors, and the little store then set on secondary education by the clergy. For half a century, from 1820 to 1870, the school ceased to exist at all, and the schoolmastership was a sinecure. Meanwhile the brethren were getting incomes of over £60 a year. At length in 1856, after an inquiry by the Charity Commissioners, a scheme was made by the Court of Chancery, 1 August 1856. It was a half-hearted sort of reform. It created a governing body, but left the sole appointment of the governors to the archbishop; it curtailed the stipends of the alms folk, and it provided for the revival of education. But unfortunately it purported to establish two schools both widely different from the school contemplated by the Founder: 1. 'A Commercial, or Middle school . . . for the respectable tradesmen, professional men and gentlemen of humble means.

2. A poor school of the National Society class . . . suited to the sons of the humble or working classes.'

The salary of the Middle schoolmaster was fixed at the magnificent sum of £200, and

¹ The anonymous History transmutes this into St. Mary's Outwitch!

² C.C.R. xxxi. 371.

that of the undermaster, at £100 a year; other masters, 'not exceeding £70.' The Chancery estimate of the proper sum to pay a master did not, however, much matter, as until the Endowed Schools Act was passed, and the Endowed Schools Commission established, there was no such school. The Poor School was established, chiefly because it already existed, the only change being that it was given new buildings. But the Endowed Schools Inquiry Commission, in 1866, found³ 'the old schoolroom stands vacant, and is let to a private schoolmaster, who taught in it for a short time, but has now removed to better premises, and sublets the building to any person who has a temporary job of carpentering or an entertainment to give.' Yet at this time the income of the hospital was no less than £3,067 a year.

The advent of the Endowed Schools Commission, created in 1869, quickened the dry bones. On 4 May 1871, the so-called Commercial or Middle School, was opened in new buildings, which cost £15,000, on a site which, with some subsequent extensions, now occupies 7½ acres.

The headmaster was Robert Brodie, Senior Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, an old Carthusian of the days when Charterhouse was a London School, a scholar of Trinity, Oxford, and a first-class man in Moderations and Literæ Humaniores. It is highly to the honour of the then archbishop, A. C. Tait, that he obtained from the Charity Commission an amendment of the scheme, which restricted the headmastership to clergymen, in order that he might appoint Mr. Brodie, who was a layman. The tuition fees and salaries of the teaching staff were fixed on a scale which fortunately wholly disregarded the Chancery scheme, which was supposed to govern it. In three years there were 263 boys. After a long struggle, on 15 July 1881 a new scheme was made under the Endowed Schools Acts, which, while it still left the appointment of half the governing body to the archbishop, brought in four independent members, two appointed by the Local Board, now the Town Council, and two by the School Board (now under the Education Act, 1902, also merged in the Town Council), while two were appointed by the justices of the borough, and in 1894, two were added from the Surrey County Council. The scheme re-christened the school 'Whitgift Grammar School,' restored Greek to its place in the curriculum, recognised a scale of tuition fees from £10 to £20 a year, established

³ *Schools Inquiry Rep.*, vii. 486.

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free scholarships in the school, and Exhibitions to the university. Unfortunately, yielding to unenlightened public agitation, the scheme also established a Middle School, with fees at about half the amount of the Grammar School fees; but not sufficiently differentiated from it. In the years 1884-9, two Whitgift boys were Senior Wranglers at Cambridge, and many good scholarships have been won at both Universities, thus showing the high standard aimed at and achieved in the school, not only in the ancient but in the modern subjects of study. Fortunately the growth of the income of the endowment has been *pari passu* with the growth of Croydon.

Perhaps the most striking feature in the present situation is that the original master of the 'Poor School' of 1856 is still the master of the Middle School in 1904, and that the master of the Grammar School of 1871 has only just retired upon a pension. In the vigorous hands of Mr. Andrew, appointed in 1903, the Grammar School is already striding onwards. Educated at Manchester Grammar School, scholar of Oriel College, Oxford, first class in Classics, in Moderations and Final Schools, he spent a year at Berlin University, and was Headmaster of Oldham Grammar School, 1895-1902. Under him the 250 boys left by Mr. Brodie have already grown to 340. The fees have been raised to £13 10s. a year for those entering the school under twelve, and £3 a year or £6 a year more for those entering above twelve or fifteen respectively. The school is already clamouring for more room.

CHARTERHOUSE, GODALMING

On 18 June 1872 a new planet swam into the ken of the observer of Surrey Schools, destined soon to become one of the first magnitude. This was Charterhouse School at Godalming.

The history of the old Charterhouse is part of the history of London north of the Thames, not of Surrey. Suffice it here to say that like all the old 'Public Schools' so-called *par excellence*, of which it was the most recent, it was founded as a Free Grammar School. The founder, Sir Thomas Sutton,¹ was an old Etonian, who after learning law at Lincoln's

¹ A general indebtedness to the excellent little *Charterhouse*, by Mr. A. H. Tod, in Messrs. George Bell & Sons' Public School Series, must once for all be acknowledged for nearly all the facts about the founder and the school.

Inn, and having seen active military service against Scotland, made a fortune in coal mines in Northumberland, which he increased by marrying a rich Surrey widow, Mrs. Dudley of Stoke Newington, and doubled or trebled as a city banker. His original design was, on the model of Eton, for a hospital or almshouse and school combined, at Hallingbury in Essex; and he obtained a private Act of Parliament for its establishment there in 1609. But two years afterwards, the old Charterhouse, then known as Howard House, with which, as one of the household of the Duke of Norfolk, he had been well acquainted in his younger days, was offered him instead, and he obtained letters patent authorizing him to transfer the foundation thither.

Whether there was in Sutton's time any educational establishment in part of the old Charterhouse, which may have suggested his new school to Sutton, does not appear. There is, however, one hitherto unknown incident in the educational history of the Charterhouse, which I must contribute. On 5 November 1515, Henry Whyte of Farnham, scholar of Winchester College, was admitted scholar (i.e. probationary fellow) of New College, Oxford, 'in the place of John Jakes, taking upon himself the office of a Grammar School, at Charterhouse' ('*assumentis in se officium scole gramaticalis apud Charterhouse*'). John Jakes, a native of Winchester, had been admitted a scholar there at the age of ten, in 1503, and of New College in 1509. He was therefore only twenty-two at this time, but that was not an unusual age to become a headmaster in those days. What grammar school there was at the Charterhouse remains a mystery. It is just possible that it was the young monks of Charterhouse he had to teach, for we find other Fellows of New College going to teach the monastic orders: thus, Edmund Johnson in 1542 went 'to teach canons in the city of London'; Robert Pebworth in 1531,² 'to teach the canons of Netley,' while in 1538, John Potynger vacated the second mastership of Winchester College³ to take the place of master in grammar to the younger monks and the children of the chapel and the almonry of the cathedral monastery of St. Swithin's,

² From New College Fellows' 'Protocols,' i.e. the indentures entered into by the College with the Fellows on admission. It is from this source that the late Warden of New College, Dr. Sewell, compiled his 'Register' of Fellows. There is no actual Register.

³ *V.C.H. Hants*, ii. Schools, 259.

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Winchester. There seem to have been attempts at reforming the monasteries in the sixteenth century, by improving their learning, and not limiting it, as before, to the two or three who were sent to the universities each year. But this movement had hardly begun in 1516, and the Carthusians, if they observed their rule, were of a more secluded order than the Benedictine monks of Winchester, or the Augustinian canons of Netley. Besides, the phrase, 'taking the office of a grammar school,' which is also used of Erlsman, on being elected headmaster of Eton in 1511, points to an organized school, and is entirely different to that of 'teaching the canons' (*ad informandum canonicos*) used in the other cases cited. It is possible that the Charterhouse monks had been compelled to establish a Public Grammar School, as Wolsey had already begun to suppress priories to found colleges, though it was long before Henry VIII. had begun to appropriate monastic revenues to educational purposes. Whatever kind of school it was, at present it can only be presented as a problem for the next Carthusian historian to affiliate the school founded by the Etonian Sutton to the school officered by the Wykehamist Jakes 101 years before.

The present school was first opened in July, 1614;—two years after the death of its founder.

The reasons why one school becomes great and another of practically the same foundation remains small are always obscure. Charterhouse took rank rather with Westminster than with St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors', and became a 'great Public School,' while Dulwich, though a college not less richly endowed, and Whitgift's School at Croydon remained small and obscure. As compared with Dulwich and Croydon it would appear that the proximity to London and the largeness of the foundation distinguished Charterhouse, while as compared with St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors', Charterhouse, like Westminster, had the advantage of suburban freedom, and what was then considered amplitude of site. It enjoyed 'spacious gardens, walled orchards, and other pleasancess; enriched with divers dependencies of lands and tenements thereunto belonging, and very fitly seated for wholesome ayre and many other commodities.' Smithfield, by which it was seated, had been celebrated from the days of Thomas Becket, as the playground of London and its schoolboys, and even in Stowe's time was still the resort of the London schools on festival days.

Even as late as 1780 Charterhouse was

more in the country than Harrow and Eton are now. Moreover, like Westminster, it had a strong nucleus of resident boarding scholars, and so became mainly a boarding-school instead of a day school. The roll of Charterhouse worthies is, it must be admitted, below that of Westminster, which for a century and a half was unquestionably the first school in the kingdom in the numbers and 'quality' of its *alumni*, and the profusion of cabinet ministers, judges, bishops and famous persons who issued from it. In the nineteenth century the propinquity to London which had been the cause of the success of Charterhouse and Westminster, became in turn the cause of decadence, when the town enveloped and destroyed the amenity of its surroundings.

When the Public Schools Commission issued, in 1864, their report on the nine 'Public' Schools, Charterhouse, like Westminster, was confronted with the alternative of leaving London or becoming mainly a day school. Having less sacred grounds to part from and also having fallen to lower numbers and fewer boarders, it wisely elected to leave London. The Public Schools Act, 1867, authorized the sale of the old and the purchase of a new site. Some 5½ acres of the old site were sold for £90,000 to Merchant Taylors' School, for which it was a paradise. The new site of seventy acres, at Godalming, the property of the Dean and Chapter of Salisbury, bought from the British Land Company, cost only £4,200.¹ The school which migrated from London to Godalming in 1872 numbered only 147, and 30 of these were left behind; but, including new recruits, 150 boys and 10 masters assembled on the top of the hill, a mile from Godalming in 1872.

The headmaster, William Haig Brown, had been appointed in 1863, and may almost be dubbed a second founder for his persistence crowned by success, in pressing the removal to the country. He was educated at Christ's Hospital, was second classic at Cambridge in 1846, and became Fellow and Tutor of Pembroke College. After a short time as assistant master at Harrow, he became headmaster of the Proprietary School at Kensington, which, under him became a great school, but is now extinct.

After 24 years' service he retired at Christmas 1897, to become master of Charterhouse, the hospital branch of Sutton's foundation. He has a good chance of immortality through having written two

¹ 'Lessington,' a field of 8½ acres by 'Under Green,' cost £5,000 in 1897; more than 70 acres had cost 25 years before.

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school songs in rhyming Latin, a hymn for Founder's Day at Charterhouse, and a much better one for his original home at Christ's Hospital.

The attraction of the splendid hill site and the spacious buildings of the new Charterhouse proved irresistible. The numbers flew to 244 in 1873, to 333 in 1874, and to 500 in 1876, at which number it was long fixed, though it is now 550. The buildings and playing fields have grown with the numbers. At first there was only a single big block, containing Big School, now Library, six classrooms and three boarding-houses, which reproduced in their names the old Charterhouse; viz. the headmaster's, called Saunderites, from Dr. Saunders, headmaster 1832-53; Gown-boys, because in it originally lived the foundation scholars, who in London wore gowns; and Verites, short for Oliverites, from Oliver Walford, usher 1838-55.

The only parts of the old Carthusian buildings that travelled to Charterhouse were 'gown-boy arch,' an eighteenth century arch, which led into Scholars' Court in old Charterhouse, and is covered with the names of old boys; and the stones which originally formed the facing of the old Big School of 1803. These relics have been erected in a kind of cloister at the east end of the chapel.

There was a time when schools vied with each other in the size of their 'Big Schools.' So the new Charterhouse had one, but under the system of smaller class-rooms this 'Big School' was found to be superfluous and converted into a school library, and a very good one. The want, however, of a large place of assembly was felt and so in 1884 a hall was built at the east end of the library, separated from it only by a moveable screen. To outward view it suffers from the defect of its roof not being in a continuous line; but inwardly it is a fine room. The six class-rooms of 1872 have grown into twenty, eight in what was called New School,¹ six adjacent to the hall just mentioned, and six others round Museum erected in 1891.

The boarding-houses, called 'Out-houses,' were erected by the various house-masters at their own risk and cost, amounting, it is said, to no less than £80,000; though now in course of acquisition by the foundation. They all line the heights above Sandy Lane, by which the school is approached from Godalm-

¹ Charterhouse, like Winchester (and perhaps most schools), eschews the definite article in the names of its familiar buildings and places; a convenient practice for the writer to whom space is important.

ing, and have the names of the house-masters with the termination of -ites. Thus, Mr. Girdlestone has given his name to his house as Girdlestoneites; Mr. T. E. Page, a well-known editor of classical works, eminent in the Assistant-Masters' Association, has given his name to Pageites. In the case of Mr. Robinson's, the name is Robinites. The usual modern developments of schools have taken place. Having a rifle range just below its own plateau, Charterhouse has won the Ashburton Shield more often than any other school—in 1882 and 1883, four years in succession, 1889 to 1892, in 1895 and 1896 and 1900. In cricket the school contends with Westminster and Wellington. In football Charterhouse is one of the chief sources of supply for Association teams at the Universities. It plays Westminster every year, and has a very decided lead, but then it is a school of 550 against one of 250. In 1904 Charterhouse for the first time played Winchester, which ordinarily plays its own ancient game (which allows no dribbling), and tied.

DULWICH

The history of the latest and greatest of the native schools of the county, that of Dulwich College, presents some singular features, not least of which is the figure of the founder. The successful churchman, statesman, lawyer, merchant, or tradesman are all well known figures in the roll of school founders. It remained for Dulwich to find the latest imitator of William of Wykeham, as the founder of a college-school, in the person of a successful actor. Edward Allen,² musician,³ strolling player, actor-manager, theatrical lessee and owner, bull and bear baiter and dog fancier to their Majesties Queen Elizabeth and James I., churchwarden of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and lord of the manors of Dulwich and of Lewisham is a unique personality amidst pious founders. He was a Londoner

² Dulwich people have naturally adopted the most antique-looking and fanciful spelling of the name. But as a matter of fact the first mention of his name is in the modern and simplest spelling, and that is the spelling commonly used by him. It was certainly so pronounced, and not 'Alleen,' as some pronounce it. In a letter of his own to his 'good sweett harte and loving mouse,' his wife, he addresses it 'E. Alline on the Bankside.' It is signed indeed Edward Alleyn. But as everybody who has had any experience of ancient documents knows, the spelling of names varies not only from one document to another, but from one line to another in the same document.

³ *Hist. of Dulwich College*, by William Young. Bumpus, London, 1889, ii. 3.

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born and bred. His father, Edward Allen was described as 'yeoman' in 1555, as 'innholder' when buying in 1566 the house in Bishopsgate in which his son was born, and as 'one of the Queen's majestie's porters' in the entry of his burial in the register of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, 1570.

Allen and his foundation have been fortunate in finding a faithful and full historian in William Young. From him we gather that the founder was born 1 September 1566. Where he was educated we do not know, but probably at St. Anthony's or St. Paul's school. He makes his first appearance in history as one of a company of strolling players of the Earl of Worcester's servants, who insulted the Mayor of Leicester¹ for refusing them leave to play on a Friday in Lent, 6 March 1583-4, which leave the mayor had eventually to give. Five years later,² 3 January 1588-9, Allen was already a 'gentleman' when Richard Jones 'yeoman' assigned him his share of certain 'playing appavelles, playe bookes, instruments and other commodities.' In 1592,³ at the age of twenty-six, it was written of him⁴ 'Not Roscius or Æsop, those tragedians admyred before Christ was borne, could ever performe more in action than famous Ned Allen,' and Ben Jonson asked, if Rome boasted Roscius and Cicero

How can so great example dye in mee
That, Allen, I should pause to publish thee ?

It was however as actor-manager rather than actor only that he made his fortune. On 22 October 1592 he married the step-daughter of Philip Hensley or Henslowe, who after being dyer, pawnbroker, and several other things, was then a theatre proprietor and manager of the 'Rose' on Bankside in Southwark, and also 'one of the gromes of Her Majestie's chamber.' Nothing could be more charming than Allen's letters to his 'sweet mouse,' as he calls his wife, or hers to him, and his demand for 'domesticall news' when he is wandering over the country in the pursuit of his profession is delightful.⁵

In 1604 he and his father-in-law became the chief masters and overseers of 'his majesty's

games of Beares, Bulls and doggs.' In this capacity they managed and exhibited, chiefly at Paris Gardens in Southwark, a sort of menagerie, including wolves and lions; they worried bulls 'dead at the stake,' and gave 'pleasant sport with the horse and ape and whipping of the blind beare.' At this time they were both vestrymen and churchwardens of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and governors of the Grammar School there. On 1 October 1605 Allen, now 'esquire,' became a landed proprietor on a large scale, buying the Hall Place in Dulwich for £790, and two days afterwards signing an agreement for the purchase of the manor of Dulwich and the lands belonging to it for £4,900. In 1613 he left Southwark for Dulwich, and at once set about building his college. It would seem that this foundation reversed the ordinary course of things, the building coming first, then the inmates being appointed and installed, while last of all the legal instruments settling the trusts⁶ and conveying the property were executed.

The contract⁷ for the building was made with John Benson, bricklayer, of Westminster, 17 May 1613. The building was arranged very much on the plan of Winchester College, which he several times visited, and to which he wrote for information, but on a very much smaller scale, and of brick instead of stone and flint. The chapel and schoolhouse formed the centre of the quadrangle, opposite the entrance gate, a line of 95 feet long, 29 broad, and 30 high; with a tower behind 60 feet high. The walls of the chapel were 3 bricks in thickness, and the upper part of the school 2½ and 1½. The front was beautified with six Doric pilasters. On each side were six almshouses, but the fourth side of the quadrangle consisted only of 'one faire gate rome to be fynished in the best and most decent manner with pilasters freze cornishe and piramides' in the middle of a wall 8 feet high. Allen was to dig out the foundations and find scaffolding boards, cords and nails, the contractor finding the brick and other materials. Payment was to be at the rate of 40s. a rod 'running measure.' The building was begun in June 1613, and finished by 22 April 1614, at a cost of £177.⁸ The glazing, Allen finding the materials, and Benson doing the work (though this was kept close for fear of the glaziers), cost another £10. Inigo Jones, having been present at the opening of the College, has been credited⁹ with

¹ *Leicester Hall Papers*, i. 38-42. Ibid. 5.

² Ibid. 5. ³ Ibid. 3.

⁴ T. Nash in *Pierce Pennylesse*. Ibid. 6.

⁵ Cf. especially Young, ii. 18, ten years after their marriage, 'I am glad to heare you take delight in hauckinge, and though you have worne your appayrell to rags, the best ys you knowe where to have better, and as wellcome to me shall you be with your rags, as yf you were in cloathe of gold and velvet. Trye and see.'

⁶ Young, i. 7. ⁷ Ibid. 19.

⁸ Manning and Bray guessed the cost at £8,000, a sum in those days amply sufficient to build the whole of Hampton Court.

⁹ Manning and Bray, iii. 433.

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being the builder. But fortunately for his reputation this is untrue. Not twenty years after its completion, on 6 July 1638, the tower fell, which caused a dissolution of the College for six months. 'Not long after' the whole of one side and part of the other fell down, and in 1703 the porch and Treasury chamber also fell. The East wing was entirely rebuilt in 1740. The result is that the present building contains very little of the original, and in outward view is almost wholly different, especially as the fourth side of the quadrangle has long disappeared.

By the summer of 1616 the building was ready for habitation, the first chaplain or preacher, Cornelius Lymer, then chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford, being formally appointed on 31 July.¹ On 1 September the chapel was consecrated by Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury (who as we have seen was a Surrey man), the see of Winchester being vacant by the death of Bilson. Immediately afterwards Allen appointed inmates, who were to be a warden, four fellows, twelve alms folk, six of each sex, and twelve poor scholars. The almsfolk and scholars were to be named by the parishes with which he was connected, St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, where he was born; St. Giles', Cripplegate, where he played and managed the Fortune Theatre; St. Saviour's, Southwark, where he lived and chiefly made his fortune; and lastly Camberwell, in which parish Dulwich was situate. The first almspeople were named on 1 October 1616.

The school did not begin till about a year later; the first schoolmaster, Edward Young, being admitted 20 June 1617.² The first scholars were named by the rector and churchwardens of St. Botolph's Bishopsgate, on 7 August 1617. They were all of the pauper class: Richard Merrydall, an orphan, ten years old; Simon Waddup, eight, whose father 'is both very lame and past his labour'; and Thomas Shippey, 'the sonne of a wofull and a distressed widow, and some eight years oulde.' These, with three others named by each of the privileged parishes, were admitted on 6 September 1617. This day may therefore be taken as the date of the beginning of the school.

The first usher, John Harrison, was appointed 20 November 1617.³ Young only stayed a year, Harrison becoming master 28 September 1618. In February 1619 Allen and Harrison shared the cost of 22s., the price

of a Minishawe's, i.e. Minshew's dictionary, 'being 11 languages.' The book was called *Ductor in linguas*, 'a guide to the tongues,' and was published only the year before. On 9 June 1621, 10s. was paid for 'Coper's dictionary for the boys,' showing that the school was carried on as a Grammar School.

The legal foundation was then taken in hand. The first step was to get the necessary patent or licence in mortmain drawn and passed by the attorney-general, which was done 11 July 1618. It received the Privy Seal, the necessary preliminary to a writ to the Chancellor to attach the Great Seal, on 16 August. The chancellor, Lord Bacon, 'stayed the patent at the Great Seal' on grounds, on which he had already opposed the patent for the Charterhouse. The first was because it affected the revenue. 'If his Majesty give way thus to amortize his tenures, the Court of Wards will decay.' But the chief reason was that the king had lately refused the establishment of two 'lectures,' one at Oxford and one at Cambridge, 'foundations . . . of which there is great want; whereas Hospitals⁴ abound and beggars never abound a whit-the less,' a remark which shows how Bacon in this as in many matters was in advance of his time. It was not till a year later that the chancellor's opposition was overcome and the letters patent sealed, 21 June 1619. By this charter⁵ Allen, described as 'of Dulwich, esquire, chief master, ruler and overseer of all and singular over games of beares, bulls, mastive doggs and mastive bitches,' was empowered⁶ to found the 'colledge of God's gift' in Dulwich, and to grant to it the Hall Place and the 'manor or lordship' of Dulwich and its lands and some 249 acres more, besides the tenements and lands in St. Botolph's which he inherited from his father, and the Fortune Theatre in St. Giles' without Cripplegate. The Foundation deed in pursuance of the license was executed 13 September 1619. 'And there wear present the Lord Chancellore, the Lord of Arundell, Lord Coronell (i.e. Lord Colonel or Lord Lieutenant), Ciccell' the High Sheriff, 'Inigo Jones the Kinges Surveyor,' and other magnates. 'They both heard a sermond, and, after, the instrument of erection⁷ was by me read, and after an anthem,

⁴ The word Hospital was then used for houses for almsfolk, such as Christ's Hospital and Sutton's Hospital, as well as for houses for the sick.

⁵ Young, i. 39. The charter was in English.

⁶ Ibid. 39.

¹ Young, i. 22-3.

² Ibid. 34.

³ Ibid. 36, but in the list on p. 429 it is given as 20 December.

⁷ In Young the word is given as 'creacion,' But this is a misreading of the original.

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they went to dinner.¹ This instrument only erected the 'Colledge of God's Guift,' and appointed its first members; Thomas Alleyn, 'citizen and barber surgeon,' to be master, Mathias Alleyn, 'of Dulwich, gent,' to be Warden; 'Samuell Wilson, Mr. of Artes,' John Harrison, Mr. of Artes, the Schoolmaster, 'Martin Simons, clarke' and Thomas Hopkins to be the first four fellows of the Colledge.

The endowment took place 24 April 1620, when Allen conveyed the property, in the same words as in the letters patent, to two trustees, William Alleyn, and William Austen of Southwark, on trust for himself for life and afterwards for the Colledge. So the founder continued to administer the revenues at his pleasure.

In July 1619 the School was furnished. 'The charge of waynskotting and seating the schole chambre' with 'the master his pewe' and 'the usher's pewe' came to £13 10s. 4d. The Preacher got £30, the Schoolmaster £20, the Usher £13 6s. 8d., and the Organist £10 a year.

It was not till 29 September 1626, within two months of his death, that Allen made statutes² for the college. They are very long, containing no less than 121 articles. Yet in some points, partly by reason of being inconsistent with the charter, they are so obscure that there was incessant litigation as to who were to be the Governing Body of the Colledge and who were entitled to share in its revenues, until the matter was settled by a decree of the Court of Chancery and Act of Parliament in 1857.

They were singularly old fashioned in tone. Thus they laid down the qualifications of the Master and Warden 'as single persons and unmarried,' and these words at once provoked a difficulty, as the first master and warden appointed by Allen himself were both married.³ No doubt marriage was regarded as incompatible with the collegiate life. The only other qualification imposed, except the general one of 'honest lives and conversation, of learning judgment and understanding suffi-

cient to discharge their places,' was that they were to be 'of my blood and sirname, and for want of such, my sirname onlie.' This was the doctrine of next of kin run mad. Already in 1642 the Warden elected had no claim to be of kin to the founder, but only to be of his name.

The other fellows were also to be unmarried. Their qualifications were that

the first senior fellowes be in degrees at the least Master of Artes of either of the Universities, Oxford or Cambridge, preachers, the two second senior fellowes graduates and divines, the first of them to be an approved schoolmaster, and the second to be a sufficient scholler to be Usher of the Schole.

This was a departure from the original arrangement by which the first fellow was to be preacher, the second Schoolmaster, the third Usher, and the fourth Organist. It never took effect, but had the result of introducing uncertainty into the positions of the Master and Usher and their pay. A further addition was intended by article 2, which purported to add 'six junior Fellowes' 'chaunters for musique,' of whom by article 5 'the two first to be musicians of sufficient skill in the art of musique to be Organists of the Colledge and to teach the free schollers musique and to singe, and the other fower chaunters to be singe men of the chappel.'

It is to be regretted that this revival of the old combination of Song and Grammar School was not thought of sooner. Music evidently was dear to this ex-musician's⁴ heart. In September 1619 he paid £1 15s. 6d. for three violles for the children. In 1621 he paid 5s. for five quire of royall paper for songs. He elaborated the musical provisions in Statute 35. The two first Junior Fellowes were to

singe their partes in the quire, and shall prick all such services and anthems as the master shall command for the use of the chappell into faire books, and also all other songes and musiques for the private or publique use of the colledge, both for violles and voices; and those they shall keepe faire, and at their departure leave them to the college. And they shall teach the poore schollers to singe prick-songs and to play upon the violles, virginalls, organs and other instruments, and to teach and direct any other person or persons of the college that are to singe their partes in the chappell.

The four other chanters were to be men of handicraft trades, 'taylors, glovers, imbro-

⁴ In 1595 the first professional description of him was as 'musicion.' Young, ii. 3, from Muni-ment 106.

¹ Young, ii. 149. The whole dinner is set out in Alleyn's diary, and its cost, which was £20 9s. 2d., Claret, canary, 'sherey' and white wine, and two hogsheds of beer were the drink.

² Young, i. 63.

³ A legal opinion of two serjeants at law and two councillors at law was given that these two might retain their places and wives as Allen's knowledge of their being married was a sort of dispensation. *Ibid.* i. 100. In 1650 Dr. John Alleyn the master was secretly married to Mrs. Nye, who was said to be a Jewess, and she got her commons from the Colledge. *Ibid.* i. 175.

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derers, shoemakers or such like,' who were to be employed in their trade, 'both in making the poor scholars apparell and shoes and otherwise.' They were also

in the afternoon to teach their trades to such of the poore schollers as shall be found unfit for the University; and that they may not loose their musique half the number shalbe taught the trades one afternoone and the other of them the other afternoone.

In fine, Allen contemplated a sort of Royal College of Music. But as soon as possible after Allen's death the College took counsel's opinion whether the addition of chanters not being provided for in the charter was not *ultra vires*, and were advised that it was. So none were ever appointed, and the musical college came to nothing. A similar addition of thirty out-pensioners also failed of effect.¹ The revenues would have then been wholly insufficient.

So the educational part of the establishment resolved itself into the second Fellow being schoolmaster, the third usher and the fourth organist. The statutes however had reduced the salaries of the master and usher from £20 and £13 6s. 8d. to £10 a piece, the two preachers receiving £12 each, the Warden £30, and the Master £40.

The twelve poor scholars, like all the other members of the College, were chosen by a mixed process of election and chance. When a place was vacant three or four poor children were to be elected by the vestries of the parishes and sent to the college, the Master and Wardens chose two from them who were to draw lots as solemnly provided for.

12. The manner of drawinge of the said lot shall be thus: Two equal small rowleses of paper to be indifferently made and rolled up, in one of which rolls the wordes 'God's Guift' are to be written, and the other rowle is to be left blank and so put into a boxe; whiche box shalbe thrice shaken up and downe, and the elder person of those two that are elected to drawe the first lot, and the younger person the second; and whiche of them draweth the lott wherein the wordes 'God's Guift' are written shalbe forthwith admitted.

The loser was consoled with a gift of so much of the pay of the vacant place as was due from the time of vacancy to the time of election. It might be thought that this

¹ They were afterwards introduced by an Injunction of Archbishop Sheldon in 1667 (Young, i. 155), and finally extinguished by a judgment of Lord Chancellor King, 4 April 1728 (Young, i. 247).

provision at least was original and unique. But there still exists at Kirkby Ravensworth, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, a similar mode of election of the two wardens.

The provisions as to the school seem to have been submitted for the advice of the Warden of Winchester, Dr. Nicholas Love, who had been Headmaster of that school. Some one from Winchester, probably the Bursar, wrote to Allen,² saying that the Warden had made the following among other remarks on the proposed statutes.

4. There must be a table of orders made for ye schoole at watt houres in ye morning and afternoone ye scollers must be in ye schoole, and at watt houres to depart, at watt houres ye junior fellowe shall be tyed to come into schoole and howe longe to staye in, watt assistance ye sennior fellowe shall doe to ye schoole and watt power he shall have over it. Ye duties of bothe ye fellowes to be in a table particularly expressed, watt they shall perfourme towards teaching the schollers.

5. What number of outcommers there shalbe admitted at one time to be taught in your schoole. If ye senior fellowe helpe not to beare the burden of teaching it will not doe well if you admitt more than 20 outcommers to be taught with your 12, for it will cause that neither the one nor the other to be well attended.³

It would appear from these remarks that Allen's original design was to have only two fellows, who were to be schoolmaster and preacher and usher. It was a misfortune for the utility of his institution that he departed from this, and made the school thereby a much less important part of the foundation.

The statutes as to the school do not appear to have been very clearly thought out. The poor scholars were to be (Stat. 3) four orphans, or at least children of those in receipt of parish alms, of the age of '6 or 8 yeares thereabout' at the time of admission, but to remain as at Winchester and Eton 'untill they bee eighteene yeares at the most, and then at the charge of the colledge to be put forth either for schollers' (i.e. for the Uni-

² Dulwich College MSS. v. 136. In Warner's *Catalogue* it is numbered 47. But as the only numbering in the present arrangement in bound volumes is one of pages, the numbering in the catalogue is misleading and almost useless. Some one at the time has written on this MS. 'Notes from Mr. Doctor Lodge, Warden of Winchester Colledg.' Lodge is simply a mistake for Love.

³ There are several other points touched on, but only points of management. A letter of advice from 'Eaton Colledge' refers only to the 'Order of Bread and Beer!'

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versity) 'or for Trade as their capacity will fit.' They were to be taught (Stat. 65) 'good and sound learning, wryting, reading, grammar, musique and good manners.' The schoolmaster and usher shall also 'freely without recompense or reward, teache and instruct the children of the inhabitants of Dulwich in wrytinge and grammar.' These, though 'freely taught,'¹ were to give '2s. 6d. for every childes admittance, and 6d. a quarter to the scholmaster towards broomes and rodds, and every year at Michaelmas a pound of good candells for the use of the schole'—requirements taken, as we have seen, from the statutes of Southwark and of Camberwell Schools. Paying scholars were however admitted.

For such foreyners children (other than of Dulwich aforesaid) which shalbe schollers in the said schole their friends shall paie the scholemaster and usher such allowance as the master and warden shall appointe.

The total number, including the twelve poor scholars, 'shall not exceede fourscore at a time.' The master or usher was 'to be able to teache the poore schollers to write a fair hand,' and to provide pens, ink, and paper for the twelve scholars, 'both for wryting and ciphering books and for the grammarians to make their lattins in.'

The school hours (Stat. 72) were very much shorter than at St. Saviour's, Southwark, viz. : 6 to 9.30 a.m. and 1 to 4 p.m. in summer (1 March to 1 September), and 7 to 9.30 a.m. and 1 to 3.30 p.m. in winter. But this was because of chapels and music. The music scholars were to be in the 'Musique schole or rome' at 9.30 a.m. and 3.30 p.m. Even on play days they were to go there at 1 p.m. The scholars were to be taught 'according to the rules and precepts of the grammar allowed in England, and such other books as were commanded by publique authoritye and usually taught in the free grammar scholes of Westminster and Paules.' As by Bilson's statutes at St. Saviour's, the boys were to be taken on

the election dayes to the free schooles of Westminster or the Merchant Taylors' Schole in London to see and heare the exercises used and uttered by the schollers of those scholes on those daies to the end they may observe and mark the manner and forme thereof.

Four of the scholars, neither more nor less, were to be maintained at the University for eight years, and any of those were to have a

¹ Thus confirming the meaning of 'free school' at Southwark, v. supra.

right to a fellowship of the college without any lot or election. The visitor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was to appoint 'a divine to hold an examination yearly on Monday in Whitsun week.' As at Winchester the scholars were to sit at the side table in hall, and one of them was to read a chapter in hall. Their diet is exactly provided for. Every morning at 8 a.m. a loaf of bread among four and a cup of beer each. All the meals were arranged on the basis of messes of four. On Monday, Tuesday and Thursday for dinner 'a good messe of pottage,' for which 2 lbs. of beef were to be boiled, half a loaf each and 'beere without stint.' On Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, instead of meat there was 'milk or other pottage befitting the season,' and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of butter and 2 lbs. of cheese among them all, or fish, pear or apple pies. At supper the same, except on Friday or fasting days, when it was only bread and beer. On Sundays and holy days for messes of four² at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. each, roast beef was provided for dinner and roast mutton for supper, 'with such increase of diet in Lent and on gawdy daies as the Surveyor of the diet shall think fitt.' Their clothes were an upper coat of good cloth 'of sad cullor' lined with canvas, the shirts were white cotton, a pair of drawers of white cotton, two canvas shirts, two pairs of knit stockings, two round bands, a girdle, and a black cap, 'shoes as often as need shall require.'

The requirement that the twelve poor scholars were to be absolutely of the pauper type was not one calculated to attract the 'foreigners,' without whom it was not likely that the school would be a success, as the whole population of Dulwich at that time probably would not furnish a dozen boys all told. At first however there seems to have been some prospect of boarders. On 15 June 1620, Allen's diary records³ that 'Mr. Rogers sent this daye his 3 sones att board and scholling for £12 per annum a peece,' and on 12 September 'Mr. Woodward's sone came to sojorne and be taught here at £20 per annum.' The evil effect of requiring unmarried schoolmasters and fellows was soon seen. In the summer of that year Harrison, the schoolmaster, married 'Nan' Allen, Allen's ward and daughter of his cousin Edward Allen, glover, of Newport Pagnell, secretly, because as he said

She was under the name of your servant, I know no other, and it would have been thought

² As is still done at the Middle Temple Hall and at St. Cross Hospital by Winchester.

³ Young, i. 56.

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unfit . . . that a minister's wife should have served tables, especially the wife of one (be it spoken without arrogancye) that hath taken the degree of a Master of Artes.

He wrote begging letters to Allen and asked him to be godfather to his child, but got only an angry letter. Anne was however given a legacy of £20 by Allen's will. The '3 Rogers went away' soon after Harrison, 28 October, and Woodward on 13 January 1621. On 29 December 1620, however, 'Richard Caulden came here to bord,' the master then being Martin Symonds, previously usher, Peter Symonds becoming usher in his place. This last soon fell a victim to matrimony, and departed at the end of 1621.

On 28 June 1632 Allen's wife died and was buried in the College Chapel. This event would probably have wrecked the whole establishment had not Allen already put it out of his power to do so by his conveyance of lands. For on 28 October he was being pressed for security for the settlement on his intended second wife, Constance Donne, daughter of the Dean of St. Paul's, a girl of twenty, Allen being fifty-seven. He had apparently become engaged a month earlier, when three of the four fellows left, and William George was appointed to be both Preacher and Schoolmaster. In the following summer the organist left, and Matthew Sweetser was the sole schoolmaster and the sole fellow. The marriage took place on 3 December and there was talk next year of 'child bed linen.'¹ But there was no child. The settlement was secured in 1625, when the lease of The Barge, Bell and Cock in Southwark and other premises was assigned as security for £1,500. The same lease was given by Alleyn's will to the College to meet the additional charges imposed by the statutes, i.e. the 'chaunters' and the thirty poor. As the property never came into possession, the additional charges fell through. But at the time of his death, Allen's finances had improved, and all four fellowships were full. He died at the age of sixty on 25 November 1626.

Matthew Sweetser the schoolmaster, left in the February succeeding Allen's death,² and the usher, Charles Faldo, succeeded. In 1627, the year after the founder's death, there was a surplus of £30 divided beyond the fixed salaries, the schoolmaster, Mr. Faldo, receiving £3. But there was not another surplus during the century.

Evil times came on the college. The steeple fell down in 1638, and from 1635 till after the Restoration the income was diminished by £128 a year by the closing of the Fortune Playhouse, first on account of plague, then on account of prohibition by the Puritans.

We really know next to nothing of the school and absolutely nothing as to what work it did for outsiders, if any. Grammar and music were taught, as we find such entries as on 6 February 1630, '3 grammers, 6 construing bookes and catechismes for the schole boyes, 5s.' 25 July, 1631, '2 Catoes³ and other bookes for the schole 3s. 11d., and a Latin grammer 8d.' 8 September 1633, '2 gramers for the schoole' 1s. 8d. For music we gather, 'Paid Mr. Walker for a new pair of virginalls for the schole, £2 6s.' on 6 December 1631, and on 3 February following 'mending the base violl 6s.,' and 12 November 1632, 'the virginalls mending, 3s.' 29 October 1633, 'mending a base violl, 6s. 6d.'; 26 January 1635, 'a table for the singinge schoole, 5s. 6d.' 'tuning the schoole organ, 5s.'

During the Civil War and the Commonwealth the school received more attention.

In March, 1643-4, it was in the hands of two Welshmen, William Jones and Cadwallader Roberts, who had been elected in 1639. The latter having been absent for a year, James Meade was appointed in his place, and paid the stipend, but not admitted as fellow. Roberts was now however proceeded against, and on 28 March 1644 Meade was elected Usher Fellow. The preacher resigned on 3 May, and the schoolmaster on 4 May. So on 23 May the 'Committee for the safety of the county,' finding the other fellowships 'void by the delinquency of some and the resignation of others of the fellowes,' made John Crofts, M.A., preacher, and gave him the salaries of the two senior fellows, and confirmed Meade, who was only a B.A., in the place and salaries of the two junior fellows. The master and warden demurred to this order as unstatutable, and were for a short time imprisoned for refusing to obey it. Meade resigned 17 October 1645, and the 'Committee of Plundered Ministers' appointed Edward Colby to succeed him. The terms of appointment referring to teaching 'children and schollers in the said free school' may perhaps be taken as evidence that there were other scholars besides the twelve on the foundation, which latter, like the scholars of

¹ Young, i. 37.

² *Ibid.* i. 428. But he signed the first audit on 6 November 1627.

³ The so-called Cato's *Moralia*, a first Latin reader for many centuries, now entirely disused and forgotten.

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Winchester and Eton, were distinguished as 'the children.' The master and warden pretending that the order could not mean that the schoolmaster was to have double pay, Colby appealed to the Committee, who decided against him. But a petition, being presented by the inhabitants of Dulwich showing that the ministers had already gone and that 'the Scholemaster was ready to remove for want of maintenance, whoe hath done more good in his place than ever any man did,' the Committee ordered that besides the actual 'dyett' the schoolmaster was to be allowed £10 for the 'dyett' of one of the vacant fellowships.

In 15 July 1647, 15*s.* was paid for 'a bible for the Hall for the boys,' and on 19 February 'For a primere for Fox a boy 3*d.*' was paid.

Under the fostering influence of the Parliamentary Committee, the first poor scholar was sent to the University on 4 September 1650, in the person of John Brooke from Cripplegate, and was allowed £20 a year. He went to Christ's College, Cambridge, and his outfit (paid for on 9 February 1657) in clothes, books, etc., cost £10 13*s.* 11*d.*¹ A second exhibitioner was sent on 4 March 1658, Thomas Woodall of Bishopsgate to Exeter College, Oxford, with £16 a year, St. Botolph's parish finding £5 'for the fitting out in clothes, and monie towards buyeing him books.' In answer to a petition of the College, Oliver Cromwell, as Lord Protector, on 11 February 1655-6, appointed a commission of visitors in place of the archbishop. On 19 March 1657-8, John Bradford, B.A., 'of Brazen Nose College in the University of Oxon,' was elected schoolmaster-fellow, and Henry Tilley, B.A., late student of Christ Church, was elected usher-fellow, and the other two fellowships were filled up with Cambridge men. Tilley retired in December 1659, and Bradford in November 1661 passed on to be master of Camberwell Grammar School. The example set by the Parliamentary visitors of sending scholars to the Universities was followed for some years. Roger Bailey, sent to Wadham in 1662 with an outfit costing £17 10*s.* 10*d.*, on 8 December, became usher-fellow on Lady Day, 1671.

A visitation of the College by Archbishop Sheldon, begun in 1664, reported as to the fellows that 'the Mr and Warden being laymen, and they priests and University schollers, they think they have advantage thereby to despise them,' especially as in chapel the

fellows wear their hoods and 'the Master and Warden without any appear to these younger fellows but as singinge men.' The visitors found as to the school,² that the hours are not observed, 'but we feare that by the passion and indiscretion of the schoolmaster the school is not so well governed as it ought, nor in so good reputation as might be wished.' In the Orders³ issued by the archbishop 9 October 1667, the schoolmaster and usher were admonished to be

careful in performing their duty of instructing the scholars, as well forrayners as the 12 poore boys, and forbear from all passion towards the scholars but especially from blows, and that they give no other correction to any but with the rod or ferula, and the same with mildness and consideration.

As this order was accompanied by an increase of stipend to the masters of £20 a piece and of 'diet' from £10 to £15 a year, it was no doubt easily borne.

The usher, Roger Bailey, seems however to have resigned. But the master, Francis Brockett, of Queens' College, Cambridge, notwithstanding several proofs of a very violent temper and in spite of quarrels with the archbishop and the master and warden about the accounts and the 'out-members,' remained in office till his death in September 1680. On 27 October 1677 his arrest⁴ was ordered for causing Thomas Bowdler of Camberwell 'to be violently assaulted and wounded by several of his schollers, and the said Brockett had threatened to teare the said Deponent in peaces.' In 1679 complaint was made to the archbishop that he had 'a curateship in London and is absent 2 or 3 days a week, the inhabitants' children ought to be taught freely, paying only for entrance and 2*s.* a year, which the schoolmaster refuseth unless he also is paid.' He did however his duty by the twelve boys. In 1678, for the first and only time in the history of the college before the scheme of 1882, there were, as provided by the statutes, four scholars up at Cambridge at once, each receiving £18 a year.

At the end of Brockett's time, perhaps during his illness, when his work was being done by his eventual successor, John Blackburne, there was great activity in book buying for the school.

On 22 March 1680, a Lily's grammar was bought for 1*s.*, and a week later a 'construing

¹ St. Saviour's Southwark contributed £3 to this favoured youth, 'sent of Mr. Bingham's money.'

² Young, i. 149.

³ Ibid. 150.

⁴ Ibid. i. 167.

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book' for 6*d.* On 10 May 'Farnaby's' epigrams, 10*d.*; the Sentences, 4*d.*; Homer's Iliad, 3*s.* 4*d.*; 2 Tully's Orations, 2*s.*; and 13 June 'a screveli' for the college scholē boyes, 7*s.* 6*d.*, and 2 Virgills 2*s.* 6*d.*² On 2 October a Nomenclatura cost 8*s.*, and Sententiae pueriles³ 2*s.* 2*d.*; while on 17 January 1681 a Homer's Iliad, 1*s.* 1*d.*, Grammar and construing 1*s.* 4*d.*, Corderius 8*d.*, and an Accidence 4*d.* But this activity died with the new master, John Blackburne, on 19 September 1682. The next outburst was ten years later under Thomas Baker, when a 'dicionary' cost 7*s.*, and 'changing Rider's dictionary for a Littleton,' the same. In 1699 a Wingate's Arithmetick for 3*s.* 6*d.* seems to mark a new departure for modern subjects.

Meanwhile the Organist, abolished with the organ under the Commonwealth, was restored by Archbishop Sheldon's injunctions in 1669, and next year 'a pair of harpsichords and frame for the musicke scholē' were provided at a cost of £6, but the music does not seem to have been revived. In 1682 the organist, Charles Galloway, complained at a visitation of 'the slovenly manner in which the singing in the chapel is carried on;'

especially the master, Warden and Fellows will not or cannot sing and the boys for want of judgment and mutual assistance follow one after another in such a confused manner as renders it very absurd to the auditors.

On 6 October 1706, James Hume, M.A. of Edinburgh, having acted as master for a year before, was elected schoolmaster-fellow on the nomination of Archbishop Tenison. A large part of Mr. Young's *History of the College* is devoted to him and the good he did the college, though it seems principally to have consisted in procuring a division of surplus income. As schoolmaster, he served for three years without a regular usher, and when, in 1709, Mr. John Beresford was appointed, reflects unfavourably on him in a letter of 8 March 1710⁴

Sir, you cannot be ignorant in what condition I found the school at my first coming, nor by what means all my endeavours to retrieve its reputation and credit have been rendered ineffectual, and that among the manifold discouragements I have met with

¹ Master of Sevenoaks Grammar School.

² Screvelius' Dictionary.

³ By Charles Hoole.

⁴ B.M. Add. MS. 29, 477. James Hume's Commonplace Book. The letter is addressed to 'Mr. —,' probably the master of the College.

... none of my least troubles has been to be plagued with overgrown boys instead of discreet and diligent assistants . . . After my stock of patience was quite worn out and all other remedies proved unsuccessful, I was forced much against my will to complain of Mr. — notorious and wilful failure in the discharge of his offices.

Instead of giving particulars the letter goes on to answer Mr. Beresford's rejoinder, which had taken the form of an argument *ad hominem*, that as Hume had irritated the society by pressing for a dividend, he was not to be believed when he complained of his usher. An outburst of book buying followed. On 22 April 1710, two Ovid's Metamorphoses at 3*s.* 6*d.* each, and two Corderius Colloquies for 1*s.* 6*d.* were followed on 22 July by two Erasmuses 4*s.* 4*d.*, and two Catos 1*s.*, and (ominous conjunction) a cane 2*d.* Hume's own work does not however seem to have been very satisfactorily performed. The injunctions issued after a visitation by Archbishop Wake on 9 December 1724, say, 'The school has not hitherto answered the intention of the founder,' and accordingly directs that the poor boys sent by the privileged parishes 'over and above the qualifications mentioned by the founder shall appear to have been well instructed in the church catechism, and are able to read well in the New Testament,' and that 'considering how few hours schooling are required by the statutes, the master be very cautious in granting leave for play . . . that the master and usher be not absent more than one day a week.' The most important order was however, as appears in Hume's Commonplace Book, due to a suggestion of Hume himself, who urged⁵ that 'when a lad has little or no genius for learning, and must be put to a trade at last, it seems unreasonable that the schoolmaster should drudge on teaching him Latin and Greek until he is eighteen, which he has hitherto done in accordance to the statutes,' and suggested a judgment being formed about his capacity earlier, and his career altered accordingly. 'If at fourteen a boy be judged incapable of being qualified for the University, he be taught the vulgar arithmetick, and to write at a good hand and at a competent age be put out to some trade of the better sort.' The salaries of master and usher were increased, the former to £28, the latter to £26; they were obliged in return to teach reading, writing and vulgar arithmetic to not more than twelve of the children of the poorer inhabitants of Dulwich above ten years old, who can read the 'New Testa-

⁵ Add. MS. 29, 477, f. 37b.

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ment,' and all those who 'shall be desirous of learning Latin on the terms prescribed by the Founder.' On 17 April 1725 Mr. Hume expressed himself much surprised at a message from the archbishop 'that twelve children, not only of Dulwich, but strangers or inmates or who live in the adjacent parts, should be immediately admitted.' He was willing to admit those of Dulwich

who were very few qualified now, at first but 7 or 8, being a sufficient number to be taught for the additional salary since less than 10s. per quarter is not paid in any Foundation school for boys not upon the Foundation, whereas if they are to be paid in proportion to the actual number received it would be 2d. or 3d. for each boy per week, a reward too little for a Dame, besides the meanness of being always obliged to reckon with the College for pence and farthings.

The result, as usual, does not appear. But the injunction and the letter equally show to what depths of inutility had sunk the school in creating which, the statutes of Winchester and Eton were consulted. In 1752¹ William Swanne, 'a poor scholar' who had been sent to Christ Church, Oxford, with an exhibition, became schoolmaster. In 1760 Archbishop Seckford instituted an inquiry into the lack of exhibitors sent to the University. The master admitted that from 1718 to 1747 none had been sent, and from 1748 to 1760 none. The reason was

from the opinion and sentiments of your Grace's predecessors' chaplains who in this case are always our judges . . . not . . . inattention or want of care in their teachers, but solely from the incapacities of the youths themselves whose understandings have been found incapable of even making any proficiency either in Greek or Latin. . . .

so 'agreeable to injunction of Dr. Wake, have been taught arithmetic and apprenticed.' The schoolmaster added that there was then one fit to go 'as soon as of age.' In 1764 William Cotton was sent to Christ Church and allowed £25 a year for eight years. In 1770 George Long was sent to New College, Oxford. No more exhibitions were given for nearly 100 years.

¹ Young, i. 291. One of the masters, James Allen, by deed of 31 August 1741, founded a school for a Dame to teach poor boys to read and poor girls to sew. The income was only £15 a year. But it probably served to relieve the College school of most of the poor children of Dulwich. In 1807 the school was enlarged and the boys and girls separated, and the school provided all the elementary education then required in Dulwich.

In 1834 the Commissioners of Inquiry concerning charities found only the twelve scholars in the school, but said that since the appointment of the then Master² there had been 'always some and occasionally as many as three boys, inhabitants of Dulwich, receiving instruction in the school gratis.' Two of the boys were learning 'the Eton Latin Grammar,' but the master³ does not think he is called upon to give the boys a good Latin education, an opinion with which the Commissioners expressed their disagreement. All boys learnt singing, plain hymn tunes, the three Rs and 'the elements of history and mathematics.' The rental in 1833 was £7,881. The schoolmaster received £177 and the usher £147 10s. salary, while the cost of the diet of master and scholars is not shown separately, but about £430 was spent on clothing and apprenticing the boys. The poor brethren received £134 each, besides board, lodging and clothing. A suit in Chancery ensued on the Commissioners' Report, judgment being delivered 29 July 1841. Lord Langdale's views as to the unsatisfactory character of the school produced a resolution 24 September for building a Grammar School on a design by Mr. Barry, the builder of the Houses of Parliament, for £900. This was opened 1 September 1842, with a headmaster, Mr. Edward Baker, of University College, Durham, at £150 a year, and £50 for an assistant. On 29 February 1844, the Headmaster was dismissed for excessive punishment of the son of a doctor. Mr. Baker Monk succeeded, giving place to Mr. Robertson next year, who held only till Easter 1848. In 1852 Dr. Thomas Cox became headmaster of the grammar school. He afterwards died a 'poor brother' in the college almshouse.

An appeal by the churchwardens of St. Saviour's in 1847 to the visitor as to the education of the boys produced an injunction from Archbishop Sumner in 1851, directing that four of the boys should be selected at fourteen to be given a superior education.

But a more stringent visitor was at hand. In 1854 the Charity Commission, which had

² Meaning the Master of the College, John Allen, of Holland House celebrity, appointed Warden 1811, master 1820.

³ John Vane, schoolmaster-fellow 1818-1848. He is said (Young, i. 432) to have been an illegitimate son of the Marquis of Londonderry, and was of Trinity College, fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. He combined the mastership with the rectory of Wrington, Somerset, worth £660 a year, the preachship at the Rolls Chapel and a clerkship in the closet to the queen. He died rector in 1871.

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been created the year before, began an inquiry through Mr. Thomas Hare,¹ their Inspector. The then schoolmaster, the Reverend William Fellowes, was found to teach Latin Grammar to five of these ten boys, and French instead of Latin authors: he had also introduced logarithms. He took the school on alternate weeks with the usher. There was no afternoon school.

As a result of the inquiry, an Act of Parliament, the Dulwich College Act 1857, establishing a scheme, received the royal assent on 25 August 1857. By this Act the corporation of the college was dissolved, and a body of nineteen 'Governors of Alleyn's College at Dulwich' established, eight elected by the visitors of the privileged parishes and eleven appointed by the Court of Chancery. The schoolmaster of the college was pensioned off with £500 a year, and the usher, William Lucas Chafy, of Sidney Sussex College, with £446. The charity was divided into two parts, the 'educational' and 'eleemosynary' branches; the former to receive three-fourths of the net income. Two schools were to be established, the 'Upper' and 'Lower.' Twenty-four foundation boarding scholarships were to be reserved for the privileged parishes, the rest of the boys were to be day boys, those from the parishes paying £6 to £8, and others £8 to £10. The education was to be the usual Grammar School education, including Greek, modern languages and science. The boys were to remain to eighteen. There were to be eight university exhibitions of £100 a year. In the Lower School the fees were to be £1 to £2 a year according to age. Greek was not to be taught. Apprenticeship payments for six boys a year up to £40 were to be paid, and a third of the foundation scholarships in the Upper School were to be given to boys from the Lower School. The schools were opened in 1859, in the old college, under the Rev. Alfred Carver. In 1865 the Endowed Schools Commission found 130 boys in the Upper and ninety in the Lower School. All but four in the Upper School were from the privileged parishes, and they nearly all left at sixteen. The assistant commissioner criticized the education as too classical for this class, especially as science, prescribed by the scheme, was not taught. Dr. Carver however knew very well what he was about. As soon as the school moved into its new and present buildings, opened in 1878 by the present King and Queen, when Prince and Princess of Wales, it advanced by leaps and bounds to the position

of a great Public School of the new type, which the growth of the great towns is throwing up on every side. The older Public Schools were wholly, as at Winchester and Eton,² or almost wholly, as at Harrow and Rugby, boarding schools. The new type, of which Westminster, with its always considerable contingent of town boys, was almost the only example, is one which consists wholly, or almost wholly, of day-boys, such as St. Paul's and Bedford Grammar School, Highgate, and Merchant Taylors', and King's College School in its new domain. With fees of £25 to £35 a year it aims at giving the professional and mercantile classes, who are tied by their avocations to the towns, the same kind of education and school 'atmosphere' that the richer members of the same classes obtain by sending their sons out of the towns to the great boarding schools. Dr. Carver had a hard struggle with some of the governing body, who thought the higher education was thrown away on the class who could not afford the 'Public' Schools, and that all they wanted was a higher-grade-board-school type of school, giving a smattering of science and a modicum of modern languages. One of the most obstinate in this respect was the chairman of the Governing Body, the Rev. William Rogers, rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, popularly known as Billy or 'Hang-theology' Rogers. Partly because he regarded it as his first duty to advance the supposed interests of his own parish, partly because to him all social and therefore educational strata below the level of Eton and above that of the Board School were one dead level of mediocrity in intellect and culture, he, who was known to the world as a pioneer of educational progress, became the centre of educational resistance to progress at Dulwich. But the laws of demand and supply proved too much for him and for the Endowed Schools and Charity Commissioners whose counsels he at first dominated. Dulwich College developed on its present lines because it met a great and crying want.

The present buildings were planned by the Governing Body to contain the Upper School at fees of £10 a year, on one side, and the Lower School, with fees from £1 to £2 a year, on the other side, of a great central block containing a splendid Assembly Hall and Library and other common rooms, intended

² It must not be forgotten however that both Winchester and Eton were for the first two or three centuries of their existence largely day-schools. The Oppidan at Eton was precisely the same as the Town boy of Westminster, a day boy, though he gradually became a boarder.

¹ Author of Hare's *Law Reports*, and of the now extinct movement for Proportional Representation.

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to serve for both schools. Hence the extraordinary lack of cohesion and concentration in the plan of the school buildings; the class rooms on either side being separated by long corridors, covered at the top only, from the central block, while a long walk in the outer air is interposed between the science class rooms and the boys' library. The hall is fine, but the central building as a whole is overloaded with ornament. There is a great waste of ground between this part of the buildings and the road; but fortunately the ample space of the playing fields behind, some thirty-five acres, prevent the waste of half a dozen acres in front from being felt.

In point of fact the Lower School never occupied the premises designed for it. So rapid was the growth of the Upper School, the fees being raised to £15 at once, that there was never any room for it.

When in 1872 the Endowed Schools Commissioners came to publish their first scheme for the school, it was already out of date. They proposed to assign only £1,800 a year to the college, while giving £30,000 capital and £2,200 a year for four schools, two to each sex, in Camberwell; and £10,000 and £1,000 a year to each of the three other parishes, Cripplegate, St. Saviour's Southwark, and Bishopsgate. In 1874 an amended draft proposed to give £75,000 to other schools and £2,600 a year to Dulwich College. But Dr. Carver appealed against the scheme, then fathered by the Charity Commissioners, and his appeal was allowed by the Privy Council.

After some more years of negotiation a scheme received the royal approval on 18 August 1882. This provided an income of £4,000 a year for the school, now solemnly christened Dulwich College, with another £1,000 a year in certain events, which have since happened; while a Lower School, under the name of Alleyne's School, was to be started, with £12,000 capital and £1,500 a year, and a glorified amplification of the Charity School, now James Allen's Girls' School, was given a site, £6,000 for building and £1,000 a year. £2,000 a year and £65,000 capital were assigned to the other 'privileged parishes,' the indomitable rector of Bishopsgate carrying off £50,000 as his share of the plunder. Dr. Carver finished his career in the moment of victory over his Governing Body, retiring gloriously with a pension of £1,200 a year, but having put it beyond the power of any chairman to stay the progress of the school. He was succeeded by Dr. James Edward Cowell Welldon, now ex-bishop of Calcutta, and canon of Westminster, who,

after a successful career of two years, passed on to Harrow. The present headmaster, Mr. Arthur Herman Gilkes, was appointed in the summer of 1885. Educated at Shrewsbury school, a junior student of Christ Church at Oxford, where first classes in Moderations and Final Schools rewarded his efforts, he returned to Shrewsbury as a master in 1873. When he entered on his duties as Headmaster there were 506 boys in the school. It has now in May 1904, 699, of whom 92 are boarders residing in four private boarding houses.

In 1886 the school finally asserted its place among Public Schools by winning the Ashburton Shield in the Public Schools shooting competition at Wimbledon. Dulwich takes its rifle corps and its rifle corps band seriously. It honoured its dead in the South African War by the erection of a school library which, by its congested condition at all available hours, shows that it meets a long-felt want. It now possesses all the usual institutions, including a school paper, the *Alleynian*, and a Debating Society. At speech days since 1895 Dulwich has paid Bradfield College the flattery of imitation by performing a Greek Play,¹ but it cultivates the comic not the tragic Muse. It plays Bedford, St. Paul's and Tonbridge Schools at cricket and football. It ranks second only, and not always second, to St. Paul's in the number and variety of the scholarships and exhibitions it wins at the University. The year 1900-1 was a record in this respect, comprising nine at Oxford and seven at Cambridge: the Oxford list being headed by three Balliol scholarships, the first and third in classics and a Brackenbury science scholarship.

The Alleyne School, under the Rev. J. H. Smith, a London B.A., opened in 1883, rose to 489 in 1899. Mr. Smith retired in 1902, and was succeeded by Mr. H. B. Baker, for fifteen years a master at the College. After barely a year he was preferred to a Professorship of Chemistry at Oxford. The present master is Mr. F. Collins, M.A., of Caius College, Cambridge. The school now numbers 588 boys, paying nine guineas a year, taught by 26 masters. It is conducted as a school of science getting grants from the Board of Education. Greek is only taught to those who specially ask for it; Latin and German are alternatives, while French is compulsory on all. Its buildings are perhaps

¹ It used yearly to perform a play of Shakespeare, a most appropriate function for a school founded by an Elizabethan play-wright and manager. But this was stopped in 1886.

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better arranged, especially its science rooms, than those of the College.

Allen's Girls' School, with the low fees of £6 6s. a year, and a high education which has resulted in a Science Scholarship at Girton, and a Gilchrist Scholarship at London University, shows similar prosperity, overflowing with 330 girls under Miss J. F. Coulter and a staff of 14 form-mistresses.

Together they have made of the hamlet of Dulwich a great town, which, like Bedford, has doubled and trebled its population by reason of the efficiency of its schools. But at Dulwich fortunately the unearned increment goes largely towards augmenting the endowment of the foundation instead of into private pockets.

CAMBERWELL GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Camberwell Grammar School was founded under letters patent 29 September 1615,¹ by Edward Wilson, who was vicar of the parish, having been appointed by Queen Elizabeth² more than thirty years before, 21 March, 1557-8. There were a good many schools founded by parish vicars, at this time and in the preceding century, notable among which are the Grammar School founded by John Leche at Saffron Walden in Essex in 1524, and the Colfe School at Lewisham, founded in 1567. The patent for Camberwell recited that Wilson 'for the school and for the necessary habitation of the master as for providing a competent livelihood for him' had, in and upon certain lands containing by estimation 7 acres, lately built a school house and other buildings. The King therefore granted that there should be a 'Grammar School for the education and instruction of boys and youths in grammar,' and incorporated the governing body as 'Governors of the Free Grammar School³ of Edward Wilson, clerk, in Camberwell, otherwise Camerwell, in the County of Surrey.' The license in mortmain empowered the Governors to receive other lands up to £30 a year. In point of fact, the whole endowment consisted only of the

original 7 acres. The governing body was composed of strictly *ex officio* and hereditary elements. It was to consist of the vicar and churchwardens of Camberwell, the rectors of St. Olave's, Southwark, Lambeth, Newington, the vicar of Carshalton; the schoolmaster, the patron of the living of Camberwell, all *ex officio*, and seven persons by name, being the principal owners and inhabitants of the parish at the time, one of whom was Thomas Wilson, with the curious direction that their heirs were to be elected on their death, on attaining twenty-one. Statutes were made at the same time, and were modelled on the Jacobean statutes of St. Saviour's, Southwark, the work of the ex-headmaster, Bilson, Bishop of Winchester. The master was to be an M.A.

to be chosen out of my kindred, being fitt for the place, before any others, and in default thereof then the choice to be of such being fite for the place as have bine brought up in the said schoole by the space of [blank in MS.] yeres together; and in default thereof then of such as are borne in the said parrish de legitimo matrimonio, before a stranger.

This odd application of the doctrine of next of kin is, it is believed, without precedent, and the precedent set has fortunately never been followed.

The rest of the statutes as to the master were copied from the Bilsonian statutes of Southwark, including a long discourse as to the master 'being of a wise sociable and loving disposition, who can discern the nature and disposition of every child,' and that he is not to 'frequent ill houses nor practice physick without the consent of the Governors.'

The master was to receive £10 a year stipend during the founder's life. At the risk of repetition, we must again remind the reader that this was not absurdly low pay, being the same as the stipend of the Headmasters of Winchester and Eton until the reign of Elizabeth, when it was increased at Winchester to £12 10s. In 1630 the total value of the schoolmaster's 'place' at Winchester, including the payments by commoners, was estimated at £300 a year. At Camberwell the stipend was, as at Winchester, expected to be largely augmented by the payments of the pupils, the school being only free for the free scholars. After the founder's death the master was to take the rents of the two houses by the school, and to enjoy for his private use 'the gallerie, 12 studies, 4 chambers, a roome under them and a back

¹ Usually given as 1616, cf. Manning and Bray, iii. 445, but the letters patent are dated 27 September 13 James I, and as he began to reign 1603 this is 1615, not 1616.

² The rectory of Camberwell had been appropriated to Bermondsey Priory in 1154, *ibid.* 422, and on the dissolution came to the Crown.

³ Oddly enough the report of Lord Brougham's Commission, C.C.R. i. 216, omits the important word 'Grammar' and prints 'Camberwell, otherwise Camerwell.'

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garden. Also the benefit of teaching of such of the said schollers not exceeding the number of [blank in MS.] persons as shalbe the children of subsyde men and ought not to be taught freele.' All the scholars were to be 'of the parishe, there born or dwelling, and shall not at any time exceed the number of [blank in MS.] schollers, whereof [blank in MS.], which shall be freely taught, shalbe the children of such of the inhabitants of the said parish as shalbe poore or nott in the king's subsyde booke,' but the son of the senior churchwarden was during his last year of office to be also taught free. 'The parents of the residue of the said schollers shall paie quarterlie to the master for their teaching so much as by the Governors shall be thought fitt and resonable. The Governors maie take in of other places and parishes the nomber nott exceding [blank in MS.]. No parishioner's son or youth to be refused.' Oddly enough, none of the blanks left for numbers were filled in.

There were two provisions as to the boys which appear to be peculiar to Camberwell. First as to meals. 'No scholar to go to dinner further than the village of Camberwell, but to bring their dinners with them to school; and none to go out before 11 neither to breakfast nor otherwise, except to the house of office.'

Secondly, the most elaborate provisions, perhaps founded on the practice of St. Olave's, Southwark, were made as to writing.

Every scholar shall once every week write as well as he possibly can with all circumstances of true and fair writing in one, two or more hands, this sentence following: 'This is Life eternall, that they know the a (*sic*) whome thou hast sent Jesus Christ' in this manner; that is, in the first line the yere of our Lord, the daie of the moneth; In three lines the sentence itself, last of all every ownes (*sic*) name subscribed in secretarie and Romane, which, papers or paper bookes shalbe safelie reserved first to be examyned quarterlie, how every scholler profits in writing; secondlie that all posteritie maie see how much and wherein they excell or come behinde their predecessors.

Alas! posterity has no chance of knowing their excellence. Those, with all other school records, have been made away with. At the end of the term the forms were to name the twelve boys in the school which 'write fairest and have profited best in the quarter.' Then the master was to write down '8 who have profited best.' Then—

two others, whether ministers, gentlemen or clarks of office that have good stile in faier

writing . . . resolve upon fower out of the whole schoole. Unto him that hath profited most shalbe given 12*d.*, unto the second 6*d.*, unto the third 4*d.*, unto the fourth 2*d.* yf any one be pronounced to have profited best the second time he shall receive 15*d.*'

and so up to 2*s.*,

'and, not after, but another to succeed.'

In one point, the Southwark Statutes and practice, following that of St. Paul's and older examples as Winchester and Eton, was noted only to be avoided. There was to be no 'election' or 'apposition' dinner. 'There shall not be at any such examinacion either breakfast or dynner.' As the examination was to be quarterly, this is perhaps not surprising.

The education was not, however, to be confined to writing. The school was to be a grammar, not an elementary school.

The Mr. is to see that his least precepts be orderlie observed of the schollers; all bookes comanded by auctoritie to be taughte. These bookes shalbe read; Tully and Terrence, Cesar, Salust, Valerius maximus,¹ Justine, Apotheg(mata) Eras(mi), Plutarch, Castalian, Lattin and Greeke catechisme, new Testament, Virgill, Horace, Juvenall, Ovid, Prudencius, Juvencus, Pallingenius, etc. On halfe holidiaes the schollers exercise to learne Calvin's Catechisme, or some other in Lattin by hart.

The master was 'to give leave to plaie but once a weeke viz. upon Thursdaie at one of the clocke.' The 'play' was defined in the same words as at Southwark.

The first master, 'Edward Wilson, master of artes,' was named in the letters patent. It has been asserted² that he was the same person as the vicar and founder. But he certainly was not. On the contrary, the letters patent carefully distinguish the two, referring to the founder always as 'Edward Wilson, clerk,' and to the master as 'Edward Wilson, master of artes.' It is probable that the master was the son of the founder. There is some reason to think that the school was already being carried on some time before

¹ Miswritten by the scribe of the statutes 'mar.'

² By Mr. D. R. Fearon, *Schools Inquiry Commission Report* (1886), vii. 460. Wishing, seemingly, to draw a lurid picture of the irrationality of the Founder's statutes, he says 'the founder was himself to be the first master' and 'the official governors were to include the founder in two capacities, (1) as vicar of Camberwell, (2) as master of the school.' Whence he derived the statement does not appear.

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it was founded. The parish register records the baptism and burial of Nicholas, son of Edward Wilson, in 1595, of Francis, son of Edward Wilson, in 1597-8, while on 25 January, 1601-2, Alice, wife of Edward Wilson, was buried. But as Edward, son of Edward Wilson, was christened in September, 1603, it would seem that the widower was not long in consoling himself with another wife. In a list of subscriptions, 'The collection for Geneva,' 1604, Edward Wilson, vicar, subscribed 3*s.*, the same amount as Sir Thomas Grimes and other knights in the parish, while lower down among the other subscribers of 6*d.*, 4*d.* and 3*d.*, another Edward Wilson subscribed 3*d.* One can hardly resist the inference that this Edward Wilson was the master already carrying on the school. Edward Wilson the founder was buried 30 March 1618.¹ Edward Wilson, the schoolmaster, was buried 14 December 1638.

Unfortunately, the Governors' Minutes do not begin regularly till 1642, with the election of John Scott, Esq., heir of Sir Peter Scott, knight. But a casual entry on the fly-leaf of the book in which the original Statutes (which are on vellum) have been bound up with the first Minute Book of the Governors (which is of paper), records on 31 August 1635, '12 pore schollers admitted into the schole, paying i*js.* v*jd.* for there admittance by their parents; this done by the churchwardens and the consent of the minister, Mr. Danson.' The amount of the entrance fee, which had not been fixed in the statutes, was that in use, as we have seen, at Southwark. Taken with the requirement of a knowledge of reading, writing, and the accidence, it shows that the free scholarships were not intended, as was assumed in some proceedings in the nineteenth century, for the poorest class, but for the poorer class who were not of sufficient means to be called on to pay subsidies.

It would appear from a minute to be subsequently cited, that Edward Wilson was dispossessed of the schoolmastership before his death 'for his inordinate course of life,' but that his widow was left in possession of the schoolmaster's house. He was succeeded by William Young, who was probably a Cambridge man.²

¹ Printed 3 March 1618, apparently through a misreading in *Ye parishof Camberwell*, by William Hornett Blanch, London. E. W. Allen, 1875. Another Edward Wilson was buried 19 November 1619, but this was apparently the son of the master, and grandson of the vicar, born in 1598.

² He is not in the *Alumni Oxon.* of Mr. Foster. There is no corresponding record for Cambridge.

The first entry in the paper book of Minutes folio numbered 3, is 22 February 1643-4. It records that Mary, wife of William Younge, late schoolmaster of Camberwell, appeared, and on receiving £8 for half a year's rent of the school property, 'declared that her husband had left the schole and delivered up a catalogue of the books, and the keyes.' Then Richard Godfrey appeared 'and desired to be elected and admitted schoolemaster, and referred himself to the examination of the divines, or of any other whom they should appoint and thought fitt, and then thaire [MS. illegible] a declaration made by Mr. Whyte,³ Mr. Gregorie and Mr. Langley, of his honest liffe and godly conversacion, and that they had received very good satisfaction from able men of his abilities, they with one consent elected him.' On 25 March 1644, Godfrey having signed an assent to the 'charge' of the master set out in the statutes, 'was admitted, installed, and welcomed with a Latin oration made by William Johnston, the first scholar in this Schoole.' On 14 August 1645 the Feoffees, as the Governors now call themselves, ordered that 'the wife of Edward Wilson, late of Camberwell, clark, deceased, doe departe out of that parte of the free schoole wherein she now dwelleth and that she deliver the possession to Mr. Godfrey' at Michaelmas. Godfrey did not stay long, perhaps because of difficulties with Mrs. Wilson, as on 21 January 1645-6 the Governors gave notice of a meeting on 10 February to elect a new master on Godfrey's voluntary resignation, and Samuel Everard, 'Mr. of Artes,' was duly elected, by 'the maior parte of the Governors.'

But on 7 March 1645-6, the Committee for Plundered Ministers for Surrey⁴

did appoint to take into consideration the petition of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Blackwell parishioners of Camberwell, against Mr. Everard and his clayme to the Schoolemasters place of the School of Camberwell on the 14th March next, whereof ye Governors of the said schoole are to have convenient notice, and the said Mr. Everard is required to attend to answer to all such matters as shall be objected against him before this Committee, and it is ordered that all further proceedings for the settling of the seyd Mr. Everard in the seyd schoole be in the meane tyme stayd and suspended.

³ John Whyte was rector of Lambeth Alexander Gregory vicar of Camberwell, and Henry Langley rector of Newington.

⁴ *Surrey Arch. Coll.* ix. 252, from B. M. Add. 1569-71.

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On 26 March 1646 Lancelot Johnson, who was the tenant of the School lands, showed an order from the Committee of Plundered Ministers

. . . and brought with him one Mistress Wilson, a widdowe woman, whoes late husband deceased for his inordinate course of lyfe, beinge schoolemaister, was deprived from the same place, and after divers unsemely passages and provocacions used by the said Mr. Johnson and her . . . threateninge to keepe possession of the seyd schole as her right

Mr. Scott, one of the Governors, reported that she had threatened to burn the school down. So the Governors, 'being informed what a perverse and turbulent woman she was . . . that the scholars might not be disturbed, which were growen to a good competent number'—unfortunately the number is not stated—confirmed Everard in the mastership. They were careful to add that it was not out of any contempt of the order made by the 'honorable committee of plundered ministers,' and that Everard had produced testimonials from Sir Richard Onslowe, and other members of the House of Commons, 'of his good affection to the Parliament.'

As no more is heard of Mrs. Wilson, she presumably ceased from troubling.

The school was no doubt in a high state of efficiency. Godfrey can be identified beyond doubt as a Westminster scholar, elected thence a student of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1637.¹ As a student he contributed to the usual University shower of epithalamiums on royal marriages, on the occasion of Princess Mary's wedding to William of Orange in 1640, and to the congratulations to Charles I. on his return from Scotland in 1641. He was 'Presbyterian true blue' apparently, for he went to Geneva on leaving Camberwell School, and on his return refused to assent to the University's protest in 1647 against the Solemn League and Covenant. His successor, Samuel Everard, was no doubt introduced by him, being also a Westminster scholar of the same election as Godfrey,¹ both to Westminster and to Christ Church, where he took his B.A. degree in 1641 and became M.A. in 1644. A school, the mastership of which was sought by scholars of Westminster School, must certainly have been a school of no inferior kind.

On 15 July 1647, the Governors,

finding that the numbre of the poore schollers was not expressed in the fundamentall

¹ Alumni Westmonasteriensis.

statutes, nor any rate put upon their admission, and that through the requirement of being able to reade English well, to write a legible hand, entred or fitt to be entred into accidence in grammar at the least . . . the poore inhabitants reaped but little benefit

proceeded to make ordinances. They ordered 'twelve poore schollers' of Camberwell or 'other places or paryshes adjoyninge to be freely taught . . . paying 2s. 6d. for their admittance, and 2d. a quarter for the use mencioned in the Statutes,' viz., brooms and rods, 'and the blankes in the sayd statutes . . . to be supplied accordingly.' This they perhaps had power to do; but when they went on to order that scholars, though not able to write a legible hand, should be admitted 'yf they be able to reade a chapter in the newe testament, bringing their accidence with them,' the Governors were going altogether beyond their powers and were making a new scheme, calculated to degrade the status of the school. As a matter of fact, the 'blanks of the statutes' were not filled up at this time, except as to the number of 'twelve' free scholars. The amount of entrance fee was not filled in till a considerably later date, and then not with 2s. 6d. but with the figure 5s. in Arabic, while to the '2d. a quarter' of the original for brooms and rods written in Roman characters, a Roman unit was prefixed in the same ink. This made the sum 5s. for entrance and 3d. a quarter for brooms and rods. When the Governors printed the statutes in 1824, this clause was made to run, 'The Schoolmaster's duties to be paid at the entrance of every scholar: five shillings and three pence a quarter towards brooms and rods.'²

On 8 February 1647-8 Thomas Monck, son of John Monck, is solemnly entered as having been admitted a free scholar by Sir Thomas Grymes and the other Governors, including 'captayne George Moore Esquire,' at the rate of 2s. 6d. entrance fee and 2d. quarterage.

On 4 October 1650, 'after hearing 2 Orations made by 2 of the schollars,' the Governors 'went up into a chamber belonging to the Schoolmasters house' and received Everard's resignation and elected James Coleby 'after examination by Mr. Cooper, minister of God's word at Tooley,' i.e. St. Olave's, Southwark. On 21 October Coleby was installed, and next day six free scholars besides

² Reproduced with comments as to the assumed high price of rods by Mr. Blanch, who did not see that a quarterly payment could hardly be made at entrance. *Ye parish of Camberwell*, p. 251.

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two already in the school were admitted. Mr. Colebie, as he signs himself, was dead almost within a year of election. An inscription in the old church recorded his burial on the same day with his son, 30 September 1651, while his only daughter followed on 4 November. Mr. William Newman was elected his successor on 8 October 1651, and admitted on 3 November. He lived for almost exactly ten years, and saw the Restoration. Notice of a meeting for election of a successor on his death was given on 6 November, and he was buried 8 November 1661. Mr. John Bradford, M.A., was chosen on 11 November, and thirteen free scholars were admitted two days afterwards. He was of Brasenose College, Oxford, where he matriculated 9 December 1653, and became M.A. 27 June 1660. From March 1658 he had been Schoolmaster-fellow of Dulwich College. On 20 October, 1662 the school property was let for £17 a year with a fine of £17 paid down, while the house next to the school formerly let to a tenant was now let to the schoolmaster himself at £5 a year, no doubt for the accommodation of boarders. On the same day it was 'ordered that there be a new comon seale made for the use of the Schoole and thereon ingraved the Mr. and 12 schoolers belonging to the said schoole, with this inscription, "the free schoole of Camberwell founded by Edw. Willson, clerk." So this very interesting seal is not, as has always been supposed, the original, but is nearly half a century later. To a minute of 1673 Bradford signs himself 'D.D. Schoolmaister,' having been made a Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge 'by royal letters' in 1671. At this time he was also rector of St. Edmund the King, London. On 21 December 1674 he retired to the living of Sefton, in Lancashire; and became a Canon of Canterbury, October 1685, dying in December the same year. Daniel Ballow, who had matriculated at the age of fourteen¹ in 1663 at Magdalen College, Oxford, succeeded 5 January 1675, at the age of twenty-six, and held till his death in 1687. No incident is recorded of his reign, except an ineffectual protest in 1685 by him and two other Governors against the Governors renewing a lease of the school house to Mrs. Walker at £20 when some one else had offered £15 more. Mr. Michael Johnson, elected to supply Ballow's place, resigned before admission, 'considering my coming to Camberwell is like to be too expensive to me and ungratefull to you.' Nehemiah Lam-

bert, an M.A. of King's College, Cambridge, and therefore an Eton scholar, was chosen on 30 May 1687. He rebuilt the house next the school at a cost of £400, so that the Governors declared that 'he hath bin a great benefactor to the publick schole.' In 1693 he took a lease of Mr. Walker's house next the school, which his widow was allowed to retain after his death, and of which she was granted a new lease on condition of rebuilding after its 'ruine by the late dreadfull storme' on 19 September 1704, and promised another lease of twelve years on its expiration. A half-obliterated inscription by the north door of the church recorded Lambert's virtues as 'an industrious shepherd of Christ and teacher of youth,' and his death on 26 March 1700.² On 6 May 1700, Mr. Alexander Jephson, M.A., the first of that family, which afterwards held the school in intermittent succession for a century and a half, became master. This first Jephson resigned in 1709.

On 8 August 1709, Adam Langley, scholar of Westminster, who was elected to Christ Church, Oxford in 1691, succeeded.³ In 1716 the school got into Chancery owing to the new Governors, headed by the rector of Lambeth (who, according to the fashion of those days, was also Bishop of Lincoln, and preferred the delights of London to provincial splendour) very properly refusing to carry out the unstatutable reversionary lease to Mrs. Lambert at £20 a year, when another person (a relation no doubt of the Headmaster, as his name was John Langley) had offered £40 a year, with a £40 fine. In 1729 the practice began, which prevailed up to 1819, of letting the whole of the school lands and tenements to the schoolmaster. They were then let to Langley for £25 a year and £25 fine, with a covenant to rebuild the stables. Langley had become vicar of Black Bourton, Oxfordshire, in 1700, and from 1720 to his death held the vicarage of Stanford-in-Dale, Berks. He was succeeded on 11 January 1731-2 by his son, of the same name, of Trinity College, Oxford, the first who in the Governors' Minutes is described as Reverend, though most if not all of them had been in holy orders. He does not seem ever to have acted as Headmaster, since on 16 June 1733, he was 'admonished for non-residence and required to provide somebody well qualified to instruct the scholars during his absence and to reside himself or else to quit his pretensions to the said mastership.' On

¹ His father was an Oxford professor, and he probably went to Magdalen College School.

² Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 427.

³ Alumni Westmonasteriensis.

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9 November he chose the latter alternative, and the Rev. William Jephson was elected in his place. On 7 May 1734 the Governors examined the school and 'found the government and management thereof to be regular and good.' But on 23 April 1735 complaint was made by the master of the irregularity of attendance of the free boys and their refusal to supply books or pay for those supplied by him. The parents were warned. Next year, 7 May 1736, Charles James Horney, having 'frequently played truant and seduced others of his schoolfellows to do the same and after due admonition and correction proves incorrigible; it is ordered that he be forthwith dismissed and that this order be publickly read in the school.' Two other free scholars were suspended for the same cause in 1748, one being afterwards expelled, and others in 1750 and 1751. In 1741 Jephson was allowed by the Governors to accept the livings of St. Clement, Eastcheap, and St. Martin's, Orgar. He held the school for another twenty years, and on his death was succeeded, 23 July 1761, by his son Thomas, who had been educated under his father in Camberwell School and afterwards was at St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1788 the Governors set down the money spent on repairs from 1747 to that date as amounting to £2,574, and recorded that the Jephsons had therefore 'been great benefactors to the School and we trust that this consideration will weigh with the Governors who may succeed us and that in the choice of a master it will induce them to give a preference . . . to a son or other relation of the said Thomas Jephson.' The minutes on this occasion were signed by Samuel St. Davids, i.e. Samuel Horsley, rector of Newington, Bishop-elect of St. Davids, the vicar of Camberwell, the rector of St. Olave's, Southwark, and the churchwardens of Camberwell. For many years before and after this, the only Governors who ever attended meetings were the vicar and churchwardens of Camberwell. The last appearances of hereditary Governors were those of 26 November 1716, of Edward Scott, and 9 November 1733, Francis Bowyer. We have some evidence as to the flourishing condition of the school under Thomas Jephson. The following is extracted from a notice of him on his death, 29 April, 1815, by 'an old scholar, grateful for past kindness.' Thomson must have had just such another good creature in his eye when he described

A little man, close button'd to the chin,
Broadcloth without, an honest heart within.

. . . 'Many gentlemen in the City of London can bear testimony to the undeviating and incessant care that was bestowed upon their education, and will drop the tear of affection and breathe the sigh of grateful recollection to his memory.'¹ A solicitor, Samuel Isaac Lilley, who gave evidence before Lord Brougham's commission in 1818,² and had begun a suit in Chancery against the Governors, said he had been at the school from 1751 to 1759, when there were 'a great many boarders' and paying day-boys as well as the twelve free scholars. The day-boys 'played at one part of the premises and the boarders at the other part.' The free boys were then only taught English. The total number must have been considerable, exceeding probably 150, as there were three ushers, and in those days one master was considered well able to cope with fifty boys.

The whole population of Camberwell itself was at this time not above 2,000. Half a century later, at the date of Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, in 1812, the parish was still a rural parish, mainly consisting of large villas with extensive parks or gardens attached, and a population under 4,000 in the whole of the ancient parish, which is now cut up into thirty-two ecclesiastical parishes, with a population exceeding 200,000. Thomas Jephson must therefore have been a master in considerable repute.

On 23 December 1803, when Thomas Jephson resigned, after his long rule of forty-two years, and his son William was elected in his place, only the vicar and churchwardens of Camberwell were present. It seems to have been assumed that he succeeded by hereditary right as next of kin of the founder. But from the 'Governors' Minutes,' already quoted, it would seem that his hereditary right, such as it was, was in virtue of his being heir of his father and grandfather only, not of the founder, and because of the amount of money spent by the Jephsons on the school buildings, which caused them to be tacitly recognised as almost their private property.

The whole of the school property was let to the new master at the enhanced rent of £60, though it was recorded that in 1799-1800 the father had expended £1,586 on building a new dining room, parlour, kitchen, outhouses and lodging rooms over. But as this rent was the only fund out of which the

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1815, i. 475-6, from *Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist*, p. 633. R. F. Scott, Cambridge, 1903.

² *Char. Com. Rep.* 396.

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teaching staff could be paid and the buildings kept in repair, the transaction was rather like taking money out of Mr. Jephson's right-hand pocket, as tenant, to transfer it to his left-hand pocket as master. It is not therefore surprising that the school was practically left in the sole management of the master, subject to the admission of twelve free scholars. From 1803 to 1811 there was no meeting of the Governors at all. On 8 May 1811 the Minute Book records, in the form used since 1734, a Governors' meeting, and that on 'examination into the conduct of the boys of the said school it was found regular and conformable to the rules.' It was then agreed that the Governors should regularly meet on 8 May. But in 1813 there was no quorum, and from 1814 to 1817 there was no meeting. In 1818 the Commissioners on the Education of the Poor enquired into this with other Grammar Schools. There were then¹ in the school twenty-five to thirty boarders at 40 guineas a year, besides the twelve free scholars.

In consequence of the Commissioners' Report, when the question of renewing the lease of the school property to the master came up, the renewal was, on 14 February 1820, refused, and notice to quit was given to him. It was also resolved that Mr. Jephson had not been duly elected master. On what grounds this resolution was based is not stated. It was clearly wrong, and was rescinded at the next meeting a fortnight afterwards, not before it had produced an interesting claim to the mastership by one Henry Wilson, as being founder's kin. Mr. Jephson was continued as tenant from year to year, but the house adjoining was let at an increased rent, while a part of the land was sold to the parish to enlarge the churchyard. The Governors adopted various expedients to meet the difficulty arising from counsel's opinion, that the school being a Grammar School, the master was only bound to teach Latin and Greek free. Eventually, 12 February 1824, the master agreed to teach twelve free boys all subjects, another twelve boys being admitted at £1 1s. 6d. a quarter. At an examination on 12 August 1829 there were twelve free scholars and twenty-nine others, 'and the Governors present were highly pleased with the state of the school and the proficiency of the boys.' As they attained to Homer and Plutarch in Greek, and Virgil and Terence in Latin, there being none higher than the fourth form, no fault could be found as to their progress. In 1830

the number had risen to thirty-nine, besides the twelve free scholars.

In 1841 an information was laid by the Attorney-General against the Governors. A decree in 1845 directed the Headmaster to be retired on a pension of £38 a year, the buildings to be pulled down and the land let in building lots. Mr. Jephson died in 1848. But the churchwardens into whose hands the management fell proved inefficient. It was not till twenty years later, July 1860,² that the land was let at all, and then was let for £220 a year for seventy-nine years, a price at which it was estimated that the lessee made £600 to £700 a year out of it, while a large portion of the savings accruing from the accumulation of the income of the foundation was dissipated in legal charges for its collection. There were no Governors till, on 10 April 1866, the Charity Commissioners appointed seven members of the Camberwell Vestry.

It was not till 26 February 1880 that a scheme was made by the Charity Commissioners, to whom the powers of the Commissioners under the Endowed Schools Acts, had been transferred, and approved by the Queen in Council. This scheme constituted a governing body consisting of the vicar and three churchwardens of Camberwell, two ratepayers of Camberwell appointed by the members of the London School Board for the Lambeth division, and eight co-optatives. Under it the school is called Wilson's Grammar School, and is to be of the ordinary type, teaching classics, mathematics, modern languages and natural science. The tuition fees are to be from £4 to £10 a year, while the old free scholars are recognised by the establishment of eighteen free scholarships to be awarded by competition, twelve of which are confined to boys from Public Elementary Schools.

After the scheme was passed, new buildings for 200 boys, at a cost of £5,600, provided out of accumulations of income during the forty years' idleness, were erected on part of the old school land. The school was re-opened in May 1883, under the head-mastership of the Rev. Frederick McDowell of Merton College, Oxford. He had already given evidence of his power to command success, first as Assistant Master and then Second Master of King Edward VI's Middle School, Norwich (a second grade secondary school for 300 boys) for thirteen years, 1863-1876; afterwards as the first Headmaster of the newly founded Kendrick Middle School,

¹ Carlisle's *Endowed Grammar Schools*, ii. 562.

² *Schools Inquiry Report*, vii. 470.

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Reading, a school of the same type, which was only opened in 1876, and had rapidly risen to 230 boys by the time he left. At Camberwell Mr. McDowell started with two assistant masters and a modern language teacher. In the first term eighty boys presented themselves. The tuition fee was wisely fixed, not at the minimum £4 of the scheme but at the maximum £10; so that while there has been no margin, the school has not been actually starved. By 1886 the school was crowded to overflowing. In 1887, therefore, a West wing was added at a cost of £3,200. A further enlargement, the East wing, was undertaken in 1889, for the better accommodation of the Science and Art teaching, at a cost of £6,500, towards which the London Technical Education Board gave £1,200, the rest being met by a loan, which, in spite of the low fee and the small endowment, has, by first-rate management on the part of the Headmaster and Governors, been reduced to £1,800. Since 1899 two Manual Instruction Rooms have been built and equipped at a total cost of £400, towards which the Technical Board granted £200.

The buildings, now practically complete, consist of a large Assembly Hall, Luncheon Room, a Headmaster's and Governors' Meeting Room, nine class rooms, a small library, a Chemical Laboratory containing fifty-two benches, a Physics Laboratory with accommodation for thirty-two boys, two Science Lecture Rooms, a large Art Room, and two Manual Instruction Rooms with benches for thirty-two students. There are also a lodge for the school porter and caretaker, two cycle houses, and so forth.

The subjects of instruction embrace English History, Language and Literature, Geography, Composition, French and German, both spoken and written, Latin, Mathematics, pure and mixed, Science (Chemistry and Physics, practical and theoretical), Drawing and Manual Instruction.

Up to December 1903, 2,017 boys had passed through the school, and the number in school at that date was 229. Three open scholarships have been won at Cambridge, one at Oxford, and five at London Hospitals, direct from the school. At London University seven have passed the Intermediate B.A., twelve the Intermediate B.Sc. and Preliminary Scientific M.B., and eighty have matriculated at the same University.

The boys attending the school are for the most part the sons of men engaged in the City, others are sons of professional men, journalists and traders. The majority of the boys take up appointments in the City.

A fair proportion enter professions, more especially the medical. The number of scholars drawn from the immediate neighbourhood is constantly decreasing. Pupils are drawn from a wider area every year. The wave of poverty from the river is advancing regularly and persistently southward, the downward change in the social status of the residents of Camberwell having been very marked during the last fifteen years.

Considerable attention and encouragement are given to athletics. In swimming, this school for some years in succession has been the Champion of the Secondary Schools of London by winning the largest number of events at the annual competition. In cricket and football the elevens have as a rule won the majority of their matches, although the school is at great disadvantage in having no suitable ground near at hand. There are tennis, chess, and cycling clubs and a debating society all well supported. With 300 boys under twelve regular masters, eight visiting teachers and three student-masters preparing for London University, the school is no doubt much larger than at any other period of its history, and has in it the elements of still larger increase.

REIGATE GRAMMAR SCHOOL

Reigate Grammar School was intended to be founded by the application in 1675 of £150 in the hands of the churchwardens¹ to the purchase of a school site. Owing to litigation the school was not actually established till 1744, when the endowment was augmented by Robert Bishopp's School Charity founded by will, 14 July 1698, and John Parker's Charity, founded in 1718, but which also was in Chancery till 1744.

In 1800 the Rev. Joseph Hodgson was appointed master by the vestry, and undertook in consideration of the school and house having been put in repair by them, to teach two boys from Reigate town, and two from the 'foreign,' or township outside the liberty, free. In 1825 he had ten free boys, who were taught the three R.'s, and a kind of private school.

The Court of Chancery, by a scheme of 8 August 1860, with the aid of funds derived from charities which were obsolete, or had a large surplus beyond what was required for their original objects, such as the Bell Rope Charity, for providing bell-ropes for the church, put the school on a better footing with an endowment of about £230 a year and new buildings. But it was placed under an

¹ *Char. Com. Rep.* xiii. 513.

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unwieldy governing body of twenty-four members, consisting of two vicars, the churchwardens, and other nominees of the vestries of 'the borough' and 'the foreign.' On 22 November 1864, a subscription, amounting to £1,100, in memory of Peter Martin, a Reigate surgeon, was applied to the establishment of exhibitions at the school.

At the date of the Schools Inquiry Report¹ there were thirty-six boys in the school, of whom twenty were foundationers, paying only 5s. a quarter; seven were boarders, paying £45 to £60 a year; and eight weekday boys, paying £8 a year.

By schemes under the Endowed Schools Acts, 19 August 1871, and 13 May 1875, the endowment was augmented by the incorporation of some more charities for apprenticeship and doles, and brought up to about £350 a year, while new buildings were added, and the management was vested in a governing body, consisting of ten nominees of the Town Council, and five co-optative governors, reinforced under a scheme of 16 May 1893, by three representatives of the Surrey County Council. In 1889 the numbers had risen to ninety-six, including nineteen boarders, under the Rev. A. C. Fox, formerly a Bible clerk at All Souls' College, Oxford, and headmaster of Tideswell Grammar School, Derbyshire. On his retirement in 1895, Mr. Henry Arthur Hall, a senior optime of St. John's College, Cambridge, succeeded. Under him, in spite of a considerable grant by the County Council of over £250 a year, the school was not a success. In 1898 there were only eighty-four boys. An amending scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 17 November 1899, which substituted representatives of King's College and University College, London, for one of the nominees of the Town Council and one co-optative did not mend matters. When the present headmaster, Mr. Robert Stewart Rugg, of Queen's College, Oxford, succeeded in September 1899, there were only about fifty boys. The rise in numbers to 128 which has since taken place has made the inadequacy of the site, little more than an acre, and of the buildings more strongly felt. An assembly hall, a chemical laboratory and two classrooms, one partitioned into three, are not adequate in these days for a school which ought soon to reach 150.

BATTERSEA GRAMMAR SCHOOL

This foundation has had a somewhat unfortunate history owing to its having from the beginning up to the present time en-

deavoured to perform two entirely distinct, and for the most part incompatible functions.

It was founded by Sir Walter St. John, bart., whose family had acquired the manor of Battersea from the Archbishops of York. By deed of 7 September 1700, he gave thirty-one acres of land in the parish of Camberwell, of which Battersea was then part, to twelve trustees, for a schoolmaster to teach (a) reading, writing and arithmetic gratis to twenty poor boys; and (b) the same with the addition of Latin and Greek, to any other scholars, at a salary from their friends and parents. It was required that the master should be an M.A. of Oxford or Cambridge. It is perhaps needless to say that the attempt to combine a low type of elementary school with a Grammar School proved a failure. For many years the vicar of Battersea was appointed master; and appears to have thought that he fulfilled all that was required of him by supervising the teaching of twenty poor boys by some one else. From 1800 to 1852 there was practically no school of the foundation; twenty poor boys being sent free to the National School of the parish, the schoolrooms in the house given by Sir Walter St. John being let out in tenements.

In 1852 Mr. Starling filed a bill in Chancery and obtained a scheme whereby the school was restored as an independent entity. But in 1866, with an endowment of £315 a year, it was merely an elementary school, with fees of twopence or threepence a week, and reported on as inferior to the unendowed elementary schools of the best type.

By a scheme made under the Endowed Schemes Acts, 9 August 1873, provision was made for the establishment of an Upper School, and, if funds admitted, a Middle School, in addition to the elementary school.

In 1875 the Upper School was opened on the hill above Clapham Junction Station, in St. John's Lodge, which, with additions, cost some £8,000, derived from the proceeds of sale of the school lands. By 1877 there were eighty boys in the school. The Rev. E. A. Richardson, of Queen's College, Oxford, was headmaster, and the fees charged were £12 a year. The education aimed at was of the usual lower-grade Grammar School type, including Latin but not Greek, French and German, and a little science taught out of Roscoe's elementary chemistry, without any practical work.

A Middle School was also built, adjoining the elementary school, in High Street, Battersea, the fees being only £2 a year, and the education was called commercial, consisting mainly of arithmetic, geography and French.

¹ *Schools Inquiry Reports*, xi. 192.

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In 1879, the Upper School, having only an endowment of £120 a year, was in financial difficulties, while the Middle School, having 285 boys, and being used as a practising school by the Battersea Training College, and therefore cheaply conducted, was flourishing. So it was proposed to close the Upper School and the elementary school and transfer all endowments to the Middle School. The elementary school was closed and its buildings annexed to the Middle School.

But the Upper School was saved by the advent in 1880 of Mr. William Henry Bindley, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, as Headmaster. He quickly put a new aspect on its affairs. The numbers rose from forty-eight at the beginning of 1881, to 160 in 1891, while the endowment was increased to £266 a year by the sale of part of the site to the London and South Western Railway Company. The tone of the education was raised. Greek was added, and science was now adequately taught. Eventually a new scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts, approved by Queen Victoria, 23 November 1893, definitely recognised the Upper School by the title, long used in fact, of Battersea Grammar School, and the character of its education as that of a first-grade school of the modern type, not excluding Greek, but placing most insistence on modern subjects.

The curtailment of the premises is not of so much moment as it might have been, as the immediate neighbourhood of Clapham Common makes adequate provision for school games.

It was a great pity that when the scheme was made the whole resources of the foundation were not concentrated on this school and the Middle School handed over as a practising school to the Battersea Training College. The attempt to carry on two schools of a different type, though no longer in the same buildings, on a limited endowment, cannot be a permanently successful experiment.

THE MARY DACHELOR GIRLS' SCHOOL, CAMBERWELL

One of the most striking newcomers into the educational field of the ancient county of Surrey is the Mary Datchelor Girls' School, in Camberwell, a short distance from Wilson's Grammar School for boys. In outward appearance it bears a most sister-like resemblance to the male institution. Mary Datchelor originally established a charity by will, the main object of which was to preserve for herself and her sisters the exclusive right to a

vault in St. Andrew Undershaft Church, in the City. The actual foundation was assured by deed of her sister, Beatrice Cook, 26 September 1726, whereby she gave the Dutch Coffee House—a century later called the Anti-Gallican Coffee House—in Threadneedle Street, in the city of London, on trust for the maintenance of Mary Datchelor's monument, certain doles, and other purposes including £20 for apprenticing two poor children. The Court of Chancery, by scheme of 29 March 1823, increased the poor children to six, the income of the charity being £126 a year. In 1863 the quondam Coffee House was sold for £30,000. By a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, 12 May 1871, two-thirds of this money were directed to be applied for a girls' school. No site being obtainable near St. Andrew Undershaft, and the population of the parish having dwindled to almost nothing, by a scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts, 19 February 1875, the scope of selection of a site for the school was extended, and on 24 October 1878, a couple of houses in Camberwell Grove were bought, and the school established. It met with such instant success, that by a scheme of 14 August 1879, the trustees of other charities in St. Andrew Undershaft obtained the application of Sir Henry Lee's charity, founded in 1619, for a sermon and dole, and three other like charities, the richest of which was one founded by Thomas Arch in 1672, to the school; while by another scheme of 25 October 1881, a small apprenticing charity, founded by Thomas Coventry in 1636, was added to the endowment.

With these charities a new school was built at a cost of close on £12,000. The income left for maintenance of the school was, in 1883, about £450 a year.

Under a scheme of 15 October 1894, the Clothworkers' Company were constituted governors of both the school and its endowments, so long as they should contribute not less than £400 a year for its support beyond the income of the endowments.

Under Miss Rigg, who has been headmistress from the beginning in 1877, the school has grown to 445 girls, paying £9 a year tuition fees, with twenty regular form mistresses. The girls learn all the subjects taught in boys' Grammar Schools, with the addition of cooking, dressmaking, and needlework. There are eighteen entrance scholarships with a preference for parishioners of St. Andrew Undershaft, but as at the last census, the population of that parish was only 218, the demand for the preference is not great. Leaving exhibitions to the universi-

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ties are given, one of £50 being held at Girton College, Cambridge. A 'Secondary Teachers' Training College was opened in 1888, and now numbers thirty-four student teachers. So with an endowment of £1,200 a year, including the Clothworkers' contribution, generally £600 a year, a good work is being done through devotion to educational purposes of these charities, which had become obsolete and even mischievous in their original application.

KING'S COLLEGE SCHOOL, WIMBLEDON

The latest accession to Surrey Schools by adoption is King's College School, removed from the Strand to Wimbledon Common, in 1897.

It was founded on the lines of Winchester and Eton, or more exactly of the school of Merton College, Oxford, long extinct, and that of Magdalen College, Oxford, now highly flourishing. It was founded as part and parcel of a college for boys of a larger growth, and occupied part of the buildings, and is now under the governing body of the college. There was, however, this marked difference, that while the older foundations were national, King's College School was denominational. King's College charter was granted 14 August 1829. The school was opened in 1831 under the Rev. J. R. Major, who held office no less than thirty-six years. Under him the school at one time reached about 400 boys, but in his later years had fallen below 300. One of his most famous pupils was Sir William Preece, of telegraphic fame. The Rev. G. F. Maclean came as headmaster in 1867. In 1868 the numbers were 412. An event apparently wholly disconnected with the school, produced a sudden increase. The Franco-German War of 1870, sent many English refugees from Hamburg and other places which were thought to be within the sphere of hostilities, to London, and their boys found hospitality at King's College School. The numbers flew above 600, and the school was able to contest with the City of London School the claim to be the largest secondary school in London or perhaps in the country. The fame of Dr. Maclean retained the increment, after the immediate cause of it had ceased to operate, in spite of there being no kind of playground, and the fact that the class-rooms were buried partly underground in the basement of the college. Its success appears to have been largely due to its being one of the first schools in the country to be divided into two sides, classical and modern, and to the good teaching and opportunities

it enjoyed on the latter side in connection with the scientific and technical side of King's College.

Lord Milner, Dr. Gow, the headmaster of Westminster, and Mr. Anstey Guthrie, the author of *Vice Versa* (whose views of schools, if drawn from King's College, do not present his *alma mater* in an attractive light), were among the distinguished products of this era. Dr. Maclean retired in 1879 to the Warden-ship of St. Augustine's Theological College at Canterbury, and only died last year.

Dr. Stokoe, who had been eminently successful as Headmaster of Reading School, became Headmaster. In 1880 there were 630 boys; in 1889, 239. The removal of St. Paul's School from its old narrow quarters in St. Paul's Churchyard, to its present splendid buildings and spacious domain at Hammer-smith, by taking off those who lived in the west of London, was the first cause of the decline. In its first year it intercepted nearly 100 boys, so that the numbers at King's College in 1884 were only 538. The decline was hastened by an internal incident, resulting in the death of a boy, which appeared to reflect discredit on the tone of the boys and the supervision of the masters. In 1889 Dr. Stokoe retired to the rectory of Lutterworth, and the Rev. Charles William Bourne became Headmaster.

From Atherstone Grammar School in Warwickshire Mr. Bourne had won a scholarship at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was a wrangler, and also in the second class for classics. As assistant master at Marlborough, and successively Headmaster of Bedford County School and Inverness College, he had a mixed experience before moving to King's College School. There the numbers at first showed some signs of increase, going up to 275, but the development of Dulwich College, and other schools had made continuous success, at least to the old extent, impossible. The Headmaster soon saw that without any recreation ground, or any chance of getting one nearer than Wormwood Scrubs, King's College School could only carry on a languid career in its original home. When Mr. J. W. Headlam, now one of the Secondary School inspectors of the Board of Education, reported on Surrey schools in 1894,¹ he pointed out the absurdity of boys having to go into schools in London from places outside it better fitted for schools, and suggested that if there were a first-grade school at Wimbledon it would almost entirely meet the deficiency of first-

¹ *Rep. of the Royal Com. on Secondary Education*, vii. 14.

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grade schools in that part of the country. Whether he was inspired by, or inspired the council of King's College, at all events they acted on the hint. In 1897 a private house, called South Hayes, on the south-west corner of Wimbledon Common, with some eight acres of ground, came into the market. The chance was seized with promptitude. The site was inspected in January, and in May the school was opened in its new premises. The cost, about £16,000, was chiefly defrayed by money received on debentures, some of which have been released by way of gift to the school.

The numbers of the school were then 170, drawn from all round London. About sixty boys from the east and north of London were left behind, and 110 moved to Wimbledon, but sixty from the locality filled up the places of those who did not follow its fortunes. In 1899 the numbers had risen to 230, when new buildings, comprising a great hall and six class-rooms, erected chiefly by subscription at a cost of some £9,000, were opened by the Duke of Cambridge. In 1904, an adjoining cricket field, of five acres, was added. The heavy income-tax and depression in trade, caused by the Boer War, checked the increase of the numbers. But there are now (July 1904), 304 boys in the school. Of these, about two-thirds come on foot, or by bicycle, and one-third by train. By a wise provision, a school omnibus is provided, which fetches and carries the boys to the station. There are forty boarders in the houses of Mr. Carrodus and Mr. Jones, close to the school.

The tuition fees are £24 a year, or £21 if the boy begins his school career under twelve years of age. There is a staff of twelve resident masters. The modern side shows a slight tendency to predominate over the classical side. The school has no endowment beyond its site and buildings, part of which will demand rebuilding at no distant date, and half-a-dozen leaving exhibitions. These are the 'Forest' scholarship of £30 a year, and the 'Sambroke,' of £25 a year in classics, and the mathematical scholarship in mathematics, all tenable for three years. Besides these, the Salters' Company of London give exhibitions of £80 every fourth year for science, and the Skinners' Company one of £50 for modern languages. The Surrey County Council now make a grant of £200 a year. A school, the friends of which are prepared to find £25,000 in five years for buildings, need not look forward with dismay to any demands likely to be made on it in the future, and King's College School seems destined in its new home to occupy an important place in the educational field of Surrey.

CRANLEIGH AND BRAMLEY SCHOOLS

Cranleigh School was opened as a cheap boarding school for the sons of members of the Church of England, in 1865, as the Surrey County School. The site and buildings cost £25,000. The boarding and tuition fees came to £30, or, with Greek or German, about £35. The school under the Rev. Joseph Merriman soon rose to over 200 boys. In 1894¹ there were 300 boys, and now, under the Rev. G. C. Allen, there are about the same number.

St. Catherine's School at Bramley, near Guildford, a sister school for girls to Cranleigh, was opened in September 1885, and incorporated by royal charter in 1898. The site and buildings cost about £20,000. The fees for boarders are £45 a year, and £2 15s. for day scholars. There are ninety of the former and twelve of the latter under Mrs. Mary Russell Baker.

ST. JOHN'S FOUNDATION SCHOOL, LEATHERHEAD²

St. John's School, Leatherhead, over which the Rev. A. F. Rutty has presided since 1883, is a similar school for the sons of clergymen. It was started by the Rev. A. B. Haslewood, incumbent of St. Mark's, Hamilton Terrace, Kilburn, with the aid of offertories and subscriptions on 20 January 1852, with eight boys in the house of his curate, Anthony Thompson. The pay for boarding and education was £40 a year. In 1853 the Committee of subscribers—headed by Mr. Charles Churchill, still chairman of the present committee of management—removed the school from the control of Mr. Haslewood to Greville Mount House, Kilburn, where Kilburn station now stands. In 1857 the school lost its first Headmaster, and was moved to Walthamstow as part of the private school of the Rev. L. P. Mercier, who next year removed it to Clapton House, Clapton. In 1861 it was established on its present basis under the Rev. E. C. Hawkins, and with seventy boys filled its then premises to overflowing. In August 1872 it became a Surrey school by removal to Leatherhead, where twelve acres of land had been bought for £2,500 and buildings for 100 boys erected by subscription at a cost of £15,000. Sub-

¹ *Royal Commission on Sec. Educ.* vii. 7b.

² *St. John's College, Leatherhead, School Register, 1852-1904.* Edited by the Rev. H. H. Beaumont. Printed and published by an old Johnian, London, 1904.

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sequent additions increased the land to thirty-one acres, and the buildings for 320 boys, costing £70,000. The chief increments were a chapel in 1877, a new wing for seventy boys in 1885, additional dormitories in 1889, Block A for sixty boys in 1891, Block B for the same number in 1894, and a new Dining Hall in 1898. In 1883 Mr. Hawkins retired, having raised the school from 50 boys to 130.

Until then the school was purely a charity school, to which sons of poor clergymen were admitted on the nomination of donors and subscribers without competition, but subject to the test of poverty by the Committee. During the headmastership of the Rev. A. F. Rutty, who came from Basingstoke Grammar School, a 'Supplementary Foundation' was established in 1888, by which additional sons of clergymen were admitted at thirty guineas a year; while paying boys at a larger rate, sixty guineas for sons of laymen, who must, however, be members of the Church of England, and fifty guineas for sons of clergymen, were added. Now there are 170 boys free, eighty-three on the supplementary foundation, and thirty-eight non-foundationers.

As the whole institution is maintained by subscription, and the school site and buildings can at any moment be sold, while the Governing Body consists only of a self-elective committee of subscribers, it would appear doubtful whether the school is anything but a private school. The headmaster has, however, been admitted a member of the Headmasters' Conference. There are three unquestionable endowments: the Brooking Scholarship, a leaving exhibition to the University of £50 a year, confined to Foundationers who are going to take orders; the Soames Scholarship of £25 a year open to all in the school; and a scholarship of £70 a year founded in October 1904 by Lord Ashcombe.

EPSOM COLLEGE

Epsom College was in origin a somewhat similar school to that of Leatherhead, but for the sons of medical men, instead of clergy, but has now a solid foundation and is of a Public School character. A subscription was started in 1851 by John Probert for a charitable institution for the medical profession, consisting of an Asylum for duly qualified medical men and their widows, a school for their sons, and annuities for those who were impoverished. A sum of £27,000 having been accumulated and a building erected in 1855, the 'Royal Medical Benevolent College' was incorporated by Act of Parlia-

ment; twenty pensioners were placed in it and a school started under the headmastership of the Rev. Dr. Robinson Thornton. There were thirty-five Foundationers educated and boarded free, and other paying scholars at £30, raised within two or three years to £40 a year, which by 1885 had been raised to fifty guineas. In 1870 Epsom College very appropriately took the lead among schools of its class in adding a properly equipped laboratory to its buildings. In 1871 Dr. Thornton passed on to become Warden of Glenalmond College. He was succeeded by the Rev. W. de Lancy West, of St. John's College, Oxford, Headmaster of Brentwood School, Essex. He retired in 1885, when the school consisted of 212 boys, largely but by no means exclusively sons of medical men. His successor, the Rev. W. Cecil Wood, died after four years, and in 1889 the Rev. T. N. H. Smith-Pearse, of Marlborough, and then of Exeter College, Oxford, and for ten years assistant master at Marlborough College, became Headmaster.

In 1894, it being found that medical men and their widows did not care to live in the Asylum, another Act of Parliament was passed under which out-pensioners were substituted at a larger rate of pay; and their quarters were handed over to the school.

In 1903 the name of the school was changed to Epsom College, to emphasize the fact that it aimed at being not a class school for sons of medical men, but a general Public School.

The College, built in 1855, occupies a magnificent site on Epsom Downs of about eighty acres, and splendid cricket and football grounds, five courts, swimming bath, gymnasium and the rest. In the College itself is room for 200 boys. In the headmaster's house, built in 1873 by the late Sir Erasmus Wilson, there are thirty-two boarders; to it are attached the day-boys; while the Lower School, opened in 1897, for boys under fifteen, has accommodation for 100.

There are fifty Foundationers, who are sons of medical men, who are boarded and educated free on the election of the Governors; while there are ten Exhibitions of £31 10s. a year awarded by selected competition. Other boys pay seventy-five guineas a year, and sons of medical men sixty-five guineas. The day-boys, about ten in number, pay twenty-five guineas. The school now numbers 232 boys. It is divided into Classical and Modern sides, the latter being distinguished by the substitution of German for Greek, and arranged to prepare boys for special examinations. The usual Public School institutions of Rifle Corps, attached to the 2nd East Surrey Regiment,

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Glee Club, Natural History, Debating and Literary Societies, flourish. There are leaving exhibitions of £50 to £60 a year, called from their donors the Forest, Haviland, Da Silva and Du Pasquier Exhibitions, to Oxford or Cambridge; the Anstie, Leach and Doncaster Scholarships of £25 to £40; the Harvey Owen Scholarship of £50 a year; and a Jenks Scholarship of £27 a year; while nine of the chief London Hospitals give free medical education to a boy from the College, a Carr Exhibition of £50 a year for five years being added to that granted by University College. Endowed prizes for Divinity, English Essay and Historical Essay, Classics and Mathematics prevent science from being too predominant; while such recent achievements as open scholarships at New College, Oxford, the Sword of Honour at Sandhurst, and the appointment of an old pupil as Director of the school of Economics in London show that the School is as catholic in its curriculum as a Public School should be. They testify to the efficiency of Mr. Smith-Pearse and his staff of seventeen assistant masters, most of them scholars or exhibitors of Oxford or Cambridge Colleges.

COMPANY SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS

Of a later invention, and in this county, mostly for girls, are the schools founded and kept by limited companies, registered under the Companies' Acts. The two chief com-

panies are the Girls' Public Day Schools Company, which aims simply at a 'public school' education for all girls, and the Church Schools Company, which primarily attends to the daughters of members of the Church of England. The former have schools at Wimbledon and Sutton; the latter at Guildford, Reigate, Richmond and Surbiton.

COUNTY COUNCIL SCHOOLS

The latest kinds of schools are the County Council Schools, established out of public funds, by or under the tutelage of the Surrey County Council. These comprise the Dorking High School, originally established as a Mechanics' Institute, now a school of some seventy boys, under the Rev. H. Roberts, at fees of £6 a year; the County School, Richmond, established 1899, headmaster, Mr. A. E. Buckhurst, fees £6 a year, boys 150; the County School, Sutton, established 1900, headmaster, Mr. E. A. Hensley, fees £6 a year, boys 104. For girls, there is the County School at Wallington, originally established as the High School, Carshalton, bought by the County Council in 1895. The fees are £7 10s. a year.

The Rutlish Science School at Merton is a school of the same type, but is endowed, having been founded out of an apprenticeship charity, under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners in 1894.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

SURREY SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Date of Foundation.	School	Founder	Date of Scheme	Number in School 1904
5 May 1355 ¹	Kingston - on - Thames — Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School	John Lovekyn .	20 Oct. 1874	60
1 Mar. 1561	Elizabeth's Grammar School	Bailiffs & Burgesses		
3 Nov. 1509	Guildford—King Edward's Grammar School	Robt. Bekyngham, Edw. VI., the Mayor and approved men	11 Nov. 1885	130
27 Jan. 1553	Grammar School	Parishioners		
6 June 1559	Southwark, St. Saviour's Grammar School	"	20 Nov. 1899	400 186 ²
29 Sept. 1561	Southwark, St. Olave's Grammar School	"		
8 Sept. 1564	Blechingley Grammar School, now Exhibition Fund	John Whatman .	7 July 1874	—
1578 (?)	Farnham Grammar School . . .	Bishop Horne (?) .	30 June 1893	103
25 June 1599	Croydon, Whitgift Grammar School	Archbishop John Whitgift	15 July 1881	350
1 Nov. 1611 ³	Godalming, The Charterhouse School	Thomas Sutton .	26 Feb. 1880	550 300
29 Sept. 1615	Camberwell, Wilson's Grammar School	Edward Wilson, Vicar		
20 June 1617 ⁴	Dulwich, College	Edward Allen, Actor	18 Aug. 1882	699
	Dulwich, Alley's School	"	"	588
15 Nov. 1638	Kingston, Tiffin's Schools for Boys and Girls	"	20 Oct. 1874	376
17 Nov. 1639	Reigate Grammar School	"	13 May 1875	319
1675 ⁵	Battersea, Grammar School	"	9 Aug. 1873	128
7 Sept. 1700	Battersea, Grammar School	Sir Walter St. John, Bart.	9 Aug. 1873	200
31 Aug. 1741	Dulwich, James Allen's Girls' School	James Allen, Master of Dulwich College	18 Aug. 1882	340
14 Aug. 1829	Wimbledon, King's College School	Public Subscription	—	304
1865	Cranleigh School	"	—	300
20 Jan. 1852 ⁷	Leatherhead, St. John's School	"	—	282
1853	Epsom College	John Probert	—	232
24 Oct. 1878	Camberwell, The Mary Datchelor Girls' School	Scheme under Endowed Schools Acts from charity founded 26 Sept. 1726	12 May 1871 19 Feb. 1875 14 Aug. 1879 25 Oct. 1881 15 Oct. 1894	445
9 Nov. 1880	Wimbledon, High School for Girls	Girls' Public Day Schools Company	—	
14 Jan. 1884	Sutton, High School for Girls	"	—	200
Jan. 1884	Surbiton, Church School for Girls	Church Schools Co.Ld.	—	112
Sept. 1885	Bramley, St. Catherine's Girls' School	Public Subscription	—	102
Jan. 1886	Richmond, Church School for Girls	Church Schools Co.Ld.	—	82
Jan. 1888	Guildford " " "	"	—	125
Jan. 1889	Reigate " " "	"	—	74
1894	Merton, Rutlish " Science School	Scheme under Charitable Trusts Acts	—	180
1895	Wallington County School for Girls	Surrey County Council	—	—
1899	Dorking High School	"	—	70
1899	Richmond, County School	"	—	150
1900	Sutton, County School for Boys	"	—	104

¹ See ante, p. 157. School first mentioned as a Public School 7 April 1364.
² Number in the Girls' School opened 14 March 1903. ³ Removed to Surrey, 18 June 1872.
⁴ Date of appointment of first Schoolmaster. The deed of foundation was 13 Sept. 1619.
⁵ Date of endowment. The school was not actually started till 1744.
⁶ Removed to Surrey, April 1897.
⁷ Date of starting at Kilburn. Removed from Clapton to Surrey, Aug. 1872.

SCHOOLS

SURREY PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Explanation of abbreviations :—

N = National	R = Roman Catholic
Ch = Church of England	P = Parochial
B = British	Bd = Board, now Council Schools
W = Wesleyan	

An asterisk (*) denotes that a Building Grant was made by the Treasury or by the Committee of Council on Education

The School Board for London was elected 29 Nov. 1870. In the case of London Board Schools the date given in the table is that of the opening of the School. A large number of Schools are used both as Day Schools and as Evening Continuation Schools.

Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board (a)	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board (a)	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided
		ADMINISTRATIVE COUNTY OF LONDON <i>East Lambeth Division</i>				Camberwell (<i>contd.</i>)	
		<i>East Lambeth Division</i>				Leipsic Road . B	•
		Camberwell :—				Lyndhurst Grove . . Bd	1100
		Boundary Lane Bd	1232	18 Mar. 1842	—	Pitman Street R	510
		Camden Chapel	614*	6 May 1885	—	St. George's . N	819
22 Feb. 1847	27 Nov. 1877	Canterbury Road ¹ . . Bd	1276			St. Michael and All Angels' . N	658
		Christ Church, Ragged and Industrial ² . .	•			Scarsdale Road Bd	1409
		Edgumbe Road, Temporary Bd	254			Southampton Street . . Bd	1233
		George Street Bd	1070			The John Rus- kin . . . Bd	1078
Boys	19 Aug. 1878					Vestry Road . Bd	144
Girls	5 Apr. 1880			Boys	15 Aug. 1887	Dulwich :— Hamlet . . Bd	718
Infants	30 Sep. 1901			Girls	26 June 1894		
		Gloucester Road ³ . . Bd	1746			Heber Road . Bd	1602
		Green Coat . N	1336*	10 May 1864		Infants' . . Ch	198*
1709		Grove Vale . Bd	1084			East Dulwich :— Goodrich Road ⁴ Bd	1594
		Leipsic Road . Bd	1147			Lordship Lane, St. Anthony R	200
				27 June 1839	1872 (new build- ings)	St. John's Dis- trict N	61c
				4 Nov. 1871			
						Kennington, Faunce Street . . Bd	788
				18 Nov. 1875		Kennington Park, St. Agnes . N	686
				27 Apr. 1868		Newington Butts, St. Matthew's ⁵ N	461*

(a) In some instances the date given is that of the first establishment of the school, e.g., earliest date at which the school is known to have existed; formation of Committee with a view to a school; Resolution by Vestry authorizing establishment of a school.

¹ Junior Mixed Department opened 8 July 1895.

² Site and buildings in Nelson Street by deed of 1883; additions made under deeds of 14 August 1886 and 23 April 1887. School now affiliated to the Ragged School Union. A Travers Buxton Memorial Fund attached to it.

³ Founded about 1709; site and buildings given by Henry Cornelison in 1721. Subsequent endowments produce about £34 a year. Scheme of Charity Commissioners 29 October 1872.

⁴ A Higher Grade School.

⁵ Scheme of Charity Commissioners, 8 November 1870.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	Date of Foundation or Trust Deed or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	
3 Nov. 1851 31 July 1875 1849	2 Apr. 1883	Newington :— Crampton St. Bd	1600			Peckham (<i>contd.</i>) New Town, St. Francis . . . R	843	
	13 July 1885	Rockingham Street . . Bd	1391		7 Jan. 1884	Nunhead Passage . . Bd	1553	
	—	St. Mary's ¹ . N	1141*		4 Sep. 1876	Peckham Park ² . Bd	1517	
	—	Trinity ³ . . N	541*		29 Aug. 1881	Peckham, Reddin's Road, Derwent Rd. Bd	1176	
	12 Jan. 1874	New Kent Road, Harper Street Bd	1002		1 June 1896	Peckham Rye, The Friern . Bd	1174	
	10 Sep. 1877	Nunhead :— Hollydale Road Bd	1269		—	Peckham . . W	544	
	22 Aug. 1892	Ivydale Road . Bd	1158		1 Feb. 1900	Peckham Road :— Oliver Goldsmith . . Bd	756	
	18 Apr. 1887	Old Kent Road :— Coburg Road. Bd	1603	26 Mar. 1855	—	St. Mary Magdalene . . N	781*	
	10 Apr. 1899	Leo Street . Bd	1138		10 Jan. 1876	Sunmer Road ⁴ Bd	1271	
	20 Oct. 1884	Mawley Road Bd	1170		29 Aug. 1881	Woods Road . Bd	1462	
	28 Aug. 1882	Mina Road ³ . Bd	1398		4 Dec. 1893	Rotherhithe, New Road, Il- derton Road Bd	1163	
	16 Mar. 1885	Ruby Street . Bd	796		27 Mar. 1873	—	Walworth :— All Saints' . N	770*
	13 July 1885	Surrey Square Bd	1209		19 Aug. 1878	Beresford Street ⁷ . Bd	1283	
	17 Nov. 1884	Peckham :— Adys Road . Bd	1566		26 Apr. 1897	Faraday Street, Michael Faraday . . . Bd	940	
	28 Aug. 1893	Arthur Street. Bd	1113*		11 Oct. 1875	Flint Street ⁸ . Bd	1040	
	24 Aug. 1885	Asylum Road, ³ Colls Road Bd	1384		30 Aug. 1886	"		
	9 Apr. 1877	Bellenden Road ³ . . Bd	1152	Boys and Girls Infants	—	Heygate Street, Jewish ⁹ . . .	263	
	26 Apr. 1881	Cator Street . Bd	1528		16 July 1883	King and Queen Street Bd	1570	
	8 Jan. 1894	Choumert Road ⁴ . . Bd	1195		16 Aug. 1875	Mount Street. B	•	
	23 Oct. 1882	Credon Road. Bd	1610			Penrose Street Bd	1259	
					Rodney Road, Northampton Place, English Martyrs . R	732		
					St. John's, Bar- low Street, Infants' . . N	•		

¹ A Charity School, established in 1710-1 by Richard Cambridge. About 1775 a school building was erected by means of a legacy by James Tracey on waste of the manor of Walworth. In 1816 the schools were united with the National Society, and subsequently branch schools were opened in districts of Holy Trinity and St. Peter. The three schools have endowments of Thomas Crowley, James Spencer, Francis Hurlbatt, Roger Wallen, John Lightning, John Ashfield, Richard Farmer, and G. B. Hart, now producing about £48 a year, divided equally. Other endowments of St. Mary's School produce about £400 yearly, including £100 received from the Elephant and Castle and King and Queen Charities under scheme of 1852.

² In addition to one-third of the endowments last mentioned this school has separate endowments, including Rev. M. G. Butcher's Fund (Deed poll 2 February 1839); and yearly grant of £100 from the Elephant and Castle and King and Queen Charities.

³ A Higher Grade School.

⁴ A commercial school is attached.

⁵ A junior mixed department added 20 August 1888.

⁶ There is a science and art school attached.

⁷ A Higher Grade School.

⁸ School transferred to School Board in 1873, receives £90 yearly from Elephant and Castle and King and Queen Charities.

⁹ Site leasehold from 1867 and 1873. Endowments, including Aaron and Rachel Cohen's Prize, Ray Wilenski Prize, and Simon and Fanny Joseph's Prize, produce about £67 a year.

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Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided		
19 Sep. 1870	—	Walworth (<i>contd.</i>)		1865	14 Apr. 1874	Battersea (<i>contd.</i>)			
		St. John's, Larcom Street . N	782*			Park . . . Bd	1488		
		St. Paul's . . Ch	655*						
29 Oct. 1850	24 Aug. 1891	St. Paul's, Surrey Gardens . N	554	1865	10 Aug. 1874	Park Road, Sleaford Street . Bd	1463		
		St. Peter's ¹ . N	423*			Park Road, The Latchmere ⁴ . Bd	1840		
		Sandford Row Bd	1170			Park, St. Saviour's, Infants' Ch	•		
—	28 Aug. 1893	Sayer Street . Bd	1184	1865	10 Nov. 1890	Plough Road, Clapham Junction . . . Bd	1363		
		Victory Place. Bd	1362			Raywood Street Bd	1404		
		Westmoreland Road . . Bd	1005						
—	2 Mar. 1874	West Lambeth Division		1865	18 Apr. 1882	Rise, St. Mark's, Infants' . . Ch	99		
		Balham:—				St. John's . . N	770*		
		Cavendish Rd. Bd	914			St. Mary's, Green Lane . . P	898*		
—	Jan. 1899	Nightingale Square . . R	124	1865	1 Mar. 1851	St. Mary's, Girls' and Infants' R	390		
		Oldridge Road Bd	1595			St. Peter's . . Ch	211		
		St. Mary's ² . Ch	564*			Shillington Street . . Bd	1616		
26 Oct. 1858 Infants	7 Apr. 1902	Telferscot Road . . Bd	345	1865	26 Feb. 1883	Southlands Practising . . W	550		
		Battersea:—				9 Mar. 1885	Surrey Lane ⁵ Bd	1592	
			Basnett Grove. Bd				1092	Tennyson St. ⁶ Bd.	1489
—	26 May 1884	Bolingbroke Road . . Bd	1055	1865	22 Jan. 1877	Winstanley Road . . Bd	1008		
		Christ Church N	519			Brixton:—			
		Ethelburga Street . . Bd	1174			Corpus Christi R	172		
23 Oct. 1865	1 Dec. 1873	Fields, St.		1865	9 June 1879	Effra Parade . Bd	1374		
		George . . N	850*			Hill . . . W	521		
		Gideon Road . Bd	1150			Jessop Road . Bd	1080		
2 Apr. 1857	4 May 1896	Holden Street Bd	1065	1865	21 Aug. 1876	Lyham Road . Bd	1180		
		Lavender Hill. Bd	1595			23 Aug. 1878	New Park Road Bd	936	
		Lower Wandsworth Road, St. Joseph's. R	295			23 Aug. 1897	St. Matthew's, Church Road ⁷ N	639*	
—	5 Feb. 1877	Mantua Street ³ Bd	1562	1865	15 Apr. 1828	Santley Street Bd	1130		
		Plough Lane, Girls' . . B	*			6 Jan. 1902	13 Aug. 1877	Stockwell Road . . . Bd	1210
							9 Apr. 1894	Sussex Road ⁸ . Bd	1320

¹ See note to Newington St. Mary's School as to endowments in part applicable to this school. It also receives £100 a year from the Elephant and Castle and King and Queen Charities.

² Infants' School added in 1884.

³ Junior mixed department added 5 June 1893.

⁴ Junior mixed department added 5 January 1891.

⁵ A Higher Grade School.

⁶ Junior mixed department added 26 August 1901.

⁷ Grants in aid are received from Walcott's Charity and Hayle's Charity.

⁸ A commercial and science and art school is attached.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	Date of Foundation or Trust Deed or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided
27 May 1862	27 Oct. 1884	Camberwell:— Crawford St. . B	*	29 Dec. 1890	24 Aug. 1903	Earlsfield Temporary . . . Bd	347
	—	Crawford Street ¹ . Bd	1282	3 May 1847	1834	East Brixton, St. Jude's ⁷ . . Ch	401
1 April 1858	—	Denmark Hill, St. Matthew's, Boys' ⁸ . . N	216		—	East Kennington, Bolton Street ⁹ N	194*
	—	Denmark Hill, St. Matthew's, Girls' and Infants' ² . N	402		23 Sep. 1879	Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum Kennington, Church Street . . Bd	356
11 May 1869	10 Jan. 1898	Park, Cormont Road . . Bd	936	5 Nov. 1860	—	Oval ⁹ . . N	802
	—	St. Saviour's, Herne Hill Road . . Ch	321	30 May 1861	23 Aug. 1897	Road ¹⁰ . . Bd	594*
	18 May 1903	Clapham:— Aristotle Road Bd	452	16 June 1852	—	St. James', Regency ¹¹ Square . . N	430*
20 Jan. 1648	9 Jan. 1899	Bonneville Road . . Bd	373	26 May 1870	—	St. John's ¹² . N	1626*
26 Apr. 1838	1887 (rebuilt 1838)	Bonneville Rd. ³ P	654*	5 May 1871	—		
	—	Christ Church P	228	14 Jan. 1887	8 Jan. 1877	South Lambeth Road ¹³ . . Bd	1586
	27 Apr. 1903	Common, Wix's Lane . . .	962	18 Aug. 1852	20 Aug. 1877	Lambeth:— Addington St. Bd.	779
	10 Jan. 1887	Haselrigge Road ⁴ . . Bd	1560	Will dated	1713	All Saints' ¹⁴ . Ch	
2 Dec. 1889	8 Jan. 1877	Larkhall Lane Bd	863	11 Apr. 1715	—	Archbishop Tenison's, High Street, Girls' ¹⁵ . . N	385*
18 Dec. 1845	—	St. James', White Square, Infants' ⁵	128		—	Benevolent Society of St. Patrick . . .	598
29 Apr. 1893	—	St. John's ⁶ . Ch	370*	22 Jan. 1808	—	Chapel . . . W	474
	—	St. Mary's . R	607	2 Aug. 1870	—		
	—	St. Paul's . . P	469	22 June 1871	—		
	—	Wirtemberg Place . . B	*		—		
	7 Nov. 1881	Wirtemberg Street . . Bd	784		—		

¹ A Higher Grade School.

² The schools have endowments:—

(1) Under the will of John Forster proved 7 May 1870.

(2) £15 15s. a year from Catherine Everington's Charities.

(3) Under the will of Caroline Druce proved 16 March 1894, applicable for Girls' and Infants' Schools.

(4) Legacy by Charles or Stephen Barber to the Infants' School.

(5) Grants from Walcott's Charity and Hayle's Charity.

³ The premises conveyed in 1648, rebuilt in 1887, are used for the Girls' and Infants' Schools, and the premises comprised in the deed of 1838 are used for the Boys' School. Endowment of £7 yearly under William Hewer's gift in 1715 and £2 a year is received from Sarah Bridge's Charity.

⁴ A Higher Grade School.

⁵ The school was built by voluntary contributions. It is partly used for Sunday School, Mission Services, etc.

⁶ The premises conveyed in 1845 were known as the Bowyer School. The premises now appear to be occupied by the School Board.

⁷ The school was built at the expense of Mr. and Mrs. Simpson and other contributors. It possesses an endowment of £614 8s. 9d. Consols under the will of Christopher Graham, proved 1847. The buildings were enlarged in 1895. A grant is received from Hayle's Charity.

⁸ Grants are received from Walcott's and Hayle's Charities.

⁹ There is an endowment of £1,998 os. 10d. Consols representing Robert Forest's Foundation. A grant is also received from Walcott's Charity.

¹⁰ A commercial school is attached.

¹¹ A yearly grant of £60 is received from Walcott's Charity, and a variable sum from Hayle's Charity. The school was formerly known as the Prince's Liberty School.

¹² The school property has been several times enlarged. The property comprised in the deed of 1870 is let for a Boys' Home at a rent of £50, which is carried to the school account. A grant is received from Hayle's Charity.

¹³ A Higher Grade School. Junior mixed department added 11 March 1895.

¹⁴ Grants are received from Walcott's Charity and Hayle's Charity.

¹⁵ The school existed before the will, as regulations were made 29 May 1713. St. Mary's Infants' School mentioned below is part of this foundation.

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Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	
20 June 1818		Lambeth (<i>contd.</i>) George Street ¹ B	*	Girls and Infants Boys	16 Aug. 1875	Lambeth (<i>contd.</i>) Walnut Tree Walk . . Bd	1143	
12 Oct. 1850	—	65, High Street, Free Evening .	*		20 Nov. 1882			
		Holy Trinity, District and Natl. ²	701*		16 May 1881	Waterloo Road Bd	1196	
	26 Apr. 1880	Lollard Street Bd	1201					
	10 Aug. 1874	Lower Marsh, Johanna Street Bd	898		31 May 1875	Lower Norwood :— Gipsy Hill Rd. ⁷ Bd	1477	
1708 United with Natl. Society by Deed 9 Dec. 1902	(rebuilt about 1848)	Lambeth ³ . . . P	827*		12 Apr. 1880	Salter's Hill . Bd	974	
28 Mar. 1867	—	St. Andrew's ³ N	1418*		—	Salter's Hill ⁸ . W	216	
7 Oct. 1867	—	St. John's and All Saints ⁴ N	*		8 Jan. 1900	Lower Tooting, Ensham Street ⁹ Bd	348	
24 June 1825	—	St. Mary's, Infants ⁵	316		13 Aug. 1877	New Wandsworth :— Belleville Road Bd	1231	
14 May 1879	1880-1	St. Mary's (Princes Rd.) ⁶ N	748*		27 Feb. 1893	Honeywell Road ¹⁰ . . Bd	1634	
30 May 1871	1828 (about)	St. Patrick's . R	203			Nine Elms :— St. George's . N	*	
2 May 1870	—	St. Philip's, Archbishop Sumner's Memorial . .	668		23 Aug. 1886	Ponton Road . Bd	233	
22 Sep. 1887	—	St. Saviour's, Salamanca . N	544*			North Brixton :— Christ Church ¹¹ N	335*	
6 Mar. 1866	—	Vauxhall St. . Bd	1174		31 Dec. 1860	Ditto, Infants ¹² N	110	
	5 Oct. 1874			13 Feb. 1852	St. John's, Angell Town ¹³ . N	618*		
					Old Battersea . R	538		
					Putney :— All Saints ⁷ . . N	687		
				21 Nov. 1894	1858 16 Sep. 1901	Bridge Road, Brandlehow Road . . Bd	1075	
					6 Jan. 1902	Deodar Road, Temporary Bd	347	
					1 Sep. 1851	St. Mary's . N	1053*	
				14 Sep. 1894	1867			
				Founded in connection with All Saints' National School		Upper Grade, Boys' . . N	135	
						Ditto, Girls'. N	96	

¹ The Day School, after a transfer to the School Board and a re-transfer to the Trustees, has been discontinued. The building is now used for a Sunday School and other purposes connected with Regent Street Baptist Chapel.

² Grants are received from Walcott's and Hayle's Charities.

³ The school was first established in Bear and Ragged Staff Yard, afterwards rebuilt on land belonging to Lawrence's Free School Charity (founded 1661), and used for the purposes of that charity. Various legacies have been made to the school and have been partly employed in aiding the Kennington, Waterloo and Norwood Schools. Endowments produce about £30 yearly, and the school is entitled to £25 yearly and a share of surplus income from Walcott's Charity. £30 yearly is received from Lawrence's Charity and £24 from Rich's Charity. Ten boys are clothed at expense of Lawrence's Charity, and are entitled to Spencer's Apprenticing Charity.

⁴ In 1882 St. John's Schools were enlarged and improved at a cost of £1,069, partly by bequest of £500 by Nathaniel Ernest Mugeridge. They are entitled to £100 yearly and a share of surplus income from Walcott's Charity, and obtain grants from Lawrence's Charity and Hayle's Charity.

⁵ This school is part of Archbishop Tenison's School Foundation mentioned above. A new site was granted by deed of 1879. The school is entitled to £75 yearly from Walcott's Charity and receives grants of varying amounts from Hayle's Charity.

⁶ Sums received from Walcott's Charity, Hayle's Charity, the Eastwood Fund, and Catherine Severne's Charity are carried to a general fund for the support of these schools and of St. Saviour's, Salamanca, School.

⁷ Junior mixed department added 24 August 1896.

⁸ A Wesleyan Day School at West Norwood was established under a deed of 12 July 1861 and placed upon the trusts of the Wesleyan Chapel Model Deed, by Scheme of Charity Commissioners, of 21 April 1893.

⁹ The date is that of the temporary buildings which are now being replaced by permanent buildings, providing accommodation for 962 children.

¹⁰ A Higher Grade School.

¹¹ Endowment of £90 7s. 11d. Ind. 3% Stock under will of George Whateley, proved 18 December 1895.

¹² Formerly the Out Liberty Infant School and as such receives a yearly grant of £55 and share of surplus income from Walcott's Charity. A grant is also made from Hayle's Charity.

¹³ A variable grant is received from Hayle's Charity.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided
30 Dec. 1850	—	Roehampton ¹ . P	542			Streatham (<i>contd.</i>)	
20 Sept. 1852	1887	Sacred Heart . R	182		20 May 1902	Mitcham Lane Bd	410
	11 May 1891	Southfields :— Merton Road. Bd	963		7 Jan. 1901	St. Andrew's . R Sunnyhill Road Bd	288 808
25 May 1850	—	St. Michael's . . South Kennington :— St. Barnabas', In- fants' ² . . N	155 247*	19 May, 1847 18 Aug. 1851 9 Feb. 1866	—	Summer's Town :— Infants' ⁸ . N	•
		South Lambeth :— All Saints', Bel- more Street Mission .	85		24 Aug. 1885 26 Aug. 1901	Waldron Road, Earlsfield . Bd Tooting :— Broadwater Road, Temporary Bd Graveney . . Bd	1310 795 1406
19 Mar. 1847 25 Apr. 1893	—	St. Stephen's, Dorset Road ³ N South Streatham, St. Andrew's, In- fants' . . Ch	673* 203		1882 En- larged 1893	Graveney ⁹ . N	•
	9 May 1887	Stockwell :— Hackford Road ⁴ Bd	1347	Vestry Meet- ing 6 Feb. 1792	—	Tulse Hill, Trin- ity ¹⁰ . . Ch	430
1 Sep. 1818	1818 (Boys' and Girls' Sch.)	Lingham Street ⁵ N	721	7 June 1862 14 Mar. 1864	—	Upper Norwood, Woodland Road Bd Upper Tooting . N	807 528
22 May 1861	1836 (Infants)	Orphanage . . Practising . .	461 953*	Girls and In- fants, 12 Dec. 1863 Boys, 19 July 1894	10 Jan. 1887 1870		
19 Mar. 1847	1839 (about)	St. Michael's In- fants' ⁶ . . N	262		24 Aug. 1896	Fircroft Road . Bd	884
17 Feb. 1892	1816	Streatham ⁷ . . N	667			Vauxhall :— St. Anne's . R St. Paul's . . N St. Peter's . . N	625 616* 788*
4 Nov. 1856 25 July 1860	1844 1861 En- larged 1893	Christ Church N Common, Im- manuel . . Ch	427 635*	17 June 1868 4 Apr. 1860	5 Sept. 1887	Upper Kenning- ton Lane . Bd Wandsworth :— All Saints' ¹¹ . N	1197 580*
	15 May 1894 28 Aug. 1899	Eardley Road. Bd Hitherfield Road, Temporary Bd	1207 372	25 Mar. 1848	1872		

⁸ The premises were handed over to the School Board in 1878, who occupied them till about 1886; now used for Sunday School.

⁹ First established as a Charity School. Placed in union with National Society in 1833. Transferred to School Board in 1874, re-transferred in 1875. Since 1880 used for Sunday School. The former Infants' School, founded by deed in 1855, was conveyed to the School Board in 1875, but afterwards re-purchased by the parish for £1,250 for use as a Vestry Hall. Endowments of John Avarn, William Powell, John Ravenhill, and Elizabeth Collett, formerly attached to these schools, are regulated by scheme of Charity Commissioners, 25 June 1875.

¹⁰ School receives the rents of cottages built on a site originally conveyed.

¹¹ Under scheme of Charity Commissioners 20 February 1872; receives half of the endowment of the former Green Coat School.

¹ There is an endowment of £101 1s. 10d. Consols under the will of James Rice, proved 27 February 1839.

² The school, as the successor of the South Lambeth Female Infant School, near Spring Grove, receives £35 yearly and a share of surplus income from Walcott's Charity. There is also a grant from Hayle's Charity.

³ The School receives about £90 from house property. A grant is also received from Hayle's Charity.

⁴ A Higher Grade School and a Science and Art School.

⁵ Buildings restored in 1886 at a cost of £900. £15 yearly and a share of surplus income are received from Walcott's Charity, and a yearly grant from Hayle's Charity.

⁶ Receives grants from Walcott's and Hayle's Charity.

⁷ Girls' School built 1816, enlarged 1868; Boys' School 1837, enlarged 1872.

SCHOOLS

Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided
		Wandsworth (<i>contd.</i>)				Bermondsey (<i>contd.</i>)	
	26 Aug. 1895	Ave Maria, Upper Grade . . . R	265	1712	1891 (rebuilt)	Bacon's Free ⁴ .	210
	12 June 1876	Frogmore, Temporary . . . Bd	434*	1727	—	⁵ B	*
		Garratt Lane. Bd	1208		16 Nov. 1874	Dock Head . R	1177
		" " R	217		23 Oct. 1876	Farncombe . . Bd	1042
		Royal Victoria Patriotic Asylum	370		16 Oct. 1876	Galleywall Road . . Bd	1268
		Road, Commercial Road, New Road	473		16 Nov. 1874	Keeton's Road ⁶ Bd	1561
	27 July 1874	Bd	1463		16 Nov. 1874	Laxon Street . Bd	1445
	11 Jan. 1886	Road, Priory Grove, Priory Road Bd	1212		5 Jan. 1874	Monnow Road, Higher Grade Bd	1709
	23 Aug. 1886	Road, St. Andrew's Street . . Bd	1590	28 Jan. 1847	—	⁷ N	*
	23 Oct. 1882	Road, Springfield Bd	1397		3 July 1876	Neckinger Road . . Bd	985
30 Sept. 1858		St. Anne's . Ch	487*		11 Jan. 1897	Page's Walk . Bd	1174
8 Apr. 1834	—	St. Anne's, Garrett Lane Infants' ¹ Ch	*		24 June 1874	Park Street . P	223
20 July 1870		St. Faith's . N	372		9 Nov. 1874	Riley Street . Bd	1178
9 Jan. 1889		St. Joseph's Practising . R	555		30 May 1853	Rolls Road . Bd	1422
	28 Feb. 1898	Smallwood Road . . Bd	1320		—	St. James' . . N	624*
	23 Aug. 1897	Swaffield Road . . Bd	1320		18 July 1881	St. Mary Magdalene's (Grange Walk) Infants' N	394*
	14 Feb. 1898	Warple Way . Bd	1294		6 July 1874	St. Paul's . . .	*
	16 Aug. 1880	West Hill ² . Bd	318		20 July 1885	Snow's Fields. Bd	1006
	15 Apr. 1901	York Road, Eltringham St. Bd	1502		7 Feb. 1882	Southwark Park Bd	1266
	24 Aug. 1903	West Dulwich :—	752		5 Apr. 1880	Southwark Park Road, The Alma Bd	986
	11 Jan. 1886	Norwood St. Luke's ³ . N	360		23 Dec. 1870	Stephen the Yeoman, Ragged	322
	8 Jan. 1900	<i>Southwark Division</i>			7 Feb. 1882	The Boutcher ⁸ .	825
	1825	<i>Bermondsey :—</i>			5 Apr. 1880	Wall, East Lane Bd	1428
	9 Apl. 1877	Alexis Street . Bd	1287			Webb Street . Bd	1196

¹ Closed in 1883, and now a Sunday School under scheme of Charity Commissioners 19 June 1891.

² The new buildings have accommodation for 962 scholars.

³ The Boys' and Girls' School was erected on land allotted under an Inclosure award of 3 March 1810. The Infants' School site, formerly leasehold, was converted into freehold by deed of 9 May 1895. Boys' School discontinued in 1891. £25 yearly and a share of surplus income is received from

Walcott's Charity, and a variable amount from Hayle's Charity. There is a deed for the Girls' School of 20 April, 1899.

⁴ Under scheme of Charity Commissioners, 7 October 1890. Endowment about £300 a year, partly for leaving exhibitions.

⁵ Formerly the Herolds' Schools, founded 1727, discontinued 1891, when buildings in Drummond Road let to the School Board for London. The endowment of Herolds' Foundation, about £700 a year, is subject to scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts 6 February 1892, with provision for Exhibitions, payment to Borough Road Polytechnic, etc.

⁶ A Higher Grade School.

⁷ The school was discontinued some years ago, and the building used as a parochial mission hall and institute.

⁸ Built 1870 by William Boutcher, in memory of his wife.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

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		Borough Road, Mansfield Street, Temporary Bd	234	Boys	1 June 1896	Southwark (<i>contd.</i>)	
	14 Aug. 1876	Rotherhithe:— Albion Street. Bd	1440		7 Jan. 1878	Hatfield Street Bd	1283
25 Feb. 10 James I.		Amicable Society's ¹	192		7 Jan. 1878	Holland Street Bd	812
6 Apr. 1840		Christ Church ² N	405*		13 Aug. 1877	Lant Street . Bd	1210
26 Oct. 1844		Clarence Street N	400*		29 Sep. 1872	Magdalen Street . . Bd	242
	5 Mar. 1877	Midway Place Bd	1408		5 Apr. 1875	Marlborough Street . . Bd	1399
	30 Oct. 1876	New Road ³ . Bd	1300			Melior Street ⁷ R	717
		Paradise Street, St. Joseph's. R	639	1674		Newcomen's Charity ⁸ . .	357
26 Nov. 1856		St. Barnabas, Gomm . N	409*		12 Feb. 1900	New Kent Road, 'Paragon' Bd	1094
22 July 1869		St. Mary's . N	704*		2 Mar. 1885	Old Kent Road, Townsend St. Bd	1176
21 Nov. 1872		St. Paul's . . N	270*		1 June 1874	Orange Street. Bd	1206
20 May 1850		Silver Street ⁴ B	•		24 Aug. 1885	Pocock Street, Blackfriars Road . . Bd	1186
26 Nov. 1856		Selwood Street Bd	1200			St. George the Martyr ⁹ . N	537*
23 Nov. 1837	25 Apr. 1881	Trinity ⁵ . . N	716*			St. George's . R	985
1 July 1791		Southwark:— Belvedere Place, Borough Road Bd	1074	1732-3		St. John's Charity, Girls' ¹⁰ .	220
1 Oct. 1836	5 Apr. 1875	Borough Road Model . . B	•	14 Apr. 1852		St. Jude's . . N	476
		Brent's Court, High Street R	961	1704	1840	St. Mary's . N	360*
		Broadwall . N	•			St. Olave's, Girls' ¹¹	75
22 May 1713		Christ Church ⁶ P	754*	Girls and		St. Paul's . . Ch	•
Girls and	7 Jan 1895	Fair Street . Bd	1171	Infants,		St. Peter's . N	410*
Infants				10 Feb. 1847 and			
				13 Jan. 1868			

¹ The original Charity or Free School was amalgamated with the Amicable Society's School in 1849. Endowment about £100 a year. Buildings new. Some of the scholars receive clothing; there is a preference to sons of poor seafaring men.

² A second building used as an Infants' School is comprised in deed 1 June 1859. There is a Scheme of the Charity Commissioners of 27 January 1871. Scholars attending Church of England Schools in Rotherhithe participate in the benefit of James Kid's Charity.

³ A Higher Grade School.

⁴ Under deed of 1837 School was erected, but discontinued about 1855, and the building since used as Sunday School.

⁵ In 1755 a society was formed for the education of boys, and in 1792 the United Society's School was built. Under scheme of Charity Commissioners 5 October 1875, this school was amalgamated with Holy Trinity National Schools, comprised in a deed of 1 October 1836. George Brunt's Charity of £100 (will proved 1866) was applied for general school purposes. Occupied by the School Board as an Evening Continuation School.

⁶ Founded by subscriptions between 1708-20. Subsequent endowments produce about £500 a year. Schools united to National Society in 1836.

⁷ Occupied by the County Council as Evening Continuation School.

⁸ Part of Newcomen's Foundation, founded by Mrs. Newcomen, by will dated 12 December 1664, and proved about 1674. Regulated by scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts, 7 March 1887. There is an endowment of more than £2,000 per annum, applicable mainly for educational purposes, including clothing of scholars and exhibitions.

⁹ The school premises were held under a lease expiring in 1900. Endowments given in 1842 and subsequently, and £15 yearly received from Delaforce's Charity which under scheme of Charity Commissioners of 5 June 1888 is applicable for food or clothing for scholars in public elementary schools.

¹⁰ The school was established on the formation of the parish of St. John on lease for 200 years from 1732. Endowment of about £4,000, half of which from William Coxson's Charity (will proved 1819).

¹¹ Endowments about £80 a year under scheme of Charity Commissioners 30 November 1894. Large yearly grants from the United Charities under scheme of Charity Commissioners 12 August 1892.

SCHOOLS

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Boys, 28 July 1902 Before 1706	1791 1819 — 8 Oct. 1877 28 May 1877 5 Jan. 1874 1 June 1885	Southwark (<i>contd.</i>)		Deed 1853	1873	Princess Road ¹² . Bd	524	
		St. Saviour's ¹ . Ch	670		1857	St. Andrew ¹³ . N	625*	
					1853	St. James' ¹⁴ . N	418*	
					1864	St. Mary's ¹⁵ . R	345	
		St. Stephen's ² N	•			St. Michael's Orphanage	112	
		Tabard St., Chaucer . . . Bd	1350		Deed 1857	1857	St. Peter's ¹⁶ . Ch	290*
		Tooley Street, All Saints ⁷ . R	338			1892	St. Saviour's . Ch	522
		Westminster				1872	Selhurst, Holy Trinity . . N	289*
		Bridge Road Bd	881			Enlarged		
		Weston Street Bd	711			1889		
School Board elected 27 May 1885	1714	West Sq. Higher Grade ³ . Bd	1327		1850	Shirley ¹⁷ . . . N	346	
					1874	South Norwood Bd	1189	
					Enlarged			
					1882-1900			
					1875	South Norwood, St. Mark's . Ch	251*	
		County Borough of Croydon				Sydenham Road Bd	1091	
		Archbishop Tenison's ⁴ . . . Ch	287			Upper Norwood Bd	607	
		Beulah Road ⁵ . Bd	1335		1891	" " N	349	
		Boston Road ⁶ . Bd	1194		1891	Whitehorse Road ¹⁸ Bd	1285	
		Brighton Road ⁷ . Bd	882		Enlarged	Woodside . . Bd	1272	
Christ Church ⁸ . N	698*		1897					
Croydon Boys' ⁹ . B	374*							
Girls' ¹⁰ . B	247*							
Infants' ¹¹ . B	114*							
Ragged .	186							
Dering Place . Bd	530							
Ecclesbourne Road . . Bd	1200		16 Oct. 1873	1873	Abinger :— Lower Abinger .	101		
Good Shepherd, Girls' and Infants'	197				Oakwood District Ch	151		
Mitcham Road ⁹ Bd	1088				Upper Abinger Ch	81		
Norwood Convent Orphanage . R	569		31 July 1873	1873	Addington :— Addington Hills, Infants' . . .	55		
Norwood St. Joseph's . R	149		23 July 1869	1844	Addington ¹⁹ . N	149		
Old Palace . . N	381				Addlestone. See Chertsey			
Oval Road ¹⁰ . Bd	954				Albury ²⁰ . . . N	188*		
Parish Church ¹¹ N	1344				Alfold ²¹ . . . Bd	183		
Portland Road . Bd	1310		School Board formed 24 June 1874	1876				

¹ Originally a Charity School about 1704. Endowments, given from 1709 onwards, produce about £150 a year. Present Boys' School built 1791; Girls' School 1819.
² The site of the school was given by the trustees of Humphry Williams' Charity. Schools closed about 1893, and now used for Sunday School.
³ A Higher Grade School.
⁴ Enlarged 1894. The school is endowed.
⁵ Enlarged 1882, 1886, 1893 and 1899.
⁶ Enlarged 1901.
⁷ Enlarged 1885-90.
⁸ Enlarged 1891.
⁹ Enlarged 1891.
¹⁰ Enlarged 1881-6.
¹¹ Enlarged 1884.

¹² Enlarged 1890.
¹³ Enlarged 1895.
¹⁴ Endowed with about £111 yearly out of Inkpen's Charity, founded by will proved 1873.
¹⁵ Enlarged 1882 and 1889.
¹⁶ Enlarged 1895.
¹⁷ Rebuilt 1885.
¹⁸ Enlarged 1894.
¹⁹ Endowed with the Writers' Bequest.
²⁰ Built by late and owned by present Duke of Northumberland.
²¹ Enlarged in 1882, 1888 and 1898.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided
	1843	Artington :— Loseley ¹ . . .	58			<i>Belmont.</i> See Cheam	
18 Aug. 1884	1847	Ash :— Ash . . . N	217	School Board formed 16 July 1877	1871 1879	<i>Benbilton.</i> See Sutton Betchworth :— Betchworth ¹⁰ Bd Brockham . . Bd	233 276
27 Jan. 1862	1874 En- larged 1896	Wyke St. Mark's . . Ch	353 247	School Board formed 11 Mar. 1893 19 Jan. 1847		Bisley :— Bisley Farm . .	230
22 Apr. 1856	1852	Ashtead ² . . Ch <i>Bandon Hill.</i> See Beddington	360	School Board formed 29 Nov. 1873	1874	Bisley ¹¹ . . N Shaftesbury . . Blechingley Bd <i>Blindley Heath.</i> See Godstone	120* 176 266
School Board formed 28 Apr. 1874		Banstead and Kings- wood U.D. :—				<i>Botleys.</i> See Chertsey	
About Oct. 1880	1857 1837	Banstead . . Bd Burgh Heath ³ Ch	396* 146	9 July 1849 26 Oct. 1871 23 Dec. 1861	1850 1871 1862	Bramley :— Bramley ¹² . N Grafham ¹³ . N Buckland ¹⁴ . . N <i>Burgh Heath.</i> See Banstead U.D.	346 100* 106
School Board formed 4 June 1878	1880 1893 1875	" " W Kingswood . Bd Tadworth and Kingswood Bd	100 162 193	School Board formed 23 July 1874	1876 1860	Burstow :— Outwood . . Bd Smallfield . Bd <i>Busbridge.</i> See God- alming Rural	105 152*
	1850	Barnes :— ⁴ Barnes Green, Girls' and In- fants' . . Bd	326	4 June 1856	1856	Ryfleet ¹⁵ . . N <i>Camberley.</i> See Frimley	335*
	1883	Castlenau, Girls' and Infants ¹⁶ Bd	163			Capel :— Capel ¹⁶ . . Ch Cold Harbour Free ¹⁷ . Ch Infants' ¹⁸ . Ch	258 61 50
	1870	Westfield, Boys' ¹⁸ . . Bd Westfield, Girls' and Infants' Bd	411 287	28 May 1873	1826 1819	Carshalton :— Camden Road ¹⁹ Bd	839
5 Oct. 1894 1 Nov. 1843 28 Feb. 1849 28 Feb. 1849	1872 1843 1848	Beddington :— Bandon Hill ⁷ . Ch Beddington and Wallington ⁸ N Beddington Cor- ner ⁹ . . .	192 260* 194	School Board formed 15 Apr. 1873	1851 1874		

¹ Built by James More Molyneux, Esq., and his wife, and maintained by W. More Molyneux.

² Enlarged 1895 and since. Endowed under David White's Charity by will of 20 January 1725, with Epsom, Ewell, Ashtead and Leatherhead.

³ Founded by Lady Arden of Nork, 1837, with endowment of £205 13s. 1d. in Consols. Rebuilt 1885; enlarged in 1901.

⁴ Hedgman's School Charity consisting of £2,737 12s. 5d., Metropolitan Consolidated 3½% Stock producing £95 16s. 4d., is applicable for clothing and otherwise aiding children to attend school.

⁵ Enlarged 1891.

⁶ Enlarged 1892.

⁷ Rebuilt 1895.

⁸ Enlarged 1889. Scheme of Charity Commissioners 13 August 1895. Beynon's Charity of £900 India 3½% Stock and Browne's Charity of £107 1s. 11d. Consols are applicable to the National Schools.

⁹ School was founded by John Bridges.

¹⁰ Enlarged 1885. The former Parish School was aided by endowments of Reynolds and Duke of Norfolk.

¹¹ Site granted by the Earl of Onslow. Scheme of Charity Commissioners 16 June 1899. The buildings were leased to the School Board, but the lease expired in 1899.

¹² Built by the widow of W. A. Sutherland; enlarged 1874 and 1901; new wing in 1894 in memory of Percy Ricardo. Under scheme of Charity Commissioners 11 December 1900.

¹³ Enlarged 1886.

¹⁴ Enlarged 1886. Johnson's Charity, founded by deed of 1857, is applicable to this school.

¹⁵ Enlarged 1898.

¹⁶ Enlarged 1872.

¹⁷ Enlarged 1846, 1851-60, and 1888. Endowed by Robert Barclay in 1875. Charity Commissioners' scheme 29 January 1876.

¹⁸ Founded by John Labouchere. Under scheme of Charity Commissioners 12 January 1877.

¹⁹ Girls' School built 1874; Boys' School built 1877, enlarged 1895; Infants' School built 1882. The old National School was founded by deed in 1821, and endowed by Beynon's Charity, by will, 1874, with £1,576 11s. 9d. India 3½% Stock.

SCHOOLS

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24 Sep. 1867	1825	Carshalton (<i>contd.</i>) Carshalton Infants' ¹ . N	153			Chertsey (<i>contd.</i>) Chertsey School of Handicraft . . .	100
		St. Mary's ² . R	114		1840-7	Long Cross ¹⁰ . Ch	93
School Board formed	1872	Caterham :— Caterham Hill ³ . . Bd	689	21 Oct. 1873	1874	New Haw, All Saints' . . . Ch	92
9 Dec. 1871	1881	Caterham ² . . R	99	20 Nov. 1869	1870	Ottershaw . . . Ch	192*
	1876	Caterham Valley . . Bd	380	1725	1846	Sir W. Perkin's Endowed ¹¹ Ch	755
24 Oct. 1883	1885	Caterham Valley . . Ch	329	(Rebuilt 1889)		Chessington :— Chessington . N	104
24 June 1901	1871	Chaldon ⁴ . . Ch	36	Deed 1870	1827	Chessington and Hook . N	*
1881 ⁵	1840	Charlwood :— Charlwood, Boys' Girls' and Infants' ⁶ . .	105			Chiddingfold :— Ansted Brook ¹² N	36
12 Nov. 1883	1852		207	25 Mar. 1903	1874	Chiddingfold ¹³ N	215*
15 Sep. 1888 ⁷	1868	Lowfield Heath .	128		1868	<i>Chilworth.</i> See St. Martha-on-the-Hill	
22 Dec. 1899	1899	Cheam :— Belmont . . . N	156			Chipstead ¹⁴ . . P	211
26 Apr. 1826	1826	Cheam and Cuddington Boys' N	151*		1874	Chobham :— St. Lawrence's ¹⁵ . Ch	274*
1869	1869	Cheam and Cuddington Girls' and Infants' N	137*	8 June 1872		Trinity ¹⁶ . . Ch	195
30 Dec. 1876	1878	Cheam Common, Girls' . . .	168	10 Dec. 1881	1854	Valley End ¹⁷ . Ch	132*
		<i>Chelsham.</i> See Warlingham		5 Jan. 1859		<i>Churt.</i> See Frensham	
20 July 1894	1896	Chertsey :— Addlestone, Chapel Park . Ch	103	17 Mar. 1860	1860	Cobham :— Cobham ¹⁸ . . N	553
1 Sep. 1880	1882	Addlestone, St. Augustine's, Infants' . . Ch	105		1867	Downside . . Ch	138
24 Aug. 1841 (Girls' and Infants' Sch.)		Addlestone, St Paul's ⁸ . Ch	792	16 Jan. 1841		<i>Cold Harbour.</i> See Capel	
26 July 1901 (Boys' School)						Compton ¹⁹ . . N	108*
26 June 1895 (Rebuilt 1894)		Botleys and Lyne . . Ch	115			Coombe :— Kingston Vale, Robin Hood .	78
20 June 1845		Chertsey Infants' ⁹ . . N	205				
		Chertsey . . N	*				

¹ An endowment of £879 4s. 9d. India 3½ % Stock was given under Beynon's will in 1874.

² School is private property.

³ Enlarged 1893.

⁴ Built by Edward George on land given by him.

⁵ There is a deed of this date and a lease of 12 November 1883 for 99 years.

⁶ Enlarged 1893.

⁷ There is a lease of this date, but an earlier deed is reported.

⁸ Girls' School enlarged 1885.

⁹ By deed 1 December 1890, the school was conveyed to the Perkins School Foundation.

¹⁰ School built about 1840-7 by William Tringham. It was enlarged in 1852.

¹¹ Regulated by scheme under Endowed Schools Acts 28 November 1889, as altered in 1893 and 1894.

¹² Built by J. S. Hodgson, Esq.

¹³ Built by the late G. H. Pinckard, Esq. Enlarged 1893.

¹⁴ Endowed with Mary Stephens's Charity 4 April 1746. Scheme under Endowed Schools Acts 7 July 1874.

¹⁵ Estate endowment of £186 17s. 2d. Consols regulated by Charity Commissioners' scheme, 1881. T. Bainbridge's bequest of £360 Consols, by will 1833, is applicable for this school, and a similar sum given by M. Bainbridge is partly so applicable.

¹⁶ Scheme of Charity Commissioners 27 October 1896, £4 yearly is payable to the school under the charity of M. Bainbridge.

¹⁷ Built by the Hon. Mrs. Bathurst. Scheme of Charity Commissioners 25 February 1881. Endowed with £59 11s. 5d. Consols.

¹⁸ Built by Miss Combe in memory of her brother, Harvey Combe.

¹⁹ Enlarged 1870.

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		Coulsdon :—		2 Sep. 1857	1857	Effingham . . N	110*
Deeds				School Board formed		Egham :—	
15 Aug. 1871,				4 July 1884			
4 Mar. 1885,	1888	Coulsdon ¹ . Ch	114	13 Oct. 1882		Bishopsgate Infants ² . . Ch	56
and	(rebuilt)					Englefield Green ¹⁶ . N	502*
28 July 1887				16 Apr. 1867	1864	Hythe ¹⁶ . . Bd	743
	1885	Kenley . . Ch	183			St. Ann's Heath . . Bd	188
28 July 1887	1889	Purley ² . . N	272*		1886	Station Road ¹⁷ Bd	615
	1893	Smitham Bottom, Infants ³ . Ch	113	1868	1870	Virginia Water, ¹⁸ Christ Church N	155*
29 Sep. 1848	—	Cranley . . N	472*	30 Dec. 1843	1857	Elsted ¹⁹ . . N	218*
5 Feb. 1863	1862	Crowhurst ⁴ . N	83*			Englefield Green. See Egham	
		Dockenfield :—		30 Aug. 1849	1852		
	1887	Frensham, Batt's Corner, Infants ⁵	72			Epsom ²⁰ . . . N	945*
		Dorking :—		7 Dec. 1828			
	1870	Cold Harbour Road ⁶ . . R	187	(Boys' Sch.)	See note		
		Dorking . . B	380*	1844			
19 Aug. 1897	1895			(Infants')		Esher ²¹ . . . N	566*
20 Jan. 1899	(rebuilt)	Dorking ⁷ . . N	630*	27 July 1858	1859	Ewell ²² . . . N	600*
4 Mar. 1861	1862	Falkland Road ⁸ N	135	12 May 1860	1861	Ewhurst :—	
1 Aug. 1876	1868	Pixham Infants ⁹ N	72			Ellen's Green . N	52*
22 June 1880	1880	St Paul's . . N	350*	14 Mar. 1872	1870	Ewhurst . . N	155*
16 May 1859	1860			12 Feb. 1846	1840	Farncombe. See Godalming (Borough)	
1 July 1872		Dorking Rural :—				Farnham :—	
		Holmwood ⁹ . N	284*	School Board formed	1896	Badshott Lea . Bd	388
28 Oct. 1844	1844			24 Apr. 1893	1895	Bourne . . Bd	367
1 June 1871						Farnham . . B	
	1849	North Holmwood ¹⁰ . . N	213		1896	Farnham, East Street . . Bd	565
19 Sep. 1853	1854	Westcott ¹¹ . N	362*	21 Feb. 1860		Farnham ²³ . N	457*
		<i>Downside.</i> See Cobham					
	1839	Dunsfold ¹² . . N	162				
1 May 1862	1863	East Clandon ¹³ . N	104				
		East Horsley . Ch	101				
25 June 1859	(Girls' School, 1855; Boys' School, (1858))	East Molesey ¹⁴ . N	652*				

¹ A school here was founded by T. Byron by deed 16 June 1845. The new school built in 1888.
² The school was formerly at Riddlesdown. Infants' School built 1893.
³ The school is private property.
⁴ Endowed with Dr. H. Marchant's Charity.
⁵ Built by subscriptions. ⁶ School is private property.
⁷ Enlarged 1879 and 1890.
⁸ Endowed by — Labouchere by declaration of trust 1876 with £600 Consols.
⁹ Enlarged 1870 and 1884. ¹⁰ Enlarged 1875 and 1883.
¹¹ Infants' School added 1882.
¹² Built by Miss C. Woods and sold on her death to the present owner. Enlarged 1881.
¹³ Enlarged 1902.
¹⁴ Under schemes of Charity Commissioners of 12 June 1887 and 28 January 1887.

¹⁶ Enlarged 1885 and 1896. Endowment £15 per annum received from Trustees of the Poor's Allotments. Scheme of Charity Commissioners 21 March 1865.
¹⁸ Enlarged 1890 and 1900.
¹⁷ Formerly Egham Parish Schools. Enlarged 1895. The Parish Schools were entitled to the residue of income of the Poor's Allotments referred to above.
¹⁸ Endowment of £5 18s. a year from Consols, representing the Newnham Gift. Deed 1860.
¹⁹ Enlarged 1897.
²⁰ Ladbroke Road School built 1871; West Hill School built 1844, enlarged 1872; East Street School built 1893, enlarged 1894; Hook School built 1840, enlarged 1886-96. The Infants' School endowed with Elmslie Gift, £105 Consols, 1851, and under declaration of trust 1858 $\frac{1}{4}$ of Elmslie Charity was made applicable for the same school.
²¹ Enlarged 1891. West End Infants' School built in 1879 by Mrs. Baily of Stoney Hills in memory of her husband (Deed of Grant 4 December 1878). Endowment, £25 yearly, given by George Petre, Esq., in 1789 towards support of Sunday School.
²² Enlarged 1893. Endowed by deed 1860 with £205 18s. 5d. Consols (Calverley's Charity).
²³ School receives Wm. Sandham's bequest of £5 yearly by will of 10 April 1727.

SCHOOLS

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	1896	Farnham (<i>contd.</i>) Farnham, West Street . . . Bd	278	9 Nov. 1854 1 Jan. 1880	1854	Godstone (<i>contd.</i>) Godstone . . . N	260*
	1895	Hale ¹ . . . Bd	674			Godstone . . . Ch	84
	1897	St. Polycarp's ² R	120			Grafham. See Bramley	
	1867	Tilford All Saints' New District ³ .	118			Gray's Wood. See Witley	
30 Jan. 1841 4 Apr. 1856 26 Dec. 1859	1854 (Enlarged 1896)	Wrecclesham ⁴ N	285*		1856	Great Bookham :— Great Bookham ¹⁵ . . . N	287
		<i>Felbridge.</i> See Godstone			1858	Ranmore St. Barnabas ¹⁶ . . . Ch	124
14 Apr. 1855	1854	Fetcham ⁵ . . . Ch <i>Frensham.</i> See also Dockenfield	121	School Board elected 2 Apr. 1883 30 Apr. 1857	1885	Guildford U.D. :— Charlotteville ¹⁷ Bd	928
	1870	Churt St. John's N	131*		—	Guildford . . . B	*
5 Feb. 1876 School Board elected 8 Sep. 1883	1844	Frensham ⁶ . . . Ch Frimley :— Camberley . . . Bd	253 448	20 Mar. 1815	1814	Guildford Park Infants' . . .	252
	1897	(Infants' School 1902)			1843 Sep.	St. Joseph's . . . R	90
	1877	Camberley St. Tarcisius . . . R	129		1901	St. Mary's and Trinity . . . N	499*
27 Sep. 1867	1867	Frimley ⁷ . . . N York Town . . . Bd Gatton ⁸ . . . Ch	301* 547* 56	19 Oct. 1871 26 Nov. 1855	1870 1856	St. Nicholas ¹⁸ . . . N Sandfield . . . Bd	381* 900
		Godalming (Borough) :— Farncombe ⁹ . . . N	518*		1870 1856	Stoke Hill . . . N	173
24 July 1858 4 Oct. 1814 23 Jan. 1843	1856 1812 1840	Godalming ¹⁰ . . . B " . . . N Godalming (Rural) :— Busbridge ¹² . . . N	461* 571* 193		1885	Stoke-next-Guildford ¹⁹ Ch	657*
10 Oct. 1868 23 Mar. 1870	1868 1870	Shackleford St. Mary's ¹³ . . . Ch Godstone :— Blindley Heath N Felbridge ¹⁴ . . . N	205* 203* 93	31 Oct. 1877 1849	1862 1867 1900	Stoke-next-Guildford, Haydon Place Stoughton . . . Bd <i>Hale.</i> See Farnham Hambledon . . . N	* 598 102
20 Feb. 1851	1844 1882			30 May 1878 7 Mar. 1896 9 Feb. 1900	1890 1862 1867 1900	Ham-with-Hatch :— Ham ²⁰ . . . N Orphans' Home ²¹ N Hascombe ²² . . . Ch Haslemere ²³ . . . N	347* 202 120 428
					1868	Headley . . . Ch	87

¹ The Infants' School built by Bishop Sumner in 1830.

² The school is private property.

³ Schools begun in October 1867; various enlargements since.

⁴ The grant by deed of 1841 was made by Bishop of Winchester. Rent of former teacher's house, now let, goes to the school funds.

⁵ Enlarged in 1886.

⁶ Enlarged about 1862, and Infants' School added 1890.

⁷ Enlarged in 1897.

⁸ The school is the private property of Jeremiah Colman, Esq.
⁹ Enlarged 1884, 1889, 1897, and 1898. There is an endowment of £100 Consols bequeathed by Sarah Marshall, by will proved 1874.

¹⁰ Enlarged 1872 and 1897. ¹¹ Enlarged 1894.

¹² Enlarged 1887. ¹³ Infants' School added 1883.

¹⁴ Originally built at end of eighteenth century. The original school building is now the master's house. A former endowment of £21 yearly is not now paid.

¹⁵ Built by Viscountess Downe, the Hon. Lydia F. C. and the Hon. Payan Dawnay, in memory of Wm. Henry Viscount Downe. Infants' School built 1830, enlarged 1882.

¹⁶ The school is private property. Enlarged in 1874 by addition of Infants' School.

¹⁷ Enlarged 1890.

¹⁸ Built by the wife of James More Molyneux, and maintained by W. More Molyneux. New buildings 1851, 1860 and 1890.

¹⁹ Enlarged 1895.

²⁰ Scheme of Charity Commissioners 15 August 1890. Buildings altered 1901.

²¹ A wing was added in 1868 and two wings in 1872.

²² Enlarged 1884.

²³ Old School, built about 1816, enlarged 1873 and 1893, now an Infants' School.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided
		<i>Holmbury.</i> See Shere				Limpsfield :—	
		<i>Holmwood.</i> See Dorking Rural		4 Dec. 1871	1852	Limpsfield ⁸ . Ch	240*
19 Dec. 1857	1860	Hook :—	235*	School Board elected		Limpsfield Common ⁹ . . .	116
School Board formed	1884	St. Paul's ¹ . N	541	25 Oct. 1880		Lingfield :—	
9 Nov. 1872	1834	Horley :—	234*	14 Mar. 1874	1898	Baldwin's Hill Bd	254*
	1876	Albert Road ² Bd	186	23 July 1851	Enlarged	Dorman's Land Bd	265
27 Feb. 1896	1896	Horley . . . Bd	81		1886		
23 Mar. 1854		Salford ³ . . . Bd	81		1860	Lingfield ¹⁰ . Bd	333*
28 June 1851	1851 v	Sidlow Bridge N	299*	11 Feb. 1858		Little Bookham :—	
		Horne . . . P				Infants' ¹¹ . N	30
		Horsell ⁴ . . N		20 Nov. 1883	1884	<i>Long Cross.</i> See Chertsey	
		<i>Kenley.</i> See Coulsdon				Long Ditton . N	366*
		<i>Kew.</i> See Richmond (Borough)		14 Dec. 1872	1874	<i>Loseley.</i> See Artington	
		Kingston-on-Thames (Borough) :—				<i>Lowfield Heath.</i> See Charlwood	
	1871	Kingston Hill, St. Paul's . N	537*	24 Dec. 1863	1869	Malden ¹² . . N	171*
		Kingston Hill, Princess Louise Home	100			(See also New Malden)	
	1873	Kingston-on-Thames . N	745	25 Aug. 1852	1853	<i>Meadvale.</i> See Reigate (Borough)	
	1806	Kingston-on-Thames, Public	917	21 June 1886		Merrow :—	
	1852	Norbiton . . N	651*	17 Feb. 1902		Merrow ¹³ . . Ch	212
	1885	Norbiton, Hampden Road, Infants' . . N	178	19 Mar. 1885	1884	Merrow Down Road, Infs ¹⁴ . Ch	131
	1850	Norbiton, St. Agatha's . R	279	School Board elected	1898	Merstham . . Bd	640
	1876	St. John's . . N	494	6 Sep. 1889		Merton :—	
		St. Luke's, Boys' and Girls' . Ch	600	26 May 1838	1856	Abbey Road, Infants' ¹⁶ . N	128*
		St. Luke's, Infants' . Ch	368	1865	1870	Merton ¹⁸ . . N	867
		<i>Kingston Vale.</i> See Coombe		18 Nov. 1843	1844	Mickleham ¹⁷ . N	121*
		Leatherhead :—				<i>Milford.</i> See Witley	
20 Oct. 1899		Leatherhead . B	98				
		Leatherhead Common, Infants' ⁵ . . N	160				
4 June 1838	1837	Leatherhead ⁶ N	763*				
22 July 1847							
20 Oct. 1849	1845	Leigh ⁷ . . . N	158*				

⁸ The old Parochial School, comprised in a deed of 20 June 1838, was sold under scheme of Charity Commissioners of 3 August 1886, and the proceeds were applied to the school granted by G. W. G. Leveson-Gower, Esq., by the deed of 1871 to rector and churchwardens.

⁹ The school is the private property of Charles Granville Leveson-Gower, who lets it on yearly tenancy for school purposes.

¹⁰ Infants' School built 1849.

¹¹ Given by T. Mashiter.

¹² Buildings enlarged 1878-81. ¹³ Enlarged 1886.

¹⁴ Enlarged 1896. ¹⁵ Enlarged 1894.

¹⁶ Endowed by Richard Thornton's will, proved 26 July 1865, with stock producing over £300 yearly. Charity Commissioners' Scheme, 17 September 1868.

¹⁷ The school is endowed with the Talbot Bequest of £1,078 3s. 4d. Consols, and the Keirmaster Bequest of £202 15s. 4d. Consols.

¹ Enlarged 1871-90.
² Infants' School built 1890.
³ Enlarged 1886.

⁴ Enlarged 1882. Playground given in 1883 by Rev. John Back, vicar.

⁵ Site granted by John Henderson to vicar and churchwardens.

⁶ Girls' School erected 1883. Regulated by Charity Commissioners' Scheme 1873.

⁷ Enlarged 1872 and 1885.

SCHOOLS

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School Board elected 24 Feb. 1871	1897	Mitcham :— Lower Mitcham . . . Bd	890	9 Nov. 1872	1872 Enlarged 1902	Oxted ⁸ . . . N	314*
	1857	Mitcham ¹ . . . B	234			<i>Peaslake.</i> See Shere	
	1867	” . . . N	*			<i>Petersham.</i> See Richmond (Borough)	
	1874 (Girls’)	Mitcham ² . . . R	176	School Board elected 1 Apr. 1885	1870 Enlarged 1889	Pirbright ⁹ . . . Bd	223*
	1897 (Boys’)	Singlegate . . . Bd	706				
	1884 (Girls’)	Upper Mitcham . . . Bd	666			<i>Pixham.</i> See Dorking	
9 Feb. 1875	1896 (Boys’)	Morden ³ . . . N	190		About 1850	<i>Purley.</i> See Coulsdon	
	1731	Mortlake :— Mortlake . . . B	*	School Board elected 19 Dec. 1891		Puttenham . . . N	154
	1869	” ⁴ . . . N	976*			Pyrford . . . Bd	114
3 Apr. 1860	1861	St. Mary Magdalene . . . R	258*				
	1872	Newdigate Endowed Church ⁵ . . .	143			<i>Ranmore.</i> See Great Bookham	
		<i>New Haw.</i> See Chertsey				<i>Redhill.</i> See Reigate (Borough)	
6 Oct. 1869	1870	New Malden ⁶ . . . Ch	607*		1870	Reigate (Borough) :— Holmesdale . . .	230
30 Jan. 1896		<i>Norbiton.</i> See Kingston-on-Thames (Borough)			1880	Lesbourne Lands, Infants’ . . . N	171
		<i>Norwood.</i> See Croydon (County Borough)				Redhill, Battle-bridge . . . Ch	60
		Nutfield :— Nutfield . . . N	315*		1846	Redhill, Monson Road, Infants’	100
28 Apr. 1865	1863	South Nutfield, Infants’ . . . Ch	80			Redhill, St. John’s ¹⁰ . . . N	792*
15 June 1889	1889	<i>Oakwood.</i> See Abinger			1868	Redhill, St. Joseph’s ¹¹ . . . R	55
		Ockham . . . N	174		1872	Redhill, St. Matthew’s ¹² Ch	788
1 Aug. 1901		Ockley ⁷ . . . P	145			Redhill . . . W	487
30 Mar. 1841	1841	<i>Ottershaw.</i> See Chertsey			1852 Enlarged 1888	Reigate . . . B	298
					1859	Reigate . . . N	456*
					1873	St. Luke’s . . . N	284*
					Enlarged 1883		
					1869	St. Mark’s . . . N	386

¹ One schoolroom built 1819, another 1842. Day School founded 1857. It is the property of the Congregational Chapel.

² School is private property. Buildings enlarged 1897.

³ Enlarged 1872, and Infants’ Room built 1889. Endowment of over £30 yearly, derived from Stock.

⁴ Infants’ School built 1890. The old school was founded in 1700 by Mr. Colston. Endowment from Lady Capel’s (will 1719) and Frank’s (1810) Charities, and other bequests in 1887.

⁵ Endowment from gifts of George Booth and the Rev. George Steere. Regulated by scheme under the Endowed Schools Acts 15 June 1872.

⁶ Girls’ and Infants’ School built 1870; Boys’ School 1896. ⁷ Enlarged 1874. Endowment by Mrs. Evershed, George Arbutnot and Lee Steere.

⁸ Site granted by Earl of Cottenham to the rector and churchwardens.

⁹ Infants’ School opened in 1902.

¹⁰ Enlarged 1861 and 1884.

¹¹ Rebuilt 1902.

¹² Girls’ and Infants’ School built in 1884 on site of the old church, which from 1866 had been used for school purposes.

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		Richmond (Borough) :—		School Board elected	1855 En-	Shalford . . . Bd	355*
	1880	Kew Road . W	300	14 Feb. 1881	larged		
	1820	Kew, the King's ¹	454		1882		
		North Road, Public	312			Shere :—	
	1852	Petersham ² . B	146		1860	Holmbury St.	
	1867	Richmond . B	512			Mary ³ . . Ch	155
	1853	" ³ . P	956		1870	Peaslake ¹⁰ . N	74
	1870	St. Elizabeth's R	242		(Earliest date at which school is known to have existed)		
1840	1873	St. John's ⁴ . N	545*				
30 Nov. 1843							
14 May 1867							
17 June 1876							
		St. Luke's . N	271				
	1866–1898	Trinity ⁵ . . N	1130*	17 June 1842	1877 En-	Shere ¹¹ . . N	311*
		Ripley. See Send		10 Aug. 1870	larged		
		St. Martha-on-the-Hill :—			1898		
School Board elected	1873	Chilworth . Ch	66			Shirley. See Croydon (County Borough)	
15 Jan. 1875				8 May 1867		Shottermill . . Ch	289
29 Oct. 1875	1875	Sanderstead . . Bd	77	(Infants' Sch)	1867		
		Seal :—		29 Dec. 1898	1892–6		
	1866	Seal and Tongham ⁹ . . N	•	(Mixed Sch.)		Sidlow Bridge. See Horley	
22 Mar. 1850	1857	Seale . . . N	100			South Nutfield. See Nutfield	
	About 1876	The Sands ⁷ . Ch	70			Stoke-next-Guildford. See Guildford (Borough)	
	1858	Tongham . . Ch	205			Stoke Hill. See Guildford (Borough)	
		Selhurst. See Croydon (County Borough)				Surbiton :—	
		Send and Ripley :—				Surbiton Hill	
12 May 1847	1847	Ripley ⁶ . . N	283*	13 Oct. 1866	1868	Ch. Ch. . P	535*
15 Aug. 1854	1854	Send . . . N	194*			Surbiton ¹² . N	609*
	Enlarged 1892		—	16 Dec. 1848	1848	(See also Tolworth)	
		Shackleford. See Godalming Rural		School Board elected		Sutton :—	
				19 Mar. 1874	1896	Belmont . . Bd	150
				5 May 1902			
					1866	Benhilton . N	375
					1883	Crown Road . Bd	799
					1876	New Town Bd	914
					1854	West Street . Bd	334*
				26 Jan. 1871	1870	Tandridge . . Ch	123*
				7 Oct. 1871	1846	Tatsfield ¹³ . . Ch	88*

¹ Rebuilt 1887. Endowed with Lady Capel Charity and also Jones's gift bequeathed 1852.

² Built by Lord John Russell at cost of £1,500.

³ A considerable endowment includes Lady Capel's Charity.

⁴ Under Charity Commissioners' schemes 1866 and 1 April 1887.

⁵ Infants' School built 1866; Girls' School 1867; Schools in Princes Road 1875, rebuilt 1898; School in Mortlake Road 1885.

⁶ Reopened 22 May 1866. Built on land conveyed for church site. Enlarged in 1902.

⁷ School was erected on glebe land.

⁸ Chancery Order 1847 and Charity Commissioners' Order 18 November, 1892. Buildings enlarged 1898.

⁹ Enlarged 1900.

¹⁰ School was established by Reginald Bray, Miss Rosa Spottiswoode, Miss Augusta Spottiswoode, Lord Ashcombe, and others.

¹¹ Endowments of Gatton and Lomax, the latter by deed, 1852.

¹² Enlarged 1851, 1868, 1878 and 1883.

¹³ Enlarged 1887, 1896 and 1901.

SCHOOLS

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School Board elected 9 Apr. 1881	1885	Thames Ditton :— Claygate . . Bd	307	10 Mar. 1876		Weybridge :— St. Charles . R	105
		" . . N	*			Weybridge and Oatlands . B	126
13 June 1846 24 Dec. 1873 28 May 1853	1860 1848	Thames Ditton ¹ Bd Thorpe ² . . N	559* 131*	Deed 1850	1849	Weybridge ¹² . N	691*
		Thursley ³ . . N <i>Tilford</i> . See Farnham	142*		1867	Wimbledon :— Cottenham Park Branch, In- fants ⁷ ¹³ . . N	239
29 Mar. 1877	1880	Tolworth :— Surbiton, St. Matthew's . N	477		1894	Dundonald Es- tate . . . Ch	104
		<i>Tongham</i> . See Seal <i>Virginia Waters</i> . See Egham			1898	Dundonald Road, New Mixed .	394
		Wallington :— Holy Trinity Ch	406		1902	Effra Road . Ch	480
18 April 1896 School Board elected 2 Sept. 1878	1896 1883 1882 En- larged about 1881 1884	Walton-on-Thames : Hersham ⁴ . Bd Oatlands . Bd Walton-on- Thames . . Bd	717* 400 399*		1882 1874 1868	Queen's Road, Temporary . St. Mary's . R South Wimbledon, Holy Trinity .	188 412 988
		Walton-on- Thames, In- fants ⁵ . . Bd	202	School Board elected 16 Dec. 1871	1870 1825	South Wimble- don ¹⁴ . . N Wimbledon ¹⁵ . N	1459 654*
30 Dec. 1876	1878	Walton-on-the- Hill ⁵ . . N	188		1864 1850 1836	Windlesham :— Bagshot ¹⁶ . . Bd Windlesham ¹⁷ Bd	322 276*
School Board elected 30 April 1872	1871 1850 1874 1892 1872	Wanborough ⁶ . Ch Waringham :— Chelsham ⁷ . N Waringham ⁸ Bd Whyteleaf ⁹ . Bd West Clandon ¹⁰ . Ch <i>Westcott</i> . See Dork- ing Rural	72 79 273 278 152*	School Board elected 30 Apr. 1874	1848 1898	Witley :— Grayswood ¹⁸ . N Milford ¹⁹ . . Ch Witley ²⁰ . . N	81 336 211
31 July 1872	1872	West Clandon ¹⁰ . Ch <i>Westcott</i> . See Dork- ing Rural	152*		1877 1874 1870 1884	Woking :— Brookwood . Bd Church Street ²¹ Bd Goldsworth Road . . Bd Knaphill ²² . Bd Maybury ²³ . Bd St. John's ²⁴ . Bd Westfield ²⁵ . Bd	538 306 910 339* 337*
School Board elected 4 Oct. 1879	About 1861 1881	West Horsley ¹¹ . Ch	181				
		West Molesey . Bd	146*				

founded by deed 1845, appears to have been paid to this school.

¹² Enlarged 1895. Scheme of Charity Commissioners, 1866. A small endowment by C. and E. Hopton.

¹³ Enlarged 1893.

¹⁴ Girls' and Infants' School built 1868; Boys' School 1893.

¹⁵ Infants' School rebuilt about 1873.

¹⁶ Enlarged 1893.

¹⁷ Enlarged 1889. First founded 1814; endowed by Cooper's Charity.

¹⁸ Built by Rev. J. Chandler, vicar of Witley, on land granted by lord of the manor of Witley. Enlarged 1883.

¹⁹ Enlarged 1890.

²⁰ Enlarged 1881 and rebuilt in 1898. Brook Infants' School was built by Mrs. J. Foster.

²¹ Enlarged 1901.

²² Enlarged 1884.

²³ Enlarged 1881, 1886 and 1893.

²⁴ Enlarged 1876.

²⁵ Enlarged 1895; Infants' School built 1896.

¹ Infants' School built 1841, enlarged 1893. Boys' and Girls' Schools built 1860, enlarged 1890 and 1895.

² Enlarged 1901. Infants' School built 1873.

³ Enlarged 1854.

⁴ Enlarged 1882.

⁵ Enlarged 1898.

⁶ Private property of George McKibben.

⁷ Built about 1850 by George Robert Smith. Endowed by Thomas Kelly, by will proved in 1855, with one-third of £600 invested in Consols; also by Beynon Bequest in 1874 one-third of £1,500.

⁸ Enlarged 1885 and 1894.

⁹ Enlarged 1900.

¹⁰ Built by Lady Augusta Onslow. Enlarged in 1883.

¹¹ Weston's Charity, consisting of £759 14s. 5d. Consols,

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Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided	Date of Foundation or Trust Deed, or of Formation of School Board	Date of Building or Opening of present School Buildings	School District and Name and Denomination of School	No. of Scholars for whom accommodation is provided
9 Mar. 1890	1888	Woldingham, Voluntary ¹ . . .	40	School Board elected 5 June 1882	1861	Worplesdon :— Perry Hill . Bd	219
28 May 1842	1890	Wonersh :— Lawnsmead, Infants ² . . .	100		1897-8	Wood Street . Bd	120*
	1840	Wonersh ² . . . N	316*		Enlarged 1901	Wotton ³ . . . P	160
	1884			4 Sep. 1902	1852	<i>Wreclesham.</i> See Farnham	
	1840	Woodmansterne N <i>Woodside.</i> See Croydon (County Borough)	134	20 Jan. 1903		<i>Wyke.</i> See Ash	

¹ Erected by James W. C. Fegan, and converted into National School 1899.

² Endowment of £4 yearly, representing Chennell's Charity.

³ Rebuilt 1874 and enlarged 1885. Conveyed in trust 1902-3, with endowment of £1,000 Consols for maintenance of building.

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INTRODUCTION

PRESENT-DAY Surrey, were we limited in our observations to the administrative area which is still comprised under that name [after the Local Government Act of 1888 has taken from the old county most of the important industrial districts in the immediate neighbourhood of the metropolis], would have small claim to rank as a manufacturing county. But the change is too recent to make it possible in the present work to consider the county otherwise than as it had existed from the time of the Domesday survey and earlier, and perhaps for the purposes of historical study it will always be convenient to restore to Surrey its ancient territory. This being so, the manufactures of the county, both past and present, of which we have to treat in the following account, are of almost every conceivable variety and often of the first importance.

Although for close upon three hundred years the interest of the history of the manufactures of Surrey has been mainly centred in Southwark and the places adjoining to it along the south bank of the Thames, this has not always been the case. The earliest industries to be evolved, and for long years by far the most important, were all in the rural districts close to the southern border of the county. The gradual shifting of the scene of industrial activity in Surrey from the south of the county to the north is perhaps the most striking phenomenon in her economic history, and in these introductory remarks we shall have occasion to put forward some reasons that will partly account for it. In taking a survey, necessarily somewhat cursory, of the chief industries that have been fostered in the county, we shall consider here the chief conditions that have promoted their birth and subsequent development, and, where such has to be recorded, that have led to their ultimate decay. Industries whose histories are of especial interest and value will be reserved for more particular treatment afterwards.

The economic condition of the county at the period of the Norman Conquest, so far as

it can be ascertained from the Domesday survey, has already been very fully considered in this History. The survey shows, it has been said, that in the main the county was given over to agriculture,¹ an industry with which we are not concerned in this section. Along the riverside in the north there were a few scattered fisheries, but the chief item of importance for our present purpose is the two stone quarries at Limpsfield.² The bare mention of these but faintly indicates the nature of the first industries, other than those of a purely agricultural description, which were to be developed in Surrey. These industries grew naturally into being out of the especial geological or geographical features pertaining to certain districts. Abundant evidence still exists within the county to show that at an early date the various building stones yielded by the upper and lower greensand formations were utilized for erections of an ecclesiastical or military character. The chalk stone of the North Downs was also so used but was perhaps more usually burnt into lime. At what date the peculiar properties of fullers' earth, which exists in such abundance about Nutfield and Reigate in the county, were first understood, we do not know. In all probability it was used in very early times, and the fact of its being readily accessible to the fullers of Surrey, combined with the excellence of the sheep pastures within the county and the facilities afforded by such small rivers as the Wey for the setting up of fulling mills, tended to the early development of the important cloth-making industry in the district around Guildford. The first notice we have of the so-called Guildford cloths is in 1391, but even then the reputation for excellence which the cloths had enjoyed is spoken of as a thing of some antiquity.

Other most important early Surrey industries were the manufactures of glass and iron, both of which were carried on in the Wealden district in the extreme south. The notices

¹ *V.C.H. Surrey*, i. 290. ² *Ibid.* 311b.

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of the Chiddingfold glass-makers, occurring as they do from the first half of the thirteenth century and onwards, are the earliest in the kingdom after the settlement of the country by the Norman invaders. In some of the sandy tracts which are to be found in the neighbourhood of Chiddingfold no doubt the first glass-makers found the chief ingredient for their manufacture, but it was more probably the great abundance of fuel which the exceptionally well-wooded country hereabouts could supply for their furnaces that determined the existence of the industry. Similarly the ironworks of Surrey, when once set up, could thrive on the great plenty of charcoal fuel ready at hand. The question of fuel, as we shall see, was an important one in deciding the fate of some of the principal Surrey industries.

The date of the first working of the iron ore of the Surrey Weald is late indeed in comparison with the extreme antiquity of the industry in Sussex and Kent. Probably not a single iron mill was at work in Surrey much before the middle of the sixteenth century. This lateness of origin is readily accounted for by the serious obstacle offered to the transport of the produce of the works by the badness of the roads over the Wealden clay and by the absence of suitable waterways in the immediate neighbourhood along which it could be carried by boat. Only the increasing demand for ordnance of Wealden iron could make it at last profitable to extend the industry over the Sussex border. The ironworks of Surrey were due to the extension of the Sussex industry beyond the bounds of the latter county, and as a matter of fact seem to have been mostly worked by Sussex ironmasters.

Almost simultaneously with the date of our first notices of the existence of ironworks in Surrey, a matter, which was to be of great moment to the economic condition of the county, is brought into prominence. In 1558-9, the first of a series of Acts, which aimed at reducing the destruction of timber for the purposes of the iron manufacture, was passed by Parliament. This Act had its origin in the common opinion then current that the timber resources of the country were in a way to become rapidly exhausted. This opinion had already given effect to a piece of legislation in the closing years of the reign of Henry VIII., but it was to become more strongly accentuated during the reigns of Elizabeth and her successors. William Harrison, writing in all probability a little before 1577, complained that Englishmen had then far less timber than their forefathers had had and believed that

in the previous ten years as much oak had been used as in a hundred years before.¹ Howes in 1631 speaks of the general use of sea-coal or pit-coal for house fires 'even in the chambers of honourable personages' as a necessary hardship consequent upon the great scarcity of wood fuel, and instances 'the extreme wast of wood in making iron' as one of the chief causes of this scarcity.²

The great abundance of her woods had probably been a source of considerable revenue to Surrey from an early time. In 1259, for instance, we find that oak timber in no small quantities was purchased at Kingston for use in the building of the King's Palace at Westminster.³ Little doubt the timber was the produce of the Surrey forests to which Kingston was a convenient place for shipment down the river. In 1343, and again in 1344, it was suspected that timber and boards had been taken from Surrey to foreign parts 'for the succour and solace of the King's enemies.'⁴ In later times the Crown looked more especially to the Surrey forests for its supplies of timber for the navy. Thus on 16 March, 1633-4, two shipwrights who had been sent by the officers of the navy to view the timber of the Lord Montagu at Homewood, reported that they had marked 227 out of 2,260 trees and gave an estimate of the total cost of the felling of the trees and their land carriage to Ham Haw or Weybridge Haw.⁵

To the bulk of the population the preservation of the forests of Surrey was a matter of special concern because from them they derived their supply of charcoal at a time when charcoal was the only fuel thought fit for the domestic hearth. The colliers or charcoal-burners of Croydon in particular supplied the citizens of London with 'coals,' and so well known were they that the phrase 'a right Croydon sanguine' seems to have become a cant expression to denote a reddish brown or sallow complexion.⁶ Grimme or Grimes, the collier of Croydon, was a noted personage living in the reign of Edward VI., and so necessary was his calling held to be that he was able to assert with success in a court of law his right to follow it against an Archbishop

¹ Harrison, *Description of England* (ed. New Shakespeare Soc.), i. 336.

² Howes, *Annales* (1631), 1024b.

³ Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer, Hen. III. to Hen. VI.*, 52, 55, 58, 62.

⁴ Pat. 17 Edw. III. pt. 1, m. 9d, and 18 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 13d.

⁵ S. P. Dom. Chas. I., cclxiii. 10.

⁶ See art. by G. Gray on 'The Colliers of Croydon' in *Home Counties Magazine*, iv. 203 et seq.

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of Canterbury who had protested against the smoke nuisance in the neighbourhood of his Croydon palace. Indeed so great was Grimme's reputation that he was converted into a character in two stage plays of the sixteenth century. To one of them, *Grim, the Collier of Croydon*, his name supplies the title. In this he refers to his troubles in consequence of the strict regulations of the City of London and complains that every time he comes to London his sacks are found faulty and burnt before his face, whilst he stands in the pillory to atone his offence. The vigilance of the city authorities in this respect is well exemplified in the year 1568, when no less than twenty-four Surrey colliers were summoned to appear in the Court of Exchequer in answer to informations laid against them of selling coals in London in sacks not of the prescribed size. Of this number twenty came from Croydon itself, whilst the others all belonged to the neighbourhood, to Waddon, Sutton and Carshalton.¹ The thickly wooded tract of country which extended from Norwood and Dulwich, through Sydenham and Penge, into Croydon supplied these colliers with material in abundance for their trade. On the other hand the people of Kingston, who raised their voices in 1562 against the new iron mills in the county on the ground that they had caused the prices which they had been wont to pay for their firewood and charcoal to be nearly doubled, stated that these commodities came to them from the country about Dorking.

Despite wide agitation and restrictive statutes the iron industry of the Weald continued to flourish for a while. Probably too many of the influential residents of the county were interested in its well-being for the prohibitive measures to have much effect. There is evidence to show that new mills were set up until the early years of the seventeenth century. Soon after the decline seems to have taken place, not however on account of the satisfactory replacement of wood fuel by coal, which was not accomplished until well on in the eighteenth century, but because of the success attending the opening up of the works in the Forest of Dean and South Wales, in which also it may be remarked Sussex ironmasters would appear to have been engaged. The active existence of the iron mills of Surrey was protracted beyond the middle of the eighteenth century, and indeed about the beginning of the nineteenth there was a belated attempt to revive the industry at Felbridge Water in the extreme south-east, but with the

use of imported coals in place of charcoal fuel. But the expense proved too heavy to enable the products of the works to compete with the cheaper pig and bar iron that the ironmasters in the north of the kingdom could put on the London market, and after a fair trial, it is stated, the works were abandoned.²

The same charge, the excessive consumption of timber, was brought against the far more ancient industry, so far as Surrey is concerned, of glass-making. Here the attacks, though a little later in obtaining the effective support of the executive, were more immediately successful. Indeed the Wealden industry does not seem to have survived the royal proclamation of 1615, which totally prohibited the use of wood fuel in the manufacture. Some time previously the industry had been revived by the advent of some famous foreign glass-makers, who had established themselves, not without protest on the part of the inhabitants, in several places in the Weald of Surrey and Sussex. But the substitution of coal fuel in the manufacture of glass was not only a simple matter as compared with the difficulty of bringing it about in the case of iron, but would also appear to have been at once attended with great improvements in the quality of the glass. The fact that the first successful experiments in the new manufacture were made at Lambeth is significant of the change that was now to take place in the scene of industrial activity in Surrey and suggests moreover one of the principal causes of the change. At the time the general use of coal in manufactures was everywhere urged both by the Crown and the people; and the inventive genius of man, as the State Papers of the reign of James I. amply show, was hard set in every direction to make it possible. But the enormous expense of the carriage of this fuel over roads that were rarely good and often impassable into the heart of Surrey would have militated effectually against the success of any industry there that depended upon its use. Its transport by water to the Surrey suburbs that fringed the river was comparatively cheap.

But, although the iron industry of the Weald had by the year 1615 probably attained its fullest development and that of glass-making was to perish utterly, the history of some of the other industries carried on in the southern half of the county continues to be of interest. A few of them have survived to the present day. Cloth-making at Guildford, if we may judge from Archbishop Abbot's reference to it in 1614, was already

¹ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Mich. 10 Eliz. 176-200 passim.

² Malcolm, *Compendium of Modern Husbandry*, i. 41.

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in a decline,¹ but it was to all appearance enjoying a more vigorous existence in Godalming and the neighbouring villages, despite the efforts of Tudor legislators to concentrate it in the towns. The manufacture about Godalming seems to have been more particularly devoted to the production of kerseys for foreign markets. The decay of the industry is, however, apparent in 1630, although whether it had been brought about, as Aubrey alleges, by the too frequent practices of the makers of stretching their cloths to excessive lengths may be held unproven. Tanning had been long established at various places along the courses of the Tillingbourne and the Wey and is still an important industry in this quarter of Surrey. The streams and the good supply of bark that the neighbourhood could afford must have been the chief factors to promote the growth of this industry. White-brown paper, chiefly for grocers' use, is said to have been made in England at Godalming and about Windsor in the reign of James I. The mills acquired some reputation and were the precursors of other paper-mills in the district, one of which is still continued.

But the Surrey industry which was destined to rival that of iron in importance and extent was the gunpowder manufacture. It is not difficult to account for the establishment in the county of the chief powder mills in the kingdom. Good and convenient supplies of charcoal, upon which the industry depended in great part, were doubtless the first consideration. That the mills should be within easy access of London, where at the Tower the Government's chief stores of ordnance were then kept, was of the utmost importance. At the same time evidence is not wanting of the objection of Londoners to having so dangerous a manufacture in their immediate neighbourhood. Contrary, however, to what is generally stated on the subject, namely that the first powder mills in England were set up at Wotton by the Evelyns, the first authoritative notice of the existence of the industry in Surrey is in 1554 or 5, in connection with a Rotherhithe maker. The mills of the Evelyns, when they first appeared as powder-makers in 1589, were at Long Ditton on the little Hogsmill stream, and when John Evelyn removed from here in or before the year 1613, it was at Godstone and not Wotton that he set up his new works. But the Evelyns' partner in their first contract with the Crown was Richard Hill, whose mills seem to have been at Shere. The well-known Chilworth

mills are said, but on what good authority we are unaware, to have been started in 1570. They owed their existence no doubt to the licence allowed to the East India Company to make supplies of powder necessary for their service, and in spite of various prohibitions were continued until in 1635 what had become, under the economic policy of the first two Stuart Kings, practically a monopoly in the hands of Evelyn was transferred to them and by them maintained until 1641. Even then the importance of the works did not at once decline but called for much attention on the part of the Parliament during the course of the Civil War. Chilworth indeed has maintained its reputation as a seat of the gunpowder industry to the present day.

The conditions by which the industries of the southern and more rural half of the county were fostered offer on the whole so marked a difference in their nature from those which prevailed in the northern half, that it will be more convenient to summarize them here before we proceed to examine the causes of the development of manufactures in the more suburban districts to the north. The industries which we have been considering may all be regarded as indigenous to the county. Their origin and subsequent development were promoted, as we have seen, by the purely natural conditions which the country afforded. No doubt a few of them were advanced by the introduction of foreign methods and skill. Glass-making in its later stages was certainly mainly in the hands of foreign workmen, and even in medieval times the names of some of those who were connected with the Chiddingfold industry have a foreign appearance. There is little doubt that cloth-weaving in this country owed its early introduction to weavers imported from abroad, but of the direct influence of foreigners on the Surrey industry we have not a shred of evidence. The making of gunpowder in England would perhaps have hardly obtained the impetus it received in the reign of Elizabeth had not alien immigrants first initiated us into the secret of the artificial preparation of saltpetre. But the secret once divulged, the manufacture was entirely in the hands of Englishmen.

The great drawback to the success of any industry in south Surrey, the difficulty of transport over the bad roads of the Weald, has been already noticed. The small rivers which drain this part of the county offered no compensation for this state of things by their convenience as waterways to the Thames. Until at a later date human ingenuity and labour had taken one of them in hand, they

¹ *V.C.H. Surrey*, i. 401.

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were unnavigable for any distance. From some places, from Ewhurst for instance, near which there were ironworks, it would appear that no better means for the transport of the timber could be found than by carrying it overland into Sussex, where it could be shipped on the Arun and so to the sea.¹ Such Surrey rivers, however, as the Wey with its tributary the Tillingbourne and the Mole were, as we have previously stated, admirably adapted to serve as mill-streams. The importance several of the rural industries of the county had acquired by the end of the sixteenth century must be largely attributed to these streams.

The poverty of Surrey in easy means of communication and the complete absence of waterways in the interior of the county had this important result, that one of the earliest schemes in England for rendering a river navigable by means of penning up the water by locks was carried out within her borders. Whether, as is commonly stated, Sir Richard Weston was the first to introduce into this country a principle the practical application of which he must have frequently seen in the Low Countries, is at least doubtful. The navigation of the river Lea, for instance, seems to have been undertaken as early as 1589, and locks would appear to have been used for the purpose.² But the navigation of the Wey from the Thames to Guildford was undoubtedly one of the first important schemes of this nature to be realized. Early in the reign of Charles I. Sir Richard was busy with his plans and making cuts for the new river.³ It was not, however, until 1651, when his royalist sympathies seem to have debarred him from taking an active part in the work, that the town of Guildford obtained an act of Parliament for the navigation. Sir Richard's interest in the scheme was sold to one James Pitson, who completed it in 1653, not without encountering much opposition on the part of the landowners, which necessitated recourse to the law courts and again to Parliament.⁴ The extension of the navigation from Guildford to Godalming was not commenced until 1760, when an act was passed for the purpose.⁵ The completion of this last extension had important results in opening up the trade of Godalming and the country to the south and west. In 1767 proposals were discussed for the removal of

the toll gate between Guildford and Godalming on the Portsmouth Road, apparently with a view to setting it up to the south of the latter town, because it was argued that the use of the road, since the extension of the navigation to Godalming, had been greatly increased by the considerable fall of timber to the south and west of that town, by the carriage of hoops to the wharf, and by traffic to and from the ironworks between Milford and Hindhead, all which at that time contributed nothing to the repair of the road.⁶ About the year 1810 we are told that much timber, planks, hoops, bark, flour, paper, and manufactured iron of various sorts were sent by the river from Godalming to London.⁷

So much in brief for the general conditions which governed the development of industries in the south of Surrey from the time of the Norman Conquest until the advent of railways. We must now travel back in time to consider the somewhat different conditions which prevailed in the north of the county.

Here the conditions of industrial development, unlike those which we have been considering in the south, came almost wholly from outside. What special features the district could have possessed in itself to encourage the development of manufactures can be recounted in a very few words. Its geographical position on the bank of a great navigable river was its principal economic asset, but the advantages which thereby accrued to it were subordinated to the far-reaching influence of the powerful city on the opposite bank. The numerous little streams which flowed through the district into the Thames, of which the Wandle alone is of any size, could be readily adapted to turn the wheels of the many mills which actually existed from an early period. In the extreme north-east these streams, together with the oak woods which once grew in abundance there, may early have given rise to that leather industry of Bermondsey which afterwards attained such vast development. The oak woods may have served too the ship-building industry of Rotherhithe, perhaps also of some antiquity. Here and there along the riverside fisheries possibly constituted the staple industry, whilst at other places, such as Lambeth, Battersea and Wandsworth,⁸ the osiers which grew

¹ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Hil. 25 Eliz. 104.

² Lansdowne MS. lx. 35-9.

³ Exch. K. R. Spec. Com., No. 5669.

⁴ See S.P. Dom. Chas. II. cclxvii. 114-7.

⁵ Public Acts, 33 Geo. II. cap. 45.

⁶ *The Proposal for removing the Godalming Turnpike Considered.* Pamphlet, London, 1767.

⁷ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, i. 605.

⁸ It is worthy of notice that in all these three places until comparatively recent dates the osier

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thickly on the river marshes were an obvious inducement for the existence, probably at an early date, of a considerable basket-making industry. Such in the main were all the special conditions afforded by the natural features for the development of industrial activity in the northern parts of the county.

But the great factor which was to determine the ultimate character of north-east Surrey, where it fringes the Thames, was its close proximity to the great capital which over-awed it from the opposite side of the river. What the condition of this part of the county would have been to-day if it had not been for London it is idle to conjecture. That Southwark, if left to itself, would by virtue of its geographical position have developed into a great city is more than likely. But that it is to-day, with its adjoining Surrey suburbs, one of the busiest industrial centres of the kingdom, is due firstly and lastly to London.

The influence of London, however, was not wholly salutary on the growth of its southern suburbs. Indeed for a long time the jealous fears entertained by the citizens of any extension of their trade beyond the city borders, and their powerful position in the kingdom, which could procure for them effective assistance for the removal of any just grounds for these fears, continued to act as a check upon any material progress on the part of the neighbouring Surrey villages. It is less than two centuries ago that London Bridge with its narrow gateway, through which but one horseman at a time could pass, was the only means of land communication between the two banks of the Thames east of Kingston. The completion of Putney Bridge in 1729 was accomplished in the face of the strong representations of the Londoners to Parliament that the bridge would mean the waning and decay of their trade. Similar opposition was raised and ultimately proved abortive against the erection of Westminster Bridge, which was opened in 1750. It is only since this latter date that all the remaining bridges which now span the tidal Thames have been constructed.

London, unable to confine its growing trade within the narrow limits of its walls, had recourse to gaining control over all the neighbouring markets. This naturally led

beds were the property of their respective parishes, and the rents for them were paid to the churchwardens (vide Allen, *Hist. of Lambeth*, 305; Hammond, *Bygone Battersea*, 25; Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth*, 29). The osiers at Wandsworth are mentioned as early as 1490 (Davis, loc. cit.).

to friction, especially in Southwark, on whose commercial development we must for a while focus our attention. Other reasons, however, first prompted the city authorities to win from Edward III. powers of administration over this Surrey town. For Southwark, with its many palaces of high ecclesiastical dignitaries and rich monastic houses and the liberties or immunities from legal process which grew up in consequence about their precincts, had become the haunt of all the law-breakers of London, and was a standing menace to the peace of the city. Long after the Reformation had swept away the religious houses, the privileged districts or liberties to which they had given birth continued to remain open to all who sought immunity from criminal and civil process, and must have constituted the greatest obstacle to the material prosperity of Southwark itself.

This is not the place to discuss the gradual absorption of Southwark by London from the first grant to the citizens of the vill in 1327 until Edward VI.'s confirmation in 1550 of all the preceding concessions and his further grant of the two great manors in Southwark, the Great Liberty Manor and the King's Manor—a grant which led to the conversion of the annexed territory into the ward of Bridge Without, a ward, however, that was an anomaly amongst those of the city, being without the power of electing its alderman and unrepresented in the Common Council. The steps by which this change was brought about have been already briefly set out in this history, as have those by which Southwark from being first an ecclesiastical became a theatrical suburb of London, and finally one of its busiest industrial quarters.¹ The whole subject moreover will call for fuller consideration in the Topographical section of the present work. The early development of Southwark as a place of great trade and the economic condition of its inhabitants will fall also to another section for discussion, but inasmuch as these have no little bearing on the question of the origin of some of the principal manufactures carried on in the town, some few points in connection with the subject claim notice here.

For long, as we have pointed out, the citizens of London were actuated in their trade policy by the desire to secure the fullest measure of protection for their own markets by means of the severe curtailment of the privileges enjoyed by the markets which existed just outside their city's bounds. They went so far as at one time to prohibit

¹ *V.C.H. Surrey*, i. 395-7.

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any one from going out of the city for the purpose of buying corn, cattle, or any other merchandize, with the single exception of timber in Southwark.¹ But Southwark's position at the foot of London Bridge, the only approach from the south to the city, must have made the development of its trade inevitable. A continual stream of travellers from the south and the continent must have been ever passing through it, and this called for the existence of numerous inns and houses of entertainment which made the place famous at an early date. At that time when all the ale that was drunk was such that it could only be brewed for home or merely local consumption, the number of these inns meant a large brewing industry in the neighbourhood. Southwark must have held out many inducements as a place of temporary residence to those foreigners who came to London for the purposes of trade. Here they might hope to enjoy a little respite from the irritation which the jealous trade theories of the period provoked against them within the walls of the city. Their presence in the Borough no doubt resulted in the advent there of the Flemish innkeepers, whose large numbers are the subject of complaint by the Commons in 1437,² and we need feel no surprise at meeting in the same place in 1440, with perhaps our earliest notice of the existence of foreign brewers in this country, the brewers that is to say of the hopped beer of the continent as opposed to the unhopped ale of native production.³ Thus in Southwark at this early date a change had already set in which was ultimately to result in the most important revolution which the conditions of the brewing industry have undergone amongst us.

The congregation of so many foreigners in Southwark and of others who came up from the country districts probably enough invited furtive trading there, where the jealous eyes of the city authorities could be less vigilant. At any rate the right of the inhabitants to their important leather market had become a fixed conviction in their minds by the reign of Henry VIII., and the attempts of the officers of the Lord Mayor to exercise their rights of search and control were, as we shall see, bitterly resented. Whether it was this market that called into being the great leather industry of Southwark and Bermondsey, or whether it was the other way about, it is

perhaps now impossible to decide. But it is certain from the nature of the occupations in which many of the aliens resident in Southwark in 1440 were engaged that the manufacture had already assumed considerable proportions thereabouts.

It must not be supposed that the Londoners, while they were naturally jealous of maintaining their control over the sale of all commodities within a certain area round their city, necessarily sought also to check the manufacture of these commodities in districts lying outside their walls. On the contrary, there were amongst the commodities which had to be produced within an easy distance of the city, many which could only be manufactured under conditions offensive or dangerous to those dwelling in houses closely packed together. This fact alone will account in a great measure for the origin of several of the industries which grew up in Surrey suburbs and even in more remote parts of the county. The river Thames was conveniently wide to secure immunity for the Londoners from any of the dangerous or offensive conditions which attended certain manufactures, while it did not prevent the easy access to their markets of the goods so produced.

This disposition to make of Southwark a convenience for the more disagreeable operations which were essential to the life of the city was little doubt a main factor in the settlement of the leather industry on the Surrey side. Tanning itself was none too savoury an occupation to be continually in the nostrils of the citizens. But the preliminary operations involved consequences which were even more unpleasant, and the proclamation of 1392-3, which ordained that the butchers of London should have a convenient place in Southwark for their offal and garbage in order to save the city from such an annoyance, must have confined the London slaughter-houses pretty much to the Borough.⁴ Pelterers or skinners are early mentioned in special connection with Southwark in the muniments of the Guildhall, and from the skinner to the tanner was but a step. The same regard for their own comfort doubtless induced the Londoners at a later date to prefer the opposite side of the river for the seat of those manufactures which depended upon a large consumption of sea-coal, when the employment in various industries of that particular form of fuel was enjoined by the Crown. The first experiments with such

¹ *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis* (ed. Riley, Rolls Series), i. pp. lii. 273.

² *Rot. Parl.* iv. 511a.

³ Lay Subsidy Rolls, clxxxiv. No. 212.

⁴ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xvi. 59.

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fuel in glass-making appear to have been made at Lambeth, and an instance is not wanting where a glasshouse which had been set up on the Middlesex side at Whitechapel had been voted a nuisance by the neighbours.¹

Of dangerous manufactures that of gunpowder occurs most readily to the mind. This, however, as more connected with the rural parts of the county we have already considered. It was clearly an industry that was impossible within the City of London, but we may again note the early existence of a mill at Rotherhithe, and also remark that the principal saltpetre storehouse for the realm was afterwards in Southwark. It was a matter of utmost moment to the Crown that the manufacture should be carried on within easy access of the Tower of London, at one time its chief repository of ordnance stores.

The concession which we have noted to Southwark by the city authorities of a timber market was no doubt prompted by motives of safety. The possible results of fire where large quantities of timber were stacked would have been alarming. Afterwards Lambeth became the scene of the great timber wharves in Surrey. Lett's timber wharf is said to have existed at Lambeth from the time of Queen Elizabeth until the beginning of the last century.² In 1810 Messrs. Thomas & John Lett, timber merchants, purchased from the duchy of Cornwall a lease for ninety-nine years of the Prince's meadow at Lambeth with a river frontage of about 1,250 feet, paying a fine of £55,000 for the same and agreeing to pay an annual rent of £5,076 to be secured by the erection of substantial buildings within twenty years from the commencement of the lease in 1815. By 1826 they seemed to have made considerable advance in these buildings.³ A Dutch engraving of the end of the seventeenth century marks the part next the river at Lambeth as 'all wood-yards.'⁴ Lysons states that the importation of foreign timber had been a source of prodigious wealth to the parish of Lambeth.⁵

We have now set out the chief conditions which will account for the development of Southwark and its neighbourhood into an important manufacturing district. But the later extension of this district, the multiplica-

tion of the industries carried on within it, and the various degrees of excellence which many of them ultimately attained, have been largely due to the influence of the foreign workmen who at successive stages of our history came to settle within our county. The influence of the alien immigrations on English industries is perhaps the most important feature in our economic history. We have shown that to some extent the industries carried on in the south of the county were affected by the arrival of foreign manufacturers. But their influence in the suburban and more northerly parts of the county was far more vital to the genesis and growth of the manufactures of those parts, and the results which it produced were of a far more varied character.

The effects of the introduction of foreign labour upon the more important industries of Surrey will be more fully dealt with in the special sections devoted to those industries. We shall confine ourselves here to some general remarks on the whole character of the alien immigrations into the county.

The earliest return of all the aliens resident in Surrey in a certain year bears date 1440, and is of particular value in that it specializes the operations in which the greater number of them were engaged.⁶ In 1439 the first of the subsidies levied at special rates on aliens had been voted by Parliament, and the return in question is the first of the assessments made for the county in accordance with the terms of the grant to the Crown. For the purposes of the tax aliens were distinguished as householders or non-householders, the former paying a poll-tax of 1s. 4d., the latter of 6d. It must be remembered that the term alien then included both Scotchmen and Irishmen. The nationalities are not as a rule given, but may be inferred partly from the character of the name, especially in such cases where the usual inability of our countrymen to master the subtleties of foreign nomenclature has led to the appearance in the list of such surnames as Irishman, Frenchman and the like. In some cases the particular trade has been utilized as a surname, its repetition after the place of residence appearing redundant.

The return shows the overwhelming preponderance at that date of the alien population of Southwark over that of the rest of the county. Out of a total of 191 foreign householders for the whole of Surrey there were no less than 119 in Southwark, and out of 398 non-householders there were in the

¹ See the special account of the glass-making industry following.

² Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App. 48.

³ Allen, *Hist. of Lambeth*, 312.

⁴ *Ibid.* 314.

⁵ Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 2), i. 228.

⁶ Lay Subsidy Rolls, clxxxiv. No. 212.

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same town 243. But one of the most valuable results of the list is the proof it affords that aliens were already engaged here in certain industries at a time earlier than the generally accepted period of their influence. Thus taking in the first place, as the more important, the Southwark trades, there were amongst the householders four 'byre brewers,' and amongst the non-householders six described as brewers' servants. The leather trades are well represented, although there is no instance where an alien is described as a tanner. In all probability this process of the manufacture remained in native hands. That the manufacture must have already existed hereabouts may be safely inferred from the fact that in the preparatory operation, that of skinning, nine aliens were engaged, seven of them being householders, and three others appear as skinnners' servants; whilst in the later stage of currying the tanned leather there were engaged two curriers and three curriers' servants. In addition to these a fair proportion found their occupation in the conversion of the prepared leather into finished articles. To this class belong the fifteen cordwainers (thirteen of them householders), who had no less than forty-five servants between them, three cobblers, two cobblers' servants, three pursers with four servants, two girdlers, and a pomelmaker. There were no less than sixteen tailors with fourteen aliens in their service, and other trades concerned in the manufacture or sale of articles of wearing apparel were represented by weavers, cappers, hat-makers, haberdashers, hosiers, pointmakers, embroiderers, and glovers. The presence of eleven foreign goldsmiths, belonging to the trade to which fell most of the banking business of the time, with their seventeen servants, may be taken as some indication of the extent of the commerce which was then carried on in Southwark. Other occupations in which one or more aliens were here engaged at this period are represented by armourers, smiths, jewellers, dial-makers, bakers and pie-bakers, carpenters and joiners, balance-makers, pin-makers, farriers, hard-waremen, sawyers, chandlers, and others.

Outside Southwark the alien population of Surrey in 1440 was thinly distributed all over the county and calls for little remark here. There were three foreign cordwainers at Kingston and one each at Chertsey, Dorking, and Croydon. Of weavers there were two at Kingston and one at Croydon. The latter town had also a foreign collier and a glover. At Wallington there were two masons. But at no other place in Surrey than at South-

wark were aliens gathered together in such numbers as to attain to the dignity of a colony. Several of the parish clergy were foreigners, but the greater number of the non-householder class of aliens appear to have been in the domestic service of the gentry and others.

But it was more especially to the large immigrations during the sixteenth century of aliens, driven from their homes by the political and religious disturbances abroad, that this country was indebted for the introduction either of wholly new industries or of vastly improved methods in those which had been developed to a greater degree of perfection on the continent. The valuable *Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London*,¹ now in course of publication by the Huguenot Society, embrace the Surrey suburbs more immediately contiguous to the city, and show, so far as they have been published (from 1509 to 1597), how varied were the trades in which aliens were engaged during this period in and about Southwark. The particular effect which their settlement was likely to have on the Borough may be judged from the fact that according to a return of 1583 the ward of Bridge Without harboured a greater number of them than any other ward of London.² Out of a total number of 2,537 for all the wards 473 were returned as resident in Bridge Without, whilst Bishopsgate, which came second in point of numbers, had only 262. It must be noticed, however, that these totals do not appear to include those aliens who were resident in the several exempted places or liberties in or about the city. Of these there were 445 in East Smithfield, and a fair proportion in most of the other liberties on the north side of the Thames, whereas no certificates seem to have been sent in from the liberties in Southwark, Horsleydown, Newington, and Lambeth.

Of the nationalities of the aliens resident in Southwark during this century, where they are given in the lists or so far as the form of the names is a guide, the Dutch very largely preponderated. A return made in 1567 for the ward of Bridge Without gives, exclusive of wives and children, the names of 427 described as Dutchmen, whilst there are only 30 Frenchmen and 8 Scots to complete the total.³ In November 1571 there were 845 Dutch in the same ward to 84

¹ Ed. R. E. G. and E. F. Kirk (Hug. Soc. Pub. x.), parts i. and ii.

² *Ibid.* ii. 377.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 342-51.

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French, 8 Scots, 4 Burgundians, 3 Spaniards, one Italian, and one Dane.¹ The Dutch Church of London's own register of the names of its members shows that on 19 July 1585, out of a total congregation of 1021, 212 or nearly 21 per cent. were resident in Southwark and Bermondsey. The number of 102 in St. Olave's is greater than that in any other parish, St. George's, Southwark, being second with a total of 65.² The term Dutch, it must be borne in mind, had a very much wider acceptance in the sixteenth century than it has now, and included not only the natives of Holland and Flanders but those also of the Rhenish provinces and Western Germany. In Southwark the greater number of aliens and the greater diversity of trades pursued by them existed in the parish of St. Olave. Stowe, speaking of St. Olave's, describes the church as large, 'but a far larger parish especially of aliens and strangers, and poor people.' Here the Flemish and German beer-brewers were more thickly clustered than anywhere else in or about London. The Leekes and the Weblings, who carried on their business in this parish, probably had a greater reputation than any other brewers of the time. Both families seem to have come from Cleves. The foreign joiners seem to have been an especially numerous body in St. Olave's during the latter half of the century. In 1618 when the total numbers of aliens returned for Southwark had grown far less than in the previous lists, doubtless owing to the gradual absorption of the descendants of the earlier settlers into the English nation, there were ten alien joiners in the same parish.³

So far as Southwark is concerned, on no other industry could the influence of the foreign immigrants have had a greater effect by the close of the sixteenth century than on that of brewing. If we may judge by a comparison of the remarks of two keen observers of English life writing within forty years of each other, the taste of Englishmen had undergone a complete revolution on the question of the relative merits of ale and beer during the period. It is amusing to contrast Andrew Boorde's almost contemptuous dismissal of beer about the year 1542 as a natural drink for a Dutchman but much used in England of late to the detriment of many

Englishmen,⁴ with William Harrison's strong recommendation in 1577 or thereabouts of the hopped liquor in derogation of ale, a drink thicker and more fulsome and to all appearance much fallen in esteem through its adulteration with resin and salt by the alewives to whose tender mercies its production had been assigned.⁵ Before the latter date the brewing of beer had become widely spread over the county. Westwards beyond Wandsworth and as far as Kingston, and southwards to Croydon and even Reigate, there were about the middle of the century many brewers who, if they were not all foreigners, were all distinguished as brewers of beer, the recipe of which had been brought over here from abroad.

The other industries which aliens introduced into Southwark about this period must have been of permanent value, and were of considerable variety. Hat-making, of which there were fifteen Dutch representatives in St. Olave's in 1571,⁶ was probably almost a new industry in England. Leather-dressers had doubtless much to learn from the foreigners. The textile trades had also a certain following amongst the immigrants. Scattered about in the several Southwark parishes there were a few sackcloth and linen weavers, together with cloth workers and flax dressers and spinners, mostly of Dutch nationality. One or two fustian weavers were of French or Burgundian origin. Especially numerous were the silk weavers, of whom there were thirteen in St. Olave's and five in St. Thomas's parishes in 1571.⁷ Here and there were silk-winders, silk-throwers, silk-twisters, and silk-dyers. In the later returns of 1618 the different silk trades carried on here by aliens are still more conspicuous, and the weaving of taffeties and tuft-taffeties was carried on to a very considerable extent. Dyeing, an industry which underwent important changes during the sixteenth century through the introduction of new dye-stuffs in spite of hostile Acts of Parliament, could also reckon among those who were engaged in it in Southwark a few of the alien settlers. One foreign whitster, a forerunner in an industry which during the course of the following two centuries was to obtain a great hold in the north of Surrey, had by 1582 already appeared in Southwark.

¹ R. E. G. and E. F. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, (Hug. Soc. Pub. x.), pt. ii. 123.

² *Ibid.* ii. 378-89.

³ *Lists of French Protestants and Aliens resident in England, 1618-1688* (ed. W. D. Cooper, Camden Soc. Pub. O.S. lxxxii.), 93-7.

⁴ *A Dyetary of Helth, etc.* (Early Eng. Text Soc. Pub. Extra Vol. x.), 256.

⁵ *Description of England* (ed. New Shakespeare Soc.), i. 160-1.

⁶ Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, i. 467-74.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 94-112.

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The metal trades, an important class of the Southwark manufactures of a later date, were represented during this period by a few foreign smiths and blacksmiths, cutlers, copersmiths, brasiers, gunmakers, locksmiths, nail-makers, needle-makers, and gold refiners. Amongst the miscellaneous trades and industries in which aliens were engaged in the same place to a greater or less extent, may be noticed those carried on by glaziers, comb-makers, file-hewers, button-makers, lace-makers, chandlers, masons, sawyers, stone-carvers, ball-makers, trunk-makers, tailors, hosiers, brush-makers, string and harp string makers, thread-makers, dice-makers, and falconers. Thus already by the end of the sixteenth century that remarkable catholicity in its manufactures which has for long been the most characteristic feature of Southwark and its neighbourhood, was being brought about to no small extent through the influence of alien immigrants.

During the Tudor period the greatest difficulty against which the foreign workmen had to contend in this country was the jealousy of the native artisans, which made itself felt in attempts to check their employment in any large numbers. In 1523 this jealousy had led to the passing of the Act which forbade any alien handicraftsman to maintain more than two alien journeymen in his employ.¹ The Act was modified in 1530 in favour of beer-brewers, bakers, surgeons, and scribes, who were declared to be outside its meaning.² But the Act of 1540 which restricted all subjects and denizens to keeping no more than four alien denizens³ was interpreted to include all trades, and the greater number of the informations which were lodged in the Exchequer of offences under it committed in Surrey occur in the case of the beer-brewers. On the other hand advantage began to be taken in Elizabeth's reign of the presence of the aliens in the kingdom to set on foot new industries, and to this end it was generally stipulated in the patents granted to foreigners to pursue their various callings that they should take into their service a certain number of native workmen and instruct them in their arts. So far as Surrey is concerned during the period we have been considering, the most important illustration of this policy is in the case of the saltpetre industry, the establishment of which was necessary to make the manufacture of gunpowder possible in this country. The

system of granting patents for the setting-up of particular manufactures was extended by the first two Stuart sovereigns, under whose economic policy the patents developed into monopolies and became a convenient means for increasing the revenues of the Crown independently of Parliament. This policy is strikingly illustrated in the case of several Surrey industries of both native and foreign origin. The manufacture of gunpowder again furnishes the chief illustration. Until the meeting of the Long Parliament this remained virtually a monopoly in the hands of the successive Surrey makers. A curious instance is supplied by the history of the soap monopoly of 1632 and following years, the leading makers in the Westminster company of soapboilers having their houses in Lambeth. At Lambeth also the first experiments in the art of making glass with coal fuel appear to have been carried out by Sir Edward Zouch and his company under the monopoly in the exercise of this art granted to them by the Crown in 1611.

Lambeth indeed became a manufacturing centre of the first importance during the seventeenth century. Again no small part of the credit for this development is due to the influence of foreign workmen. The manufacture of looking-glasses and plate glass, which attained to so high a degree of perfection at Vauxhall in this parish, appears to have been started in the latter half of the century by Venetians working under the patronage of the Duke of Buckingham. But still more important is the position of Lambeth as the scene of the first manufacture of delft-ware in England. The association with Lambeth of Ariens van Hamme, who first introduced this manufacture into this country, rests, it is true, on little more than tradition, but is strongly corroborated by the absence of any other claimant for the scene of his labours and by other indirect or negative evidence. Moreover the attribution to Lambeth of some of the earliest pieces of English delft-ware has never been disputed. Lambeth became famous as a centre of the earthenware industry, and its reputation in this respect has been maintained by a succession of firms to the present day.

In other directions during the seventeenth century alien influences were at work in Surrey to call into being several new industries which are of particular interest to the economic history of the county. The manufacture of high-warp tapestries at Mortlake by Walloons was established in the reign of James I. and flourished most vigorously under the direct personal encouragement of his

¹ Stat. 14 & 15 Hen. VIII. cap. 2.

² Ibid. 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 13.

³ Ibid. 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 16.

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successor. This industry, however, belongs to a special category. So far as this country was concerned it was of purely exotic growth and was carried on by foreign craftsmen working out the ideas of foreign designers. The practical support of the wealthiest was essential to its existence, and the withdrawal of this during the period of civil war and republican government injured it too severely for the somewhat half-hearted attempts to revive it made by the Crown after the Restoration to have any real effect. Of more permanent value must have been the several metal works which are stated to have been set up in Surrey by aliens during the century. The brass wire mills started at Esher in 1649 by Dutchmen are declared, though on doubtful authority, to have been the first of their kind in England. A similar claim is made for the flattening mill, the venture of another Dutchman, at Sheen in 1663. Belonging to the same class of industries is the manufacture at Wandsworth of brass frying pans and the like out of hammered plates, an art whose secret was being religiously guarded in the latter half of the century by the Dutch operatives.

The seventeenth century is an important period in the history of Wandsworth, whose development during it into a busy little manufacturing town may be traced from the Huguenot settlement there about the year 1573.¹ There were at least some alien beer-brewers in the town before the close of the sixteenth century. But Wandsworth was to be chiefly famous at a later date for its manufacture of hats by Protestant refugees from Caudebec who fled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. For years the special secret of these hat-makers was lost to France, and during that period it has been said that even the Roman cardinals were forced to have recourse to the Huguenots of Wandsworth for their hats.

But the industries which gained the most extensive hold over Wandsworth and the whole course of the Wandle were those of bleaching and calico-printing. The origin of both of these in this country is indisputably to be attributed to the examples set by foreign immigrants. We have already noted the appearance of a whitster in Southwark in the sixteenth century, the first apparently of a long line in Surrey, if not in the whole kingdom. He is followed early in the following century by another Dutchman at Mitcham, and from this time onward there is continued

evidence of the existence of the industry at various places alongside the Wandle. The flat meadow lands on the river's banks formed convenient bleaching grounds. The first introduction of calico-printing is of much later date, the earliest known instance in England occurring about the year 1690 at or near Richmond, where a Frenchman is said to have originated the industry. Shortly afterwards calico-printers begin to appear at Mitcham, and during the eighteenth century here and at Merton especially, but also along the whole course of the Wandle from Croydon to Wandsworth, calico-printers and bleachers became well nigh innumerable, and for close upon a hundred years made this district one of the principal centres of the two industries in England. The Wandle retained its eminent position in the trade until a date sometime in the early part of the nineteenth century, but by the middle of that century, for reasons which will be better considered in the special account devoted to them, these industries had become almost extinct in Surrey.

The part that the little river Wandle has played in the promotion of industries in the district through which it flows must not be ignored. Unnavigable like the two other and larger tributaries of the Thames, the Wey and Mole which drain the interior of the county, its fall has been utilized since an early period to drive the wheels of many mills. In 1609 when a scheme was on foot to take a tenth part of the water which flowed between Croydon and Waddon mill, and to convey it by canals and underground pipes into the City of London for the benefit of Chelsea College, a loud protest was raised against the proposal, not only by those most affected in Surrey but by other inhabitants of the county, as well as those of Brentford and other places in Middlesex. Inquiry was made into the matter and it was found that in the seven miles of the river's length, no less than twenty-four corn mills were at work, all of which were very serviceable for the King's household, for the City of London, and the counties of Surrey and Middlesex, and that these mills already suffered much from scarcity of water.² The protest was effectual and the scheme was abandoned for one whereby the water was to be brought into the city from Hackney Marsh.³ The development of the bleaching and calico-printing industries, as well as of a large variety of manufactures along its banks during the eighteenth century, had made the

¹ Weiss, *History of the French Protestant Refugees* (trans. Hardman), 217.

² Chan. Misc. Rolls, bdle. 13, file 6, No. 15.

³ Stat. 7 & 8 Jas. I. cap. 9.

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preservation of the river in its natural state still more desirable at the end of that century, and a scheme formed in 1799 for making a canal from Wandsworth to Croydon was unfavourably reported upon on the ground that it would inflict serious injury upon the numerous mills and valuable manufactures.¹ As many as forty different industrial undertakings were being carried on along the course of the Wandle in 1805, and most of them were said to be of considerable extent and importance.² A classification of the list is interesting. There were twelve calico-printing works, nine flour mills, one of which at Merton was stated to be the most complete of its kind in England, five snuff mills, three bleaching grounds, one of them thought to be the largest in the kingdom, three oil mills, two dyeing works, a paper mill, a skinning mill, a logwood mill, copper works, iron works, and a porter brewery. The river at that date was considered to be the hardest worked of any of its size in the world. Employment for upwards of 1,700 people was furnished during its short course of ten miles. Indeed when all the mills were at work the total number of employed was estimated to be little, if at all, short of 3,000.

The eighteenth century is distinguished by the absence of any strong motive for the personal interest of the Crown in particular manufactures and the predominance of the *laissez faire* principle in economic policy. Consequently we are deprived of most of that material to be found in the public records and State Papers which gives us such interesting and withal authoritative information as to the condition of many of the more common industries in the two preceding centuries. Parish registers were readily accessible and the wills of those engaged in particular industries can be made to furnish materials to enable us to gauge the extent and nature of those industries at certain periods. Our account of the bleaching and calico-printing works on the Wandle during the eighteenth century is perhaps our best illustration of the information to be gathered from such documents. Unfortunately their very voluminousness makes it impossible at present to apply such methods of research over the whole of a county. In general our notices of any industry have had to be derived from the accounts given by writers whose works have been published in or about the period, and cannot always be accepted as absolutely trustworthy.

Nevertheless, although for the reasons we have given we have been able to write more fully and with better authority of the condition of the bleaching and calico-printing industries in Surrey during the eighteenth century, we need have little doubt that the period was one of industrial progress in the whole north-eastern region of the county immediately contiguous to the Thames. The act of 1722-3,³ which finally abolished the pretended privileges of the Mint in Southwark, set the seal upon that legislation which since the year 1697⁴ had aimed at sweeping away those privileges which for centuries the lawless inhabitants of such resorts of unlicensed liberty had held unchallenged. The removal from the neighbourhood of that part of its population which had been beyond the jurisdiction of all the authorities must have been an important factor in the establishment of those settled conditions of law and order which are essential to the full development of commerce and industry.

The middle of the same century saw the beginning of the bridge building era over the tidal Thames. This is the most important sign of the greatly increased need which had now arisen for communication between north and south. The opening of the new bridges no doubt early resulted in the establishment on the Surrey side of the river of many manufactures which required more ample conditions of space than could readily be had on the more crowded northern bank. The fact that some of the more important manufacturing businesses now settled in Southwark and the Surrey suburbs have been transferred there from the other side of the river through having outgrown their former limits of expansion is one of the most salient characteristics at the present day of the industries carried on in this district. During the eighteenth century these industries partook to the full of that great variety of description of which we have already spoken. It is almost impossible to attempt to make a complete list of them. The printed lists of patents for inventions granted in the latter half of the century and the first half of the following one prove how large a proportion of the more inventive amongst the engineers and metal workers, the makers of mathematical, philosophical and optical instruments, and the makers of machinery of every description were then settled in business in Southwark, Lambeth, Bermondsey and Rotherhithe. The brewing of beer and porter had become an important

¹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 343.

² Malcolin, *Compendium of Modern Husbandry*, i. 6-8.

³ 9 Geo. I. cap. 28.

⁴ Stat. 8 & 9 Will. III. cap. 27.

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industry in and about London, and in Southwark and Bermondsey breweries such as Thrale's were developing into the largely capitalized undertakings they have become in the present day. Distilling and the manufacture of vinegar and British wines were extensively carried on in Southwark and Lambeth, and in the same two places there were numerous pot works and glasshouses. The great importance of the tanning industry in Bermondsey had been recognized by the incorporation by Queen Anne of the tanners of that parish. It is true that for some reason or another the charter remained inoperative, but this fact does not affect our present contention that the Bermondsey tanners were then a numerous body. At the end of the century, Bermondsey was a place of great trade and had become an important wool-staple in the kingdom. Besides the leather manufacture in its many branches, hat-making, calico-printing and dyeing were carried on, and there were some pin and needle makers.¹ Here and at Rotherhithe there were large dockyards, and the waterside was occupied by a number of rope-makers, anchor-smiths, boat-builders, and other persons employed in making and furnishing articles of rigging for the navy.² In the other direction the manufacturing district along the south bank of the river grew longer and wider, stretching on past Lambeth and Vauxhall to Battersea and almost continuously to Wandsworth.

Generally speaking the eighteenth century had been one of great development in British industries. This development was to become more marked during the course of the nineteenth century, but its direction was in many cases to be radically altered in consequence of the subjection of the industries to the most startling changes which have ever taken place in the conditions governing manufactures. Some account of the particular effects which the extraordinary progress made in science during the last century, the increased application of its principles to manufactures, and especially the substitution wherever possible of the steam engine for manual labour, have had on the more important Surrey industries will be found in the special sections following which treat of those industries. But some remarks here of a more general character are necessary on the effects which these revolutionary changes have had upon the industries of the county. Nothing has more completely changed the conditions which determine the existence of

industries in particular localities during the century than the introduction of the steam locomotive, and the vast extent which the railway system of the country has now assumed.

The nature of this change in the external conditions under which industries were to be fostered, which was to be brought about during the course of the nineteenth century, was, so far as Surrey is concerned, curiously foreshadowed in the very first year of the century. The sanction of Parliament was then given to three schemes whereby it was sought to compensate the county for those facilities in the means of communication in which, as we have seen, it was by nature so wanting. Two of these schemes were for canals, one of which, the Grand Surrey Canal, was never completed exactly in accordance with the original intention. The Act³ provided for the cutting of the canal from Rotherhithe to Woodpecker's Lane in Deptford, and thence through Camberwell, Walworth, Lambeth, Kennington Common, Stockwell, Clapham, Balham, Streatham and Tooting to Mitcham. There were to be also several collateral cuts to communicate with several places off the main line of route. By 1807 the Company had made a large basin at Rotherhithe and cut part of the canal when it obtained from Parliament another Act to enable it to raise more capital. But in 1814 we are told that the dock had succeeded so well that the proprietors seemed content to be considered a dock rather than a canal company.⁴ The second canal was to run from or near Croydon to Rotherhithe, where it was to flow into the Grand Surrey Canal. The proprietors were also to supply Croydon, Streatham, Dulwich, Norwood and Sydenham with water.⁵ The canal was completed in 1809.⁶

But the most interesting of the three schemes was that which gave birth to the Surrey Iron Railway.⁷ This railway,

³ Public Loc. and Pers. Acts, 41 Geo. III. cap. 31.

⁴ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. App. pp. lix. lx.

⁵ Public Loc. and Pers. Acts, 41 Geo. III. cap. 127.

⁶ Manning and Bray, loc. cit.

⁷ Public Loc. and Pers. Acts, 41 Geo. III. cap. 33. Many of the following facts as to this railway and its continuation, the Croydon, Merstham and Godstone Iron Railway, are taken from an article by W. B. Paley in *The Engineer* of 5 January 1900, an abstract of which is given in Davis, *Interesting Incidents of Wandsworth History*, 26-38. See also Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, ii. 253; iii. 343.

¹ Lysons, *Environs of London* (1 ed.), i. 547.

² *Ibid.* i. 470.

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designed to facilitate horse traction, seems to have been the outcome of a larger scheme to meet the necessity of an easier mode of carriage for heavy goods between London and Portsmouth. Originally, as part of this scheme, it was proposed to make a canal between Wandsworth and Croydon, but this proposal, as we have stated, proved impracticable on account of the injury that it was felt would be done to the numerous manufactures on the Wandle by the serious reduction in the supply of water for the mills. Accordingly in 1799 an engineer, Mr. William Jessop, after a survey of the ground, proposed that an iron railway, as used in parts of Derbyshire, should be made from Wandsworth to Portsmouth by way of Croydon, Reigate and Arundel. It was thought prudent however to make a beginning with one section only from Wandsworth to Croydon, and the Act of 1801 was obtained, whereby authority was given for the raising of a capital stock of £35,000 in shares of £100 each in order to carry out the scheme. The preamble of the Act states that the railway will be of very great advantage to several considerable manufactories established in the neighbourhood, as well as to the inhabitants of a very populous country lying on or near the railway by opening a cheap and easy communication for the conveyance of coals, corn and all goods, wares and merchandize to and from the metropolis and other places.

The Act is of interest because, although clauses had for some time previously been inserted in Canal Acts authorizing the making of branch railways, it was the first one for a railway alone. The works included in addition to the main line of the railway a dock at Wandsworth and a branch line from Mitcham Common to Hackbridge. There would appear also to have been a proposal to connect the line at Merton with the calico-printing works of Mr. Richard Howard at Phipps Bridge, but it is doubtful whether this connection was ever made. The length of the main line was about eight miles and the branch to Hackbridge a mile and a quarter. The company was managed by a committee, which was composed chiefly of the local manufacturers.

Grooved rails were used to guide the wheels of the cars or trucks, the principle of the flanged wheel being apparently unknown at this date. The waggons in use belonged for the most part to the manufacturers of the neighbourhood, but anyone whose waggons were of the correct gauge and not above a certain weight and size was at liberty to use the rails upon paying the tolls, the maximum

rates of which were fixed by the Act. These maximum rates were 2*d.* per ton per mile for manure; 3*d.* for limestone, chalk, lime, clay, breeze, ashes, sand and bricks; 4*d.* for metals, stone, flints, coals, coke, fullers' earth, corn and seeds, flour, malt and potatoes, and 6*d.* for all other goods. 4*d.* per ton might be charged upon all goods carried in or out of the basin at Wandsworth.

The venture proved unsuccessful, its failure being due perhaps in the main to the adoption of Wandsworth and not London as the terminus. Connection through the Grand Junction Canal at Brentford with the north and midlands had been put forward as one of the principal objects of the company. But the chief market for the products of the Wandle manufactories must have been the metropolis, and the failure through lack of support to carry out an extension of the line from Wandsworth to London, proposed in 1802, put an end to any hopes of saving the fortunes of the railway. The opening of the Croydon Canal in 1809 raised a formidable competitor against the railway for the goods traffic between Croydon and London, as it must have been considerably less expensive to carry the goods in barges all the way from Rotherhithe than to land them from the river at Wandsworth and transport them thence in the little trucks of the Surrey Iron Railway.

The chief source of traffic to the line came, however, from its extension under the name of the Croydon, Merstham and Godstone Iron Railway, the necessary powers to raise the capital being obtained from Parliament in 1803.¹ The company under which this new line was carried out was distinct from the former one, although several of the members of the committee were the same, and its powers were to make and maintain a railway from Pitlake Meadow in Croydon—that is to say, from the terminus of the Surrey Iron Railway—to or near Reigate, with a collateral branch from the line at Merstham to Godstone Green. The capital stock to be raised was not to exceed £60,000, to be contributed in shares of £100 each. The maximum rates which the new company was permitted to charge for the carriage of goods over its lines were the same as those of the older company.

The company only succeeded in raising £45,500, and was never able to carry its line beyond the Merstham quarries. This portion of it, about 8½ miles in length, was opened for traffic in July 1805. It seems to

¹ Loc. and Pers. Acts, 43 Geo. III. cap. 35.

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have fared but little better than the Surrey Iron Railway, and what occasional dividends it may have paid never exceeded 2 per cent. A further Act was obtained in 1806¹ sanctioning the raising of further capital, but although some additional funds seem actually to have been obtained no attempt was made to carry the line further.

No doubt considerable quantities of stone and lime were carried from Merstham to Wandsworth and the metropolis by means of the railway, but what expectations had been raised as to any noticeable reduction in the cost of carriage seem not to have been realized. In 1814 we are told that the farmers of Woodmansterne had been flattered with the expectation of having their dressing brought from London, and their flints taken in part payment for the use of the earthenware manufacturers, but that they had been disappointed in both.² At the same time, although a considerable quantity of fullers' earth was then carried by the iron railway, it had not yet appeared that the cost of carriage was much, if anything, less than by the common carriers.³ A writer in 1847 describes the small single line on which some thirty years before a miserable team of lean mules or donkeys might have been seen crawling, at the rate of four miles an hour, with some trucks of stone and lime behind them, and contrasts the one train of trucks which then perchance passed through Croydon in the day with the hundred journeys and more which were made at a later date by the three great railroads which reached that place from London.⁴

The fate of the first two railways sanctioned by Parliament was indeed little prophetic of the great future which the nineteenth century had in store for this method of facilitating transport when the perfection of the steam locomotive was to be attained. The Act of 1837, which incorporated the London and Brighton Railway Company, gave the company power to purchase the whole of the railway from Croydon to Merstham.⁵ The purchase was effected for the sum of £9,614, and by an Act of 1839 the Croydon, Merstham and Godstone Railway Company was finally dissolved.⁶ This step completed the ruin of the Surrey Iron Railway, which was nominally purchased by the London and South-Western Railway

Company in 1844, and by that company sold at cost price to the Brighton Company, by which, however, it was soon found unnecessary and abandoned. The Surrey Iron Railway Company was dissolved by Act of Parliament in 1846.⁷

We have dwelt here on the history of these two little railways in the first place because they were carried out with a special view to improving the industrial conditions of the county; and secondly, because their conception affords yet another striking illustration of the initiative which the inhabitants of Surrey were ready to take in the adoption of any new method of communication between place and place which promised to compensate them for their deficiencies in natural waterways. The county has now for many years been served by the main lines of the London, Brighton and South Coast and the London and South-Western Railways and by the Reading branch of the South-Eastern Railway. The first and the last of these have done much to facilitate the carriage of the products of the limestone and chalk quarries between Dorking and Godstone, and to extend their market. But, with the exception of two or three large printing establishments, it cannot be said that any considerable new industry which did not exist before these railways were built has been called into being in the more rural districts of the county through their agency. The principal changes in Surrey brought about by its railways have been in a social direction. Through their means the different parts of the county have become more possible for the residence of those to whom easy access to London is a necessity, and the whole county has tended in consequence to become more and more a gigantic suburb of the metropolis. The history, therefore, and the effects upon the county of its present railway system, fall for treatment more fitly to another section of the present work.

The manufactures carried on in those metropolitan parts of the old county of Surrey which have recently been absorbed into the newly formed county of London have increased greatly in number and importance during the past century. Doubtless this increase may in great part be attributed to the spread of railways, one of the most general effects of which upon industries has been to concentrate them in the towns. In so doing railways have of course only carried out still further the great result achieved by the rise of the factory system in the closing

¹ Loc. and Pers. Acts, 46 Geo. III. cap. 93.

² Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, ii. 460.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 266.

⁴ Felix Summerley, *Pleasure Excursions, Croydon*.

⁵ Loc. and Pers. Acts, 7 Will. IV. and 1 Vict. cap. 119.

⁶ *Ibid.* 2 & 3 Vict. cap. 52.

⁷ *Ibid.* 9 & 10 Vict. cap. 333.

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years of the eighteenth century consequent upon the extended introduction of machinery into manufactures. The history of South London industries affords many illustrations of the early application of such machinery, and we shall have to deal with them fully in the sections which we shall devote to special industries. For the present we may call attention more particularly to such instances as will be found in the accounts of the pottery, the hat-making, the brewing and the printing industries.

The benefits attending the application to manufactures of the improved principles gained by science during the nineteenth century are nowhere more strikingly shown than in the history of the candle-making industry in Surrey. Advantage has been taken of the great attention given to sanitary reform by a firm of Lambeth potters to build up the fortunes of one of the largest and most important houses of this description in the world. The fertility of their inventive powers and the energy and enterprise with which so many of them have helped to give practical effect to the improvements dictated by the great scientific discoveries of the century have indeed been the most distinguishing characteristics of manufacturers in South London. This fact is well borne out by the frequency with which they appear amongst the patentees for inventions during the first half of the century.

The Surrey suburbs of London have now for long constituted one of the busiest industrial quarters of the metropolis. In the foregoing remarks we have attempted to put forward some of the chief reasons which led to this development in the first place. Special conditions favouring the existence of certain industries south of the Thames, but at no great distance from the capital, will be considered in the sections devoted to those industries. In more recent times, as we have already said, the greater space available for works demanding more acreage over which they could be expanded than the more crowded north side of the Thames could afford has been a leading cause for the establishment of many of the more important Surrey manufactures. In proof of this we need only point to some of the largest works which exist in South London at the present day, to those of Messrs. Doulton and Co., for instance, at Lambeth, of Messrs. Peek Frean and Co. at Bermondsey, of Barclay and Perkins' Brewery at Southwark, of Beaufoy and Co. at South Lambeth, and of Price's Candle Works at Battersea. Instances are not wanting where firms have transferred

their works from the north side of the river to the south on account of this very desire for greater room. Messrs. R. Hoe and Co.'s manufactory of printing machinery is a special case in point, and instances of other well-known makers are afforded by Messrs. Day and Martin and by Messrs. Cooper, Dennison and Walkden. Such examples could be readily multiplied, but the process has now been going on for so long that it is not surprising that with the growing scarcity of land in these parts and the consequent rise of rental values and increased cost of living and wages, signs of a reaction should be already apparent. Many of the greatest Surrey manufacturers have for long had branch works in other parts of the kingdom. Especially is this the case with those firms which require for their factories vast quantities of fuel, for in spite of the increased facilities for transport brought about by railways, coal has always remained one of the most costly commodities to be carried any distance from the pits. That some of the largest Surrey makers can outgrow their already ample premises is seen in the case of Price's Candle Company, which in recent years has had to acquire land on the opposite bank of the Thames for the extension of its London Works, whilst another important firm of candle-makers, Messrs. J. C. and J. Field, who for upwards of two hundred years have been able to confine their business to Lambeth and other places in Surrey, have only in the last year been compelled to go farther afield and outside the county to find room for the additional works necessary to permit them to keep pace with the demand for their productions.

In the following pages we shall endeavour to treat of all those industries which have been carried on in Surrey at one time or another since the Norman invasion, and to which some historic importance may be considered to attach. The catalogue when complete will represent fairly adequately the great variety in the manufactures which existed or still exist in the county. Nevertheless there are some important industries belonging to Surrey with which, either because materials for an account of them are not readily to be found or because in many cases they are of too recent an origin to lend themselves to historical treatment, we shall not be able to deal more particularly. As to these, therefore, we will confine ourselves here to some remarks more or less of a general character, and intended rather to call attention to their existence than to comment on any special features attaching to them.

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Of the once important ship-building industry of Rotherhithe and the places adjacent we may notice here that the industry was considerable enough in 1612 to give a local habitation to the company of 'the Master, Wardens and Commonalty of the art or mystery of Shipwrights of Rotherhithe (Redrith) in the county of Surrey,' which was incorporated in that year by royal charter with powers which gave it the control of all the shipbuilding industry in the kingdom.¹ So extensive were these powers that collisions between the Company and the Ancient Fraternity of the Free Shipwrights of London were of frequent occurrence for many years after the grant of its charter. The shipbuilding about Rotherhithe, and afterwards the construction of the various docks and wharves between that place and Southwark brought into being many subsidiary industries such as those of rope-making, anchor-making and boat-building, which came to engage the greater proportion of the riverside population in this locality. At the present day at places higher up the river the building of boats and launches chiefly for pleasure traffic is very extensive in Surrey.

With so vast a population dwelling in and around London it is only natural that a large number of the manufactures in the metropolitan parts of Surrey should be concerned in the preparation of a great variety of articles of food. In this connection we may notice that some of the references to corn or flour mills in the county have a special interest. Manning and Bray² notice the mention of a windmill, the earliest with which they had met, in the grant supposed to be of the time of Richard I. by Odo de Dammartin to Tandridge Priory of lands in Waringham. Three corn windmills existed in Battersea Fields near the Thames in Aubrey's time, which he says were then the first mills near London.³ The Albion Mills by Blackfriars Bridge which were commenced in 1784 on a very large scale for the purpose of furnishing London with a better distribution of flour were fitted up with machinery designed by Boulton and Watt, which marked a great advance on anything that had been previously attempted in this direction. At Rotherhithe were the King's flour mills, where about the beginning of the nineteenth century bakehouses were erected for the purpose of supplying the navy with biscuit.⁴ These bakehouses were, how-

ever, continued for but a few years, and in 1811 the mills were occupied by the London Flour Company.⁵

Biscuit-making is now carried on by several firms in South London. Of these none is more important or better known than that of Messrs. Peek, Frean and Co., at Bermondsey, who are at the present day one of the largest firms of biscuit-makers in the kingdom. They commenced business about half a century ago on waterside premises at Dockhead, Bermondsey. At that time their factory was of comparatively small dimensions, and only a small number of people were employed. The firm was brought into notoriety early in the sixties through the Great Exhibition, where it gained the highest award for excellence of quality, and its powers of production became so taxed that soon afterwards larger premises were necessary and were acquired in Drummond Road, Bermondsey, adjoining the South Eastern Railway. At the present day the productions of the company consist of biscuits and cakes of almost every conceivable variety, and the manufactory finds employment for upwards of 2,000 hands.⁶ Other firms of biscuit-makers having factories in South London are Macfarlane, Lang and Co. in Southwark, George van Abbott and Sons and the Natural Food Co. Limited in Bermondsey, and the A. I. Biscuit Co. Limited in South Lambeth.

Amongst other manufacturers of food products in South London we may notice the factories of Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell and of Elizabeth Lazenby and Sons in Southwark for the making of condiments, pickles, preserves and the like, and of Messrs. Brand and Co. at Vauxhall, whose meat extracts and specialties for invalids are well known.

The manufacture of chemicals has been carried on for many years in several parts of the county in the neighbourhood of London, and some of the works have been of considerable importance. The fame of Lockyer, the Southwark inventor, who died aged 72 on 26 April 1672, and from whose tomb in St. Saviour's Church we may still learn,

His virtues and his Pills are so well known
That Envy can't confine them under stone,

is more likely to be perpetuated by the quaintness of his epitaph than by the enduring reputation of his pills, although in the concluding lines we are told,

¹ Pat. 10 Jas. I. pt. 9, No. 2.

² *Hist. of Surrey*, ii. 375, 581.

³ *Nat. Hist. and Antiq. of Surrey*, i. 13.

⁴ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, i. 228.

⁵ Lysons, *Environs* (2 ed.), i. 354; Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App. 26.

⁶ *Ex inf.* Messrs. Peek, Frean & Co.

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This verse is lost, his Pill embalms him safe
To future times without an epitaph.

Nevertheless Manning and Bray¹ tell us that the pills were still in use in their day and had been recorded in the Act of Parliament laying a duty on quack medicines.

The same writers notice the existence in Rotherhithe at the beginning of the last century of a considerable copperas work, which was said to be the oldest in the kingdom.² The first house and furnace, however, for the preparation of copperas or sulphate of iron would seem to have been erected at Whitstable in Kent in the reign of Elizabeth by Cornelius Stephenson.³ Regulations for the working of copperas were made by Act of Parliament in 1565-6.⁴

The manufactures that have been carried on in the metropolitan district of the county or are still in existence at the present day, and that may be conveniently classed under the general heading of chemical works, are too numerous for us to note here any but a few of the more important. To the soap and candle making industries, which have undergone a complete revolution in consequence of the discoveries made in chemical science during the last century, we shall devote a special section. Starch and size have been made in several localities, notably in Southwark, Lambeth and Battersea. The whitening works in the latter place, close to Nine Elms, are said to have been established in 1666.⁵ In Battersea also are the kyanizing works for the preservation of timber from dry rot.⁶ The process, which consists in saturating the timber with a solution of corrosive sublimate in compressed tanks, receives its name from its inventor, John Howard Kyan, who took out a patent for it in 1832.⁷

About Mitcham, where in the middle of the last century industrial activity appeared to have been stayed in consequence of the decay of the bleaching and calico-printing industries in that quarter,⁸ there are now several important manufactures of chemicals. But the industry which has more particularly taken the place of the old staple one in that neighbourhood is the manufacture of varnish, in which there are twenty or more firms engaged in Mitcham and Merton, the majority of

them being of some considerable extent. Mitcham has long enjoyed some reputation for its manufacture of snuff and tobacco, and the industry there is still represented by Messrs. J. Rutter and Co., of the Ravensbury Mills.

The well-known manufactory of Messrs. Day and Martin in Southwark has already been noticed in this account. The business was established about 150 years ago by Mr. Day and Mr. Martin, and carried on at first in Tavistock Street, and afterwards in High Holborn, until its removal to the present extensive premises in the Borough Road in 1889. In 1899 the business was converted into a limited liability company with a capital of £152,000. In addition to its manufacture of blacking and boot polishes and leather preservatives, dressings and dyes, the company makes inks, furniture polish, knife powder, metal and stove polishes, dubbin, blue, soap powders and various other sundries, and employs on an average 300 hands.⁹

Another firm of still older foundation, but also of comparatively recent immigration into Surrey, which combines the manufacture of ink with a variety of other articles, is that of Messrs. Cooper, Dennison & Walkden, Limited. In the manufacture of writing inks this firm claims to be the oldest in the kingdom, and to have been founded in 1735 by Mr. Walkden, whose original factory was on old London Bridge, near St. Magnus' Church. The business was afterwards transferred to Shoe Lane, Fleet Street, where it was carried on for about a hundred years, and came into the possession of the Cooper family in the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1891 it was converted into the present private limited company. Very early in the history of the business the manufacture of quill pens and parchment was added to that of ink making, and these formed the principal branches of the business until 1877, when an agency for tags and labels of all kinds was begun for an American firm. Owing to the development of this business machinery was imported from America and set up in the Verney Road, Bermondsey, and the manufacture was begun instead of continuing to import from the United States. This has created a new industry in this country, which, although it may appear of little importance, is really of considerable magnitude, and has completely revolutionized the trade for this class of goods. Owing to experiments conducted by the chemist of the firm a new marking ink for linen was brought out in 1878, and in 1885 the manufacture of

⁹ Ex inf. Messrs. Day & Martin, Ltd.

¹ *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 573.

² *Ibid.* i. 228.

³ Exch. Dep. by Com. East., 42 Eliz. No. 14.

⁴ Stat. 8 Eliz. cap. 21.

⁵ E. Hammond, *Bygone Battersea*, 23.

⁶ *Ibid.* 25.

⁷ *Pat. of Invention*, No. 5309.

⁸ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App 6.

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sealing-wax was begun, a branch of the business which has since attained considerable development. The premises in Verney Road cover an acre of land, and additional buildings are in course of erection. About 200 persons are employed in the works, and the firm has branches in Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, Dublin and Bombay, besides representatives in South Africa, Australia and Canada. The inks are still sold under the name of Walkden, the original inventor, and his principle is still adopted in the manufacture, though with such modifications and improvements as have been suggested by many years of study and experiments.¹

Another industry, which on account of the pre-eminent position enjoyed by one of the Surrey firms engaged in it cannot be omitted from a present day survey of the manufactures of the county, is that of fireworks. The firm of C. T. Brock & Co. can date their records back to 1725, when they were established in the east of London. Subsequently they removed to Nunhead, and in 1875, in consequence of their displays at the Crystal Palace, which they had initiated in 1864, set up their works at South Norwood. In 1902 these were again removed to Sutton in Surrey, where a site of some 200 acres was secured in order to obtain perfect safety and isolation for the multitude of small sheds and workshops which are required by the company to carry on its present extensive business. The business is now under the

management of Mr. Arthur Brock, a lineal descendant of the original founder of the firm. The number of persons employed at the Sutton works varies from 250 during the slack season to 400 in an ordinarily busy season. As bearing upon another Surrey industry with which we shall have to deal at some length it is interesting to learn that for over one hundred years without intermission the firm has bought its gunpowder from the Chilworth mills.² Another Surrey firm of firework makers of some importance is that of Messrs. Pain, who have extensive works at Mitcham, and fireworks are also made on the Osiers at Wandsworth, where is the only licensed factory in England of amorces, or the little detonating caps for toy pistols.³

The list of small industries carried on in the metropolitan districts of Surrey might be continued almost indefinitely, so great is their present variety and number. The tendency still appears to be for the manufacturing area to be extended outwards from the capital, and even as we write fresh sites are being acquired for the erection of factories where none existed before. Doubtless there are several modern manufactures of no little importance, and perhaps a few that are now of the past, which we have been obliged to omit altogether. But we must confine ourselves to those industries whose development has been of more historic interest, and which may be said more particularly to have contributed to the staple trade of the county.

¹ Ex inf. Messrs. Cooper, Dennison & Walkden, Ltd.

² Ex inf. Messrs. C. T. Brock & Co.

³ Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth*, 3.

NOTE

An instance of bleaching in Surrey of a date very much earlier than that given above may be noted. From a Chancery bill it appears that at a date which is almost certainly 25 March 1492, and in any case cannot be later than 1516, one William Hore, a citizen and glover of London, had a lease of a tenement called Stonewall, in St. Mary Magdalen's, Bermondsey, where he used 'the occupation and craft of bleaching or whiting of linen cloth, having of divers and many folks great substance of cloth to white and bleach' (Early Chanc. Proc. cxiii. 59, 60). The remarks made in the text as to the probability of a foreign origin for this industry in Surrey must be modified in accordance with this discovery.

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IRON

The iron industry of Surrey was during the Tudor and Stuart periods one of the most important in the county, and the trade carried on at the various works, which were scattered over the southern border, must have been very considerable. The history of the industry in Surrey however forms only a small part of that of the Wealden district, in which the most ancient and always the most numerous works were to be found in Sussex, those in the adjoining districts in Kent being next in importance.

For the main facts of our knowledge of the iron industry of Sussex, and indeed of the Weald generally, we are indebted to the contributions of Mr. Mark Antony Lower to the *Sussex Archæological Collections*.¹ Recently Mr. J. Starkie Gardner has amplified the information supplied by Mr. Lower, more especially as to the history of casting and of the processes employed.² The most important contribution to the history of the Surrey works in particular is Mr. Malden's chapter on the subject in his short history of the county.³ It is impossible for any one to attempt a further account of these works without acknowledging great indebtedness to him as well as to the two other writers mentioned.

The antiquity of the Wealden iron industry dates back certainly to the Roman period, probably still earlier. The Britons were, as we know, well acquainted before the Roman invasion with the working and use of the metal. Cæsar, who must have obtained his information from them, although he was led to believe that the supply of iron in the country was small, says that it was to be found in the maritime regions.⁴ By these

regions it is most probable that he implied the Weald of Sussex, where the ferruginous sandstone of the Hastings beds would lend itself to easy processes of extracting the ore, whilst the dense forest of Anderida would supply fuel in abundance for the furnaces.

Of the period immediately subsequent to the Roman occupation until more than two hundred years after the Norman Conquest the history of the Wealden iron industry is a blank. We need not suppose that it had been allowed to decline altogether, although Domesday Book, which mentions iron in Gloucestershire and certain other counties, is silent on the subject under Sussex. The industry first re-appears as existent in 1266, the date of Henry III.'s grant of murage to the inhabitants of Lewes.

Of the antiquity which is known to belong to the Wealden iron industry in Sussex it is not possible that anything can be claimed for Surrey. Although in the year 1319 Peter de Walsham, the sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, did, in obedience to the royal mandate, provide horseshoes and nails for the expedition against the Scots, we can only, in the absence of any specific reference to the industry in Surrey at this time, infer that he obtained them from Sussex. Indeed not until 1553 have we a definite mention of Surrey iron-works. In that year on 24 March Henry Nevill, Lord Abergavenny, by deed of bargain and sale conveyed to George and Christopher Darrell all his messuages, lands, tenements, woods, waters and rough grounds called Ewood or Ewood Park in the parish of Newdigate, and also 'all the buildings, iron works and offices set and being within the same.'⁵ The next reference to the industry in Surrey is in June 1557, when Owen Bray and his wife Ann levied a fine of their manor of Paddynden or Paddyngton with its appurtenances, including an iron-mill, a pond, a hundred acres of woods, etc., in Abinger,

¹ Lower, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii. 169 seq. ; iii. 240 seq. ; xviii. 10 seq.

² Gardner, *Arch.* lvi. 133 seq.

³ Malden, *History of Surrey* (London, 1900), 260 seq.

⁴ *De Bello Gallico*, v. 12.

⁵ Close, 7 Edw. VI. pt. 1, No. 2.

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Shere, Ockley, Effingham and Wotton.¹ It is shortly after this that we have the beginning of that legislative interference with the trade² which, whatever harm it may have done in thwarting its rapid growth, supplies us to-day with the chief materials for our knowledge of its extent.

A few years later the fears that no doubt in part actuated this policy can be understood from a petition of the inhabitants of Kingston-upon-Thames. On 5 February 1562 they complained that whereas they could formerly buy firewood at 2s. 8d. or 3s. and charcoal at 10s. a load, brought from Dorking and thereabouts, they were now compelled to pay 4s. or 4s. 4d. for the former and 20s. for the latter. This state of things they attributed to the iron-mills set up in the county, and they apprehended that unless speedy remedy be had they were like to have neither wood nor coals.³ This rise in the price of fuel must have appealed equally to the inhabitants of London, who looked to the forests of Surrey for their supplies, and to the Crown, with its palaces in London, Windsor and Nonsuch. Moreover the timber was in great demand for shipbuilding.

From the complaint of the people of Kingston we may infer that the iron industry of Surrey, if not actually at that time in its infancy, was only then beginning to assume such proportions as to give rise to these fears of the possible exhaustion of the supply or timber grown in the county. That the working of the metal in Surrey should be of considerably later development than in Sussex or Kent is not difficult to understand. Except in one small corner, the south-eastern, where the ferruginous sandstone of the Hastings beds extended beyond the district of Worth in Sussex to Lingfield, the iron ore to be found in the county was only to be extracted

¹ Feet of F. Surr. Trin. 3 and 4 Phil. and Mary.

² The Act of 1 Elizabeth, c. 15, which is entitled 'An Acte that tymber shall not bee felled to make coles for the making of iron,' enacted that no person should thereafter convert to coal or other fuel for the making of iron any timber tree of oak, beech or ash of the breadth of one foot square at the stub and growing within fourteen miles of the sea or of any part of the rivers of Thames, Severn, Wye, Humber, Dee, Tyne, Tees, Trent, etc., under a penalty of 40s. for every tree or part of a tree so converted. But there were excepted from this Act the county of Sussex, the Weald of Kent, and the parishes of Charlwood, Newdigate and Leigh in the Weald of Surrey.

³ Loseley MSS. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. App. 616).

by processes which mark a considerable advance in the science. But the chief difficulty was one of transport. The badness of the roads in the Weald is the subject of frequent complaint, and was a very real obstacle to the development of any industry in the southern parts of Surrey. From Sussex the iron could be carried by water-way to the sea and thence to London. In Surrey however it is probable that it was only the rapidly increasing demand for iron ordnance at this period that could at length make the working of its iron at all profitable.

That the iron ordnance turned out from the Wealden works was considered excellent we can judge from this increasing demand for it not only at home but abroad. This latter gave the Government another pretext to interfere with the industry. At a later period the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, endeavoured to obtain permission from James I. for a relaxation of the stringent regulations against its export in favour of his country.⁴ But so early as January 1573-4 we find Ralph Hogge, 'the Queen's gunstone maker and gun founder of iron,' complaining of the infringement of his patent to export iron ordnance.⁵ A note is appended to his petition of all the furnaces which daily cast guns and iron shot. From this it appears that besides Hogge two other founders had long cast, but only for the Tower, whilst four other founders, including Sir Thomas Gresham, are mentioned who had only begun to cast within the last five or six years. Two of these latter were alleged to sell more ordnance to go along the coast than they sent to London. The yearly output of all these furnaces was estimated at above 400 tons.⁶

It is not stated where these furnaces were situated, but we may presume that they were all in Sussex. We may presume also that it was in consequence of this complaint that the Government was led to make a stricter scrutiny into the conduct of these works than it had hitherto done, for in the following month (February 1573-4) we have the very important declaration of Christopher Barker, which sets out for the information of the Privy Council all the iron-mills and furnaces that then existed in the counties of Sussex, Surrey and Kent.⁷ The great spoil and 'consummation' of oaken timber and other woods within these counties are here still put forward as the primary grounds for legislative interference with these ironworks. But the

⁴ Fuller's *Worthies* (ed. 1840), Suss. iii. 241.

⁵ S. P. Dom. Eliz. xcvi. 16.

⁶ *Ibid.* 15. ⁷ *Ibid.* 20.

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writer mentions an instance where twenty pieces of ordnance had within the last month been sold to a stranger's ship, and says that

there be divers and sundry merchants and masters of merchant ships that do find themselves marvellously molested and otherwhiles robbed by reason of the great store of ordnance that hath been conveyed and sold to strangers out of this realm, whereby their ships are so well appointed that no poor merchant's ship may pass through the seas. Moreover I do think that this commodity of ordnance that is made within this realm and already sold will turn to a discommodity when a time of service shall require.

He recommends the Council to consider that this ordnance making is a commodity to a few and a 'discommodity' to the whole commonwealth, and no common merchandise for every private subject to deal with, but more meet for the prince only.

The long list that follows consists chiefly of works in Sussex and Kent, but there are a certain number in Surrey, whilst some two or three really belong to that county although stated to be in Sussex. Altogether there were in the three counties 'not so few' as a hundred furnaces and iron-mills. The list would seem to have been constantly referred to by the Council in its dealings with this industry, for there are two other copies of it amongst the State Papers¹ and another amongst the Stowe MSS. in the British Museum. The Loseley MSS. also contain a list that appears to have been chiefly compiled from that of Christopher Barker.

Acting on this information the Council's first course was to summon before it all the owners and farmers of iron-mills in Sussex, Kent and Surrey, and make them enter into bonds not to cast any iron ordnance without special licence from the queen, and then not to sell to foreigners unless their licence should expressly state to whom they might do so, and what amount and kind of ordnance they might sell. The bonds taken, and lists of all those who were warned to appear and of all those who did appear, are amongst the State Papers. We shall have recourse to these various lists and bonds later, when we shall attempt to enumerate all the ironworks that at one time or another were set up in Surrey.

The further result of the Council's dealing with the matter was the promulgation of a series of orders in June of the same year.² These permitted all those furnaces which had previously cast ordnance, but had been bound to the contrary, to be again set on work, but

on condition of entering into the bonds which had been in the first place required. The founders were ordered to deliver up yearly certificates to the master of the Ordnance of the number of pieces they had cast and to whom they had sold them, whilst in every port a view was to be made of all the pieces of ordnance placed on board of every ship at its departure, and care to be taken that the same number of pieces was in the ship at its return, unless the absence of any piece could be satisfactorily accounted for by loss or damage.

Such were the means by which the government of Elizabeth sought to check the foreign trade in a commodity for which the rapidly increasing demand abroad seemed to forebode possible dangers to the State. Throughout the reign we find in the Acts of the Privy Council and in the State Papers the executive dealing with the question on these lines. The same orders are again and again put into force, occasionally with an additional elaboration of the machinery to secure their proper execution. On 28 August 1576, Sir William More and Sir Thomas Browne were desired to stop all further casting of iron guns or shot in Surrey, until the queen's pleasure was again known, because the country was already sufficiently supplied, and the manufacture of iron beyond the needs of the country would only lead to the supply of strangers and pirates.³ The attempt by directly prohibitive measures to thwart the natural growth of the industry must have been attended with the usual nugatory results. On 20 December 1579 the Council was again moved touching the great quantity of iron ordnance daily transported out of the realm, and directed that the iron forges of Sussex, where the ordnance was especially made, should be stayed for a time. The secretary was required to confer with Viscount Montague, himself an owner or important works in Sussex and Surrey, as to the persons who should act as commissioners to see that this order was carried out, and at the same time to report as to the number of forges, the amount of ordnance made at them in recent years and of the way in which this ordnance had been bestowed.⁴ On 31 October 1588 the Council wrote to Lord Howard of Effingham, the Lord Lieutenant of Surrey, bidding him to appoint a discreet gentleman to visit the furnaces and forges of the county, to ascertain the number of pieces lying ready in them, and to enjoin the owners and foremen not to

¹ S. P. Dom. Eliz. xcvi. 199 seq. ; cxvii. 39.

² Ibid. cxvii. 17.

³ Loseley MSS.

⁴ *Acts of P.C.* xi. 345-6.

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cast any more until express direction should be received from the Council. Letters to the like purport were apparently sent at the same time to the lords lieutenant of Sussex and Kent.¹ On 3 August of the following year the same three lords lieutenant were again written to, when the Council complained of the little regard the owners of furnaces and makers of ordnance had of the bonds they had entered into, and requested that the justices of the peace should be directed to take an inventory of the ordnance at the several works and see that no more be cast for the present.² The three lords, thus addressed, apparently reported to the Council that there were several owners of furnaces, who had before the Council's letters of inhibition made iron only and no ordnance, but that now, seeing themselves at liberty and not bound as the rest, had converted their furnaces to the making of ordnance. Whereupon on 3 October 1590 the Council again wrote to them, this time to require that the bonds should be taken of all who had furnaces or should afterwards erect them in their respective counties.³ The reign was drawing to a close when on 5 April 1602 the policy, which had been maintained throughout it, was further enunciated by a series of orders differing only in minor points of detail from those of 1574.⁴ In them however we may note that the one furnace specifically mentioned is said to be near Cardiff, a convenient port for shipment of the ordnance to Spain. This furnace may have been in or on the borders of the Forest of Dean, and thus possibly we have an indication of the district, which a study of the State Papers of the next two reigns would tend to prove was gradually to dispute with the Weald its supremacy in the industry.⁵

Whilst the government was thus endeavouring to allay the fears which were aroused in one respect by the too great development of the industry, the legislature had in the meantime not lost sight of those other dangers which had first provoked interference. The Act 1 Elizabeth, cap. 15, for the preservation of timber was followed by that of 23 Elizabeth, cap. 5, entitled, 'An Acte touching

¹ *Acts of P.C.* xvi. 326, and Loseley MSS. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. VII.* App. 645).

² *Acts of P.C.* xviii. 7-8.

³ *Ibid.* xx. 5.

⁴ S. P. Dom. Eliz. cclxxxiii. 73.

⁵ See the paper by Lower, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xviii. 10 seq., which shows that the migration of Sussex ironmasters into Glamorganshire and south Wales had commenced as early as the reign of Henry VIII.

iron milles neere unto the Cittie of London and the Ryver of Thames.'⁶ Here for the first time the policy of putting a check upon the increase in the number of works found expression in an Act of Parliament. The exceptions to the enactment are however important. It is expressly stated that the Act was not to extend to any woods growing in any such parts of the Wealds of Surrey, Sussex and Kent within the said 22 miles of London and the Thames as are distant above 18 miles from the city and 8 miles from the Thames. Further the woods and underwoods growing upon the lands of Christopher Darrell in the parish of Newdigate within the Weald of Surrey were especially exempted, because they had been preserved and coppiced by him for the use of his iron works in those parts.

Either this Act and the previous one proved insufficient to meet the difficulty or they met with but scant regard, for four years later another Act dealing with the same question was passed, the Act namely of 27 Elizabeth, cap. 19. This is entitled, 'An Act for the preservacion of tymber in the Wildes of the Counties of Sussex, Surrey and Kent, and for the Amendment of High Waies decayed by carriage to and fro Iron Mylles there.'⁷

⁶ In the preamble of this attention is drawn to the recent erection of sundry iron-mills not far distant from the city and suburbs of London, from the Downs, and from the sea-coast of Sussex, and to the consequent scarcity and unreasonable prices of timber for the purposes of building and fuel. The Act prohibits the conversion to coal or fuel for the making of iron of any wood or underwood growing within 22 miles of London and its suburbs or of the Thames from Dorchester downwards and within certain defined limits of Sussex, under a penalty of 40s. for every load of wood so employed. No new ironworks were to be erected within 22 miles of London, 14 of the Thames and 4 of the Downs upon pain of £100.

⁷ The Act again draws attention to the threatened exhaustion of the timber supplies of the Weald. The prohibition to erect any new iron-mills, furnaces, fineries or bloomeries has now the first place of importance. Exception is allowed in such cases where the new mills should be erected upon old bays or pens where at the time some old iron-mills happened to be standing, and also where the owner was prepared to furnish his mills with a sufficient supply of his own wood. Timber trees of the breadth of 1 square foot at the stub were not to be converted into coals. The penalty for the erection of every new mill contrary to the provisions of this Act was raised to £300, and for every tree converted to fuel 40s. Tops and 'offals' of trees could be used for fuel for ironworks in places not within the limits defined in the previous Act, namely within 18 miles of London, 8 of the Thames, etc.

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The latter clause in this title introduces yet another grievance urged against the owners and occupiers of iron-mills.

To remedy the decay of the highways which the carriage of coals, mine, and iron to and from the ironworks was alleged to have brought about, it was enacted that for every ton of iron and every six loads of coals or mine carried one mile through any of the highways under the North Downs of Surrey and Kent between 12 October and 1 May in every year, the occupiers of the ironworks should carry one load of cinder, gravel, stone, sand or chalk for the repair of these roads, or in lieu thereof should pay 3s. 6d. for every load. This was to be done under certain penalties in accordance with the directions of the justices of the peace or of the surveyors of the highways.

By the Act 39 Elizabeth, cap. 19, so much of the preceding Act as related to the repair of the roads was repealed, only however for the introduction of a revised scheme. During the period of the year before stated, the owners or farmers of the mills were now to pay 3s. for every three loads of coal or mine and for every ton of iron carried one mile over any of the highways in the Wealds of Sussex, Surrey or Kent. For the remaining portion of the year, the period between 1 May and 12 October, they were to find one load of cinder, gravel, stone or chalk for the repair of the road or 3s. in lieu of every such load, for every thirty loads of coals or mine or for every ten tons of iron carried as before stated. The justice of the peace dwelling nearest the places 'most annoyed' was again to see to the due carrying out of the provisions of the Act, or, in the event of his failing to act, the surveyors of the highways in the parish most affected. These latter were subjected to a penalty of 40s. for default of compliance with the statute.

Such were the harassing restrictions with which a shortsighted government attempted to saddle an industry whose successful development one would have thought would have been recognized to be of the first necessity to the country. Yet despite them all the Wealden trade continued to grow, until in the seventeenth century it probably attained its greatest extent. To the bustling activity of the Weald in Elizabethan times and the resounding clang of its hammer mills the antiquary Camden bears testimony. A little later, in 1612, Drayton poetically laments the fast disappearance of the beautiful forest trees.¹ On the authority of Fuller we have

¹ Drayton, *Polybion*. Song xvii.

the before mentioned story of Count Gondomar's attempt to obtain permission to export to Spain iron guns of Sussex make, and this although Camden had held Spanish iron to be of superior quality to that produced in England.² In 1631 there is the statement of the justices of the peace for Sussex, who had been directed to take measures for the relief of the poor in the 'wildish part' of the rape of Pevensey, that great plenty of work for men was afforded by the iron mills there.³ We may safely assume that this prosperity of the industry in the sister county was accompanied with a corresponding prosperity in Surrey, and indeed in 1610 we have, as we shall see later, in spite of all the enactments to the contrary, evidence of one new mill at least having then been recently erected there. Moreover we know that this new mill was worked right through the seventeenth century until well past the middle of the eighteenth. Yet so far as the State Papers of the reigns of the first two Stuarts are concerned the information to be gathered as to the trade in the Weald is of the most meagre, the government's greater attention being apparently absorbed by the works in the Forest of Dean. This perhaps may have been due in great part to the fact that the age was one of experiments in smelting, a fact of which we shall have to speak later, and the easier access to the latter works from the coal-bearing districts made them more available for experiments with other kinds of fuel than the charcoal consumed in the Weald.

The old restraining enactments however remained in force during this period, though probably with little effect where so many of those engaged in the industry were amongst the most influential persons in their counties. Charles I., ever on the look out for means to swell his revenues without the assistance of his Parliament, found in the Court of Star Chamber an instrument to secure the exaction of the penalties imposed by the Elizabethan statutes on those who manufactured iron contrary to their tenor. On 19 August 1636 he granted a commission to Sir David Cunningham and certain others to treat and com-

² In a letter dated May 1598, written by John Borrell to some unknown correspondent, he says that ordnance was only made in the Peninsula at Malaga, Lisbon, and the Groyne (Corunna), and the supply did not suffice for the wants of the King of Spain. According to the same writer all seafaring men agreed 'that they never see no cast ordnance of iron but such as be made in England' (Cecil MSS.)

³ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cxcii. 99.

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pound with the masters and occupiers of iron works in the country for all such offences under these statutes as those of which informations had been lately exhibited and consequent proceedings were then pending in the Court of Star Chamber.¹ On 14 October of the same year an office of surveyor of ironworks was created by Letters Patent. The declared object of this office was to bring about a reformation in the great waste of timber and the prevention of such abuses as the selling of 'colsheir' or base iron fit only for window bars and such purposes, for which the iron was not required to be bent, for iron of the better sort. The chief duty of the surveyor was to mark all iron made into pigs, for which office he was to receive from the manufacturer a fee of 2d. for every hundredweight thus marked. The office was farmed to John Cupper and Grimbald Pauncfote for a term of twenty-one years on their payment to the Crown of a sum of 100 marks.² On 29 July of the following year a royal proclamation was issued to ensure due respect being paid to the new office. The surveyors either personally or by deputy were authorized to visit not only the works in which the iron was made but also every cellar, warehouse, ship or the like, to which it was possible that the iron might be taken from the works. In cases where iron had been removed before being marked, or where it had been shipped for export without licence, they were to bring the offenders to justice. They could examine the books and scores kept by manufacturers or merchants, and they were to inspect all woods in which timber was felled for use in ironworks and to satisfy themselves that this was done in conformity with the statutes.³ These stringent measures were short-lived. Both Cuninghams' commission and the creation of the surveyor's office were revoked by a proclamation of 9 April 1639.⁴

Of the Civil War and Commonwealth periods there is little data that will help us to learn how it fared with the Wealden industry.⁵

¹ Pat. 12 Chas. I. pt. 2, No. 7, printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, xx. 68.

² S. P. Dom. Chas. I. case D. No. 9.

³ Pat. 13 Chas. I. pt. 15, No. 14d, printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, xx. 161.

⁴ Pat. 15 Chas. I. pt. 23, No. 9d, printed in *Fœdera*, xx. 340.

⁵ In 1643 Sir William Waller, in command of the Parliamentary troops in the south-eastern counties, destroyed the ironworks belonging to the Crown and royalists in the western division of Sussex (Lower, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii. 200, quoting

At the Restoration George Browne, a son of John Browne who had held the appointment in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., became the king's gunfounder and gunstone-maker.⁶ He was a Surrey man, being of Buckland, but his works as well as those of his partner, Alexander Courthope, seem to have lain for the most part in Kent.

From this time particulars as to any of the works in Surrey become scarce, so that we have no means of gauging the exact extent of the industry. Such notices as are found in books of the nature of Aubrey's *Perambulations* will be more fitly dealt with later in connection with the particular works to which they refer.⁷

In Surrey the last positive notice we have of the continued existence of the industry is in 1767, when, in connection with a dispute between the inhabitants of Guildford and Godalming as to the position of a turnpike on the Portsmouth road, it was stated amongst other things that there was great traffic to and from the forge or ironworks on Witley and Thursley Heaths between Milford and Hindhead. The contention did not go undisputed, for on the other hand it was asserted that not more than one carriage a week went with material to the forge.⁸ It is hardly probable that the industry was carried on in the county much after this. In 1809 W. Stevenson in his *General View of the Agriculture of the County*

Dallaway's Western Sussex). It is to be supposed that the same policy would have been carried out or at least attempted in the rest of the Weald, although there are no returns amongst the State Papers to show the extent of the destruction. In the west of England the Parliament's measures were yet more drastic, for the sheriff of Gloucestershire was directed to see that all the ironworks in the Forest of Dean were destroyed by 10 February 1650, a policy which was actuated by the desire to secure the preservation of the timber in this forest, presumably in view of the requirements of the navy (S. P. Dom. Interregnum, I. lxiii. 465, 466).

⁶ Pat. 12 Chas. II. pt. 35, No. 16.

⁷ If we may judge by the condition of the industry in Sussex, probably the latter half of the seventeenth century was the commencement of the period of decline.

⁸ *The Proposal for removing the Godalming Turnpike considered* (London, 1767). An attempt however seems to have been made to smelt the iron ore in the extreme south-east of the county by Messrs. Raby at Felbridge Water some time previous to 1805, but with coal fuel and not charcoal. The expense of carriage of the fuel proved too great, and after a fair trial the works were abandoned (Malcolm, *Compendium of Modern Husbandry*, i. 41).

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of Surrey, speaks of it as extinct. Manning and Bray some time before 1814, when their work was published, mention the iron hammer mill at Abinger as having been there till of late years. But they do not say whether iron was actually worked there within their recollection.

The gradual decay of the Wealden iron industry was the consequence not of the exhaustion of the supply of the ore, but of the increasing cost of charcoal fuel and the substitution of the cheaper modes of production which resulted from the finally successful use of pit-coal in smelting. What the consumption of charcoal was about the year 1607 we know from Norden, who tells us that each furnace spent in every four and twenty hours two, three or four loads of charcoal, 'which in a year amounteth to an infinite quantity.' A little more than a century later the furnaces in Sussex, Surrey and Kent, together with those in the Forest of Dean, were consuming annually 17,350 tons of timber, or at the rate of over 5 tons a week for each furnace.¹ We need not wonder at the alarm that this state of affairs gave rise to, nor that, as early as the reign of James I., men were setting their wits to work to devise less expensive methods of producing the metal. The number of patents which were granted in this reign and the following to inventors who had persuaded themselves that they had successfully solved the problem of smelting with pit-coal or fuel other than charcoal is considerable. It is not to our present purpose to enumerate them here; suffice it to say that with the single and notable exception of Dud Dudley, none of the inventors appears to have been rewarded with the smallest modicum of success. Dudley alone amongst them seems to have been able to produce good 'merchantable' iron from pit-coal at a profit. We know however from his own pathetic account how serious were the many troubles in which he became involved through the fierce and unscrupulous opposition of the powerful charcoal ironmasters. Whatever his secret may have been he does not divulge it in his work, and it is believed to have died with him. After his death no serious attempts to revive his art were probably made until, somewhere about the year 1738, the process of smelting iron ore in the blast furnace with coke was perfected by the second Abraham Darby and finally obtained. The re-invigoration of the iron industry of the country was the immediate result, but the process meant the end of the share taken by the Weald in the trade, when its successful

adoption was followed by the discovery of coal in the neighbourhood of the iron-bearing districts to the north and east of the Trent and Severn.²

The general account of the iron industry of the Weald which we have now given is necessary towards a complete understanding of the conditions under which the works in Surrey maintained their existence for a period of over 200 years. We may now attempt a more particular account of the several works in the county so far as they are known to us. It is probable that at one time or another there existed other furnaces and forges in Surrey than those that now follow, but it is hardly probable if there were any such that they were of more than secondary importance. We shall find that the list of 1574 affords a convenient basis for our inquiry.

EWOOD IN NEWDIGATE.—The list has 'Mr. Ch^r Dorrell one forge and one furnace in Euwood also a forge in Fraunt.' The latter is in Sussex. The Ewood works are the earliest in Surrey of which any mention can be found. They appear in the deed of 24 March 1553, to which we have already referred, when they were granted by Henry, Lord Abergavenny, to George and Christopher Darrell. In the inquisition taken in 1476 on the death of Edward, Lord Abergavenny, Ewood Park is named amongst his possessions, but no mention is then made of any ironworks there,³ nor is any subsequent notice of them known to exist until this deed of 1553. This fact we mention in support of our former contention, that it was not until about this time that attention was first directed to the production of iron in Surrey. Under Christopher Darrell's management these works appear to have attained great importance. So much so, that the district in which they were situated, namely, the parishes of Charlwood, Newdigate and Leigh, was, as we have seen, exempted from the purview of the Act of 1 Elizabeth. In the succeeding Act of 1581 more specific mention is made of the woods growing on the lands of Christopher Darrell, gentleman, in the parish of Newdigate, which woods were not to come under the operation of the Act, because they had been preserved and coppiced by their owner for the use of his ironworks in those parts.

This is an important point, and one which if it had been properly understood by the framers of the Act should have given an entirely new direction to their legislative efforts to provide for the due preservation of timber.

² Payne, *Arch. Cantiana*, xxi. 308 seq.

³ Chan. Inq. p.m. 16 Edw. IV. No. 66.

¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* art. 'Dudley (Dud).'

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If one ironmaster was sufficiently alive to his own interests to know that they lay in the maintenance and careful restocking of his woods against the demands upon them for fuel for his furnaces, why should not other ironmasters have been led to follow the same policy? But the case of Christopher Darrell seems to stand alone, and was considered sufficiently remarkable to be commented upon by John Evelyn in his *Sylva*, written more than eighty years afterwards. The fact that the woods at Ewood had been replenished with timber is on record some six years before the date of the Act. This is in an interesting survey taken in 1575 by certain commissioners who were charged to inquire as to the title of Christopher Darrell, who is described as a merchant tailor, of London, to the manor and park of Ewood.¹ From this survey we learn that the iron-mills, which evidently at some time previously had been worked by Darrell himself, were then in the occupation of Robert Reynoldes. This is no doubt the ironmaster of that name, described as of East Grinstead in Sussex, who appeared before the council on 26 February 1573-4, and then took the bond required of all owners and occupiers of ironworks not to cast and sell ordnance without the queen's special licence.² In the 1574 list he is said to be the farmer of a furnace in Milplace, Sussex, and is thus one of those Sussex ironmasters who were generally employed at this period to work the Surrey furnaces and hammers in the same way as we know they were employed on similar work in Wales.³ The fact to be inferred from this that Surrey men had not yet mastered the details of the art is still further evidence of the newness at this date of the industry in their county. The survey of Ewood shows that the ironworks there consisted of a furnace, a forge and a hammer. The great pond covered an area of about 90 acres, and there were in addition the necessary streams and water-works. There was a coalhouse, 6 acres of waste ground necessary for the storage of the coal, mine, sows, cinders and other commodities used in the works, and four cottages occupied by the workmen. Including the right to take timber, loam, sand, earth and whatever was required for the repair of the works from the lands and woods in Ewood, the whole was estimated to be of the annual value of £40. Reynoldes moreover was in occupation of the capital mansion of Ewood,

which was worth £37 the year, and also of a watermill for the grinding of wheat and malt, valued annually at £10. In the reign of Charles II. some of the Gratwickees seem to have been connected with Ewood, and probably worked the iron-mills there, for they belonged to an important family of Sussex ironmasters.⁴ Hammer Bridge on the Mole above Leigh is suggested by Mr. Malden as marking the site of one of Christopher Darrell's hammers.

SHERE AND ABINGER.—The iron-mill here is the second in order of date to be mentioned in Surrey. In the Trinity term of 1557 Owen Bray and his wife Ann levied a fine of their manor of Paddington, and the appendages included an iron-mill, a pond, a hundred acres of wood and a considerable extent of heath and moorlands in Abinger, Shere, Ockley, Effingham and Wotton. From Manning and Bray's history it would appear that this fine was levied in fulfilment of the conditions of a deed of 18 June of the same year, by which Owen and Ann had covenanted with Thomas Elrington, who had married Owen's sister Beatrix, and Edward Elrington, son and heir-apparent of Thomas, and with Reginald Bray, the son and heir-apparent of Owen's brother, Sir Edward Bray, and Margaret Hornyold, that one moiety of the manor of Paddington should be conveyed to the use of Thomas Elrington for a term of years with remainder to his son Edward and his heirs and the other moiety to the use of Reginald Bray and Margaret Hornyold and their heirs. This suggests that a marriage was intended between the two latter parties, but it seems never to have taken place, for in the following year Reginald conveyed his moiety to Thomas Elrington, and Margaret afterwards for a sum of £120 released her interest to Thomas and Edward Elrington.⁵ An undated paper amongst the Loseley MSS. contains the complaint of several gentlemen and yeomen of Surrey against the enormity 'that hath growen by the late erected yron mylle in the said countye by Thomas Elrington squier, and contynewed styлле contrary to the statute theragaynst provided made in the fyrst yere of the Queens Majesties raigne.'⁶ As the Act of the first year of Elizabeth does not forbid the erection of mills, Mr. Malden suggests that the mill referred to was one erected within the limits prohibited by the Act of the twenty-third year of her reign, and presumably

¹ Exch. K. R. Spec. Com. 2242. Printed in *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xvii. 34-40.

² S. P. Dom. Eliz. xcv. 24, 79.

³ Lower, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xviii. 10 seq.

⁴ Exch. K. R. Spec. Com. 6500 and 6622.

⁵ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, ii. 139 seq.

⁶ Loseley MSS. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. App. 663).

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he would date the paper some time after the date of this Act. If this is so, we must assume that Thomas Elrington had erected another mill in the county in addition to the one he became possessed of in 1558, as this would hardly be said in 1581 to be lately erected. Probably however we need not put too much emphasis on the words 'late erected.' They are perhaps merely descriptive of the mill, the real enormity complained of being the great consumption of timber, which was the offence indictable under the Act especially mentioned. Moreover Thomas Elrington does not seem to have been in occupation of the mill so late as 1581, if indeed he was then alive. As a matter of fact an information was actually lodged against him in the Exchequer in Trinity term, 1566, for that he had since 1 July 1565 converted into coals for the making of iron twelve hundred oak and beech trees in certain woods in the parish of Abinger. Abinger, being within fourteen miles of Weybridge on the Thames, was claimed to be a place within the meaning of the Act, 1 Elizabeth.¹

The list of 1574 is obscure as to the ownership of these ironworks. It has in one place 'Mr. Elderton one forge in Sheere,' and further on 'Mr. Ellington a forge in Shere in Surrey.' Another list of the same date has Elkington, whilst the list of the Loseley MSS. of later date but seemingly in most respects a copy of the earlier list, has both Elderton and Ellington. But for the fact that there are other instances in these lists where the same works have been given twice, we might suppose that there were two distinct forges in Shere in the occupation of two different ironmasters. This however seems unlikely, for in the list of those who were summoned before the council to take their bonds the names of Elderton and Ellington or Elkington nowhere appear. There is however a Mr. Elrington who had a forge in Shere.² He took his bond on 5 March 1573-4, when he signed himself 'Edward Elryngton.'³ He was no doubt that son of Thomas Elrington who is mentioned in the deed of 1557 as having the reversion of his father's moiety in the manor of Paddington.

Of the later history of this mill we know little. It is probably to be identified with Abinger Hammer, a name which survives to this day, as it is here that the map affixed to

Aubrey's book marks 'Sherehamer.' Probably also it is the mill to which John Evelyn refers in his letter to Aubrey, and which was still remaining in his day. Manning and Bray say that the iron hammer mill was at Abinger 'till of late years,' but this somewhat indefinite statement does not necessarily imply that it had been actually worked within their recollection. As was the case with some others of the iron-mills in Surrey, the mill at Shere or Abinger was applied to other uses on the decay of the old industry.

HASLEMERE AND POPHALL.—'Item another new furnace set up in Haslemore by my L. Montague which as yet hath never wrought and whether they shall blow sows for iron or ordnance I know not.' Here at any rate the industry was a new one in 1574. The statement appears in the introductory remarks of the survey, and in the list that follows we have, incorrectly, under Sussex, 'the L. Montague one forge and one furnace in Haslemore and thereabouts, also a furnace called Pophall.' The Lord Montague was Anthony Brown, first Viscount Montague of Cowdray. He was amongst those ironmasters warned to appear before the Privy Council and to take their bonds, but apparently he did not respond to the summons, with what consequences we know not.⁴ The works in the neighbourhood of Haslemere are probably those which we are told he had about this time set up on leasehold land at the south corner of Imbhams Farm, his furnace being supplied by Imbhams Pond. The Quenells had become the freeholders of this site, and eventually Lord Montague was succeeded as ironmaster at this furnace by Robert Quenell, who died in 1612. Robert's son Peter raised the family from its yeoman state, and this Peter with his son of the same name appears to have been a staunch royalist during the troubles of the Civil War, and, as long as he was permitted to do so, to have made guns and shot for supply of his majesty's stores.⁵ In Hilary 1603-4 we hear of an offence under the Act of 27 Elizabeth committed at Haslemere. Edward Tanworth of Tillington in Sussex was charged with having since 1 February 1602-3 erected a 'blomarie' or hammer upon a certain place within the parish, where there were not standing any old iron-mills and not being upon any ancient 'baves or pennes.' He pleaded not guilty and elected to go before a jury, and we are left in doubt as to the final result⁶ of the case. Aubrey mentions iron-

¹ Exch. K. R. Memo. R. Trin. 8 Eliz. 93. Thomas Elrington is here described as of Willesden in Middlesex.

² S. P. Dom. Eliz. xcv. 61, 79.

³ Ibid. xcv. 41.

⁴ Ibid. xcv. 61.

⁵ Rev. T. S. Cooper, *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xv. 40-2.

⁶ Exch. K.R. Memo. R. Hil. 1 Jas. I. 154.

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works in the south part of Chiddingfold parish which were probably those at Imbhams. The 1730 edition of Camden's *Britannia* speaks of the ironworks at Haslemere and Dunsfold as the most considerable then existing in the county. It must be noted however that this edition is an untrustworthy authority, as it is obvious in places that the editor has contented himself with copying verbatim statements made by Aubrey over thirty years previously without taking the trouble to make them accord with the state of affairs at the later date.

The Pophall furnace is somewhat difficult to locate. It is given in a list of Sussex works compiled about the year 1664 as a forge and not a furnace.¹ It seems to have remained in the possession or occupation of the Lords Montague down to Aubrey's time, for he says that Lord Montague then had a hammer in Frensham called Popes Hole. But in the map which accompanies his work, Paphole is marked by Shotover Mills to the south of Haslemere and at some considerable distance from Frensham. The 1730 edition of the *Britannia* mentions the Lord Viscount Montague as still in possession of the hammer or mill at Popes Hole. Pophall, Paphole or Popes Hole does not appear on the present Ordnance map, but the Shotover Mills close by Paphole in Aubrey's map stand for Shottermill, now an ecclesiastical parish within the parish of Frensham.

CRANLEIGH.—The 1574 list has 'The La(dy) Braye one forge in Cranleye in the hands of Gardener,' and further on 'John Lambert a forge in Cranleye.' John Lambert and Gardener are identical, for we have a bond taken on 28 February of the same year by John Lambert *alias* Gardiner of Cranleigh, co. Surrey, yeoman, the signature being merely 'John Lambard.'² Moreover in the latter part of the preceding year (1573) John Gardyner *alias* Lamberte was summoned, in conjunction with Richard Weste of Rudgwick in Sussex, to answer to a complaint lodged against him in the Court of Exchequer that he had since 15 November 1572 converted 837 trees of oak, ash and beech growing in the woods in Cranleigh into fuel for the making of iron, contrary to the Act 1 Elizabeth. Cranleigh, it was said, was a parish within 14 miles of Pulborough, where the river was commonly used for transport to the sea and consequently was a place within the meaning of the Act.³ Probably only one

forge is to be implied in the 1574 list as being at that time in Cranleigh. Lambert had a partner in this forge in Duffeld, who was a Sussex ironmaster of some importance, for he had besides a forge and furnace in East Grinstead and was a partner also in a forge and furnace in Shillinglee in Kirdford.⁴ Mr. Malden has no doubt that the Cranleigh forge was at Vachery, where the names Hammer Farm and Hammer Lane now keep alive the memory of its former existence. An iron-mill pond is marked on Speed's map (1610) on the site of Vachery Pond, which was afterwards made a reservoir for the Wey and Arun Canal. The Loseley list of 1588 mentions another forge in Cranleigh which was called Benhal forge and was owned or farmed by Robert Woodheie.

COPTHORNE AND LINGFIELD.—'Mr. John Gage one forge and one furnace about Copthorne and Lingfeilde in the hands of Thorpe.' This was John Thorpe who appeared to take his bond on 26 February 1573-4, when this forge and furnace are said to be 'belonging to the Lady Gage and after to Mr. John Gage her son.'⁵ These works belonged to that part of the Worth iron district which extended into Surrey and are wrongly given under Sussex in the list. Lower states that the Thorpe family resided at Gibsaven in the parish of Worth,⁶ but in his bond John Thorpe is described as of East Grinstead. The description 'about Copthorne and Lingfield' is vague, but in the Loseley list John Thorpe's furnace and forge are said to be at Heldcourt.⁷ This is no doubt intended for Hedge Court, a little to the north of which an iron-mill is marked on the map accompanying Aubrey's *Surrey*. In the list of those who appeared to take the bond we find a John French, yeoman, who had a forge of his own in Chiddingly, Sussex, and also 'farmeth part of a forge and furnace besides Copthorne in Hedge Courte of John Gage gentleman.'⁸ He was therefore in all probability in partnership with John Thorpe.

In Hilary term 1580-1, John Lamberte or Gardiner was again summoned to answer in this court, this time with John Thorpe of East Grinstead, who is mentioned below. This time the charge was for felling trees in Ewhurst, Surrey, but on the informer making default the case against Lambert was dismissed *sine die* in Hilary, 1582-3 (Exch. K. R. Memo. R. Hil. 23 Eliz. 90, and Hil. 25 Eliz. 104).

⁴ S. P. Dom. Eliz. xcv. 79.

⁵ *Ibid.* xcv. 23, 79.

⁶ Lower, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* iii. 242.

⁷ Loseley MSS. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. App. 645).

⁸ *Ibid.*

¹ Lower, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xviii. 14-6.

² S. P. Dom. Eliz. xcv. 27.

³ Exch. K. R. Memo. R. Mich. 15 Eliz. 270.

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DUNSFOLD.—In one place the list has ‘Thomas Gratwicke one forge in Donsfolde,’ and in another place ‘Richard Marche a forge in Donsfold.’ Again we have works in Surrey incorrectly assigned to Sussex. Apparently only one forge is to be understood as existing here, for Thomas Gratwicke who appeared and duly entered into his bond on 28 February 1573-4, is then described as farmer to Richard Marche, gentleman, for a forge in Donsfold, co. Sussex (*sic*),¹ whilst Richard Marche who seems to have been a resident of Farnham, although warned to appear, did not do so, perhaps because his bond was not required, when it was found that he was not his own ironmaster.² The Gratwicks were, as mentioned above, a Sussex family, the Thomas Gratwicke in occupation of the forge at Dunsfold being described as a yeoman of Kirdford. In 1583 we find that Dunsfold Hammer had been for three years previous to Easter in that year in part occupation of another Sussex man, for Thomas Bowyer, who is also described as of Kirdford, then gave evidence in the course of some proceedings in the Court of Requests that during that time his brother Simon and a certain Edward Carrell had been in joint possession of the same. The terms of the partnership had been that each should bear a half share of the working expenses of the mill, taking, as we are led to suppose, a half share of the profits. But Carrell was suspected of not having dealt fairly with his partner, for the deponent, who had been entrusted by his brother with the duty of surveying the iron wrought in the hammer, had found one day that some iron which Carrell’s servants alleged they had weighed as a preliminary to its removal from the works was of considerably greater weight than reported. His instructions that it should not be removed until his return had been disobeyed. Other charges there were of a similar nature against Carrell, but the chief value of the evidence is that it enables us to form some idea as to what was the ordinary output of a hammer mill at this period. During the three years, it was stated that 234 tons, 3 qrs. and 14 lb. of iron sows had been brought to the forge, and this amount should have been greater by 14 tons if Carrell had duly carried out his part of the bargain, and not have taken off these 14 tons to his own forge elsewhere. When all this had been melted together it should have produced 164½ tons of wrought iron, of which, however, Simon Bowyer had

¹ S. P. Dom. Eliz. xcv. 28, 79.

² *Ibid.* xcv. 61.

only received 61 tons, or 21¼ tons less than what he was entitled to have received.³

On 14 February 1583-4 Richard Marche, the owner of Dunsfold Hammer ten years before, died, when it was found that he was seised amongst other possessions of the manor of Burningfold in the parish of Dunsfold with its appurtenances, which he held by fealty and for an annual rent of 9s. 4d. of Anthony, Viscount Montague.⁴ The appurtenances no doubt included the ironworks, for his heir William Marche was in all probability the same person of that name whose inheritance, it is stated in a deed of 1 December 1607, had sometime included the manor of Burningfold with all the ironworks, forges and furnaces erected thereon. From this deed it appears that the manor and ironworks were then held by four tenants in common, namely George Duncombe of Clifford’s Inn, London, John Middleton of Horsham, Richard Wyatt of London, and Thomas Burdett of Abinger. But Duncombe, for the sum of £345 and for the delivery of certain iron due to him, released his fourth share of the property to the remaining three partners.⁵

The Sussex list of iron-mills at work in 1653 includes Dunsfold,⁶ and these works were certainly carried on in Aubrey’s time. Indeed, as we have seen, so late as 1730 they are mentioned with those of Haslemere as being the most considerable in the county.

This concludes our account of the Surrey ironworks that are mentioned in Christopher Barker’s list of 1574. This list does not perhaps exhaust the number of all those which then existed in the county, but must have contained all of any importance. The history of one other important iron-mill, which was not erected until some time after the date of this list, remains to be treated.

THURSLEY OR WITLEY HEATH.—The first mention of these works has been found in a deed of 17 December 1617.⁷ This however recites a previous deed of 14 May 1610, in which the works are described as the ‘iron forge, iron hammer or iron work then lately erected and built in or upon Thursley Heath or Witley Heath in the parish of Witley or Thursley.’ By the deed of 1610 Sir George More of Loseley, in whose occupation the works had previously been, and his son and heir Sir Robert More leased them to Sir Ed-

³ Ct. of Requests, Proc. bdle. 28, No. 13.

⁴ Chanc. Inq. p.m. (ser. 2) cciv. No. 97.

⁵ Close, 6 Jas. I. pt. ii No. 29.

⁶ Lower, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* xviii. 14-6.

⁷ Close, 15 Jas. I. pt. 24, No. 1.

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ward More for a term of ten years at a yearly rental of £95. The bellows, hammers, hammer beams, sledges and other implements previously used in the works are specified in this lease, together with the workmen's houses, which had recently been built upon the heath, the ponds and watercourses, and those places adjoining the works which had been used for the storage of coals, sows, cinders, and other things necessary for the working of the hammer. The deed of 1617 is in the nature of a mortgage or of a first step towards the sale of these works by Sir George More to Henry Bell of Rake in Witley, for the sum of £200. Bell was to have the option of purchase should Sir George at any time desire to sell the works. The actual sale took place on 29 March 1623, and Henry Bell became the absolute owner of the Witley works.¹

On 1 April 1634 the works had descended to Anthony Smith of Witley, Bell's great-nephew, and were then leased by him to Francis Wyat for a term of seven years at a rent of £40. They were then described as a certain forge or ironwork called Horsebane Hammer, and one furnace and ironworks then newly erected near the said forge, all situate in Witley and Thursley Heaths. Anthony Smith, it is evident, was very much more concerned with the fish in his hammer ponds than in the success of his ironworks, and squabbles over the elaborate arrangements he had made in the lease for the preservation of the fish and re-stocking of the ponds resulted in 1641 in the executors of Wyat's widow, whose decease like her husband's had occurred during the term of the lease, being compelled to seek redress at equity. Hence our knowledge of the terms of this 1634 lease.²

On 1 June 1666 Anthony Smith again leased the ironworks, this time to William Yalden the elder of Blackdown, Sussex, for two years at a rent of £10. The works are now described as 'the upper forge and upper finery and the lower hammer, chafery and ironworks called Horsebane Hammer *alias* Coldharbour Hammer on Witley Heath and Thursley Heath or on both or one of them.'

¹ This fact as well as the particulars below relating to the lease of 1666 were kindly supplied to the editor by the gentleman in whose possession the original deeds now exist. The deeds are given in full in *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xviii. 28, 43 seq.

² *Chanc. Bills and Answers*, Chas. I. C. bdle. 1, No. 15. Anthony Smith's continued interest in the fish in his ponds may be seen in a codicil to his will which was proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Surrey, 11 May 1670.

The decrease in the value of the yearly rent from £95 in 1610 to £40 in 1634 and £10 in 1666 is remarkable, and may perhaps be an indication of the reduced demand for Wealden iron.

The question of the fish in the hammer and rurnace ponds is again insisted upon, and the fishing rights are reserved to the lessor who was also to be at liberty to take all the 'cinders, bosses or mosses' made in the works during the term of the lease. He could also, on due notice being given, have the flow of water from the hammer pond to a pond called the Forked Pond stopped at any time that he should be minded to fish the latter pond. The lessee was to pay all the parish rates and taxes on these works as well as the recent tax of 2s. a year on every chimney hearth in them and also a fourth of any new taxes that the Crown or Parliament might impose during the two years of his lease. He further agreed to buy a certain quantity of wood off Anthony Smith at the rate of 5s. a cord, but was to have the right of coaling or converting this wood into charcoal for use in the ironworks in Smith's coppices. William Yalden, the lessee, was probably a considerable ironmaster in his day, or was descended from one, for in 1640 a William Yalden received a pardon for all the offences he had committed before 17 May 1636, in destroying woods for the smelting of iron in the counties of Surrey, Sussex and Hants.³ In the eighteenth century there were Yaldens settled at Thursley and Haslemere. As the Witley ironworks are the last which we have found to be erected in Surrey, so also, as we have already said, they appear to be the last of which we find a statement that they were actually in working order. In 1730 enough iron ore was said to be found in Witley Park to set on work two forges.⁴ The great amount of traffic that was alleged to exist in 1767 to and from the ironworks between Milford and Hindhead has been already mentioned, and although the greatness of this traffic was disputed, it was not denied that a certain quantity of iron was still made at these works. Manning and Bray mention the iron mill as having been at Thursley, and the two hammer ponds, which still remain and are so called, belonged at their time to Mrs. Webb.⁵ Between them passed the Portsmouth road, the question of the placing of a turnpike on which had given rise to the dispute of 1767.

In addition to the ironworks whose history

³ S. P. Docquets, 31 May 1640.

⁴ *Magna Britannia* (ed. T. Cox, 1730), v. 401.

⁵ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, ii. 52.

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we have now attempted to sketch, there are two others marked on the map which preface Aubrey's *Surrey*. These however are outside the ferruginous district and consequently do not exactly belong to the category of those already enumerated. The iron must have been carried to them to be worked, and perhaps was not the native product of the county. One of these was at Byfleet and is presumably the mill which, in Manning and Bray's time, had lately been converted from an iron-mill into 'a considerable cornmill.'¹ The other is on the Wandle a little to the north of a copper-mill at Merton Abbey. This may be the iron plate mill, which as early as 1649 is several times mentioned in the Parliamentary Survey of the manor of Wimbledon.²

From the foregoing account of the iron-works of Surrey it will be seen that the industry must have been at one time of very great importance, although probably always subsidiary to that of Sussex. This latter fact is to some extent borne out by the many instances to which attention has been called of the working of the mills by Sussex iron-masters. A study, moreover, of the districts in which the industry was carried on in Surrey leads to the conclusion that the ore was obtained in them from seams which extended from corresponding districts in Sussex, where it had been worked at earlier periods. In the east for instance the works about Lingfield belonged to the Worth district, and the ore was extracted from the ferruginous sandstone of the Hastings beds. Following the southern border of the county westwards we next arrive at the Charwood district, in which were the works of Christopher Darrell at Ewood. This district was a branch of one which extended from Ifield in Sussex, where the ore was the clay ironstone of the Wealden clay. Further west were the works at Shere and Thursley. The ore here must have been obtained from the Lower Greensand, and may have been, as Mr. Malden suggests, the brown siliceous ironstone or carstone of the Folkestone beds. In the extreme west we have again the Wealden clay, and the works about Haslemere and Dunsfold belonged to the North Chapel district in Sussex.³

Of the articles manufactured by the ironmasters of the Weald the most important and that which, as we have seen, especially challenged the interference of the government with the industry was ordnance, including

both guns and gunshot. Firebacks and andirons of local manufacture were until recently to be frequently found in old houses and cottages in the Weald. These were cast in moulds of sand, on which the designs, which are of great variety, had been previously impressed by means of carved wooden boards or movable stamps affixed to boards.⁴ A fireback, which we need have no hesitation in attributing to the Witley works, is preserved at Rake House, Milford, once the residence of the owners of these works. It consists of a scroll-work pattern representing eagles' heads and foliage, with the initials H.B. for Henry Bell at the head. Below, evidently of a later casting and reversed, are the initials A.S. (Anthony Smith) and the date 1630. It was apparently a stock pattern, as a broken example of the same was found in a neighbouring cottage.⁵ Date and initials could afterwards be added to suit the purchaser's taste. In a few well known instances cast iron is employed for grave slabs. In Surrey there is a curious slab of this material to the memory of Anne Forster, daughter and heir to Thomas Gaynsford, within the altar rails of Crowhurst church. The lady died 18 January 1591-2.⁶ Such smaller articles as tobacco tongs, the knockers and fittings of doors and the like were probably only made in the declining days of the industry. It must be borne in mind that the chief end of the Wealden ironmasters was to reduce the metal from its ores and to put it on the market in such forms as bar-iron and pig-iron, in which it could be readily carried over the country and sold to the smiths who would convert it to the purposes required. In this form, as we know, in the Middle Ages, the manorial bailiffs, to whom it was the most expensive item in their accounts, bought it, usually at one of the great fairs, in bars of about four pounds in weight, and served it out to the local smiths to fashion into such articles as the occasion demanded.⁷

Of the process by which the ironmasters of the Weald reduced the metal from its first state to the form in which it was readily

⁴ Gardner, *Arch.* lvi. 139 seq.

⁵ Nevill, *Old Cottage and Domestic Architecture in South-West Surrey*, ed. 2, 63. The fireback is figured in *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xviii. 31.

⁶ The slab is figured in *Surr. Arch. Coll.* iii. 45. It is there stated that the inscription commencing 'Her : lieth : ' appropriate enough over the last resting-place of the deceased, has been actually found with other examples of this slab in use as firebacks.

⁷ Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, 87, 88.

¹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 181.

² Aug. Off. Parl. Surveys, Surrey, 72.

³ Malden, *Hist. of Surrey*, 277, 278.

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marketable, sufficient documentary evidence remains to enable us to reconstruct the whole. The fuel was invariably charcoal, and the blast to the furnace was supplied by water-power, the pond being dammed to work a wheel which alternately opened and compressed two pairs of bellows. Another pond worked the wheel which raised and let fall the hammer in the forge. Perhaps the earliest document which gives us an insight into the manner of reducing the iron to 'blooms' in the Weald is the account of the keeper of the works at Tudeley in Kent between the years 1350 and 1354.¹ It then appears that at these works four workmen, or blowers as they were called, were employed, and that the price of the bloom varied between 3s. 1d. and 3s. 9d. The items of expenditure do not lead to the supposition that water-power was used at this time, at least in these particular works. Accounts which more nearly belong to the period at which we have ventured to believe that the industry had its beginning in Surrey, are those of the works of the attainted Lord Seymour of Sudeley at Sheffield and Worth in Sussex between the years 1546 and 1549.² From these accounts we learn that these works were then casting guns and shot for the Tower and in a small way firebacks, which sold at 3s. 4d. the piece. The ordinance when cast was first taken to Southwark, where a room was hired for its storage. From Southwark it was apparently conveyed across the river to the Tower at intervals as it was required. As much as 10s. a ton was charged for the carriage from Worth to Southwark.

A very circumstantial account of the processes of manufacture employed in the Wealden ironworks is given by John Ray, the naturalist, in an appendix to his *Collection of English Words not generally used*, first published in 1672.³ He was indebted for his information to one of the chief ironmasters of Sussex, but in view of what has been said, we may assume that his account is generally applicable to the industry of the Weald and may not unfitly be summed up here. He explains the several processes used at the furnace and at the forge or hammer. At the furnace the

metal was reduced from the ore and cast into sows or pigs. The mine, as the ore is called, was dug for at a depth of from 4 to 40 feet or more. Before it could be put into the furnace the several sorts of it had to be mixed together to enable it to melt to better advantage, and then alternate layers of this and charcoal were piled together and the whole burnt. The effect of this was to 'mollify' the ore and so to allow of its being broken into small pieces. These pieces were then put into the furnace, which had been previously charged with charcoal, and after about twelve hours' melting were drawn off in the form of sows or pigs. The bottom and sides of the hearth were made of sandstone, the rest of the furnace being lined to the top with brick. The average amount of iron made in a 'founday,' or period of six days, was eight tons, the amount increasing as the hearth grew wider with the continual blowing. If the hearth was made of good stone it would last forty foundays or weeks, and during this whole time the fire was never suffered to go out. The forge or hammer had at least two fires, one called the finery and the second the chaferoy. That this was the case in a Surrey forge we find in a very interesting inventory of tools annexed to the 1666 lease of the Witley mill to Yalden, where the several contents of the finery and chaferoy are detailed.⁴ At the finery the sows, as they were sent out from the furnace, were converted into blooms or four square masses of about 2 feet in length and next into 'anconies,' which were bars of about 3 feet in length with the ends left square and rough. This was done by continual beats of the hammer gradually increasing in force. At the chaferoy the rough ends of the ancony were drawn out and rounded off and the bar thus brought to its perfected state. One man and a boy at the finery were expected to turn out two tons of iron in a week, whilst in the chaferoy two men should in the same time make five or six tons. As to the amount of fuel that was consumed in these ironworks, we are told that twenty-four loads of charcoal were necessary to make eight tons of sows at the furnace; three loads of the biggest 'coals' went to one ton of iron at the finery, and one load of smaller 'coals' would draw out a ton at the chaferoy.

¹ Exch. K. R. Accts. bdle. 485, No. 11.

² Ibid. bdle. 483, No. 19, and bdle. 501, No. 3.

³ See Lower, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* ii. 200-300.

⁴ See *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xviii. 50-52.

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STONE QUARRIES, LIME BURNING, FULLERS' EARTH, ETC.

In the history of the extinct iron-smelting industry of the Weald we have dealt with the only metal of importance which the soil of Surrey has produced. But certain other mineral products of the county, such as its freestone quarries, its chalk and limestone, and its fullers' earth, have for a very long period proved some of its most valuable commercial assets.

In good building stone however Surrey is poor. One which has perhaps proved the most satisfactory and durable is the so-called Bargate stone, which is quarried principally in the neighbourhood of Godalming. This is a hard-grained yellow sandstone, and its colour, varying from golden yellow to deep brown, makes it of pleasing effect.¹ The most important building in Surrey constructed of this stone is the square keep of Guildford Castle, erected about the time of Henry II.;² but it has been used also in church architecture, as, for instance, in the tower of Godalming church and in some of the original Norman work in Ripley church.

Another material which Mr. P. M. Johnston notes has been much used in the early churches of the county is the conglomerate or pudding-stone, which is of frequent occurrence in the gravelly soil of the Bagshot Beds in the north-western district of the county. Mr. Johnston remarks that this natural concrete, 'which is formed of masses of pebbles containing much iron ore, fused by volcanic action into lumps of greater or less size,' was commonly used in large masses in the foundations of ancient churches. But the Norman tower of Cobham church is largely built of it, as are also the walls of Woking, Send, and other churches in the county.³

The commonest building stone however which has been used in Surrey has been found in the quarries of malmstone or fire-stone of the Upper Greensand formation or 'Merstham Beds,' which extend from Reigate to Limpsfield and northwards to Merstham.⁴ The two quarries at Limpsfield mentioned in the 'Domesday Survey' were no doubt of this stone.⁵ Records prove that this stone has been in more than local demand; for in 1259

in the accounts of the building of the king's palace at Westminster we find amongst the names of the purveyors of freestone those of Richard of Croydon, Peter of Merstham, and Randolph of Reigate. The price paid for the stone was at that time 6s. the hundredweight, and it was purchased in quantities varying from one quarter to a hundredweight for such purposes as the building of the chimney, the laundry, the king's chamber, and the quay.⁶

Nearly a hundred years later John Prophete appears as a purveyor of very considerable quantities of Reigate stone for the important works which were then in hand for Edward III. in connection with buildings at Westminster Palace and the large additions made by that king to Windsor Castle.⁷ The stone was sent from Reigate either clean-hewn or in the rough, the price in the former case being at the rate of from 2s. to 2s. 4d. the load, the rate varying perhaps in accordance with the extent to which the stone had been moulded, and in the latter case at 1s. 8d. the load. In addition to this there was the cost of carriage. For the Westminster works the stone was taken by land to Battersea at the rate of 1s. each cart. From Battersea it came by boat to Westminster, freightage being at about 1½d. the load. From 21 May to 24 September 1352 it appears that sixteen loads of the squared stone and fifty-six of the rough were sent up from Reigate. It was applied to work upon the great hall, the chambers of the marshal and steward, and the parapet (*alura*) of the chapel.

Very much larger quantities of Reigate stone were supplied by John Prophete between the years 1351 and 1356 for the works at Windsor Castle. In 1351 and 1352, 243 loads were purchased; in 1353 120, including apparently a hundred corbel-stones; in 1354 to Michaelmas 461 loads. In the remainder of the latter year there were 240 loads of the unhewn stone sent from Reigate, and in 1355 to 10 November of that year 250 of squared stone. From the end of 1355 to Michaelmas in 1356, 441 loads of

⁶ Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, 44, 45, 48, 60.

⁷ See Exch. K.R. Accts. bdl. 471, No. 6, for the various items cited below as to the supply of Reigate stone at Westminster and *ibid.* bdl. 492, Nos. 29, 30, and bdl. 493, No. 1, for those in connection with the works at Windsor.

¹ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xvi. 185 and note.

² *Ibid.* 31.

³ *Ibid.* 186 note.

⁴ *V.C.H. Surrey*, i. 9, 10.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 311b and note.

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squared stone were bought. The stone in the case of these works was first sent overland to Kingston, carriage being charged at 11*d.* or 1*s.* the cart. From Kingston it was carried by water to Windsor at various rates of freightage, which work out at from 7½*d.* to 10½*d.* the load. The expense of carriage did not end here, for workmen had to be employed to bring up the stone from the river to the castle.

In 1359 John and Philip Prophete were appointed masters of the quarries at Merstham and Chaldon (Chalvedon) near Reigate and authorized by Letters Patent to dig stone for the use of Windsor Castle, and the sheriff was enjoined to take summary measures against all concerned who should refuse to assist them in the work.¹

Reigate stone was again requisitioned by the Crown about the year 1538, when Henry VIII. was building his magnificent palace of Nonsuch at Cuddington. It was supplied by Richard Aynscome, a quarryman of Reigate, at 3*s.* 6*d.* the load, the price in this case apparently including delivery.² In connection with these works it may be noticed here that the buildings of the dissolved abbey at Merton appear from the accounts to have been utilized as a quarry. Foreign workmen were employed to carve the stone, and amongst the aliens dwelling in St. Thomas's parish, Southwark, in 1571 was William Cure of Holland, a carver of stone, who is then stated to have been in England for thirty years, having been 'sent for over hither when the king did build Nonesutche.'³

Firestone, which is said to offer an effectual resistance to fire and, although soft when taken out of the quarry, to be hardened by exposure to the air, has been dug at Merstham, Gatton, Blechingley, and other places in the neighbourhood. Henry the Seventh's Chapel in Westminster Abbey is stated by Manning and Bray to have been built of it.⁴ Aubrey, writing of the variety at Gatton, says that it lay about fourteen feet deep and was much used by chemists, bakers, and glass-makers.⁵ Malcolm attributes the success of the plate-glass works at Vauxhall to the use by Mr. Dawson, their original proprietor, of firestone dug at Blechingley, and writes of it (1805): 'It is of such a peculiarly fine quality for sustaining the utmost

heat, that it is sought after by all the principal glass manufacturers of the kingdom, large quantities being now shipped for Liverpool and the North.'⁶

Manning and Bray mention a quarry in Godstone on the estate of Sir William Clayton from which a sort of freestone was obtained which was used for wet docks and ovens, as it possessed the quality, if kept either always wet or always dry, of being very durable. It had been used also for the paving of Westminster Hall during the eighteenth century.⁷ At Lingfield there was a quarry of very good building stone belonging to Sir Thomas Turton, bart. Quantities of the stone, manufactured into window sills and coping-stones of walls, were sent to London.⁸

At the present day and for some time past the chief industry in the chalk districts of Surrey has been the conversion of the chalk into lime and cement. There can be little reason to doubt that the industry is a long-established one, although we have little information concerning it in early days of a definite character. Aubrey relates that upon grubbing up an old dead oak at Smallfield to make a convenient place for a lime-kiln, the labourers found one ready-made to their hands with lime stones in it, which had been disused beyond the memory of the oldest man.⁹ There is a tradition which may have more of fact for its basis than have the generality of traditions, that the extensive chalk pit near the railway station at Sutton was dug mainly when St. Paul's Cathedral was being built by Wren, the chalk being burnt for the lime employed for the mortar used in that church.¹⁰

Malcolm, writing at some length of the lime and chalkstone quarries of Surrey in 1805, says that the best limestone pits in the county, if not in the kingdom, were at Dorking.¹¹ The stone that was here burnt into lime was sought after by every mason and bricklayer in London, as well as in the county for a considerable distance, who had either brick or stone to lay, where work of particularly neat execution and resistance to water was required. The West India Docks and the docks at Wapping had both been built with this lime. The stone was found in its greatest purity at Denbies, then the property of Mr. Joseph Dennison.

⁶ James Malcolm, *A Compendium of Modern Husbandry principally written during a survey of Surrey*, i. 47, 48.

⁷ *Hist. of Surrey*, ii. 322.

⁸ *Ibid.* 339.

⁹ *Nat. Hist. and Antiquities of Surrey*, iii. 73.

¹⁰ I am indebted to Mr. George Clinch for this information.

¹¹ *Compendium of Modern Husbandry*, i. 50 seq.

¹ Pat. 33 Edw. III. pt. 3, m. 7.

² Exch. K. R. Accts. bdlc. 477, No. 12.

³ Kirk, *Returns of Aliens in London, etc.* (Huguenot Soc. Publ. x.), ii. 114.

⁴ *Hist. of Surrey*, ii. 252.

⁵ *Nat. Hist. and Antiquities of Surrey*, iv. 217.

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The quarry here was held by Mr. Peters, who was the principal lime-burner, and worked six kilns. The kilns which were within the pit were constructed conically, the outside being of hard bricks and the inside lined with a very hard burnt stock, carefully picked for the purpose as best adapted to resist the continual force of the fire. The conical form of the kilns creating a reverberation of heat, greatly reduced the consumption of coal, an expensive article when the distance of land carriage was considered. Neither wood nor charcoal was used in these kilns, and the coals were brought from Kingston, generally a back carriage. From twenty to thirty hours were required to burn a kiln. Near the pit at Denbies were two others belonging to Mr. Rose Fuller, one of which employed two kilns and the other one. These two pits, although very good, were considered inferior in quality to that of Mr. Peters. Equally strong limestone was believed to exist under Box Hill, but had not up to that time been tried. The next best stone in the county was found at Merstham, Sutton and Carshalton, and an inferior sort at Guildford. They were all very fit for building, although the latter was more generally used for agricultural purposes upon the strong loams and clays about the further part of the county.

The chalkstone quarries then worked were at Godstone, Caterham, Reigate, Merstham, Buckland, Betchworth, Epsom, Letherhead, Bookham, Effingham, West Horsley, Clandon, Stoke near Guildford, Guildford and Puttenham. The chalk was greatly consumed in the Wealden lands to the south of the chalk hills extending into Sussex. It was also burnt into lime with what were called kiln faggots, and the price of a kiln of lime at the distance of from seven to twelve miles from the chalk pit varied from £10 to £14, or even £15. As the price of the six loads of chalk which went to make up a kiln amounted to no more than from 15s. to 21s., the high price of the manufactured article must mainly be accounted for by the expense of fuel and carriage.

The reduction of the cost of carriage both of fuel to the kilns and of the lime from the kilns to London, was the principal object which had led to the opening of the Croydon and Merstham Iron Railway in 1805, the year in which Malcolm's account was published. This railway connected at Croydon with the terminus of the Surrey Iron Railway from Wandsworth, which had been opened a few years earlier. The venture however was unsuccessful, but paved the way for the eventual purchase of the line in 1838 by the London and Brighton Railway Company. Since then

steam traction has accomplished what horse traction on railway lines failed to do, and has made the products of the Surrey chalk pits generally available for the London market. In 1850 we are told that Surrey held a natural monopoly for the supply of lime, cement and whitening to the metropolis,¹ and at the present day a large trade is carried on in the county in the production and sale of these commodities. Among the principal companies now engaged in the industry it is sufficient to note here the Dorking Greystone Lime Co., Limited, at Betchworth, the Brockham Brick Co., Limited, who are the present owners of the old Dorking lime works, and the Oxted Greystone Lime Co., Limited.

The peculiar species of clay known as fullers' earth, which has been found in its greatest quantities in this kingdom at Nutfield, is the most important mineral product of the county of economic value of which it remains to speak. How long exactly the remarkable properties possessed by this earth of absorbing all the oil and grease from woollen cloth have been known is not clear, but there can be little doubt that its use by fullers is of very considerable antiquity. So valuable an aid was it held to be to the preparation of English cloth that its exportation from this country was forbidden as early as the reign of Edward II., and this prohibition was maintained by a series of re-enactments until a comparatively recent period.²

At Nutfield fullers' earth has been found in beds varying in depth from 4 to 14 feet. Other pits in the county of repute, according to Malcolm (1805), were at Reigate, Merstham and Sutton, and there were inferior ones at Croydon,³ but the existence of any pits at either Merstham or Croydon was denied by Manning and Bray (1814), whose information was derived from the principal pro-

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App. i. 46.

² e.g. by Stat. 7 Edw. IV. c. 3, 12 Chas. II. c. 32, 14 Chas. II. c. 18, and 28 Geo. III. c. 38. The special vigilance of the Custom House officers in seizing suspected quantities of fullers' earth intended for export is illustrated by the trial of Edmund Warner in 1693 in the Exchequer, where the evidence not only of a number of London pot-makers, but of many clothiers and fullers as well, pointed to the earth being really potters' clay, and so far from being fullers' earth to have been 'an absolute enemy to the woollen manufacture; for instead of scouring it fixed the grease in the ground of all the goods, and instead of making them white stained them yellow' (Jewett, *Ceramic Art*, i. 134, 135).

³ Malcolm, *Compendium of Modern Husbandry*, i. 44.

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prietor at that time in the county of the fullers' earth pits, Mr. Edward Russell, of Holland House, Nutfield.¹ Outside Surrey the earth has been found to a considerable extent near Woburn in Bedfordshire, and beds also exist in Kent, Nottinghamshire and a few other counties.

It is only permissible to suggest that the knowledge of the properties of this valuable earth to be found within the county, combined with the fact that wool in plenty could be obtained from the extensive sheepwalks on the North Downs, promoted the early origin of the important cloth industry of Guildford and south-west Surrey; for of definite information that the Surrey pits were worked at an early date we have none that is of value. Aubrey refers to the large quantities of fullers' earth to be found at Reigate and Nutfield, and states that it was sold at 4*d.* the sack, or 6*s.* the load.² In 1730 we are told that notwithstanding the prohibition by law of its export, private advantage outbalanced all hazards, so much so that Holland had almost as great plenty of the earth as England.³

Malcolm estimated the annual consumption of the kingdom in 1805 of fullers' earth at about 6,300 tons, of which he supposed that 4,000 tons were sent from Surrey.⁴ The most valuable earth came from the pit of Mr. Dann in Nutfield, but the principal Surrey proprietor then was the Mr. Edward Russell before mentioned. The demand for the Surrey earth had been lately decreasing, owing to the opening of a pit at Maidstone some three or four years earlier.⁵

In 1809 the oldest pit then worked was said to have lasted between fifty and sixty years, but was fast wearing out. The earth dug in Surrey was of two qualities, the yellow and blue, the former being the better and employed in fulling the kerseymeres and finer cloths of Wilts and Gloucestershire, whilst the blue earth was principally sent into Yorkshire for the preparation of the coarser cloths made in that county. The price at the pits for either kind was 6*s.* the ton.⁶

Manning and Bray detail the various strata which had to be cut through before the fullers' earth was found.⁷ Speaking of the pits at Nutfield, where they say the earth was found

in greater quantity and of a better quality than in any other part of England, they describe them as on the top and both sides of the ridge of sandy loam running from Blechingley to Redstone Hill in the road towards Reigate. The top of the hill was chiefly covered with wood. Under the top soil was a stratum of a soft sandy stone or loose crumbling gravel from 3 to 5 feet; then a stratum of sandstone of 5 or 6 feet, but of little use; below a vein of about 2 feet of small fullers' earth and dirt mixed, not of a quality to be used; then another stratum of sandstone from 6 to 8 feet, some of which was used in foundations and the inner walls of buildings, and some for the repair of highways. Under all this was the real fullers' earth, from 4 to 12 or 14 feet deep. The earth was taken out of the pits in massy substances resembling stones of from one pound to a hundredweight and upwards. Some of the earth was of a yellow, some of a reddish-brown and blue colour. The depth however, and the various strata above the earth, varied so much that no one pit exactly corresponded with another, nor was the earth in the same pits always of an equality.

At this date (1814) there were only three pits open in Nutfield and one in Reigate. The latter had been recently opened in Copyhold farm in that parish by a Mr. Morris, and the Nutfield pits were owned by Mr. Russell and others. No more than ten or twelve men were generally employed in the whole of these pits, but the quantity annually taken from them was between 2,000 and 3,000 tons. The carriage to London was 18*s.* to 20*s.* the ton, and the earth was generally sold at the wharves in Tooley Street from 24*s.* to 26*s.* the ton. A considerable quantity was then carried by the iron railway from Merstham to Croydon, and from thence to London either by water along the Croydon Canal or by the iron railway to Wandsworth, where it could be shipped on to the Thames. It is stated, however, that this method of carriage by railway had not up to that time been proved much, if at all, less expensive than the old method by the common carriers.

Fullers' earth required no other preparation to fit it for the market than the removal from it of every appearance of rust; but it was thoroughly dried by the fullers and ground in a mill to a fine powder before it could be applied to the cloth.⁸ To some extent it is still in demand in the woollen manufacture, but its use in this respect has very greatly

¹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, ii. 266.

² *Nat. Hist. and Antiquities of Surrey*, iv. 214, 237.

³ *Magna Brit.* (ed. Cox, 1730), v. 441.

⁴ *Compendium of Modern Husbandry*, i. 45.

⁵ *Ibid.* 46.

⁶ W. Stevenson, *General View of the Agriculture of Surrey* (1809), 50, 51.

⁷ *Hist. of Surrey*, ii. 266.

⁸ Malcolm, *Compendium of Modern Husbandry*, i. 46.

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declined during the course of the last century. Its uses for toilet purposes are well known, but the special demand for it which, as noted in the Geology section in the first volume of the present History, has given a new lease to the industry comes from its recent application in America for the dehydrating of certain vegetable oils to be used in adulterating lard.¹ The industry at the present day gives employment to two companies at Nutfield, the Fullers' Earth Union, Limited, and the Surrey Fullers' Earth Co., Limited, and to another firm at Redhill.

The clay soils of Surrey have been and are still used to a very great extent in brick-making. At the beginning of the last century we are told that this industry was probably carried on to a greater extent at Kennington, Walworth, Camberwell and Battersea than in all the rest of the county united. But the

soil on the Surrey side of London was only calculated for certain sorts of bricks, which were inferior to those made in Middlesex. The clay possessed too much flinty sand, and was too near the surface to be of that pure medium argillaceous substance which was essential for the making of the perfect brick.³ The brick-making industry in Surrey is at the present day carried on very extensively in the south-eastern districts as well as in other scattered parts, and by a great number of manufacturers, but, so far as we have been able to learn, possesses no special features that call for comment in these pages.

The more particular purposes which several of the soils to be found in Surrey have been made to serve in the arts of the potter and the glassmaker will be more fitly treated in the sections dealing with the respective industries of those manufacturers.

POTTERY

The history of the earthenware industry of Surrey, as that of most other counties, must of necessity in any general account of the industry in England appear of only secondary interest in view of the pre-eminence which the potteries of Staffordshire with their vast superiority of output have long maintained. But the fact that tradition, if not actual evidence, has given to Lambeth the credit of being the place where the manufacture of delft ware was first originated and attained successful development in England, and the great number of potters who at different times have exercised their art in and about this locality, assign to Surrey no unimportant part in the history of English earthenware. And although Lambeth has probably always been and is undoubtedly at the present day the principal seat of the industry in our county, there are besides many places scattered over Surrey where pottery was made at comparatively early dates and in some of them the manufacture is still continued.

If, moreover, the opinion of a recent writer is well founded that in the medieval tile-maker we must recognize the probable reviver of ornamental pottery in England,² then we must go back to a considerably earlier period to estimate the true value of the part played by Surrey in the history of the art. For of all that has been preserved to us of the ceramic art of the middle ages, in no de-

partment are there presented such features of high artistic development as in the beautiful encaustic tiles, which were used to cover the floors and perhaps the walls of ecclesiastical buildings. These tiles, found in some early churches and unearthed from the ruins of monastic buildings widely dispersed over the country, are of very varied design and exhibit several different processes of manufacture. But of all the varieties those found at Chertsey Abbey have by common consent been admitted to be the finest. Now it is the opinion of no less an authority than Professor Church that these tiles were almost invariably made in the great religious houses themselves. When it is considered how much the monks were indebted for their arts to continental sources, he is inclined to see in the manufacture of the tiles the influence of foreign, especially Italian, workmen.⁴ In this he is opposed to Mr. Solon, who would seem to claim an exclusively native origin for this kind of earthenware when he says that he has never heard that any example of a tile pavement has been discovered in the medieval buildings of the continent earlier in date than those exhumed from the abbeys of Malvern and Chertsey. Indeed he ventures so far as to put the question whether, as the French pavements of the earliest period have been

³ Malcolm, *Compendium of Modern Husbandry*, i. 74, 75.

⁴ Church, *English Earthenware* (S. K. Handbooks), 11-3.

¹ V.C.H. Surrey, i. 8.

² M. L. Solon in the *Connoisseur*, i. 247.

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mostly found in provinces under English domination, the art may not have been imported there from England.¹

It was the opinion also of Mr. Henry Shaw that the Chertsey examples were of English workmanship. These tiles range in date probably from about the year 1250 to the beginning of the fourteenth century. The designs are of great variety, and in some cases show considerable fertility of invention, and in almost all, great artistic excellence. In the most simple, the design of a floral or conventional ornament is completed in each separate tile. In the most elaborate, four or more tiles had to be placed together diamond-wise to perfect the arrangement. Sometimes small tiles of different shapes and colours were worked together in the manner of a mosaic work. In the larger tiles the design was effected by inlaying clay of a different colour to the ground. Scenes in which one or more figures appear are represented on many of the tiles, and Mr. Mainwaring Shurlock in his work on the subject believes with good reason that the incidents of two at least of the medieval romances, those of Tristram and Richard Cœur de Lion, are illustrated.²

So much has been written on the subject of the Chertsey tiles that we must confine ourselves here to this brief general description of their nature borrowed from the accounts of the various writers. Before passing on to the more modern development of the potter's art in the county, it may be mentioned that the recent excavations at Waverley Abbey have shown that encaustic tiles were employed here also to decorate the monastic buildings. These however differ much from the Chertsey examples and are inferior to them in artistic execution.

Between the era of the monastic tile-makers and the beginning of the Lambeth delft potteries there is a wide gap in the history of the manufacture of Surrey earthenware, which the few facts at present known to us will not enable us to bridge in any adequate manner. The pitcher now in the British Museum found near Earlswood Common, Redhill, is probably the earliest piece bearing any evidence of date that we possess in England of our medieval pottery. The figures on this pitcher are of applied clay and represent a hunting scene, but are too roughly modelled to enable us to fix the date with any precision. They are likely however to

be not later than the end of the twelfth or beginning or the thirteenth century. The body is of coarse red clay and lead glaze of a pale greenish-yellow tone. In technique this pitcher is pronounced to be equal to any of the productions of the thirteenth, fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. But without any evidence of the contemporary existence of a pottery in this place we cannot claim from the site of its discovery a Surrey origin for this piece.³ Fortunately we can have no such doubt in the case of the fragments of medieval pottery discovered in 1863 on Limpsfield Common. Here not only these fragments but the actual remains of a kiln were found. The kiln is described as being of rough stones laid without mortar and much like an oven in shape. The opening was 1 foot in width by 2 ft. 6 in. in height, the whole being about 3 feet in diameter. The pottery discovered was mostly of a grey and coarse material varying apparently in degree of quality and ornamentation in the three different heaps unearthed. The fragments consisted principally of the handles and rims of vessels of a very large size. The clay on the common, although coarse and inferior, may possibly have been used in this manufacture, but in all probability it was the abundance of wood in the neighbourhood that led to its selection as a site for pottery works. There is also some small documentary evidence of the existence of the Limpsfield potteries. In an extent of the manor of Limpsfield made for the abbot of Battle in 1314, the name of Geoffrey the potter appears as one of the tenants. In a list the same year of the *nativi* of Prinkham in Lingfield, which was held of Limpsfield, there is a Roger the potter, and in 1423 a rental of Limpsfield mentions a cottage on Limpsfield chart called 'Potters.'⁴

Leland tells us that at Cuddington, where Henry VIII. was then building Nonsuch Palace, one Crompton of London had a close in which was a vein of earth of which were made moulds (i.e. crucibles) for goldsmiths and casters of metal, and that a load of the earth was sold for a crown or two crowns of gold, 'the like not to be found in all England.'⁵ This does not tell us that the crucibles were actually made on the spot, but in our own time, as we shall see later, the neighbourhood has been the seat of several potteries. Beyond this notice we know of nothing that

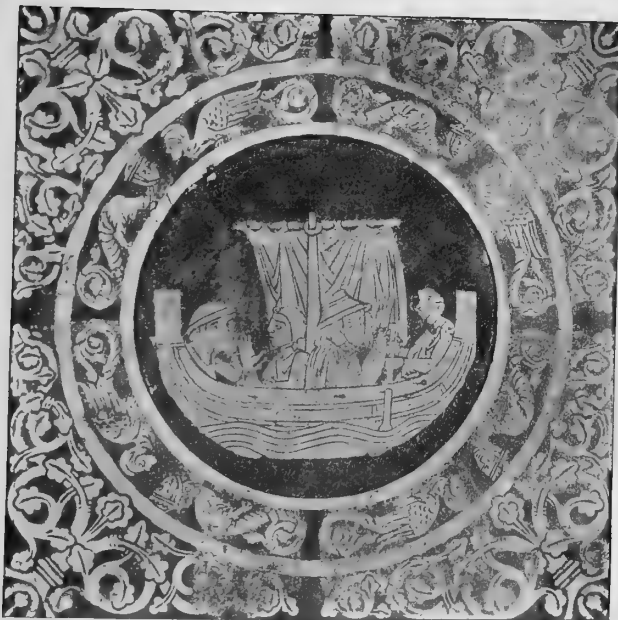
¹ Solon in the *Connoisseur*, loc. cit.

² Mainwaring Shurlock, M.R.C.S., *Tiles from Chertsey Abbey* (London, 1885); see also *Surr. Arch. Coll.* vii. 288-94.

³ R. L. Hobson in *Arch. Journ.* lix. 5. A photograph of this vase is reproduced in Plate I.

⁴ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* ser. 2, iv. 358.

⁵ Leland, *Itin.* vi. 65.



CHERTSEY TILES.
(From the British Museum.)

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will help us to conjecture what kind of pottery may have been made in the county. We may no doubt presume that rough earthenware utensils such as would meet the ordinary domestic requirements of the inhabitants were in every period made at most places where suitable clay was to be found. Thus amongst the wills of the Archdeaconry Court of Surrey we have one in 1544 of Clement Monger of Ash, a 'pottmaker,' and sixty years later another of a probable descendant of his, John Monger of the same parish, a potter. In a return of strangers dwelling in London and Southwark, made probably in May 1571 by the Lord Mayor to the Privy Council, the one foreigner described as a potter appears in St. Saviour's parish, Southwark. He is entered amongst the 'sojourners' as 'Simon Vandolen, potter, and Barbara his wif, borne in Braborne; here iiii yerres; Duch 2.'¹ In a similar list made in November of the same year his name does not appear. Approaching the period at which we are on surer and wider ground there is preserved the token coin of 'Charles Weston Poter in the Burrow 1666.'² A thorough search in the wills of the county and in the rate books and other records of its many parishes would no doubt bring to light facts that would amplify these meagre evidences of the existence of the industry. In the meantime it is hardly to be hoped from the absence of any specific mention in more available sources, or of the preservation to us of any other pieces to be readily identified as the product of the county, that the industry could ever have attained to any considerable degree of artistic excellence.

We may now most conveniently consider our subject under the heads of the different localities in which the manufacture of pottery was and is chiefly carried on, taking them in the possible order of their importance and beginning therefore with Lambeth.

LAMBETH.—Further research into the vexed question of the origin of these potteries does not tend to lessen the obscurity in which our authorities on ceramics have found them so much involved. Of the characteristic brown-ware pitchers, tygs, and the like, which according to Mr. Llewellynn Jewett were made here in medieval times, we know nothing. That Thomas Rous (or Rius) and Abraham Cullynn, who in 1626 obtained a patent for the manufacture of stone pots, stone jugs, and stone bottles³ may have estab-

lished themselves (as the same authority thought likely) at Lambeth is purely conjectural.⁴ In the patent they are styled merchants of London. Many years later, some time in the reign of Charles II., a Thomas Rouse paid his assessment on eleven hearths in the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark.⁵ The long interval of time between the occurrence of the two names makes it impossible in the absence of further evidence to consider the possible identity of the two.

'That one Edward (*sic*) Warner of Lambeth,' says Professor Church, 'had sold potters' clay there to London potters at least as early as 1668, and had also exported large quantities of the same material to potteries in Holland, does not conclusively prove that earthenware or stoneware was made in Lambeth.'⁶ Unfortunately also there is nothing in the record of the proceedings in the Exchequer trial of 1693, to connect Edmund Warner and his business proceedings in any way with Lambeth. Mr. Jewett printed the record in full in his account of the Lambeth potteries on the bare supposition that of the five London potters whose evidence is reported some of them *may* have belonged to Lambeth.⁷

In 1671 John Dwight obtained his patent for the manufacture of transparent earthenware commonly known as porcelain or china and Persian ware and for stoneware or Cologne ware, as it was called, and established his famous salt-glazing works at Fulham.⁸ The grant of this patent seems to mark a new era in the history of English pottery and to have been followed with a revived interest in the native production. In the next year a proclamation was issued which prohibited the importation of all kinds of painted earthenware except those of china and stone bottles or jugs.⁹ The latter exception leads us to infer that the attempt of Rous and Cullynn to establish the English manufacture of these articles had been hardly successful.

On 27 October 1676 John Ariens van Hamme, who we learn had in pursuance of the encouragement he had received from the English ambassador at the Hague come over with his family to this country, received a patent for the exercise of his art of 'making tiles and porcelain and other earthenwares after the way practised in Holland, which

¹ Jewett, *Ceramic Art of Great Britain*, i. 133.

² Lay Subsidies, cclviii. No. 7.

³ Church, *op. cit.* 35.

⁴ Jewett, *op. cit.* i. 135 seq.

⁵ Pat. 23 Chas. II. pt. 10, No. 6; Church, *op. cit.*

⁶ S. P. Dom. Proclam. iii. No. 301.

¹ Kirk, *Returns of Aliens, etc.* (Hug. Soc. Publ. x.), i. 465, and S. P. Dom. Eliz. lxxxiv. 2.

² Mrs. E. Boger, *Bygone Southwark*, 243.

³ Pat. 2 Chas. I. pt. 21, No. 30.

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hath not been practised in this our kingdom.'¹ Professor Church's statement that from the preamble of the patent it appears that he had settled at Lambeth is not borne out by a perusal of the grant itself.²

The characteristic feature of what is commonly known as delft ware is its highly enameled and opaque surface obtained by the use as a glaze of the white oxide of tin. With this glaze the potters of Europe sought to conceal the natural colour of the clay and to give to their productions the brilliantly glassy and smooth surface of the porcelain of China. The art discovered first in Italy or introduced there from the east was soon developed until it attained perfection and passed through other countries, when somewhat late in its history it reached England from Holland. With us, it has been observed, its successful employment was attended with considerable technical difficulty, for the rough and porous clay of a calcareous nature which was so well adapted to receive the stanniferous enamel, and was ready to the hand of the Continental potter, does not exist on English soil.³ Yet the art became firmly established, and some of the specimens of English work of early date preserved in our museums and in a few private collections may well challenge comparison with the best productions of Europe.

Although, as has been already shown, it is expressly stated in van Hamme's patent that the art of manufacturing earthenware after the manner practised in Holland had never been previously exercised in this kingdom, there are in existence a number of dated pieces of delft ware with English lettering and bearing all the characteristics of English workmanship which are considerably earlier than the year 1676. It is usual to label all these pieces as Lambeth ware, and Professor Church gives a list of all the named and dated specimens with which he is acquainted in our museums and in private collections. Exclusive of certain other pieces, which he is inclined to assign to Lambeth, the list contains close upon seventy pieces. The date of the earliest specimen is 1631, and the greater number range from 1641 to 1663. 'All this ware,' he says, 'is of one sort and style, but it occurs in a considerable number of forms. The body is of a pale buff tint, and like the Bristol delft of the first half of the eighteenth century, harder, and with less lime than the corresponding Dutch ware ;

the enamel is also generally whiter and more opaque than that of the common foreign specimens. The more decorated or ornamental pieces of Lambeth delft may be designated as wine-jugs, pill-slabs, large dishes or platters, and posset-pots. Of the wine-jugs a large number of pint and half-pint sizes are extant. Some of these are plain but many are inscribed not only with the name of the wine they were intended to contain but also with the date of their manufacture (or possibly the date of bottling).' The names of the wines that appear on these jugs are White Wine, Sack and Claret. A mug in Mr. Willett's collection has the suggestive name of William Lambeth with the date 1650. Other pieces bear the arms of the city companies, such as the candlestick with the Fishmongers' arms and the date 1648, and the two pill-slabs with the arms of the Apothecaries' Company. These three latter specimens are all in the Jermyn Street Museum. In the majority of cases the initials only of the maker are inscribed, but in a few cases the name is given in full. These names, which in the hope of evidence being some day forthcoming to identify their owners with Lambeth are here quoted, are, besides the William Lambeth already mentioned, William and Elizabeth Burges (1631), Elizabeth Handley (1646), George and Elizabeth Stere (1660) and John Leman (1634).⁴

A solution of the problem how it is that such pieces of delft ware apparently of English make exist of a date considerably earlier than the first patent for the manufacture of this class of pottery in England is perhaps to be found in the recent suggestion made by Mr. Solon, who thinks it probable that they were imported in the plain state and decorated by English hands to suit special purposes.⁵ Against this view however may be adduced the passage already quoted from Professor Church, where he sees a distinction to be made both in the body and the enamel of these pieces and those of corresponding foreign specimens.

The particulars that we now know of John Ariens van Hamme and his work are very scanty and may be briefly recorded. The first mention that we have of him is on 26 September 1676, when his petition for the king's Letters Patent to make him a free denizen and also to allow him solely to enjoy the benefit of making tiles, porcelain, and

¹ Pat. 28 Chas. II. pt. 2, No. 36.

² Church, *op. cit.* 35.

³ Solon, *Connoisseur*, i. 251.

⁴ Church, *op. cit.* 36-9.

⁵ *Connoisseur*, *loc. cit.*

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other earthenware after the manner of Holland, and that this earthenware might not be imported into the kingdom, was heard at the Court of Whitehall. The king was disposed to give him all fitting encouragement, and was pleased to refer the petition to the Attorney-General.¹ On 11 October he received his patent of denization, wherein he is called John Argens van Hamm.² On 27 October this was followed, as stated, by his patent of invention. The terms of this do not vary much from those usual in such licences. The patent was to continue in force for fourteen years, during which he and his executors, administrators and assigns with his and their servants and workmen were solely to enjoy the exercise of the art. In the event of suspicion falling upon any imitators they could obtain a warrant from the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and with the assistance of a constable or lawful officer search at a convenient time of the day the premises where the offenders might be expected to conceal their imitations.

As in the case of Dwight so with van Hamme, the patent was followed by a royal proclamation. The proclamation, which bears date 15 December 1676, called attention to the statute of the third year of Edward IV. prohibiting the importation and selling of painted wares, and strictly forbade the importation for the purposes of sale of any painted earthenware 'be the same painted with white, blue or any other colours.'³

On 4 August 1677 the name of John Ariens van Hamme occurs with those of James Barston, Harper, John Campion, Richard Newnham and 'divers others using the trade of potters in and about London and the suburbs' as a petitioner to the king for the moiety of the appraisalment of several parcels of foreign painted tiles imported contrary to the proclamation and seized at the Custom House. The king was pleased to refer the petition to the Lord Treasurer.⁴

More than this of John Ariens van Hamme we do not know. But the only solid piece of evidence which seems indirectly to bear out his traditional connection with Lambeth is to be found in the archives of the London Dutch Church. From these it appears that a certain Claertjen Jans Van Hammen was attested on 31 May 1679 by the pastor of the Consistory at Delft as a member of the Community and sound in doctrine, and that

the Brethren Overseers of the Community of Jesus Christ 'at London, Foxhal,' were requested to acknowledge and accept him as such. Van Hamme's patent expressly included his family in the permission to settle in London to practise the art, and the above attestation being dated within three years of this patent, and Claertjen Jans' evident connection with Delft make the presumption a strong one that he was a relative of the patentee desirous of joining him in his business.⁵

Some time before 1695 one of John Ariens van Hamme's fellow-petitioners, James Barston, Thomas Harper (possibly another) and a certain William Knight, who is doubtless to be identified with the William Knight of the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate, London, 'pottmaker,' one of the parties to a deed of the year⁶ 1690, petitioned the Lords of the Treasury against a letter obtained by Samuel Eyre and John Bowles to import Delft red ware or counterfeit china ware and gally tiles. They refer to a complaint of the potters in 1676, to a proclamation thereon, and to an order of Council of 12 February 1685, for the seizure of imported wares.⁷ Of any action taken in consequence of this petition we are entirely ignorant.

During the course of the works in connection with the making of the Albert Embankment the discovery of fragments of white enamelled ware and wasters furnished proof of the existence of the delft potteries of Lambeth.⁸

Incidental evidence as to the potteries here is also to be found in the fact that in the year 1699 Savory tried his new engine in some pot-works at Lambeth.⁹ At the beginning of the eighteenth century according to Nichols' *History of Lambeth* there were no less than twenty factories occupied in this parish by the 'white potters,' as they were called. The tradition that Lambeth was the place in which John Philip Elers the elder of the two famous brothers established himself in or about the year 1710, when the secret of the Bradwell works became too well known in Staffordshire, seems now to have been definitely abandoned in favour of Chelsea.¹⁰ Toward the middle of the eighteenth century several potworks

⁵ *Archives of the London Dutch Church, Certificates of Membership, etc.* (ed. J. H. Hessels, 1892), No. 1594.

⁶ Jewett, op. cit. i. 157.

⁷ Treas. Papers, xxxi. 58.

⁸ Church, op. cit. 36. ⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ See art. 'Elers' in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

¹ S. P. Dom. Entry Bk. xlvi. 137.

² Pat. 28 Chas. II. pt. 2, No. 6.

³ S. P. Dom. Proclam. iii. No. 354.

⁴ *Ibid.* Entry Bk. xlvi. 195.

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seem to have been started at Lambeth. Some of the chief facts that are known of the history of these are given below, where the more important factories are separately treated. About 1810 there were four stoneware potteries in the parish belonging to Messrs. A. Jones, Moss, Waters and Green, and a pottery of red ware belonging to Mr. H. Bingham.¹ In 1820 Mr. Jewett, quoting Goddard, says there were six or seven potteries in Lambeth working some sixteen small kilns. The produce of each kiln was under twenty pounds' worth of ware. The principal articles turned out were bottles for blacking, ginger-beer, porter, cider, spruce beer, ink, oil, and pickles and a few chemical vessels. In 1860, says the same authority, there were about seventy kilns, each turning out on an average about fifty pounds' worth and consuming upwards of 20,000 tons of coal. In these days, when there is a necessity for the existence of a Smoke Abatement Society, it is interesting to be told that the potters were by law required to burn this quantity without smoke, and that 'after immense cost and labour this difficulty may be called surmounted.' Twenty-three thousand tons of clay were annually used, giving employment to more than 800 persons. The returns of the Lambeth potters were then estimated at not less than £140,000.²

Of the potteries which at the present day still make Lambeth important as a seat of the earthenware industry the principal are the world famous works of Messrs. Doulton and the London pottery of Messrs. J. Stiff and Sons, both being long established. A more special account of these and of some of the other chief factories which have existed at Lambeth may fitly conclude this attempt to describe the history of the industry in this parish. The order in which the several works are taken is as far as can be ascertained that of the date of their establishment.

High Street.—According to Mr. Jewett the delft ware works here were carried on from about 1750 to 1770 by a Mr. Griffiths.³ Professor Church quotes an advertisement inserted in 1776 by Griffiths & Morgan in *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* for a stone kiln burner, a top-ware lifter and an 'ingenious painter.' It is dated from their pot house at Lambeth and concludes with the words: 'These men must understand their business well, as the Company have indifferent hands enough already.'⁴ There is an incidental

reference to this factory in the account given in the *Monthly Magazine* of October 1797 of the potter James Doe, who committed suicide in September of that year by drowning in the Sea Mill Docks near Bristol. Doe, it appears, was born at Lambeth, and at the age of fourteen or thereabouts was put as an apprentice to Mr. Griffiths at the Delft Pottery, High Street, in that parish. When out of his time he continued working there painting in the biscuit before it was glazed, until work became slack. Afterwards he went into Staffordshire and worked there under different masters for upwards of twenty years. He left Staffordshire to journey from place to place, and seems to have acquired some notoriety as the wanderer of the trade.

The London Pottery of Messrs. J. Stiff & Sons.—This pottery is the oldest established in the county and continues to enjoy a high reputation for the quality of its productions. It is stated to have been originally established on a small scale in 1750 on part of the site of the old palace of the Bishops of Hereford. Allen, writing in 1826 or thereabouts, states that it then bore on its front an earthenware ornament with the date 1750.⁵ In 1840 it passed into the hands of Mr. James Stiff, and the business was afterwards carried on under the style of the firm of Messrs. J. Stiff & Sons.

In 1840 the works consisted of two small kilns only and covered rather less than quarter of an acre. Since that time under the present firm the business has greatly increased, and about 1878 there were fourteen kilns, some of them of large size. The works extended over two acres of ground, and the pottery had a large frontage on the Albert Embankment. A private dock had been made to permit the firm to carry out directly its extensive export trade and to import with greater economy the coal, clay, and other raw material consumed in the factory. Mr. Jewett enumerates four classes of pottery made at this time in these works: Firstly, brown salt-glazed stoneware in which were made drain pipes, filters, bottles, jars, chemical apparatus, and the like; secondly, white stoneware, double-glazed ware or Bristol ware. The glazing of this class was not obtained by the use of salt but by the application of a liquid glaze to the exterior and interior of each article before it was placed in the kiln. The colour generally varied from a rich yellow ochre in the upper part to a creamy white in the lower part. The manufacture of this ware was introduced into this pottery about the year 1860 and had

¹ Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 2), i. 229.

² Jewett, *op. cit.* i. 136. ³ *Ibid.* 136, 137.

⁴ Church, *English Earthenware*, 41.

⁵ Allen, *History of Lambeth*, 345.



LAMBETH DELFT WARE.
(From the British Museum.)

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(in 1878) considerably superseded the brown stoneware. Its quality was good and extremely hard. Thirdly, buff terra-cotta for garden vases, pedestals, chimney-pots, window-arches, etc. Being thoroughly vitrified this terra-cotta was invaluable for the manufacture of durable key-stones, string-courses, springers, and other architectural purposes. Fourthly, porous ware for the manufacture of telegraphic and philosophical instruments.

Messrs. Stiff & Sons employed in their pottery at this date about two hundred hands, and their annual consumption of coals and raw materials was about 15,000 tons.¹ At the present day they are makers of drain pipes and other sanitary appliances in stoneware, for which they are one of the largest and best known firms about London.

Coades's Artificial Stone Works.—These works were singled out by the county historians of the early nineteenth century as worthy of special notice, and must then have enjoyed a particular importance.² They were established about the year 1760 by Mrs. or the Misses Coade at Pedlar's Acre, King's Arms Stairs, opposite Whitehall Stairs. Lysons and Manning and Bray refer to the peculiar frost-resisting property of the composition made in them, and say that it was designed to answer every purpose of stone for ornamental architecture. Pennant about the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century writes of this material that the inventor had been able to ward off the attacks of time but not of envy, and relates that a beautiful font, then the ornament of Dibden church in Essex and formed on a most admirable antique model, had been denied to the public eye in a place where liberality ought to have enjoyed the freest reign.³

The works were originally founded as 'Coade's Lithodipyra Terra-cotta or Artificial Stone Manufactory.' The Misses Coade are supposed to have come from Lyme Regis, co. Dorset, and to have used the clay of their native place in their works. In 1769 they took into partnership their cousin Mr. Sealy, and the firm became Coades & Sealy, and was so known in 1811. On the death of Mr. Sealy, who survived his cousins, the works were continued for some years by Mr. Croggan, who had formerly been a clerk or manager in them. By him the business was disposed of to Messrs. Routledge, Greenwood

& Keene, who were succeeded by Messrs. Routledge & Lucas. On the dissolution of this latter partnership about the year 1840 the whole stock in trade was sold by auction. Mr. H. M. Blanchard of Blackfriars Road, who had been an apprentice in this factory, was the purchaser of a large quantity of the models and moulds then sold, and in the year 1878 he claimed to be the Coades' successor.

The Coades were fortunate enough to secure amongst their modellers the services of several well known sculptors. In the names of these are included those of John Bacon, Flaxman, Banks, Rossi, and Panzetta. William John Coffee, who afterwards acquired some fame as a modeller at the Derby China Works, seems to have been employed here as a fireman. He was probably the fireman from whom were obtained the particulars of these works in 1790, which are given in a letter that came into Mr. Jewett's possession and was printed by him in his *Ceramic Art in Great Britain*. We are told that there were at that time in the Coades' factory three kilns, the largest being 9 feet in diameter and about 10 feet high. A kiln was fired always for four days and four nights, and the moment the goods were fired up the fireman stopped the kilns 'entirely close from any air whatever' without lowering the fires. He had been used to fire entirely with coal, and never used a thermometer but depended upon his own knowledge. The composition shrank about half an inch in a foot in the drying and about the same in the firing.

Amongst the many objects executed at these works and applied for the external decoration of mansions and public buildings may be noticed the bas-relief over the western portico of Greenwich Hospital representing the death of Nelson designed by Benjamin West and modelled by Bacon and Panzetta, the rood screen of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and the statue of Britannia on the Nelson monument at Yarmouth.⁴

Imperial Pottery.—This appears to have been established between the years 1790 and 1800 by a Mr. Green. He is no doubt the Green whom Lysons mentions as the owner of a pottery at Lambeth in 1811. The pottery was situated in Prince's Street, and in 1850 was carried on by the founder's son, Mr. Stephen Green. The works seem to have been nearly destroyed by fire shortly before 1858, when they were purchased of Messrs. Green & Co. by Mr. John Cliff. Mr. Cliff, who considerably enlarged the works, introduced into them several patented

¹ Jewett, op. cit. i. 141 seq.

² Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 2), i. 228; Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 467.

³ Thomas Pennant, *Some Account of London, Westminster and Southwark* (n.d.), i. 29.

⁴ Jewett, op. cit. i. 138 seq.

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inventions of his own. Mr. Jewett says that two of these inventions, his wheel and his lathe, have been very important improvements in the potters' art. Other inventions were his double glaze or Bristol glaze kiln and his salt glaze and pipe kiln 'since (in 1878) adopted generally.' Mr. Cliff seems to have been liberally disposed towards the adoption of new methods, and to have opened his works to experiments with the inventions of others, for we are told that both Carr's 'disintegrant' and Siemens' gas furnace were here first tried on pottery. When in 1869 the site of this pottery was required by the Metropolitan Board of Works for improvements Mr. Cliff removed his factory to Run-corn, and in 1878 was still directing it.

Mr. Jewett states that this pottery was originally established for the manufacture of common red ware, but that after a time Mr. Green added a little salt-glazed ware, and then as the double-glazed ware gained favour, made this latter his principal business and abandoned entirely the red ware. Lysons mentions in 1811 only one red ware pottery in Lambeth, which then belonged to H. Bingham, so that Green must already at that date have given up his first speciality. In 1850 the works employed about seventy persons and consumed annually 1,000 tons of clay, 100 loads of sand, 20 tons of burnt flint and Cornwall stone, 12 tons of salt, and 800 tons of coal. The business was then estimated to be about three times as great as it had been in the time of its founder, and it is said that the unusual proportion of more than half its productions was intended for export. Amongst the principal articles produced here were drain pipes, chemical stoneware and filters.¹

Fore Street. — Lysons, as previously mentioned, notices a pottery in Lambeth belonging to one Waters. This no doubt was the Richard Waters of Fore Street in that parish, who in 1811 took out a patent for a 'new method of manufacturing pottery ware embracing improvements in various branches of that manufacture and by the processes employed in which, large figures, statues, ornaments, armorial bearings and the like, duly coloured and burnt in, may likewise be fabricated, also fine stone mortars and pestles, cisterns, coffins, spiral pipes or worms for distillers and tiles with a hook on the back instead of a knob or button.'² The chief feature of this new method was the adoption

of a process which has now become very general in the manufacture of a certain class of earthenware articles. The clay instead of being thrown and moulded on the wheel was first made into sheets and applied upon moulds, and was then finished by beating or pressure or by turning while in a revolving state. The specification mentions delft ware pots and other articles which were to be compressed between the moulds in the manner described, and also 'Welsh ware,' in the making or clouding of which the patentee used a number of pipes instead of one for the distribution of the colour. No evidence is forthcoming as to the extent of these works. They appear to have been discontinued about the year 1820.

*The Lambeth Pottery of Messrs. Doulton & Co. Ltd.*³ — Of this firm it may at the outset be said that did no others exist for the manufacture of earthenware within the limits of the area of our present inquiry, the claims of Surrey to be at this day an important centre of the industry would be indisputable. That there are no others is of course far from being the case. But to the general public the mention of the modern Surrey industry must first and foremost recall the name of Doulton. And deservedly so; for, starting from small beginnings, the present vast extent of the Lambeth works of this firm, not to speak of its various ramifications in other parts of the kingdom, and in Scotland and France, and the world-wide celebrity of its productions judged by the criteria alike of utility and of beauty, have made it a healthy object lesson to all industrial firms of what may be attained by the exercise of a singularly inventive genius allied with a mind ever alert to the growing needs of the hour and adoptive of every improvement that can facilitate or perfect the work it has conceived.

In respect of what has been said here of Dwight's establishment of his stoneware works at Fulham it is interesting to note that the founder of the firm which was practically to re-invent and perfect English stoneware as it exists to-day was himself an apprentice at Fulham. It was after he had served his term at these works that Mr. John Doulton in 1815 established in conjunction

³ The following account of Messrs. Doulton's is compiled chiefly from information supplied by the present company and printed in its own small handbook; notices of the works at different stages of their existence are taken from Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App. 38, and Jewett, *Ceramic Art*, i. 144 seq.

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App. 38; Jewett, op. cit. i. 151.

² Close, 51 Geo. III. pt. 11, No. 4.

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with Mr. John Watts a small pottery in Vauxhall Walk. In 1826 the two removed to High Street, Lambeth, and here for many years until the death of Mr. Watts in 1858 the establishment was carried on under the style of Doulton & Watts.

Several of Mr. Doulton's sons had already become engaged in the business of the firm, and among them Mr. Henry Doulton, who at the age of fifteen had commenced work in the factory at the potter's wheel. He it is to whose energy and enterprise and the fertility of whose inventive powers is to be attributed the great progress which the Lambeth pottery made during the second half of the last century. The application by him of steam for driving the potters' wheels was one of the firstfruits of his genius. This he brought into use some ten years before it was generally applied in the trade.

The first important impulse to the Lambeth potteries was given about the middle of the nineteenth century by the growing demand that arose, out of the application of chemistry to manufactures, for chemical vessels of stoneware capable of resisting acids. Up to that time about eight gallons was the limit of size, but it is now possible to produce vessels of several hundred gallons capacity.

But the opportunity by the seizure of which exactly at the right moment Mr. Henry Doulton was to raise his firm to the great position it now holds was found in the agitation for sanitary reform which is one of the most distinctive characteristics of the social history of this country during the latter half of the last century. In 1846 he commenced the manufacture of stoneware pipes for the sewage of towns and the draining of houses, and it was not long before the pioneers of sanitary science had their attention called through the new invention to the unsatisfactory nature of the old flat bottom brick drains with their gaping joints. The great demand that arose for the new pipes led to the erection of a special factory near Lambeth Palace of which Mr. Henry Doulton took the sole management and direction. The demand still increasing, especially in some of the most important provincial towns, it was found necessary to start works for the same purpose at Rowley Regis near Dudley. These latter are now the largest drain-pipe works in the world, turning out over thirteen miles per week.

Afterwards additional works were required at Smethwick, and at the present time Messrs. Doulton make at their various works in London, Staffordshire, and Lancashire about thirty miles of pipes weekly, involving

a consumption of clay for these and other articles of about two thousand tons per week and of coal about one thousand seven hundred tons during the same period.

In addition to pipes the use of pottery has extended to ware of all kinds for sanitary purposes, and the new applications which have been introduced from the Lambeth works have added in no small degree to the use of pottery material for this purpose. An interesting utilization of pottery of comparatively recent date is in the electrical industry. Insulators for overhead wires had been in use for some years, but the necessity of carrying electric mains underground led to the introduction of stoneware conduits, which are now made in great quantities.

So far we have confined our attention to the more strictly utilitarian productions of this firm. On these were laid the foundations of its prosperity. But the development of its artistic pottery forms although a later yet perhaps a more interesting chapter in its history, and has made the name of Doulton far more generally known than otherwise it might have been.

Decorative stoneware of a sort had always been made at these works. Among the first efforts were the well-known 'Toby Jugs,' with their quaint representations of toppers with foaming tankards, impossible windmills, huntsmen, stags and dogs. These are still made, and were for some time the typical art work of the Lambeth and other London potteries. Jugs also commemorative of important events and persons were occasionally turned out, such as the 'Nelson' and the 'Wellington' jugs and bottles, and those produced at the time of the passing of the Reform Act of 1832.

But the first attempts of Henry Doulton to connect art workmanship with the previously rougher productions of domestic use date no further back than the Paris Exhibition of 1867. Salt glazing as applied to decorative pottery had then practically died out in England. No traditions remained; the way was quite open for a fresh start. To some extent, according to Professor Church, the new class of pottery now introduced was a revival of an old industry, and may be said to have been founded upon the old German stonewares. But the system adopted by Henry Doulton of giving his highly trained designers the freest possible hand in the execution of their conceptions has won for the art productions of his firm a distinction and an originality entirely their own.

The vases and jugs that were first pro-

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duced in 1867 were of simple form, with bands of blue and brown and a few turned lines for decoration. Thereafter no effort was spared to bring to perfection this new class of pottery, and in 1871 at the International Exhibition at South Kensington, though the collection put forward by the Lambeth pottery included only about seventy pieces of salt-glazed ware, it produced so marked an impression upon the art critics and the public that the ware was at once allowed to take rank with the art productions of the country. At the Vienna Exhibition of 1873 the merit of the ware was finally established.

The ware was at this time known as 'Doulton Ware Sgraffito,' the ornament being the *sgraffito* or incised outline. It was part of the system adopted by Henry Doulton in allowing his artists greater freedom in working out their own ideas that he discouraged them from following the usual practice of copying from a design previously drawn on paper. The same principle is observed also in the designing of the shapes of the ware which is done in the round. One of the peculiarities of the ware is that its decoration is entirely completed in the plastic state. This method, little used by other potters, while it gives the artist all the freedom he can desire and secures for each piece produced an individuality of its own, yet requires an increased amount of skill and care in its adoption. For although it is easy enough to manipulate the clay when in its soft form, it is only too easy to spoil a piece by denting or unduly moistening it. To meet the demand for the increased skill thus required the firm had to devote a large share of its attention to the technical education of the band of modellers, chiefly ladies, whom it employed.

Of other wares, in which the more portable articles that are intended for domestic use or ornament are produced, besides that known and above described as 'Doulton' there are manufactured at Lambeth the 'Silicon' and 'Marqueterie' wares, 'Lambeth Faience' and 'Crown Lambeth.' On Silicon ware many of the Doulton ware methods are possible, but the pieces though decorated in the plastic stage are not intended for firing in the salt-glaze kilns. The ware has an intensely hard body but is without a glaze, or with a very slight smear only—in this respect somewhat resembling the Jasper ware of Wedgwood. Occasionally a piece is heightened in effect by touches of gold. By the term 'Marqueterie Ware' Messrs. Doulton & Co. have sought to convey the idea that the patterns seen are not merely upon

the surface, but extend through the thickness of the ware. The forms are moulded in delicate and fanciful shapes, the patterned clays of geometrical designs or marbled effects having been obtained by cutting and compressing in various ways thin slices taken from previously prepared blocks. This is a process (protected by patent) that should be especially interesting to potters, for they alone are likely to appreciate the difficulties that had to be overcome in combining the solid clays of different colours and shrinkages.

For the processes of 'Lambeth Faience' and 'Crown Lambeth' three or more firings are necessary for the different stages. The painting when completed is first hardened on and then carefully dipped in a liquid glaze, to be finally fired at a high temperature in the glaze kiln or glost oven. At this stage some of the pieces will be finished, but with others additional embellishments in gold or enamel colours are still required, and these have to be fired in another kiln at a lower heat, the gold being afterwards burnished to complete the effect. The two processes are alike in being under-glaze processes, but their results are very different. 'Lambeth Faience' is generally soft and warm in tone, the glaze being of a slightly yellowish tinge. 'Crown Lambeth' employs a clear and hard glaze, and the fine biscuit body, generally of pure ivory tint, enables the artist to obtain the most delicate effects of colour.

The other processes employed by Messrs. Doulton & Co. at their Lambeth works, of which it now remains to speak, are applied to the production of articles of somewhat larger size, intended chiefly for interior or exterior architectural decoration.

'Carrara Stoneware' is a method originally introduced for decorative pieces, but now used more largely for architectural purposes. The body of the ware is coated and hidden by an opaque crystalline enamel that fires with a slight gloss or 'eggshell' surface. This absence of a high glaze, combined with a certain delicacy and quietness of colour, commends the material for use in architectural work where glitter is not desired. The 'Carrara' enamel is now frequently applied to large works of modelling or sculpture. Presenting a surface which, having been fired at the same intense heat as the substance of the model, is an integral part of the whole mass, the effects of colour are quite permanent and the surface easily cleansed from impurities.

If fired without any such coating of enamel or glaze, a modelled work is described as 'Terra-cotta.' The same prepared clay that

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is used for Doulton ware is often fired without a glaze in the terra-cotta kilns. Well-burnt terra-cotta can be obtained in several natural colours or can be easily stained throughout its mass with quiet harmonious colours. Many important statues and groups of figures have been carried out in this material for use as public memorials, decorations of public buildings and the like.

'Dry Impasto' or 'Vitreous Fresco' is a process, which like those of 'Lambeth Faience' and 'Crown Lambeth' requires several firings for its different stages. The method was introduced by Messrs. Doulton & Co. for use especially in positions of prominence where the ordinary glaze of faience tiles would be too bright. The painting is made upon terra-cotta slabs in a very rich palette of colours, which fire without a high gloss. Gold is sometimes used to add brilliancy; it is fired on and burnished afterwards where necessary. The term Fresco has been applied to it because of the similarity of its effect to fresco paintings, which are of course strictly speaking executed upon plaster. 'Vitreous Fresco' however has the advantage over ordinary fresco that, all the painting being fixed by firing, it is a permanent decoration. Moreover the designs can be carried out in the studio free from the difficult conditions of working direct upon the walls or ceilings to be decorated.

A material, which has been introduced by Messrs. Doulton & Co. only so recently as 1898, and is especially adapted for the permanent exterior decoration of buildings, is 'Stoneware Polychrome.' Under this name the company has sought to carry out on a stoneware basis the method of decoration known as majolica painting. The designs are fired at the same stoneware fire as the slabs or blocks on which they have been painted, and being fused at such an intense heat as this are not likely to be attacked by the deleterious acids found in city atmospheres.

The above account exhausts the principal processes employed by Messrs. Doulton & Co. at Lambeth. It will be seen that hardly a use, which the art of the potter can be made to serve from the most prosaic and useful to the most ornamental, has been neglected. Of the company's Burslem works, which were acquired in 1877 and are devoted to the production of the finest class of china ware, it is not within the scope of the present inquiry to treat.

Of Mr. Henry Doulton, to whom, as we have seen, the present company is mainly indebted for the high place it now holds in

British industry, it may be here noted that he was awarded in 1885 the Albert Medal of the Society of Arts 'in recognition of the impulse given by him to the production of artistic pottery in this country.' While however the award was made on this ground, the council of the society desired it to be understood that they had also in view Mr. Doulton's other services to the cause of technical education, especially the technical education of women; to sanitary science, and in a less degree to other sciences by the manufacture of appliances of a suitable character. The medal was personally presented by the Prince of Wales (as our present King then was) on the occasion of a visit to the Lambeth pottery for that special purpose. Mr. Doulton had received from the French Government in 1878 the distinction of a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and in 1887 was knighted by the late Queen. Upon his death, on 17 November 1897, the business was continued by his son, Mr. Henry Lewis Doulton, but on 1 January 1899 was converted into a limited company, Mr. Doulton assuming the position of managing director, Mr. Ronald D. Doulton, Mr. Benjamin Hannen and Mr. W. A. Turnbull constituting with him the Board of Directors, with Mr. Charles L. Jones as secretary.

The following brief account of the extent of the Lambeth works of this firm at various stages of its career and at the present time may serve for the purpose of interesting and instructive comparison.

When the establishment of Doulton & Watts first removed to High Street, Lambeth, in 1826, it consisted of about twelve persons, working but one kiln a week. The surroundings of the potteries were then very different to what they are now. A substantial residence adjoined the factory, and an acre of garden was attached to it, which has since been gradually absorbed by the works. About the year 1850 the number of persons employed had increased to about a hundred. This was after Mr. Henry Doulton had commenced the manufacture of stoneware pipes in 1846, and had induced his father to join him in erecting the special factory for these near Lambeth Bridge. The annual consumption of coal was then 1,500 tons, of clay 1,800 tons. The account which gives these figures makes special mention of the use of the steam engine, which Messrs. Doulton had been the pioneers in introducing into the manufacture of pottery, to prepare the clay and to turn the wheels and lathes. In 1878 after Mr. Henry Doulton had successfully established his manufacture of art pottery we learn that

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there were employed at Lambeth about 600 men, whilst the factories consumed annually over 10,000 tons of coal.

At the present time the factories and studios of Messrs. Doulton & Co. at Lambeth cover some 7 or 8 acres of ground. As the business has increased, fresh sites have one by one been acquired for the erection of new factories. Some have river frontages, the wharves communicating with the river by means of tunnels running under the wide embankment which in recent years has been constructed along the side of the river. For the most part the buildings are found along either side of the narrow thoroughfare called High Street, Lambeth. The two large buildings which stand in full view of the river consist, the one of the Art Show Room and the Sanitary Engineering Department, the other of the architectural terra-cotta factory. There are separate buildings for the manufacture of drain pipes and other sanitary stoneware, for the manufacture of plumbago or blacklead crucibles (an uncommon industry), and for all sorts of bottles, jars, pots and pans in stoneware and enamelled wares, for the manufacture of the Lambeth art wares, for fireclay stoves, water filters and the like.

The total number of employés of all grades at all the various works of the company is about 4,500; the engines at these works exert about 3,750 horse power. The amount of clay and coal used weekly by the Messrs. Doulton at the present time in their various works in London, Staffordshire and Lancashire has been already mentioned. Of the total length of all the pipes made every week at these works, which has also been given, it may be added that about 40,000 feet of all diameters, from 4 inches upwards, are turned out in the same period of time at the Lambeth factory.

The list of honours which have been awarded to this company is a long one, and includes over 220 gold medals and other awards. At the Paris Exhibition of 1900 Messrs. Doulton & Co. were honoured by being requested to act on the jury, their exhibits being consequently 'hors concours.' It is the present proud boast of the company that it has never remained stationary; 'no sooner has one method been fairly launched than another quite different is being developed with all its fresh technical difficulties to conquer.'

VAUXHALL.—The Vauxhall Pottery is said to have been established as early as the middle of the seventeenth century by two Dutchmen, Grassenbergh and De Wilde, for the manufacture of delft ware, but on what

authority the statement is made is not evident. In an account of the pottery published in 1850 it is claimed to be probably the oldest in England and the origin of all our existing potteries.¹ Mr. Jewett quotes a passage from Thomas Houghton's *Husbandry and Trade Improved*, where writing on 13 March 1695-6, and speaking of imports in 1694, he says 'of tea-pots there came but ten and those from Holland. To our credit, be it spoken, we have about Faux-Hall (as I have been informed) made a great many and I cannot gainsay but they are as good as any come from abroad.' In 1714 Thoresby, also quoted by Mr. Jewett, describes a party by water to Fox Hall and the Spring Gardens: 'after dinner we viewed the pottery and various apartments there. Was most pleased with that where they were painting divers colours which yet appear more beautiful and of divers colours when baked.'²

Towards the close of the eighteenth century the Vauxhall Pottery, which then produced stoneware similar to that at Lambeth, was carried on by Mr. Wagstaffe, who on his death about the year 1803 was succeeded in the business by his nephew Mr. John Wisker.³ Wisker appears in 1833 as the patentee of an invention of machinery for grinding covers or stoppers for jars, bottles and other vessels made of china, stone or other earthenware.⁴ On his death in 1838 the works were purchased of his executors by Mr. Alfred Singer, who shortly before the year 1850 introduced into them in conjunction with Mr. Henry Pether the manufacture of small tiles or tesserae for mosaic pavements, the designs being described as beautiful and chaste. These pavements were used in the decoration of Blenheim House, the Reform Club house, the new Royal Exchange and other public and private buildings. In 1850 about sixty men and boys are said to have been employed at these works. The productions in addition to the ornamental pavements included brown stoneware, chemical retorts and crucibles, water pipes and jars, and white and coloured tiles. The annual consumption of coal was about 800 tons, of clay 1,000 tons.⁵ The works were discontinued and pulled down some time previously to 1878.

Mr. Jewett mentions another pottery at Vauxhall where coarse red or brown ware

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App. 37.

² Jewett, *Ceramic Art*, i. 156. ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Pat. of Inventions*, No. 6523.

⁵ Brayley and Britton, *loc. cit.*

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was made and later on also a fine stoneware was produced. He adds that in 1811 a manufactory of white stoneware was carried on at Vauxhall by Mr. Joseph Kishere but he seems to have misplaced Lysons' reference to this pottery at Mortlake.¹

MORTLAKE.²—In the eighteenth century there appear to have been two potworks carried on here. The first of these was established by William Sanders between the years 1742 and 1752 for the manufacture of delft and earthenware. He was succeeded by his son John,³ who afterwards sold the business to Messrs. Wagstaffe & Co., by which firm the pottery was carried on in the year 1811.⁴ Mr. John Wisker, who had succeeded his uncle Mr. Wagstaffe in the management about the year 1803, closed the Mortlake works in 1827 and transferred the whole business to the same firm's works at Vauxhall. Mr. J. E. Anderson states that there were two kilns at this pottery, one for white ware and the other for coarser work. Two specimens of Sanders' ware are in the South Kensington Museum; a punch-bowl 21 inches in diameter and 12½ inches high of earthenware enamelled with white tin and painted in blue with flowers, medallions, birds and masks and a panel of twelve white tiles similarly painted in blue to represent a rocky landscape.

The second Mortlake pottery was established by Joseph Kishere, whose father Benjamin Kishere was employed in Sanders' works in 1759. Joseph Kishere continued to carry on this pottery in 1811, when it is described as a small manufacture of white stoneware.⁵ He was succeeded by his son William, who died in 1843, when the business was purchased by Mr. Thomas Abbott, but appears to have been unprofitable as the works were discontinued two years later. A visit to Kishere's pottery is described in 1817 by Sir Richard Phillips, who observes that the principal articles made were the so-called Toby Philpot jugs of brown stoneware ornamented with hunting scenes in low relief. These jugs are said to have been invented at Mortlake and to have been made at Sanders' works as well as at Kishere's. There are two specimens in the Jermyn Street Museum, one of them having the mark 'Kishere, Mortlake' im-

pressed. In Professor Church's opinion the Mortlake stoneware is of fair quality but presents no feature of artistic value.

Earthenware still continues to be made at Mortlake. Within the last ten years Messrs. Ruel Brothers have opened a branch there for the manufacture of fire-brick appliances for stoves. The clay used by them is brought from Stourbridge.

SOUTHWARK.—Some early evidence of the existence of the earthenware industry in the borough has already been noted. In 1837 the ruins of a kiln were discovered and held to belong to the seventeenth century.⁶ In more recent times two potteries that existed here call for mention. The first is remarkable rather for its association with two curious incidents than for anything that is known of the quality and nature of its productions. In the *Post Boy* of 1 March 1718 there is an account of the outrageous conduct of the four sons of Mr. Oade, a potter, in their attempt to oust their father out of his business and house. Not until they had succeeded in murdering their mother and one or two other persons could they be forced to capitulate and give themselves up to justice. In 1750 an account was sent to the Royal Society by William Jackson, a potter, of a shock of earthquake which threw down the roof of a pottery belonging to Mr. Oade.⁷ The second pottery to be mentioned was that of Messrs. M. H. Blanchard, Son & Co., in the Blackfriars Road, for the manufacture of terra-cotta. This was established in 1839 by Mr. Blanchard, who has already been mentioned in connection with Coades & Sealy's works at Lambeth. Mr. Jewett in 1878 speaks very highly of the quality of the goods then produced by this firm. They consisted of vases, tazzas, statues, busts, groups of figures, brackets, terminals, and every species of ornament for architectural purposes, and were considered the best of their kind produced either in England or on the Continent. A number of public buildings decorated by this firm are mentioned, among them being those of the South Kensington Museum, the Charing Cross and Cannon Street hotels and termini, the Grand Hotel at Cairo and the Wedgwood Institute, Burslem. The last in Mr. Jewett's opinion was one of the greatest achievements of ceramic art as applied to external decoration.⁸

EWELL, CHEAM AND EPSOM.—Leland's mention of the vein of earth at Cuddington

¹ Jewett, *op. cit.* i. 157.

² All the known facts as to the Mortlake Potteries have been set out by Mr. John Eustace Anderson in a privately printed pamphlet. See also Jewett, *Ceramic Art*, i. 160; and Church, *English Earthenware*, 112, 113.

³ Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 1792), i. 387.

⁴ *Ibid.* (ed. 1811), i. 282.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Mrs. Boger, *Bygone Southwark*, 242.

⁷ Jewett, *Ceramic Art*, i. 161.

⁸ *Ibid.* i. 153.

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from which goldsmiths' crucibles were made has been already noticed. According to Mr. Jewett a pottery existed at Ewell early in the eighteenth century but was discontinued soon after 1790 on the exhaustion of the bed of clay. A new pottery however was opened in Nonsuch Park with the permission of the steward of the estate shortly after the year 1800 by Mr. Richard Waghorn in partnership with his son. Messrs. Waghorn had also about 1840 another pottery at Cheam, but retired from the management of both works in 1851. The Nonsuch Pottery then came into the hands of Mr. Swallow who had been foreman there. He afterwards took into partnership Mr. Stone, and the works were carried on under the style of Swallow & Stone until the death of the former in 1866 or 1867. The firm established another pottery at Epsom, chiefly for the manufacture of fire-bricks. The works subsequently were variously called 'the Nonsuch Pottery' or 'Stone's Ewell and Epsom Potteries.' Mr. Waghorn manufactured Italian tiles of great strength and durability and much used in buildings of the time, ornamental tiles for roofs, paving and other tiles, moulded bricks, firebricks and fire loam, chimney-pots, pipes, vases, etc. In 1878 the same descriptions of goods were manufactured at Nonsuch. At the present day the Epsom pottery is still continued under the name of the firm, Messrs. Stone & Co., Limited, and is devoted to the manufacture of drainpipes and other earthenware goods.

The Cheam pottery on Messrs. Waghorn's retirement in 1851 was worked by Mr. Baker, who was succeeded in 1868 by Messrs. Cowley & Aston. The works however were closed in the following year. Soon after another pottery at this place was opened by Mr. Henry Clark, and was in existence in 1878 for the manufacture of flower-pots, rustic fern stands, vases, chimney-pots, and the like.¹

FARNHAM.—Farnham is mentioned in connection with the manufacture of pottery as early as 1594, in which year, under date 19 August, we find Sir Julius Cæsar writing to Sir William More, during the vacancy of the see of Winchester, to request that the bearer of his letter might have, as he had had in times past, out of Farnham Park, 'certaine white cley for the making of grene pottes usually drunke in by the gentlemen of the Temple.'² For some reason the use of this

clay had been restricted. The green pots were of the common medieval type. The name of the bearer is not given, but as permission is asked for him to dig and carry away as much of the clay as was required, it is at least doubtful whether the pots were actually made at Farnham.

The manufacture of what is now called Farnham ware is said to be of some antiquity. Originally the ware was glazed a dark olive green and made in such small articles as vases, basins, ewers, etc.³ The present Farnham potteries were however started no further back than 1875 at the small village of Wreclesham by Mr. Absalom Harris. They are now carried on under the style of Messrs. A. Harris & Sons. At first the only products were ordinary garden pots and vases, bread-crocks, pans, chimney-pots, and the like. The glazes in use were only yellow or red, with now and then some chocolate colour. About 1886 the firm was asked to copy some green glazed vases for the garden, which had been bought in France but had become unsightly through their inability to stand the severity of our English winters. For some years the firm tried without much success to get the requisite colour, but soon found that the body of this ware could not be adapted to the glazes used in the great midland potteries. Eventually by using a number of clays and the firm's old glaze as the medium for the different colours, a product was obtained which equalled the originals in colour and far surpassed them in durability.

Messrs. A. Harris now make in addition to the goods already mentioned, vases for flowers both for indoor and outdoor use, glazed and unglazed, glazed mantelpieces, hearth tiles, toilet ware, sgraffito ware, and some table ware. The glazes used are blue, green, pale yellow, orange, chocolate, and brown.

It may be mentioned that the head of the present firm, before starting this pottery, had carried on business at two other places in the neighbourhood; first, at an old pottery near the village of Elstead, and secondly near the Holt Forest just over the border of Hampshire. Both these places have since been pulled down.⁴

VARIOUS.—In addition to the places which have been especially remarked in the foregoing account as seats of the earthenware industry in Surrey, a few other places are mentioned at various times in connection with the manufacture. Manning and Bray notice a manufactory

¹ Jewett, *Ceramic Art*, i. 166, 167.

² Loseley MSS. See Hist. MSS. Com. 7th Rep. App. 652; and *Inner Temple Rec.* vol. i. pp. lxxxvi., lxxxvii.

³ See the *Homeland Association's Handbook on Farnham*, pp. 9, 38, 89.

⁴ Ex inf. Messrs. A. Harris & Sons.

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of coarse red pottery at Frensham, the red earth used in which was obtained from the estate belonging to a Mr. Payne at Tongham.¹ At Nine Elms Mr. John Brayne carried on in 1850 a pottery which had originally been founded at Cupers Bridge about 1730, and had afterwards been removed to High Street, Lambeth. He turned out yearly about £4,000 worth of every variety of brown and white stoneware.² At Battersea, Wandsworth, Croydon, Norwood and probably at many other places in the county, the earthenware industry has to some extent at one time or another been pursued. In connection with it it may be here

noted that a mill at Wimbledon for the grinding of colours for glazing white ware was purchased in 1690-1 by William Knight, a potmaker of Aldgate.³ Similarly, of three mills stated to have been in existence at Battersea about the year 1783, one we are told ground the colours for the potters.⁴ At the present time firms for the manufacture of drain-pipes and the commoner sorts of earthenware are established at Charlwood, Cranleigh, Crowhurst, Dorking, Godstone, Kingston, Letherhead and Redhill, in addition to those better known centres of the industry which have been dealt with above.

GLASS

A very special interest attaches to the history of the manufacture of glass in Surrey. It is not only that to a parish in Surrey belongs the earliest known record in post-Conquest times of the existence of the art in this country, but that throughout the later medieval period, until towards the close of Tudor times, two or three places in the south-western portion of the county were within the chief glass-producing district in England. Circumstances which will be duly noted led in Tudor times to changes in the conditions of the manufacture. But it was still within the borders of the county, although at its most opposite extremity, that some of the principal experiments were made and some of the chief improvements attained that were ultimately to revolutionize the whole art.

Although the removal from Southwark about 1877 of the Falcon Glass Works, one of the most important manufactories of flint glass in the kingdom, has deprived our county (as anciently constituted) of a great part of its former consequence in the trade, there yet remain in some of those districts south of the Thames which have now been absorbed into the county of London a number of firms by which one or more branches of the industry are carried on.

The history of glass-making in Surrey is very sharply to be divided into two distinct periods. This distinction is due to the change insisted upon by the government in the fuel consumed in the manufacture. This change of fuel had for result that the centres of the industry during the two periods were widely apart. During the first period charcoal was the only fuel in use, and the centre of the

industry was in the Weald, where timber was abundant. The second period begins with the absolute prohibition of this fuel in the manufacture, and with the experiments with what we are now accustomed to term coal. The complete success of these experiments led to the development of the industry upon new lines. The Weald with its bad roads was naturally inaccessible to the supply of coal in any large quantities, and Lambeth, where such fuel might readily be brought by water, and some others of the London districts became the centres or the industry in the county.

I

The earliest references to the manufacture of glass in Surrey occur in some deeds which relate to the parish of Chiddingfold.⁵ The date of the first of these deeds cannot be later than 1230, and may possibly be twenty years earlier. It records a grant by Simon de Stocha, who was living in 1226, to Lawrence 'Vitrarius' (i.e. the glass-maker) of twenty acres of land in Chiddingfold. In another deed of about the year 1280 'le Ovenhusveld,' that is the oven or furnace house field, occurs as a boundary. The site of this field has been identified, and on it have been found some remains of glass and of a large crucible used in the glass trade.⁶ A third deed of the year

³ Jewett, *Ceramic Art*, i. 157.

⁴ Ducarel, *Hist. of Croydon* (Bibliotheca Topog. Brit. xii.), App. 227.

⁵ Information as to these deeds, most of them in the hands of private owners, and as to many of the facts which are here related of the Chiddingfold industry, has been kindly supplied by the Rev. T. S. Cooper, M.A., F.S.A.

⁶ These remains are now in the museum of the Surr. Arch. Soc. at Guildford. The original dimensions of the crucible were approximately as

¹ *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 167.

² Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App. 39.

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1300 or thereabouts mentions William, son of William le Verir of Chudynghaufd.

In 1351 we have the actual evidence of the records as to the importance of the Chiddingfold industry. To obtain glass for the windows of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, which was then being built, commissioners had been sent to many of the English counties, but seem to have met with considerable difficulty. John Alemyne of Chiddingfold however was able to supply them with a large quantity. On 30 October 1351 three 'hundreds' and three *pondera* of white glass were purchased from him. Each of these hundreds, the record tells us, consisted of twenty-four *pondera*, and the weight of the *pondus* was five pounds. At 12s. the hundred, or 6d. the *pondus*, the cost of this quantity amounted to £1 17s. 6d. The cost of carriage from Chiddingfold to Westminster was 6s., and in addition there were the expenses of a mounted man, who superintended the provision of the glass, at 1s. a day for the seven days he took in going, staying at Chiddingfold and returning. Similarly on 7 November Alemyne provided thirty-six *pondera* of the same description of glass at the same rate, and again on 12 December a further quantity of sixty *pondera* was purchased at Chiddingfold.¹

On 23 January 1355-6 four hundreds of glass were bought at Chiddingfold of the same maker for the windows of St. George's Chapel at Windsor, which Edward III. was then building. The price of each hundred of this was 13s. 4d.² We are not told of what description this glass was, but as both at Westminster and Windsor it was painted on its arrival from Chiddingfold, it was probably the same white glass in both cases. In this case the later account shows a rise in its value during the four years which had elapsed since the purchase of the St. Stephen's glass. The items in the two accounts which relate to the painting of the glass at the several works are curious. The first process was to wash the panes with ale, for which there are several entries of payment. This is said to harden or congeal the glass as well as to clean it.³

follows : height, 12 in. ; diameter of base, 11 in. ; diameter of mouth, 9 in. The crucible varied in thickness from 2½ in. at base to ½ in. under the lip. The lip projected inwards, proving that a wood fire was used. Part of a similar crucible has been found in Shillinglee Park, about 8 ft. below the surface, near the site of another Chiddingfold glasshouse.

¹ Exch. K. R. Accts. bdle. 471, No. 6.

² Ibid. bdle. 492, No. 29.

³ 'In cervisio empto tam pro lavacione tabularum vitri quam pro congelacione vitri—viijid.'

To increase its whiteness silver filings were used. The articles supplied to the painters include also gum arabic, cinobar and jet.

Chiddingfold belonged to a wide glass-making district which extended into Sussex, where the chief centres of the industry were at Kirdford, Wisborough Green, Loxwood and Petworth. In Surrey Ewhurst and Alfold were besides Chiddingfold connected with the industry.⁴ Chiddingfold, Mr. Hartshorne observes, immediately joins the tract of country geologically known as 'Hastings Sand,' and was well placed for common glass-making. The dense forest with which the district was mainly covered supplied an abundance of cheap fuel for the furnaces.⁵ This fact was probably the chief cause of the establishment of the industry in this district, as it was of that of more than one other Wealden industry. That there was early some inter-communication between the different glass-making centres of this district may be inferred from the fact that a Chiddingfold man, John Shertere—the name appears in various forms—took a lease in conjunction with a certain Robert Pikeboush of some woods in Kirdford for the purpose of providing fuel for a glasshouse there. In 1380 Shertere (or Schurterre) was dead, and his widow Joan, in the minority of their son, engaged for six years a Staffordshire man, John Glasewryth, to manage the glasshouse in her behalf. The terms of the agreement are interesting, for they show that both window glass and glass vessels were made in this district in the fourteenth century. Glasewryth, who was to work at his own charges, agreed to receive for his labour 20d. for every sheu (?)⁶ of 'brodeglass' and 6d. for every hundred of glass vessels made.

The family of Schurterre or Shorter seems to have lived on at Chiddingfold during the fifteenth century and to have continued their glass-making. They were followed by the Ropleys, of whom Henry Ropley in 1495 is described as a 'glass-caryour.' The Ropleys in their turn gave place to the Peytos. In 1535 John Paytow (or Peyto) of Chiddingfold died, and in his will bequeathed to his son John '10s. of suche things as shall come and be made of the glasse hows and all my toylls (tools) and moulds as belongeth to the glasse hows.'⁷

⁴ A. Hartshorne, F.S.A., *Old English Glasses*, 156.

⁵ Ibid. 150.

⁶ Possibly 'shev.' A 'sheffe' was an old measure in use in the steel trade, and was equivalent to thirty gads, a gad being a rod of ten feet. Ex inf. Rev. T. S. Cooper.

⁷ Prob. Archd. C. of Surrey, 4 April 1536 (Heats, 150).

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The will, made about April 1563, of Thomas Peytoe, who was possessed of lands at Combe in Chiddingfold parish, is recited in the course of some litigation with regard to the disposal of his estate in the following year. Amongst other things the testator bequeathed to his son and heir William, then under age, his tools, woodstuff and other things belonging to his glasshouse.¹

The Peytos were probably the last survivors of the old order of Chiddingfold glass-makers. From the registers it is to be gathered that they continued their trade in the parish until the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1610 and 1612 there are entries of the burials of children of John Peytoe, a glass-maker, and in 1614 of the burial of William Peyto, another glass-maker. So that the family survived to carry on its well-established manufacture until the very last days of the old Wealden industry.

Camden, referring to the glass-makers or Sussex, describes their glass as wanting in purity and clearness, and therefore used of the common sort only. Fuller in the seventeenth century, speaking of the great antiquity of the industry, says that the glass made was coarse. On the other hand, Charnock's *Breviary*, published in 1557, has the following doggerel verses:—

As for glass-makers, they be scant in this land,
 Yet one there is as I doe understand :
 And in Sussex (*sic*) is now his habitacion,
 At Chiddinsfold he works of his occupacion :
 To go to him it is necessary and meete,
 Or send a servant that is discrete :
 And desire him in most humble wise
 To blow thee a glasse after thy devise :
 It were worth many an Arme or a Legg
 He could shape it like to an egge
 To open and to close as close as a haire,
 If thou hast such a one thou needest not feare :
 Yet if thou hadst a number in to store
 It is the better for store is no sore.

If Charnock is not presuming too much on the poet's licence to the use of hyperbole, the Chiddingfold glass-maker of his time was evidently no mean artisan, but a true artist who was to be approached in all meekness of spirit. Unhappily the evidence, as will appear later, preponderates all too much on the side of Camden and Fuller's depreciatory statements as to the glass produced in this district. Yet if not for its glass manufactures, it is difficult to say how Chiddingfold obtained a celebrity that was not confined within the limits of England. In the map of England dated 1566, and painted on the walls of the

Guardaroba in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence, besides Guildford the capital no other place is marked in Surrey but Chiddingfold.²

It will have been noted that several of the names which have been mentioned in connection with the early Chiddingfold industry have somewhat of an un-English appearance, and it is possible that the manufacture may have largely owed its continuance, if not its original establishment in the neighbourhood, to the influence of foreign workmen. But in the latter half of the sixteenth century an element that was avowedly foreign was introduced, and served for a time to give fresh impetus to the old industry of the Weald. This was the settlement in the glass-making districts of Sussex and Surrey of large numbers of refugee makers principally from Normandy and Lorraine.

On 7 August 1565 Armigill Waade, clerk of the Council, wrote to Sir William Cecil on behalf of one Cornelius de Lannoy, who had apparently undertaken to improve the English manufacture of glass and pottery. 'All our glasse makers,' he writes, 'cannot facyon him one glasse tho' he stode by them to teach them. So as he is now forced to send to Andwarp and into Hassia for new provisyons of glasses, his old being spent. The potters cannot make him one pot to content him. They know not howe to season their stuff to make the same to susteyne the force of his great fyers.' And further on he writes, 'I would he wear putt in some generall cumfort of some place to be provided for him here in England, he liketh marvelously well the syte of Guldeford.'³ De Lannoy, we learn, had been allowed three years within which to carry out his project, but from the account of his charges enclosed in this letter it is evident that he had then been at work for little over six months. No more is known of him and his undertaking, so that we may conclude that it failed.⁴

Waade's letter, it will be observed, carries a bitter complaint against the clumsiness of the native glass-makers. Two years later this want of skill on their part is brought more home to us in the case of the workmen of the very place whose share in the history of the industry we have been considering. On 9 August 1569, Pierre Briet and the well-known Jean Carré or Quarré petitioned Cecil that they might be permitted to set up in London glassworks, similar to those of Venice,

² Ex inf. Rev. T. S. Cooper.

³ S. P. Dom. Eliz. xxxvii. 3.

⁴ A. Nesbitt, F.S.A., *Glass* (S. K. Handbooks),

¹ Chan. Proc. ser. ii, bdle. 10, No. 101.

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for the manufacture of every sort of drinking glasses of crystal. They added to this petition a statement that in order not to interfere with the existing native industry they had proceeded to Chiddingfold and there made inquiries of one of the masters of the furnaces. In answer to their question whether the makers of that place knew how to make such glasses as they proposed to turn out, he answered no, that they made only 'orinaux' bottles¹ and such small articles.² This would lead us to suppose that their old art of making window glass had been lost, a fact which it is hard to believe in view of the unbroken succession of Chiddingfold makers. No doubt foreign window glass of very much superior quality had been imported of late years, but with the general rise in the standard of comfort which obtained in Tudor times, it is hardly possible but that there must have been some demand for the home-made article. In connection with this subject of the class of articles made about this time at the glasshouses of the Weald, we may notice here the 'one mettle pott made at the glass howse,' which is mentioned in the will dated 16 January 1653-4, of Arnold Everington of Wisborough Green.³

John Carré had previous to the date of this petition erected two glasshouses at Farnfold Wood (Fernefol) in the parish of Loxwood in Sussex, for the making of Normandy and Lorraine glass. He had obtained in conjunction with Anthony Becku alias Dolin a licence from the queen to practise the manufacture of glass for glazing. Disputes however soon arose between the two, and spreading to their workmen assumed such magnitude that it was thought that the queen's intention to have the science of the making of this kind of glass remain within the realm was like to be frustrated.⁴ Nor was internal disruption the only danger the new industry had to fear, for we hear in 1574 of the plot of certain people at Petworth in Sussex to rob and murder the French glass-makers in that place and to burn their houses.⁵ But a greater trouble than all these, one which already had been set afoot to cripple the pros-

perous iron trade of the Weald, the agitation that is to say against the vast and growing consumption of timber, was lying in wait for these foreign glass-makers, and was destined before any great lapse of time to bring their industry to ruin.

The industry indeed under its new conditions had not long been set agoing before this agitation found expression. In 1586, the inhabitants of Guildford, Godalming and Wonersh complained that an Italian had recently erected a glasshouse in those parts whereby the woods were likely to be consumed to the prejudice of the whole country. The Council thereupon sent order to Sir William More and others to take the bond of the Italian to appear before it, and in the meantime to stay the working of the glasshouse.⁶ Mr. Hartshorne identifies this Italian with Giacomo Verzeline, who had obtained a patent on 15 December 1575 to manufacture drinking vessels such as are made in the town of Murano. Like Cornelius de Lannoy he seems to have liked 'marvelously well the syte of Guldeford.'⁷ It may be noted however that three or four years before the date of this petition 'Jacob Versalin, keper of the glasshowse,' with his wife and five workmen, appears in two lists of strangers then dwelling in the ward of Aldgate within the city of London.⁸ Moreover in an inquisition taken in January 1607-8, shortly after his death, it is stated that for twenty years he had lived within the liberties of Crutched Friars, London, and there exercised the handicraft of making drinking-glasses. At the time of his death he held lands in Kent.⁹

According to Aubrey there were in Queen Elizabeth's time eleven glasshouses at Chiddingfold which were suppressed as nuisances on the petition of the inhabitants of the adjoining parts of the county, and that the more readily because there were others at Hindhead which were less offensive.¹⁰ Aubrey's statement must be received with caution. No confirmation of it will be found in the State Papers. The Rev. T. S. Cooper, from his knowledge of local owners and industries, is persuaded that there were never at any time as many as eleven kilns in the hands of foreigners at Chiddingfold. Indeed from the evidence of the parish registers he is inclined

¹ Water globes perhaps, as Mr. Hartshorne suggests, for improving the power of the rushlights or possibly crucibles for alchemists' use.

² S. P. Dom. Eliz. xliii. 43.

³ Prob. P.C.C. 16 March 1653-4 (*Albin*, 361). I am indebted to the courtesy of R. Garraway Rice, Esq., F.S.A., for this and several of the following references to the Wealden glassmakers.

⁴ Loseley MSS. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. VII. App. 621*).

⁵ S. P. Dom. Eliz. xc. 82.

⁶ *Loseley MSS.* (ed. A. J. Kempe), 493.

⁷ A. Hartshorne, op. cit. 157.

⁸ *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London*, ed. R. E. G. Kirk and E. F. Kirk (Huguenot Soc. Pub. x.), ii. 304, 320.

⁹ Exch. K. R. Spec. Com. 3933.

¹⁰ Aubrey, *Nat. Hist. and Antiquities of Surrey*, iv. 36.

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to doubt whether any of the later foreign makers actually settled there. It may be remarked that when in 1589 George Longe petitioned for a new patent he estimated the total number of glasshouses in all England at no more than fifteen, a number which he proposed to reduce to two.¹

There was however a settlement of foreign glass-makers at Alfold in Surrey. Aubrey says that in the churchyard of this parish there were to be seen several inscriptions to Frenchmen who in the time of the massacre in France came into England for refuge, and set up in this place a house for making glass.² The parish registers show that John Carré, 'M^r of y^e Glashouse,' was buried here on 23 May 1572.³ Peter Levenion of the parish of St. Peter-le-Poer, London, glass-maker, in his will dated 12 January 1626-7, mentioned his best houses or tenements situated in the parish of Alfold (Offold), co. Surrey, and appointed his brother, Paul Levinion (*sic*) his sole executor.⁴ The glasshouse at Alfold is marked on Speed's map of 1610. A field called Glasshouse Field is mentioned here by Manning and Bray.⁵

Of Ewhurst, co. Surrey, 'glasse fownder,' was Laurence Fryer, whose nuncupative will bears date 30 February 1612-3. He left his goods to be equally divided between his wife Agnes and his daughter Mary Fryer, and desired that his master, Mr. George Gerrat, glassmaker, should keep the said Mary's portion until she attained the age of twenty-one.⁶

It is in Sussex that by far the greater number of foreign names occur in connection with glass-making in the parish registers of the beginning of the seventeenth century, and undoubtedly it was in that county that the refugees of Normandy and Lorraine principally established themselves and brought fresh life to what was before to all appearance a moribund industry. Their term of prosperity was destined to be short lived. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth the outcry against the vast consumption of timber in the Weald was making itself more and more heard. No fact is more patent in the State Papers of this and the succeeding reigns than that the in-

ventive genius of man was hard at work devising new methods for the suppression of charcoal fuel in all manner of industries. In the case of the manufacture of glass the efforts in this direction did not remain long unrewarded. The proclamation of 1615 which totally prohibited the use of any fuel made of wood and timber in glass-making meant the immediate collapse of the Wealden industry. The centres of Surrey glass-making were at once shifted from the old spots in the Weald to the district of the London suburbs. The new conditions led to important developments in the art, but these developments, together with the events, so far as they particularly concern Surrey, which led up to this famous proclamation, may be more conveniently considered in the second part of our present inquiry.

II

It is to the making of glass and iron within the realm that the principal cause of the scarcity of timber is ascribed in several of James I.'s patents for inventions to enable the use of other kinds of fuel in these manufactures. This in the case of iron, as will be seen from the account we have given of the history of that industry in our county, was a result not satisfactorily attained for more than a century. With glass however the case was very different. Experiments soon proved that not only was it a comparatively simple matter to devise means for the supersession of the old charcoal furnaces by those of coal, but that with the new fuel very much better results could be obtained in the quality of the glass. No better proof of this can be adduced than the fact that none of the Wealden manufactories can be shown to have survived the well known proclamation of 1615 which entirely forbade the use of timber and wood in the making of glass.

On 28 July 1610 a special licence for twenty-one years was granted to Sir William Slingsby and others for the erection of furnaces, ovens and engines for the melting of glass, ordnance, bell metal, latten, copper and other metals with sea-coal or pit-coal for the sparing of wood and charcoal.⁷ In February of the following year Slingsby protested against the grant of a patent to Sir Edward Zouch and some others for their newly invented furnaces for making glass with sea-coal as being an infringement of his own invention.⁸ His protest was dismissed by the Council, either, we may presume, because his

¹ Lansdowne MS. lix. 72.

² Aubrey, *op. cit.* iv. 92.

³ A. Hartshorne, *op. cit.* 168.

⁴ Admon. with will 12 April 1627, granted in Archd. Court of Surr. (*East*, 403), to Joan Levinion, daughter of the deceased, the said Paul renouncing.

⁵ *History of Surrey*, ii. 69.

⁶ Admon. granted 1 April 1613, in Archd. Court of Surr. (*Berry*, 301), to Agnes the relict, no executor being named in the will.

⁷ Pat. 8 Jas. I. pt. 12, No. 20.

⁸ S. P. Dom. Jas. I. li. 113.

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furnaces had not proved satisfactory, or perhaps more probably because his invention was held to be of too general a character to be infringed by one designed for a single purpose. Sir Edward Zouch, Bevis Thelwall, Thomas Percivall and the king's glazier, Thomas Mefflyn, were granted the royal licence on 25 March 1611, to exercise and practise the art, feat and mystery of melting and making of all manner of glasses with sea-coal, pit-coal, 'fucashe' or any other fuel not being of wood for a term of twenty-one years at the yearly rents of £20 to the Exchequer and £10 to the receiver general of the Prince of Wales. In the preamble it is stated that in order to ascertain whether the grant of this patent was likely to prejudice the king's subjects, reference had been made of the matter to the Commissioners for Suits, who had reported favourably upon the project to the Council.¹

The special interest of this grant to the industrial history of Surrey appears in a report made to the Crown on 18 July 1613 by Sir George More and Sir Edmond Bowyer. Therein they state that they had visited the glasshouse recently erected at Lambeth by Sir Edward Zouch and Mr. Louis (*sic*) Thelwall. The glass made was clear and good, but in some places uneven and full of spots, due it was alleged to the negligence of the workmen. London glaziers informed them that they had bought glass there as good and cheap as any of the same size. The fuel used was Scotch coal. The experiments had not failed to arouse jealous opposition, for unlawful practices had been employed to overthrow the work. Speedy course was recommended against such practices.²

By the terms of the licence the patentees had been authorized to erect as many 'houses, furnaces, engines, structures and devices' as they should think necessary for their purpose. No evidence is forthcoming to show that Zouch himself had set up any other glasshouse than that at Lambeth, but from some legal proceedings of about fifty years after this date it appears that Sir Bevis Thelwall, as he subsequently became, was at some time the owner of a glasshouse in the parishes of St. Botolph without Aldgate and St. Mary Matfelon or Whitechapel.³ These proceedings incidentally suggest a reason why the Surrey side of the river may have been chosen by Zouch as the scene of his experiments. It is put in by way of strengthening

the arguments of one of the parties to the suit that the then tenants of this glasshouse had been put to considerable expense upon several indictments and actions for nuisance occasioned by the smoke from the works. Glass-making was by no means the only industry that the citizens of London preferred to see pursued on the other side of the Thames.

Of all those who were watching the progress of the new experiments no one was apparently more keenly interested than the king himself. No doubt the hope of buying timber for his ships at rates sufficiently reasonable to appease his natural love of parsimony mainly prompted him to desire the success of an invention that would secure the complete disuse of wood fuel in the future manufacture of glass within his kingdoms. Here however his own policy of increasing his revenue by grants of monopolies for the practice of almost every conceivable industry within the realm had brought him into a difficulty. Already Sir Jerome Bowes was in possession of the exclusive privilege for a certain term of years of making drinking and other glasses after the fashion of those made in the town of Murano, and the reversion of this licence had been prospectively granted to Sir Percival Harte and Edward Fawsett. Licence moreover had been granted to one Edward Salter to make every other kind of glass that was not prohibited by Bowes's monopoly.

That the question how these existing monopolies could be overridden in favour of one which would put a complete stop to the consumption of charcoal fuel in the manufacture of glass was before the Council, and proved no easy matter to deal with, we know from a letter dated 17 November 1613 from the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, to Sir Thomas Lake. The business between Sir Jerome Bowes and his company and Sir Edward Zouch and his company had been before the Privy Council. The majority of the Lords did 'strangely stand for Bowes's patent,' although they had been shown the just exception the king took to it 'as a work injurious to the public by the expense of wood.' They had refused to listen to an offer made by Zouch's company to pay Bowes and his associates £1,000 a year. The Lord Chief Justice had recommended the writer to suggest to his Majesty that he should be pleased to command a new patent to be drawn to Sir Edward Zouch and to take assurance from him and his company for the payment of £1,000 a year to the king, at first to the use of the former patentees and afterwards to his Majesty's own. In conclu-

¹ Pat. 9 Jas. I. pt. 29, No. 19.

² *Loseley MSS.* (ed. A. J. Kempe), 493.

³ Chan. Dec. R. 1212, No. 8.

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sion Sir Thomas Lake is urged to procure a commandment to Sir Edward Coke to give warrant to the solicitor to draw such a patent 'as shall be fit for his Majesty to grant to finish this good commonwealth's work which his Majesty hath so prudently seen into and by his own excellent decision commanded us to provide for amends thereof.'¹

Such high-handed methods ultimately prevailed. On 11 February 1613-4 Zouch and his company surrendered their first patent, and on 4 March following received another far more comprehensive and exclusive in its provisions. Of the original patentees Mefflyn had since died. He was succeeded by Robert Kellaway as his assign. In the preamble it is asserted that the expenses the company had incurred in carrying out the experiments had not been less than £5,000, the greater part of which had been expended about the new invention as a direct consequence of the king's approbation of the undertaking. There is a touch of human nature not altogether usual in such official documents in the note of astonishment at the complete success which had already attended the new invention. 'We could not heretofore,' the king is made to say, 'be induced to believe that it would ever have been brought to pass as we are assured thereof by plain and manifest demonstration, several furnaces of theirs being now at work.' The former patents to Bowes and the rest are revoked. Zouch and his associates are to have for twenty-one years the exclusive privilege of melting and making all manner of drinking glasses, broad glasses, and all other glass and glasses and glassworks whatsoever. No one else is to make glass with fuel other than timber or wood. Yet no one henceforth is to use any manner of fuel made of timber or wood in the manufacture of glass. Measures are laid down to secure the exactness of penalties for infringements of this monopoly. During the term for which it was to run the importation of foreign glass was strictly forbidden. The wit of the draughtsman could hardly have fashioned a monopoly more absolute in its terms. The annual rent to be paid by the patentees to the Crown was £1,000.²

This second patent to Zouch had not been in existence for a year when in its turn it was surrendered and a third of like purport, but to be enjoyed by a larger number of patentees, was granted on 19 January 1614-5. In addition to the former members of the company there were now Philip, Earl

of Montgomery, Sir Thomas Howard, and Sir Robert Mansell, who took precedence of Zouch, and Sir Thomas Tracy and Thomas Haies, who immediately followed him in the order in which the names are recited. The preamble of this last patent credits Percivall with the project of the new invention, and states that it had been at his great charge that the perfection, at which the king's astonishment is again expressed, had been attained.³ Of this inventor we may quote Mr. A. Harts-horne, who says, 'it is almost certain that the improvements brought about by Percivall were crowned by the closing of the pots between March 1611 and February 1614; nearer than this we cannot get, and this marks an epoch in the history of glassmaking resulting eventually in the manufacture in England of the most brilliant crystal glass ever produced in the world and the revolutionizing of the practice of the art.'⁴

On 23 May 1615 the provisions of this last patent were safeguarded by the issue of the famous proclamation which totally prohibited the use of wood and timber and any fuel made of them in any glasshouse in the kingdom, and also the importation of any foreign glass.⁵ A few days later the patentees were granted all glasses forfeited during the ensuing twenty-one years in accordance with the terms of this proclamation.⁶

About two years after the grant of the third patent the rights of all the other grantees were purchased by Mansell, who thus acquired the exclusive property of the monopoly.⁷ In Mansell's own statement made in 1624 of the different works he had started there is no mention of any in Surrey, and no evidence is forthcoming to prove that he ever set up any in that county,⁸ although it may be noticed that as late as 1615 Norden in a survey in the Duchy of Cornwall Office mentions a glasshouse at Lambeth.⁹ This was no doubt the one erected by Zouch and Thelwall, and was possibly continued for a time by the same two makers under their last patent. But in the absence of further evidence of the interest to Surrey of the patent of 1615, we are not here concerned with its later history or with the many difficulties in which Mansell found himself involved.

¹ Pat. 12 Jas. I. pt. 3, No. 9.

² *Old English Glasses*, 184.

³ S. P. Dom. Jas. I. clxxxvii. 42.

⁴ *Ibid.* Grant Bk. 165.

⁵ A. Nesbitt, *Glass*, 128; A. Hartshorne, *Old English Glasses*, 186.

⁶ S. P. Dom. Jas. I. clxii. 63.

⁷ Lysons, *Environs of London*, ed. 2, i. 227.

¹ S. P. Dom. Jas. I. lxxv. 9.

² Pat. 11 Jas. I. pt. 16, No. 4.

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The greatest revolution in the manufacture of glass during the seventeenth century, and one of the most important in the whole history of the art, was the invention of flint glass, or as the French call it *crystal*. The distinguishing characteristic of this glass is the introduction of large quantities of lead into its composition. The use of lead in glass-making was not unknown to the ancients, but on a review of the examples in which it is known to have been used the French authority M. Peligot decides that to the English is due the honour of being the first inventors of the true flint glass. This product, he says, by the progress made in the quality and selection of the materials used has become the most beautiful glassy substance which we know, and which it may be possible to produce.¹

It will perhaps always remain in doubt at what exact date the discovery of flint glass was made, and to whom it is to be attributed. But in all probability the invention was the direct result of the substitution of coal for charcoal as fuel, and the necessity, in consequence of the greater heat, of closing the tops of the pots, an expedient whose adoption we have seen has been accredited to Percivall. 'The material to be fused,' says Mr. Nesbitt in his South Kensington Museum handbook, quoting the arguments of M. Bontemps, 'is thus in some degree protected from the heat, and it becomes desirable to augment the proportion of the more fusible element, viz., the alkali: but this could not be done without injury to the colour and quality of the glass, and oxide of lead was therefore added and the quantity of alkali diminished.'²

That glass made with lead was known about the year 1665 is evident from the statement of Merret that it was not manufactured in the English glasshouses on account of its too great fragility. Probably the first successful results with it were obtained at Vauxhall, where under the patronage of the Duke of Buckingham a number of Venetian artists were established about the year 1670 for the manufacture of looking glass plates. The chief of these foreign artists was, we learn, a man named Rossetti.³ John Evelyn visited these works on 19 September 1676 and thus records his visit in his diary: 'We also saw the Duke of Buckingham's Glass-worke, where they made huge vases of mettall as cleare, ponderous and thick as chrystal, also looking glasses far larger and better than any that come from Venice.' In *The Present State of*

England, written in 1683, it is stated that flint glass plates for looking glasses and coach windows were made about 1673 at Lambeth by the encouragement of the Duke of Buckingham.

If it was with the aid of these Venetian workmen that the art of flint glass-making was perfected in England, it may be remarked as not a little curious that lead formed no part of the composition of their own native products. Perhaps however the superior skill of these workmen and their greater mastery of the technique of their art may have enabled them to see the possibilities of its use and to supply what had been wanting to crown the experiments of the English makers with success.

The Duke of Buckingham's works are said to have been continued with amazing success by the firm of Dawson, Bowles & Co.⁴ The story told by Malcolm that Mr. Dawson discovered the secret of the manufacture of plate glass from the French in the garb of a day-labourer has a family resemblance to some of the stories that are told in the history of other arts, and may or may not be true. Dawson's knowledge of the peculiar fire-resisting properties of Blechingley fire-stone which he used in his works is said to have enabled him to produce plate glass which astonished even the French. In an advertisement of the year 1700, printed in Nichols' *History of Lambeth*, this manufactory is styled 'the Old Glasshouse known by the name of the Duke of Buckingham's house.' Its site was in Vauxhall Square.⁵ It was continued for more than a hundred years, and is spoken of as excelling the Venetians and every other nation in blown plate glass. About 1780 the works came to a stop and were closed, partly from a disagreement between the proprietors and the workmen, partly on account of the success of a rival establishment at Liverpool.⁶

Lambeth was not the only scene of the glass-making industry in the neighbourhood of London south of the Thames. In Southwark it was carried on at a yet earlier period, considerably before the time in fact when the agitation against the use of wood fuel in the manufacture put an end to the Wealden industry. Thus about 1542-3, certain foreign glass-makers, living in the borough of Southwark and the liberty of St. Katherine's, filed a bill in the court of Star Chamber against the wardens of the Glaziers' Company for interrupting them in the manufacture 'and

¹ Nesbitt, *Glass*, 129, 130.

² *Ibid.* 130, 131.

³ Nichols, *History of Lambeth* (1786), 120.

⁴ *Ibid.* 120.

⁵ T. Allen, *History of Lambeth*, 307.

⁶ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 468.

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setting up of glass.' From the proceedings it appears that there were several Dutch glass-makers, evidently makers of window glass, in Southwark at this time.¹

A few years earlier, in 1537, Peter Nicholson, who is described as a foreign glazier dwelling within the liberty of St. Thomas the Martyr in Southwark, and who afterwards became chief glass-maker to Edward VI., was summoned to answer in the Exchequer for having three aliens in his service in the exercise of his mystery beyond the two to which he was limited by the Act 14 and 15 Hen. VIII. c. 2. The case was adjourned to the following term, but a note in the margin of the entry shows us that he was let off by command of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.²

James Nycholson, who was a printer as well, and is chiefly distinguished for having in the year 1536 printed the Bible in English for the first time in its entirety, made the stained-glass windows of King's College, Cambridge, in his Southwark workshop.³ The registers of the Dutch Church in London show one foreign glass-maker, Jacob Nannes van Lyfherden, as resident in Southwark in 1550.⁴ The term glazier in mediæval English had more meanings than are now attached to it. A few instances occur in which it is applied to a maker of glass.⁵ But in all probability Michael Crayford of Surrey, glazier, whose will was proved in 1603, was a glazier in the more limited sense in which the term is now accepted.⁶ A Dutch looking-glass maker, Nicholas Closson, appears as a resident in the liberty of the Clink in 1618.⁷ At the end of the seventeenth century—the exact date is not given but presumably from internal evidence, of the year 1696 or thereabouts—there is a petition made by Peter de Lanoy, esquire, Richard Richmond, gentleman, and others, the owners of the Green

Glass houses near St. Saviour's, Southwark. The petitioners set out that since the Act for new coinage they had taken considerable sums of clipped and impassable money, and that without some relief it was impossible to pay the tax and keep their works going with new money, it being so scarce.⁸ The tax referred to must have been that imposed by the Act of 1694, which granted to the king and queen certain duties upon glass wares, stone and earthen bottles, coals and culme in order to meet the expenses of the war with France.⁹

It was doubtless of these Green Glass works, although their locality is not stated, that Philip Dallows was master, who on 26 November 1689 petitioned for the appointment of glass-maker to the king and royal family, and for a patent for the sole making of grenado shells of glass. He represented that he had found a way of making these shells of glass cheaper, better for execution, and lighter for carriage than those made of iron. He petitioned also for a grant for making glass bottles marked for quarts or pints or of any other exact size, in the hope that an Act might be passed enforcing their use in taverns. In his petition Dallows shows that the master and workmen of the art and mystery of making glass bottles were almost ruined, partly by the Act forbidding vintners to draw wine in bottles, partly by a proclamation in Scotland prohibiting bottles there, and partly for want of foreign trade.¹⁰ Dallows received a patent for making glass grenado shells on 22 September 1692.¹¹

In the Houghton Letters for the improvement of commerce and trade there is a list dated 15 May 1696, of the glasshouses in England and Wales.¹² Those in and about London and Southwark are lumped together without more precise distinction as to their locality, but they number twenty-four out of a total number for the kingdom of eighty-eight, or rather more than twenty-seven per cent. These twenty-four houses consist of nine for the manufacture of bottles, two for looking-glass plates, four for crown glass and plates, and nine for flint glass and ordinary glass. One of these looking-glass houses we may conclude was that established by the Duke of Buckingham at Vauxhall. These are the only two houses of this kind that appear in the kingdom. No glasshouses are returned in other parts of Surrey, and there are none in Sussex, proving how completely the Wealden industry had died out.

⁸ Treas. Papers, xlii. 29.

⁹ Act 6 & 7 Will. and Mary, c. 18.

¹⁰ Home Office, Pet. Entry Bk. i. 57.

¹¹ Pat. 4 Will. and Mary, pt. 7, No. 10.

¹² A. Hartshorne, *Old English Glasses*, 457.

¹ W. Page, F.S.A. *Denizations and Naturalizations* (Hug. Soc. Pub. viii.), p. xlv.

² *Ibid.* and Exch. K. R. Memo. R. Mich. 28 Hen. VIII. 8.

³ Mrs. Boger, *Bygone Southwark*, 236.

⁴ *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London*, ed. R. E. G. Kirk and E. F. Kirk (Hug. Soc. Pub. x.), i. 205.

⁵ One of the earliest known instances of this use of the word occurs in 1385 in one of the before mentioned leases of the woods in Kirdford to the Chiddingfold glass-makers. The lessees are to be allowed to make of the underwood in the woods a 'Glashous' and expend it as to the office of 'Glasier' appertains (ex inf. Rev. T. S. Cooper).

⁶ *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xi. 114.

⁷ *Foreigners Resident in England, 1618-88* (ed. Camden Soc. O. S. 82), 97, from S. P. Dom. Jas. I. xcix. 44.

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The manufacture of looking-glasses in conjunction with other kinds of glass-making was probably well established in Southwark and Lambeth during the eighteenth century, but at present we lack authoritative evidence to enable us to gauge the extent of the industry with any precision. An instance of a Southwark looking-glass maker occurs towards the end of the century in Thomas Aldersey of St. Olave's, who in 1771 took out a patent for a machine for grinding and polishing plate glass.¹

But the most important glassworks in Southwark and for long in the county itself was the Falcon Glasshouse in Holland Street, Blackfriars. The firm of Apsley Pellatt & Co., by whom and by whose predecessors these works were carried on in this locality for nearly one hundred and twenty years, claims to have been established in 1759. The works were situated where originally stood Widflete mill, the tide mill of the old manor of Paris Garden, and were devoted to the making of flint glass. A glasshouse a little to the west of the millpond, which had not then been drained, is shown on an old map of 1746. On the same map, it may here be noted, is marked another glasshouse, apparently of some considerable extent, in Narrow Wall at the extreme north-west corner of the parish or Christ Church where it adjoins Lambeth parish. Of this latter establishment Allen, in his *History of Lambeth*, remarks² 'that there was a glasshouse in this neighbourhood is well known, though the exact site is not ascertained.'

The Falcon glasshouse became the property of Mr. Apsley Pellatt, and it was mainly under his direction that it earned its reputation for the excellence of its productions in the nineteenth century. Some particulars of the works about the year 1850, given in Brayley and Britton's *History of Surrey*,³ are of interest and may be here quoted:—

The number of persons employed is from one hundred to one hundred and twenty in the glasshouse and about thirty elsewhere. The weight of glass manufactured in the course of a year, into chandeliers, illuminators for ships or cellars, toilet and smelling bottles, ornamental glasses of every description for the table and various objects for medical and philosophical purposes has been 200,000 lb. Since the repeal of the excise duty on glass the quantity is already increased a fifth and the quality improved. The materials employed here are fifty tons of sand, twenty-five tons of alkali, twenty-five tons of red lead and one

hundred tons of broken glass. This weight of glass is about a fortieth part of the flint glass manufactured in England, but its value is in a much higher proportion from the superior delicacy of many of the productions.

An account then follows of the processes employed. Seven crucibles made on the premises of Stourbridge clay, each capable of melting at once 1,600 lb. of glass, were in use for fusing the materials which had been previously prepared. The durability of the glass when made was obtained by a skilful process of annealing. This was performed in a long oven through which a railway extended. Upon this railway were placed iron trays containing the glassware. These were gradually shifted from the mouth of the oven to its centre where it was hottest, and then as gradually shifted to the farthest end where the heat was less violent. Some of the articles required three days, others but twelve hours to be properly annealed.

The firm of Apsley Pellatt & Co. still flourishes as glass and china manufacturers to the king, and holds other important appointments. But the Falcon glassworks were removed from Blackfriars about the year 1877 to Pomeroy Street in the Old Kent Road, where they were continued until about 1895.

Another glass-making firm mentioned in Brayley and Britton's account of the manufactures of Surrey in 1850 as one of the principal at that time in the county is that of Messrs. Christy & Co., at Palace New Road, Lambeth. No particulars are given of the output of this firm or of the quality and nature of its productions. The works seem to have been discontinued in the following year, 1851, as after that date the name of the firm does not appear in the London Directory.

The manufacture of glass, although no longer an important Surrey industry, is still carried on by a few firms in the London districts on the south side of the Thames. The firms devoted to the making of window glass in this quarter number close upon a dozen, several of them combining with this manufacture the business of lead and colour merchants. Thus Messrs. Britten & Gilson in Union Street and Ewer Street, Southwark, are makers of sheet, crown, plate and ornamental window glass, glass benders, embossers and grinders, and in addition lead, oil, colour and varnish merchants. They succeeded about the year 1864 the firm of Attwood and Smith, who were established as window glass manufacturers in Blackfriars in the early years of the nineteenth century. Messrs. Richard Morris & Sons of Chester Street, Kennington,

¹ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vi. App. 161.

² p. 307.

³ Vol. v. App. 34-7.

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are stained glass makers, writers and gilders on glass, glass embossers and glass brilliant cutters. Another firm engaged in the business of glass staining and embossing is that of Messrs. Jones & Firmin of 120 Blackfriars Road. There are too, several firms which

carry out one or more of the subsequent processes to which the manufactured article may be submitted, and thus help in a greater or less degree to keep alive an industry whose existence is one of the earliest recorded in the county.

BATTERSEA ENAMELS

An industry which enjoyed but a brief existence in the county, but resulted in the production of a special class of objects of art well known to collectors of the present day, was the manufacture of enamels at Battersea. This manufacture was established by Sir Stephen Theodore Jansen about the year 1750 at York House, which had formerly been for some period during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a residence of the Archbishops of York, and was on the site now occupied by Price's Candle Works.¹ Jansen was a stationer in St. Paul's Churchyard and became Lord Mayor of London in 1754. The distinctive feature of the art was that the designs were first engraved on copper plates and printed on paper, from which they were transferred to the surface of the enamel. Rouquet, whose *State of the Arts in England* was translated and printed in 1755, says, after speaking of the manufacture of porcelain at Chelsea: 'not far from hence they have lately erected another manufacture, where they paint some of their work in brooches by a kind of stamp.' He then proceeds to describe a similar process which he had himself some time before essayed to apply to porcelain. Having engraved his copper plate he covered it with a substance consisting of the calx or lime of certain metals mixed with a small quantity of proper glass. The impression was then made on paper and the printed side of this was applied to the porcelain which had been previously rubbed with thick oil of turpentine. The paper was then removed and the work put to the fire. 'This method,' he adds, 'of painting or printing porcelain might admit of more than one colour, without being confined to the brooch.'

At the Battersea establishment Simon Francis Ravenet was employed to engrave the plates. He was a Frenchman who is said to have been born in Paris in 1706 and to have settled in London in 1750. He resided for some time in Lambeth Marsh, but died in 1774 at a house in Tottenham Court Road and was buried in St. Pancras churchyard.²

¹ E. Hammond, *Bygone Battersea*, 20.

² Thomas Allen, *Hist. of Lambeth*, 303.

His work is characterized by great refinement, which serves to distinguish it from that of his contemporaries, the Liverpool printers, Messrs. Sadler & Green, for whom has been claimed the invention of the art of transfer printing from copper plates on porcelain.³ Ravenet's apprentice was John Hall.

Horace Walpole, in a letter to Bentley of 18 September 1755, says: 'I shall send you too a trifling snuff box, only as a sample of the new manufacture of Battersea, which is done from copper-plates.' Dated specimens however of boxes in Battersea enamel of the years 1753 and 1754 are known to exist, and in August 1754 Dr. Richard Pococke writes that he went from London to see the china and enamel manufactory at York House, Battersea.⁴ Later in his description of Strawberry Hill, Walpole enumerates amongst his specimens 'a kingfisher and duck of the Battersea enamel. It was a manufacture stamped with a copperplate supported by Alderman Jansen but failed.' The specimens thus described by Walpole were painted, says Mr. Binns, 'in the colors of their natural plumage with admirable effect and precision'; and the same writer adds: 'not only was the printing done in different colours, but a number of devices, portraits, and arms were printed in gold with very good effect, and for excellence of workmanship they are entitled to the highest commendation.'

Jansen was gazetted a bankrupt in January 1756, and in the *Public Advertiser* appears the advertisement for the sale by auction of his property on 2 February 1756. After enumerating his household furniture and other effects at his house in St. Paul's Churchyard, the advertisement proceeds: 'also a quantity of beautiful enamels, coloured and uncoloured,

³ An affidavit made by John Sadler and Guy Green in the year 1756 states that they had been upwards of seven years in finding out the method of printing tiles and in making experiments for that purpose. This would date back the discovery of the method to 1749 and confirm the Liverpool printers' claim to the invention.

⁴ Dr. Pococke's *Travels through England* (ed. Camden Soc. N.S. xlv.), ii. 69.

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of the new manufactory carried on at York House in Battersea, and never yet exhibited to public view, consisting of snuff boxes of all sizes, of great variety of patterns, of square and oval pictures of the Royal Family, history and other pleasing subjects, very proper ornaments for the cabinets of the curious, bottle tickets, with chains for all sorts of liquors and of different subjects, watch cases, toothpick cases, coat and sleeve buttons, crosses and other curiosities mostly mounted in metal double gilt.'

The manufactory with all its stock-in-trade was sold by auction in the following June. Among the engravers employed was Robert Hancock, who, being no longer required at Battersea, joined the Worcester Porcelain Company, who were then adopting the process of black printing upon the glaze. Specimens of Battersea enamels bearing Hancock's mark R.H.F. are extant. His subsequent engravings for the Worcester Company obtained for him considerable notoriety.¹

Although it has been said that 'the printing in black and other colours upon enamels on the surface of the glaze reached the highest degree of perfection at York House, Batter-

sea,' the means employed to decorate these enamels do not appear to have been confined to transfer printing. Many well known artists were employed in the work. Probably the largest collection of Battersea enamels ever brought together was that of the late Mr. Charles Storr Kennedy. This collection was exhibited in the Guelph Exhibition of 1891, and from the description in the catalogue it appears that from 1770 to 1780 the works were under the management of a man named Brooks, so that the manufacture was continued for some considerable time after its founder's failure. The specimens exhibited embraced a considerable variety of articles such as tea-caddies, inkstands, bonbonnières, writing-cases, étuis, scent-bottles, cups, card-trays, and boxes of different descriptions, and the subjects illustrated included landscape views, miniature portraits of contemporary and bygone celebrities, genre pictures, flowers and the like.

According to the opinion of a recent writer the York House establishment at Battersea and a rival one set up by George Brett at Bilston in Staffordshire were both 'ill-judged attempts to compete with pottery.'²

GUNPOWDER

The interest of the early history of the manufacture of gunpowder in Surrey is political rather than economic. The first real establishment of the industry in England dates from the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and under her the appointments of makers to the government were held, almost wholly if not quite so, by a succession of Surrey men. Under the economic policy of the first two Stuarts these appointments grew into monopolies, so that until close upon the eve of the outbreak of the great Civil War the only authorized powder mills in the kingdom were in Surrey. This fact, combined with its share in the iron ordnance trade of the Weald, and other causes that need not be entered into here, made the possession of Surrey a point of strategic value to both the combatants engaged.

That prior to the reign of Elizabeth gunpowder was to a certain extent made up in England from materials imported from abroad cannot be doubted. Even as early as the

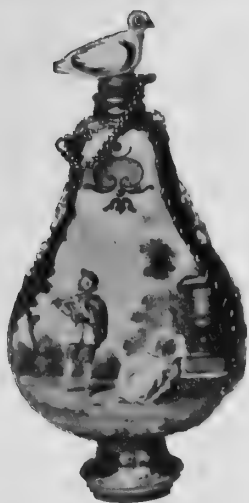
year 1378, accounts prove the purchase in London of saltpetre and sulphur, in quantities very nearly of the same proportion to each other as are used to this day.³ Provided the ingredients could be obtained of sufficiently good quality, to compound them into serviceable gunpowder was not a work which demanded any extraordinary amount of skill. There must always have been a certain number of men in the country who understood the art. But besides the fact that saltpetre and sulphur were purchased abroad to be mixed in England into gunpowder, we have also that of the purchase in large quantities of foreign gunpowder already made. These quantities it was the practice to store in the English factories abroad, at Antwerp chiefly, in the period immediately preceding the reign of Elizabeth, there to await shipment at such times as convenience or necessity might dictate.

For the transportation of these stores from a foreign port it was necessary first to obtain the consent of the sovereign in whose do-

¹ The above facts relating to the Battersea manufactory have been taken chiefly from Mr. R. W. Binn's *A Century of Potting in the City of Worcester, being the History of the Royal Porcelain Works from 1751 to 1851* (ed. 2, London, 1877), 53-7.

² J. Starkie Gardner on 'English Enamels' in *Some Minor Arts* (London, 1894).

³ J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agriculture and Prices in England*, i. 649; ii. 574.



BATTERSEA ENAMELS.
(From the British Museum.)

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minions the port was situated. Thus in the reign of Mary we have a list of stores which include both gunpowder and its ingredients saltpetre and sulphur, for whose shipment, presumably from Antwerp, the King of Spain's licence was required.¹ It will be readily understood that the peculiarly delicate nature of Elizabeth's diplomatic relations with the different powers of Europe made such a state of affairs well-nigh intolerable. That she should be dependent upon the goodwill of any one European prince for her supplies of one of the most necessary muniments of war was a contingency which the best minds of her statesmen were set to avoid. It was from no mere desire to foster a home industry at the expense of a foreign one that the most earnest attention of the government was called to the problem of securing not only that gunpowder in quantities sufficient for the needs of the State and of its merchant vessels should be made at home, but also that its most important ingredient should be produced entirely in this country.

The most important ingredient of gunpowder is saltpetre or nitre, the nitrate of potash. Six parts of saltpetre to one of sulphur and another of charcoal became, as we shall see, the accepted proportions for well made powder. Saltpetre however is not a natural product of the continent of Europe, but is found most abundantly in India and Persia and some other eastern countries. Hence there had in early times been a difficulty in obtaining it in sufficient quantities, and the attention of European scientists had been directed to its artificial production by imitating the conditions of its natural formation. Long before the reign of Elizabeth this art must have attained almost its full development on the continent, but until that period its secret had been religiously guarded from Englishmen, to whom it would seem to have been entirely unknown. But to the presence in the country at that time of the large number of foreign refugees driven from their own countries through religious persecution or reasons of state policy, Englishmen could look for the discovery of many erstwhile industrial secrets. A German captain, one Gerrard Honrick, who could claim a perfect knowledge of the art of making saltpetre 'in the best fashion and much in use beyond the sea' was before long forthcoming. His services were requisitioned by the government, and on 13 March 1560-1 an agreement was made between the queen on the one part and Honrick on the other, by which for a

sum of £300 the latter agreed to instruct the subjects of the former in the art.² From the date of this agreement may be said to begin the real history of the English manufacture of gunpowder.

The early history of the Surrey gunpowder industry is so much that of the gunpowder industry of the whole kingdom, and the question of an adequate supply of the home-made commodity was so largely dependent on a sufficiency of saltpetre, that some account is necessary here of the conditions under which saltpetre was artificially produced or otherwise obtained, before the difficulties which beset the gunpowder trade in England can be properly appreciated.

With the note of the agreement with Honrick in the state papers is a copy of 'The trew and perfect arte of the making of saltpeter to growe in cellars, barnes, or in lyme or stone quarrees.'³ Although we hear of nothing more of Honrick at this time we may presume that he carried out his bargain, and that this exposition of his art represents the art as it was subsequently pursued in this country. Eighty years later we find that the government's gunpowder-maker had by him a copy of the contract, no doubt because it contained instructions which were still followed.⁴ The extraordinary process which is here detailed covers four closely written pages, but for our present purpose it is only necessary to summarize its general principles.

Briefly then the artificial development of saltpetre may be said to consist in the mixing together of earth—'the blacker the better'—and animal excrement with lime and ashes. The lye had to be exposed to the air in dry and cold places, and watered at intervals with urine. After this had been done a sufficient number of times and the heaps continually turned over, the earth was lixiviated and the salt crystallized. In order that saltpetre enough for the needs of the kingdom might thus be prepared, it is obvious that the supply of animal matter in adequate quantities imposed a task of great difficulty upon those who were charged with the making of saltpetre, unless an undue interference with the liberty of the subject was to be permitted. For the patents of appointment of the saltpetre men strictly enjoined all whom it might concern to allow these men to enter and dig the earth in all dovehouses, barns, stables, stalls, outhouses, empty places in cellars, vaults and warehouses. No other part of any inhabited house was to

² Ibid. Eliz. xvi. 30.

³ Ibid. 29.

⁴ In 1641; *ibid.* Chas. I. ccclxxxvii. 75.

¹ S. P. Dom. Mary, xiv. 14.

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be interfered with. To lessen the general inconvenience which such courses were likely to bring about, the saltpetre men were ordered to re-erect at their own charge any buildings that might be pulled down or undermined in the work, and to level the earth in all places where they had dug. Disputes between them and the owners of buildings thus disturbed had to be referred to the arbitration of the justices of the peace in the neighbourhood. No place where the earth had been dug was to be again worked within a certain number of years. When John Evelyn and his fellow patentees tendered for a new patent in 1604 they offered to fix this period at six years, except in cases of an unusually increased demand for powder.¹ Four years seem to have been the recognized limit. In the same tender pigeon-houses are mentioned as 'the chiefest nurses of saltpetre or the kingdom.' That the pigeons might not be unnecessarily disturbed the contractors were willing to confine their operations to a half hour in the day, and were prepared to compensate the owners for any pair of pigeons or any eggs lost. Charles I.'s proclamation of 13 April 1625² allows the saltpetre men to work two hours a day in the dove or pigeon houses, but no longer, and then only at convenient times. That the saltpetre mines might be maintained and increased, owners of pigeon houses, stables and the like were at the same time strictly prohibited from paving them with stone or brick, flooring them with boarding or laying them with anything but good and mellow earth.

At first the gunpowder makers were charged with the business of producing their own saltpetre, and by letters patent from the Crown received their appointments of makers of saltpetre and gunpowder. When in the reign of James I., as we shall have occasion to show more fully later, the duty of contracting for the supply of both these commodities was deputed to commissioners, afterwards to become identified with the officers of the Admiralty, the two functions were divided. The kingdom was marked off into districts for the purposes of saltpetre making, each district generally consisting of a group of two or more counties. To each of these districts the Commissioners of Saltpetre and Gunpowder appointed a certain number of saltpetre men. Sometimes, if not always, they were guided in making these appointments by the recommendation of their gunpowder contractor. A certain quantity of saltpetre to be provided every week was fixed for each district, the

quantity varying in accordance with the extent or estimated resources of the particular district. Thus in 1630 we find that in some of the districts the yield was expected to produce as much as 10 cwt. weekly, while in others it was fixed as low as 1 cwt.³

It is not surprising that the adoption of such drastic measures as we have described in order to obtain the greatest possible production of saltpetre should have provoked complaint. A memorandum,⁴ drawn up apparently for the use of Sir Robert Cecil in the year 1600, of the benefits of the manufacture of gunpowder within the realm, refers to the discontent which had been manifested in Parliament in consequence of the necessity of dealing with the grounds of the better sort 'not before meddled with,' as well as with those of inferior persons. 'The making of saltpetre,' it is asserted, 'will be complained of, though performed in the best manner that can be devised, as breaking of earths and taking of carriages needful by many of the ruder sort cause great discontent.' Notwithstanding the proclamation of 1625 complaints occur of difficulties put in the way of the saltpetre men in their efforts to supply the proportions assigned to them. Thus in 1634 one of the saltpetre men sent up to the secretary of the Admiralty a list of names of those people in Oxfordshire and Warwickshire who had lately carried away the earth from their pigeon houses.⁵ Unless some course was taken others, it was feared, would do the same, and the saltpetre men in consequence would be unable to supply their proportions. On the other hand complaints of the way in which the makers of saltpetre performed their work are not wanting. Thus in June 1637 the rector of Knoyle in Wiltshire, Dr. Christopher Wren, the father of the great architect, exhibited to the commissioners a bill for damages done by digging for saltpetre in the pigeon-house of the rectory.⁶ There had been two diggings, one about eight years before, the other in March 1636-7. On the first occasion the pigeon-house, which was built of massive stone walls twenty feet high, was so shaken that the rector had to buttress up one side. On the second occasion the foundation was so undermined that the north wall fell in. The saltpetre men had refused to make any compensation.

The other cause of the discontent resulting from the establishment of the native manufacture of saltpetre and gunpowder, and noticed

¹ S. P. Dom. Jas. I. ix. 68.

² Pat. 1 Chas. I. pt. 4, No. 9d.

³ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. clxv. 50.

⁴ Ibid. Eliz. cclxxv. 76.

⁵ Ibid. Chas. I. cclxxvii. 52.

⁶ Ibid. ccclxi. 8.

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in the above-quoted memorandum of 1600, was the 'taking of carriages.' This meant the obligation which the terms of the patents to the gunpowder-makers imposed upon all who were able to comply, to provide carriage for the conveyance of the saltpetre and gunpowder to the king's stores at the rate fixed in the letters patent. This rate was at first settled at 4*d.* a mile.¹ John Evelyn and his company in their tender of 1604 for the office of gunpowder-maker offered to dispense with cart-taking.² Their patent, however, renewed this general exaction, but directed that each load was not to exceed 20 cwt., and the mileage was to be reckoned from the dwelling-house of the owner of the cart.³ The king's storehouse for saltpetre was in Southwark, and it became one of the items in the contracts with the powder-maker that the latter should provide this house at his own cost, as well as pay £20 a year to the clerk whom the commissioners appointed to weigh the saltpetre brought in.⁴ From the year 1632 the certificates made at intervals usually of half a year by this clerk to the commissioners of the total amount of saltpetre received are in existence. When the Chilworth makers secured the gunpowder contracts they seem to have erected a saltpetre house at Kingston-upon-Thames.⁵ The men of the hundred of Kingston, who had to find carriage for the saltpetre from this town to Croydon, complained that the saltpetre men only allowed them to reckon the distance as seven miles, whereas it was really eighteen. The rate which they were now entitled to demand was 6*d.* a mile, but the saltpetre men insisted upon an abatement of 18*d.* on every load, and moreover subjected them to needless delays and annoyances.

Such were the difficulties which beset the artificial production of saltpetre in England. It is small wonder that before long the supply should have shown an increasing tendency to become inadequate to the needs of the country. The wonder is that for so long, up to the meeting of the Long Parliament in fact, the authority necessary to secure this supply should have been found not in any parliamentary sanction, but solely in the exercise of the royal prerogative as it was understood by the Tudor and Stuart sovereigns. The officers of the Ordnance, who in 1641 could only quote acts of state and royal proclamations as the

authority for the drastic measures which had been put in force in order that the soil of England might produce saltpetre, were very ready to express their assurance that these measures could not have been effected without the consent of Parliament.⁶ Nevertheless the fact remains that up to this year the statutes of the realm are destitute of all reference to the production of saltpetre.

In December 1625 the question of increasing the saltpetre supply of the kingdom was engaging the serious consideration of the Council. Lord Carew, the Master General of the Ordnance, writing to the Privy Council on the 6th of that month⁷ to excuse his attendance at the board on the following day, proposed that English merchants should bring over considerable quantities of saltpetre from Germany and the east countries, somewhat illogically arguing that, as in those times there was more use of this commodity than formerly, more would be made in those countries than there were mills enough left by the devastation of the wars to convert into powder. Ireland moreover he thought would prove a fertile field for saltpetre, 'though the wisdom of former times has been careful to keep the manufacture thereof from the knowledge of the Irish.' Mr. Secretary Coke, writing on the same day to his colleague Lord Conway, says: ⁸ 'The chief care then to be pressed by their lordships is to have as great a quantity of saltpetre to be made as the kingdom will afford without exhausting the mines . . . I know that in Italy the mines of saltpetre are improved by art . . . But a sure way were to require our merchants, especially those who trade to the Eastland and to the East Indies, to ballast their ships homeward bound with saltpetre. . . . No doubt many will undertake to provide from Dantzick as the East India Company now did, who had one hundred barrels taken out of our ships returning to Elsenor, because they had not his Majesty's licence for it.'

The incorporation of the East India Company, and the consequent opening out of the trade with India, had indeed furnished a means of importing large quantities of saltpetre without any of those economic and political complications with the continent of Europe which had in the early years of Elizabeth's reign led to the development of the home manufacture of this commodity. The government was not long in availing itself of this means to such an extent that in October 1629⁹ we find the Council issuing a warrant to allow the Com-

¹ Pat. 31 Eliz. pt. 8, m. 10 (25).

² S. P. Dom. Jas. I. ix. 68.

³ Pat. 2 Jas. I. pt. 7, m. 25.

⁴ S. P. Dom. Jas. I. cxx. 102.

⁵ Ibid. Chas. I. ccxli. 69, 78.

⁶ Ibid. cccclxxxiii. 83.

⁷ Ibid. xi. 27.

⁸ Ibid. xi. 24.

⁹ Ibid. cl. 108.

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pany to export fifty tons of saltpetre brought from India together with a thousand barrels of gunpowder, as the king's stores and Mr. Evelyn's were sufficiently supplied. But before long there was again a want of saltpetre. For the eight months preceding 20 March 1632-3 the account of saltpetre brought into the store records a deficiency of 297 cwt.,¹ and following accounts show a similar state of affairs.

The price which the gunpowder maker was to pay for saltpetre had been fixed by the terms of his contract at £3 3s. 4d. the hundredweight of 112 lb.² This also we learn in November 1635 was the price which the government had contracted to pay for a certain quantity to be imported by the East India Company.³ But in the following year it is stated that the Barbary merchants supplied saltpetre at 45s. the hundredweight, whereas the making of the same quantity cost an Englishman £3 15s.⁴ In 1637 the Admiralty agreed to pay the East India Company at the rate of £3 10s. the hundredweight for all saltpetre they should bring over.⁵ Cordwell, the Chilworth powder maker, had petitioned that he might be allowed to have all that the Company had imported, as otherwise his mills must stand still.⁶ His petition was granted, and he was authorized to charge £4 11s. 8d. per hundredweight for so much of his saltpetre as he should refine. At the end of the same year we find Cordwell still complaining of a want of saltpetre to keep his mills in work, and in consequence that the Ordnance officers were directed to have a price set on 20 tons of the same which had been bought in Barbary by a Dutch merchant of English factors, contrary to the terms of the king's contract with these factors to have all that should be made there. This saltpetre had been brought to London and there put into the Custom House.⁷

Against Cordwell's complaints of the insufficiency of the saltpetre supplied we must put the fact that in an undated petition, which has been assigned to this same year (1637), the saltpetre men complained that he refused to take their saltpetre off their hands.⁸ If the grievance was well founded it would seem to prove that the artificial product of this country did not compare favourably with the naturally produced one from the Indies.

On 9 February 1638-9 the clerk in charge of the saltpetre storehouse was ordered to keep a distinct register of the

product of each parcel of foreign saltpetre delivered to the gunpowder maker.⁹ A little more than a year previous to this order he had begun to state separately in his periodical returns the quantity brought in by the saltpetre men and that received from merchants. Thus from May to November 1637 out of a total supply of 128 lasts 1 qr. and 13 lb., 35 lasts 15 cwt. had been brought in by the latter.¹⁰

In the same order of February 1638-9 it is stated that all the saltpetre made in the kingdom was not enough by above 40 lasts to make the proportion of powder which the powder maker was obliged by his contract to supply every year. In November 1641 the total deficiency is returned as 89 lasts, and this in spite of the fact that some saltpetre had been supplied by three saltpetre men not by virtue of the royal commission, but as a commodity sold by way of merchandise.¹¹

With the abolition of monopolies on the meeting of the Long Parliament the authorized manufacture of gunpowder in the kingdom ceased to be exclusively a Surrey industry, consequently we are no longer concerned with the general conditions which regulated its production. But having now endeavoured to ascertain the circumstances under which the gunpowder makers obtained their supplies of the chief article of consumption in their trade we are in a better position to understand the history of the successive contracts into which the government entered with these makers from the reign of Elizabeth until the outbreak of the great Civil War.

The earliest notice we can quote of a gunpowder mill in Surrey occurs in February 1554-5, when Henry Reve is said to have erected such a mill upon a parcel of pasture ground called 'the Crengé' in Rotherhithe, which had formerly belonged to the abbey of Bermondsey, and to which Reve was alleged to have no just title. He was accused too of having weakened the banks against the mill by reason of the great abundance of water which came in at the flood-gates and sluices made for it, so that the ground of the Crown's tenants thereabouts was surrounded and drowned with water. Moreover by enclosing the ground with ditches he had stopped up a common highway there and forced the inhabitants of those parts 'to go far about' to their great loss and hindrance.¹²

¹ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. ccxxxiv. 28.

² Ibid. Jas. I. cxx. 102.

³ Ibid. Chas. I. cccii. 119. ⁴ Ibid. cccxli. 70.

⁵ Ibid. ccxcii. 48. ⁶ Ibid. cclvii. 38.

⁷ Ibid. cclliii. fo. 75. ⁸ Ibid. cclxxvi. 155.

⁹ Ibid. ccxcii. 97. ¹⁰ Ibid. cclxxi. 3.

¹¹ Ibid. cccclxxxv. 45.

¹² Ct. of Requests Proc. Phil. and Mary, vol. 24, No. 119.

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Presumably at this date he must have been dependent upon foreign supplies for his saltpetre.

Not quite a year had elapsed since Honrick had agreed to instruct the English in the art of saltpetre making when, on 26 February 1561-2, the Bishop of Winchester, then Lord Treasurer, forwarded to Sir William Cecil a bill or tender put to him and the lieutenant of the Ordnance for making of gunpowder, 'which,' he writes, 'the lieutenant and I allow very well for that the realm shall be served within itself without seeking of any foreign countries.'¹ The tender was made by three gunpowder makers, who stated that they had erected at great cost five new powder mills with which they could supply the queen yearly with a hundred lasts of fine cornpowder and another hundred of serpentine powder over and above all that was required by the merchants and others of the kingdom. The cornpowder they would supply to the queen at the rate of £3 5s. the hundredweight, the serpentine at £2 16s. 8d., the price to private subjects being 8d. per pound for the former, 7d. for the latter.

The terms here used, as they appear to have remained fixed throughout the period we are now especially dealing with, may be briefly explained.

Cornpowder, as may be inferred from its higher price, was the superior powder of the two, being well corned or granulated and better able to withstand the effects of damp. The last, the usual term in which gunpowder was reckoned in consignments of any large quantity, consisted of 24 cwt., the hundredweight in the case of gunpowder being always exactly 100 lb. With saltpetre, on the other hand, it is always stated in the later contracts that the hundredweight is to be of 112 lb., the extra 12 lb. being the quantity which the powder maker was permitted to allow for waste in the process of double refining, before converting it into gunpowder.

The names of the three makers who were thus prepared to contract for the gunpowder supply of the whole kingdom were Brian Hogge, Robert Thomas, and Francis a Lee, or Francis Lee as he is called in later documents. Of them the last at any rate was a Surrey man. In 1578 he is described as of Rotherhithe (Redreff), and was still gunpowder maker to the queen.² It is possible he then owned the mill which Reve had set up some time before 1555. In November

1566 he was appointed to the office of a gunner in the Tower of London.³

But little evidence is forthcoming respecting the way in which these three makers carried out the terms of their contract. On 3 April 1564 the lieutenant of the Ordnance, writing to Cecil to complain of the terms which certain foreign makers of gunpowder were willing to make with the government, adds his opinion that 'our powder makers be talked withal and to learn what price they will demand and what quantity they will take upon them to make and in what time for I see no reason to seek for powder beyond the seas if it may be made as good cheap at home. Two of our powder makers not long since offered me to deliver for ready money twenty lasts between this and midsummer.'⁴

It is evident that at this time and indeed for some time later the government did not venture to be wholly dependent upon the home produced powder. As late as 1589 we hear of it being brought from abroad into the queen's store, the price being as high as 12d. the pound, or half as much again as that for which English makers were prepared to supply it.⁵ Moreover the accepted method of making saltpetre was apparently not at once altogether satisfactory, for experiments were being tried in other methods. Thus in 1575 John Bovyat had a grant for twenty-one years of the exclusive privilege of manufacturing saltpetre and gunpowder from stone minerals.⁶ Of this we hear no more. Nor indeed do we of the experiments at Fulstone in Yorkshire, reported successful in 1583, of making saltpetre from a mineral substance found in the cliffs.⁷

The year of the Armada, 1588, was one of those periods, not very rare in our history, when the country was perforce awakened to its unpreparedness for war. According to a memorandum made in 1600,⁸ and based upon the accounts of the ordnance up to the year 1588, there had never been above 20 or 30 lasts of English gunpowder delivered into the queen's stores. This was partly because of the want of skilled makers, but chiefly because no certain person was enjoined to bring in any fixed quantity. Even with all that foreign merchants could provide the supply was greatly deficient, so that it is not surprising that, once the business of the threatened invasion was disposed of,

³ Exch. of Receipt, Auditors' Pat. Bks. ix. fol. 140.

⁴ S. P. Dom. Eliz. xxxiii. 40.

⁵ Ibid. cccxiv. 110.

⁶ Ibid. cvi. 53.

⁷ Ibid. clxi. 11.

⁸ Ibid. cclxxv. 76.

¹ S. P. Dom. Eliz. xxi. 56.

² Ibid. cxxiv. 8.

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the Council should have set about to remedy the evil and to bring about an entirely new order of things. For the first time they now contracted with certain makers for the supply of all the gunpowder required for the State to be made at home, and we now enter upon that stage in which the history of the whole English gunpowder industry may be said to be peculiarly that of the Surrey industry.

On 28 January 1588-9 George Evelyn, Richard Hills (or Hill) and John Evelyn, a son of George, were licensed by royal Letters Patent to dig and get saltpetre within the realms of England and Ireland, except in London and within the radius of two miles from its walls, and in the five most northern English counties, and to convert the same into gunpowder for provision of the queen's stores. The licence was to endure for eleven years, and the justices of the peace, the mayors and other local officers were enjoined to assist them in the carrying out of their work.¹

In the letter written by John Evelyn and prefixed to Aubrey's *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* the writer says: 'Not far from my brother's house (at Wotton) upon the streams and ponds since filled up and drained stood many powder mills, erected by my ancestors, who were the very first who brought that invention into England, before which we had all our powder out of Flanders.'² That the second part of this statement is not altogether correct has already been shown. It does not appear moreover that the Evelyns ever worked any of the mills in the neighbourhood of Wotton, at any rate in early times. George Evelyn was of Long Ditton and his son John is described in 1589 as of Kingston-upon-Thames.³ Manning and Bray are of opinion that the gunpowder mills commonly called Malden Mills at Long Ditton, and in their time worked by William Taylor, probably mark the place where the Evelyns carried on their work.³ Their first mills were undoubtedly situated on the little stream known as the Hogsmill river, which, rising in Ewell, flows into the Thames under the Clattern bridge in Kingston. By this stream the Evelyns, father and sons, must have carried out their successive contracts with the government until 1613 or sometime before when John, the son, had transferred his mills to Godstone.⁴

The further statement made by Evelyn in his letter that the gunpowder patent remained in the family of the Evelyns of Godstone until the outbreak of the Civil Wars is also incorrect, that family, as will appear shortly, having ceased to hold the monopoly in 1636.

That there were however early gunpowder mills near Wotton is probably true, for the Evelyns' partner in their first patent of 1589, Richard Hill, is described as a gentleman of Shere in Surrey.⁵ The Evelyns and Hill did not work their mills together as a joint stock business, but, apportioning among themselves the total amount of powder to be supplied, worked independently of each other. Hill took into partnership in the first year of his patent George Constable of the Minories, Aldgate, and John Grange of Stapleford Hall Abbey in Essex.⁶ Grange soon afterwards relinquished the partnership, and a new one was entered into by Hill and Constable.⁷ From the fact that the three partners, and afterwards the two, agreed to pay the clerk of the deliveries at the Tower during their co-partnership a yearly pension of £30 in consideration of his seeing that Hill had his just third of all the saltpetre brought in, it is to be inferred that the co-patentees had divided equally between themselves the total amount of business that fell to them under the conditions of the patent.

Some idea of the extent of this business in the first year of the patent may be learnt from a note of the saltpetre brought into the Tower by the saltpetre men between 28 February 1588-9 and 25 September 1589, and delivered to the powder makers. In all 45,583 lb. were supplied to Evelyn and 19,754 lb. to Hill.⁸ During this period, as we have seen, powder was still being supplied from abroad at the rate of 12*d.* the pound. In 1595 it was stated that the English makers were prepared to provide the queen with powder at 8*a.* and 7½*d.* a pound.⁹ Even then the government were still contracting for supplies of foreign powder at 12*d.*¹⁰ Among Lord Burghley's 'notes of things to be performed' in September of that year are bargains for saltpetre and powder from Stade with the Merchants Adventurers, and 'underhand' by Sir Francis Vere with the merchants of Amsterdam.¹¹ The importance however which was attached to the English industry

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¹ Pat. 31 Eliz. pt. 8, m. 10 (25).

² S. P. Dom. Eliz. ccxxvii. 4.

³ *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 12.

⁴ He is described as 'John Evelyn, esq., of Godstone, Surrey' in September 1613 (*Analytical*

⁵ S. P. Dom. Eliz. ccxxxix. 33.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.* ccxli. 48.

⁸ *Ibid.* ccxxvii. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.* cclv. 63.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ccliv. 64.

¹¹ *Ibid.* ccliii. 103.

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may be judged from the fact that on 28 April 1597 the Masters of the Court of Requests were especially urged by the ordnance officers to defer until Michaelmas term the hearing of a suit in which one of the saltpetre men was a party, because there was great need of his service for making saltpetre to be used by Evelyn for making gunpowder, which could not be so conveniently done as in summer.¹

The patent of 1589 expired at the end of 1599, and on 7 September of that year a new one was granted.² Both George Evelyn and Richard Hill now retired from the business, and the new patentees in addition to John Evelyn were his brother Robert, Richard Hardinge, John Wrenham and Simeon Furner. In the preamble allusion is made to the damage done to the queen's subjects in the previous making of gunpowder within the realm, by the great consumption of wood, and also by their being excessively charged with the finding of the carriages required in the work. As some palliative to these inconveniences it is stated that John Evelyn and his fellow patentees were reputed to have contrived some means by which the consumption of wood and fuel and the number of carriages required were likely to be greatly reduced. What this invention was we are not informed, and we hear no more of it. The scope of this new patent was extended by the inclusion of the right to the Evelyns and Hill, so soon as a then existing grant to George Constable, already mentioned as the partner of Richard Hill, should have expired, to dig and work saltpetre within those northern counties which had been excepted in the former patent.

The queen was now³ to be served with 100 lasts of powder yearly at 7*d.* the pound, a saving, as remarked in the contemporary notes, before referred to, on the benefits derived from the home manufacture of gunpowder, of no less than £5,000 in the year. If required a further quantity of 20 lasts was to be supplied each year. What the powder makers could make over and above the queen's requirements, they were allowed to retail to merchants and other subjects at 10*d.* the pound.

A certificate made by the officers of the ordnance after this patent had been in operation for two years and eight months shows that the patentees had not failed to fulfil their covenant, and had monthly supplied the stipulated quantity of 8 lasts 8 cwt. of good cornpowder.³ Not only this, but

they had offered to serve a much greater quantity if required, and the amount of stock lying in their hands was increasing to such an extent that it was recommended that a request made by Sir Noel Caron for 30 lasts of powder and 10 of saltpetre for the States General should be granted. So that at this time not only was it possible for England to produce sufficient saltpetre and gunpowder to satisfy her own needs, but she was able also to supply the very country from which formerly she had drawn her principal supplies of these commodities.

Besides supplying new powder the patentees had also agreed to renew all such powder as should have grown unserviceable whilst in the Crown's stores. A Pipe Office account shows the total amount of decayed powder issued to John and Robert Evelyn for repair from 22 September 1595 to 9 January 1603-4, the quantity of double-refined saltpetre they had received from the Tower stores, and the amount of repaired powder which they had returned.⁴ The total quantity of decayed powder which they had received was 117 lasts 21 cwt. 53 lb., and the total renewed and returned by them 96 lasts 3 cwt. 93 lb. Allowing 1 last 5 cwt. 59 lb. for waste, this meant a net deficiency of 20 lasts 12 cwt. 1 lb., which at various rates per pound was valued at £934 11*s.* 11½*d.* Of saltpetre they had received 20,413 lb. and had returned 638 lb., the deficiency of 19,775 lb. at 8*d.* per lb. being valued at £659 3*s.* 4*d.* Thus the total amount which the Evelyns were accounted to owe the Crown was £1,593 15*s.* 3½*d.*, but against this had to be set various sums of money owing upon debentures to them and their late father for powder, recompense for divers losses, and money advanced by them to the auditor for his expenses. At the time the account was made up the Evelyns had by payment into the Exchequer of two sums of £558 15*s.* 0½*d.* and £30 4*s.* 1¾*d.* settled the debit balance against them.

The patentees were not allowed to enjoy the exercise of their royal licence without some cavilling. A number of arguments drawn up by the law officers of the Crown probably in 1602⁵ aim at proving that the patent of 1599 did not constitute a monopoly but was useful in policy, equity and by common law, and was not impeached by a proclamation of 28 November 1601. That the patentees were not the sole makers of gunpowder in the realm may be seen in the occurrence of the name of another maker

¹ S. P. Dom. Add. xxxiii. 80.

² Pat. 41 Eliz. pt. 4, m. 8.

³ S. P. Dom. Eliz. cclxxxiv. 10.

⁴ Pipe Office Declared Accts. 2708.

⁵ S. P. Dom. Eliz. cclxxxvi. 42.

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within our own county, Richard Neede of Rotherhithe in the year 1600.¹ Possibly his mill was the old one which Henry Reve had set up by the year 1555, or, if it was not the same, that of Francis Lee. In 1603 Evelyn and his fellow patentees complained that since the queen's death the validity of their patent had been vexatiously questioned, and requested the Council's letters of assistance to confirm it.²

The patent had been granted for a term of ten years, but one half only of this term had elapsed when it was cancelled on the requisition on 18 October 1604 of the two Evelyns and Hardinge.³ Of the two remaining patentees Simeon Furner was now dead,⁴ and John Wrenham, if still alive, had evidently relinquished all his right and interest in the undertaking to the others. Simultaneously with this surrender the three makers were granted a new patent,⁵ for which they had previously made their 'humble offer.' The terms of this offer or tender, so far as they relate to the production of saltpetre, have been already commented upon. The petitioners represented that they had effected a saving to the treasure of the kingdom of £20,000 a year, and were maintaining 1,000 people with their families who had no other trade of life. They offered to serve the Crown with 100 or 120 lasts yearly, but prayed that they might have all houses and grounds fitting the service, and a year's warning before their contract should be determined.

By the terms of their new compact with the Crown they were to supply 120 lasts of cornpowder yearly at 8*d.* the pound, 10 lasts to be sent in every month. Cornpowder required over and above this amount, both for callivers and cannon, was to be paid for at the rate of 10*d.* the pound.

The term of the present patent was enlarged to twenty-one years, and a penalty of £50 for every monthly default on the part of the powder makers was imposed. The preamble sets out in detail the advantages which had been gained by the making of powder within the realm. These are said to include, besides freedom from the caprice of princes who might demand unreasonable rates, and from the hazards of contrary winds at sea and shipwreck, the riddance of that special bug-

bear of the old mercantile theory of commerce, the necessity, that is to say, of sending ready money out of the kingdom.

This patent had been in operation for a little more than two years and a half, when it would seem to have been superseded on 8 May 1607 by one granted to the Earl of Worcester, to make and work for all manner of saltpetre and gunpowder within the realms of England and Ireland for twenty-one years.⁶ The preamble to this makes mention of 'such inconveniences as have grown through the abuses of some such as have had the dealing in making of saltpetre,' to avoid which the Crown had sought to furnish its stores from the parts beyond the seas, a course which however had proved expensive and impracticable.

Then follows a period of ten years during which we hear little of the supply of gunpowder, and are left in ignorance as to whether the earl himself turned powder maker or whether he deputed his powers to others, and if so to whom. At any rate powder more than sufficient was supplied to the Tower stores, for in January 1610 the king licensed the earl to send 1,200 barrels abroad to friendly nations, and afterwards 'all such as shall not be required in our stores.'⁷ Probably John Evelyn continued to work his mills, for he was able, when the Earl of Worcester relinquished his patent on 28 March 1617, to continue the service. In December 1620 we find him again accounting for decayed powder and saltpetre received from the ordnance stores, and for new powder supplied in place of the same.⁸

Hitherto the sovereign had kept in his own hands the business of appointing his gunpowder contractors, but about this time it is evident that he was endeavouring to make some new arrangement and to depute his authority. For a short time the whole gunpowder business seems to have been in an unsettled state. On 24 January 1619-20⁹ the king granted the licence to make gunpowder to his Lord High Admiral, the Marquis of Buckingham and some others, and again on 21 September of that year¹⁰ to a commission which included the same officer and the Masters of the Ordnance and of the Court of Wards. These commissioners would seem to have no sooner assumed their functions than they were anxious to be rid

¹ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xi. 117.

² S. P. Dom. Jas. I. i. 64.

³ See the 'vacatur' clause at the end of the indenture enrolled on Pat. 41 Eliz. pt. 4, m. 12.

⁴ Pipe Office Declared Accts. 2708.

⁵ Pat. 2 Jas. I. pt. 7, ms. 20, 25.

⁶ Pat. 5 Jas. I. pt. 11, m. 41*d.*

⁷ S. P. Dom. Jas. I. Add. xxxix. 114.

⁸ *Ibid.* Jas. I. cxviii. 74.

⁹ *Ibid.* Grant Bk. 281.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Docquets.

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of them, for on 4 November following they suggested a plan whereby the king by suppressing some of the officers in the ordnance and resuming to himself the saltpetre manufacture might effect a very considerable saving.¹ Their arguments were objected to as fallacies by the officers of the ordnance. Meanwhile John Evelyn, accused of the non-fulfilment of his contract with the commissioners, complained that no agreement had been ratified.² But in 1621³ we find that the commissioners were the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Carew and Sir Lionel Cranfield, and from this time until the meeting of the Long Parliament the business of contracting for the supply of gunpowder and saltpetre was vested in the Lords of the Admiralty, who in the exercise of this function are almost invariably termed the Commissioners for Saltpetre and Gunpowder.

On 21 April 1621⁴ the first of a series of contracts, each contract being for a period of three years, was entered into with John Evelyn by the Commissioners. In a report made by the officers of the Ordnance⁵ when the last of these contracts was expiring, Evelyn's contracts are given as four in number, dated respectively 21 April 1621, 1 July 1624, 16 March 1626-7, and 7 July 1632. This omits one which would seem to have been made in April 1630.⁶ The general principles upon which these different contracts were based remained the same, such modifications as were introduced into the later ones being chiefly concerned with the quantities of powder to be supplied and with the price. To illustrate therefore the conditions under which our Surrey gunpowder makers worked for a period of twenty years we may recapitulate here the terms of the Commissioners' first contract with John Evelyn, as they are set out in a State Paper of the date. The more important modifications in the later contracts will be briefly noted afterwards.

The chief points are these:—

(1) The deputation made by the Lords to Evelyn was to continue for three years from 21 April 1621, if the Lords' commission should continue so long in force.

(2) Evelyn was to provide a storehouse in Southwark or within a mile thereof for the storage of the saltpetre made by virtue of the king's patent, and was to notify the allowed saltpetre men of the fact.

¹ S. P. Dom. Jas. I. cxvii. 54.

² Ibid. cxviii. 72.

³ Ibid. Grant Bk. 287.

⁴ Ibid. Jas. I. cxx. 102.

⁵ On 4 April 1637, *ibid.* Chas. I. ccclii. 27.

⁶ See *ibid.* clxv. 50.

(3) He was weekly and from time to time to buy from all the saltpetre men all the saltpetre made by virtue of their patent.

(4) The quantity of all saltpetre before it was received by Evelyn was to be entered in a ledger by a clerk appointed by the Lords, and Evelyn was to subscribe the entry or to give bills for every receipt.

(5) Within six days of the delivery and receipt of the saltpetre Evelyn was to pay the saltpetre men at the rate of £3 3s. 4d. the cwt., accounting 112 lb. to every cwt. In case of any of the saltpetre being adjudged faulty by the proofmaster appointed by the Lords such abatement was to be made as should seem reasonable to two men appointed the one by Evelyn and the other by the deliverer of the saltpetre in question.

(6) Evelyn within a convenient time of receiving it was to double-refine the saltpetre at his own charge, allowing for waste 12 lb. in every cwt. of 112 lb.

(7) Evelyn within convenient time of double-refining the saltpetre was to convert it into gunpowder for the use of the king and his subjects, and was yearly to deliver at the Tower 80 lasts in even monthly portions of 6 lasts 16 cwt., 'well conditioned, corned, cooped, and dried and well barrelled and casked in good cask of seasonable oak without sap, well hooped, closed, and dried,' accounting twenty-four barrels to the last and 100 lb. net to every barrel.

(8) If the petre delivered was not enough to make 120 lasts every year, Evelyn was to deliver to the Tower but two-thirds of all the powder he should make and sell the remaining third to subjects, except upon any special demand for the king's stores.

(9) Evelyn, over and above the said quantity of 80 lasts, was to deliver such greater proportion of powder as at any time the Lords should require upon the Crown's behalf, provided that the saltpetre received was sufficient to make it. All powder brought into the king's stores should be proved by the officers of the Ordnance and defects supplied from time to time.

(10) Evelyn was to be paid upon the four officers' certificate to the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor, at the rate of 7d. per pound for every monthly delivery of 6 lasts 16 cwt., and for every pound of powder delivered by the Lords' warrant over and above the annual proportion of 80 lasts, 10d.

(11) If the Lords should think fit that the whole quantity of 80 lasts be not delivered to his Majesty's use Evelyn was to allow £30 for every last so forborne.

(12) Every last of gunpowder was to be

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made of the temper and commixture of 18 cwt. of double-refined saltpetre to 3 cwt. of brimstone of Naples or of other parts of Italy, 'if it be to be had within the realm,' and 3 cwt. of charcoal.

(13) Any of the gunpowder delivered becoming defective within seven years and not having been issued for service was to be exchanged by Evelyn without any payment to be made to him for so doing.

(14) Should Evelyn fail in his monthly delivery of 6 lasts 16 cwt. from any other cause than the want of the full proportion of saltpetre to be delivered for the making of 120 lasts yearly, he was to pay the king £200 for every default *nomine pænæ*.

(15) In the event of Evelyn's being unpaid within twelve days of the delivery of his first monthly proportion and being unpaid for both within twelve days of the delivery of the second month's, he could forbear the delivery of any more to the king's stores and sell all such powder forborne to the king's subjects at the rate below fixed, until full payment of arrears was made to him.

(16) All powder sold to the subject was to be first proved and allowed by the Ordnance officers, and was not to be sold above the rate of 10*d.* the pound.

(17) Should neither of the parties to this contract signify disapproval before the expiration of the first two years, then at the end of the third year Evelyn was to tender to the Lords for a like contract for a further three years.

(18) Evelyn was to pay to the Lords or to such person as they should appoint £20 yearly by even quarterly payments.

Such were the general conditions under which, save for the subsequent modifications now to be noticed, a leading Surrey industry was for twenty years to be carried on. It will be gathered from them that the total amount of saltpetre which the saltpetre men were charged to produce every year was estimated to be sufficient for the making of 120 lasts of gunpowder. Two thirds of this total amount were appropriated to the government's stores, the remaining third being the portion assigned for the requirements of merchant seamen and other private subjects. In Evelyn's second contract with the Commissioners of 1 July 1624,¹ the yearly quantity to be delivered to the Crown was raised to 240 lasts or 20 lasts a month and the price

to 8½*d.* per pound. In addition no limit was set to the rate which the contractor might demand for such powder as should not be taken off his hands by the government. In Evelyn's succeeding contracts the same yearly proportion was observed, but in the last, that of 1632, the rate per pound was reduced to 8*d.*

How far Evelyn kept to the terms of his successive contracts is set out in the Ordnance report of 1637. How far the government on its part observed its obligations to him may be gathered here and there from the State Papers. From the report it appears that under the first contract 6 lasts 16 cwt. of powder were duly delivered every month for the first fifteen months, making a total quantity of 100 lasts of the total value of £7,000. For the remaining twenty-one months of the term of the contract not a single pound seems to have been delivered. Sir John Coke, complaining of this deficiency in March 1624,² states that thereby the king's store was deficient and that the king had lost his ratio of 3*d.* in the pound on a large quantity. This would seem to show that it was the practice for the government to retail a considerable amount of the powder in its stores to subjects at 10*d.* the pound. But the fault of the deficiency was not Evelyn's. Sir Francis Nethersole, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton on 18 April 1624,³ says that the heaviest charge against the Lord Treasurer was his neglect to pay the gunpowder maker, so that the then supply of powder was very small, and on 26 August 1625, during the term of the second contract, Sir John Coke writes to Mr. Secretary Conway that the king was in debt to Evelyn £2,250, and that the answer of the Treasurer was that there were no moneys for him.⁴ Under the second contract Evelyn delivered his first twenty months' total proportion of 400 lasts, but nothing for the remaining sixteen months. By this second contract £2,000 had been imprested to him both for security of the future payments to him and in regard to the new mills which he was then erecting at Godstone. This sum was allowed to continue in his hands by the contract of 1627, and in 1628 was released to him altogether by the king.⁵ In the latter year Evelyn's affairs seem to have become desperate. He himself in 1627 had complained that no payment had been made to him for six months, and that owing to the manufacture of gunpowder by others, a liberty

¹ See the above quoted Ordnance report of 1637 for notes of the principal modifications made in the successive contracts, and how far Evelyn was able to carry out the terms of each.

² S. P. Dom. Jas. I. clxi. 13.

³ Ibid. clxiii. 3.

⁴ Ibid. Chas. I. v. 85.

⁵ Ibid. cxxiv. 9.

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which he asserts had been given to none but himself and his ancestors for over sixty years, he had no sale for the powder made by him for the king.¹ But on 12 January 1627-8, the Earl of Totnes² complains to Buckingham of the inability of the Ordnance Office to arm an intended fleet of a hundred ships, and says that Mr. Evelyn was sinking under the burden of the great sums due to him. No more was to be expected of him until he had been satisfied. Not more than 50 lasts were in store, and the proposed fleet would require near 250. To remedy this state of affairs in the government stores some attempt seems to have been made, previously to this, to import foreign powder. The report on this attempt was distinctly unfavourable.³ Philip Burlamachi had delivered in July 1627, 56 lasts of Dutch powder at a price nearly double that of the powder supplied by Evelyn. Moreover this powder had proved so inferior that 4 lb. of it were less effectual than 3 lb. of English, so that, it is added, if the money had been found for Evelyn the king might have had, instead of these 56 lasts of Dutch powder, within the same space of time, 60 lasts of English at almost half the price and of one fourth better quality.

Notwithstanding Evelyn's difficulties in getting payment for his powder from the government, there were not wanting rivals who in this same year were prepared to blacken his name by representing him as the owner of a large fortune derived from the ill-gotten gains of deceits practised upon the Commissioners. In some memoranda existing amongst the State Papers and assigned to the year 1628 the damage sustained by the Crown in seven years by the contracts for converting saltpetre into gunpowder is computed to amount to £106,925, and it is offered to prove to the Commissioners that Evelyn and his agent Pygott by their monopoly, giving bribes, deceiving the king, abusing the subject, and out of other men's labours had got an estate of near £40,000 within four years.⁴ Such objections to Evelyn's performance of his contracts were doubtless not altogether disinterested, and were presumably estimated at their proper value by the authorities.

In one of these papers however is recorded a transaction of the government, whereby it appears that whilst putting off the evil day of payment, it endeavoured to retain some part of the gunpowder delivered, and for a lengthened period to preserve its option of ultimately

purchasing the remainder. One Sir Thomas Bludder had proposed to the Lords to pay Evelyn himself when the Treasurer made default, and to take over the powder, of which he would give the king the tenth part for nothing and sell the residue at 10*d.* the pound. This offer had been accepted by the Lords by their order of 24 January 1627-8, with the provision that all the powder should first be sent to the Tower, and, if paid for within fourteen days of delivery and proof, should be put into the king's stores. Otherwise Bludder was to take it away, but with the option reserved to the Crown of purchasing any that had not been retailed to subjects at 8½*d.* the pound. By means of this little arrangement it is stated that Evelyn had brought in to the Tower two months' more proportion than otherwise he would have done. This quantity had been acquired by Bludder and sold by him at 10*d.* to Sir Paul Harris, who had again sold the same to a merchant at 11¼*d.* Objections had been raised to this transaction, which are answered in the document under notice. One of these had been to the selling of the powder out of the royal stores, to which the answer was, that 'being in the Tower was not being in the stores and that as good sell it from there as from Evelyn's own storehouse.'

The subsequent history of Evelyn's contracts varies little from the preceding, save only that the getting of any money out of the Treasury seems to have been a work of increasing difficulty. For only twelve months of the whole thirty-six for which powder was to be supplied by him in accordance with the terms of the contract of 1627 was he able to deliver the required quantity. By the contract of 1630 a further sum of £2,000 was to be imprested. This contract is omitted from the before-quoted report of 1637, and how much powder Evelyn may have supplied whilst it was in operation cannot be stated. Probably he fared no better than before. At any rate during the last of his triennial contracts, that of 1632, only nine months' proportion of powder was sent in by him.

In the closing days of the term of this contract there seems to have been considerable uncertainty on the part of the Commissioners as to the future conduct of the gunpowder business. Various tenders were made; amongst them were those of Sir Arthur Mainwaring and Andrew Pitcairn, who offered to supply powder at 8*d.* the pound, and of the Earl of Newport and Sir John Heydon, who were ready to provide powder, if upon the king's stock of £4,000 at 7*d.*, if upon their own stock at 8*d.* the

¹ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. lxxxix. 9.

² Ibid. xc. 64. ³ Ibid. xciv. 105.

⁴ Ibid. Add. dxxix. 88, 89.

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pound.¹ None of these were accepted, and eventually John Evelyn agreed to supply for a half year from 1 May 1635, 16 lasts monthly at his previous rate of 8*d*.² On the expiry of this term a further agreement was made with him, this time for a whole year from 1 November 1635.³ He was now to serve 20 lasts per month, but it is to be remarked that a reduction seems to have been made in the capacity of this measure, for, while it was still to consist of twenty-four barrels, each barrel was to contain 60 lb. only, instead of 100 as before.

The determination of this contract brings to an end the Evelyns' connection with the gunpowder industry, at least in an official capacity. For not immediately did John Evelyn cease to work his mills. He probably had some store of the government's saltpetre remaining in hand, for in the second month of their contract his successors complained that he was converting the saltpetre which should be theirs to the prejudice of their works.⁴ In Evelyn's final petition to be discharged of his contracts, he claims allowance for 1,135 barrels of gunpowder made with his own saltpetre as well for all his losses sustained by the erection of his mills and workhouses for the public service.⁵ His successors were also Surrey men, the owners of the Chilworth mills. But before considering the history of these latter works, it may be convenient to note here a few makers who, notwithstanding the alleged monopoly of John Evelyn, seem to have carried on some trade in the supply of the commodity.

The most formidable of these competitors was the East India Company. We first hear of the proposed erection of mills in England by this Company on 2 March 1624-5, when Lord Carew, one of the commissioners for saltpetre and gunpowder, wrote to Sir John Coke that it would open a floodgate and diminish the king's profits from the poundage he received on all the powder made by Evelyn.⁶ Shortly after this, on 13 April following, Charles I.'s proclamation for the maintenance and increase of the mines of saltpetre and the true making of gunpowder was issued. The provisions of this chiefly relate to the production of saltpetre and have been already noticed. One of them however prohibited any one from making 'gunpowder of any saltpetre for service against any enemy or for sale but by his majesty's warrant.'

Such warrant must have been obtained by the company, for on 26 August of the same year we hear that it had set up mills in the skirts of Windsor Forest, which owing to the prejudice received by the deer it had been necessary to stop.⁷ However a few days later the secretary, Conway, wrote that he saw no reason why the company should not proceed in their powder works. Windsor Forest was held to extend into Surrey at this time, but its exact limits and those of its purlieu or skirts were matter of considerable uncertainty, and it does not appear from the State Papers where these first powder mills of the East India Company actually were. But probably about or soon after this time its mills at Chilworth were set agoing. Vincent Randyll (or Randall) in 1654⁸ states that his father, Sir Edward Randyll, leased several powder mills near his dwelling in Chilworth to the East India Company for twenty-one years. Since that time they had been rented by yearly tenants. But the date of Sir Edward Randyll's lease to the company is not given. The Company may perhaps have first set up its powder mills only with a view to supplying the requirements of its own service. But for the manufacture of gunpowder on an extensive scale it had exceptional facilities in the large supplies of naturally produced saltpetre which it could bring over from the Indies in its own ships. Certainly Evelyn's complaint, made about the year 1627,⁹ that the competition both of the Company and of one Michael Waring prevented the sale of his own powder conveys the impression that the Company did not then limit the output of its mills only to what sufficed for its own needs. By 1631 the Company's works must have been prohibited, for in that year Evelyn complains that notwithstanding the prohibition, Collins, the company's workman, still continued them and had repaired two of the mills, where he was making thirty barrels of gunpowder weekly.¹⁰ The mills were still at work in the next year, for there is a memorandum for an order to be given to the Attorney-General to prohibit the Company from making powder.¹¹ But in November 1635 Edward Collins of Chilworth contracted with the Commissioners for Saltpetre and Gunpowder to convert for one year into gunpowder to the quantity of 100 lasts the saltpetre which the king had arranged for the

¹ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cclxxxiii. 13.

² Ibid. cclxxxix. 61. ³ Ibid. ccxcii. 191.

⁴ Ibid. cccxxxviii. 49. ⁵ Ibid. ccxcxi. 79.

⁶ Ibid. Jas. I. clxxv. 6.

⁷ Ibid. Chas. I. v. 85.

⁸ Ibid. Interr. lxxvii. 7.

⁹ Ibid. Chas. I. lxxxix. 9.

¹⁰ Ibid. clxxxiv. 4.

¹¹ Ibid. ccxi. 79.

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East India Company to bring over from foreign parts.¹ From the terms of this contract it would not appear that the mills were then held by the Company, for it was agreed that Collins should buy its saltpetre at a price thereby fixed, and should be able to dispose of the powder made from it to his own use if it were not paid for by the government within fourteen days of delivery. The rate at which this powder was to be sold to the Crown was 7*d.* the pound, or a penny less than that paid for Evelyn's. Collins died before the term of this contract was completed. On 9 June 1636, direction was made for the issue of a warrant for payment to his widow and executrix of certain sums due to him for his pains in double-refining saltpetre and making a last of powder.² When the appointment of powder maker to the king was taken away from John Evelyn and given to the tenants of the Chilworth mills, the mills were in the occupation of Samuel Cordwell and George Collins.

Of the others with whom John Evelyn found himself in competition, Michael Waring has been already mentioned. We hear nothing more of him and do not know where he worked. The powder makers of Bristol are first mentioned on 24 February 1631-2, when we hear that their names were to be taken from Evelyn and they themselves sent for by warrant.³ On 8 March 1633-4 the names of four of them are given in a warrant for their appearance before the Council.⁴ But the warrant does not appear to have been actually issued, owing to Evelyn having given no charge in writing against them. The Bristol makers appear more frequently during the period of the monopoly of the Chilworth mills, and on 19 December 1637 the mayor was directed to search and suppress all the works in the city.⁵ One Baber seems to have been particularly refractory and persistent in continuing his manufacture. He is no doubt the William Baber or a relative of the man of that name who after the Restoration petitioned the king for payment for the large supplies of powder worth £1,500 with which he had furnished Charles I. at Bristol.⁶ Another Bristol maker, Parker, had obtained the king's licence for his manufacture. In 1640 the Commissioners in order to increase the sale of the government's powder, advised the revocation of this licence and the suppression of the mills.⁷

In Surrey we hear of a case in 1630 in which one of the saltpetre men had become a gunpowder maker, namely Thomas Thornhill, who had set up a horse-mill on the Bankside in Southwark.⁸ This was an obvious disqualification for the office of a saltpetre maker to the government. Illicit gunpowder-making seems to have gone on in Southwark, for ten years later, when there were some riotous proceedings there and at Lambeth, a large quantity of powder was discovered in a house close by the place where a session of oyer and terminer should have been held, and it was reported that gunpowder had been secretly made in Southwark for sale in foreign countries.⁹

But to take up the main thread of our history from the time when, on the expiry of the government's last contract with John Evelyn, Samuel Cordwell and George Collins of the Chilworth mills became on 1 November 1636 the only authorized gunpowder makers in the kingdom. The previous history of these mills has already been related in connection with what has been said of the East India Company's manufacture of powder. The terms of the contract with the new makers did not materially differ from those of the preceding ones.¹⁰ A sum of £2,000 as before was to be imprested from the Crown for building mills, storehouses, and work-houses, and for providing utensils, but all of these on the expiry of the contract were to be delivered to the king, who was also to pay the rent for the waters and lands, hired for the work, for the residue of the term of the lease, should he employ any other makers in the service. Two hundred and forty lasts were still to remain the full yearly proportion to be supplied, only the holding capacity of the barrel was restored to its original quantity of 100 lb. A sum of £3,000 was to remain in the hands of the lieutenant of the Ordnance as a guarantee for due payment being made to the makers during their first year. The price at which the government were to purchase the powder was reduced to 7½*d.* the pound.

On 25 September 1636, a few days before this contract came into operation, an order was sent by the Council to the mayors, sheriffs, justices and other local officers, directing them that as there was occasion of carriage of powder from his majesty's powder mills at Chilworth to Hamhew and thence to London, they were to assist Cordwell in taking up at the king's prices such

¹ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. ccclii. 119.

² Ibid. cccxxv. 83.

³ Ibid. ccxi. 79.

⁴ Ibid. ccxviii. fo. 126a. ⁵ Ibid. cccliii. fo. 76.

⁶ Ibid. Chas. II. xxix. 76 ; ccxxxii. 193.

⁷ Ibid. Chas. I. ccclxi. 35.

⁸ Ibid. clxv. 54.

⁹ Ibid. ccclvi. 44.

¹⁰ Ibid. cccix. 69.

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carts, hoys and barges as should be necessary for the purpose.¹ The saltpetre house was by the terms of the contract to be still in Southwark, but either it was early transferred to Kingston or another was set up there, for in 1636 we find one of the saltpetre men complaining of the refusal of two men to supply carts to carry liquor from Cheam to his majesty's saltpetre house in Kingston.² On the other side we have in this same year the complaint of the hundred of Kingston against the unjust exactions of the saltpetre men, a complaint to which we have already had occasion to refer.

Perhaps the most remarkable circumstance in the history of the manufacture of gunpowder by the Chilworth contractors was the constitution of the Crown as the sole powder merchant of the realm. The industry was rigidly treated as a monopoly, and the most active efforts were made to suppress all other makers. To meet the cost of the minimum proportion that was held necessary for the service of the State out of the total quantity supplied, it became the object of Charles I. to sell all the surplus at greatly enhanced prices. Thus in 1637 the retail price was raised from 12*d.* to 18*d.* per pound,³ and no powder was allowed to be sold but by licence of the Earl of Newport, the master of the Ordnance.⁴ As may be readily supposed, the result of this policy was to give increased impetus to the illicit manufacture of the commodity. The case of Southwark has been already mentioned. A newsletter of 8 June 1640 states that the secret manufacture there had been going on ever since powder had borne so great a price.⁵ The Bristol makers have also been noted. Cordwell himself, in some points he offered to the consideration of the Council in February 1639-40, drew attention to the fact that Bristol, in respect of its being the greatest shipping town in the realm, with the exception of London, must vend much powder, and suggested that the farmers of the Customs should return accounts of all sold there.⁶ The suggestion was acted upon by the Council, and an order directed to be made as had been done previously in the case of Southampton. The case of a maker in London is interesting, because incidentally it proves that in gunpowder making we have another of those industries between which and themselves the citizens of the capital preferred to put the whole breadth of the River Thames. The maker, Robert Davis by name, had at some

time carried on his trade in Whitechapel, where he had had his house blown up.⁷ Since then he had worked in Thames Street, to the great disquietude of his new neighbours, who were fearful of some unhappy accident.

The high price of the authorized powder and the increase of the illicit manufacture had their natural result in a very small demand for the king's gunpowder. In view of the small sale of his powder, Charles I. seems to have resolved in May 1637 upon trying the experiment of selling it in foreign parts, and an order was made by the gunpowder commissioners for six barrels to be sent into France to be disposed of to the king's best advantage.⁸ In September of that year one of the provisioners of the gunpowder for shipping, who had in the previous year taken out of store £10,000 worth of powder at 12*d.* the pound, refused to take out his licence again now that 18*d.* per pound in addition to 1*d.* per pound to Lord Newport and other petty charges were demanded.⁹ On 28 July 1640 the Commissioners advised the king to reduce the price to 16*d.*, and to issue a proclamation to this effect with all speed in order that sufficient money might be raised to pay Cordwell the sum of £4,000 due to him, for want of which his works were in danger of being stopped.¹⁰ On 9 October of that year we find the retail price of gunpowder at its old rate again of 12*d.* the pound.¹¹ Cordwell, who seems to have become the sole manager of the Chilworth mills, for we hear little further of his partner Collins, succeeded in carrying out his contract with the Commissioners to the complete satisfaction both of them and of the Ordnance officers. For the first and third years the full supply of 240 lasts was sent in,¹² and it was certified that only the deficiency in the supply of saltpetre prevented him from sending in more than 200 lasts in both the second and fourth years.¹³ To effect an economy in the manufacture he seems to have cut down a number of fees which his predecessor had paid to different officers of the Ordnance. Thus the surveyor of the Ordnance on his own statement had had £50 a year from Evelyn. This had been discontinued by Cordwell. Similarly, annuities of £40 each paid to the clerk of the Ordnance and to the keeper of the stores had been stopped by Cordwell.¹⁴ At the same time he suffered losses. A fire at his works

⁷ Ibid. ccccxviii. 69. ⁸ Ibid. ccclv. 61.

⁹ Ibid. cccxlviii. 112. ¹⁰ Ibid. cccclxi. 35.

¹¹ Ibid. cccclxix. 73.

¹² Ibid. cccclxxi. 117; cccxcii. 71, 110; ccccxviii. 45.

¹³ Ibid. cccxcii. 86; cccclxxiii. 33; cccxcii. 123.

¹⁴ Ibid. cccclxi. 11, 12, 13.

¹ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. cccxxxi. 90.

² Ibid. cccxli. 69.

³ Ibid. cccl. 19.

⁴ Ibid. cccclxviii. 112. ⁵ Ibid. cccclvi. 44.

⁶ Ibid. ccccliv. 22.

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lost him his store and above 2,000 cwt. of powder. In February 1639-40 he found himself obliged to petition the Council that the imprest of £2,000 to him for the erection of his works might be released to him, and offered in lieu of the same to disclaim all his interest in the buildings used by him in his industry.¹ It was on his recommendation that the surveyor-general was ordered to view all the Chilworth mills and works, and to certify their value, with a view on the expiration of the lease to their purchase for the king's use.²

But whatever steps might have been taken to this end had matters political continued to follow the same course throughout the reign of Charles I., the whole conditions of the gunpowder industry were destined to be changed shortly after the assembling of the Long Parliament. The first note of the impending change comes to us in Cordwell's despairing petition to the king of 31 March 1641.³ He alludes to a petition to the House of Commons that every man that will might make gunpowder. In consequence he dared not make his provisions, as about that time of the year he was wont to do. For if he should make them, and the manufacture of gunpowder continued not in the king's hands, he would be ruined with the great stock he had already in hand and that he must further provide. His petition was referred to the Privy Council, but by 10 August 1641 the king had already set his hand to the Bill 'for putting down the restraint of making gunpowder.'⁴ This was the Act 16 Charles I. c. 21, 'for the free bringing in of gunpowder and saltpetre from foreign parts and for the free making of gunpowder in this realm.'

Thus at one blow fell the monopoly of the gunpowder industry of the kingdom, which had for many years been held by a succession of Surrey makers. It is not perhaps a difficult matter to decide why Surrey should have been chosen as the home of the industry. Its contiguity to the capital, where were the Ordnance stores of the Crown, with the River Thames intervening to relieve the inhabitants of the city and of its more thickly-populated suburbs from any fear of danger to their lives through untoward accidents in the manufacture, would readily suggest its convenience for the purpose. Moreover about the streams on which the successive mills were erected there was no lack of wood from which the best charcoal

could be made. Aubrey notes at a later date the alders at Albury from which the charcoal that blacked the gunpowder then made there was derived.

But although the history of the gunpowder industry of Surrey now ceases to be that of the whole of England, the Surrey makers were not at once to lose their predominance. The experience which they alone had been free to win was likely to serve them in good stead in the troublous times which were to come. Cordwell, good servant as he had been to the government of Charles I., was not slow to enlist in the service of the Parliamentary party when the outbreak of the Civil War found that party in possession of the district immediately surrounding the capital. At least it may be urged on his behalf that he found his new employer a better paymaster than the old. The possession of the Chilworth mills was a point of strategic importance not likely to be overlooked by the party which enjoyed it. At the same time Chilworth was far enough off from London to be difficult of defence in the case of any sudden attack by the Royalists, and to prevent the possibility of any large stores of ammunition falling into their hands it was ordered by the Committee of Both Kingdoms on 18 March 1643-4 that all gunpowder should be sent up by Cordwell to the Tower as soon as made, and that not above 7 tons of saltpetre should at any time be kept at the mills.⁵ On 3 April following Robert Wallop was directed by the same committee to speak with the gentlemen of Surrey for securing the gunpowder mills near Guildford, and that a certificate should be returned of their condition and of what should be done for their security.⁶ On 11 April we have a reference to a contract made by the Committee of Safety with Samuel Cordwell.⁷ On 7 January 1644-5 Cordwell was again directed to send up from time to time such powder as he should make, and never to keep at the mills more saltpetre than was wanted for a week's work.⁸ On 13 April 1646 we hear that the Committee of Both Kingdoms had appointed two-thirds of all the saltpetre made by the saltpetre men of certain counties to be delivered to Cordwell, the remaining third to Beresford, another powder maker.⁹ In 1648 Samuel Cordwell was dead, and to his brother Robert, who succeeded him in the business, was allotted the same proportion.¹⁰ On 22 September of the next year we find

¹ S. P. Dom. Chas. I. ccccxliv. 23.

² Ibid. ccxcii. 115.

³ Ibid. cccclxxviii. 81.

⁴ Ibid. cccclxxxiii. 34.

⁵ Ibid. Interr. E. 7, p. 22.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 36-7. ⁷ Ibid. pp. 43-4.

⁸ Ibid. Interr. E. 8, pp. 60-2; E. 19, p. 178.

⁹ Ibid. E. 23, p. 67. ¹⁰ Ibid. E. 9, pp. 39-41.

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Robert Cordwell ordered to receive one-third of all the saltpetre bought of the East India Company by another powder maker, William Pannoyer, who was to keep the other two-thirds, the whole quantity to be converted into gunpowder for the service of the State.¹ Henceforward there are frequent warrants for payments to be made to Cordwell and other makers for gunpowder supplied by them until the year 1651, when Cordwell's name ceases to appear amongst those of the powder makers. He probably died in that year, for on 10 November 1652 there is a petition of Hester Cordwell, widow, for relief, which was referred by the Council of State to the Admiralty Committee.² The Chilworth mills continued to be worked, for we hear on 25 March 1653 that four wagons had been sent there to fetch what powder was ready.³ Cordwell's widow seems to have attempted to carry on the business herself, but finding the work beyond her powers, to have sold her stock to some merchants who for a year became the tenants of Vincent Randyll the owner. On the expiry of their lease Randyll on 2 March 1653-4 petitioned the Admiralty Committee to be allowed to serve the State himself with the same quantity of powder which the mills had before served, on his giving security to make it as good and cheap.⁴ In January of the following year we find him mentioned in conjunction with George Duncombe and John Woodroff as one of the masters of the Chilworth powder works.⁵

In April 1656 however we find that these works were held by Josias Dewy, who claimed for them that having a certainty of water they could work in a drought when other mills were stopped.⁶ Dewy may have been previously employed at these mills, for he states that he had supplied 150 barrels weekly during the Dutch War (1652-4) and had sent 1,800 barrels to Portsmouth. All that he had made had been Tower proof, and some of it had gone to sea three times and still proved good. At this date he had not sent any to the Tower for two years, and unless employment were given him he feared that the mills must be demolished to the great loss of the State.

It was at this time that some scandals which had come to light in the performance of the various contracts for powder, entered into by them, seem to have been exercising the minds

of the Admiralty Commissioners. The numerous makers employed by them on being approached in regard to these scandals joined one and all in pointing to some Hamburg powder, which had been sent to them for repair, as the cause of all the trouble. Some of them asserted that they had all along protested against this powder, knowing that it was made of bad materials and could not be made good.⁷ Certainly more than a year before the agent of Randyll and his partners at Chilworth seems to refer to some Hamburg powder which had been delivered and repaired at the mills and yet proved defective, when he excused himself on the ground that if there were any defect, it was his employers' concern and none of his.⁸ Dewy in his petition, already mentioned, of April 1656 had doubtless this powder in view when he said that if the old powder repaired by him did not hold good, he could not keep it. The Admiralty authorities were prepared to consider the suggestion that the faults in the gunpowder were to be traced to the foreign powder they had imported, and wrote to Richard Bradshaw their agent in Hamburg evidently desiring him to inquire into the frauds. For on 21 October 1656 he wrote back to express his wonder at the badness of the powder, and to exonerate the merchant who had supplied him from any ill intentions or wilful deceit.⁹ In turn he suggested that the fault might be in the powder already in store at home, as he had heard that the Hamburg powder was mixed with this. At any rate one-fourth of what he had bought had been sold at current price three years later and no fault found with it.

Whether or not the complaints against the gunpowder contractors arose chiefly from their inability to make anything out of the foreign powder supplied to them for repair, it is certain that amongst them were some to whom just exception on other grounds might be taken. The inquiries of the Admiralty resulted in the drawing up of a report upon the doings of six of the different makers or firms of makers. As out of these six three at least can be connected with the industry in Surrey, the following tabular analysis of the report to be found amongst the State Papers may here be given.¹⁰ If on the one hand the very worst of the makers was a Surrey man, on the other hand the two who were most favourably reported can also be associated with the history of the industry in that county :—

¹ S. P. Dom. Interr. I. 63, pp. 98-100.

² Ibid. I. 35, pp. 54-9.

³ Ibid. xlix. 83.

⁴ Ibid. lxvii. 7.

⁵ Ibid. xciv. 50.

⁶ Ibid. cxxvi. 58.

⁷ Ibid. 60.

⁸ Ibid. xciv. 50.

⁹ Ibid. cxxx. 66.

¹⁰ Ibid. cxxvi. 64. i.

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	Proved	Bad	Delivered in all	If the whole of what was delivered be judged according to what was proved, the bad will be	Repaired
	Barrels	Barrels	Barrels	Barrels	Barrels
Josias Dewy . .	805	141	3,992	699	599
John Samyne . .	1,132	536	3,686	1,745	1,092
John Freeman . .	584	263	2,016	907	875
Daniel Judd . .	261	139	1,138	606	760
Thomas Carter . .	385	232	2,373	1,429	562
William Molins . .	384	293	1,893	1,441	424
	3,551	1604	15,098	6,827	4,312

Of Josias Dewy as a powder maker of Chilworth mention has been made above. His powder was reported to be generally good, as was also that of John Samyne, to whom it was noted that the State owed large sums, for the want of which he had suffered much. He was, after the Chilworth makers, the largest contractor for powder to the State, and first appears in this connection in the year 1651. His name is spelt variously Samyne, Samine or Semaine, most commonly the first. In January 1654-5 he states in a petition to the Admiralty Commissioners that he had at a time when the State had greatly needed powder spent £2,000 in the erection of new mills, and that he had also undertaken to make saltpetre in the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge.¹ From a petition of the inhabitants of East Moulsey in 1666 it appears that his mills had been erected in that parish.² The usurped powers, it was represented, had permitted him to erect two powder mills there, with the result that many of the inhabitants had seen cause to let or sell their houses. In addition to these he had then lately erected two others, one of which it was pointed out was opposite the king's own house at Hampton Court. It was prayed that an order should be made for the removal of all these mills to a distance, the petitioners no doubt being encouraged by the new condition of affairs in their attack upon one who had been of important service to the late government. The matter was referred to the Ordnance Commissioners, but with what final result does not appear.

The record of the third of the makers who can be associated with Surrey in the above report was very different to that of Dewy and Samyne. It was said of William Molins and his partners that they 'are in the highest rank of offenders and upon rational grounds may be conceived did act from a covetous dis-

position and willingly exposed the State to hazard by making the powder of bad materials.' Molins' principal partner seems to have been a certain Abel Richardson, and the two attempted to shield themselves behind their manager and the third partner, John Jarvis or Jervase of Carshalton Mills, and his chief workman John Pepper. Previously to this report, on 22 January of the same year, Lewis Fossan, the clerk of these powder works, had been examined as to the manner in which they were conducted. He stated that a ton of saltpetre purchased from the East India Company would make thirty barrels of powder, a quantity which Molins had always had made.³ Jarvis, who was security for Pepper, would have left the work to him without any restriction as to the quantity of powder to be made from each ton of saltpetre. Pepper used to find fault with the English saltpetre because it was only singly refined, but this the partners had alleged was in accordance with their contract. The partners, Fossan says, were behind in their contracts. From 27 August to 6 December 1653 they had received 7 or 8 tons of saltpetre and had delivered 360 barrels of powder in return.

Molins and Richardson in their defence⁴ stated that they had had a commission to make saltpetre and had then contracted to make it into powder at thirty barrels a ton. But they confessed that this was a work in which they had no skill, and had therefore entered into partnership with Jarvis to carry it out, supposing the undertaking was fully provided for. Jarvis provided the other ingredients (the sulphur and charcoal), and the work was managed by him, Lewis Fossan, and Pepper, who were now attempting to acquit themselves by pretending that they were forced into an engagement to which they had willingly consented.

¹ S. P. Dom. Interr. xciv. 47.

² Ibid. Ch. II. clvi. 103.

³ Ibid. Interr. cxxiii. 60.

⁴ Ibid. cxxvi. 63.

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Of the other makers reported upon Thomas Carter is in 1660 described as a powder maker of London,¹ but the place of manufacture of Freeman and Judd cannot in the light of our present knowledge be determined. With Molins, Judd was declared one of the most guilty. The result of the report probably was that these two makers lost their contracts. Neither of them appears in a certificate made by the Ordnance officers on 10 February 1657-8 on the state of the various powder makers' contracts then in being.² This certificate, which shows the dates of the various contracts, the amount of powder contracted

for, and of that actually received, with presumably the date when the last consignments were made, is given here in conclusion of this account of gunpowder making in Surrey during the Commonwealth. The Chilworth mills, it will be seen, are now again represented by their owner Vincent Randyll, and Samyne still appears as one of the contractors. Thomas Fossan may possibly have been a relative of Lewis Fossan already mentioned, and in that case the quantity of powder supplied by him may represent the output of the Carshalton mills; but no positive assertion can be made on this point.

Contracts dated	Contractors	Contract barrels	Received barrels	Elapsed since
27 Oct. 1656 . .	Vincent Randyll . .	2,240	1,765	4 July '57
1 March 1656 . .	Thomas Warren . .	784	3	30 Dec. '57
27 April 1657 . .	Thomas Carter . .	268·80 b.	208	30 Sept. '57
6 April 1657 . .	John Freeman . .	560	510	30 Sept. '57
20 April 1657 . .	John Samyne . .	672	547	30 Sept. '57
27 April 1657 . .	Thomas Fossan . .	224	130	22 July, '57

Thus with the industry free to all, throughout the Commonwealth period the Surrey makers of gunpowder must have had a very large share of the government's contracts. So far there has been no lack of material to help us in our endeavours to form some estimate of the work done by them, and of its proportion to that of makers in other parts of the kingdom. Shortly after the restoration a change was made in the system, whereby the powder contracts were made and regulated, and the whole business relegated to the officers of the Ordnance. Henceforth a close study of the voluminous records of the Ordnance Office is alone necessary to ascertain the actual amount of powder supplied to the State by each maker. But the very voluminousness of these records makes the task an almost impracticable one within the scope of the present inquiry, if not indeed a somewhat unprofitable one from the fact that there is little or nothing in these records, without knowledge gained from outside sources to enable us to associate the different makers with any particular locality.

The first step in regard to the gunpowder business of Charles II. on his restoration was to recreate the office of sole gunpowder maker to the king very much in the same manner as the office had been held by the Earl of Worcester in 1607. The patent, to be held for twenty-one years, was given to Colonel

Daniel O'Neale, the third husband of the twice-widowed Countess Chesterfield.³ Amongst the actual makers to whom O'Neale delegated his authority we find several of those who have been previously noticed as employed by the Commonwealth government, including Randyll, Samyne and Dewy.⁴ Randyll of course worked at his own mills at Chilworth. In view of what we have learnt of his services as a gunpowder maker to the State in the latter years of the Commonwealth, it seems somewhat disingenuous on his part to find him in his humble petition of November (?) 1660 conveniently ignoring this episode in his business career, and only dwelling upon the sufferings he had endured in his estate, and the danger of his life he had been in 'in the beginning of the late unhappy distractions.'⁵ The Chilworth mills, it will be remembered, had been re-erected or extended by Cordwell with money imprested for the purpose from the Crown, it being a condition, when the repayment of this money had been forgiven him, that the mills on the expiry of the then lease should be regarded as the property of the Crown. This no doubt is what Randyll has in mind when he states in his petition that certain powder mills for the supply of the royal magazines and of the whole of the kingdom had been erected upon his inheritance by King Charles I. It was

¹ S. P. Dom. Interr. ccxxi. 21.

² Ibid. clxxxviii. 63.

³ Ibid. Chas. II. ciii. 125.

⁴ W. O. Ordnance Debentures, vol. lxxvi. passim.

⁵ S. P. Dom. Chas. II. xxii. 112.

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the royal licence to carry on these works that was the object of his petition.

Of John Samyne we already know that up to 1666 he was manufacturing gunpowder at East Moulsey. As to Josias Dewy, whether he still continued to work at any of the Chilworth mills or, if not, to what locality he had transferred his business, does not appear.

Colonel O'Neale died in 1664, and his patent was surrendered to the Crown by his widow. It was then that Charles II. decided to suppress the office he had recreated, and to commit the whole management of his gunpowder business to the Ordnance Office. This office was in consequence duly authorized on 17 November of the same year to conclude the contracts for the supply and repair of gunpowder.¹

According to the books of the office it would appear that powder was supplied from Vincent Randyll's mills in accordance with a contract of 25 March 1671 up to October 1674. John Samyne appears also as one of the most regular contractors to the government up to about the same period.² In the pedigree however printed by Manning and Bray, Vincent Randyll is stated to have died on 28 December 1673,³ and this date very nearly agrees with that given in an entry of 10 February 1675-6 in the Ordnance Bill Book, when Morgan Randyll, the son and heir of Vincent, was paid the sum of £515 for two years' rent of 'certain mills near Guildford' from 18 December 1673, 'the time when the said mills ceased to work.' It is stated in the same entry that the mills had been hired by the master and officers of the Ordnance for eleven years from 1 February 1671-2, the date of the contract, at the annual rent of £257 10s.⁴

Aubrey's *Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey* describes the county as the writer actually saw it during a perambulation commenced in 1673, and continued during the following twenty years. His notes therefore on industries existing during that period are especially valuable. It is not possible to be precise as to the year in which he visited Chilworth, but the mills were then still in the ownership of Morgan Randyll, and the borough of Guildford still represented in Parliament by him as one of its two members. The number of powder mills 'in this little romancy vale' is given by Aubrey

in one place as sixteen, in another as eighteen, of which he says five were blown up in a little more than half a year's time. 'Tis a little commonwealth of powder makers who are as black as negroes. . . . Here is a nursery of earth for the making of saltpetre : there is also here a boiling-house where the saltpetre is made and shoots ; a corning house, and separating and finishing houses, all very well worth the seeing of the ingenious. I had almost forgot the brimstone mill and the engine to search it.'⁵ At Albury the same writer notes that there were also some gunpowder mills, and that the charcoal which blacked the gunpowder was made of the alders that grew there, although Mr. Evelyn had informed him that the strongest powder was made of dog-wood coals.⁶ Aubrey's assertion that the powder mills at Chilworth were the first in England is not corroborated by what has been previously related here. Nor has it been possible to identify the Evelyns as the owners of the many powder mills near Wotton House which John Evelyn, in the letter prefixed to Aubrey's work states were erected by his ancestors 'who were the very first who brought that invention into England.' Evelyn remarks that a huge beam of 15 or 16 inches in diameter had been broken up in his brother's house upon the blowing up of one of these mills, but that no other mischief had been done. On the other hand a mill standing below Shere had shot a piece of timber through a cottage which had taken off a poor woman's head as she was spinning.

Aubrey adds of the Chilworth mills that the place was so proper for such dangerous and useful undertakings that they had been farmed out to several hands. One of the lessees was Sir Polycarpus Wharton, Bart., whose 'hard case' evidently set out not earlier than the year 1710 (Aubrey's work was not published until 1719) Aubrey was induced to add in his account of these mills at the request of a gentleman who had communicated it. The recital occupies some eight or nine of the small pages of the book,⁷ and although an *ex parte* statement, written perhaps by the gentleman most deeply interested, professes to be based on the books and accounts of the Ordnance Office. There is no need to doubt the truth of the statements made, and those facts of the case which enable us to form some idea of the extent of the works between the years 1677 and 1698,

¹ S. P. Dom. Chas. II. Entry Book 20, p. 36.

² W. O. Ordnance, Stores Issued, vol. xlvii. passim, and Ordnance Bill Books of date.

³ *Hist. of Surrey*, ii. 118.

⁴ W. O. Ordnance, Bill Book II. xviii. fo. 170.

⁵ Aubrey, iv. 56, 57.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv. 81.

⁷ *Ibid.* iv. 57-65.

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the period of Sir Polycarpus's lease, may be briefly epitomized.

Polycarpus Wharton was directed by the Ordnance to take a lease for twenty-one years of the great powder works at Chilworth, and entered into a contract to that effect on 1 January 1677-8. He had, it is said, been bred in the art of making gunpowder and seems to have been first employed to supply powder to the government on 30 July 1673.¹ The Chilworth mills were in so ruinous a condition when Wharton entered on his lease that the expenditure of a sum of £1,500, paid out of his own pocket, was necessary to make them serviceable. By the terms of the contract the rent, the growing necessary repairs, and the incidental charges, amounting in all to £1,000 yearly, were to be paid by the Ordnance when the mills were not employed by the Crown, and it is stated that they were not so employed during one-sixth of the term. Yet for ten years Wharton could obtain no reimbursement for his expenses, and then he was persuaded to waive his contract, to accept £2,000 by way of debenture of which he never could receive a penny, and to enter into a new contract for keeping the works at his own charge during the remaining eleven years of the lease. In return for this he was to supply 1,200 barrels of powder a year over and above his proportion with other powder makers. The date of this contract is given in the account of Wharton's 'hard case' as 22 December 1687, but the books of the Ordnance Office refer to one of the date 14 July 1688.²

The narrative goes on to relate how little the Ordnance officials respected the terms of their second contract with Wharton. Whereas from the date of it until 27 April 1695 the total amount of powder supplied to the Office by all makers was 98,920 barrels, of which Sir Polycarpus's proportion should have been 51,685, he was only allotted the making of 32,852. The making of the deficiency of 18,833 barrels had been apportioned to foreigners and others to keep their works employed while those of Chilworth stood still. Nor was this all the injustice he had met with. The annual quantity of 1,200 barrels over his proportion to be supplied by him was ignored by the Ordnance Office, so that by April 1695 he had been deprived of making the extra number of 9,600 barrels over his regular quantity, the total deficiency being 28,433 barrels, or very nearly a half of

the total quantity he could claim it as his just right to supply.

And all this slighting of the claims of the Chilworth maker had occurred, it is represented, in spite of the fact that at the beginning of the war that was then being waged, the great expense that Sir Polycarpus had been at in erecting new works and engines, had made his mills alone able to supply the stores with 325 barrels of powder weekly throughout the year, a quantity 'much more than all the other powder works in the kingdom could then furnish,' and for want of which 'it had been impossible that the fleet could have been timely supplied with powder both at that and other times since.'

Among Sir Polycarpus's other services to the State was that of imitating the German powder which was much esteemed for its great strength. In January 1680-1 he had at King Charles II.'s request been ordered to send two able persons to Germany to receive Prince Rupert's instructions in the art. This order had been countermanded and Wharton had been desired to imitate the powder in England, which he did, it is said, to such perfection that in one year his powder upon trial before the king and Prince Rupert was found to exceed the German powder greatly in strength and yet able to be made at a much cheaper rate. Encouraged by the king he had erected mills near Windsor, 'much differing from the common sort,' and sufficient to make forty barrels weekly of this powder. These mills had cost him £2,700, yet never could he receive recompense nor had he made any quantities of the new powder for the service of the State.

In all Sir Polycarpus is said to have been a sufferer by his twenty-one years' lease of Chilworth mills to the extent of £24,000. This includes a sum of at least £3,500 loss by blowing up of works and sinking of barges laden with goods, and also apparently the loss he had sustained by the payments to him during the last six years of his lease being made by tallies which he could only discount at from ten to thirty per cent. The result of all these hardships and injustice was that in 1710 Sir Polycarpus was languishing in a debtor's prison from which the dilatoriness of the government in considering his memorials and reporting upon his case seemed little likely to release him at the time when the story printed in Aubrey's work was related.

The Chilworth mills in the year 1700 consisted of three several works known respectively as the Upper works, the Middle works and the Lower works. They are so

¹ W. O. Ordnance, Stores Issued, vol. xlvii.

² Ibid. Bill Bk. II. vol. xxxviii. fo. 25.

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marked on the map prefixed to Aubrey's *Surrey*. But in 1704 it appears that the last of these three was converted into a paper mill.¹

Morgan Randyll, who was elected as one of the representatives of Guildford to various parliaments between the years 1680 and 1715, is said to have become so much in debt by the contests on these occasions that in 1720 he sold his estate to Richard Houlditch, esquire, a woollen draper. The estate is described as the manor of Chilworth with the appurtenances, amongst which two mills only, called Chilworth Mills in St. Martha, are mentioned. Mr. Houlditch was also a director of the South Sea Company, and on the bursting of the famous bubble the estate he had thus acquired was seized and sold towards indemnifying the victims. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, purchased Chilworth from the trustees and devised it by will to trustees for her grandson, John Spencer, the ancestor of the Earls Spencer. George John, second Earl Spencer, having succeeded to the titles and estate in 1783, sold Chilworth in 1796 to Edmund Hill, esquire, the owner of considerable powder mills near Hounslow.²

From the pages of Manning and Bray we find that during the first decade of the nineteenth century the long-established and once important Surrey industry of gunpowder making still existed in the county to no inconsiderable extent. The principal stream of the Wey then supplied a great number of corn, paper and gunpowder mills.³ On the Tillingbourn stream, which drove the Chilworth mills, there were four powder works, which had been originally, it is said, higher up the stream near to Albury. Until recent years these mills had been worked by pestles instead of stones.⁴ The little Hogsmill stream, the scene of the Evelyns' first venture in the art, especially abounded in gunpowder mills. There were four wheels in the parish of Ewell, each wheel working two mills. In Long Ditton there were two wheels, each similarly driving two mills. Thus in all there must have been no less than twelve mills, devoted to the manufacture of gunpowder, on this tiny stream.⁵ The mills at Long Ditton were then commonly known as Malden Mills, and were owned by Mr. William Taylor, whose business is described as extensive.⁶

Since that time gunpowder making has ceased to be one of the common industries of the county. So much was this the case in 1850 that the very full account of industries then carried on in Surrey, printed in Brayley and Britton's *History of Surrey*, makes no mention of gunpowder. But the industry has never ceased to be carried on at Chilworth, and at the present day the Chilworth Gunpowder Company, Limited, worthily enough, though alone in the county, enable us to reckon the manufacture of gunpowder as a still existing Surrey industry. Of this company and of its predecessors during the last century in the ownership of the Chilworth mills it now remains to speak.

In the year 1817 these mills were owned and worked by Mr. William Tinkler and Mr. Richard Mountford. In that year these gentlemen were indicted for erecting and maintaining certain powder mills called a corning-house, a dusting-house, a gloom-stove, etc., in the parish of St. Martha at Chilworth. The case was tried before Mr. Justice Dallas and a special jury at the Kingston Lent Assizes, and the full report of the proceedings, taken in shorthand, was afterwards printed in book form and may be read by the curious.⁷ The evidence gives much useful information as to the processes then employed in powder making, and also as to the then importance of the Chilworth mills. The defendants were stated to have been the owners of these mills for twenty-eight years, a statement which requires to be reconciled with that, already noticed, of Manning and Bray, that in 1796 Chilworth was purchased by Edmund Hill the Hounslow powder maker. The chief instigator of the prosecution was Mr. Rowland, the owner of the paper mills which had previously been the Lower powder works. The jury on hearing the evidence of the first-called and most important witness for the defence, Major By, R.E., the superintendent of all the king's powder works, and how all his previous recommendations for the safety of the Chilworth mills had been carried out to the letter, until in his opinion these mills were the safest in the kingdom, at once found a verdict of 'not guilty'. The prosecution was stigmatized by the judge as the most malicious he ever remembered brought into a court of justice.

On 4 March 1819 Mr. Tinkler leased the

⁷ *Chilworth Powder Mills; Trial on an Indictment charging them as a nuisance: by which they were proved to be not only no nuisance but as safe as any, if not the safest, powder mills in the kingdom.* Taken in shorthand by Thomas Jenkin, 2 April 1817; London, 1817.

¹ See the evidence in the trial of *Rex v. Tinkler and Mountford* in 1817 noticed below.

² Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, ii. 118.

³ *Ibid.* i. p. ii.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 117.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. pp. iv. 475.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 12.

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mills to Mr. John Sharp, who was subsequently joined by his brother Thomas, and the business was carried on under the style of J. & T. Sharp.¹ Afterwards John's son Samuel became a partner, when the style was changed to J. T. & S. Sharp, and so remained until the business was sold in 1881 to Mr. C. Marcus Westfield, who began the manufacture of the highest class of black powder for the government.

Since this latter date the manufacture of gunpowder has been completely revolutionized in this country. In the first place the gradual increase in the size of guns, in order to compete with armour plates, necessitated the use of a slower burning powder that would at once less endanger the gun and at the same time give a greater velocity to the shot. The difficulty was met by forming the powder into hexagonal prisms with a hole through the centre. So long ago as 1868 this powder was adopted by Krupp for his breech-loading guns, but it was not until 1880 that Mr. Edward Kraftmeier, a present director of the Chilworth Gunpowder Company, introduced it to the notice of the British government. It then still consisted of the usual proportions of saltpetre, charcoal and sulphur, but about that time changes were made in its composition. The proportion of sulphur was reduced and a new kind of charcoal of a chocolate colour was employed. This gave the prisms the appearance of cocoa, and the powder was hence called brown or cocoa or prismatic powder.²

The second change that has completed the revolution in the manufacture of powder in recent years has been the introduction of cordite or smokeless powder. In being largely instrumental in securing the success in England of both these innovations, the Chilworth mills have played a part fully in accordance with the reputation which an unbroken existence of nearly three centuries has given them.

The representations of Mr. Kraftmeier having persuaded the British government of the superior results of the new prismatic powder when employed in heavy guns, it became necessary to obtain a supply. This however could only be done from the German manufacturers. But as it was impossible for this country to remain dependent on powder supplies from a foreign country, arrangements were made with the government by Mr. Kraftmeier

for the manufacture of this prismatic powder. The German inventors, Mr. J. N. Heideman and Mr. M. Duttchenhofer, undertook to instruct the superintendent of the Royal Gunpowder Factory at Waltham Abbey in the manufacture of the military kinds of prismatic powder. Further, to secure the supply of this article in England, the Chilworth Gunpowder Company was formed to work the German invention and make the several varieties of the powder designed for military, sporting and blasting purposes.

Mr. Westfield's interest in the Chilworth mills, which now belong to the Duke of Northumberland as ground landlord, was acquired by the company in 1885, and arrangements were at once made for enlarging the works and fitting them up with every modern improvement. The board of directors included amongst others the two German inventors above mentioned. Mr. Kraftmeier and Mr. Westfield became the managing directors and Lord Sudeley the chairman of the company.

The business done by the new company necessitated a very great extension of the Chilworth mills, and they now stretch for nearly two miles along the valley and are one of the leading gunpowder mills of the world. Within a few years of the company's formation it was found necessary to open another factory at Fernilee in Derbyshire, so large were the quantities of the powder demanded by the British government, by Sir W. G. Armstrong & Co., Ltd., and by various foreign governments.

The company did not confine its attentions to the manufacture of the prismatic powders, but very shortly took up the manufacture of smokeless powder, for which the great improvements in the production of quick-firing guns began to create a demand shortly before the year 1890. At the gunnery trials of the Italian cruiser *Piemonte* in September 1889 experiments were made with the Chilworth powder, and although it proved not absolutely smokeless, the thin transparent fumes which arose from it were speedily dissipated, and there was an absence of that dense obscurity by the raising of which the use of black powder with quick-firing guns would have defeated the purpose of the new weapon. Moreover the merits of the new powder did not stop here. The muzzle velocity given by it was greatly increased, and this notwithstanding the fact that it was possible to considerably reduce the weight of the charge from that which would have been necessary of the ordinary black powder.³

¹ Ex inf. C. Sharp, Esq.

² Ex inf. Chilworth Gunpowder Co., Ltd. See also Wyman's *Commercial Encyclopædia* (1888) and the *Standard* of 23 May 1888.

³ *Standard*, 21 Sept. 1889.

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But in 1892 experiments with smokeless powder gave way before the introduction of ballistite or cordite, the manufacture of which was first started in this country in the Royal Gunpowder Factory at Waltham Abbey. The

Chilworth Gunpowder Company was however the first private factory in Great Britain to take up the manufacture, and this new undertaking of the company has again necessitated very great changes in the Chilworth works.

LEATHER

The history of the leather industry of Surrey in all its branches is of the first importance. The pre-eminence which Bermondsey and with it Southwark have for centuries past enjoyed as a chief seat of the manufacture in the kingdom would alone make it so. But in addition there is a long-established and still considerable branch of the industry in the south-western district about Godalming and Guildford, and other parts of the county have been in the past or still are associated with the leather trade.

The infinite variety of the uses which the conversion of the skins and hides of animals, whether into leather, fur or parchment, can be made to serve must have made the industry a first necessity from the earliest times. We may safely conclude that there never was a time, at any rate within the period with which we are here concerned, when tanning and the other occupations into which the manufacture of leather has become subdivided, were not carried on in Surrey. It may be taken for granted, says Mr. Thorold Rogers, that the tanning or tawing of leather was a bye-product in most villages.¹ But the very commonness of the manufacture accounts for the obscurity in which its early history is enveloped, and prohibits us from tracing with any certainty its gradual development from an almost domestic into a highly organized and centralized industry.

This change in the conditions of the industry, a natural one and inevitable as it must have been, was no doubt accelerated by the policy of a legislature singularly jealous of the right of the people to be assured that the first necessities of life were being supplied to them unadulterated and of perfect workmanship. The better to secure perfection in each one of them, recourse was first had to the expedient of dividing the processes necessary for the manufacture of the finished article and prohibiting artisans to engage in more than one of them. As early as 1351 the Statute of Labourers laid down that no shoemaker should be a tanner, or any tanner a shoemaker.² This policy became more clearly defined on the

accession of the Tudors, and in 1485 and 1503-4 we have Acts which sharply divide the operations of tanners, curriers, and cordwainers.³ Legislation dealing with deceitful processes, which had been resorted to in order to hasten what is necessarily one of the slowest and most tedious of operations, next follows,⁴ and finally we have the whole manufacture of leather and leathern goods, from the first moment when the hide is in the butcher's hands until it reaches the consumer in its last state, elaborately regulated in the Act of 1562-3.⁵ To carry out these regulations the appointment of official searchers and sealers was necessary, a duty which fell to the mayors or other head officers of cities and towns, and thus, as also happened in the cloth trade, the further development of the industry in the villages was checked by the necessity of insisting upon the old policy of prohibiting the manufacture and sale of the commodity outside market and corporate towns.

So much in brief outline of the general principles by which the legislature sought to direct the leather industry of the kingdom. We may now proceed to consider their special application to the Surrey industry, and what evidences we may have to enable us to gauge the extent and nature of the leather manufacture of the county during the period when these Acts were in force.

Notices of the tanning industry before the Tudor period would seem to be scanty, although we need not doubt the existence of a considerable trade in so necessary a commodity, more especially as, when the materials are amplified, we find the industry a well-established one in the county. We may notice however that in 1437 we find a tanner at Oxted in Richard Couper, who is a defendant in a Chancery suit, and is described with the other defendants, who comprise a London

³ Stat. 1 Hen. VII. cap. 5 and 19 Hen. VII. cap. 19.

⁴ Stat. 2 and 3 Edw. VI. cap. 11.

⁵ Stat. 5 Eliz. cap. 8. The Act was superseded by that of 1 Jas. I. cap. 22, which however confirmed the principles of the former Act, though considerably elaborating them.

¹ *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 46.

² Stat. 25 Edw. III. stat. 2 cap. 4.

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armourer and two Oxted husbandmen, as being 'of greet alye yn there countreys and richesse.'¹ The views of the frankpledge of the hundred of Godalming in 1483 show several tanners at work in that neighbourhood. John Hamonde and Robert Oueton are both fined for making excessive gain out of their leather. John Glover and Thomas Glover are whiteners (*dealbatores*) of tanned leather, who use their art outside a market town. The latter seems to have been also a common brewer. At Chiddingfold was another tanner, William Rople (or Ropley), who made excessive gains out of his trade.² He belonged to a glassmaking family in this neighbourhood. But we need not insist on the importance of these notices as anything more than chance references to an industry which we may be assured was carried on in most of the chief centres of the county from the earliest times.

The origin of the industry in Bermondsey, which was to become by far its most important seat in Surrey, is as obscure as it is everywhere else. Nevertheless a recent writer has with every appearance of confidence fixed the period as coinciding with the influx of Huguenots after the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.³

¹ Early Chan. Proc. bde. 9, No. 300.

² B. M. Add. Chart. 26892.

³ He says: 'The cause which led to Bermondsey originally becoming a centre for tanning and the leather manufacture is not generally known, and it is of singular historic interest. When the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes drove the Huguenots out of France, it occasioned the transference to England of capital and labour, the loss of which seriously weakened the French and augmented the industrial prosperity of the British. No fewer than 1,300 refugees crossed over to the town of Rye, in Sussex, who were skilled in tanning, in leather manufacture, in silk-weaving, and in glassmaking. They were welcomed by religious sympathizers, but after their irate oppressors had made incursions across the water, and several times set fire to the town of Rye, the refugees decided on leaving, and came to London. Entering by the Kent Road they observed that the district of Bermondsey was intersected by tidal streams, so favourable to leather manufacture, and those in the leather trade at once determined on remaining there and establishing themselves. This resulted in Bermondsey becoming the great centre for the tanning of skins and the manufacture of hides, which it has ever since continued to be.' The passage is taken from E. T. Clarke's *Bermondsey* (1902), pp. 195-6, which quotes it from a *Descriptive Account of Southwark and Bermondsey*, published a few years ago. Mr. Clarke rightly points out the initial difficulty in the statement, that it mentions together two historic events separated by an interval of more than a century.

The number of alien workers and dealers in leather who settled in Southwark and Bermondsey during the sixteenth century was indeed considerable, and must have given a great impetus to the manufacture. Nevertheless, Southwark appears as an important market for the leather trade, and tanners were living there and in Bermondsey in sufficient numbers so long before the first of the two events mentioned in the above passage as to warrant us discarding so recent an origin for the industry.

If it is necessary to insist upon foreign influence for the development of the industry, then we must go back to considerably over a hundred years at the least. For of the large alien element in the population of Southwark in 1440 we find that a fair proportion were engaged in various branches of the leather trade.⁴ Principally however they were concerned with the later stages of the trade, the manufacture, that is to say, into various articles of the already finished product. Thus there were thirteen foreign householders and two non-householders who were cordwainers, and in their employ were no less than forty-five aliens. Three alien householders were described as cobblers, and no doubt the three pursers, the two girdlers, and the one pommel-maker, all of them aliens and householders, were artificers in leather. Several of these had also foreigners in their service. Engaged in the earlier stages of the leather manufacture we may notice the nine skinners (seven of them householders) with three skinners' servants, and the two carriers with three carriers' servants. The nationalities of these aliens are not given, but the nature of their names, some of them with the prefix 'van' occurring before them, often presupposes a Low Countries origin. None of them it is true are returned as tanners, but this fact, coupled with that of the existence of so many engaged in other departments of the leather trade, can only lead us to infer that, while tanning must have been carried on in the neighbourhood at this period, it was exclusively in native hands. For definite notices, however, of Southwark and Bermondsey tanners we have to come a good deal later. Thus we may cite the case of John Forster, a tanner in Bermondsey Street, who was fined the sum of £5 in the Exchequer in 1535 for tanning sheep skins contrary to the Act of 1 Henry VII. cap. 5,⁵ and at no long interval this case is followed by a number of others in which tanners in the same neighbourhood were concerned. But our chief evidence in

⁴ Lay Subs. clxxxiv. 212.

⁵ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Mich. 27 Hen. VIII. 8.

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support of the view that there must early have been a considerable tanning industry in Southwark and Bermondsey is the importance assigned to the leather market in the borough by tanners and leather merchants not only of Surrey but of the adjacent counties, as witnessed by the outcry made against an attempted invasion of their privileges about this time.

The principle of placing the control of the whole leather trade within a three-mile circuit of London in the hands of the city authorities seems to be implied as early as 1464-5, when it was enacted that no shoemaker in London and three miles round should make shoes with pikes longer than two inches.¹ But the principle was clearly enunciated in the 'Act concerning true tanning and currying of leather' of 1532-3.² The second section of this Act ordered that no tanned leather should be sold in or within three miles of London, except at the market of Leadenhall or else in the fairs holden within the said city, or elsewhere without the city within the said three miles, nor elsewhere except in open market. All tanned leather put to sale within this three-mile compass of the city had first to be searched and viewed by the wardens of the Cordwainers', Curriers', Girdlers' and Saddlers' Companies.

We have not to wait long before we find the effect of this piece of legislation upon the Southwark market. In 1534, the year after which the new Act came into force, four Kentish tanners were summoned to the Exchequer to answer for putting to sale in the borough on days when there was no fair there a large quantity of hides and calves' skins which had not been first brought to Leadenhall. One of them, of whom we are shortly to hear more, Ralph Assheton of Chiddingstone, was promptly fined 40s., one half of which sum went to the informer, George Brigges, or Bridges, a London leather-seller.³ Of the result of the case against the other three we are left in doubt. They pleaded that under the Act the lords of fairs and markets had power to name two expert men of the art or mystery of cordwainers or curriers to search and examine all tanned leather brought to sale in their fairs or markets, and that the Archbishop of Canterbury, within whose franchise in the borough there had been time out of mind a market on every Monday, Wednesday and Friday throughout the year, had already complied with this regulation by appointing two curriers, John

Paynter and Robert Mymmys, to examine the leather brought to his market.⁴ By these two duly qualified examiners they pleaded that all their leather had been properly sealed. The cases against them were adjourned, and we lose sight of them.

Not so with Ralph Assheton. The feelings of his friends in the borough market against the informer who had thus obtained judgment against him found expression in some acts of violence against the latter's person, which are related with pathetic detail in a Bill addressed to the king in his Star Chamber.⁵

Bridges begins by relating the circumstances attending his information against Assheton in the Exchequer. Notwithstanding the result of this prosecution, 'divers tanners disregard the said statute wickedly using to put to sale within the said Borough of Southwark much tanned leather contrary to the tenor of the Act and also do make very much leather deceivable and insufficiently tanned.' On account of the informer's labours during the past twelve months to note in writing such defaults, he was committed to the King's Bench prison in Southwark by one William Cawsye, saddler. His witnesses and the messenger sent to him while in prison from the recorder of London were also imprisoned, and at Cawsye's request they were all put in irons. In this condition the complainant was visited by Cawsye, who demanded from him a certain bill or writing of tanners' names, which was refused. Thereupon Cawsye, with many forcible expressions, saying he would have the bill ere he went, 'accompanied with one William Tayllour, Christopher Hampton and others to the number of seven or eight persons then and there with force, that is to say, the said Cawsye holding one arm of your said poor subject and the said Christopher Hampton another arm, in forcible manner took from your said poor subject a certain paper book wherein was contained the names of divers tanners offending the said statute amongst other remembrances therein contained but also the parcels of such leather by them sold contrary to the form of the said statute, all which parcels of leather amounted to the sum of five or six score pounds to your most gracious advantage,' and it may be added, with the result of the information against Assheton in view—to that of poor George Bridges to boot. With due allowance for the *ex parte* nature of the above recital, we may safely conclude that the

¹ Stat. 4. Edw. IV. cap. 7.

² Stat. 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 23.

³ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Trin. 26 Hen. VIII. 23.

⁴ Ibid. 21, 22.

⁵ Star Cham. Proc. Hen. VIII. bdl. 6, No. 260.

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attempt to interfere with the Southwark leather market was strongly resented as an infringement of important and well established rights.

From this time on, for close upon a century our chief evidence of the extent and nature of the Surrey leather industry is derived from the cases in the Exchequer court of infringements of the various Acts regulating the trade. The very great number of these cases forbids us to deal with them here in detail. All we can attempt to do is to gather some idea from the different kinds of offences, with which the tanners and carriers of Surrey were especially liable to be charged, of the nature and conditions of their industry, and also, from the descriptions of the offenders in the rolls of the court, of the districts in which the industry was chiefly seated in the county. From the frequency of cases in which the impugned leather was seized in the Southwark market we may judge the great importance of this market throughout the period.

The great drawback in tanning has always been the essential slowness of the processes necessary to render the leather lasting and tractable. Even down to the present day all attempts to treat the hides with more quickly acting agents than tannin prepared from oak-bark, the best but slowest agent, have only resulted in more or less injury to the leather. That man was at work attempting to solve this problem as early as the first half of the sixteenth century is evident from the preamble to the already mentioned Act of Edward VI. This Act for the true tanning of leather commences with an enumeration of the deceitful practices then in use for hastening the process.¹

¹ 'Whereas in times past the hides or leather were wont to lie in the tan vats by the space of one year or five quarters of the year, before it was taken out of the same vats or put to sale, now for the speedy utterance and tanning hereof they have invented diverse and sundry deceitful and crafty means to have the same leather tanned, some time in three weeks and some time in one month or six weeks at the most, as by craft of over liming thereof in their lime pits or otherwise by laying thereof in their vats set in their old tan hills, where it should be tanned with the hot oozes taking unkind heat in the same hill, and sometime by putting seething hot liquor with their oozes into their tan vats where the same hides or leather lie, which they most commonly do practise in the night time, and by diverse and many other such crafty and subtle means, whereby they make the leather to seem to them that have not the knowledge or skill thereof to be as well and sufficiently tanned within the space of three weeks or a month or six weeks at the most as if it had been in the vats until it had had the full time requisite for the true tanning of the

The Act gives us matter enough for a number of offences, and it is not long before we hear, on 4 November 1552, of some large quantities of leather seized in the borough of Southwark because they had been insufficiently tanned with such mixtures as had been recited. The ownership of the leather was claimed in various amounts by twelve tanners, eight of them Kentishmen, two of Sussex, and two Surrey men, namely John Cholmeley of Blechingley and Thomas Pynnyng of Bermondsey Street. The sheriff of Surrey was bidden to summon a jury of the venue of Southwark to try the cases, but the tanners elected to let judgment go against them by default.²

The tanners did not represent the only branch of the leather industry, the workers in which were suspected to be guilty of deceitful practices in order to put an insufficiently prepared commodity on the market. In the same year in which the true principles of the art of tanning were set forth in an Act of Parliament another Act was passed in which the principles of the art of currying leather were similarly defined.³ The leading principles of the two Acts with many additions were combined in the Act of 5 Elizabeth. Carriers were forbidden the use of any other material for the dressing of the tanned leather than hard tallow. Nevertheless in Hilary term, 1567-8, seven Southwark carriers were charged with using train-oil as a substitute.⁴

Other legislation aimed at keeping down the high price of leather by prohibiting the regrating either of the raw hides or of the tanned leather. By an Act of Edward VI,⁵ none were allowed to buy raw hides or skins and sell them untanned, and a later Act⁶ prohibited the buying of tanned leather to sell again in the same condition. The latter Act was repealed shortly afterwards, but was again enforced in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, and the principles of the two were

same, which should have been at the least by the space of three quarters of a year.' Such tanning was to be prohibited henceforth and the use of oozes mixed with 'ashen bark, tapworth, meal, ashes or culver (pigeon) dung' to be forbidden. No leather was to be judged sufficiently tanned that had not lain in the tan oozes at least for three quarters of a year (Stat. 2 and 3 Edw. VI. cap. 11).

² Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Mich. 6 Edw. VI. 29, 104.

³ Stat. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. 9.

⁴ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Hil. 10 Eliz. 289 and 315-20; Stat. 5 Eliz. cap. 8.

⁵ Stat. 3 & 4 Edw. VI. cap. 9.

⁶ Stat. 5 & 6 Edw. VI. cap. 15.

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confirmed by the clauses in the Act,¹ which allowed to tanners only the right to buy raw hides and to artificers in leather only that of buying the red tanned leather from the tanners. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth and to a later period one of the commonest offences against the leather trade Acts was that of buying sheepskins to tear off the wool and sell the unwrought skin or pelt. An early instance occurs in 1563, when thirteen Southwark and Bermondsey leather sellers were accused of such an offence,² and twenty years later precisely the same number appeared in the Exchequer to answer to a similar charge.³

The instances that we have cited of offences against the Acts provided for the regulation of the leather industry are merely typical of a great host of others in which the manufacturers and traders of Southwark and Bermondsey were concerned. Such as they are they suffice to prove that the district was an important centre of the industry, and that the trade was considerable before the period when the influence of the Protestant refugees, driven from France by the effects of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, could have made itself felt. Indeed from the evidence of these Exchequer cases there can be no doubt that Southwark and Bermondsey formed by far the most important seat of the leather industry in the county in the early part of the sixteenth century, although there are a number of places in the more rural parts of Surrey in which the industry appears to have been of considerable extent. Some of the more important instances of offences alleged to have been committed in these latter places during the period which we have been considering, may now be noticed.

Mention has already been made of some early references to the existence of tanning at Godalming and Chiddingfold, and of the industry in this quarter of the county, now after Bermondsey its principal centre, we shall have to speak more fully later. In 1563-4 we find one Robert Clarke, a currier, accused of having curried 400 hides and skins of tanned leather outside a market or corporate town, to wit in his own dwelling house in the parish of St. Nicholas, Guildford.⁴ In 1568 Anthony Bygnall, a tanner of Shere, was suspected of having sold at St. Catherine's Hill, leather which had not been properly examined and sealed.⁵ John Bygnall of

Wonersh, perhaps a relative of this Anthony, was charged in 1573 with having in conjunction with several other tanners of Surrey and Berkshire tanned a large quantity of hides with such unlawful stuffs as we have already described in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft.⁶ Right down in the extreme south-west of the county at Shottermill or Shotover on the Sussex border John and Thomas Baldwyn, tanners, seem in 1568 to have been selling leather in that place out of open market.⁷

In the south-east corner of Surrey about Reigate and Blechingley there was also a considerable leather industry. An early mention of an Oxted tanner has already been noted and also the appearance in the Exchequer of John Cholmeley, a Blechingley tanner, as part owner of some confiscated leather goods. In 1568 the leather industry still had its representative at Oxted in the person of Edmund Stacy,⁸ a tanner who appears again in 1573 in conjunction with John and Richard Cholmeley (or Chamley) of Blechingley as one of the Surrey tanners who had been improperly tanning leather in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft.⁹ John Cholmeley seems to have been especially singled out by the informer for observation, for in 1566 he had made a second appearance in the Exchequer, this time on the charge of having exposed to sale 250 hides at Leadenhall before they had been examined and sealed.¹⁰ In the same quarter of the county, Reigate, Horley and Godstone were important centres of the leather trade. Robert Wood of Reigate was accused in 1563 of carrying on the art of tanning though not duly apprenticed to the same,¹¹ and again in 1566 of selling unregistered leather.¹² Henry and Nicholas Bray, tanners at Horley, are in 1561 cited for selling leather in that place not in open market,¹³ and the same pair, the latter now described as of Reigate, are amongst the other Surrey tanners who in 1573 appear to have been using unlawful mixtures for their tanning operations in the London parish of St. Andrew Undershaft.¹⁴ Other Surrey tanners not already mentioned who were concerned in this business at the same time are Richard Gander of Horley,¹⁵

⁶ Ibid. Mich. 15 Eliz. 414.

⁷ Ibid. East. 10 Eliz. 234 and Mich. 266.

⁸ Ibid. East. 10 Eliz. 232.

⁹ Ibid. Mich. 15 Eliz. 354.

¹⁰ Ibid. Trin. 8 Eliz. 142.

¹¹ Ibid. East. 5 Eliz. 60.

¹² Ibid. Trin. 8 Eliz. 251.

¹³ Ibid. Mich. 3 Eliz. 79.

¹⁴ Ibid. Mich. 15 Eliz. 414.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹ Stat. 5 Eliz. cap. 8.

² Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Trin. 5 Eliz. 120-6.

³ Ibid. Mich. 25 Eliz. 361-70 *passim*.

⁴ Ibid. Hil. 6 Eliz. 232.

⁵ Ibid. Mich. 10 Eliz. 274.

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John Wood of Woking,¹ and Thomas Patenson of Carshalton.² In 1568 Godstone seems to have been a small centre for the leather trade, not merely in its own neighbourhood but even for tanners in Sussex and London. Three Sussex tanners³ and one, Nicholas Swyer of Godstone itself,⁴ were charged with selling leather there out of open market, whilst a London currier seems to have been buying his leather there in the same illegal way.⁵ In addition to the places already noticed the leather industry had its representatives during this period at Letherhead,⁶ Lingfield,⁷ Stoke d'Abernon and Bookham,⁸ and at Croydon was quite a small colony of shoemakers, of whom eight were summoned in Hilary term, 1564-5, to answer to charges of having, in spite of their calling as shoemakers, performed the business of curriers in their own houses.⁹

The examples we have quoted of cases of infringements of the leather trade laws occurring in Surrey are not by any means exhaustive, but are sufficient to show how general was the industry throughout the county, and also under what conditions and regulations it was carried on during the sixteenth century. There would seem to have been an outcry at the time against the hasty and imperfect processes which the leather manufacturers were adopting. William Harrison, to whom we may look for a reflection of much of the popular sentiment of his day, says, speaking of the English oaks and their use in tanning:—

Only this I wish that our sole and upper leathering may have their due time, and not be hasted on by extraordinary slights, as with ash bark, &c. Whereby as I grant that it seemeth outwardly to be very thick and well done: so, if you respect the sadnes (i.e. durability) thereof, it doth prove in the end to be very hollow, and not able to hold out water.

He refers to the laws against hasty tanning, but adds that the tanners bribed the administrators of the law and made worse leather than ever.¹⁰

So far we have been considering the leather industry of Surrey as carried on by native artisans. That the large immigrations of aliens into the country during the Tudor period must have had considerable effect upon the native industry is certain when we consider that there were more foreigners then engaged in the leather trade in England than in any other occupation. But these foreign workmen, among whom were tanners, corversers, shoemakers, saddlers and cobblers, for the most part dwelt in the precincts of the Blackfriars and St. Martin's-le-Grand, where they had their own gild called, 'the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity of Straungiers Courvysours,' and came into frequent collision with the Cordwainers' Company.¹¹ The several valuable returns made by the Lord Mayor of London of the aliens dwelling in the different wards, and of the trades in which they were engaged, so far as they have been printed,¹² enable us to see that in Southwark at least a certain foreign element had been introduced into the leather trade. For returns of aliens into Bermondsey and other parts of the county we must have recourse for the most part to the subsidy assessments, where usually we are without means to determine the particular trades of those whose names appear in these lists.

It must be confessed that so far as Southwark is concerned the returns do not point to any immigration of foreign workers in leather large enough to have had any very far-reaching effects on the native industry in that district. It must be remembered however that very many, whose names appear in the lists, are not assigned to any particular occupation. They are mostly dependents or servants in the house of some bigger man, who may be either a native or a foreigner, and their trades can only be surmised when we know those of their masters. But of those who can definitely be associated with the leather industry it is to be remarked that all, or nearly all, dealt with the commodity in its final stages of preparation. Thus not one Southwark alien in any of the lists, so far printed, is described as a tanner. Of leather-dressers and curriers there were eleven in 1571, but in 1583 only six. The greater number were shoemakers or cord-

¹¹ W. Page, F.S.A., *Denizations and Naturalizations, 1509-1603* (Huguenot Soc. Publ. viii.), p. xlvi.

¹² In the *Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London*, ed. R. E. G. and E. F. Kirk (Huguenot Soc. Publ. x.). Parts i. and ii., embracing the period between 1525 and 1597, are now published.

¹ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Mich. 15 Eliz. 413.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. Hil. 10 Eliz. 131-2.

⁴ Ibid. Mich. 10 Eliz. 279.

⁵ Ibid. 276.

⁶ Ibid. Hil. 7 Eliz. 192 and Trin. 8 Eliz. 252.

⁷ Ibid. Hil. 10 Eliz. 132.

⁸ Ibid. 5 Eliz. 127.

⁹ Ibid. 7 Eliz. 180, 181, 183, 191.

¹⁰ William Harrison, *The Description of England* (ed. Furnivall, New Shakespeare Soc.), pt. i. p. 340.

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wainers, who numbered twenty-eight in 1571 but had dwindled down in 1583 to six. Four Dutchmen dwelling in St. Olave's parish in November 1571 are described as 'parchmenters' or makers of parchment.

In Bermondsey there was at the end of the sixteenth century a very considerable foreign settlement, but it is impossible to say with any exactness what proportion of it was engaged in the leather trade. Walter van Stripen of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, leather-dresser, whose will is dated 10 February 1603-4, and was proved on 17 March following,¹ may in all probability be identified with the Walter van Strete of the subsidy assessment of 1595 who had two aliens in his service.²

James Chibball, in his will proved 7 October 1606,³ describes himself as a citizen and leather-seller of London, although it appears that he was a resident in Bermondsey. The same is the case with John Steward⁴ and George Lane,⁵ whose wills are dated respectively 1600 and 1603. The necessity of being free of their respective London companies was probably forced upon all who were concerned in the leather industry within the three mile circuit of the city. Certainly in the case of the curriers it was so enacted by an Act of James I.,⁶ which reinforced most of the previous legislation by which the doings of all artificers 'occupying the cutting of leather' were regulated. So Thomas Blest, who dwelt in the parish of St. Thomas, Southwark, and made his will on 22 November 1608, was a citizen and currier of London,⁷ and in Hilary term of 1606-7 three Southwark shoemakers were summoned to the Exchequer for using the trade of wet curriers within the prohibited circle and putting large quantities of tanned leather to sale, though they were not free of the Curriers' Company.⁸ Southwark market had however long been recognized as a privileged centre of the leather trade, and as early as 1562-3 had been specially exempted from the legislation that made it obligatory for all red tanned leather brought into the London area to be searched and sealed at Leadenhall.⁹ This privilege was confirmed by the later Act of 1603-4.¹⁰ According to Stow, 'the market

hill where the leather is sold' was in Long Southwark on the right hand after passing through St. Mary Overy's Close and Pepper Alley.

The re-enactment of the old penal laws controlling the leather trade of the kingdom by the Act of 1603-4 with its increased scale of fines and additional regulations was doubtless an attempt to revive legislation, which in the course of time had tended to become a dead letter. The dormant energies of the informer were awakened by the increased rewards promised for successful prosecutions, and doubtless if he could obtain for himself the third part of such fines as were alleged to have been incurred by Goldfin Wright, a widow of St. Mary Magdalen's parish, and Richard Pratt of Bermondsey Street, he might see for himself an easy road to wealth. In Easter term 1606 Goldfin Wright was charged with having tanned 1,000 sheepskins with warm or hot oozes, for each of which she was liable to be fined £10, making a total fine of £10,000,¹¹ and in Trinity term following, Pratt was charged with having committed a similar offence in the parish of St. George, Southwark, and with having incurred a like penalty, in addition to which, in his case, there was the punishment of standing in the pillory on certain market days in the Borough.¹² Andrew Weyman of Southwark, a merchant who would appear to have had a large business in the wool as well as the leather trade, was another offender to the same extent.¹³ Goldfin Wright appears again in the following Michaelmas term. This time the charge against her is of having made 1,000 pelts of 5,000 sheep and lamb skins, that is to say she had sold the skins before converting them into tawed or tanned leather or into parchment or other necessary uses.¹⁴

The actual number of offences alleged in each of these cases was doubtless only an approximate guess on the part of the informer, but the fact that an attempt could be made to recover fines of such magnitude from Bermondsey and Southwark leather manufacturers may be taken as an indication of the prosperity which was presumed at the time to have attended those engaged in the industry in this neighbourhood. How far this prosperity may have been due to the introduction of foreign artisans and methods we are still unable to judge, but that the local industry did not originate with them we have

¹ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xi. 285.

² Kirk, *op. cit.* ii. 477.

³ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xii. 194.

⁴ *Ibid.* xi. 123. ⁵ *Ibid.* 121.

⁶ Stat. 1 Jas. I. cap. 22.

⁷ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xiii. 196.

⁸ K. R. Mem. Hil. R. 4 Jas. I. 104, 105.

⁹ Stat. 5 Eliz. cap. 8, § 23.

¹⁰ Stat. 1 Jas. I. cap. 22, § 32.

¹¹ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. East. 4 Jas. I. 97.

¹² *Ibid.* Trin. 4 Jas. I. 34. ¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Mich. 4 Jas. I. 253.

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already attempted to show. On the whole we must agree with those writers who, while declaring their inability to fix a date for its beginnings in Bermondsey and Southwark, hold that its antiquity is remote. They point to the natural advantages Bermondsey enjoyed for the manufacture of leather in its oak-woods and abundance of water-power from the numerous tidal streams which flowed through it into the Thames.¹

During the seventeenth century Bermondsey must have maintained its pre-eminence in the leather industry, and the story of the terror-stricken creatures who fled from the ravages of the Great Plague in the city of London to the Bermondsey tan pits to find strong medicinal virtues in the nauseous smell may at least be cited as evidence of the fame of these tan pits.² But the strongest proof of the importance the industry had then obtained is found in the charter granted by Queen Anne on 15 July 1703, whereby the Bermondsey tanners were incorporated under the name of 'the Master, Wardens and Commonalty of the art or mystery of tanners of the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, in the county of Surrey.'³ William Jeffreys was appointed the first master. The preamble states that the charter was granted on the tanners' own petition, and that it was rendered necessary by the number of those who, notwithstanding the many good laws provided for the well tanning of leather, had taken upon themselves, especially in Bermondsey and the adjacent places, to follow the trade of a tanner though not apprenticed thereto for the space of seven years or otherwise duly qualified. Yet in spite of this alleged necessity for the charter it appears to have remained inoperative from the first.*

The important position which the leather manufacturers of Surrey have held in the history of the industry in this kingdom is strikingly illustrated by the large proportion obtained by them out of the total number of patents for inventions granted for improvements in this branch of manufacture⁶ during the last half of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. Nearly all these Surrey inventors belonged to Bermondsey or the adjacent metropolitan districts of the county. It is unnecessary and hardly possible here to deal with all these various inven-

tions, but they have to do with all the processes incident to the preparation of leather from the first cutting of the skins or furs, the removal of the wool or hairs and the tanning of the hides to the final operations of dressing and finishing. Thus Thomas Chapman of Bermondsey, a skinner and seal wool manufacturer, took out a patent in 1799 for his method of taking off the wool or fur from seals' and other skins whereby the skins or pelts were less damaged than by any other process yet adopted, and were kept and preserved in a perfect state for the purpose of tanning into any kind of leather.⁶ In 1809 Richard Willcox,⁷ a mechanist of Lambeth, patented machinery for cutting the furs from the skins of animals, and machinery for a similar end was likewise patented in 1830 by Alexander Bell, a Southwark engineer.⁸ Amongst patents taken out for improved methods of cutting, splitting, and dividing hides and skins were those of the following Bermondsey tanners: George Choumert⁹ in 1783, William Parr and Samuel Bevington¹⁰ in conjunction with Richard Bevington, a merchant of Gracechurch Street, in 1806, and Samuel Brookes¹¹ in 1808. The latter claimed for his process that it would enable each side of the split hide to be manufactured for the purposes for which an entire hide had been before used, the grain side being suitable for coach and chaise hides and other purposes, and the flesh side for losh hides, white leather, vellum, tanning, and other purposes. Still more numerous are the patents obtained by various Surrey tanners for new methods of tanning and manufacturing. Francis Brewin of Bermondsey took out three several patents between the years 1799 and 1836 for tanning processes.¹² In the specification for his first patent in 1799 he claimed for his method the following points: Firstly, that it would save much labour; secondly, that the oozes used with the forward goods might be obtained of any degree of strength required, and that the bark would be perfectly spent before it was cast to the tanhill; and thirdly, that the leather did not require one half the usual time to manufacture it, and was in weight superior to the best tannage and yet more elastic.¹³ For his second patent, granted in 1801, he stated that his method consisted principally in consolidating floaters and taps, namely by

¹ E. T. Clarke, *Bermondsey* (1902), pp. 194-5, quoting Charles Knight and Mrs. Boger.

² *Ibid.* p. 196.

³ Pat. 2 Anne, pt. 4, No. 8.

⁴ G. W. Phillips, *Hist. of Bermondsey*, p. 105.

⁵ See the various Indexes to *Pat. of Inventions*, 1617-1852 (London, 1854).

⁶ *Pat. of Inventions*, No. 2317.

⁷ *Ibid.* No. 3222. ⁸ *Ibid.* No. 6029.

⁹ *Ibid.* No. 1382. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* No. 2925.

¹¹ *Ibid.* No. 3178.

¹² *Ibid.* Nos. 2319, 2550, 6977.

¹³ *Rep. Dep. Keeper of the Records*, vi. App. 196.

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drawing the oozes for the vats and handlers from the floaters and working the oozes through the floaters in every respect as though they were a set of taps, and using them at the same time in the nature of floaters by handling the greenest packs in them.¹ The greater number of patents taken out by Surrey manufacturers and others for improvements in the leather industry seem to deal with the final stages of the process, the finishing, glazing, ornamentation, and dyeing of the leather.

An Act of the second year of James I. had prohibited the use of horse hides in the making of boots and shoes. This Act was repealed by the Act 39 and 40 George III. c. 66, except for the cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark and all places within 15 miles of the Royal Exchange. But the effect of the repeal was found to be so beneficial to the leather trade and of such advantage to the general public that in 1803 the latter Act was extended by a further Act to the districts previously excepted.² At the same time it was enacted that all hides tanned within 5 miles of the Royal Exchange should be brought to Leadenhall to be examined and stamped, and all sheepskins to one of the three sheepskin markets about the metropolis, of which that in the borough of Southwark was one. Two inspectors were to be annually appointed for Southwark market.

In 1792, according to Lysons, the Bermondsey tanners were very numerous, and carried on that business to a greater extent than was known in any other part of the kingdom. From a natural connection between the several trades there were also many wool-staplers, fellmongers, curriers, and leather-dressers, and some parchment makers.³

In 1832 Bermondsey Leather Market was erected by many of the principal tanners and other inhabitants of the parish, the total cost of the building and the freehold land on which it was erected amounting to £40,000, subscribed for in shares of £100 each.⁴ About the year 1840 we learn that many of the tanners and leather-factors had their warehouses here and conducted the whole of their business within it. Many of the hides were brought to the market for sale, and the prin-

cipal portion of the sheepskins of the metropolis were sold there. About the same time several of the Bermondsey tanners and leather-dressers in an extensive way of business had had steam engines erected on their premises.⁵

In an account of the industries of Surrey published in 1850 it was estimated that fully one-third of the great quantity of leather then produced in the kingdom was manufactured and dressed in Surrey. 'Situated close to the Thames and to the immense London markets, Bermondsey has advantages in the supply of all the materials, for the accomplishment of the process, and the disposal of the finished product, that withstand competition.' The general principles of the various processes, which with only slight modifications are the same to-day, are described. Thick hides had still to be allowed eight, twelve, or eighteen months' tanning, although chemists had done much to shorten the process in respect to time. But beyond a certain point the quick operation had not answered, and was at that time more cautiously applied than it had been some years before.⁶

The most important tanneries and leather works at Bermondsey described in this same account were those of Messrs. John & Thomas Hepburn in Long Lane, Messrs. Bevingtons at the Neckinger Mills, and Messrs. Learmouth & Roberts in Swan Street. The following account of Messrs. Hepburns' tannery, which was then said to be one of the largest and most complete private establishments of its kind in the world, gives some interesting particulars of the industry and may be quoted at length.

The premises, originally composed of five separate tanneries, occupy a space of two acres and a half, partly covered with buildings, and partly occupied by numerous tan-pits. Three of the original tanneries, which had existed for more than a century previous, were purchased by Mr. John Hepburn, father of the present proprietors, in 1770. The extent of his business was at first about sixty hides a week, not including what, as a factor, he gave out to little tanners in the oak-growing parts of Sussex; for in those days, before London had become the great mart for materials from Germany, Flanders, France, Spain, Turkey, America, Africa, and even China and Van Diemen's Land, it was worth while to carry the skins to the bark, and bring them back when tanned. The work now performed on the premises amounts to an average of 900 bullocks' hides, and 200 horses' weekly, or 57,000 a year, besides a due

¹ *Rep. Dep. Keeper of the Records*, vi. App. 199.

² Local and Personal Acts, 43 George III. cap. 106.

³ Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 1792), i. 547. The passage stands without modification in the 1811 edition of the same work, p. 47.

⁴ G. W. Phillips, *Hist. of Bermondsey*, pp. 102, 103.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 107.

⁶ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App. 29.

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proportion of calf skins from the London markets, constituting about a fourth of the whole supply of the butchers of this vast metropolis. The number of men employed, nearly all in skilful industry, is two hundred and fifty: the steam engine is of 20-horse power. In consequence of the great draught of its lofty chimney, 175 feet high, the fuel chiefly employed is the waste tan-bark, from which the water is squeezed by an hydraulic press of 700 tons. The boiler power is of seventy horses; and the number of pumps in use, in addition to the supply by tide-streams, is between thirty and forty. There are also two beautiful machines, namely, those for splitting the hides, by separating the softer internal skin (fitted for coach linings, upholstery, police caps, etc.) from the strong, and tough, sole leather: the more delicate British hides are thus rendered as serviceable as those of matured growth from abroad. The skin is placed between cylinders, facing which one surface passes under and the other over a continuity of small knives, which, by short incisions, cut them asunder, whilst two or three men preserve the irregularities of the hide from accident by keeping it stretched tight and even. The machine invented by Mr. Thomas Hepburn, for cutting leather at the joints for straps to atmospheric railway carriages, is very successful, and far superior in result to what can be effected by the nicest manual dexterity. The operations of lime soaking, with those of scraping off the hair, paring the fleshy surface, and equalizing and dressing the leather, require skill and practice. The chemical portion of the work also demands much experience and care. Several improvements have been already made since the abolition of the duty on leather removed the vexatious interference of the excise. The carpentry, smithery, engine, and other works required in this establishment, are all in operation on the premises.¹

At Messrs. Learnmouth & Roberts' works the processes of tanning and dyeing were at this period combined, 'both on a scale of first-rate magnitude.' The tanneries of Messrs. Learnmouth had thriven for fifty years, when in 1841 a partnership was formed between them and Mr. Roberts, who had previously carried on the business of a dyer in the fields which had occupied most of the then site of the works. Over 290 workmen were then employed here, and the steam-engine power was one 30-horse and a 10, with boiler power of 100-horse. The engines gave motion to three splitting machines for light skins and one for strong hides, to the bark mill, fifteen finishing wheels, and the pumps that supplied the immense quantity of water required; to lathes, machines for working the skins before tanning, and the rotun machine for cleaning them at the completion of that

process. The finishing wheels were peculiar to this establishment, and each of them enabled one man to do as much as five unassisted by machinery and with better results. The circular blocks that grained and polished the morocco and roan were fixed on the rim of a wheel about 6 or 7 feet in diameter. These revolving caused them to rub the skin repeatedly as every part was presented in turn to its operation. The number of skins of all sorts tanned here amounted to about 350,000 yearly, the greater part being calf, sheep, deer and goat skins. Of these the majority had to be dyed and were tanned with sumach, a process which is described as very expeditious and ingenious. 'Each skin being sewn up as a bag, and nearly filled with a warm infusion of the sumach and as much air as will render it buoyant, is tossed about in a vessel containing a similar liquid: thus distended, the skin is from both sides affected by the tannin solution quite through its substance, producing in a few hours the same result that is effected by bark only in six or eight weeks.' The dyeing and finishing departments of this manufactory were particularly interesting, chiefly from the success which had attended the efforts to fix the fugitive tints of archil, from which all the colours from blue to crimson were produced by different mordants. The means used to accomplish this end were a secret in this firm. The firm had also then recently achieved a further triumph by obtaining perfect black dye equal to any produced abroad.²

Of Messrs. Bevingtons' tannery, which was also at this period one of the most important in Bermondsey, we shall shortly have occasion to speak fully. Other important leather works in 1850 were those of Messrs. Hackblock, Brewin, Clarke and Meek. Francis Brewin has already appeared in this account as a patentee of new methods of tanning.

The amount of business transacted at the Leather Exchange in Bermondsey at the present day is very great, and the quantity of leather manufactured in the place is still considerable. Owing however to alterations in the processes and increased rapidity of conveyance Bermondsey has become more of an emporium for the sale of goods manufactured elsewhere, and many once important tanneries have been disposed of for other purposes. Most of the leading manufacturers are leather-factors as well.³ But there are still some five and twenty tanners in the district, and a yet greater number carry on the businesses of

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App. 30, 31.

² *Ibid.* v. App. 32, 33.

³ E. T. Clarke, *Bermondsey*, p. 240.

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curriers, leather-dressers, leather-factors and manufacturers of leather. There are also some leather dyers and leather enamellers and japanners, and a few makers of parchment and vellum. The census returns of 1901 show that there is a resident population of 3,238 males and 785 females in the metropolitan borough of Bermondsey, and of 1,673 males and 870 females in Southwark, engaged in the various branches of the leather trade and manufacture.

Probably the oldest existing Bermondsey firm of leather manufacturers and now the best known is that of Messrs. Bevingtons & Sons of the Neckinger Mills. The records of successful commercial enterprise contain few more notable examples of continuous progress and consistent development than that furnished by this house of leather manufacturers, factors and merchants, which for a century past has occupied a distinctively recognized position as one of the leading undertakings in this important field of industry.¹

The history of the business dates back to its foundation in 1800 by three brothers—Samuel, Henry and Timothy Bevington, who were succeeded in the control by their descendants, of whom Colonel Samuel Bourne Bevington, grandson of Mr. Samuel Bevington, is now the senior partner of the firm.

The business was originally commenced at the Neckinger Mills, which had been previously occupied by a company for the manufacture of paper from straw. The works were considerably extended and developed by the second generation of the family, at the head of which was Mr. James Buckingham Bevington, who continued as an active partner in the concern until the advanced age of eighty years, retiring in 1884 and dying in 1892 at the age of eighty-eight.

In 1850 we learn that this tannery was devoted to the preparation of the thinner and softer skins, especially for those tanned with sumach or alum in place of bark, and also to oil tanning: that is to say for morocco, roan, buck and doe and other productions from deer, goat and sheep skins by sumach; and for lamb, kid and other delicate skins by the latter processes. Eighty-five men were then employed on the premises and fifteen elsewhere, and the establishment had a 6-horse power steam engine to keep in motion the various machines for softening, splitting, finishing and washing. 250,000 skins were yearly tanned by alum (tawed or white leather) and 220,000 by sumach. The ma-

terials used in the various processes were 150 tons of sumach, 18 tons of alum, 30 tons of salt, 60 loads of lime and 70,000 eggs. 800 tons of coal and coke were annually consumed here.²

The manufacturing departments are still continued at the original site in Bermondsey, the works covering an extensive area of 3 acres of ground, through which the lines of the South-Eastern and London, Brighton and South Coast Railways run, the arches being utilized as stores for materials. The premises are very conveniently adapted to the requirements of the business, the water used in the various processes being supplied by a special inlet from the Thames, and modern mechanical plant being laid down to facilitate the several specialities for which the house is noted. Since the recent widening of the South-Eastern Railway a new steam engine has been erected with the most recent developments for driving machinery by means of electrical dynamos and motors.

The specialities of the firm include the manufacture of morocco, roan, skivers, seal, chrome and glove leather, from the initial tanning and dressing to the most advanced stages of currying and finishing, including the manufacture of hat leathers. An operative force of nearly 500 hands is employed in the various processes of production. Messrs. Bevingtons & Sons are also importers on a large scale of all descriptions of continental and American leather, and have in addition established an extensive trade as wool merchants.

From 1856 until 1874 the city warehouse of the firm was located in Cannon Street. At the latter date this department was removed to the large premises now occupied at 42, St. Thomas's Street, Southwark.

Another very important Bermondsey firm of tanners is that of Messrs. Samuel Barrow & Brother, Ltd. This was originally started in 1848 under the style of John Barrow & Sons, the partners being Messrs. John Barrow, Samuel Barrow and James Barrow. The business, commenced in a small way at some premises in Wild's Rents, has since developed enormously. The present warehouses in Westow Street were erected by Mr. Samuel Barrow, who in 1864 purchased a large tannery at Redhill, and in 1891 the entire enterprise was registered as a limited liability company, with a capital of £300,000 privately subscribed. Four tanneries are now controlled by the company, namely three in Bermondsey—i.e. in the Grange, the Grange

¹ The following account of this house is based mainly on materials supplied by Messrs. Bevingtons & Sons.

² Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App. 31.

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Road and the Spa Road—and the Redhill establishment; and there are warehouses in Westow Street, Maze Pond and St. Thomas's Street. Mr. Samuel Barrow still personally superintends the business, and the 'Brother' is Mr. R. V. Barrow, who sat in Parliament from 1892 to 1895 as Member for Bermondsey.¹

Considerably after Bermondsey, but of no little importance, is the tanning industry in the south-western quarter of the county about Guildford and Godalming. A few early references to the industry in this district have already been noticed in this account. The constant occurrence of the names of tanners in deeds and wills through the sixteenth and succeeding centuries proves the continued existence of the industry in Godalming and its neighbourhood down to the present time.²

A house in Godalming called 'Tanhouse,' and apparently now represented by several houses on the north side of the High Street, was together with a moor held of the manor of Westbrook at a rent of 2s. 6d., and was for many years the property of the Chitty family. A very good leaded coat-of-arms of the Westbrook family existed not many years ago in one of the back windows of an old house in the High Street.³ Henry Chitty 'de la Tanhouse' is referred to in a survey of the manor of Godalming in the reign of Edward VI. His son Henry died at an advanced age on 16 February 1632-3, seised of 'Tanhouse,' which he occupied as a private residence.⁴ It passed to his great-great-niece, Dorothy Chitty, his brother John's great-granddaughter, whose descendants held it for more than a century; but there seems to be no reference to the actual use of the house for the purposes of tanning. Another 'Tanhouse' was held of the manor of Godalming when Henry Smyth died seised of it on 16 September 1574, and together with some moorland adjoining it was valued at 10s. yearly.⁵ This was perhaps in Ockford Lane, but is not to be identified with a tannery near Ockford Bridge, which was mortgaged by Michael Reading of Godalming, tanner, on 1 July 1745. The latter

was conveyed by Ann Reading, Michael's widow, and others to Jesse Hurst, a tanner of Wisborough Green, in February 1784. Hurst in December 1806 disposed of this tannery to Richard Haydon and Walter Chatfield of St. Nicholas near Guildford, victualler. In 1810 an agreement was entered into between Haydon and Walter Chatfield, described as of Catherine Hill, tanner, with reference to the proposed erection of a bark mill; and in 1820 Haydon conveyed his share in the tannery to Chatfield, who resided there, and carried on the business until his death in 1855, after which the property came into the possession of the Peacock family.

The greater part of the site of the extensive premises now occupied by the firm of Messrs. Thomas Rea, Sons & Fisher, Ltd., tanners and curriers, in Mill Lane, Godalming, formed the garden ground of some cottages and half an acre used as a hop-garden, which were purchased at several times by Mr. Richard Lee between the years 1805 and 1810. Whether the premises were used as a tannery before the year 1808 is uncertain, but in that year Lee, then described as of Godalming, tanner, entered into a contract for the erection of a bark house to grind bark in his tannery. He carried on the business until about the middle of the nineteenth century, when the premises were taken over by a Mr. Gibson, who was also the owner of a tannery near Meadrow, Godalming. This latter tannery had belonged in 1825 to the Denyer family, and is described as being on the Peasemars. Mr. Gibson made very large additions to it about the years 1855 and 1865, but soon afterwards failed, and the works ceased to exist as a tannery. The Mill Lane tannery was however held by a Mr. Page in 1863, and later on was taken over by Mr. Rea, by whom the business has been expanded into the present limited company.

In addition to the important leather works of Messrs. Rea & Fisher, a very considerable industry is now carried on at Godalming in the manufacture of oiled leather and military accoutrements by Messrs. R. & J. Pullman, Ltd., at their Westbrook and Salgasson mills. An establishment for carrying out the process of oil tanning, which is said to be of German origin, has been in existence at Godalming for about a century and a half. In 1824 it was carried on by William Twycross, and was then described as extensive.⁶ The business was much extended by Mr. Madeley,

¹ E. T. Clarke, *Bermondsey*, pp. 246-50.

² For most of the following particulars extracted from wills and deeds in private possession relative to the industry in the neighbourhood of Godalming the editor is indebted to Percy Woods, Esq., C.B.

³ Ralph Nevill, F.S.A., *Old Cottage and Domestic Architecture in South-West Surrey*, ed. 2, p. 75.

⁴ Inq. p.m. ser. 2 dxxvi. No. 44.

⁵ *Ibid.* clxxix. No. 72.

⁶ Pigot's *London and Provincial Commercial Directory* (1823-4).

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who conducted the works about the year 1850. Under him they were principally devoted to the manufacture of buff-hides from calf-skins for army accoutrements, and also of chamois and wash leather from deer, sheep, goat, kid and lamb skins. He employed about thirty men and boys on his premises and as many elsewhere, and his annual operations are said to have entailed the consumption of 20 tons of lime, 4 or 5 tons of alkali, 45 tons of Newfoundland oil and 5 or 6 tons of whiting.¹

William Ropley, who in 1483 drew too much profit from his tanning business at Chiddingfold, has already been mentioned here. The family seems to have been engaged in the tanning as well as the glass-making industry here for some fifty years longer, for in 1495-6 Thomas Ropley, tanner, appears as a grantee or some property in Chiddingfold, and in 1536 John Ropple, tanner, witnesses a Chiddingfold will.² The Ropleys were succeeded by other tanners. In 1609 John Bridger conveyed to Thomas Bradfold his tanhouse, called 'Trigges,' in Chiddingfold, and all 'vattes, tanvates, and other implements and vessells' on the premises.³ On 4 May 1616 Robert Frye of Chiddingfold, tanner, makes his will, referring in it to his master Thomas Penfould, a tanner, also of Chiddingfold.⁴ Penfould's own will is dated 5 December 1651, and was proved on 2 June 1653.⁵

At Bramley there were several families of tanners. John Braborne of that place and his son John, both tanners, are mentioned in 1669, and in 1716 we have a Joshua Brabant of Bramley, tanner, of whom probably was the will dated 29 June 1725, and proved on 29 November 1727.⁶ Daniel Chandler of Bramley, tanner, made his will on 10 November 1680. It was proved on 8 February 1680-1.⁷ A John Chandler, tanner, was buried at Bramley in 1740. There is a tannery there on the line of the old and now dried-up Wey and Arun Canal.⁸ In

1768 there is a notice of John Hicks of Gosden Common in Bramley, a tanner.⁹

At Shalford the still existing firm of Messrs. Edwin Ellis & Co. was established about a hundred and thirty years ago by Mr. John Ellis, and is now carried on by his grandson, Mr. Edwin Ellis, with his two sons and a nephew. There is a branch of the business at Bermondsey. It is one of the largest manufactories in the south of England for sole leather, walrus leather and 'split hides.'¹⁰

Gomshall is another old seat of the leather industry of particular interest. An old house still known as the Tannery House is the property of Colonel Fraser of Netley House, Gomshall, and the remains of tanning vats may be seen in the gardens on its south side. There is a local tradition still current that the house was built soon after the Great Plague from the profits out of hides collected free in London at the time. In several places in Queen Street also there exist remains of tan pits, showing that the industry was carried on in a small way by several others. Shere tannery close by is now owned by Messrs. Gilligan & Son, and in this locality the industry has been carried on for some hundreds of years. The existing deeds of this property date back to the sixteenth century.¹¹

Leather and parchment are now manufactured to some considerable extent at Mitcham and about the course of the Wandle. In 1792 Lysons mentions Mr. Savignac's mills for preparing leather and parchment at Carshalton.¹² From the later edition of the same work it appears that in 1811 there were two skinning mills at this place, Mr. Savignac's and Mr. Shipley's.¹³ At Hackbridge not far off parchment is now made by Messrs. F. Braybrooks & Co., Ltd., and leather dressing is also carried on. Parchment and vellum are also made at Mitcham by Messrs. George Gibbs & Sons, who have another manufactory in Bermondsey for leather. At Beddington Corner near Mitcham are three or four firms engaged in leather dressing and manufacture, and Messrs. Chuter & Son, Ltd., have chamois leather mills at Summerstown.

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App.

² Ex inf. P. Woods, Esq., C.B.

³ Close 7 Jas. I. pt. 8.

⁴ Prob. Archd. Ct. of Surrey.

⁵ Prob. P.C.C.

⁶ Prob. Archd. Ct. of Surrey.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ex inf. H. E. Malden, Esq.

⁹ Ex inf. P. Woods, Esq., C.B.

¹⁰ Ex inf. Edwin Ellis, Esq., J.P.

¹¹ Ex inf. Messrs. Gilligan & Son.

¹² *Environs of London* (ed. 1792), i. 123.

¹³ Ibid. (ed. 1811), i. 91.

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CLOTH

The manufacture of woollen cloth formed for centuries the staple industry of Guildford and Godalming and the adjacent villages. When the manufacture first grew into an organized industry and weaving ceased to be what in the opinion of Mr. Thorold Rogers it was in the thirteenth century¹—a by-product in nearly all villages—must probably always remain an insoluble problem. But there were several causes to mark out Surrey as a natural centre for the industry at an early period. There was an abundance of good pasturage on the downs, and in Tudor times it is certain that many Surrey yeomen families attained wealth and gentility by successful sheep-farming. At the beginning of the fourteenth century or a little earlier we find the abbeys of Waverley and Merton amongst those monastic houses which supplied wool to the Florentine and Flemish markets.² Fulling mills in the county are mentioned at an early date, and indeed have been said to have been amongst the first in the kingdom. Water-power for them could be readily obtained from the small rivers and streams which passed through the heart of the county. Moreover there were in the county the richest beds in England of the rare fullers' earth, the properties of which for cleansing cloth and preparing it for the fullers were early known and utilized.

The origin of the English woollen cloth industry is commonly attributed to the settlement in the country under Edward III. of large numbers of Flemish weavers, fullers and dyers, in furtherance of that monarch's policy. It is perhaps not a little remarkable that there should be least evidence of the presence of these foreign artisans in Surrey and Sussex, counties which were not only the most appropriate because they lay nearest to the continent, but also because of the natural advantages they enjoyed for the success of the industry.³ Perhaps however it was due in no small measure to the influence of the foreigner that Guildford cloth had obtained the reputation which we find it had enjoyed some time before the year 1391. In that year upon the complaint of the commons of

Guildford and other places in Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire,⁴ it was enacted that—

because that of old times divers cloths were made in the town of Guildford and other places within the counties of Surrey, Sussex and Southampton called Cloths of Guildford, which were of good making and of good value, and did bear a great name: and now because that Fullers and others of the same country do use to buy the cloths of the said countries before that they be fulled and performed, and in making for covetousness to have the said cloths of greater measure over the common assise that late was used, do draw the cloths longer and more large than they were wont or ought to be, to the great impairing of the said cloths and great deceit of the people: For to eschew such damages and deceits in time to come, It is agreed and assented that from henceforth no Fuller nor other person, whatsoever he be, shall buy within the said towns and counties any cloth before the same cloth be fulled and fully performed in his nature, and also sealed under the seal thereto ordained, upon pain of forfeiture of the same.⁵

It is curious that in this the first definite notice we have of the cloth-making industry of Surrey, the very same offence is mentioned in connection with it which about three centuries later was alleged to have brought about its ruin in one at least of the Surrey villages. It will be noticed also that it was an industry which extended into the counties of Sussex and Southampton. So it remained throughout its history, the adjoining districts of the three counties carrying on the manufacture of a similar description of cloth. In 1630 we shall find that the cloth made at Godalming and thereabouts went under the name of Hampshire kerseys.

The enactment of 1391 refers to the common assise of cloth, and this was a question which had long given rise to much discussion both in and out of Parliament. As early as 1197 Richard I. had issued an Assise of Cloth and the regulation had called forth protest, many towns in the reign of King John paying fines for liberty to deal in cloth of any length and breadth.⁶ Subsequently the ulnagers, the officers whose duty it was to measure and seal all cloths brought to market, insisted that all the cloth should be made in pieces of a uniform length

¹ J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* (1901), p. 46.

² W. Cunningham, D.D., *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, ed. 3, i. 624, 628, 629.

³ Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants in England*, p. 107.

⁴ *Rot. Parl.* iii. 294a.

⁵ *Stat.* 15 Ric. II. cap. 10.

⁶ Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, i. 192.

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of twenty-four ells only. This the manufacturers represented was impossible owing to the different natures of the wool with which they worked, and in time a different standard came to be recognized for each of the different descriptions of cloth made in the kingdom. But even with this laxity several of the notices which we have of the Surrey industry have to do with the difficulty of keeping the pieces of cloth within the dimensions specially decreed for cloth of their particular class.¹

Thus in 1535-6² it was enacted that every kersey made and dressed to be put to sale should contain one yard in breadth within the list or border. A petition was made to the Privy Council apparently a few years after this enactment by 'the makers and workers of coarse kerses commonly transported into the parts beyond the seas inhabiting within the counties of Berks, Oxford, Southampton, Surrey, Sussex and York.' It represents that these makers could not by any means possible observe the breadths of such coarse kerses as limited by the Act. The execution of the Act had for a time been suspended by the king's proclamation at their humble suits, but if it was to be ultimately enforced the makers would 'be forced against their wills either to forsake their misteries and leave off their making of such coarse kerses or else to incur the danger and penalty of the said statute to their utter undoing.'³ From this petition it may be inferred that thus early the kersey manufacture of Surrey possessed that characteristic which most distinguishes it in its later and declining days. The cloth was chiefly made for the export trade.

The age of the Tudors was prolific in legislation which aimed at regulating and checking abuses in the manufacture of the commoner necessities of life, and it is only what we should expect that the cloth-making industry, the staple one of the country, was especially subjected to a multiplicity of enactments. With the general trend of this legislation we are of course not here concerned, but only with those particular conditions imposed by it which seem to have most affected the industry in Surrey. As is usually the case our information as to a special industry becomes amplified with the greater interference of the legislative with the manner of conducting it. Large rewards offered under the various Acts to those who

would bring offenders to justice naturally opened the way for the common informer, and it is from the informations against Surrey clothiers that we may best learn how they were affected by these Acts. One word however is necessary as to the value of this evidence. From the records of the Court of Exchequer we may learn the nature of the charge, but as in nearly every case the accused denies the commission of the offence, and elects to put himself upon the country, it is rarely easy and often impossible to know whether the indictment was held proven by a jury. What we do learn are the localities in which particular industries were carried on, and we are left to infer from the frequency with which certain offences are alleged to have been committed in certain districts, that some grounds for believing that they would be proved in a court of law must have prompted the informer to bring forward his charges.

One of the commonest offences against the Acts regulating their industry of which the Surrey clothiers were accused was that of making cloth outside the limits of a market or corporate town. In 1557-8 it had been laid down that none should make cloth except in a market town wherein cloth had been used to be made by the space of ten years past, or in a city borough or town corporate under a penalty of £5 for every cloth made contrary to these provisions. The alleged motive for this legislation was the decay of towns which had been brought about by the removal of clothiers, but possibly it was prompted to some extent by the desire to facilitate the performance of the duties that devolved upon the ulnagers and sealers of cloths who would have the makers more under their supervision in the towns than in scattered villages. The Act was subsequently slightly modified, and toleration was extended to certain clothiers in the west of England.⁴ These modifications need not concern us here. In Surrey the effect of these measures seems to have been to force the clothiers from the villages into the towns. In 1561 two of them, Richard and Simon Hardinge, were charged with having made woollen cloths at Frensham,⁵ and another, Thomas Rosyer, with committing the same offence at Witley,⁶ neither of these being places within the meaning of the Acts. It is curious to find Godalming described in the same year as a market town where cloth had

¹ Cunningham, *Growth of English History and Commerce*, i. 322, 323.

² Stat. 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 12.

³ Star Cham. Proc. Hen. VIII. bdle. 23, No.

115.

⁴ Stat. 4 & 5 Phil. and Mary, cap. 5; 18 Eliz. cap. 16.

⁵ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Trin. 3 Eliz. 38.

⁶ Ibid. 39.

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not been wont to be made for ten years previously, and one John Channell accused of clothmaking there.¹ But the instance appears to be unique and possibly was a test case raised by an informer who had forgotten or did not know that in the Act of 1557-8, regulating the making of woollen cloths, Godalming had been especially mentioned as a town where cloths had been usually made by the space of twenty years last past.² In Hilary term 1562-3, six clothiers, all of them members of the two well-known Surrey families of clothmakers, the Hookees and Chittys, were accused of having within the previous ten years carried on their industry of kersey weaving at Thursley, Pitfold and Frensham, and over the Hampshire and Sussex borders at Aldershot, Linchmere, Bramshott and Headley.³ When arraigned however they were all described as of Godalming. In this instance we have a virtual admission of the charge, for they all petitioned to be allowed to make a reasonable fine for the offence in order to save themselves further expense and trouble. After this for some considerable time we hear little more of trouble in Surrey upon this account, but in 1606 attention seems to have been again aroused to the matter. In that year eight Surrey clothiers were accused of kersey-making outside the towns, namely Henry Wakeford,⁴ William Rogers⁵ and Nicholas Monger,⁶ all of Wonersh, Richard Cobbett of Ash,⁷ Thomas Lashford of Stoke,⁸ John Waltam of Shalford,⁹ and Thomas and Ralph Chalcraft of Chiddingfold.¹⁰ To these must be added in 1607 John Tayler of Wonersh,¹¹ Nicholas Smythe of Stoke,¹² and John White perhaps also of Wonersh.¹³

Another common offence, and one which in view both of the early and later history of the industry is of special interest, was that of stretching the cloths by means of unlawful instruments. Aubrey speaks of this offence as having been the ruin more particularly of the Guildford and Wonersh clothiers. But in 1565 no less than twelve Godalming manufacturers were accused of having used tentors or wrenches, ropes and rings to strain and stretch their cloths. The list includes the names of

members of such well known Surrey families as those of Chitty, Hooke, Mellersh (Mellyshe), Wood, and Chaundler. There are also John Brodford of 'Brodfgate' and John Allen of Farnham.¹⁴ In 1569 five Farnham clothiers were charged with similar offences.¹⁵ Again for a time there is a lull in the prosecutions, either because they had already had a sufficiently deterrent effect, or perhaps because they had not proved remunerative enough to the informer. But again with the accession of the first Stuart sovereign interest was re-awakened in the matter, and in 1607 an information was lodged against Thomas West of Guildford, because he had in his keeping and used a certain instrument (*Anglich*, 'a tenter') with a lower bar and other engines, wherewith 100 cloths of white wool called kerseys, rough and unwrought and made for sale at Guildford, were stretched and strained in breadth and length.¹⁶ Two other Guildford clothiers, William Figge and Robert Kateringham,¹⁷ were charged with similar practices in the following year, and in Michaelmas term 1610 no less than seven,¹⁸ to be followed in Hilary term 1610-1 by five others¹⁹ were summoned from the same town to answer to informations against them of having used 'a certaine engine called a rope,' and other unlawful instruments for stretching cloth.

In addition to this trouble of stretching the cloths to an undue extent there was the old difficulty of restricting their length to that required by statute. The reason for insisting upon this restriction is given in the preamble of the Act of 1572 to reform the excessive length of kerseys.²⁰ It is there explained that the customs and subsidies of kerseys were answered according to the number of pieces or whole kerseys and not according to the number of yards in each piece. Ordinary kerseys had not usually contained above 17, and the finer sort called 'sorting kerseys' above 18 yards. But certain merchant strangers and others engaged in the export trade of kerseys had of late devised and procured to have kerseys of much greater lengths, as of 25 and 26 yards and more, thereby deceiving the queen of a third part of her customs and subsidies. A maximum length of 18 yards was therefore laid down for all kerseys with an allowance for accidental cases provided the cloths did not exceed 19 yards

¹ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Trin. 3 Eliz. 40.

² Stat. 4 and 5 Phil. & Mary, cap. 5, § 25.

³ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Hil. 5 Eliz. 185-7.

⁴ Ibid. East. 4 Jas. I. 154. ⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. Trin. 45. ⁷ Ibid. East. 153.

⁸ Ibid. 155. ⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. Mich. 191.

¹¹ Ibid. Mich. 5 Jas. I. 141. ¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid. 35; the place is given as Wenys, co. Surr., possibly an error.

¹⁴ Ibid. East. 7 Eliz. 102, 104, 111, 117-22.

¹⁵ Ibid. East. 11 Eliz. 153, 154, 168.

¹⁶ Ibid. Mich. 5 Jas. I. 219.

¹⁷ Ibid. Mich. 6 Jas. I. 351.

¹⁸ Ibid. Mich. 8 Jas. I. 51-4.

¹⁹ Ibid. Hil. 74-6.

²⁰ Stat. 14 Eliz. cap. 10.

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in length. A penalty of 40s. was decreed for every offending piece.

In 1594 four Guildford clothiers, Robert Broadbridge, Richard and Robert Burchall and George Bowyer were summoned for alleged offences under this Act.¹ Under a later Act John Mylles, another Guildford clothier, was summoned in 1605 for exceeding the length of 15 yards.² But an undated and somewhat undecipherable list, probably to be assigned to the last years of the sixteenth century, gives the names of those clothiers in Surrey, Hampshire and other counties, who made fine kerseys 'commonly called long cloths' of 20 yards and upwards to 28 yards, the which 'were never till now of late but eighteen yards or nineteen at the longest.' Four names appear under Guildford, amongst them Maurice Abbott, four under Godalming, four under Wonersh, three under Farnham, one under Chiddingfold, and one, a woman, under Shere.³

The chief localities in south-west Surrey where the kersey industry was pursued may be inferred from the above account of the difficulties of the clothiers to comply with the requirements of the Acts which regulated their doings. Guildford, which as we have seen at a very early date lent its name to a special class of cloth goods, was still an important centre. The woosacks on the borough arms still testify to its once staple trade, and we hear how in 1574 every alehouse keeper was obliged by an ordinance of the corporation to have a signboard with a woosack painted thereon hung up at his door under a penalty of 6s. 8d. The signboard was delivered to him at the Town Hall by the hall warden, to whom he paid 2s. for the same.⁴ From the number of clothiers there during the latter half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries, Godalming seems to have equalled if not excelled Guildford in importance. The town received its charter from Queen Elizabeth on 25 January 1574-5, but the opening words which state how the town was in the greatest ruin and decay are perhaps, as Mr. Ralph Nevill considers, a mere rhetorical flourish.⁵ The ordinances for the government of the town confirmed by the Lord Chancellor in 1620 recite that it is 'an ancient clothing town, and the inhabitants thereof of long

time and before the memory of any man to the contrary have been principally employed in the making, dyeing, fulling and dressing of woollen cloth.'⁶ Farnham was another important clothing town, although in Aubrey's day the fact had become well nigh forgotten. The ulnager and sealer of cloths for the counties of Surrey and Sussex gives the names of fifteen clothiers in the district who submitted their cloths to inspection in 1574; 797 pieces of cloth were sealed between Lady Day and Michaelmas in that year.⁷ On 23 March 1578-9 we find the ulnager much concerned at the amount of cloth which he feared was conveyed out of the two shires unsealed to London, and that he understood that 'divers broadcloths are brought out of other countries and milled at a mill near Wimbledon by Wandsworth.' A deputy was appointed by him to seal these cloths and others that were made at or brought into Southwark.⁸

Guildford, Godalming and Farnham thus constituted the three centres in south-west Surrey where in Elizabethan days clothmaking could be practised in due conformity with statute. But despite enactments to the contrary we have already seen proof that the industry extended into the outlying villages. In Wonersh, of the importance of whose industry we shall hear more later, there was already established a colony of clothiers. The little village of Chiddingfold, thriving with its glass-makers and tanners, had also a few clothiers, and they were to be found too in Shalford, Ash, Stoke and Shere. Aubrey speaks of the latter parish as considerable for its fustian weavers, an industry of long standing, and in connection with its wool manufacture the tradition which he quotes that the parsonage house was built upon woolpacks may be noticed here. The tradition may have arisen, as he suggests, from a tax laid upon woolpacks towards the building of it.⁹ But whatever may have been its origin, the currency of the tradition in Aubrey's day is significant of the old staple industry of this quarter of Surrey.

As to the weavers, clothworkers, clothiers, fullers and shearmen, as they are described according to their various occupations, who constituted the staple industry of these towns and villages, wills, deeds and the records of the Court of Chancery in addition to those

¹ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Trin. 36 Eliz. 81, 82.

² Ibid. Mich. 3 Jas. I. 205.

³ Exch. K. R. Accts. bdle. 347, No. 17.

⁴ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, i. 32.

⁵ R. Nevill, F.S.A., *Old Cottage and Domestic Architecture in South-West Surrey*, ed. 2, p. 73.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Loseley MSS. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. App. ii. p. 627).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Aubrey, *Nat. Hist. and Antiq. of the County of Surrey*, iv. 43.

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of the Exchequer already instanced, show that they existed in great number during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and well into the eighteenth, and that they grew wealthy and became landed proprietors not only in their own county but in the adjoining counties of Sussex and Hants.¹ Whole families were engaged in the industry and carried on the same occupation from generation to generation. Amongst the families whose representatives most frequently appear in connection with the manufacture may be mentioned those of Hooke, Chitty alias Bocher, Elliot, Daborne, Bridger, Mellersh, Chandler, Bowler, Peyto, Woods and Toft, to quote only a few of the most known. These are mostly of Godalming. Maurice Abbott is perhaps the most famous of Guildford clothiers in that three of his sons, Robert, George and Maurice, became respectively Bishop of Salisbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Mayor of London. The honour of the chief magistracy of London had been won in 1565, more than seventy years before Sir Maurice Abbott's election to the office, by a Godalming man, Richard Champion, a member of the Drapers' Company, and probably the son of a Surrey clothier.² Amongst the benefactors to Guildford several have been members of her old clothmaking trade. Thus Robert Broadbridge, whose name as a clothier of that town has already appeared in this account, finished in 1582 the glazing of the windows in the Free School and caused his clothing mark to be set on a quarry of glass in each window.³ In 1579 Thomas Baker, another Guildford clothier, being enfeoffed by the mayor and others of a parcel of ground in Trinity parish, covenanted to build a market-house thereon for rye, malt and oats, and that the profits of the same after the determination of the life interest of himself and his wife

therein should be employed in the maintenance of a schoolmaster for teaching poor children at a stipend of £10 a year.⁴ John Parsons, a citizen and clothworker of London, but a native of Guildford, left by his will dated 3 July 1702 the sum of £600, the annual interest of which was to be paid by the mayor and magistrates to a poor young man who, having served an apprenticeship of seven years and become a freeman of the town, had not the wherewithal to set up his trade there.⁵ The Poyle estate, part of which consisted of a fulling mill in St. Mary's parish, Guildford, was conveyed to trustees by Henry Smith in 1643 for the poor of the town, £40 of the rents during the term of a lease held by Sir Robert Parkhurst being directed to be paid to the London Clothworkers' Company, to be disposed of by them as Sir Robert should appoint.⁶

Besides their genealogical interest, with which we have not here to do, the wills of the Surrey clothiers have sometimes a special interest for us, in that they contain mention of implements used by the testator in his trade. Thus by his will dated 4 February 1559-60⁷ Robert Peyto (Peytow) of Godalming left to his son Robert all his shop stuff, that is to say, his shears, handles and presses, saving two pairs of shears which he gave to his son Lawrence. On 20 December 1606 Bartholomew Bowler of the same town by nuncupative will⁸ gave to his eldest son John his racks, press, and implements which belonged to his shop, and similarly on 11 June 1632 John Perryor of the same left to his son John one cloth press 'and all his followers and boords and the upper racke in Barton.' Sometimes we see that the clothier was his own dyer, as was Robert Broadbridge of Guildford, already mentioned, who on 22 December 1602 left to his son Robert all his freehold messuages, houses, dye-house, lands, etc., in Guildford and Farnham other than those in Farnham previously bequeathed to his nephew Robert Quennell.⁹ The father of John Daborne of Guildford, clothier, whose will bears date 17 December 1558,¹⁰ is described in his own will as John Daborne of Guildford, dyer.¹¹ On 23 July 1685 John

¹ I am indebted to Percy Woods, Esq., C.B., for a great number of references from wills, deeds and other documents to Surrey clothiers, etc., extending from early in the sixteenth to late in the eighteenth century. Instances of Surrey clothiers owning lands outside their own county may be cited in the case of Richard Bridger of Godalming, who on 17 October 1562 conveyed a messuage and other property in Portsmouth to John and Lawrence Elliot, clothiers of the same town (Close 4 Eliz. pt. 15), and at a later date in the case of Joseph Chitty of Milford, gentleman, a descendant of the family of clothiers. In 1733 he left farms in West Grinstead in addition to his messuage in Milford (*Surr. Arch. Coll.* xv. 160).

² W. Herbert, *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, i. 437.

³ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, i. 76.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 81. ⁵ *Ibid.* i. 82.

⁶ *Ibid.* i. 18, 19.

⁷ Prob. Archd. Ct. of Surrey, 28 Sept. 1560 (?)

⁸ *Ibid.* 24 March 1607.

⁹ P.C.C. *Bolein*, 5. See *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xi. 106.

¹⁰ Prob. P.C.C. 23 March 1558-9 (*Welles*, 52).

¹¹ *Ibid.* 1549 (*Populovell*, 36). The younger John's son was Robert Daborne, who became a citizen and haberdasher of London according to

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Woods of Godalming, clothier, devised to his kinsman John Woods his messuage and dye-house with the vats, furnaces and all other implements and things belonging to the dyeing trade and dyehouse, as also his shears and shearing boards, cloth press and parchment for pressing of cloth, and all his racks for drying of cloth and all other his implements and tools used about his shearing trade.¹

The reputation of the Surrey clothiers and dyers at the beginning of the seventeenth century was such that when in 1608 a commission was considering the merits of a supposed new invention for dyeing wool their opinion as to the originality and excellence of the invention was especially invited. The feature of the invention was the use of chalk, and the commissioners had already heard its advocates on the one hand and the dyers of London on the other, when on 8 December they wrote to Lawrence Stoughton and Lawrence Elliot requiring them to call before them some discreet clothiers of Surrey, whom they took to be the persons principally interested in the invention, to take their advice and opinions. They were to report as to the novelty of the invention and to ascertain whether it would make a good and durable colour at small cost, for which purpose trial of it was to be made by some of the dyers of Guildford.²

In 1630 we have light thrown on the method taken by the Surrey clothiers to dispose of their cloth, and also have the first hint of that decay in their industry which Aubrey notices everywhere at the end of the century. On 26 November of that year a petition was forwarded to the Privy Council from Philip West, John Perior, Joshua Perior, Lawrence Hackman, John Woods, Robert Chitty, Henry Chitty, Henry Monger, Nathaniel Webham, Timothy Chitty and other inhabitants in and near Godalming.³ The petitioners represent themselves as clothiers who had for many years previously until now of late maintained 1,400 poor people at the least in spinning of wools, weaving, working, making, dyeing, fulling, and dressing of cloths called Hampshire kerseys. For many years they had sold these kerseys to one Samuel Vassall, a merchant in London, who vented them beyond the seas.

his will dated 23 August 1612, proved P.C.C. 12 December 1612 (*Fermer*, 111). I am indebted to R. Garraway Rice, Esq., F.S.A., for these particulars of the Daborne family.

¹ Prob. Archd. Ct. of Surrey, 16 Nov. 1685.

² S.P. Dom. Jas. I. xxxviii. 13.

³ *Ibid.* Chas. I. clxxv. 105.

But Vassall for some cause or another was now in duress, and as no other merchant was forthcoming to take up the trade, the petitioners found themselves compelled to desist from clothing and to take some other course for their maintenance, whilst all the while they were pitifully importuned with sobs and tears in a time of scarcity and dearth by the said number of poor people for work to relieve them and their families from starvation. The Lords of the Council were prayed to make some order for the venting of the cloths.

As a result of this petition, on 30 November following the Lords wrote to the magistrates of Surrey living near Godalming directing them to relieve the unemployed by collections in the several parishes of the county.⁴ A month later, on 30 December, the justices, who had in the meantime been themselves petitioned by the clothiers of Godalming and Wonersh, made answer that they did indeed find that very little cloth had been made of late in these two parishes in comparison with the great quantity that had erstwhile been made and uttered there; that no less than 1,100 persons in the county were in distress from this cause besides a great number who depended upon them in the adjoining counties. But so great was the number of the distressed and so poor the parishes around that it was inconceivable that these parishes could support such an increase of charge, as it was presumed would be entailed by the collections proposed by the Lords.⁵ William Elliot, one of the justices, writing more particularly on 10 January 1630-1, confirms this opinion as to the prevalent distress and the inability of the parishes to contribute, and adds that the number of those likely to be thrown into want in a short time would amount to no less than 3,000 persons.⁶

In connection with the fact to be inferred from these proceedings, that the whole of the cloth trade of at least two important parishes had been in the hands of one man, it may be remarked that a somewhat similar state of affairs seems to be revealed in 1587, when we learn that sundry clothiers of Surrey and Hampshire had petitioned the Council against one Andrew Marche of London, who was indebted to them in such great sums of money that his intent, as they believed, to defraud them must mean their undoing. The

⁴ Loseley MSS. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* vii. App. ii. p. 677).

⁵ S.P. Dom. Chas. I. clxxvii. 56, 56 i.

⁶ *Ibid.* clxxxii. 38.

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Lord Mayor of London was then directed to examine Marche as to the complaint against him, and to advise the Council what measures should be taken for the relief of the petitioners whose industry maintained a great number of poor people.¹ But in 1630 and the following years it is evident from the State Papers that the depression in the cloth trade was by no means confined to Surrey. The Hampshire industry, as we have already seen, was closely associated with that of Surrey, and the complaint of the Basingstoke clothiers on 12 January 1630-1, following upon those of the Godalming and Womersley clothiers, that whereas thirty broadcloths and a hundred kerseys had been made every week in their town, now only seven broadcloths and twenty kerseys were made, and even that reduced quantity laid upon their hands for want of buyers, is only what we should expect.² But from other parts of the kingdom, from Devon, Kent, Suffolk, and Essex for instance, complaints were to come of the badness of trade, and the cause at length becomes generally attributed to the attempts which the Company of Merchant Adventurers and the London Drapers' Company seem to have been making at this period, apparently not without some measure of success, to get the whole of the trade in cloth, wholesale and retail, into their hands.³

Aubrey's account of the Surrey towns and villages where the cloth industry had once flourished so greatly well shows to what a state of decay it had fallen into at the close of the seventeenth century. Godalming alone is spoken of as still eminent for clothing, 'the most of any place in this country; here they make mixed kerseys and blue kerseys for the Canaries, which for their colour are not equalled by any in England.'⁴ Of Womersley or Ognersley he says that it 'has been a village of great note for its clothing manufacture, but has been in its waning condition above threescore years; it chiefly consisted in making blue cloth for the Canary Islands; the decay and indeed ruin of their trade was their avaricious method of stretching their cloth from 18 yards to 22 or 23, which being discovered abroad, they returned their commodity on their hands and it would sell at no market. The same fraudulent

practice caused the decay of the blues at Guildford.'⁵ Of Farnham as once a clothing town Aubrey knew only by hearsay. There was not in his time a clothier there.⁶ The parish of Shere is still spoken of as considerable for its ancient industry of fustian weaving.⁷ Fustian is properly a cotton cloth, but there seems little doubt that the term was formerly applied in this country to a woollen fabric made in imitation of stuffs of cotton or mixed materials imported from abroad.⁸ Possibly it was still so applied in Aubrey's day to the Shere product, wool being the material most ready to the hands of the weavers in that parish.

In Godalming alone in south-west Surrey does the old cloth industry appear to have been continued to any considerable extent during the eighteenth century. In Bowen's map of Surrey of 1749 Aubrey's account of the Godalming kerseys is quoted in a marginal note apparently as still applicable. Wills of Godalming clothiers can still be found in some number to the middle of the century, among the chief clothing families being the Woods and the Shrubbs. In the early years of the nineteenth century there seem to have been still some kerseys and other cloths made in the town and neighbourhood, but it is said that of late years the manufacture had gone very much to decay.⁹ Indeed, even as late as 1850 we are told that 'a few kerseys, woollens, and stockings are still made here; but the advantages of steam power wherever coal is cheap leave but little chance to other places, especially where the supply and means of distribution are inferior.'¹⁰ These few kerseys and woollens must have been the very last remains of the ancient industry which has long since become completely extinct.

Before closing this account of the Surrey cloth industry, a few words may be said as to the fulling mills, of which frequent mention is to be found in records relating to the county, and which at one time must have been very numerous. The process of fulling is intended by pressing and thickening the woven cloth so to work the surface that the transverse threads may not be seen. Originally it was performed by walking on or kneading the cloth, hence our English surnames of Walker and Tucker. But in process of time mills were used for the purpose. When this change actually took place cannot perhaps be exactly

¹ *Acts of P. C.* (ed. Dasent), 18 June 1587.

² S.P. Dom. Chas. I. clxxxii. 45, 45 i.; clxxxviii.

55.

³ See for instance S.P. Dom. Chas. I. cclxxix. 64, 65, cclxxxii. 130.

⁴ Aubrey, *Nat. Hist. and Antiq. of the County of Surrey*, iv. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 97. ⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 346.

⁷ *Ibid.* iv. 43.

⁸ See art. 'Fustian' in the *Drapers' Dict.*

⁹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, i. 605.

¹⁰ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App. 47

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determined, but a somewhat early notice of a fulling mill in Surrey occurs in the manor of Woking in the year 1271.¹ It is more than 200 years after this that we hear of the objections to the use of fulling mills in the making of caps. These objections produced the enactment in 1482-3 that none should full any caps at any mill.² In the days of the decay of the cloth industry it may be noticed how many of the Surrey fulling mills were converted to other uses. The mill at Rake, Milford, in 1577 was undoubtedly a fulling mill, although there was some question whether it was only used by the owner or whether it was a common fulling mill, and if the latter whether all manner of persons used it or only clothiers for the fulling of their cloths.³ In 1706 it had become a corn mill.⁴

Similarly a fulling mill, which together with a corn mill formed in 1649 part of the Poyle estate in St. Mary's parish, Guildford, is said by Manning and Bray to have long ceased to be used as such, and the whole were then corn mills.⁶ In 1701 a lease was granted of a piece of land in Guildford to set up an engine for waterworks there, and leave was given to the lessee to lay pipes in the fulling mills and under the bridge for conducting the water, and to have the use of the mill wheel for the purpose.⁷ Other uses besides the grinding of corn and the pumping of water into reservoirs, to which the old fulling mills were put when there was no longer a sufficiency of cloth made in their neighbourhood to keep them employed for their original purpose, could no doubt be readily pointed out.

MISCELLANEOUS TEXTILE AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES

The once important cloth industry of south-west Surrey naturally dwarfs the other textile and allied industries which have been carried on in the county, but amongst them are a few which appear to have been of some extent, and one or two which possess features entitling them to notice in the present work.

With the exception of the important tapestry works at Mortlake, which receive special treatment here, silk weaving and the other manufactures of which silk forms the principal material do not seem to have obtained any great or long-continued hold in Surrey. There was however at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries a small colony of aliens in Southwark and the district adjacent engaged in various silk manufactures, and one or two later attempts to establish silk works in the county may be noticed.

In 1569 we have a record of Peter le Roye, apparently an alien, summoned to answer an information laid against him of practising the calling of a silk-weaver in Bermondsey, although he had not been duly apprenticed to the trade.⁵ The Lord Mayor's returns of foreigners residing in the city wards, made both in May and in November 1571, show the existence of several silk-weavers in the

various Southwark parishes.⁶ They were principally settled in St. Olave's parish, where in May there appear to have been thirteen Dutchmen, one Burgundian, and one Frenchman, all silk-weavers, besides a Dutch silk-thrower. In the same parish in November there appear eleven Dutch silk-weavers and one French one, in addition to a silk-thrower and a silk-winder, both Dutch. In the remaining parishes the numbers of aliens engaged in silk manufacture were still smaller. In St. Saviour's there was one only on each occasion; in St. Thomas's three in May and five in November; while in St. George's, in November only six silk-weavers were returned, three Dutch and three French.

So far as the two lists of 1582-3 and 1583 enable us to form an opinion, there seems to have been a considerable decrease in these years in the number of foreign silk-weavers in Southwark.⁹ Only eleven aliens who are described as silk-weavers appear in the former list for the whole ward of Bridge Without, while in 1583 there are seven silk-weavers, one Dutch and six French, in St. Thomas's parish, and two Dutch in St. George's. There is also a French silk-twister in St. Thomas's. No alien is given as connected with any of the various silk industries in either the parish of St. Olave or that of St. Saviour, but it should

¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. (ser. 1), file 41 (20).

² Stat. 22 Edw. IV. cap. 5.

³ Exch. Dep. East. 19 Eliz. 8 and Spec. Com. 2244.

⁴ Recov. R. East. 5 Anne.

⁵ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. East. 11 Eliz. 151.

⁶ *Hist. of Surrey*, i. 18.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 33.

⁸ R. E. G. and E. F. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens* (Hug. Soc. Publ. x.), i. 462-74, ii. 94-123.

⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 287-96, 328-33.

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be noted that to a considerable number of the aliens appearing in these lists no trade has been assigned.

The interesting lists of 1618 however show a large increase in these numbers in that year.¹ Only two silk-weavers appear in St. Saviour's parish and three only in St. George's, but in St. Thomas's there are thirteen and in St. Olave's no less than nineteen, and four others are described as silk-winders. In Bermondsey also seven silk-weavers are returned. These seem to have been principally of Dutch or Flemish nationality, but a few are French or Germans, and two weavers and one winder are Spaniards. In addition to these there were in Southwark a considerable number of aliens of various nationalities engaged in the weaving of the special kinds of silken fabrics known as taffeties or tuft-taffeties. Of these there were four in St. Thomas's parish, twelve in St. Olave's, and one dwelling within the liberty of the Clink. But throughout the period we have been considering the foreign silk industry in and about London seems to have been chiefly established within the ward of Bishopsgate.

After this we hear nothing more of the Southwark silk-weavers, and the industry would seem to have died out at an early date. The silk-dyers will be more fitly dealt with in our account of the dyeing industry. A later but short-lived attempt to start silk manufactures in Surrey appears to have been made when the old iron mills of the Weald ceased to be required for their original purpose. In 1805 there were crape mills belonging to a Mr. Nalder on the Hammer Pond on Thursley Heath.² We are told that the iron mills at Haslemere were applied for a time partly to silk-throwing and from 150 to 200 of the inhabitants of this place were in consequence employed at looms in their own dwellings. But the silk-throwing had ceased by 1850, the looms being then described as 'silent, broken or removed, and instead of a thriving manufacture of silks and crapes, they must be content to make rollers for the great silk manufacturers of Macclesfield.'³

In more recent times there was a silk factory a few yards to the west of York House, Battersea, but the industry having died a slow and natural death, the building was for a short time used by Messrs. Fownes as their glove factory.⁴

¹ S. P. Dom. Jas. I. xcix. 22-4, 42-7, printed in *Foreigners Resident in England, 1618-88* (ed. W. D. Cooper, Camden Soc. O. S. lxxxii.), 89-99.
² Malcolm, *Compendium of Modern Husbandry*, i. 11.

³ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App. 47.

⁴ E. Hammond, *Bygone Battersea*, 24.

The manufacture of linen was little practised in Surrey, but a few scattered references to the existence of the industry at different places within the county may be noticed.

The art of linen-weaving had been brought to great perfection in the Netherlands, and it is only what we should expect that a certain number of the many refugees from that country who settled in Southwark during the sixteenth century should have been engaged in the manufacture. The number is however comparatively very small, the manufacture of linen never having taken root on English soil as it did on that of Ireland and Scotland. In May 1571 there was one Flemish linen-weaver in St. George's parish in Southwark,⁵ and a French woman, a linen-spinner, in St. Thomas's.⁶ The latter appears in the list of November following, when she is said to have come from Normandy and to have been in England forty years,⁷ although in the previous list the period of her sojourn in this country is put down as fifty years. In November also there were two Flemish linen-weavers in St. Olave's⁸ and a French flax-dresser in St. George's.⁹ In the list of 1582-3 the only indication of the existence of the industry in Southwark is the appearance within the ward of four hemp-dressers, all of the French church,¹⁰ while in the slightly later list of 1583 there is one Dutchman described as a 'flax-man' in St. Olave's parish,¹¹ and two hemp-dressers only, a Dutchman and a Frenchman, in St. Thomas's.¹² In 1618 there was one Dutch linen-weaver residing in St. Olave's¹³ and five hemp-dressers, all apparently of Flemish nationality, in St. George's.¹⁴ There were also two hemp-dressers in Bermondsey, a Frenchman and a Fleming.¹⁵

In addition to this small linen manufacture carried on by foreigners in the suburban part of the county, there appear at a later date slight traces of a native industry in south-west Surrey.¹⁶ Thus William Backer of Eashing, in his will dated 1 October 1662,¹⁷ described himself as a linen-weaver. Edward Bonner of Godalming, labourer, in his will dated 26 March 1701-2,¹⁸ mentions his daughters-in-

⁵ Kirk, op. cit. i. 466. ⁶ *Ibid.* i. 463.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 115. ⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 105.

⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 118. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 295.

¹¹ *Ibid.* ii. 328. ¹² *Ibid.* ii. 332.

¹³ Cooper, *Foreigners Resident in England, &c.* 96.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 92. ¹⁵ *Ibid.* 98.

¹⁶ The following information as to this small industry has been kindly supplied by Percy Woods, Esq., C.B.

¹⁷ Prob. Archd. Ct. of Surr. 23 Sept. 1663.

¹⁸ Prob. Com. Ct. of Surr. 5 July 1708.

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law, Margaret the wife of Thomas Edsall of Godalming, linen-weaver, and Elizabeth the wife of George Trimming alias Charryott of Godalming, woollen-weaver, the two industries being thus clearly distinguished. This Thomas Edsall is no doubt identical with the Thomas Edsall of Godalming, linen-weaver, who was a party to a deed executed on 28 April 1736, and whose estate was administered in the Commissary Court of Surrey on 3 March 1736-7. The Edsall family seems to have been engaged in the linen industry, for Nicholas Edsall, the elder, of Godalming, linen-weaver, by his will dated 20 December 1732,¹ left the working tools and utensils belonging to his trade of linen-weaver to his sons Thomas and Joshua. Nicholas appears to have been the son of a Thomas Edsall of Godalming, described as a weaver in a deed of 1674, to which he was a party. Nicholas's son Joshua continued his father's trade, but his son and heir Joshua is described in a deed of 1764 as a 'frame-worker.' Another family, two members of which appear as linen-weavers, is that of Purchase. Some notice of earlier members of this family will be found in our account of the dyeing industry. By deeds dated 10 and 11 May 1750, John Purchase of Great Bookham, linen-weaver, only son and heir of John Purchase, late of Godalming, linen-weaver, who died intestate, conveyed a messuage near the market house in Godalming, occupied by Judith Purchase, widow. She was no doubt his mother, as according to the Godalming register John son of John 'Purchis' and Judith was baptized on 3 February 1707-8. According to the same register one John Purchase, senior, was buried on 8 October 1730.

With the exception of George Maybank, who is referred to in a deed of January 1766 as late of Godalming, linen-weaver, deceased, these are all the notices which have been found of the trade in this part of Surrey. It is improbable that the industry which never seems to have attained any considerable extent was continued much after this latter date.

Although not strictly within the range of the present subject notice may here be made of an attempt made by a committee in 1691 to find employment for the poor of the parish of St. Olave's, Southwark. An agreement was come to with the proprietors of a linen manufactory, and in 1740, when an addition to the workhouse of this parish became necessary, 528 lb. of hemp and flax, which made

503 lb. of thread, producing as many ells of cloth, of which 139 shirts and shifts and more than twenty pairs of sheets were made, were spun, in addition to twenty-seven sacks of wool, by the poor maintained in this house.²

An industry of very much greater extent was that of the frame-work knitters, which appears during the eighteenth century, when the old cloth trade of the neighbourhood was in decay, to have largely taken the place of that manufacture as one of the common means of livelihood for the inhabitants of Godalming and the adjacent villages. Many of the families who appear at this period to have been engaged in frame-work knitting are already familiar to us as having been prominently engaged in the previous century in the cloth trade. Amongst such families are those of Chitty, Woods, Toft, Shrubb, Monger and Hooke.³

The earliest instance of a frame-work knitter at Godalming that has come to our notice occurs in Isaac Fortrie, who is so described in a deed dated 26 January 1681-2, when he purchased some property at Godalming. He was probably the son of a late vicar of the parish.

Of the Chittys, Richard Chitty of Witley, described as a silk stocking weaver, was one of the executors in 1715 of the will of John Chandler of Witley, yeoman.⁴ He is probably to be identified with the Richard Chitty the elder of Milford, frame-work knitter, whose will was proved on 21 August 1725. His son was John Chitty, also engaged in the same industry at Milford, whose will dated 6 July 1765 was proved 12 November 1770. Another Richard Chitty of Milford, frame-work knitter, is mentioned in 1767. John Chitty the elder, a frame-work knitter of Godalming, whose will bears date 3 August 1721,⁵ appears in his burial entry in the register on 13 January 1721-2 as John Chitty, senior, stocking-maker. James Chitty, also a Godalming frame-work knitter, makes a bequest in his will dated 31 March 1748⁶ of two stocking frames to Nicholas the son of Joshua Edsall.

² Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 600, 601.

³ The editor is indebted to Mr. Woods for the notices from wills, deeds, etc., of the following and many other frame-work knitters of Godalming and the neighbourhood in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, proving the then considerable extent of the industry.

⁴ Prob. Archd. Ct. of Surr. 13 Oct. 1715.

⁵ *Ibid.* 23 June 1722.

⁶ *Ibid.* 23 April 1748.

¹ Prob. Archd. Ct. of Surr. 13 Dec. 1735.

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Various members of the Woods family seem to have carried on the frame-work knitting industry at Godalming between the years 1701 and 1843. In 1788 Thomas and John Woods were made trustees under the will of another Godalming frame-work knitter, Edward Bowler,¹ who devised a number of different houses at Godalming, one at least of which he had inherited from his great-uncle, James Chitty of Godalming, who has been mentioned above as a frame-work knitter. Of the Tofts, Abraham Toft the younger, will dated 16 August 1715,² and James Toft the elder, will dated 15 December 1764,³ both appear as Godalming frame-work knitters. So also does Nicholas Monger by his will dated 6 April 1724,⁴ but in the will of Thomas Hart, dated 3 February 1703-4, the same Nicholas is called a silk frame knitter, and in that of his aunt Mary Speed in 1706⁵ as a silk stocking weaver. Mary Monger, who was probably the widow of Nicholas, mentions in her will dated 16 July 1735,⁶ her son-in-law Daniel Lee, who was another frame-work knitter at Godalming and had married Mary's daughter Mary Monger on 14 July 1726.⁷ It is noteworthy that Mary Monger by her same will left her goods to her two grandsons Benjamin and Shadrack Woollard for apprenticing them to any handicraft except that of frame-work knitter. Of the Shrubbs and Hookes, several members appear as engaged in the frame-work knitting industry at Godalming during the course of the eighteenth century.

Elizabeth Marshall of Godalming, whose will is dated 23 August 1823, and who died according to her epitaph at Godalming in September following, seems to have had a somewhat large business, as she left the forty-three stocking frames standing in her stocking maker's shop to her grandson, William Chitty, then in America. This William does not appear however to have carried on his grandmother's manufacture, as he is described in a deed of 1825 as of Godalming, blacksmith.

The stocking manufacture of Godalming is noticed by Dr. Richard Pococke in 1754 as one of the staple industries of the town.⁸

¹ Dat. 23 Sept. 1788, prob. Com. Ct. of Surr. 6 June 1791.

² Prob. Archd. Ct. of Surr. 11 Oct. 1716.

³ Prob. P.C.C. 2 March 1765 (*Rushworth*, 120).

⁴ *Ibid.* 3 June 1724.

⁵ *Ibid.* 13 July 1715 (*Fagg*, 147).

⁶ Prob. Archd. Ct. of Surr. 3 Jan. 1735-6.

⁷ Godalming Par. Reg.

⁸ *Travels through England* (ed. J. J. Cartwright, Camden Soc. new ser. xlv.), ii. 164.

The frames used in the manufacture did not of course differ in principle from those commonly in use in many other parts of England, the original invention being that attributed to William Lee in 1589, of which it has been said that the chief motive has remained unchanged and unimproved upon to the present day.⁹ A patent however taken out by a Surrey man, John Webb of Vauxhall,¹⁰ in 1784 for machinery 'for making a more easy and expeditious and perfect division in stocking frame-work manufactures than heretofore known' may be noticed, although we are without means of knowing whether the improvement was of any permanent value, or whether it was especially adopted by the Godalming makers. The frame-work knitting industry of Godalming seems to have died out towards the middle of the last century, and no doubt shared in the general decline of the trade throughout the kingdom which it is shown, in the report of 1845 on the frame-work knitters, had taken place between the years 1815 to 1841. The causes of the decline, belonging, as they do, to the changed conditions which were taking place in English industries generally in the early years of the nineteenth century under the rise of the factory system, need not be specially commented upon here.¹¹

An important development however of the frame-work knitting industry was the manufacture of fleecy hosiery, for which George Holland obtained his first patent on 22 September 1788.¹² Holland was then a frame-work knitter living in St. George's, Bloomsbury, but in 1790 and later appears to have been established in business in St. Andrew's, Holborn. The actual manufacture was carried on by him at his important factory at Langham in Godalming. The house is said to have long retained a well-earned celebrity amongst medical men and the public at large.¹³ Holland's invention is described in the specification for his first patent as a 'new invented method of making stockings, gloves, mitts, socks, caps, coats, waistcoats, breeches, cloaks, and other clothing, and linings for the same, for persons afflicted with the gout, rheumatism, and other complaints requiring warmth, and of common use in cold climates, and of making false or downy calves in stockings, a thing never before put in practice.'

⁹ *Draper's Dict.* art. 'Stocking Frame.'

¹⁰ *Pat. of Inventions*, No. 1417.

¹¹ See Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, ii. 607-50 passim.

¹² *Pat. of Inventions*, No. 1670.

¹³ See W. Felkin on 'Hosiery and Lace' in *British Manufacturing Industries* (ed. Bevan), 27.

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Patents for further improvements in this were taken out in 1790, 1792, 1800 and 1802 by George Holland.¹ Amongst the goods manufactured at Godalming were gun-sponges, which were in special demand by the Government. The business afterwards passed into the hands of the firm of Messrs. Henry & George Holland, and after several changes of owners the manufacture is still carried on, though in a small way, by their successors both at Godalming and Dulwich. The introduction of breech-loading guns has naturally largely reduced the demand for gun-sponges, but they are still made and occasionally supplied, together with other goods from the same manufacture, to the War Office.²

It remains to mention a few scattered and miscellaneous industries to complete our account of the textile and allied manufactures of Surrey. The large and important wool-stapling trade in Bermondsey and Rotherhithe, which is of early mention and doubtless developed as a by-product of the leather industry in this neighbourhood, does not come under the head of a manufacture, and therefore does not rightly demand treatment in this section, the business of the woolstaplers being merely to sort the wool into its various qualities before it is placed on the market. About 1790 a manufacture of some extent was established by Messrs. Boulton, Morgan & Co. at Lambeth under the title of the Woollen Yarn Company. Every branch of the clothing manufacture, from the first sorting of the wool to the making of the cloth, was carried on entirely by machinery. The trade, we are told, was confined to the coarse sort of cloths, which were exported for the most part to America and the West Indies. Cotton works were also engaged in by the same company, and about 500 persons were employed on the premises, above 200 of them being children.³ The manufacture however did not prove successful, and lasted only for a few years.⁴

An interesting attempt appears to have been made at Croydon in the early years of the last century at the manufacture of lace by machinery. Previous attempts in this direction had failed, but one Moore is said to have made another effort at Croydon in 1799. This was presumably the John Moore described as 'of Newington Causeway, co. Surrey, lace net manufacturer,' who took out

a patent on 1 May 1811 for machinery 'for the manufacture of gold and silver twist, silk, cotton or thread twisted lace net, similar to and resembling the Buckinghamshire and Nottinghamshire lace, as made by the hand with bobbins on pillows, and for making iron, brass or copper wire net.'⁵ From 1816 to 1824 a machine founded on Moore's plan was worked by one Widdowson at Croydon. Widdowson's exact methods seem to be unknown, but we quote the following account which has been given of his manufacture: 'There were threads put at one end on a beam, and all these threads were lifted over and passed under each other at the other end by pins, which being sufficiently loose to be selected, passed their threads in the required directions, but *not* traversed, and the twists, plaits and crossings were carried up to the work beam as they were formed. The result was a slowly made but beautiful mesh, having two thrice-plaited pillars of four threads each. The plan was too costly to be used with profit.'⁶

Blankets are said to have been made to a considerable extent at Battersea,⁷ and the converted remains of a blanket mill near Goose Rye, Worplesdon, are still standing. The blankets made at this mill remained, it is said, in use until about the year 1838, and were very thick and warm.⁸

The manufacture of bolting cloths without seams for use in separating fine and coarse flour and bran has been established at Wandsworth for over a century, and is of unusual interest in that it is believed to be the only factory in the world for this speciality.⁹ The business was originally established at Exeter, of which place Benjamin Blackmore, weaver, is described as being when he took out his first patent on 19 December 1783, for his 'new invented method of making bolting cloths to be used by millers for dressing flour.'¹⁰ Afterwards he moved to Wandsworth, and as Benjamin Blackmore of Wandsworth, bolting cloth weaver, took out another patent on 31 March 1800 for his 'new invented elastic spring for the improvement and more complete forming and manufacturing of bolting cloths without seams.'¹¹ The invention has remained in the same family ever since. The manufactory for bolting cloths at Wandsworth

⁵ *Pat. of Inventions*, No. 3443.

⁶ W. Felkin on 'Hosiery and Lace' in *British Manufacturing Industries* (ed. Bevan), 53.

⁷ E. Hammond, *Bygone Battersea*, 24.

⁸ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xiv. 219.

⁹ C. T. Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth*, 4.

¹⁰ *Pat. of Inventions*, No. 1412.

¹¹ *Ibid.* No. 2386.

¹ *Pat. of Inventions*, Nos. 1736, 1901, 2422, 2584.

² Ex inf. Ralph Nevill, Esq., F.S.A.

³ Lysons, *Environ of London* (ed. 1), i. 318, 319.

⁴ *Ibid.* (ed. 2), i. 228.

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is mentioned by Lysons as early as 1792,¹ and in 1811 he notices two factories here for the same purpose, those of Messrs. Blackmore & Co. and of Messrs. Marks & Co.² The former works were moved from their first site in

Wandsworth to their present building in 1814. The cloths are made and numbered 1 to 20 in proportion to the number of meshes in a half-square inch, which varies from six in a No. 1 cloth to thirty-three in a No. 20.⁵

TAPESTRY

The manufacture of fine tapestry at Mortlake during the seventeenth century demands special attention. No other attempt to establish the industry in this country has ever attained the success of the Mortlake manufactory, or resulted in the production of work to compare in artistic excellence with the product of its looms. But the industry has never been native to this country, and its successful continuance for a time at Mortlake was only achieved by the importation of a small colony of foreign artisans and designers. Even with this importation however, depending as all manufactories of the best tapestry must do upon the support of the very wealthy, it was only so long as the Mortlake works engaged the personal interest of the sovereign that they were able to be carried on with any degree of success.³

In the words of a high French authority, M. Eugene Müntz, the Keeper of the Library and Museum of the School of Fine Arts at Paris, 'the creation of the manufactory at Mortlake is not only a notable event in the history of English art but also in the annals of European manufacture. The names of two illustrious painters, Rubens and Van Dyck, are connected with this establishment, which also distinguished itself by weaving the "Acts of the Apostles" and the "History of Vulcan."' The technical perfection equalled the beauty of the models. During the whole of the seventeenth century it may safely be said that the work of Mortlake had no rivalry to fear except that of the Gobelins.⁴

The inception of the Mortlake manufactory

was no doubt largely due to the policy of the Stuart kings of nationalizing foreign industries. The support given to it by James I. and his successor took the practical form of considerable money grants and pensions to the owner of the works and his chief workmen. After the death of its first owner it became the property of the Crown, and thus perhaps more nearly than any other industry in this country has ever done approximates in the conditions under which it flourished to those industries which in France the Bourbon kings supported and maintained in the very precincts of the royal palace.

So much by way of introduction to demonstrate the especial importance of the Mortlake tapestry works. Their history begins in the year 1619, when James I. gave Sir Francis Crane a subsidy of £2,000 towards the undertaking.⁶ In a gossipy letter of 23 August in this year, John Chamberlain informs Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador in Holland, that Sir Francis had had the making of three baronets given him to aid his project.⁷

Sir Francis Crane, who was a distinguished courtier of the time, and was the last lay Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, at once proceeded to build his manufactory, and acquired for the purpose from Mr. John Juxon some land at Mortlake on which had once stood the laboratory of the celebrated Dr. Dee.⁸ The manufactory stood on the north side of the High Street, on the east side of the present 'Queen's Head' court or passage.⁹ On the opposite side of the road was the house subsequently built by Charles I. for Francis Cleyne.¹⁰

The next step was to obtain a supply of skilled workmen from Flanders to start the manufacture. This was a matter of no little difficulty in view of the jealous fears of the Archdukes for the industry of their own

¹ Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 1), i. 503.

² *Ibid.* (ed. 2), i. 379.

³ In addition to the short accounts of this manufactory in Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 1), i. 386-7, and Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 302-3, there is an interesting account in Eugene Müntz's *A Short History of Tapestry* (trans. Louisa J. Davis, 1885), 295-306. Most of the facts relating to the history of the industry, including some extracts from the parish registers and local documents, have been brought together by Mr. J. E. Anderson in a privately printed pamphlet entitled *A Short Account of the Tapestry Works, Mortlake* (1894).

⁴ Müntz, *op. cit.* 295.

⁵ C. T. Davis, *loc. cit.*

⁶ Lysons, *op. cit.* 281, quoting Fuller's *Worthies*.

⁷ S.P. Dom. Jas. I. cx. 26.

⁸ Aug. Off. Parl. Surv. Surr. 37.

⁹ Anderson, *op. cit.* 5.

¹⁰ Parl. Surv. Surr. 37.

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countries. But it was managed with considerable cleverness, and in November 1620 the Archdukes were alarmed by the statements of the secretary of their embassy in London, who estimated at upwards of fifty the number of workmen who had crossed over from the Netherlands. An inquiry was set on foot by the Archdukes which revealed the ingenious means employed to engage the men. It gives us also the names of some of those who had come over. The emigrants included Josse Ampe of Bruges, Josse Inghels, Jacques Hendricx, Pierre Foquentin, and Simon Heyns, of Oudenarde. The Van Quickelberghes of Oudenarde, who came over to England in 1630, were probably also engaged in the Mortlake works.¹ The parish registers of Mortlake show the presence there of very considerable numbers of Dutch from the year 1622 and on.²

One of the most important designers employed at the works was Francis Cleynce, or Klein, of Rostock in Mecklenburg. Going to Venice he came under the notice of Sir Arthur Anstruther, who recommended him to Prince Charles.³ James I. obtained the King of Denmark's permission for him to settle in England, and on 28 May 1625 Cleynce was made a free denizen,⁴ and on 4 June following was granted a pension of £100 a year.⁵ He was commissioned to adapt the old suites and to compose new ones.⁶ Under his directions the five cartoons of Raphael, which upon the advice of Rubens were purchased by Charles I. for the purposes of the Mortlake works, were copied, and on the copies his inscription 'J. (?) Clein fec. anno 1646' has been seen.⁷ He lived in the house already mentioned opposite the factory, and the baptisms of several of his children are recorded in the registers of the parish. He had also a house in London near Covent Garden Church.⁸ He died in 1658.⁹

Sir Francis Crane must have soon obtained a considerable amount of support for his undertaking, chief among his patrons, in addition to the king, being Prince Charles and the Marquis (afterwards Duke) of Buckingham. In 1623 Prince Charles wrote to his Council from Madrid directing them to

pay £700 for some drawings of tapestry, which he had ordered from Italy, and £500 for a suite then making for him at Mortlake by Sir Francis Crane representing the Twelve Months, which he earnestly desired might be finished before his return.¹⁰ He appears in the very first year of his reign to have been indebted to Sir Francis in £6,000 for three suites of gold tapestry.¹¹

In an undated letter to the king, written probably in or about the year 1623, Sir Francis Crane refers to the suite of the Months which Prince Charles had commissioned him to make, and also says that it was by the prince's order that he had sent to Genoa for certain drawings of Raphael, which were designs for tapestries made for Pope Leo X. For these there was £300 to be paid, besides the charge of bringing them home. Sir Francis represents himself at the end of his resources and not knowing 'how to give continuance to the business one month longer.' He was out already above £16,000 in the business, and never made returns of more than £2,500. Both the prince and the Marquis of Buckingham had commanded him to keep the business afoot, and promised him for the present 'to keep the fire going (which was the prince's own phrase).' The marquis had promised him that he should instantly have the money laid out for him, £3,200, and the benefit besides of two serjeants.¹² On 28 June 1623 there was a report current to the effect that Sir Francis Crane was to receive the price of ten or twelve serjeants-at-law to be appointed at £500 each for the benefit of the tapestry works, and to pay off a debt due to him from the Duke of Buckingham.¹³

Sir Francis's representations probably had their effect, for on 12 January 1624-5 a warrant was issued to pay him £2,000 to be employed in £1,000 per annum of pensions or other gifts made by the king and not yet payable, and for ease of his Majesty's charge of £1,000 a year towards the maintenance of his tapestry manufacture.¹⁴ On 10 May 1625 Charles I. granted him an annual pension of £2,000 for ten years,¹⁵ and in February 1628 mortgaged Grafton and other

¹ Müntz, op. cit. 295-6.

² Anderson, op. cit. 6-7.

³ Ibid. 11.

⁴ Pat. Chas. I. pt. 12, No. 10.

⁵ Ibid. No. 2.

⁶ Müntz, op. cit. 298, quoting Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ii. 26.

⁷ Müntz, op. cit. 298.

⁸ Anderson, op. cit. 11.

⁹ Müntz, op. cit. 298.

¹⁰ Lysons, op. cit. 281.

¹¹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 302.

¹² The letter is printed in full in Anderson, op. cit. 7, 8, and is quoted by Müntz (op. cit. 296) from *The European Magazine*, October 1786, p. 285.

¹³ S.P. Dom. Jas. I. cxlvii. 80. The Marquis of Buckingham obtained a dukedom in 1623.

¹⁴ Ibid. Docquets.

¹⁵ Pat. I Chas. I. pt. 11, No. 6.

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manors in Northamptonshire to him as security for the payment of £7,500 advanced for the king's service.¹ Security for a further advance of £5,000 was afterwards given him.² About the year 1630 a proposal was made to establish the tapestry manufacture in the manor house of Grafton, but nothing seems to have come of it.³

The success of the tapestry works seems to have given rise to some envious carping on the part of Sir Francis's fellow courtiers. About January 1629-30 a so-called 'discovery' was presented to the king, in which it was made to appear that his Majesty 'had been greatly overcharged for the plain suite of Vulcan and in other arrangements connected with the manufacture of tapestry.' It was represented that by four copies of the tapestry of Vulcan and Venus, together with other allowances made by the king, the patentee had made a gain of £12,225, besides his gain on other copies, some sold in England and others exported.⁴

On 9 March 1635-6 Sir Francis Crane was directed to be paid £2,872 for three pieces of tapestry, namely one of the History of Hero and Leander, containing 284 Flemish ells, at £6 the ell, amounting to £1,704; a piece of St. Paul and Elymas the sorcerer, containing 83 ells at £8 the ell, amounting to £664; and a piece of Diana and Callisto, containing 63 ells, amounting at £8 the ell to £504.⁵ On 26 June 1636 Sir Francis Crane died after undergoing an operation in Paris, and the tapestry works became vested in his brother Richard, afterwards Sir Richard Crane. On 7 June 1637 a warrant to pay Richard the sum of £5,811 10s. 6d., the amount due from the Crown to his brother at his death, was issued. Included in this sum was the £2,872 above accounted for. The remainder was for various other pieces of tapestry purchased of Richard Crane as executor of Sir Francis, one being a suite of tapestry called the Suite of the Horses (£1,204), two pieces on the looms with a tawny border (£269 13s. 6d.), three other pieces on the looms (£388 13s. 4d.), three others also on the looms (£380 10s. 4d.), two pieces more of the same suite which were finished (£334), and sundry silks and yarns (£362 13s. 4d.).⁶

Richard Crane for lack of means was unable to carry on the works, and a petition

to the king in 1636 or thereabouts from the workmen reveals the fact that there were at that time 140 persons dependent upon the manufacture. They were owed £545 3s. 8d., and had received nothing for nine months, and then only £200.⁷ The works were shortly afterwards sold to the king and became known as the King's Works. On 25 June 1638 the king entered into an agreement with six of the principal workmen, all Low Countrymen, namely Philip Hullenberch, Carell Gootens, Carel de Putter, William de Maecht, Jan Ophalfens and Jan Hullenberch, who were employed in the factory. He agreed to pay them an annual subsidy of £2,000, and they on their part were to take as apprentices either their own children or foundlings. They were to make 600 ells a year of arras and tapestry hangings with good stuff; 150 of these ells were to be of the best and richest stuff and materials of yarn, thread, crewel silk, and gold at the rate of £4 6s. 6d. the Flemish ell, 200 of the second sort at the rate of £3 5s. 6d. the ell, and 250 of the third sort at £2 12s. 6d. the ell. Francis Cleyne, described as the designer of all patterns used in the work, was to receive a separate salary of £250 a year, but out of it was to pay an assistant painter.⁸

Sir James Palmer had been appointed governor of the works. On 20 January 1637-8 he was ordered to sell to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery a suite of the Story of St. Paul containing 306½ ells of Flemish measure for £804 11s. 3d.⁹ On 3 December 1639 he was similarly directed to sell to the Earl of Holland five pieces of hangings of the Story of the Apostles, being of the second sort, for £886 17s. 6d.¹⁰ Both of these sums were to be expended on the manufacture in making hangings, buying patterns for the king's service and in necessary repairs of the factory.

It was during the reign of Charles I. that the Mortlake tapestry works attained their greatest activity and success. In addition to Cleyne, the regular painter, the names of those who designed for the manufactory included the two most illustrious artists of the time. Rubens painted for it six sketches of the Story of Achilles,¹¹ and of Van Dyck's connection with it we have the evidence of a tapestry which is, or was, at Knole in Kent, containing his portrait together with that of

¹ Anderson, *op. cit.* 8.

² S.P. Dom. Chas. I. Sign Manuals, xiii. 33, and *cp.* S.P. Dom. Chas. I. cclx. 104.

³ *Ibid.* clxxx. 42.

⁴ *Ibid.* 36-41.

⁵ *Ibid.* cccxv. 78.

⁶ *Ibid.* ccclxi. 29.

⁷ *Ibid.* ccclii. 70.

⁸ Exch. of Receipt, Auditors' Pat. Books, xvi. 109d.

⁹ S.P. Dom. Docquets.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Müntz, *op. cit.* 299.

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Sir Francis Crane.¹ Van Dyck proposed also to design for the great hall of Whitehall cartoons representing the Election of the King, the Institution of the Order of the Garter, the Procession of Knights, and other ceremonies, which designs he intended to be double the size of the Acts of the Apostles. But the sum, 300,000 crowns, which he demanded for the designs alone was prohibitive.² The cartoons of the borders of the Acts of the Apostles, 'marvels of imagination and elegance,' were his designs.³

The number of hangings which seem to have been produced at Mortlake during the first twenty-five years or so of the existence of the manufactory is surprising. Some idea of the nature of the productions can be formed from the titles of the subjects already mentioned in this account. The aim of the manufactory seems to have been two-fold; on the one hand to reproduce old classical suites such as the Acts of the Apostles and the History of Vulcan, and on the other to interpret new designs, such as the whole length portraits of James I. and Charles I., their Queens, and the King of Denmark, with medallions of the royal children in the borders, which appeared in the beautiful hangings which were formerly at Lord Orford's seat at Houghton.⁴ Among the goods of Charles I. which were sold after his execution were many suites of Mortlake tapestry, and a great number of them went to France. Cardinal Mazarin acquired many of them which are noted in the inventory of his furniture under the title of 'English Manufacture.' Amongst others he had three pieces of the suite of the History of Vulcan and the Five Senses in wool and silk, with grotesques on a blue background, each piece having in the centre a medallion representing one of the senses, surrounded by a gold coloured border containing terminals, medallions, cartouches, and shells, and at the top in the middle of the border the arms of England. This tapestry was 2¾ ells high and 18 long. He had also a series of six pieces representing the Twelve Months, two in each piece, with a border of festoons, cartouches, amorini, and medallions on a gold and brown background. The cipher of the King of England was in the centre of the lower border.⁵ Suites of the Acts of the Apostles

and of the History of Vulcan are still preserved in Paris, and were until recently in the National Gardemeuble. A copy of the Five Senses formerly at Oatlands was sold in 1649 for £270. John Williams, Archbishop of York, paid Sir Francis Crane £2,500 for the suite of the Four Seasons.⁶

During the Commonwealth the tapestry house and its belongings were taken possession of by the government as part of the property of the late king and some attempts were made to keep the works going. A survey of the manufactory was taken by order of Parliament in 1651. The tapestry house is described as containing one large room, 82 feet by 20 feet, with twelve looms; another room about half as long with six looms, and a great room called the limning-room, the house being valued at £50 yearly. Cleyne the painter occupied another house which was valued at £9 yearly.⁷

On 26 May 1657 the Council of State ordered on the petition of Phil Hallenberch and the tapestry workmen of Mortlake that the Story of Abraham or the Triumphs of Cæsar or both should be executed, Mr. Cleyne being spoken to thereon, provided that the charge did not exceed £150. The design was only to be used as Cromwell should appoint.⁸

On the Restoration an attempt was made to revive the old glories of the manufactory. The low price just stated for a suite of hangings compared with the high prices that had obtained prior to the Commonwealth period bears out Sir Sackville Crow's contention that the works had decayed owing to there being no purchasers of the richer sort of tapestries, while the commoner sorts, he added, were imported from France and the Low Countries. He put forward a plan for restoring the trade, and on 12 October 1661 his petition was referred to the Council for Trade.⁹ The Council reported in favour of the proposal to revive the manufactory, and recommended that it should be vested first in a company under the king's control, but in due time should be thrown open to all who chose to join the company. The import of foreign tapestry should be discouraged by the imposition of heavy duties.¹⁰ Accordingly on 18 February 1661-2 the Solicitor-General was directed to prepare a Bill for Parliament empowering the king to settle the trade as a corporation in the hands of such persons and

¹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 303.

² Müntz, *op. cit.* 299, quoting Bellori, *Vite dei Pittori Scultori ed Architetti moderni* (ed. 1821), i. 268.

³ Müntz, *ibid.*

⁴ Müntz, *op. cit.* 298, 303.

⁵ *Ibid.* 302, 303.

⁶ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 302.

⁷ Aug. Off. Parl. Surv. Surr. 37.

⁸ S.P. Interr. I. 77, pp. 825-30.

⁹ S.P. Col. East Indies, xiv. 66.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 67.

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with such restrictions as he should please,¹ and in the same year Sir Sackville Crow was granted the government of the Mortlake works with a warrant to search out all paintings and drafts for hangings belonging to the late king, and means to repair damaged buildings, looms, etc.²

Sir Sackville did not remain for many years in charge of the Mortlake works, for in 1667 the king's consent was obtained to his resignation of the tapestry house.³ Again efforts were being made for reviving what could have been now only too evident was a moribund industry. In or about that year Francis Poyntz, described as the king's tapestry maker, put forward proposals showing the benefits that would arise by encouraging the manufacture. £10,000 a year, he said, was being spent on the purchase of foreign hangings. Owing to the storms then threatening Flanders a thousand workmen would come over if there were stock enough to employ them, and at Colchester, Canterbury and Exeter, there were numerous Walloons, men of the very country from which came the chief makers of tapestry. These no doubt could be again employed in the manufacture.⁴

On 25 August 1667 the master of the tapestry works at Mortlake was ordered to deliver to Henry Brouncker all the designs, looms, and movable utensils there for the making of tapestry as the king's free gift.⁵ On 15 October following the Earl of Sunderland and Henry Brouncker were granted by letters patent all the houses and buildings at Mortlake formerly used for the tapestry works with the proviso that they should be employed only for that manufacture.⁶

That tapestry was still made at Mortlake in the closing years of the seventeenth century we have a few contemporary notices to show. Aubrey, whose perambulation of the county dates between 1673 and 1692, speaks of the works as still continued.⁷ Evelyn in his scarce tract, *Mundus Muliebris*, printed in London in 1690, enumerating the articles to be furnished by a gallant to his mistress, says 'You furnish her apartment with Moreclack Tapestry Damask bed or velvet richly embroidered.'⁸

In 1692 we find that the sole estate and

¹ S.P. Dom. Entry Book, v. 167.

² Ibid. Chas. II. lxvi. 8.

³ Anderson, op. cit. 16.

⁴ S.P. Dom. Chas. II. cxcv. 85.

⁵ Ibid. Entry Book, xxv. 29b.

⁶ Pat. 19 Chas. II. pt. 1, No. 1.

⁷ *Nat. Hist. and Antiq. of Surrey*, i. 82.

⁸ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 303; Anderson, op. cit. 17.

interest in the Mortlake tapestry works had become vested in Ralph, Earl of Montagu, and what appears to be the last hopeless attempt to revive the industry was then made. The earl was willing for the public good to transfer the works to a joint-stock company, and accordingly on 12 April of that year the tapestry makers were incorporated by royal charter under the name of the Governor and Company of Tapestry Makers in England. The Earl of Montague was appointed the first governor of the company to hold that office during life. Deane Montague, a London merchant, was the deputy governor. The list of the first appointed assistants includes the name of one Dutchman, Peter van Cittard.⁹ The incorporation of the tapestry makers was doubtless a counsel of despair, for we hear nothing more of the company.

In 1703 the works had come into the possession of Daniel Harvey, who was solicitous to be relieved of the conditions in Charles II.'s grant to the Earl of Sunderland and Brouncker, which restricted their use to the making of tapestry. The surveyor-general to the Lord High Treasurer was instructed to view the premises, and on 11 January 1702-3 reported that the buildings were old and ruinous. They consisted of two piles built of brick, one fronting the way leading from Barnes to Mortlake, and the other extending from that way towards the Thames, wherein were two workhouses, one with twelve looms and the other four. Over these were garrets and an old chapel. The ground floors consisted of small apartments for labourers in the manufactory, and within a courtyard was a tenement in which the master workman lived. The latter had been in existence before Charles I. built the workhouse. Several patterns remained painted on paper but many of them were old and unfit for use. The premises had not been converted to any use contrary to the first design, but the commodity did not vend as formerly and there had been little work of late years.¹⁰ On 19 March following the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Northey, reported that it would not be to the prejudice of the queen to release the condition of the employment of the works for tapestry making only,¹¹ and accordingly on 4 June 1703 Daniel Harvey was released by letters patent from this condition.¹² Thus after an existence of a little more than eighty years the tapestry manufacture of

⁹ Pat. 4 Will. and Mary, pt. 3, No. 7.

¹⁰ Treas. Papers, lxxxiv. 22.

¹¹ Ibid. lxxxv. 11.

¹² Pat. 2 Anne, pt. 3, No. 3.

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Mortlake came to an end. Its early youth had been vigorous and brilliant, but political events had brought on a premature decay from which not even the extravagance and fashion of a succeeding age had been able to wrest it.

The high degree of artistic excellence to which the Mortlake weavers attained in the best days of the manufacture has already been indicated in this account. Of the latter day productions of the works we know little or nothing. The method employed was what is known as the high-warp, the warp being stretched on vertical looms as distinguished from the horizontal looms on which the low-warp tapestry is made.¹ The former is now the only process employed at the Gobelins, and although far less rapid than the latter has the advantage of producing a much stronger and more spirited rendering of the picture. For a critical summary of the merits of the Mortlake productions we may refer to the report of the Parisian jurors in 1718. They judged the tapestries very well, commended the excellent choice of models, and noted the even and soft texture resulting from the employment of the beautiful English wools. The colouring however they said was not

first-rate. In the words of a recent writer : 'the hangings of Mortlake, indeed, have not the transparency and brilliancy of those of the Gobelins ; their general aspect is somewhat dull and muddy, whether it was that they darkened afterwards, or were defective in tone from the beginning.'² The mark of the Mortlake tapestries in the time of Charles I. was the shield of St. George with the words CAR : RE : REG : MORTL : to which was added in his time the monogram of the master, Sir Francis Crane.⁴

No other attempt to establish the art of tapestry making in England can compare with that at Mortlake, although in the eighteenth century several factories appear to have been in existence. Two at least of these were in London or its neighbourhood, one at Fulham, the other at Soho.⁵ Attention may in conclusion be directed here to two works established in Surrey in our own time of which tapestry-weaving forms a branch of the manufacture, namely the Artistic Fabrics Works started by the late William Morris at Merton about the year 1881, and the Haslemere Weaving Industry founded as a village industry by Mr. and Mrs. Joseph King of Witley some eight or nine years ago.⁶

FELT AND HAT MAKING

The manufacture of felt was formerly practised very extensively in Southwark and Bermondsey, and in the making of hats for which felt was principally employed the same places for long enjoyed a pre-eminent position. This pre-eminence has been lost very much of late years, although the industry is still carried on to a very considerable extent in the neighbourhood.²

The earliest association however of Surrey with the manufacture of hats or caps seems to occur in 1376 in connection with some fulling mills at Wandsworth. In that year we learn that the 'hurers' of London, or makers of shaggy fur caps called 'hures,' were wont to full their caps at these mills together with others at Old Ford, Stratford and Enfield, to the no small inconvenience of the fullers of the same city who also used these mills and who complained that the caps were mixed with their cloths in the fulling and crushed and tore them to their great damage

and loss.⁷ At the same time the hurers themselves complained of the use of watermills by certain of their trade for fulling their caps, and on their showing that caps so fullled were not equal to those fullled after the old fashion by hand, obtained an ordinance forbidding the use of mills for this purpose.⁸ A little more than a hundred years later the same grievance found expression in Parliament and led to the enactment in 1482-3 that none should full any caps in future at any mill or expose the same to sale.⁹

The art of felting is of extreme antiquity, but it is impossible to say with any certainty at what date it was introduced into this country. Felt differs from cloth in that it is not a woven material, the principle of its

¹ Müntz, 'The Technique of Tapestry,' 304.

² Ibid. 370, 373. The monogram might however have been that of the designer, Francis Cleyne.

³ Ibid. 349, 350.

⁴ See the *Homeland Handbook for Haslemere and Hindhead* (1903), 24.

⁵ H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London*, 401.

⁶ Ibid. 402-4.

⁷ Stat. 22 Edw. IV. cap. 5.

¹ For a concise account of the two methods and their respective merits see the chapter on 'The Technique of Tapestry' in Müntz, op. cit. 356-66.

² E. T. Clarke, *Bermondsey* (1902), 237, 238.

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manufacture consisting in so interlacing the fibres of the wool or hair together by means of their natural though almost imperceptible serratures as to make them capable of being compacted into a solid fabric. The use of this material for hats is stated to have been introduced into this country early in the reign of Henry VIII. by foreigners, and the new headgear became so popular as to provoke the agitation of the cappers or makers of knit caps, and led in 1571 to statutory measures being taken for the protection of the older native industry.¹ In 1567, as we shall see, there was a small number of Dutch and French hat-makers established in Southwark. Both here and in Bermondsey, where material for the purpose was ready to hand in the hairs which the tanners would have removed from their sheep-skins prior to converting the latter into leather, felt making was probably practised at an early date.

So far as they are stated we may gather from the industries which were carried on by the aliens who appear in the various returns now published for the city and suburbs of London in the latter part of the sixteenth century, that there was during this period a small colony of foreign hat-makers and a few foreign felt-makers resident in Southwark. In 1567 there were at least eight Dutch² and three French hat-makers³ in the ward of Bridge Without, but apparently only one alien felt-maker, a Dutchman.⁴ Two Frenchmen within the same ward were described as cap-thickers,⁵ their business presumably being to full or thicken knitted caps of the older fashion. In May 1571 there were fifteen Dutch hat-makers in St. Olave's parish,⁶ and one French maker in St. Thomas's, Southwark.⁷ Only one French cap-thicker appears in the former parish,⁸ and no aliens in Southwark are described as felt-makers in this return. In November following there seems to be a reduction in the number of foreign hat-makers, but there are several miscellaneous industries in connection with the making of caps. Thus in St. Olave's there are only seven Dutch⁹ hat-makers returned and one French.¹⁰ But in addition there are three Dutch cappers¹¹ and a Dutchwoman described as a cap-knitter.¹² One Dutchman is

returned as a printer of cap-linings.¹³ The French cap-thicker of St. Olave's is now supplemented by another in St. Thomas's,¹⁴ and there are two felt-makers in Southwark, to wit a Dutchman in St. Olave's¹⁵ and a Frenchman in St. Thomas's.¹⁶ After this date, so far as we can judge from the returns, the foreign hat-making industry seems to have departed from Southwark, although felt-making is still represented by about half a dozen aliens in 1582 or 1583.¹⁷ Perhaps the foreign hat-makers, if they had not migrated to some other locality, where possibly they had less to fear from the jealousy of a large native industry, had by this date become naturalized and therefore were no longer returned as aliens. It may be noted however that two foreign hat-band makers appear in the list of 1582-3 for the ward of Bridge Without.¹⁸ In the later return for 1583 the six foreign felt-makers appear to have consisted of three Dutchmen in St. Olave's, and three Frenchmen, one in each of the parishes of St. Olave, St. Thomas and St. Saviour.¹⁹

That the native industry of felt-making existed side by side with the foreign one in Southwark may be seen in the petition to the Lord Treasurer for a charter of incorporation in February 1576-7, of 'the most ancient and discrete sort of the felt-makers within and about the city of London.'²⁰ The petitioners represented their company as being in number above 400 householders, born within the queen's dominions and resident in sundry places of the city and suburbs as in Southwark and St. Katherine's. Many of them having no government such as other companies had, did

from time to time wittingly make all the most part of their felts very deceitful and of corrupt and unlawful stuffs as with deceitful wools and other naughty stuff, which are brought out of Spain and other places by strangers and others and brought up by sundry persons that have no skill nor knowledge whether the same be good or bad, and by them retailed to such felt-makers as for lucre are content to make deceitful wares.

On 30 May 1592 the Lord Mayor wrote to the Lord Treasurer of a great disorder and tumult which occurred the previous evening within the borough of Southwark.²¹

¹ Stat. 13 Eliz. cap. 19.

² R. E. G. and E. F. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens, &c.* (Hug. Soc. Publ. x.), i. 343-9 passim.

³ *Ibid.* i. 351. ⁴ *Ibid.* i. 343.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 351. ⁶ *Ibid.* i. 468-73.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 463. ⁸ *Ibid.* i. 471.

⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 97-104 passim.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 99.

¹¹ *Ibid.* ii. 99, 102. ¹² *Ibid.* ii. 105.

¹³ *Ibid.* ii. 100.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 108, 113.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 104.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 114.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 290-4 passim.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 291.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 328-32 passim.

²⁰ Lansd. MS. xxiv. 7.

²¹ *Ibid.* lxxi. 15, and *Analytical Index to the Remembrancia*, 474.

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Taking one of the sheriffs with him he had repaired thither with all speed, and had found that the principal actors were certain servants of the felt-makers gathered together out of Bermondsey Street and the Blackfriars with a great number of loose and masterless men. The cause had turned out to be the committal, which was alleged to be unjustified, of one of the felt-makers' servants to the Marshalsea prison upon the warrant of the Lord Chamberlain.

On 11 July 1596 the Privy Council directed a letter to be sent to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Recorder of London bidding them to see that certain orders which had been set down by their lordships were put in execution for the reformation of sundry abuses practised by the felt-makers who dwelt in divers remote places adjoining to London and the suburbs. A like authority was also to be sent to the justices of Middlesex and Surrey inhabiting near the city.¹

As affording some indication of the number of felt-makers in Southwark shortly after this date we may note the occurrence in the registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury of six wills of felt-makers, all described as of St. Olave's parish, the wills being all dated between the years 1600 and 1605, and proved within a short time of their execution.² The testators are all apparently of English birth. The trade of a hat-band maker appears also to have had several representatives in St. Olave's at this period, for we have the wills of Knevet Parry, 'bandmaker,' dated 21 August 1603,³ Edmond Horsley dated 21 September 1605,⁴ and Francis More, dated 15 January 1606-7,⁵ the two latter being described as 'hat-band makers,' and all belonging to St. Olave's, Southwark. Francis More it may be noted left his wife Margaret 'the lease which I hold of Copley of two houses at the Maze gate at Battlebridge in Southwark, and a lease of a Tiplinghouse at the lower end of Mill Lane,' as well as all her apparel, rings and jewels, £100, and £30 in household stuff, and was evidently a man of no inconsiderable estate.

It appears from the parish books of St. Olave's that during the seventeenth century a great number of the inhabitants of this parish were felt-makers and hatters.⁶ Among the token coins issued by traders in the borough there has been found a halfpenny with the

crest of the Hatband-makers' Company, namely a hand holding a hat, with the legend ADAM SMITH 1668 IN SOUTHWARKE.⁷

We can have little doubt but that these industries continued to be carried on extensively in Southwark and Bermondsey during the eighteenth century, although we have little or no information of special interest concerning them during this period. Notice may however be made of a curious invention patented in 1769, by James Hodges, described as a 'wood hatt weaver,' in the adjoining parish of Lambeth for his 'new invented art or mystery of weaving wood hats in a loom.'⁸ Early in the succeeding century, in 1804, George Simmonds of St. George's parish, Surrey, took out a patent for a method of manufacturing hats, bonnets and other useful articles of paper, and of rendering the same waterproof when required. The paper was cut into slips, plaited like straw-plait, and varnished.⁹

However much our evidences of the hat-making industry of Bermondsey and Southwark may fail us to estimate its real extent in the eighteenth century, there is little doubt that it was during the first half of the nineteenth century that it reached its greatest development. Bermondsey at one time during this period obtained such pre-eminence in the manufacture as to gain the title of the 'Hatters' Paradise,' and to have numbered some 3,000 hat-makers amongst its inhabitants.¹⁰ This was some time before 1850, in which year the number of hat-makers in the whole of Surrey was then stated to be 2,130, the majority of whom were actually operatives, as compared with 8,728 in the rest of England and Wales, more than three-fourths of whom were retailers.¹¹ The system adopted for the classification of industries at the last census (1901) does not enable us to estimate clearly in any particular district the numbers employed at the present day in hat-making or in the various subsidiary manufactures which it calls into being. It is certain however from the long list of firms which appear in the *Directory* as established in Southwark, and to some extent still in Bermondsey, and carrying on business as hat manufacturers or engaged in such trades as hat-band makers, hat block makers, hat cork cutters, hat guard makers, hat lining and leather cutters, hat plush manufacturers, hat tip stampers, hatters'

¹ *Acts of the P. C.* xxvi. 14.

² See the abstracts in *Surr. Arch. Coll.* x. 144 ; xi. 118, 119, 120, 135 ; xiii. 104.

³ *Ibid.* xi. 115. ⁴ *Ibid.* xii. 95.

⁵ *Ibid.* xii. 201.

⁶ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 600.

⁷ Mrs. Boger, *Bygone Southwark*, 244.

⁸ *Pat. of Invention*, No. 936.

⁹ *Ibid.* No. 2,765.

¹⁰ E. T. Clarke, *Bermondsey* (1902), 237.

¹¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App.

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furriers, hatters' kiln and tool makers and hatters' trimming makers, that the hatting industry remains to the present day one of the most important in this busy quarter of the ancient county of Surrey. But many causes, it has been recently said, have combined to deprive Bermondsey, and we presume we are to include Southwark, of its pre-eminence in this branch of trade.¹

Perhaps the most potent of these causes was the change in the fashion of male head-gear which had set in well before the end of the first half of the last century, and which led to the complete disuse of beaver hats, made we are told chiefly of a mixture of wool and rabbits', hares', neuters' and other furs, which the Southwark and Bermondsey felt-makers knew well how to treat, with a last coating of beaver, in favour of the now long popular silk hats, the tissue of which is chiefly made in Lancashire.² Hats of cloth felt are still of course very generally worn, and it is doubtless in a great measure to the necessity of their manufacture that we have no cause as yet to regard hat-making in Southwark as a moribund industry.

At the present day one of the largest and probably the oldest established firm of hat-makers in Surrey is that of Messrs. Christy & Co., Ltd., of Bermondsey Street. In 1841 Messrs. Christy were supposed to be the largest manufacturers of hats in the world. Their extensive factory occupied two ranges of building on each side of Bermondsey Street. Steam at this date was employed to drive machinery with which certain operations such as fur cutting, logwood cutting, and the sawing of timber for the packing cases, were performed, and a conspicuous object of the eastern range of buildings was the lofty chimney 160 feet high. On the same side of the street were the warehouses for wool and other articles, the buildings occupied by the cloth cap makers, hat trimmers and packers, a fireproof varnish store-room, the silk hat workshops, and the shops wherein the early stages of beaver hatting were carried on. Here too were made the common black glazed or japanned hats, and a further range of buildings comprised a turner's shop where the hat blocks were made, a shellac store where the lac was ground and prepared for use, a blacksmith's shop, a saw-mill, a logwood warehouse and cutting room, fur cutting rooms and rooms in which the coarse hairs were pulled from the skins, a wool-carding room, and a blowing room for separating the

different qualities of beaver, fur or hair. The western range of buildings was less extensive and consisted of a beaver store-room, the dye-house, stoving, shaping and finishing rooms and the like. The firm at that time had a factory in Lancashire for weaving plush hats. The number of persons employed at the Bermondsey factory was about 500, of whom nearly 200 were women with wages varying from 8s. to 14s. per week.³

An account published in 1850 gives a somewhat minute description of the process of beaver hat making as carried on by Messrs. Christy at Bermondsey.⁴ During the interval however between these two accounts the beaver hat had been very generally superseded by the silk one, and of the total number of 240,000 hats yearly said to have been made in this establishment at the later date, two-thirds were silk and the remaining one-third beavers. Four hundred and fifty men and women were employed at Bermondsey, and about twice that number at the same firm's manufactory at Stockport, Cheshire, where then, as now, the silk covering was made. The various departments of the factory described in the earlier account of 1841 sufficiently indicate the nature of the different processes necessary for the felting of the skins and wool that went to the making of the beaver hat. Special notice however is taken in the later account of the beautifully contrived engines for the clipping of the fur, of which eight were then employed in this factory, the knife being so regulated as to cut the hair close off without touching the skin; and also of the flannel-lined galleries, 30 or 40 feet long by 3 or 4 feet square, through which the fur was blown by a fly-fan revolving 1,500 to 1,800 times per minute, the coarse hair being driven through, whilst the fine fur clung to the flannel lining.

Beaver hats are now a thing of the past, but amongst the articles still extensively made by this firm are silk hats, hard, soft and zephyr felt hats, tweed and cloth caps, and cork and felt helmets for the army, volunteers and police.

Messrs. Lincoln, Bennett & Co., Ltd., the well known hatters of Piccadilly, have a large factory in Nelson Square, Southwark. To Mr. John Fletcher Bennett of this firm is attributed the first introduction of the silk hat into this country in the early years of the last century. Amongst other Southwark hat makers at the present time are Messrs. Tress & Co., who make silk hats, stiff and soft felt

¹ E. T. Clarke, op. cit. 238.

² Brayley and Britton, loc. cit.

³ G. W. Phillips, *Hist. of Bermondsey*, 105-7.

⁴ Brayley and Britton, op. cit. v. App. 27, 28.

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hats, tropical hats and helmets, Terai hats, ladies' silk, felt, and straw hats, and tweed hats and caps; Messrs. John Ellwood & Sons, hat and helmet manufacturers and patentees of the air chamber hat for India; Messrs. Albert Edwards & Co. and Messrs. Hope Brothers.

In all there are in Southwark and Bermondsey close upon twenty firms devoted to the manufacture of hats, the majority of them having large businesses.

Hat-making has also been carried on in other Surrey places in the neighbourhood of London—in Lambeth and Battersea for instance; but of these other places it is only at Wandsworth that the manufacture calls for special notice here.

After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes a colony of Huguenots established themselves at Wandsworth. They were chiefly drawn from the little town of Caudebec in Normandy, which had been a centre for furriers and the manufacture of felt and beaver hats. They are said to have had the secret of some liquid compound which served for the preparation of the rabbit and hare skins, as well as of the fur of the beaver. They kept their secret until the middle of the eighteenth century so well that up to that time, we are told, the French nobility and all who prided them-

selves on their elegance, wore no hats but those of English make, and even the cardinals of Rome ordered their hats from the Wandsworth manufactory. The secret was brought back to France by Mathieu, a French hatter, who set up a large factory in Paris about 1730.¹

Of the French hat-makers of Wandsworth, Daniel Torin on his tomb in Mount Nod cemetery is described as a master felt-maker. He died 7 April 1700, and in the same vault is buried John Malegue, his son-in-law, who describes himself as a hat-maker in his application for a licence to marry Elizabeth Torin. Peter Ruffe, also buried in Mount Nod, is styled in his will dated 20 July 1742, a master-hatter.²

Lysons in 1792 speaks of the manufacture as still existing at Wandsworth, though much diminished in its extent. Mr. Chatting, a grandson of one of the refugees, was then a hatter in Wandsworth, but most of the descendants of the refugees are said to have so Anglicized their names that the memory of their extraction was almost lost.³ In 1823 we find one George Burley carrying on business as a hat manufacturer in Wandsworth.⁴ The manufacture is now extinct in this riverside suburb, the last maker there being a Mr. Crook.⁵

DYEING, BLEACHING, CALICO PRINTING

The history of the dyer's art and of the gradual introduction of new found dye-stuffs forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of English industries. To its earlier stages Surrey contributes some valuable illustrations. Two chief centres for the industry seem to have existed in the county from an early period. One of them was in the clothmaking district about Guildford and Godalming. The other and the more interesting one, in that it better exemplifies the progress of the art, was about Southwark, whence the industry afterwards extended to other places along the south bank of the Thames, and became established on the Wandle, reaching to Mitcham and Carshalton.

We may take the dyers in the former of these two districts first and consider their industry apart, because the notices we have of it in the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth centuries bear little on those innovations which were then giving a special interest to the art in other quarters. Incidental reference to the dyeing industry in

south-west Surrey has already been made in the account of the cloth manufacture in those parts. We have seen that several of the clothiers had their own dye-houses and materials for dyeing, and perhaps the industry was little specialized in this neighbourhood. On the other hand some are particularly described as dyers, and one at least of them, as we shall see, must have been in the enjoyment of a very considerable business.

William Redman of Godalming, who directed in his will dated 17 July 1535,⁶ that his son-in-law Robert Parkest should have the occupancy of his dyeing-house, was probably a clothier as well as a dyer. Robert's son Richard describes himself as 'Richard Parkhurst of Godalming, shearman,' and

¹ Weiss, *Hist. of the French Protestant Refugees* (trans. Hardman, 1854), 259.

² C. T. Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth*, 21, 22.

³ Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 1), i. 503.

⁴ Pigot & Co.'s *London and Provincial Commercial Directory* (1823-4).

⁵ C. T. Davis, *op. cit.* 22.

⁶ Prob. Archd. Ct. Surr. 16 Nov. 1535.

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leaves his shop-gear and tools as shearman and clothworker to his wife Margery on 16 March 1595-6.¹ The few instances we have of men in this part of Surrey being summoned during the reign of Elizabeth to the Court of Exchequer to answer informations laid against them of unlawfully exercising the dyer's art, show them as clothiers who, in carrying on dyeing operations, had infringed the statute of apprentices. Thus Nicholas Wilson and John Woods, both of them Godalming clothiers, were accused in Hilary term, 1567-8, of dyeing, an art in which they had not been educated for the statutory period of seven years.² A similar charge was made in 1586 against Nicholas Shorte of Shalford, shearman. It was in the city of Westminster however that he was alleged to have exercised the art of a dyer, but he was found not guilty and discharged.³

On the other hand, that there were dyers in this district, a separate class from the clothiers there and evidently of some repute, is seen in the incident of 1608, which we have already noticed in the account of the cloth manufacture, when the Guildford dyers were ordered to make trial of the originality and value of a supposed new invention for dyeing wool.

John Purchase, described as 'the elder, of Godalming, dyer,' appears from his will dated 25 May 1616,⁴ to have been a man of considerable wealth and in a large way of business. In addition to being the owner or lessee of several messuages and the mortgagee of another, all in Godalming, he owned four tenements at Basingstoke and had purchased two others of John Westbrooke of Harting, Hants (*sic*). He may have been of Hampshire origin, and was possibly the son of Thomas Purchys of Basingstoke, dyer, who left by will dated 1 February 1585-6,⁵ three messuages in Basingstoke to his wife Amy for life with remainder to his son John. John charged his executors with the duty of repairing out of part of the proceeds of his estate the market-house and Fish-cross in Godalming 'as well in timber work, ground-pinning, walling, and other necessary reparations from the ground-pinning to the plate of the said houses.' He had leases of two dye-houses in Godalming, and had apparently supplied the plant for a third, for which there was due from his uncle John Perrier the sum of £100.

His bequest to his eldest son Thomas is interesting, for it specifies a few of his principal dye-stuffs and shows the class of articles dyed by him. Besides leaving to him the remainder of his lease of one of the Godalming dye-houses, he leaves also all the vats, furnaces, dyers' weeds, madder, brazil, alum, and all other utensils and vessels and implements belonging to the said dye-house, and the debts owing to him at his death for the dyeing of list cloth and stockings and for other things earned at the dyehouse. It may be noticed that logwood, the dye-stuff whose use was causing so much trouble at this time to the dyers in the north of Surrey, is here not specifically mentioned amongst the stock in trade of a leading Godalming dyer. The only dye-stuff mentioned here to which any objection might have been made at the time is brazil, a dye-wood described in an Act of 1532-3⁶ as a subtlety 'first invented and found by aliens out of this realm of England to the great hurt and slander of woollen cloths dyed within the said realm, which in times passed have in all outward parts been noted to have had the most substantial coloured woollen cloths of all realms christened.' Its use was prohibited in dyeing of scarlet. But this Act must have been a dead letter long before Purchase's time, and despite the inference conveyed by its wording, brazil-wood was far from being a new thing in the dyeing art at the time of its enactment. Indeed its mention in this country is at least as early as Chaucer:—

Him nedeth nat his colour for to dyen
With brasil, ne with greyn of Portingale.

But the great plenty in which the wood had been found in the newly discovered region in South America, to which in consequence it had given its name, must have vastly increased its use in England in the time of Henry VIII.⁷ The fact that for so many years dyeing had been carried on in south-west Surrey as an industry subsidiary to the cloth manufacture may in part remove from the county that reproach which Sir Walter Raleigh in 1603 cast upon the English cloth industry that the greater part of the cloths were sent to Holland to be dyed.⁸

The history of the dyeing industry in Southwark and the northern parts of the county demands more particular attention.

¹ Prob. Archd. Ct. Surr. 8 April 1596.

² Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Hil. 10 Eliz. 172.

³ Ibid. Mich. 28 Eliz. 393.

⁴ Prob. P.C.C. 6 Nov. 1616 (*Cope*, 100).

⁵ Ibid. 7 May 1586 (*Windsor*, 23).

⁶ Stat. 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 2.

⁷ See the note by Prof. Skeat in *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford, 1894), v. 258.

⁸ *Observations concerning the Trade and Commerce of England with the Dutch and other Foreign Nations.*

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The settlement of foreign artisans in great numbers in this district during the sixteenth century was doubtless one of the chief causes of the introduction of new methods and dye-stuffs. Later the establishment of the important calico-printing industry which extended from Southwark and Bermondsey to what was for long its principal centre on the banks of the Wandle, probably led to the adoption of yet newer processes in the application of colouring materials to textile fabrics. The dyeing industry was however probably well established in Southwark by the middle of the fifteenth century, and was perhaps called into being by the large trade in cloth and leather in and about the capital. We find William Miller, a Southwark dyer, the plaintiff in a Chancery suit in the year 1462.¹

In addition to the increased use of brazil-wood, the objections to which as set out in an Act of Parliament we have already noticed, the discovery of America led also to the importation of logwood and its use as a valuable dye-stuff for the obtaining of black and a variety of beautiful colours. The colours however proved so fugitive that a general outcry against its use was made and resulted in the Act of 23 Elizabeth, cap. 9, 'for the abolishing of certain deceitful stuff used in the dyeing of cloth.' This Act was strengthened in 1597-8 by that 'for the better execution of a statute made 23 Elizabeth for the abolishing of logwood or blockwood in the dyeing of cloth, wool or yarn.'² Blockwood or blackwood is said to have been a feigned name under which the dyers clandestinely used the prohibited logwood.³ Under these Acts we find a number of Surrey dyers charged with using logwood in Southwark and other parts of the county. The first Surrey cases however with which we are concerned are those of three London dyers who had been using logwood at Kingston. James Austen of St. Benet's near Paul's Wharf, and Richard Rogers of St. Peter's near Paul's Wharf, were each charged in 1584 with having dyed a thousand dozen of knit hose at this Surrey town ;⁴ Ralph Roodes, also of St. Peter's parish, with the dyeing of a hundred pieces of mockadoes at the same place.⁵ In the two latter cases the informer apparently failed to appear in support of his charge and the accused were dismissed. Many of these dyers

would seem to have been engaged in an itinerant trade at this time, although from the enormous fines which were usually claimed from them it may be assumed that they were reputed to be in a large way of business. A case in which a Surrey dyer was accused of using logwood in the practice of his art within the city of London is that of Richard Aldersey of St. Mary Overy's, Southwark, who was summoned to answer for this offence in 1591.⁶ Paul Pinchon, or Pynson, as he is elsewhere called, a dyer of St. Olave's within the borough, had to answer for the like offence in the same year, but in his case it was alleged to have been committed in his own neighbourhood.⁷ He was summoned again in the following year together with John Goodwyn, Daniel Tyberkyn (Tybergam), and Peter Hoblyn, all Southwark dyers.⁸ Of these Pynson, Hoblyn, and Tyberkyn appear amongst the aliens in St. Olave's, assessed in 1593, and in all three cases the assessments are comparatively high.⁹ Amongst the articles which they are said to have dyed with the illegal logwood are programs, mockadoes, buffines, sayes and knit woollen hose. To this list may be added rashes, frizadoes, wadmols, and flannels, of which, including the previously mentioned articles, John Dracone, another alien dyer of the Borough, is said in 1597 to have dyed 7,000 pieces with logwood.¹⁰ As the fine for each piece was £5 he must have been a wealthy man if the total could ever have been exacted from him. At the same time the like offence was charged against William Goodwyn (Woodwyn) of Southwark,¹¹ who was again accused in 1600.¹² Daniel Tyberkyn was a constant offender and appears again in the Exchequer in 1602,¹³ twice in 1604,¹⁴ and again in 1611.¹⁵ In 1602, although still described as of the Borough, the information against him was of having used logwood a hundred several times at Battersea in the dyeing of cloths of woollen and silken yarn or thread, stockings, programs, buffines, etc. As the penalty for each offence was £20, the total fine which he was alleged

⁶ Ibid. Mich. 33 Eliz. 465.

⁷ Ibid. 463.

⁸ Ibid. East. 34 Eliz. 152-4.

⁹ Kirk, *Aliens in London* (Hug. Soc. Publ. x.), ii. 445, 446.

¹⁰ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Mich. 39 Eliz. 368. For some account of these different fabrics see *The Drapers' Dictionary*.

¹¹ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Mich. 39 Eliz. 367.

¹² Ibid. Mich. 42 Eliz. 84.

¹³ Ibid. Mich. 44 Eliz. 206.

¹⁴ Ibid. Hil. 1 Jas. I. 97 ; Trin. 2 Jas. I. 41.

¹⁵ Ibid. Mich. 9 Jas. I. 455.

¹ Early Chan. Proc. bde. 45, No. 260.

² Stat. 39 & 40 Eliz. cap. 11.

³ Bancroft, *On Permanent Colours*, ii. 340.

⁴ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. East. 26 Eliz. 108, 109.

⁵ Ibid. 109d.

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to have incurred was no less than £2,000. In September 1618 he appears to have been living in the close of St. Saviour's, Southwark, and to have been of thirty years' continuance. He is then said to have been born in Frankfurt in High Germany, and was living with his son-in-law, Peter Coege, also a dyer, born at Lille in Flanders. Rowland Vancke from the States of Holland was his partner, and he had two foreigners in his service, Jacob Delene from Cleves and Nicholas Lowys from Normandy.¹

It is indeed most probable that in few of the native arts and industries was the influence of the foreigners who migrated into England in the sixteenth century more felt than in that of dyeing. Yet so far as those returns of aliens in London and its neighbourhood, which have been already printed by the Huguenot Society, show, the number of alien dyers, so described, that were dwelling in Southwark during the century, was small. John Baptist Semyn, a Genoese and the king's dyer, who was made a denizen in 1533, dwelt in Southwark.² In 1567 one Frenchman only appears there as a dyer³; in May 1571 there is one Burgundian in the parish of St. Thomas's Hospital⁴ and one Dutchman in that of St. Olave's who are called dyers.⁵ In November of the latter year four Dutch dyers are returned in St. Olave's⁶ and one Frenchman in St. Thomas's.⁷ In 1582-3 there are only three foreign dyers for the whole of Southwark,⁸ and in 1583 only one Dutchman in St. Olave's,⁹ and another in St. Saviour's.¹⁰ Perhaps we may assume that these were all master men, and that many of the aliens whose occupations are not given in the various lists may have been employed in the industry. But in 1618 there is a great increase in the number of dyers, five in St. Saviour's and no less than twelve in St. Olave's, who had come from various parts of the continent, from France, Germany, and the Low Countries.¹¹

But besides the foreign dyers settled in Southwark there were English ones engaged in the same industry. Some of them more-

over were able to amass considerable fortunes thereby. Philip Henslowe we know before he became the lessee of the Rose Theatre on the Bankside combined the business of a dyer with that of a maker of starch. William Gawghton or Gawton of the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, dyer, was seised of two-thirds of a moiety of the manor of Nutfield at his death on 20 June 1593.¹² His son William, described as a citizen and dyer of London, had acquired the remaining third of this moiety before his death on 27 February 1609-10, as well as a messuage and 400 acres of land in the parishes of Carshalton, Wallington and Beddington, and the moiety of six messuages or cottages in Chipping Wycombe, co. Bucks. That he too carried on his business in Southwark is probable from the fact that his wife and children are stated to have been living there when the inquisition was taken on 16 March following his death.¹³ Another citizen and dyer of London who belonged to Southwark was John Paine of the parish of St. Saviour. His will dated 17 August 1608¹⁴ shows him to have been a well-to-do man with a number of valued trinkets to distribute amongst his relations.

The proof supplied in the two latter instances that some of the English dyers in Southwark were free of the city company, and the inference therefrom that there was a close connection between the dyeing industry there and that of London, is further borne out by the terms of a commission issued on 23 November 1611, to inquire into abuses alleged to have been committed in dyeing and putting to sale silk called 'cole blacke silke or London heavy-waight silke,' by silk dyers and the deputies of one Christopher Hamond, who had under colour of reforming these abuses lately obtained the king's letters patent.¹⁵ The abuse complained of was that of increasing the weight of the silk by the addition of gum in the process of dyeing,¹⁶ and the commissioners were to prosecute their inquiries not only in the city of London but in the counties of Middlesex and Surrey.

Connected with the industry of dyeing was that of grinding and preparing the dye-woods for the dyers. This was done by means of mills of which there seem to have been no small number along the course of the little

¹ Cooper, *Foreigners Resident in London* (Camden Soc. old ser. vol. 82), p. 90; from S.P. Dom. Jas. I. xcix. 23.

² W. Page, F.S.A., *Denizations and Naturalizations* (Hug. Soc. Publ. viii.), xlv.

³ Kirk, op. cit. i. 351. ⁴ *Ibid.* i. 462.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 471.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 99, 103, 107, 111.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 115.

⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 292, 293, 295.

⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 328. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 331.

¹¹ Cooper, op. cit. 90, 94-7.

¹² Inq. p.m. ser. 2, ccxlvii. No. 21; see Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, ii. 271.

¹³ Inq. p.m. ser. 2, cccxiv. No. 144.

¹⁴ Prob. P.C.C. 29 August 1608 (*Windsorbank*, 74); see *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xiii. 187.

¹⁵ Exch. K. R. Spec. Com. 5017.

¹⁶ Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, ii. 165.

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river Wandle. The brazil mill at Wandsworth is incidentally referred to in the churchwardens' accounts for that parish as early as 1571.¹ The mill existed down to our own times, when it was known as the Middle Mill and has only been pulled down in recent years.² Adjoining to the same river in Wimbledon were some lands at one time in the possession of Ellis Crispe, on which was a mill which was once used for a fulling mill and a brazil mill. It had however been converted into a colour mill for grinding colours for the glazing of white ware, when on 10 March 1690-1 it was conveyed by Crispe's widow Mary and his son Samuel of the Inner Temple to William Knight, an Aldgate pot-maker.³ Ellis Crispe had also been the owner of the Merton mills, of which we hear something in 1693, when they were the subject of an appeal action in the House of Lords.⁴ One of these three mills was a brazil mill, and they had all been let by Crispe to one Jonathan Welch. Subsequently when the reversion had been conveyed by Crispe to Thomas Pepys, the latter had induced Welch to surrender his old lease and take out a new one for fifty-one years at a yearly rental of £50. The property afterwards came into the possession of Sir Edward Smith, bart., and he was accused by the sons, Jonathan and Joseph Welch, of the then deceased lessee, of making preparations, under pretence of erecting a small eel-gin, for building a fulling or other mill which would obstruct the stream to their prejudice. They had brought accordingly an action in the Exchequer against Smith, and by an order of that court of 30 May 1692, the issue as to whether the plaintiffs had suffered damage had been ordered to be tried at the Surrey assizes. The Welches gave evidence that in consequence of the new mill they could not grind so much by at least 7 cwt. of logwood a week, at 5s. the cwt., as they did before. They had obtained a verdict with damages to the amount of £40 against Smith, who by a decree of 26 January 1692-3 had been commanded to pull down the new mill. Sir Edward Smith appealed against this decree, but it was upheld by the House of Lords on 3 March 1692-3.

Probably at this time and certainly later the brazil and logwood mills in this neighbourhood were worked chiefly for the needs

¹ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xvii. 168.

² C. T. Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth* (1898), 11.

³ Jewett, *Ceramic Art in Great Britain*, i. 157 seq.

⁴ House of Lords MSS. (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiv. App. pt. 6), 347 seq.

of the important calico printing works thereabouts, and we shall have occasion to refer to them again in our account of the latter industry.

Resuming our account of the Southwark dyers we may note that in 1748 George Spence of St. Olave's was one of the patentees of an invention, the secret of which was stated to have been purchased from a foreigner, for procuring green and blue Saxon colours in worsted, woollen and silk goods.⁵ From the dyeing of textile fabrics the Southwark dyers seem to have turned their attention to that of the leather goods which were manufactured to so great an extent in their neighbourhood. In this connection we find that George Shepley, a leather-dresser of Horsleydown, obtained a patent on 27 June 1774, for his 'new discovered and introduced millstones, which placed horizontally and worked with wind or water will reduce to powder bark for tanning leather and brazil-wood, logwood, fustick, madder, indigo, saltpetre, and all other woods, drugs, roots, minerals, and colours used in dyeing, in a quicker, less expensive, and better manner than the present method.'⁶ Of Mr. Roberts, who had carried on the separate business of a dyer until in 1841 he combined with Messrs. Learmouth, tanners of Bermondsey, we have already spoken in our account of the leather industry of Surrey.

During the eighteenth century two Acts were passed which were calculated to have considerable effect on the Surrey dyers. The first of these, passed in 1726-7, was called into being by the unsatisfactory results attending the use of logwood instead of woad in producing certain dyes, and its effect was to subject a very considerable area round the metropolis to the right of search enjoyed by the Dyers' Company.⁷ The second of the two Acts was passed in 1777, and permitted the master dyers in the counties of Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, and Kent to employ journeymen in their trade who had not served an apprenticeship therein.⁸ It was stated in the preamble that the laws relating to apprentices as laid down by the statute of 5 Elizabeth had much injured and obstructed the trade of a dyer in regard that there were not a sufficient number of persons who had served an apprenticeship in that trade.

A considerable dyeing business was carried on at Wandsworth probably as early as the seventeenth century. The existence of the

⁵ *Pat. of Invention*, No. 635.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 1074.

⁷ Stat. 13 Geo. I. cap. 24; Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, ii. 353, 354.

⁸ Stat. 17 Geo. III. cap. 33.

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brazil mill there in the previous century we have already noted. Matthew Hebert of Wandsworth, a dyer, died on 12 July 1703.¹ In 1718 was buried Theodore Hodshon, described in his will as a scarlet dyer.² He bequeathed his household furniture to his wife Annabella, who was to carry on the trade of a scarlet dyer in the house in which he then lived, free from interruption by his sons. Voltaire, it is of interest to recall in connection with this industry, spent the first period of his stay in England, between the years 1726 and 1729, at a scarlet dyer's in Wandsworth.³ A Mr. G. Spence, who was buried in Mount Nod Cemetery here in September 1763, is described on his tombstone as 'Dyer of Wandsworth.'⁴ He was doubtless a relative of John Spence who carried on a very considerable trade at Wandsworth as scarlet dyer to the East India Company and retired in 1764.⁵ He was succeeded by Mr. Barchard, who was carrying on the business in 1792,⁶ and in partnership with Mr. Platt in 1811.⁷ In 1823 we find the firm in existence under the style of Messrs. Hilton, Barchard & Platt, and still described as scarlet dyers.⁸ Another cloth dyer at Wandsworth, both in 1792 and in 1811, was Mr. Williamson.⁹ The Elizabeth Williamson, who is described as a scarlet dyer here in 1823 was no doubt his successor.¹⁰ At the present day the business of fur dyeing is carried on at Wandsworth by Messrs. Ellwood, who have been established there some eighteen years. They receive the skins already dressed at their factory, and dye the fur to any desired colour by a patent process.¹¹

The origin of the art of bleaching in this country is obscure, not much being known concerning it until the seventeenth century.

¹ C. T. Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth*, 12.

² *Ibid.*

³ [Luke Howard, F.R.S.], *The Yorkshireman*, i. 167 seq. The dyer was Everard Falkener, who lived then near the Friends' School at Half-farthing. Ballantyne, *Voltaire's Visit to England*, 1726-1729 (1893), describes him as 'an English merchant trading in silk and cloth in the Levant.' Voltaire dedicated to him his tragedy *Zaire* (See *Wandsworth N. & Q.* (1898), 33 seq.).

⁴ C. T. Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth*, 11.

⁵ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 342.

⁶ Lysons, *Enviorns of London*, ed. 1, i. 503.

⁷ *Ibid.* ed. 2, i. 378, 379.

⁸ Pigot, *London, etc.*, *Commercial Directory*, 1823-4.

⁹ Lysons, *Enviorns* ed. 1, i. 503; ed. 2, i. 379.

¹⁰ Pigot, *op. cit.*

¹¹ C. T. Davis, *op. cit.* 17.

Shakespeare however speaks of 'whiting-time' in his *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and in the same play alludes to the 'whitsters in Datchet-mead.'¹² But in the sixteenth century it seems to have been the usual practice to send linen goods to Holland in the spring to be bleached and to have them returned in the autumn.¹³ The Dutch had acquired a great reputation in the art, and there seems little doubt that it is to them that we must ascribe the introduction of the industry on any considerable scale into this country. Under the influence of Dutch settlers early bleaching grounds were started in Surrey, and the industry remained firmly established there, principally on the banks of the Wandle, until its final migration to the north of England in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Although of later introduction yet almost inseparably connected with the bleaching industry was that of calico-printing, which, too, was principally carried on along the course of the river Wandle in Surrey until the same period. It was also carried on in Essex, chiefly at West Ham, and also at Lewisham and Crayford in Kent, and it will appear later in this account that there was some intercourse between the calico printers of these three home counties. The works had gradually dwindled off by the middle of the nineteenth century, the Surrey calico printers, who had for many years held their own against all others, being unable to compete with the improved quality and cheapness of the goods produced by the Manchester manufacturers.¹⁴

The indebtedness of the English bleaching industry for its origin to the Dutch is evidenced in the earliest reference which we have been able to discover to it relating to Surrey. This occurs in 1582-3, when Jacob Ost was returned as a 'whitster of the Dutch Church dwelling in the ward of Bridge Without.'¹⁵ A little later, in 1583, 'Jeames Hurst,' who is probably to be identified with the above, appears as a Dutch 'whister' in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark.¹⁶ Jacob Ost appears from the subsidy

¹² Act III. sc. 3.

¹³ See *Draper's Dictionary*, art. 'Bleaching.'

¹⁴ For the following account of the whitsters and calico printers of Surrey the editor is mainly indebted to R. Garraway Rice, Esq., F.S.A., for the information kindly supplied by him, and especially for the numerous references to manufacturers of Mitcham and neighbourhood.

¹⁵ Kirk, *Aliens in London* (Hug. Soc. Publ. x.), ii. 287.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 328.

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assessment of 1593 to 1595 to have been a man of some substance, and to have had several other aliens in his employ. James Chibball in his will, proved 7 October 1606, mentions his 'two meadowes grounde and walles' in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, then in the tenure of Jacob Hoste.¹ The next reference we have found to the trade in Surrey is in the will of Adrian Collant, who was buried at Mitcham on 13 January 1620-1. He is described in the burial entry in the parish register as 'Adrian Callant, a Dutchman dwelling a long tyme in this Parish of Mitcham,' and in his nuncupative will proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Surrey on 21 February of the same year² as 'Adrian Collant of Mitcham in the Countye of Surrey whitster.'

Later in the century we find that the trade was still carried on, for Henry White of Mitcham, weaver, in his will dated 21 January 1653-4³ mentions his sister 'Suzan Hore late wife of Thomas Hore of Mitcham aforesaid Whister,' to whom he leaves 40s. and six pounds of yarn, a legacy which he subsequently revoked by codicil dated 28 June 1654. A few years afterwards James Parry, in his will dated 15 December 1659,⁴ describes himself as of Mitcham, whitster, and citizen and leather-seller of London. It would seem that the trade carried good social position, for in the entry in the parish register recording his death on 19 September [an error for December] 1659 he is called 'of Mitcham in the County of Surrey, gent.'

Towards the end of the seventeenth century we have evidence that both in Southwark and Wandsworth the bleaching industry was carried on. Thus William Hill is described in his will dated 10 and signed 11 November 1673⁵ as of St. Olave's, Southwark, whitster. He was buried however at Mitcham on 23 November 1674, and is described in the register as 'Mr. William Hill of St. Olave's Parish, Southwark.' Similarly his wife, who was buried in the same place on 3 May 1695, is entered as 'M^{rs} Anne Hill,' the addition of the title in each case being somewhat unusual, and arguing in these and some other cases of bleachers and calico printers mentioned in this register no mean social status. Mrs. Hill was a sister of Theophilus Deacon of

Lambeth, victualler, and daughter of William Deacon of Mitcham, shoemaker. 'Of Wandsworth, whitster,' was Richard Pillett, so described in his will dated 15 August 1673.⁶

One further example of a seventeenth century Mitcham whitster occurs in the case of John Denier, who was buried at Mitcham 'in woollen' on 30 October 1695. He is described as John Denner of Mitcham . . . whitster' in his will dated 4 October 1695.⁷ His wife was Bridget Denier, buried at Mitcham 21 January 1700-1. In her will⁸ she mentions her copyhold tenements in Mitcham and her little house in Cheam, which latter was then in the occupation of a blacksmith. Such particulars as to property and those also which can be adduced during the course of the next century as to the social standing of their relatives are interesting because they tend to prove that the industry which the master men among the Surrey bleachers and calico printers were then engaged in was one of no little importance and extent. But before proceeding to our account of the bleaching industry in the eighteenth century it will be convenient here to consider our earliest notices of the sister industry, that of the calico printers.

Calico printing has been instanced as one of the arts in which our gain from the settlement in our country of the French refugees was most noticeable.⁹ According to Anderson, the first appearance of the industry amongst us occurs in 1676 at Richmond, Surrey; but on better authority the date of the origin of this small establishment, which seems to have been started by a Frenchman, is about the year 1690.¹⁰ It is clear however that the art of staining or painting linen cloth was known in England long before this, even as early as the sixteenth century; and in regard to calicoes there was at least an attempt to introduce a means of ornamenting them in 1634, when Charles I. granted a patent to Jerome Lanier for the art or mystery of affixing wool, silk and other materials of divers colours upon linen, silk or cotton cloth, leather and other substances, by means

¹ Ibid. 17 October 1673 (*Pyne*, 130).

² Ibid. 15 November 1695 (*Irby*, 175).

³ Dated 13 December 1700, proved P.C.C. 23 January 1700-1 (*Dyer*, 4), by her executor, George Woodcocke.

⁴ Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce*, ii. 348.

⁵ Baines, *Hist. of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain* (1835), p. 259, quoting the evidence of Mr. James Thompson, a calico printer at Primrose near Clitheroe before a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Trade, etc., in 1833.

¹ P.C.C. (*Stafford*, 71). See *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xii. 194.

² *Stoughton*, 341.

³ Prob. P.C.C. 27 July 1654 (*Albin*, 219).

⁴ Ibid. 26 April 1660 (*Nabbs*, 63).

⁵ Ibid. 20 November, 1674 (*Bunce*, 126).

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of oil, size and other cements.¹ To the material so prepared was given the name of 'Londrindiana.' It seems however to have been principally intended for hangings. In a pamphlet published in 1677 the writer states that calicoes were at that time brought over from India to be printed in England.² The adoption of these printed calicoes for wearing apparel seems to have become very general and aroused the jealousy of the woolen manufacturers, so much so that in 1700 the import of Indian prints was prohibited,³ and in 1712 excise duties were imposed on the home printed goods.⁴

These duties with various modifications were maintained until 1831. Moreover in 1721 the use of printed calicoes was entirely prohibited under penalties of £5 upon the wearer and £20 upon the seller.⁵ Calicoes dyed all blue were alone excepted from these penalties. Among the objections which the weavers had raised to the use of printed calicoes was the one that of the 800 persons more or less who were employed in the industry two-thirds were labourers, women and children, unfit for any other employment, whilst the major part of the masters and workmen were French Roman Catholics, who had settled this trade in England after it had been prohibited in France.⁶ In consequence of the Act of 1721 the printers seem to have turned their attention to the colouring of linen cloth,⁷ but fifteen years later the Act was so far amended as to permit of the wearing of calicoes made with a linen yarn. Such calicoes of cotton and linen continued in use until an Act of 1774 permitted the use of printed calicoes made wholly of cotton.

Such were the general conditions under which an industry, which for many years as we have said had its chief centre in the metropolitan districts of Surrey, Kent and Essex, was carried on. Not many years after the notice of the print ground at Richmond, references occur to the existence of the industry at Mitcham in the register of that parish. Thus on 9 March 1717-8 Hall, 'a calicoe printer,' was buried. In the clerk's book he is described as 'Mr. Hall.'

¹ Pat. 10 Chas. I. pt. 3, No. 20, and see art. 'Prints' in *The Drapers' Dictionary*.

² *The East India Trade, a most profitable Trade to this Kingdom*, attributed to Sir Joshua Child, a director of the East India Company.

³ Act 10 & 11 Will. III. cap. 10.

⁴ Act 10 Anne, cap. 19.

⁵ Act 7 Geo. I. cap. 7.

⁶ Treas. Papers, ccxxiii. 15.

⁷ *A Plan for English Commerce* (1728), attributed to Defoe.

In 1719 we have on 18 May the baptism of 'Isaac the son of William Merrick, calicoe printer,' and on 15 August that of 'John the son of — Bowbind, calicoe printer.' On 7 March 1719-20 Elizabeth, the daughter of William Taylor, calico printer, was baptized, and it is interesting to note that on 30 March 1722, in the baptismal entry of the same man's son Thomas, the father is described as a whitster. Either he combined the two occupations, or the effect of the Act of 1720 had been to make him abandon his former trade. Nevertheless we have on 12 June 1726 the burial entry in the clerk's book of 'Symon Clarke, a calico printer,' and on 28 July following that in the register of 'Jane the wife of Philip Man, a calico printer at Tho. Ways.' It is worthy of remark also that William son of Henry Smith, whose burial entry in the same register occurs on 8 June 1733, is entered in the clerk's book as 'William the son of William (*sic*) Smith, a Dutch printer.'

All these calico printers were men who, from the failure to discover any wills or administrations relating to their estates, we must presume to have been employed in a more or less subordinate capacity. We may now proceed to consider the notices of those eighteenth century bleachers and calico printers in Mitcham and the neighbouring districts, who were undoubtedly master men. We shall find ample evidence to justify us in the belief that they held no mean social position, and that many were possessed of considerable wealth at their deaths. The bleachers are variously described as whitsters, thread whitsters, or cloth whitsters, according to the particular branch of the industry in which they were engaged. 'Benjamin Middleton senr.,' who was buried at Mitcham on 28 February 1722-3, is described in the will of William Haycock of Wandsworth, miller, dated 22 December 1701,⁸ as of Mitcham, 'whister.'

Amongst the thread whitsters who carried on the industry at Mitcham in the early part of the eighteenth century was the Cammell family. It appears from the clerk's book at Mitcham that 'Mr. John Cammell, whitster,' was buried at Merton on 10 August 1718, and he appears as 'Camell of Mitcham' in the Merton register. In his will, dated 17 June 1718,⁹ he is called John Cammell of Mitcham, 'thread whitster.' It is not improbable that he was of Dutch origin, for 'James Jacob of the parish of Martin (Mer-

⁸ Prob. P.C.C. 22 Sept. 1702 (*Herne*, 117).

⁹ *Ibid.* 16 Aug. 1718 (*Tennison*, 157).

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ton) in the county of Surrey whitster,' in his will dated 20 June 1712,¹ mentions 'my brother-in-law John Van Cammell,' who it is evident is identical with the above. The business was carried on by his son Charles, who also died at Mitcham, for both in the clerk's book and register of that parish it is recorded under date 6 September 1719 that Charles Cammel, 'whitster,' was buried at Merton. In Charles's will, dated 31 August 1719, proved 3 September 1719 by his nephew Michael Godfrey,² he describes himself as 'Charles Cammell of the parish of Mitcham . . . thread whitster.' The marriage of the said executor is recorded at Mitcham under date 26 January 1720-1 thus, 'Michael Godfrey whitster and Catharine Middleton both of this parish.'

Roger Besswell of Mitcham, whitster, was evidently a man of some considerable property, for in his will, dated 19 November 1719,³ he mentions his freehold messuage or tenement, his freehold messuage and tenement garden and piece of ground called the Pound, and his three customary messuages or tenements, all in Mitcham.

Another family engaged in the bleaching business at Mitcham was that of the Kirkhams. They seem however to have come from London, for Thomas Kirkham, the first of the name, was 'carried to London' to be buried on 29 June 1732, as appears from the clerk's book at Mitcham. In his will, dated 25 June 1732,⁴ he is described as 'Thomas Kirkham senr. of Mitcham in Surry whitster.' One of his grandsons who was baptized at Mitcham 18 September 1743 as 'Major son of Richd. Kirkham' became of Crayford, Kent, and he has a monumental inscription in the churchyard there.

The connection here indicated between the Surrey and Kent industries is borne out more decidedly in the record of the Ormerod family who were engaged at Mitcham during the eighteenth century as calico printers. William Ormerod of Mitcham apparently a son of 'William Ormrod' who was buried there 29 January 1745-6, removed after 1764 to Crayford, where calico printing was already carried on. He was buried at Mitcham on 3 December 1772, as 'William Ormerod.' In his will dated 14 November 1772,⁵ he is described as 'William Ormerod of Crayford in the county of Kent calico printer.'

The Marlar family were calico printers at Wallington. Thomas Marlar, apparently the first of the name, died on 16 June 1748, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He has a high stone tomb in Beddington churchyard. In his will dated 16 May 1748,⁶ he is described as 'Thomas Marlar (citizen and haberdasher of London) of the hamlet of Wallington in the parish of Beddington in the county of Surrey (calico printer).' He had an only son John who is described in his father's will as of Beddington 'calico printer.' This John was afterwards of King Street, Cheapside, but finally of Mitcham as appears from his will dated 27 July 1790.⁷ But in the affidavit of handwriting it is stated that he died in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury, and he is therein styled 'esquire.' He was buried at Beddington on 8 April 1791. One of his legacies was to his daughter Amelia Ann Stewart of 'my bed, window curtains and chairs with the covers in the bow-window chamber of Mr. Jones's printing.' Another daughter, Elizabeth Mary, married at Mitcham on 17 July 1790, John Griffiths, esquire, of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law.

The Woodcock family of Mitcham were whitsters. The first of the name was George Woodcock who was buried there 5 January 1749-50, aged seventy-seven years. In his will dated 3 August 1747,⁸ he is called of Mitcham, whitster. By his second wife, the daughter of Henry Bowler of Mitcham, gent., a coroner, he had several children. His eldest son Thomas Woodcock of Mitcham, whitster, died in 1758 whilst serving the office of churchwarden, and was buried there on 1 June of that year as 'Thomas Woodcock, Ch. Warden.' He is described in his will dated 31 August 1757,⁹ as of Mitcham, whitster. He married Penelope, daughter of Thomas and Penelope Heath of Mitcham. She was buried there 1 January 1793, as 'Mrs. Penelope Woodcock.' It appears in the vestry minutes that on 10 April 1792, she presented the turret clock at the Sunday School, Mitcham. Maria Woodcock, another child of George, married Samuel Kent of Mitcham, whitster, who was buried at Mitcham 12 August 1780, as Samuel Kent from Wandsworth. In his will dated 17 June 1767,¹⁰ he is called of Mitcham whitster, but from the Probate Act Book it appears that he was formerly of Mitcham but late of Wands-

¹ Prob. P.C.C. 17 Dec. 1720 (*Shaller*, 256).

² *Ibid.* (*Browning*, 158).

³ *Ibid.* 8 May 1728 (*Brook*, 138).

⁴ *Ibid.* 28 June 1732 (*Bedford*, 169).

⁵ *Ibid.* 1 Dec. 1772 (*Taverner*, 452).

⁶ *Ibid.* 5 July 1748 (*Straban*, 217).

⁷ *Ibid.* 20 April 1791 (*Bevor*, 189).

⁸ *Ibid.* Archd. Ct. of Surr. 1 Jan. 1749-50.

⁹ *Ibid.* P.C.C. 6 July 1758 (*Hutton*, 234).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 28 Sept. 1780 (*Collins*, 440).

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worth. His widow was buried at Mitcham 8 December 1809, as Mrs. Maria Kent (in her eighty-sixth year), and there is a small tablet to her memory at the west end of the church, from which it appears she 'died Novr. 30, 1809.'

John Radborne mentions in his will dated 27 August 1741,¹ in which he is described as of Mitcham, 'callicoe printer,' his lands and messuages at Beardwick and Bedminster in the several counties of Gloucester and Somerset. According to the Probate Act Book he was late of Mitcham but died at Melksham, co. Wilts.

That there was a certain amount of intercourse between the Surrey bleachers and calico printers, and those of West Ham in Essex, another important seat of the two industries, is exemplified by several instances. Thus the Selby family who were whitsters at Mitcham in the eighteenth century appear to have come from West Ham, for Thomas Selby of Mitcham, whitster, who died 16 February 1745-6, was buried in West Ham church. He has a ledger at the west end of the nave on which are also inscriptions to others of the family. His eldest son William was buried at Mitcham 9 July 1738, and in the baptismal and burial entries of two of his children he is called 'Mr. William Selby.' Thomas Selby's second son Thomas was also of Mitcham, whitster. He died 27 January 1750-1, aged thirty-three years, as appears from the inscription on the family ledger at West Ham where he also was buried. He was baptized 21 April 1717 at Mitcham. In his will dated 6 November 1750,² he is described as of Mitcham, whitster. He directs that 'no more than the sum of one hundred pounds be laid out in my Funeral and that I may be buried at West Ham in the county of Essex.' He mentions amongst others, his uncle, Philip Selby of Carshalton, Surrey, whitster. He married at St. James's, Clerkenwell, being then described as of Mitcham, Sarah Robins of St. Andrew's, Holborn, spinster, on 26 February 1746-7. She married secondly George Chandler, merchant. By the articles before marriage dated 4 and 5 June 1755, her property in Mitcham consisting of Hall Place, some maltings, etc., and 'all that Chancel on the north side of the parish church of Mitcham . . . to the said capital message [Hall Place] also belonging' was settled for her separate use. She survived her second husband, and by her will dated 2 March 1789, gave several pecuniary legacies

and left all her freehold and copyhold estates in Great Britain and all her plantations in Jamaica and the residue of her personal estate to George Gascoigne, who was to take upon himself the surname of Chandler only.

James Burrows is an example of a Surrey calico printer who was connected with West Ham, for in his will dated 28 November 1788,³ wherein he described himself as of the parish of Saint Peter, Mitcham, calico printer, after giving directions that his body be interred in a decent but plain manner, he had added in words which he afterwards thought good to erase 'and that near my late wife at West Ham in the county of Essex.' A later instance is that of James Gould. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* is the notice 'died on 24 November, 1806, at Mitcham, Surrey, Mrs. Gould, wife of Mr. James Gould, calico printer,' and in the register of that parish, under date 30 November of that year, is the entry, 'Mrs. Gould carried to West Ham, Essex.'

Two other families who were engaged at Mitcham during the eighteenth century in the bleaching industry were those of Hodsdon and Parish. 'Thomas Hodgeden,' who was buried at Mitcham on 29 December 1752, is called in his will,⁴ 'Thomas Hodsdon of Mitcham, thread whitster.' In the Probate Act Book he is called Hodson. He mentions in his will his son William, to whom he leaves a freehold in Mitcham. William Hodsdon, who was buried at Mitcham on 30 June 1780, is also described in his will dated 22 June 1780⁵ as of Mitcham, thread whitster. He mentions the freehold land left him by his father. His wife Margaret is mentioned in the will dated 10 December 1759, of Edmund Brown,⁶ who appears as yet another Mitcham thread whitster. He was buried at Mitcham, 17 February 1760.

Of the Parishes who were for many years whitsters of Mitcham 'Mr. William Parish' was buried on 8 March 1772, and he has an inscription on the tomb of the Smith family in Mitcham churchyard, from which it appears that he was aged seventy-eight. In his will dated 18 November 1754,⁷ he is described as of Mitcham, cloth whitster. His second wife was Ann, daughter of William Smith of Mitcham, yeoman. She was buried at Mitcham, on 25 January 1779, aged, according to her

³ Ibid. 3 Dec. 1791 (*Bevor*, 555).

⁴ Dat. 6 July 1744, Prob. Archd. Ct. of Surre. 23 Dec. 1752.

⁵ Prob. P.C.C. 30 June 1780 (*Collins*, 322).

⁶ Ibid. 14 Feb. 1760 (*Lynch*, 48).

⁷ Ibid. 5 March 1772 (*Taverner*, 104).

¹ Prob. P.C.C. 6 Nov. 1741 (*Spurway*, 318).

² Ibid. 11 Feb. 1750-1 (*Busby*, 62).

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monumental inscription, seventy-three years. Her will, dated 14 September 1776,¹ mentions her copyhold messuages, lands, etc., at Mitcham held of the manor of Ravensbury; also her freehold messuages in the same parish, and £1,200 in the 3 per cent Consolidated Bank Annuities. Mary, another daughter of William Smith, married at Mitcham, on 24 January 1726-7, Thomas Ward, who is then called in the clerk's book and also in his burial entry on 4 September 1735, 'calico printer.'

Another 'cloth whitster' of Mitcham was Stephen Brookson, who was buried there on 9 April 1776. In his will dated 2 December 1757,² he mentions his customary messuages, lands, etc., in the manor of Biggin and Tamworth [in Mitcham]. Similarly William Parker of Mitcham, whitster, disposes of 'all my copyhold estate held of the manor of Biggin and what stock I shall be possessed of at the time of my death in the Three per cents.'³

Other Mitcham bleachers and calico printers who from the occurrence of their wills may be taken to have been master men in their respective industries in the eighteenth century are, amongst the whitsters:—

Lawrence Gundelach, whose name appears in various forms, and who is described in his will dated 14 July 1729,⁴ as a thread whiter (*sic*). He was buried at Mitcham on 22 July of the same year.

John Jacobs, buried in the same parish on 10 October 1758. He has a flat stone now nearly illegible in the churchyard, on which he is called 'Mr John Jacobs late of this parish.' He appears as a Mitcham whitster in his will dated 1 January 1749-50.⁵

And amongst the calico printers:—

Samuel Harris, buried at Mitcham 18 November 1759, aged eighty-two. His will is dated 4 December 1758,⁶ and in it he is described as of Mitcham, 'calico printer.' He mentions his grandson, John Drake of Newington, co. Surrey, print cutter, an occupation which will be explained below.

Thomas Hatcher, buried at Mitcham 6 August 1787. The death of Mr. Thomas Hatcher, calico printer, on 29 July of that year, is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. His will is dated 27 July 1787.⁷

¹ Prob. P.C.C. 29 Jan. 1776 (*Warburton*, 24).

² *Ibid.* 15 April 1776 (*Bellas*, 166).

³ Will dat. 6 April 1787, prob. P.C.C. 10 July 1787 (*Major*, 336).

⁴ *Ibid.* 1 Aug. 1729 (*Abbott*, 224).

⁵ Prob. Archd. Ct. of Surr. 1 Dec. 1758.

⁶ *Ibid.* 15 Dec. 1759.

⁷ Prob. P.C.C. 7 Aug. 1787 (*Major*, 370).

John Nutchter, described in his will dated 7 September 1790,⁸ as of Mitcham, 'calico printer.'

Francis Weight is called in his will dated 26 July 1792,⁹ of Mitcham, 'yeoman,' but Susan Mead of Richmond, co. Surrey, widow, in her will dated 19 December 1778,¹⁰ leaves 'unto my brother Francis Weight of Mitcham . . . calico printer one guinea for a ring.'

In 1792, according to Lysons, there were two calico printing manufactories at Mitcham, Mr. Rucker's and Mr. Fenning's.¹¹ The Mr. Rucker was John Anthony Rucker, who is described elsewhere in the same work as 'esquire.' He came from the Merton Abbey works, as he is mentioned in 1765 in the will of Francis Nixon, of whom we shall have more to say below in our account of those works, as one of his partners. He is described as John Anthony Rucker of Carshalton, esquire, in the will of Francis's widow, Hester Nixon, dated February 1769, and was one of her executors. She bequeathed to him her set of prints of the Apostles' heads. He seems to have been a man of considerable wealth, for according to Lysons, he was in occupation in 1792 of Putney Bowling-Green, the site of a once fashionable place of entertainment for public breakfasts and evening assemblies,¹² and a very handsome villa had been lately built for him at Wandsworth near Lord Spencer's park on the site of a house which had been built for the then Lady Rivers and had been lately occupied by Lord Stormont. The house is said from its elevated position to have been a conspicuous object in the neighbourhood.¹³

The works of Mr. Fenning above noticed were the important Ravensbury factory at Mitcham, of which we quote the following account published in 1793:—

On the Wandle are mills for grinding corn, tobacco, logwood, etc., and Mr. Fenning has some grounds for the bleaching and printing of calico, which are supplied with water by the same river. Mr. Fenning has an engine in case of fire, the pumps of which are worked by the same wheel that is used in the business. He experienced the benefit of this machine a few months ago, when his premises took fire, and would have been totally consumed but for this admirable invention.¹⁴

⁸ *Ibid.* 16 Oct. 1793 (*Dodwell*, 518).

⁹ *Ibid.* 20 Sept. 1792 (*Fountain*, 493).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 8 Nov. 1791 (*Bevor*, 527).

¹¹ *Environ's of London*, ed. 1, i. 360.

¹² *Ibid.* 427, 428. ¹³ *Ibid.* 518.

¹⁴ *Ambulator or a Pocket Companion in a Tour round London*, ed. 5 (1793), 260.

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It is not improbable that the Ravensbury printing works were started by Mr. John Cecil of Ravensbury, Mitcham, who was buried at Morden 21 April 1760. Mr. John Cecil apparently came from the Merton Abbey works, for it is stated in the monumental inscription to Mrs. Hannah Cecil in Morden churchyard that 'she died at Merton Abbey near this parish, January the 3rd, 1756, aged 58 years.' It is said that the works were afterwards carried on by John Arbuthnot, esq., whose first wife was Sally Margaret Cecil. He was afterwards an inspector under the Irish Linen Board.

For many years after the works were carried on by the Fenning family, who were previously of the Merton Abbey works. The first of the name was William Fenning, who is called in the will of Jonathan Meadows of Merton Abbey, thread whitster, dated 21 December 1778,¹ 'Mr. William Fenning of Merton in Surrey calico printer.' On the Fenning tomb in Mitcham churchyard he is called William Fenning, esq., and as 'William Fenning esq. aged 74 years' the entry of his burial appears in the register on 15 August 1812. According to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Mr. Fenning of Ravensbury grounds, Mitcham, died on 9 August 1812, in his seventy-fourth year. He was succeeded by his son, William Fenning, who retired from business and for some time lived at Baron House, Mitcham, but was finally of Christ Church, Surrey, where he died on 22 February 1837.² He was buried at Mitcham. From the time of his relinquishment of the business it was carried on by Mr. Bailey Austin, who died in 1823 and is described in his will as calico printer of Ravensbury, Mitcham. From this time the works gradually dwindled in importance, and ceased towards the middle of the last century. The house was pulled down some twenty or more years ago.

Among the calico grounds stated to be in existence at Mitcham in 1811 were those of Messrs. Howard & Co.³ These were the large printing works at Phipps Bridge, which were destroyed by fire about 1850. They were carried on in the latter part of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries by Messrs. Howard & Rivers. Mr. John Rivers was buried at Mitcham 16 May

1797. The inscription over his vault is as follows: 'Sacred to the memory of Mr. John Rivers of this parish Calico Printer who died 9th May 1797, aged 57 years.' In his will he is described as 'John Rivers the elder of Mitcham gent.' The Howard family has a high railed tomb in Morden churchyard, from which it appears that 'Mr. Richard Howard formerly of Phipps Bridge, Mitcham, died December 19th, 1820, in the 80th year of his age.' R. Howard, senior, was a member of the original committee of the Surrey Iron Railway as constituted on 4 June 1801.⁴ The first plans of the railway included a branch from his calico works at Phipps Bridge to near Merton, but it does not appear that this was ever carried out.⁵ Richard Howard, junior, married at Mitcham 28 March 1799 Ann Rivers, daughter of John Rivers, senior; and he in conjunction with John Rivers, junior, carried on the business, but they were finally bankrupts. Conveyance of the estates of Richard Howard the elder, John Rivers, Richard Howard the younger and James Howard, bankrupts, was made on 22 May 1813.⁶ In the Ravensbury Court Rolls at a Court Baron held on 7 February 1801, mention is made of 'all that close, parcel of meadowland, situate near Pipes Bridge in the parish of Mitcham, now used as a calico ground in the occupation of Messrs. Howard, Hellier and Company, calico printers.' The Mr. Hellier who thus appears as a partner in this business was Isaac Hellier of Merton Abbey, calico printer, who died 25 February 1842, aged seventy-nine years, and was buried at Mitcham on the following 4 March as of Wimbledon.

In addition to the calico grounds of Messrs. Fenning & Sons at Ravensbury and those of Messrs. Howard & Co. at Phipps Bridge, which were in existence at Mitcham in 1811, there were also in the same parish those of Messrs. Thwaites & Co. and of Messrs. Serle & Co.⁷ In 1823 calico printing is said to be still carried on extensively in the neighbourhood, but the only works which are mentioned are those of Mr. Bailey Austin,⁸ which, as we have seen, were at Ravensbury.

So far we have been primarily concerned

¹ C. T. Davis, *Interesting Incidents in Wandsworth History*, 38.

² W. B. Paley in the *Engineer* of 5 Jan. 1900, quoted in Davis, op. cit. 27.

³ Close R. 53 Geo. III. pt. 9, No. 20.

⁴ Lysons, op. cit. ed. 2. i. 262.

⁵ Pigot & Co., *London, etc., Commercial Directory* (1823-4).

¹ Proved by W. Fenning, P.C.C. 10 Feb. 1780 (*Collins*, 94).

² See his monumental inscription on the family tomb in Mitcham churchyard.

³ Lysons, *Environs of London*, ed. 2, i. 262.

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with the very numerous master bleachers and calico printers at Mitcham, but references to the neighbouring printers at Merton have frequently been made. The works which were carried on here within the walls of the ancient abbey were very important and present several features of interest in the history of the industry. Francis Nixon has already been mentioned. In his will dated 16 January 1765,¹ he is described as of the parish of Merton, calico printer. He mentions his two partners, Sir George Amyand, bart., and John Anthony Rucker. He leaves to his wife Hester the sum of £1,000, part of a capital stock in the hands of Amyand, and to trustees an annuity of £40 provided and secured to be paid by the articles of co-partnership between Nixon, Amyand and Rucker. His widow, Hester Nixon, is described in her will dated — February 1769,² as of Mitcham. Amongst other bequests she left £10 in putting out Hester Nixon (daughter of John Nixon, late of Merton, carpenter, deceased) as an apprentice and £24 to be equally divided between four poor widows belonging to the parish of Merton. According to Lysons, Mr. Francis Nixon, whom he incorrectly states to have died in 1768, is said in the epitaph on his tomb in Merton churchyard to have been the first who perfected copper-plate calico printing, an expression which in the opinion of the same writer was too strong, as many improvements in the art had been made since his death.³

From Lysons also we learn that in 1792 there were two calico printing manufactories upon the site of Merton Abbey. The first had been established in 1724, and was in 1792 in the occupation of Messrs. Newton, Hodgson & Leach, who carried on a very extensive trade and had brought the art to a great degree of perfection.⁴ The Mr. Leach here mentioned is no doubt the John Leach of Merton Abbey in the county of Surrey, calico printer, who on 6 April 1802 obtained a patent for his new-invented method of using madder in the dyeing of calicoes, linens, and stuffs, 'whereby a great saving is made in the consumption of that root or drug.'⁵ In 1811 the firm which carried on these works was Messrs. Newton, Langdale, Simpson & Co.⁶ The Mr. Langdale of this firm was perhaps Mr. Marmaduke Langdale, who lived at a house in Mitcham

called The Firs, which is now about to be taken down. The Mr. Simpson was William Simpson of Mitcham, calico printer, who is described as of Merton Abbey, esquire, in the entry in the register at Mitcham of his marriage on 31 March 1818 to Emily Cranmer. He died 29 December 1860, and was buried at Mitcham on 5 January following. He is no doubt to be identified with the partner of the firm of Simpson, Newton & Co., which is mentioned below as having been engaged in calico printing at Carshalton in 1823.

The second print manufactory at Merton Abbey was established within the walls of the abbey in 1752, and was carried on in 1792 by Mr. Halfhide.⁷ In 1811 it was in the hands of Mr. West, and there was a third factory at Merton belonging to Mr. Bennet.⁸ Including the employés of a copper mill there were stated to be in 1792 'upon a moderate computation' a thousand persons employed within the abbey walls in the different manufactories. But by 1811 the number of hands in the calico print works had been very much reduced. There were then not more than 300 persons employed in the manufacture at Merton, although it was carried on to a greater extent in consequence of the patterns being lighter and finished more expeditiously than formerly. In this connection we may record here the claim that has been put forward for the Merton mills that the first successful calico printing from the continuous printing-roller was performed in them.⁹ In more recent times printing has been carried on by Mr. Welch, Mr. Makepiece, and Mr. Littler respectively. Mr. E. Littler's silk printing works at Merton Abbey appear to be at the present day the sole representative in Surrey of its once extensive industry.

An analogous instance to that of the Merton Abbey works, where premises originally designed for less secular purposes were adapted for use as factories, occurs in Surrey at Croydon, where the ancient archiepiscopal palace was used in 1792 for calico printing, the garden being used as a bleaching ground.¹⁰ In 1823 bleaching was still carried on at the palace by Messrs. Thomas and Samuel Starey, who were bleachers to the East India Company. Mr. James West of Church Street in the same town was a calico glazier.¹¹

At Carshalton and Beddington also on the

¹ Prob. P.C.C. 1 March 1765 (*Rushworth*, 108).

² *Ibid.* 15 Dec. 1773 (*Stevens*, 479).

³ Lysons, *Environs*, ed. 1, i. 348.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 345.

⁵ *Pat. of Inventions*, No. 2605.

⁶ Lysons, *Environs*, ed. 2, i. 250.

⁷ *Ibid.* ed. 1, i. 345.

⁸ *Ibid.* ed. 2, i. 250.

⁹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App.

34.

¹⁰ Lysons, *Environs*, ed. 1, i. 176.

¹¹ Pigot & Co., *Commercial Directory* (1823-4).

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course of the Wandle the bleaching industry was established. In 1792 the bleaching grounds of Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Cookson at Carshalton are mentioned, and the trade carried on said to be extensive.¹ Foster Reynolds of Carshalton, whitster, was appointed one of the executors of the will, dated 20 July 1789, of John Paris of the borough of Southwark, gentleman.² Foster Reynolds' own will was proved 23 February 1798³ by, amongst other executors, his son, William Foster Reynolds, power being reserved to Deborah Reynolds, the relict, who was another executor. In 1811 the Carshalton bleaching works were carried on by Thomas and Jacob Foster Reynolds.⁴ In 1823 George Ansell and Thomas Gellibrand appear as calico printers at Carshalton, and at Wallington at the same date were 'the very extensive print works of Messrs. Simpson, Newton & Co., where some of the first work is finished in an admirable style.'⁵

At Wandsworth, where the Wandle enters the Thames, both calico bleaching and printing were formerly carried on to a considerable extent. David Asterly, who died on 22 May 1761, and lies buried in Mount Nod cemetery at Wandsworth, is described in his will as a calico printer, and makes bequests to his granddaughter, daughter of his own son, John Asterly of Wandsworth, also a calico printer.⁶ In 1792 Mr. Gardiner had a calico printing manufactory here which employed about 250 hands, and another had been lately established by Messrs. Lawrence & Harris. There were also Mr. Rigby's manufactory for printing kerseymeres and Mr. Dibble's for whitening and pressing stuffs.⁷ In 1811 the last had apparently passed into the hands of Messrs. Johnson & Mason, but Mr. Rigby was still carrying on his works. Two calico printing manufactories were still maintained in the parish, those of Messrs. Gardiner & Dixon and of Messrs. Bartlett & West.⁸ Three or four years later we learn that the whitening and pressing manufactory had been discontinued, but calico printing was then

conducted at Wandsworth by Mr. Gardiner, and 'in the minute fancy way' by Mr. Barker and Messrs. More & Co.⁹ In connection with the subject of printing textile fabrics it may be noticed here that at Summerstown near Wandsworth silk printing, said to have been introduced by the Huguenots, appears to have been carried on until within recent years.¹⁰ Still on the Wandle, we may note the existence both in 1792 and 1811 in the parish of Wimbledon, at some considerable distance from the village, of Mr. Coleman's calico printing manufactory.¹¹

We have noted elsewhere the fact that of the forty industrial undertakings carried on along the course of the Wandle in the year 1805 no less than twelve were devoted to calico printing and three to bleaching. Of the names of the firms or individual owners engaged in these several works at this date we have now mentioned amongst the calico printers Mr. Fenning at Mitcham, Messrs. Newton & Co. at Merton, Mr. Coleman at Wimbledon, Mr. Howard at Phipps Bridge and Mr. Gardiner at Wandsworth; and amongst the bleachers Messrs. Jacob & George Foster Reynolds at Carshalton. The list includes also the printing works of Messrs. Lane & Lay at Croydon, who seem in addition to have carried on a bleaching business; of Mr. W. Kilburn at Wallington, who is spoken of as 'that very ingenious artist'; of Messrs. Bailey & Ansell at Carshalton; of Mr. Kinlay and Mr. Sutherland at Mitcham; of Mr. West at Merton; and the works sometime occupied by Mr. Gedge, apparently in Wandsworth. The other bleaching industries were those of Mr. Parker at Croydon and of Messrs. Chisham and Stephenson at Mitcham Corner.¹²

Outside the Wandle district calico printing has also been carried on both in Lambeth, from which place an extensive factory had been removed by 1792,¹³ and in Bermondsey to a small degree.¹⁴ Joseph Cox of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, calico printer, appears as a bankrupt in the *London Gazette* of 2-6 March 1756. In Southwark bleaching was probably carried on at an early date, as Andrew Yarranton, writing in 1677, notices

¹ Lysons, *op. cit.* i. 123.

² Prob. P.C.C. 30 March 1790 (*Dodwell*, 165).

³ P.C.C. Probate Act Book.

⁴ Lysons, *Environs*, ed. 2, i. 91. In 1805 they are said to be in the occupation of Messrs. Jacob & George Foster Reynolds, and to be probably the largest of their kind in the world (*Malcolm, Compendium of Modern Husbandry*, i. 6).

⁵ Pigot & Co., *Commercial Directory*.

⁶ C. T. Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth*, 8.

⁷ Lysons, *Environs*, ed. 1, i. 503.

⁸ *Ibid.* ed. 2, i. 379.

⁹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 342, 343.

¹⁰ C. T. Davis, *op. cit.* 38.

¹¹ Lysons, *Environs*, ed. 1, i. 539; ed. 2, i. 404.

¹² Malcolm, *Compendium of Modern Husbandry*, i. 6-8.

¹³ Lysons, *Environs*, ed. 1, i. 317.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* i. 547.

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the existence of a bleachfield there by the side of the Thames.

In 1850, shortly after which the industry must have become extinct, we are told of the great decrease in the Surrey calico printing and bleaching business, which until lately had seemed to have a firm hold of the banks of the Wandle and a few other places in the county. The census of 1841 had shown that there were only 128 persons employed in cotton printing in Surrey. But about 1850 Mr. A. Heath of Garratt Lane was alone employing about a hundred, who printed annually 25,000 pieces or dresses. This establishment had existed between eighty and ninety years, and was fitted up with the usual improvements in coppers, copper-plate presses, cylinder padding machine, etc.¹

Bleaching as practised by the Surrey whiteners was performed entirely by the old and lengthy process of grass bleaching. The following description of the process may here be quoted: 'the cloth was washed in ley made from wood ashes, then rinsed and afterwards spread out over the grass in the meadows. The flat meadows by the Wandle were divided into strips of grass by ditches. The calico was spread on the grass, and the men walking along the edge of the ditches by means of scoops skilfully drenched the calico. The action of the sun caused the calico to become white in about a month's time, if the weather were favourable.'² The discovery of the use of chlorine in bleaching in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the introduction of other chemical processes, economizing vastly both time and space, made grass bleaching no longer remunerative except for the most costly fabrics. These improvements, combined with the increased use of steam and machinery in the process, were no doubt the main factor that led to the migration of the industry northwards into the close neighbourhood of the coal bearing districts. So also with calico printing did the use of machinery coupled with the application of chemical processes in dyeing lead to the displacement of the Surrey industry. In Surrey and the other home counties where the industry flourished, the calicoes were for the most part hand-printed from wooden blocks, although as we have seen improvements were afterwards introduced in the direction of copper-plate printing. We may fitly close this account of the Surrey calico printers with a few notices of the minor industries which their own principal one called into being, and

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surrey*, v. App.

34.

² C. T. Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth*, 7, 8.

record the names of some of those Surrey men who were engaged in the subsidiary processes of the manufacture.

The dyes mostly used by the Surrey printers seem to have been obtained from logwood and brazil-wood, and the existence in the neighbourhood of the printing works of a considerable number of mills for grinding these woods has already been noticed. The 'Richard Bond from Moredon,' who was buried at Mitcham on 27 November 1746, is described in his will dated 28 June 1746,³ as of the parish of Morden, 'wood-grinder.' In the will he mentions his two messuages in Mitcham and his four acres of freehold land there. Lysons notices in 1792 Mr. Filby's mills for grinding logwood at Carshalton.⁴ The will of John Filby of the hamlet of Wallington, logwood grinder, is dated 5 May 1787, and was proved on 8 August 1793.⁵ Samuel Purlewent, who would seem to have been buried at Mitcham during a hiatus in the register from 31 August 1778 to 3 January 1779, is described in his will dated 1 October 1778,⁶ as of Mitcham, 'colour maker for the calico printers.' In 1814 we are told that the so-called frying-pan houses at Wandsworth were occupied by Messrs. Gattey for preparing iron liquids and sowers for the use of the calico printers.⁷

The cutting of the wooden blocks which were used by the printers was another special industry, the cutters being doubtless in most cases in the employ of some one or other of the master calico printers. James Luckhurst, who was buried at Mitcham on 28 February 1757, is called, in his will dated 23 July 1748,⁸ of Mitcham, 'cutter.' The mention of John Drake of Newington, print cutter, in 1758 in the will of his grandfather Samuel Harris has been already noticed. 'Mrs. Barnes from Richmond,' who was buried at Mitcham on 27 April 1772, and was probably Judith baptized in the same parish on 11 August 1701, as the daughter of James Brayley of Mitcham, barber-surgeon, by Elizabeth his wife, was the wife of Gregory Barnes of Richmond, 'linen print cutter,' who is no doubt to be identified with the 'Gregory Barnes from Richmond,' who was buried at Mitcham on 14 December 1791. In the will dated 5 July 1773,⁹ of Ephraim Potter of Mitcham, physic gardener, is a mention of

³ Prob. P.C.C. 11 Feb. 1746-7 (*Potter*, 31).

⁴ *Environs*, ed. 1, i. 123.

⁵ Prob. P.C.C. (*Dodwell*, 413).

⁶ *Ibid.* 4 Feb. 1779 (*Warburton*, 68).

⁷ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 342.

⁸ Prob. Archd. Ct. of Surr. 26 Feb. 1757.

⁹ *Ibid.* 15 July 1775.

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his daughter Ann, the wife of Benjamin Moore of Mitcham, 'calico print cutter.' In 1823 we find Mr. George Clifford and Messrs. Thrale & Appleby carrying on business at Croydon as 'engravers to the calico printers.'¹ They were at this date in all probability copper-plate engravers.

The supersession to some extent of the wood blocks by copper-plates was perhaps the chief advance made in their art by the Surrey calico printers of the eighteenth century. We have seen already how the perfection of copper-plate calico printing was too extravagantly claimed for Francis Nixon who died in 1765. With what success we know not, a later attempt was shortly afterwards made to-

wards this desired perfection by another Surrey man, Thomas Long of Mitcham, calico printer, who took out a patent on 25 February 1767, for his machine for the blotching, printing, intermixing, and variegating with copper plates, purple and red, and red and black colours on calicoes, cottons, lawns and all other kinds of whitstereed linens for furniture, garments and handkerchiefs.² In 1777, Henry Hawkins, an engraver of Tooting, was granted a patent for his 'method of working an aquarello ground to be used on copper plates engraved for printing of linens, cottons, muslins and calicoes, which aquarello ground produces various tints, and will be very beneficial to the printing business.'³

BREWING

The brewing of ale or beer is an industry which must at all times have been very extensively practised in Surrey. At the present day there is no other of the more important industries which is more generally represented throughout the length and breadth of the county. Moreover we can still include as a flourishing concern within the limits of the ancient county and therefore within the scope of our present inquiry, one of the oldest and largest breweries in the world. The history of brewing in Surrey is indeed of something more than merely local interest. It is not only that we have in it a very typical illustration of the whole history of brewing in England; but further the brewers in the more metropolitan districts of the county have always been from a variety of causes, of which perhaps their proximity to the capital and the centre of the more advanced intellectual life of the kingdom is the most potent, among the pioneers in every movement that tended to bring about, with the aid of science, an improvement in the quality and a greater facility in the production of what has been from time immemorial the national beverage of the English people.

Brewing in its early beginnings was like most of the industries that minister to the first necessities and comforts of life mainly, at all events, carried on as a domestic industry. To a far greater extent than most other industries it remained so even down to quite recent times. Indeed at one time private brewing was much encouraged owing to the exorbitancy of the beer duty, which unlike the malt tax affected only the beer brewed by the public brewers or for sale. The outcry

against the injustice of this tax which fell most heavily upon the poorer classes, owing to the almost universal practice among the rich of brewing their own ale, led to its ultimate repeal in the year 1830.⁴ Since this date, partly on account of this abandonment of the beer duty, chiefly perhaps because the increased application of the principles of chemistry and mechanical science to brewing, only possible when it is carried on in large breweries, have spoilt the general taste for home brewed beer, private brewing has become more and more a thing of the past.

Of the early history of the industry in Surrey it is not possible to treat here in any detail. The general principles of the art, which was a simple one, were such as obtained everywhere and are pretty generally known. The use of hops in this country was unknown probably until about the middle of the fifteenth century and then only in the liquor brewed by aliens. The ordinance enforcing the keeping of the assize of bread and ale, which whatever its date was certainly not later than the end of the reign of Henry III. and probably considerably earlier, proves that ale was then brewed for sale. The keepers of the ale-houses and inns brewed the ale themselves which they sold to their customers. Although it occurs quite at the end of this first period in our history, the classical instance of the actual brewing being done by the ale-house keeper herself belongs to Surrey. For of Elynour Rummyng,

² *Pat. of Inventions*, No. 869.

³ *Ibid.* No. 1137.

⁴ See as to the unjust incidence of these duties McCulloch's *Dictionary of Commerce* (1859), art. 'Malt.'

¹ Pigot & Co., *Commercial Directory* (1823-4).

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whose 'tunning' gave so much food for mirth to the scurrilous and, it must be confessed, not a little coarse pen of the laureate, John Skelton, we are told

She dwelt in Sothray
In a certayne stede
By syde Lederhede.

She was indeed a real person and descendants of her family may be traced in Letherhead more than a century later.¹ Skelton is more concerned with the characters of the ale-wife and of the various gossips who thronged to partake of her ale than of the process of the 'tunning' itself. What he does tell us we may hope for the credit of the Surrey ale of his day existed rather in his imagination than in sober reality, for the method which Elynour had 'learnt of a Jew' does not possess one with any favourable idea of the palatableness of her brew.

In addition to what we are enabled to learn from this and like instances of ale-wives and their ways, we have evidence in the rolls of manorial and local courts that ale-brewing had early become something more than a mere domestic industry. It became one of the functions of the frank-pledge to appoint officers, ale-tasters or ale-conners, to inspect the ale-brewers in their several tithings, and to report all cases where the assize had been broken. Offenders were presented at the view of frank-pledge and fined or otherwise punished according to the number of times they had offended or the nature of their offence. Offences against the assize could be committed either by the actual brewers, the common brewers as they were called, or by those who merely bought the ale in order to sell retail, the regraters or hucksters.

From the regularity with which the names of the same brewers and dealers occur in any consecutive series of rolls of views of frank-pledge, we may judge that it was probably more profitable to break the assize and incur the small penalty that was attached to the offence than scrupulously to keep one's name out of the record of the court. Consequently we shall perhaps not be incorrect in assuming that could the rolls of all the views of frank-pledge held within a particular county for any given period be consulted, they would enable

¹ Thus from the parish register we learn that Goody Rumming was buried on 4 July 1663, Robert Rumming on 4 April 1669 (Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* ii. 665), whilst at no great distance off, Bartholomew Rummyng in 1658 had lands in the parishes of Ewhurst and Abinger (*Surr. Arch. Coll.* xvii. 88-90).

us to form a fairly exact estimate of the total number of those who were at that period engaged in the brewing trade in that county. Unfortunately the number of these rolls now preserved is comparatively few, and the majority of them are not readily accessible for the purpose. We must therefore content ourselves with two concrete examples from Surrey rolls to show the nature of the information which is to be gathered from these entries on the subject of brewing as an industry.

The first illustration is from the rolls of the court of the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, held in his manor of Walworth between the years 1336 and 1338.² In May of the former year the ale-taster for the tithing of Newington presented that Martin le Meleward was a common brewer and sold against the assize. He was therefore amerced 6*d.*, and Henry Genge for the same offence also 6*d.* Juliana de Markyngfeld because she had brewed three times and sold against the assize was fined 3*d.* In the tithing of Walworth Agnes de Ihurst, who had been twice guilty of this offence, was also fined 3*d.*, whilst Alice Davy, who had only once offended, was let off with 2*d.* Three 'hukkestars' of ale and bread were presented in this tithing and amerced in sums ranging from 2*d.* to 4*d.* Two of them again appeared at the court held in May 1338, when we find also that Agnes de Ihurst (or Uherst) had again been breaking the assize on two occasions. In Newington Henry Genge was amerced another 6*d.* as a common brewer and a breaker of the assize. With him was Salerna, also a common brewer, who had to pay 6*d.*, and Robert Seman, who had only brewed once, and was fined but 2*d.* Later on in the same year, however, this Robert had developed into a common brewer and became liable to no less a fine than 12*d.* Ale-brewing would seem to have become quite an extensive industry in Newington at this latter date, for, in addition to Robert Seman, there were as common brewers Christine Mordones and Walter the Brewer and four others, two men and two women, who had each of them brewed on a single occasion and broken the assize.

We take our second illustration at a time just a century and a half after the first and in exactly the opposite quarter of the county. In the court roll of the hundred of Godalming for the year 1483 we find precisely similar entries to those in the Walworth rolls.³ Presentments of common brewers who had

² P.R.O. Court Rolls, bde. 205, No. 23.

³ B.M. Add. Ch. 26892.

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broken the assize were made for each of the tithings and small ameracements assessed. Thus in the tithing of Chiddingfold there were in April three common brewers, each fined 4*d.* In the tithing of Haslemere there were another three, one of them a woman, fined from 2*d.* to 4*d.* In the view of the parsonage of Godalming John George is presented as a common brewer of 'byere'—the use of the word here is interesting as will appear later—and common brewers also were Robert at Rude, Thomas at Legh and William Champion. Nicholas Gilberds and John Glover were tapsters of ale and sold by cups and dishes (*per sciphos et discos*) instead of by standard measure. They were each fined one penny.

These entries have been given rather as illustrations from Surrey records of the general conditions under which the brewing of the national drink was carried on in this country in medieval times than as affording any just indication of the extent of the industry in our own county, or of any districts therein in which it may be said to have been especially seated. Brewed without the use of any such preservative as hops the ale must have had small enduring qualities and have been intended to satisfy only the needs of the immediate neighbourhood in which the brewer lived. The number of brewers who brewed for sale both in the urban and rural districts of the county was probably considerable, but, on the other hand, the production of each individual brewer must have been small indeed in comparison with that of even the least extensive of our modern breweries. The art of brewing would appear to have reached little development at this time, at least so far as the native brewers were concerned, and probably there were few, if any, special qualities possessed by the ale of those who brewed on a comparatively large scale for the purposes of trade that could not be attained by those who brewed only for the private needs of their own households.

Even in early times, as it has been in later, the principal seat of the brewing industry of Surrey must have been in Southwark and the district more immediately adjacent to the capital. The position of the Borough at the south end of London Bridge, until well within the last two hundred years the only bridge across the Thames below Kingston, made it necessary for all who journeyed between London and the south-eastern counties and France to pass through it. In consequence the inns of Southwark for long constituted one of the chief sources of profit to its inhabitants, and they

have been famous ever since Chaucer and his fellow-pilgrims 'weren esed atte beste' at the Tabard. The position of keeper at one of these inns must have been one of no little social importance and local influence, for Chaucer's own host, Henry Bailly, represented the borough as one of its burgesses in the Parliaments of 1376 and 1378.

Side by side with the numerous inns there must have existed in Southwark and its neighbourhood a very considerable brewing industry. In the fifteenth century we find brew-houses in Southwark the occasional objects of litigation in Chancery suits. Thus we learn that William Kyng and his wife Cassandra together with Thomas Wentte, being jointly seized of a brewhouse in the Borough, sold it together with another messuage and certain goods in the same to one Thomas Warham for the sum of £68 13*s.* 4*d.*¹ Another brewhouse in Southwark was called the 'Peacock,' and its possession became a fruitful source of dispute in the court of Chancery.²

¹ Early Chan. Proc. bde. 16, No. 417.

² It is described as a brewhouse in the earliest suit in which it appears. The plaintiffs, probably the feoffees of it to certain uses, summoned one Thomas Chipsted to deliver up the deeds and muniments which of right belonged to them (Early Chan. Proc. bde. 11, No. 371). Thirty or more years later, probably about the year 1472, the same tenement, although whether or not it was still used as a brewhouse is not stated, was again in dispute. It was then the subject of two distinct actions brought against each of the feoffees then seized of it (*ibid.* bde. 39, No. 177 and bde. 40, No. 44). The stories as to its successive owners which are set out with the usual amount of circumstance in the various pleadings, are bewildering in the extreme and not easily reconcilable. It seems certain, however, that at some time subsequent to the date of the earlier action, Alice Browne, the widow of Thomas Browne, a Southwark cordwainer, had come into sole possession of the tenement and had enfeoffed the defendants of the later actions. But to what uses they had been enfeoffed is a matter of dispute. In one case it is urged that Alice had demised the 'Peacock' by will to the use during their lives of her son John and his wife Anne. The latter had on the subsequent death of her husband become the wife of one of the plaintiffs. This is denied by one of the defendants, who stated that this son John had made a bargain during his mother's lifetime and sold the reversion after his mother's death to a London joiner for twenty marks, 'whereat his mother was right wroth and said that her son that was so unkind to her should never have the messuage.' Accordingly she had appointed her trustees to lay out certain moneys for pious uses on behalf of her late husband and herself in St. Margaret's Church, Southwark, and

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Another Southwark brewhouse was the 'Moon,' in the parish of St. George. This, we are told, was leased for a term of forty years from Easter, 1436, to John Stanley, a citizen and brewer of London, at an annual rent of £3 6s. 8d.¹ Stanley being thus seised of the tenement 'with certyn ledus and brewyng vessell in the same' sublet from Easter, 1440, to Thomas Muddle of Southwark, brewer, and Felicia his wife at a rent of £5 16s. 8d. with certain conditions in the event of the new tenants being distrained for the original rent payable to the owner. This event actually happening, the necessity of exacting the fulfilment of these conditions gives occasion to yet another Chancery suit.

One last reference to Southwark brewing in these fifteenth century proceedings must suffice. It gives us information in regard to another point in connection with the industry, for we learn that Robert Trott, a Southwark brewer, had been in the habit for many years of buying malt every week from a maltman of Enfield in Middlesex.² A debt of £8 13s. 10d. on certain quantities of the malt thus purchased had been allowed to accumulate, and the maltman had failed altogether to recover this amount at several actions at common law which he had taken both within and without the Borough, owing to the brewer, 'like an unjust man and evil disposed,' having offered to wage his law to all these actions. And yet it is stated 'the said Robert is a man of great possessions and may pay the said £8 13s. 10d. with his ease and little grieve him or nought.' Thus even at this early period brewing in a populous town could be made the road to wealth.

But we may now pass from these somewhat scattered notices of the early history of ale-brewing in Surrey to the time when the general introduction of the use of hops created a revolution in the art of manufacture of the national drink. An exact year has been fixed for this innovation, 1524, and Howes tells us that the well-known doggerel rhyme—

Turkeys, carpes, hops ; Piccarels, and beere,
Came into England : all in one yeere,

was a long time current. It is certain how-

to make over the tenement to her son's only daughter Joan. Joan had died unmarried during her father's lifetime, and it does not appear to be disputed that by some means or other John Browne had enjoyed occupation of the house for some six years immediately previous to his death.

¹ Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 11, No. 299.

² Ibid. bdle. 60, No. 97.

ever that the use of hops was known in England long before the year 1524, though it may have been confined to the foreign brewers who began to establish themselves in the country during the fifteenth century. Whatever may now be the exact distinction in the terms ale and beer, the popular application of which seems to vary in different districts of the country, there was no doubt at all about the difference in the two beverages which went under these names in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Ale is defined in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, compiled about the year 1440, as 'cervisia,' and it is added 'et hic nota bene quod est potus Anglorum,' whilst beer (bere) is 'cervisia hummulina,' that is hopped, and hops (hoppe) are 'sede for beyre.'³ Foreign brewers of beer are first supposed to have settled themselves in London, and in the assessment there for the alien subsidy levied in 1483 eight Germans are returned as brewers.⁴ But we need not travel outside our own county to find still earlier evidence of the existence of a foreign brewing industry in this country. Indeed one of the very first notices of the presence of foreign brewers in England seems to belong to Southwark. In 1437 the Commons complained of two great nuisances to the realm occasioned by the large number of aliens then residing in the Borough. One of these nuisances was the stews then farmed by 'froes of Flanders.' The other was the number of common taverns kept by Flemings, where aliens of all nations were wont to congregate and by rigidly excluding all natives could hatch all sort of mischief to the king and his people.⁵ That Englishmen did not resort to such taverns strengthens the argument that there was no consumption of the foreign beverage amongst them at this period. We learn more definitely that 'beer' was actually brewed by foreigners in Southwark a little later in 1440 when Jose van Rixson a 'byre-brewer' with two foreign servants and Downe Walters, also a 'birebrewer,' with three foreign servants were amongst the aliens then taxed in the Borough. Two other aliens, in the same place, John Hull and Thomas Brewer are described simply as brewers.⁶ There were no foreign brewers elsewhere in Surrey at this date.

Not until a hundred years after this do we

³ *Promptorium Parvulorum* (ed. Camden Soc.), 245, note 1.

⁴ Lay Subs. ccxlii. No. 25.

⁵ *Rot. Parl.* iv. 511a. These taverns appear at this date to have been a recent innovation.

⁶ Lay Subs. clxxxiv. No. 212.

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learn that beer had begun to take the place of ale in the estimation of Englishmen. About the year 1542 Andrew Boorde in making the distinction we have noted between ale and beer speaks of the latter as then only of late days much used in England to the detriment of many English men.¹ The occurrence of a brewer of 'byere,' therefore, at Godalming so early as 1483 is, if the term is used with any particular significance, at least interesting.

The prejudice which Andrew Boorde evidently had against hopped beer as a foreign innovation was probably pretty general in England in his day. In 1531 Henry VIII. in some articles for the reform of abuses in the royal household enjoins the brewer not to put any hops or brimstone into the ale.² At the same time the superior skill in the art of brewing possessed by the foreigners seems to be recognized in an Act of 1530-1, which declares that strangers being brewers or pursuing a few other specially named occupations are not to be interpreted as handicraftsmen within the meaning of the existing penal statutes against foreigners exercising handicrafts within the realm.³ Plainly here was an alien industry that it was felt unwise to hamper for the sake of protecting the native one. The prejudice against beer must have died out in the latter half of the sixteenth century, for there is no echo of it in William Harrison's *Description of England*, first published in 1577. Harrison describes in detail the method by which his wife and her maids brewed beer once a month.⁴ Hops are a necessary ingredient of his recipe. Ale is mentioned slightly. Made without hops, it was more thick, fulsome, and of no such continuance as beer, although there were still some 'ale knights' much addicted to it. It was however sadly adulterated by the alewives who mixed with it rosin and salt. One part of Harrison's account of beer brewing may perhaps help to explain the existence of the very considerable industry at Southwark and other riverside places in Surrey. Speaking of the water used in the process, he says that the nature of this was very diligently observed by English brewers and that the most excellent for the purpose was Thames water.

The Act of 23 Hen. VIII. cap. 4 (1531-2),

¹ *A Dyetary of Helth made in Mountpyllier, etc.* (ed. Early Eng. Text Soc. extra vol. x.), 256.

² *Prompt. Parv.* loc. cit.

³ Stat. 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 13.

⁴ W. Harrison, op. cit. (ed. New Shakespeare Soc.), i. 155-61.

which primarily forbade brewers to make their own barrels or smaller measures makes a new distinction between beer and ale. The barrel for beer is to contain thirty-six gallons, and correspondingly the kilderkin has eighteen and the firkin nine gallons. The barrel for ale on the other hand has only thirty-two gallons, and the two smaller measures are of proportionately decreased capacities. Moreover there seems to be a recognition of the bigger business done by beer brewers than that by the ale brewers, for while the beer-brewer may keep one or two coopers to hoop and repair his barrels, the ale-brewer is only allowed one. This Act provided also that the fixing of the price at which beer and ale were to be sold by the barrel should be left to the mayors or other head officers of towns or to the justices of shires. The recorded cases of infringements against this portion of the Act furnish us later with some interesting notices of the Surrey brewing industry.

Of the foreign brewers who came over to this country in the sixteenth century and settled in Surrey, one of the earliest families, of whom we have any certain evidence, was that of Leake of Flemish extraction. Henry Leake, the first of the name to occur, acquired very great wealth. We first hear of him on 18 January 1521-2, when he is described as Henry Lyeke from the Duchy of Cleves and was then made a denizen.⁵ He is no doubt the Henry Leyke who was assessed in 1541 for the subsidy granted in the preceding year to Henry VIII. at the very high value in goods of £400, so that he must then have been in command of a flourishing business.⁶ He was resident in St. Olave's parish, where some thirty years later by far the greater number of the foreign brewers in Southwark had settled. He had in his employ nine other aliens. From this time onward we are able to trace him in the subsidy rolls amongst the aliens in the above parish until the year 1559. The assessed value of his goods attains in 1549 its highest amount, namely £500.⁷ After this it falls in 1551 to £260,⁸ but in 1559 has risen again to £300.⁹ In Hilary term 1542-3, he was charged in the Exchequer Court¹⁰ with

⁵ W. Page, *Denizations and Naturalizations* (Huguenot Soc. Publ. viii.), p. 158; Pat. 13 Hen. VIII. pt. 2, m. 22.

⁶ Kirk, *Returns of Aliens in London, etc.* (Huguenot Soc. Publ. x.), i. 33.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 144.

⁸ *Ibid.* i. 224.

⁹ *Ibid.* i. 264.

¹⁰ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Hil. 34 Hen. VIII. 60.

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having eight aliens in his employ over and above the four to which he was limited by the Act 32 Henry VIII. cap. 16, but so far as can be clearly ascertained from the subsidy returns the total number of aliens in his employ in 1545 was fourteen,¹ in 1551 eleven,² in 1552, where Leake is entered as Henry Bleke alias Hoke, thirteen,³ whilst in 1559 not more than four can be assigned to his service.⁴ This decline in the number of these foreign servants is probably to be ascribed to the well known fact that numbers of the foreign settlers in this country were forced to return to the continent during the reign of Mary.

Of the large number of aliens resident in Southwark during this period not one could at all rival Leake in wealth, save only in 1541 when we find that the Florentine merchant, Bartholomew Compagni, of whose vast dealings as agent between the Crown and merchants abroad the Acts of the Privy Council at this time afford abundant evidence, was assessed in St. Olave's parish at the high amount of £1,000 in goods.⁵ Without other sources of knowledge the entries on the subsidy rolls do not allow us to identify the occupations of those assessed, and we cannot say from them how far the foreign brewing industry was then represented. John Smyth an Englishman who is described as a brewer in 1541 and lived within the liberty of the Clink had a foreigner in his employ,⁶ so that possibly Englishmen had already set themselves to study foreign methods of brewing.

Of the first Henry Leake we know that in 1554 he owned a brewhouse in Southwark called the 'Dolphin,' and that on 12 December of that year he acquired from Edmond Wythipolle of Ipswich together with other premises the yearly quit rent of 2s. issuing from the tavern called the 'Bear' in St. Olave's parish.⁷ This was the 'Bear at Bridge Foot,' one of the most famous of the Southwark hosteleries. In June 1558 we find Henry Leake alias Hoke cited before the barons of the Exchequer as an offender under the Act 23 Henry VIII. cap. 4.⁸ He was reported to have sold in Surrey between 4 December 1557 and the date of the citation 700 barrels of ale called 'beare' at 5s. 4d. the barrel, which was 16d. over and above the rate fixed by Thomas Curtys then Mayor

of London. Two other Southwark 'beare bruers,' Richard Marryett⁹ and Peter van Duran,¹⁰ were accused of the like offence in the same term, each of them it was said having sold 400 barrels at the same price during the same period. Another Southwark brewer, John Smyth, who was summoned to answer in the next term for having sold double beer at 4s. 8d. the barrel instead of at the fixed price of 4s. pleaded that although he lived in St. Saviour's parish, he lived in the county of Surrey and not in that part of the parish subject to the jurisdiction of the mayor.¹¹

Henry Leake in his will dated 1560 desired to be buried in St. Olave's church and left money for the maintenance of a free school, a bequest which formed the nucleus of the fund which brought into being St. Olave's Grammar School. His funeral sermon was preached by Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, to whom there was a bequest of 40s. for the purpose. His son, also named Henry Leake, died in 1563.¹² It was probably this son against whom as Henry Leake alias Hooke an information under the Act 32 Henry VIII. cap. 16, was entered in the Exchequer in Michaelmas term 1562.¹³ He was said to have had in his employ on the preceding 20 September eighteen aliens, whereas the Act only allowed him four. The single word 'mortuus' at the foot of the entry shows that he had died before he could appear to answer to the charge. Another Henry Leake, possibly a grandson of the first, appears in 1617 as one of the overseers of the poor of Paris Garden, Southwark. The vestry books record that in 1621 Leake the brewer was living in the manor house of Paris Garden, and that 'he shall pay tithes for his house and garden and orchard and for the little plot of ground on which Baxter's house standeth 20s. per annum.'¹⁴ He gave in 1627, according to Strype, a sum of £5 6s. 8d. per annum to the parish.¹⁵

From a study of the various returns of aliens resident in London during the latter half of the sixteenth century, it appears that the Borough was the quarter of the metropolis

¹ Kirk, *op. cit.* i. 113.

² *Ibid.* i. 224.

³ *Ibid.* i. 241.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 264.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.* i. 37.

⁷ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* ii. 70.

⁸ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Trin. 4 & 5 Ph. and Mary, 19.

⁹ *Ibid.* 19d. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* 20d.

¹¹ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Mich. 5 & 6 Ph. and Mary, 42.

¹² *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xvi. 88, note.

¹³ Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Mich. 4 Eliz. 252.

¹⁴ W. Rendle, F.R.C.S., on 'The Bankside, Southwark, etc.' Appendix I. to W. Harrison's *Description of England* (ed. New Shakespeare Soc.), pt. ii. p. vi.

¹⁵ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xvi. 88, note.

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most favoured by the Dutch brewers for the practice of their industry. Here they were chiefly established in the parish of St. Olave or Short Southwark as it was called, no doubt in the near neighbourhood of the river, from which water in abundance could readily be had for their breweries. Thus in the Michaelmas term of 1564 of sixteen Southwark brewers summoned to appear in the Exchequer to answer various charges of infringing trade Acts, six beer brewers and two ale brewers belong to St. Olave's, four ale brewers to St. Mary Overie's, whilst one brewer of beer and three brewers of ale are merely described as of the borough of Southwark.¹ In 1567 there were twelve Dutch brewers in the ward of Bridge Without besides a number of foreign servants in their employ.² The two very valuable returns made by the lord mayor and aldermen in the months of May and November of 1571 to the Privy Council of the names of aliens then resident in the several parishes of the London wards, their occupations and other particulars as to their religion, ages and the length of time they had been settled in the country,³ show that in May there were ten Dutch brewers in St. Olave's, Southwark, and in November fourteen. In the latter month four brewers are given also in St. George's, Southwark. These numbers are exclusive of those foreigners who were engaged in the service of these brewers either as brewers, coopers, tunmen or draymen. There are considerable discrepancies between the returns in the two lists, which it is not possible here to attempt to explain. Thus in St. Olave's, Peter van Duran, a brewer from Gelderland is said in May to have been in England for forty years and to have two servants, born in Cleves, who had been here for four years. In November the same brewer is credited with no less than nine servants described as Hollanders, Cleveners or High Dutchmen. They include a brewer, three draymen, three tunmen, a boatman, and one whose specific employment does not appear. The boatman had been in England for eight years and the others for periods varying from six years to three months. Wessell Webling, a brewer of whom we shall have shortly to speak more particularly, is said in May to have been in the country ten years, and in November fol-

lowing, nine years. In the former month he is returned as having four servants, in the latter five, one of whom had however only been in England ten weeks. The greater number of the brewers appear to have been born in Cleves, others in Gelderland, and a few in Cologne. For purposes of comparison of the extent of the foreign brewing industry in Southwark with that in other wards of the city, it may be noticed that there were in May 1571 as against the ten in Southwark in that month five Dutch brewers with twenty-four servants in Tower ward, four in Dowgate ward, and one each in the wards of Aldgate and Queenhithe.

In connection with the numbers of alien servants found in these returns to be in the employ of brewers, it may be remarked here that the chief effect of the Act 1530-1 already mentioned was to free these foreign brewers from the obligation imposed by the Act of 1523⁴ upon all aliens exercising handicrafts within the realm of keeping not more than two aliens as journeymen or 'covenant servants.' The Act of 1540⁵ 'concerning strangers' laid down that no subject or denizen should keep more than four alien servants. It was this Act that more than twenty years after its enactment it was attempted to enforce especially against brewers. Leake, as we have seen, was charged in 1562 with having as many as eighteen aliens in his service at one time. In the same year Peter van Duran, who has already been mentioned in this account as a Southwark brewer, and now appears with the alternative name or nickname of 'Pycklehering,' is accused of having the same number,⁶ whilst Nicholas Gunporte, a brewer in St. Mary Overie's, has sixteen.⁷ The earlier Act could still be cited against aliens engaged in other than the specially exempted trades, as is proved by a Southwark brushmaker being summoned to answer in the same term to an information of having three foreigners, 'covenant servants,' in his employ.⁸ The fact that it should be the brewers, at any rate in Surrey, who are more particularly brought under the operation of the later Act, is some evidence of the magnitude of their industry, in that they could afford to override the provisions of the Act. It would also tend to prove that not yet had native artisans acquired sufficient knowledge of the principles of beer-brewing to permit

¹ Exch. K. R. Mem. Mich. 6 Eliz. passim.

² Kirk, *Returns of Aliens, etc.* i. 342-51; Lansdowne MS. x.

³ Kirk, op. cit. i. 402-79, and ii. 1-139, where these returns are printed *in extenso* from S.P. Dom. Eliz. lxxxiii. and lxxxii. respectively.

⁴ Stat. 14, 15 Hen. VIII. cap. 2.

⁵ Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 16.

⁶ Exch. K. R. Mem. Mich. 4 Eliz. 254.

⁷ Ibid. 254d. ⁸ Ibid. 257.

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the brewers so far to comply with the Act as to take them into their service in place of workmen of their own nationality.

In a return made in 1582-3 there were ten foreign brewers in the ward of Bridge Without, with seven draymen and nine coopers.¹ In a later return of 1583 there are only five Dutch brewers in St. Olave's and two in St. Saviour's, with five coopers and one drayman in the former parish.²

Of the Southwark brewers named in these various returns probably the most famous, certainly the one of whom we are able to gather the most information, was Wessell or Vassal Webling. He first appears in the list of 1567 as the servant of his brother Nicholas and is then said to have been in this country for two years, a period which is consistent with neither of those given in the May and November returns of 1571. Nicholas Webling, whose provenance is stated to be the dominion of the Bishop of Munster, received letters of denization from Queen Elizabeth on 14 January 1561-2.³ Wessell Webling, described as from the dominion of the Duke of Cleves, received the like privilege on 18 October 1568.⁴ As in 1571 he appears as his own master and Nicholas's name is in neither of the two lists, it must have been some time before this year and after 1567 that some litigation took place in the court of Chancery, wherein Wessell Webling was the complainant against a certain Thomas Dolman, who had married Nicholas's widow, Elizabeth.⁵ Although there are the usual contradictory statements made by each of the parties we can possibly form some idea from them as to the value of a successful foreign brewery in Southwark at this period.

Wessell Webling set out that about October immediately preceding, his brother Nicholas, then deceased, had bequeathed to him some piece of money to the intent that he might join in the trade of beer-brewing with Elizabeth in her widowhood. Wessell being a very young man (the return of November 1571 gives his age as twenty-two) and not very skilful of things had entered into a full agreement with Elizabeth, whereby they arranged to bear each an equal share of the expenses of the business with an equal division of the profits. This partnership had continued for six months, at the end of which Thomas

Dolman, who had then married Elizabeth, taking advantage of the complainant's inexperience in the trade of beer-brewing, had solicited him for £200 as the moiety of the said six months' profits. He had assured Wessell that these profits would be found to amount to a much greater sum when the accounts were made up. Elizabeth had made common cause with her husband and menaced the complainant that if he would not pay the £200 it would be much worse for him, 'reviling him with divers unseemly and opprobrious words.' Whereupon the complainant, being a stranger born and having no friends or kinsfolk of whom to take counsel, had given in and inadvisedly promised Dolman the £200. The six months' profits had not amounted to £80 for both parties, and when Dolman had been asked to let off the complainant from his promise he had referred the matter to one John Alsoppe, a London haberdasher, in accordance with whose opinion he had agreed to act. John Alsoppe's opinion had been that it was 'both friendly and conscionably' that Dolman should take half of the profits and that Wessell should stand only to the losses of the desperate debts for his rash dealing therein. By this decision the complainant was willing to abide, but the defendant continued to threaten to sue him upon his promise, affirming that the profits of beer-brewing for the period stated should arise much above £400.

To all this Thomas Dolman makes answer. He premises that the tenement and brewhouse in St. Olave's had been let by one Thomas Cox about Michaelmas last to the complainant and Elizabeth for the term of fifteen years. He then corroborates the complainant as to the agreement between him and Elizabeth, but adds that during the six months' period of their partnership Wessell procured subtly and craftily that Elizabeth being sole should become bound to him that her husband she should afterwards marry, if she married any, should not intermeddle with any score, tail-books of account, reckonings or servants in the house. After the defendant's marriage to Elizabeth the complainant was very unquiet with her, so much so that the defendant, being weary of the joint occupation of the stock and brewhouse, agreed with Wessell that he should pay him £200 in consideration of the profits gained by the joint occupation and of the conveyance of the whole interest of the defendant and his wife to him. Since the promise had been made the defendant had left off his joint occupation, and the gain accruing to the

¹ Kirk, *op. cit.* ii. 291-4.

² *Ibid.* 329-33.

³ Pat. 4 Eliz. pt. 11, m. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.* 10 Eliz. pt. 5, m. 33.

⁵ Chan. Proc. ser. ii. bde. 199, No. 27.

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complainant, together with the advantage to him of the termination of the defendant's joint occupancy, amounted to quite a thousand marks. To this Wessell makes his replication which is met by the defendant's rejoinder. But it is needless here to inquire more closely into the quarrel.

Whatever may have been Wessell Webbling's inexperience at this time in his business, it is evident that it did not long prevent him from becoming a successful brewer. As we have seen he appears as a brewer in St. Olave's in the two lists of 1571. In 1582-3 he is again returned as a beer brewer in the ward of Bridge Without, this time with seven servants, and is noted as being of the English Church.¹ But by 1586 he seems to have removed to the neighbourhood of the Steelyard on the other side of the river,² and in 1590 he was enjoying an appointment in the buttery of the queen's household, when he was assessed at £10 on £100 valuation of his goods.³ However this may be his interest in Southwark continued to his death, at the time of which he seems to have been settled at Barking in Essex. For he died seized of one hundred and three messuages and two wharves in the parish of St. Olave. His property was called Fastall Place, and no doubt occupied the site of Sir John Fastolf's former possessions in the Borough. He left £4 a year to St. Olave's school.⁴

Another foreign brewer and benefactor to the parish of St. Olave's, Southwark, was John Pauwels or Powell, the father-in-law of Wessell Webbling. He appears first in Southwark in 1582-3 a beer brewer with four servants.⁵ From 1589 to 1594 his property in St. Olave's is valued at £20 in the subsidy assessments.⁶ In his will dated 4 June 1599, proved 22 June 1601, he bequeathed to the masters of St. Olave's parish 40s. towards a dinner or drinking and 10s. to the scholars of the Free School to be bestowed upon them in paper. There are legacies also to the poor of the parish and to the poor children of Christ's Hospital, London. Wessell Webbling was appointed one of the testator's overseers.⁷

It was doubtless the improved methods of brewing introduced by the foreign brewers, and the greater strength of the beer produced

that brought about in the main that increased consumption of malt in London and its suburbs, which was viewed with so much concern by the Privy Council in the famous years of 1596 and 1597. On 9 December of the former year letters were directed from the Council to the justices in Middlesex and Surrey,⁸ in which letters the Lords stated that having received information that beer was being sold in the ale-houses and tipping-houses in and about London at from 10s. to 15s. worth the barrel, they had instructed the Lord Mayor to consider with the justices of the two counties of a reasonable rate to be set down for the brewers for beer and ale. Upon the recommendation of the Mayor that there should be but two sorts of beer brewed, of 5s. and 8s. the barrel respectively, the justices were directed to take order to this effect. They were further desired to suppress the excessive numbers of ale-houses, as, it is added, they had often been required. On 16 March following this order we hear that many brewers were still selling beer at from 10s. to 16s. the barrel, and that proceedings against several of them were pending in the Star Chamber.⁹ The order like most others of its kind was evidently nugatory, the brewers finding it more profitable to suffer the consequences of infringement than to accept the low standard of prices set up by the Council, for the Council had thought it good to yield in some sort to their representations and to raise the rates fixed to 5s. the barrel for small beer and 10s. for strong beer. Stronger beer than this latter was to be brewed for sea provision only. The Lord Mayor and the justices of the two previously mentioned counties are directed to this effect. The order was to be observed most stringently in the case of those brewers who lived nearest to the out-liberties of the city, and was to hold good during the continuance of the dearth. The action of the Privy Council was afterwards confirmed by the Act of 1597-8 'to restrain the excessive making of malt' when this policy was extended to the whole country.¹⁰ The duration of this Act was limited to the end of the next session of the next Parliament. The Act however was not formally repealed until 1696 when the creation of the excise duty on malt made its operation no longer desirable.¹¹

It is probable that foreign brewers were established in the sixteenth century at other

¹ Kirk op. cit. ii. 291.

² Ibid. ii. 402. ³ Ibid. ii. 428.

⁴ Mrs. Boger, *Bygone Southwark*, 230, 231.

⁵ Kirk, op. cit. ii. 292.

⁶ Ibid. ii. passim.

⁷ P.C.C. Woodhall, 43; see *Surr. Arch. Coll.* x. 296.

⁸ *Acts of the P. C.* xxvi. 357, 358.

⁹ Ibid. 542-5.

¹⁰ Stat. 39 (and 40), Eliz. cap. 16.

¹¹ Stat. 9 Will. III. cap. 22.

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places in Surrey besides Southwark. Beer brewing as distinct from ale brewing we find carried on in the latter part of the century in various places. A 'bere-howse' at Kingston-upon-Thames was mentioned amongst the possessions of the London Charterhouse in that town as early as 1541.¹ In the Michaelmas term of 1558 two Kingston 'berebruers,' Andrew Norman² and Peter Morer or More³ were summoned to answer before the Barons of the Exchequer each for having sold 400 barrels of double beer since 4 October 1557 to the common victuallers of the town at 4s. 8d. the barrel instead of at 4s. 4d. the price fixed by the justices and the bailiffs. Norman and another Kingston beer-brewer, George Snellyng, were charged with the committal of similar offences in both the Trinity and Michaelmas terms of 1564.⁴ Quite a number of Surrey brewers both of ale and beer, appear in these two terms. At Wandsworth, another riverside place in Surrey, Richard Ingene was brewing and selling at excessive rates both double and small or three-halfpenny beer.⁵ Other beer brewers, offending in like manner, were Peter Harman of Croydon⁶ and Thomas Thornton of Reigate.⁷ On the other hand John Bagshott of Lambeth,⁸ John Burton of Putney,⁹ and others are described as ale brewers. The majority however of the offending brewers, whether of beer or ale, were Southwark men. By the recurrence term after term in the rolls of the Exchequer Court of the same brewers for fresh infringements of the Act 23 Hen. VIII. cap. 4, one may judge how little effective was that Act in keeping down the price of beer.

Before closing this account of brewing in Surrey in the sixteenth century two interesting notices which concern the industry may here be briefly mentioned. The first of these is Stow's statement that at the date of his survey in the concluding years of the century a fair brewhouse had been new built near the Bridge House in Southwark for the

service of the city of London with beer. This new brewhouse took the place of an older one, called 'Goldings,' which was given to the city by George Monex, sometime mayor, and had been taken in for the enlargement of the city granaries and bake-houses. The date of the rebuilding of these granaries was 1587.¹⁰

The second notice is to be found in Fuller's anecdote of Dean Howell and his accidental discovery of the virtues of bottled beer. According to Fuller this curious discovery is to be associated with Battersea, in which parish the dean was fishing when the news of Bishop Bonner's proceedings in the Council against him caused him to take sudden flight and leave behind him the provisions with which he had equipped himself for the day. These included some beer in a bottle for which the thrifty dean on his return to London was minded to look again and was amazed to find 'no bottle, but rather a gun, such was the sound of the opening thereof.' 'This trifling circumstance,' adds Fuller, 'is believed to have been the origin of bottled beer in England, for casualty is mother of more inventions than is industry.'

In the seventeenth century the evidences of the extent of the Surrey brewing industry, which are so amplified in the sixteenth century, become meagre in the extreme. There is no reason to suppose that the industry declined. On the contrary with an increasing population the fact must have been otherwise in the case of the manufacture of so universal an article of consumption. Probably the proved inefficacy of the penal statutes regulating the industry made them much of a dead letter, and caused the less frequent appearance of brewers as defendants in courts of law. On the whole we may conclude that the century, though it probably witnessed a considerable increase in the extent of the industry, saw little or no advance in the scientific methods of production which had been introduced by the foreign brewers of the preceding century. Two sorts of ale and beer alone were made, strong and small, the landlords combining these in drinks which acquired the names of 'half and half' and 'three threads,' the latter being a mixture of ale, beer and small or 'twopenny.' It was not until the earlier years of the eighteenth century that a London brewer conceived the idea of making a liquor which should combine the flavour of these three. The result

¹⁰ See the note in the *Times* of 1 February 1802, about which time the City of London was pulling down these granaries.

¹ P. R. O. Min. Accts. 31-2 Hen. VIII. 112 (Lond. and Middx.).

² Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Mich. 5 & 6 Ph. and M. 43.

³ *Ibid.* 44.

⁴ *Ibid.* Trin. 6 Eliz. 125; Mich. 6-7 Eliz. 172, 176d.

⁵ *Ibid.* Trin. 6 Eliz. 124; Mich. 6-7 Eliz. 176.

⁶ *Ibid.* Trin. 6 Eliz. 126; Mich. 6-7 Eliz. 172d.

⁷ *Ibid.* Trin. 6 Eliz. 126d; Mich. 6-7 Eliz. 171d.

⁸ *Ibid.* Mich. 6-7 Eliz. 173.

⁹ *Ibid.* 181.

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from the fact that it was drawn entirely from one cask was called 'entire' or, from the class of men to whom its nourishing properties were considered to be especially adapted, 'porter.'¹ With the subsequent manufacture of this liquor the history of the greatest of all the brewing firms of Surrey has been more particularly identified.

The most important event which affected the brewing industry in the seventeenth century was the creation of the excise duties in 1643, beer being one of the first of the home products to be taxed. It remained so after the Restoration when the Excise duties which had proved so profitable a source of revenue were renewed and granted to the Crown on its surrender of the ancient feudal dues. The duties on every barrel of beer or ale above 6s. the barrel brewed by a common brewer amounted to 2s. 6d., and on every barrel of 6s. or less to 6d. The distinction between the holding capacity of the barrel of beer and that of the barrel of ale, introduced by the Act of 23 Henry VIII., was still observed.² In 1697 the excise duties on malt were first introduced and exacted in conjunction with the beer duties until the repeal of the latter in 1830.

The history of the greatest of the Surrey brewing firms, indeed to the present day one of the greatest in the kingdom, begins with the latter years of the seventeenth century. Literary and to some extent political associations have combined to make the fame of this firm world-wide, but in the history of its development we have to deal also with the first introduction of many of the improvements due to modern science and ingenuity, which have made brewing the highly skilled industry that it is to-day. It is inevitable therefore that an important place must be assigned to this firm in any account of the industries of Surrey.³

The Anchor brewery of Messrs. Barclay, Perkins & Co. is situated near the banks of the Thames and extends right and left from the Borough to Southwark Bridge. On part of the site stood the famous Globe playhouse. The beginnings of the brewery date back well into the seventeenth century, many years in fact before 1690, in which year Edmund

Halsey, who had begun life by running away from his father, a miller at St. Albans, and entering the service of Child the owner of the brewhouse had in course of time married his master's daughter, succeeded to the business. Halsey amassed a large fortune and married his only daughter to Lord Cobham. Lord Cobham's peerage was in those days an effective bar to his succeeding to the possession of the brewery and so, upon Halsey's death, his nephew, Mr. Ralph Thrale, who had worked in the brewery for twenty years, gave security for £30,000 as the price of the business. The whole of the purchase money was paid in eleven years and Thrale was soon making a large fortune. He became sheriff of the county and M.P. for the borough. He died in 1758 leaving the whole of his enormous property to his son Henry Thrale, who had been educated at Oxford and was a man of refined tastes. He married the celebrated Hester Salusbury and became the friend of Dr. Johnson, who from 1764 until the brewer's death in 1781, spent the greater part of his time either at the Thrales' house at Streatham or at the brewery. The year before his death was distinguished by the Lord George Gordon riots when the brewery was subjected to attack by the mob. 'At the first invasion,' writes Boswell, 'the rioters were pacified with fifty pounds worth of meat and porter, and the second time were driven away by the soldiers.' Mr. Thrale's health at this period did not allow him to take any part in the management of the business, and the measures to be taken against the mob were left to the manager, Mr. Perkins, whose services on this occasion were recognized by Mrs. Thrale's gift to him of 200 guineas, a liberality, as she states in a letter to Miss Burney, which did not displease her husband.

Henry Thrale, like his father before him, was sometime member for the borough of Southwark. Shortly after his death on 4 April 1781, his widow finding the business of carrying on the brewery beyond her powers decided to sell it. Dr. Johnson as one of the executors appears to have been much impressed with the importance of his new office, and Boswell relates a story concerning him which he had of Lord Lucan and which, he adds, if not precisely exact, is certainly characteristic; namely, that when the sale of Thrale's brewery was going forward, Johnson appeared bustling about, with an ink-horn and pen in his buttonhole, like an exciseman; and on being asked what he really considered to be the value of the property which was to be disposed of, answered: 'We are not here to sell a parcel of boilers and vats, but the

¹ J. Yeats, *Technical History of Commerce: Manufactures*, 235.

² Stat. 12 Ch. II. cap. 23.

³ The following account of Messrs. Barclay, Perkins & Co.'s brewery is based principally on particulars supplied by the Company in the form of an extract from Alfred Barnard's *Noted Breweries of Great Britain and Ireland*; see also the *Licensed Victuallers' Gazette* of 5 Jan. 1900.

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potentiality of growing rich beyond the dreams of avarice.'

The brewery was purchased by Mr. David Barclay, a grandson of Robert Barclay of Ury, the 'apologist of the Quakers,' for the large sum of £135,000. He was the head of the banking firm of Barclay, Bevan & Co. The purchase was effected on behalf of his nephew Robert Barclay, then recently returned from America, and John Perkins the former manager. Two other partners, Sylvanus Bevan and Richard Gurney, found the greater part of the capital required. Thus was founded the firm of Barclay, Perkins & Co.

The business has always remained entirely a family one and the partners at the present day still represent the descendants of the original founders. Among the former partners have been men who have been distinguished for their literary tastes and thus have helped to maintain the earlier traditions of the Anchor brewery. Of such was notably Mr. Henry Perkins of Hanworth Park, great-grandfather of Mr. John Temple Scriven, one of the present partners. He devoted himself to the collection of a library which included amongst other treasures, choice specimens of early typography, the four folio editions of Shakespeare, and a most remarkable collection of bibles. This library realized by auction, after his death in 1873, the sum of £26,242 16s. Robert Barclay, the first partner, seems to have interested himself in a method of printing he had seen in America for impressing marks on dies which could not be counterfeited, and took out a patent for it in 1790.¹

Two events of importance occurred in the history of the brewery during the last century. The first of these was the disastrous fire in May 1832 which destroyed almost the whole of the buildings, the malt stores and a few of the walls alone escaping. Quick work however was made with repairing the damage, and the present buildings were erected by the following November. The second event which occasioned much public excitement at the time was the treatment meted out by the employés in 1849 on the occasion of the visit to the brewery of the Austrian Marshal Hayman, whose cruelties perpetrated on Hungarian women during the Magyar War had made his name notorious throughout Europe. As soon as his name was known he was surrounded by an infuriated mob and severely thrashed with horsewhips. The Marshal at last succeeded in breaking away and taking refuge in a dustbin behind the George Tavern

on Bankside, from which he was rescued by the police. The incident gave rise to much discussion between the two governments.

At the present time the partners of the firm are Messrs. Robert Barclay, Alfred Henry Bevan, Augustus F. Perkins, F. Lincoln Bevan, Granville Bevan, Hubert Barclay, Edwyn F. Barclay, and John Temple Scriven. Before considering the present extent of the business and the special appliances in use which help to keep this long celebrated firm still in the first rank of the breweries of the kingdom, it will for the sake of comparison and to show the steady increase of the amount of output be advisable to note the salient points which are to be found at various periods in contemporary accounts of the brewery.

It was formerly the practice for the great porter breweries to be devoted entirely to the production of that class of beer. Messrs. Barclay, Perkins & Co. remained for many years the largest porter brewing establishment in London, and it seems to have been only a little while before 1850 that the Company began to turn its attention to the production of ale² as well. The account of this brewery in Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey* brings its history down to the year 1812.³ The writers show the great increase that had taken place in its annual output since the year 1752. In that year only 34,000 barrels of porter were brewed. In 1794 the number had risen to 134,000 and in 1812 to 270,000. The establishment is then described as the largest of its sort in the world. The porter was sent to all parts of the world and had been, we are told, in great request with the Empress Catherine of Russia until Mr. Stein, member of Parliament for the Surrey borough of Blechingley in 1796, 'entirely devoted to the service of his country wherever it did not interfere with his own interest,' established a brewery of his own at St. Petersburg and obtained a monopoly for it to the exclusion of the London beer.

The pre-eminent position in the trade for so long enjoyed by Messrs. Barclay, Perkins & Co. is no doubt to be attributed in great measure to the readiness with which the firm has always adopted any invention that will tend to greater economy of production or the better certainty of successful results being attained. As early at least as the year 1787 the firm had been attracted by the rapid advance which was then being made in the

² It is perhaps unnecessary to explain that the term is not used here in its special fifteenth and sixteenth century sense.

³ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 589.

¹ Close R. 30 Geo. III. pt. 6, No. 7.

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knowledge of the possibilities of the application of steam power to mechanical processes, to introduce into the brewery a 24 horse-power steam-engine erected by Boulton & Watt. This engine seems to have been in use until 1884, when it was replaced by a horizontal one, by James Watt & Co., capable of being worked up to 125 horse-power and said to be one of the finest engines in London.

In 1812 the buildings and offices of the brewery occupied a space of nearly 6 acres and comprised, in addition to the brewhouse, shops for the different trades auxiliary to the brewing business, such as the cooperage, carpenter's shop, and the like. The manufacture on the premises of its own casks has always been a feature of the Anchor brewery. The stables formed a quadrangle and could accommodate 126 horses, for the fine breed of which Messrs. Barclay, Perkins & Co. have long been celebrated. The storehouses were capable of containing 120,000 barrels and the malt-lofts 20,000 quarters. In the different departments of the business about 200 persons were employed and sixty carriages.

The description of this brewery in 1850 well illustrates the advance that had been made at that date in the application of mechanical science to the whole process of brewing.¹ 'The malt is conveyed from one building to another, even across a street, entirely by machinery, and again to the crushing rollers and mash-vat; the cold and the hot water, and the wort and the beer, are pumped in various directions, almost to the exclusion of human exertions; nearly every portion of the heavy toil being accomplished by the steam-engine.' Two improvements in the operation called for special notice: the 'Jacob's ladder' and the refrigerators. The former was the endless chain or elevator which picked up the malt and carried it along in buckets until it capsized it into the hoppers from which it passed into the mash-vats, the empty buckets returning again to the malt heaps. The refrigerators enabled the wort to be drawn off and cooled in an incredibly short time, thus minimizing the risk of the beer turning sour before the fermenting process was reached, and obviating the difficulty which had formerly made brewing only possible at certain seasons of the year. The operation of mashing was now performed entirely by mechanical process, with far greater speed and with more certainty that all would be equally soaked, than had been possible by the earlier

methods. Hot water at exactly the temperature required and to exactly the right quantity could now be supplied from the boilers in use.

The brewhouse at this time contained five complete sets of brewing apparatus, two of which were now employed for the production of ale. Each of the copper boilers, which cost nearly £5,000, consisted of a furnace, a globular copper holding 320 barrels, a pan or covering boiler containing 280 barrels, and a cylindrical cistern that would contain 120 barrels. The total number of hands employed in all the different departments of the brewery was 430, and the number of barrels of beer annually produced about 375,000. A table of the quantities of malt brewed by the principal London brewers during the seven years from 1846 to 1852 inclusive shows Messrs. Barclay, Perkins & Co. at the head of the list each year, with an average consumption of 118,000 quarters, their only serious competitors being Messrs. Truman, Hanbury & Co., with an average of a little over 108,000 quarters.²

To turn from these particulars of the brewery in the middle of the last century to its present day condition, we find that Messrs. Barclay, Perkins & Co. still represent one of the largest and most important businesses that have to be considered in any account of the industries of Surrey. The business is now so vast a one that to describe in detail the whole process of manufacture is hardly possible within our present limits. Attention may however be drawn in the following sketch of the present extent of the works to some of those new inventions which the Company has been one of the pioneers to turn to practical account in the art of brewing.

The brewery now covers more than 14 acres of ground. Only within the last year or two have some extensive premises been acquired by the firm to be transformed into the additional stores and cellars rendered necessary by its increasing trade. The works consist of several lofty buildings connected over the three thoroughfares by which they are divided by iron suspension bridges. The ale side and the porter side form two distinct departments, the latter being still the more important. On the river side is the wharf, where the beer is shipped for exportation and the malt from the company's own maltings in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Hertfordshire is landed.

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App. 14-16.

² McCulloch's *Dictionary of Commerce* (1859), art. 'Ale and Beer.'

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The large malt stores are capable of containing upwards of 120,000 quarters. From them the malt is conveyed by the Jacob's ladder already mentioned to the mill, where it is carefully screened before it passes over the rollers to be crushed. The malt mills are fitted with Schæffer's magnetic apparatus, which attracts every particle of iron and steel which finds its way into the malt, this being an invention with which Messrs. Barclay, Perkins & Co. were the first brewers to experiment. The malt after being thus cleaned is passed through the crushing machines at the rate of sixty quarters per hour, and when converted into 'grist' is conveyed by another Jacob's ladder to the brewhouse.

The mashing process is then commenced. The water used for this is drawn not from the Thames, but from an artesian well, 438 feet deep, the water stratum of which passes underneath the river, as is proved by the fact that the pumping of this well has been found to have a perceptible effect upon the water in a similar well on the opposite bank used by the City of London Brewery. In addition to the water from this well, Messrs. Barclay, Perkins & Co. use a large quantity supplied by the Southwark and Vauxhall Waterworks Company.

The five coppers used in the brewhouse are those which were in use in 1850, three of them are still employed for stout and the remaining two for ales. The coppers first heat the water for extracting the saccharine matter from the malt, and afterwards are used to boil the malt extract obtained from this process. They are heated by Juckes' furnaces, which are supplied with coals by an ingenious invention of Mr. Beckwith, the chief engineer of the brewery. The invention in question is a carrier somewhat on the principle of the Jacob's ladder, which conveys the coals a distance of nearly 50 feet at the rate of 12 tons per hour.

Until within the last few years the mash-tuns were made of oak out of some vats that were in existence when Mr. Thrale took the brewery. In their place are now six tuns constructed of iron with copper domes, three with 130 quarters' capacity and three with 66. This substitution of metal for wood as the material of which the vessels intended to hold large quantities of liquid are made has been dictated by the non-absorbent qualities of the metal, wood having been found, even with the greatest attention to cleanliness, to have more or less effect upon the brewing.

The hot water is conducted into these mash-tuns from the bottom and percolating

upwards through a false bottom mixes with the malt. Both are then stirred by means of a mashing machine set in motion by the steam engine, and the wort, as the mixture is now called, is drawn off. A second, sometimes a third, supply of water is required before all the fermentable matter is extracted from the malt. The hops are lifted to the coppers by another elevator. Nearly two and a half tons of hops are daily used in this brewery. As soon as the infusion of the wort and the hops is completed, the wort is drained off to the hop-back, a large iron vessel measuring 6,000 cubic feet and holding 1,000 barrels.

The wort is next passed into the coolers, large shallow vessels, in which it is cooled by the air which is wafted over the open sides of the loft and is then run over the refrigerators. The cool wort is now fermented with yeast and the final stage of the process of brewing is reached, when, the fermentation completed, the yeast is separated from the porter, and the latter is racked from the brewery into barrels, hogsheads and butts to be rolled into the vast stores until ready for delivery. Formerly it was the custom to keep the beer in immense vats, and there were here for many years six of these vats, some of which were said to be the largest in England. One of these had a holding capacity of 112,536 gallons, or nearly three times as much as that of the famous Heidelberg tun, which held 44,100 gallons of wine. But the days of 'vatted' porter are over, and these great vessels have one by one been broken up.

The finishing stages of the ale brewing are carried on in another building, the wort travelling from the coppers already described over one of the suspension bridges which cross the public thoroughfares. A similar process to that employed with the porter wort is then undergone. The ale wort is passed through the refrigerating room and then descends to the fermenting department, which contains twenty-one tuns, with an average content of from 100 to 380 barrels. In most of them the yeast is skimmed off the top of the ale by means of a screw tray, over which is a skimmer revolving on its own axis, lowered at pleasure by the cog-wheels and swivel. This contrivance is used with a few of the fermenting tuns in the porter brewery. When the ale wort has reached a certain stage it is drawn off into other cleansing tanks below. Of these there are fourteen, constructed of slate, and each holding 110 barrels. The fermentation of the ale is then finished off in smaller slate cleansing vessels, of which there are over two

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hundred, each holding six barrels. The ale is then racked off into casks.

In both the porter and ale breweries the yeast, when removed from the beer, undergoes a pressing operation and is converted into a semi-solid state for distillers' use, the expressed beer being run off into tanks.

The cellars in which the beer is stored ready for supply are numerous and some of them very large. The beer is conveyed into some of those more distant from the vats through large mains, from which it is drawn off by means of an indiarubber hose into the casks. One of these cellars measures 220 feet by 80 feet and is capable of storing 3,000 casks. They are kept scrupulously clean, and all are lighted by gas and electricity and ventilated to an even temperature by rotary fans driven by steam power.

Before leaving this account of Messrs. Barclay, Perkins & Co.'s breweries it remains to notice the most recent branch of their business. This is the manufacture of light pale ales similar to those produced at Burton. The brewing is carried on in a somewhat new building, which was originally opened as a model brewery, and is erected on one of the Thrale porter stores. The chief feature to be noticed here is the use of Vangelder's screening machine called a 'scalper,' which effectually removes all the mould and dirt from the malt. The machine consists of two upright cylinders, one within the other, the inner one being made of stiff steel wire and revolving at high speed. The malt is dropped in at the top and rebounds with great violence between the two cylinders until it reaches the bottom. The dust and particles set free by the process are carried away by the strong up-current of air caused by a fan attached to the top of the cylinder.

The coppers and other appliances in this model brewery are of the newest pattern, and the whole building is kept purified and cooled to any required degree by ventilators and estrangeurs, which cool the air by simple evaporation of water.

Among the numerous other buildings which help to fill up the total area of this great establishment are the engine houses, the cooperage and workshops, the stables, the model lodging houses and cottages for the workmen, the offices and the like. The trade of the company is still on the increase, and the annual output of the brewery now exceeds 500,000 barrels.

Brewing has for long been a conspicuous industry in the Surrey riverside suburbs. The Lion Brewery at Lambeth, on the bank of the Thames, close to Hungerford

Bridge, and now worked by the Lion Brewery Company (Limited), occupied fifty years ago the position amongst the ale brewers of Surrey that Messrs. Barclay, Perkins & Co. did amongst the porter brewers.¹ At that time it belonged to Messrs. Goding & Co., and although the amount of its business was barely one-sixth of that of the great Southwark house, it claimed attention for the perfection of its machinery and for the zeal with which its owners had been ready to adopt every improvement. The building, the erection of which had been rendered necessary by a dissolution of partnership between Mr. James Goding and his former partner, was erected in 1836. About 1850 its average annual consumption of malt seems to have been less than 20,000 quarters, a large enough quantity, however, when compared with that of the Anchor Brewery in Thrale's time.² Among the most recent improvements in mechanical science then in use at this brewery a contemporary account notices the arrangements of the two new furnaces to the steam engine. One of these (Juckes' smoke consumer) had an ingeniously contrived grate, which revolved at the rate of an inch per minute, to prevent the effect of excessive heat occasioned by the concentrated draught at the bridge of the furnace. The other was supplied with Stanley's hopper, which fed the fire with a shower of small coal and was itself regulated in its supply with beautiful precision by an adaptation to the engine valve. Both methods were successful in consuming the smoke with an increase of heat and economy. A system of cooling the boiled liquor, a process accomplished at the rate of 200 barrels in less than an hour, was adopted here as in the Anchor brewery. The cooling process was effected partly by the passage of the liquor through long coils of iron pipe immersed in running water, partly by exposure to atmospheric air. About a hundred men and forty horses were then employed in the business of brewing and distribution at this establishment.

Mention has already been made of the brewing industry at Kingston-upon-Thames in the sixteenth century. At present one of the oldest breweries in England and one of the largest and most important in the county is Hodgson's Kingston Brewery. The early history of this brewery is unknown, although it is commonly believed to be at least three

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App. 16-18.

² McCulloch's *Dict. of Commerce* (1859), art. 'Ale and Beer.'

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centuries old.¹ The brewery's own records go no further back than 1760, when the proprietor was Mr. John Rowles. But the will of John Rowle alias Staunton the elder of Kingston-upon-Thames, beer-brewer, dated 21 September 1602, and proved by his son John on 16 October 1607, is in existence amongst the wills of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.² In it the testator bequeathed the occupation of his dwelling house and brewhouse, leasehold of the town of Kingston, to his wife Alice during her widowhood with remainder to the said son John. Some time prior to 1854 the business was owned by Mr. Charles Rowles. In that year it was acquired by Mr. William Frederick Hodgson, who carried it on until his death in 1875. His two sons into whose hands it then passed were succeeded by the limited company, the present proprietors, in October 1886. The premises were then in a very dilapidated condition, but have since been extensively altered and improved. The brewhouse was entirely reconstructed, and is now capable of producing 1,100 barrels of beer per week. Like Messrs. Barclay, Perkins & Co., this company makes and repairs its own drays, and has a wheelwright's and blacksmith's shop. There are also a farrier's shop, a cooper's shop and the malthouse, where the barley, fresh from the corn factor's hand, is wetted, grown, and dried in various rooms ready for the milling process. The increasing business of the company is proved by the fact that in 1887 the total output was 29,000 barrels and the dividend declared was 6½ per cent, whilst in 1900 as many as 40,700 barrels were made and the dividend was 9½ per cent, tax free (practically 10 per cent). The staff employed totals seventy-four, ten of this number comprising the office staff, and the remainder being engaged in the brewing, malting and other departments.

Wandsworth, Putney and Mortlake have all for long been important brewing districts. In connection with the history of improvements in the art it may be here noted that a Wandsworth distiller, John Falconer Atlee, patented in 1807 'an improved apparatus to be used in fermenting of liquors.' This consisted of an apparatus through which warm or cold water could be made to flow for regulating the temperature of fermenting liquors.³

¹ The account of this brewery is given from particulars supplied by the Company.

² P.C.C. *Bolein*, 94; see *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xi. 123.

³ Rolls Chapel Specification Roll, pt. 25, No. 2; see *Dep. Keeper's Report*, vii. App. 104.

The number of breweries in the more rural districts of the county, or rather in that part of the county which has not been absorbed into London, is now between forty and fifty. In a few of these the business of malting is combined with that of brewing. The Surrey Directory for 1878 shows barely thirty breweries spread over the same tract of country. There has therefore been a considerable increase in the number of licensed Surrey brewers during the five and twenty years. This increase is of considerable interest in view of the fact that the operation of the Inland Revenue Act of 1880⁴ has been generally attended in the United Kingdom with a very marked decrease in the number of licensed brewers.⁵ This Act introduced the most important change of modern times in the external conditions of the brewing industry. From 1696 until the passing of this Act the tax had been levied on the malt, that is to say, on the raw material. Since the Act brewers are charged duty either on the beer produced or on the materials used. If the beer produced from a certain quantity of malt is less than the excise authorities presume should be got from that quantity then duty has to be paid on the quantity mashed and not on the barrels in the fermenting tun. The standard fixed by the Inland Revenue is 18 gallons of beer of 1,057° specific gravity for every 42 lbs. of malt mashed. Without the special appliances of the larger breweries many of the smaller brewers have found themselves unable to obtain the presumptive extract from the lighter varieties of malt, and hence the reason of their decreasing numbers. The fact that in Surrey a contrary result has been obtained since the Act would seem to point to the fact that the breweries of the county are mostly of the larger and more extensive class.

It is impossible to describe in detail here the numerous breweries scattered over the length and breadth of the county. Nor probably is there any need to do so, as the process carried on in each must be very similar, taking into account the relative size and importance of the various businesses. In the absence, however, of very full particulars from the majority of brewers we are not permitted to be too positive on this head. The various districts of the county are well represented in the industry and most centres of any importance have one or more breweries. Thus Croydon is represented by the old

⁴ Public General Acts, 43 & 44 Vict. c. 20.

⁵ See the article 'Beer and Brewing' in *Chambers's Encyclopædia* (1888).

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established firm of Messrs. Crowley, and also by Messrs. Nalder & Collyer's and Messrs. Page & Overton's Brewery Companies. Farnham, the hop-growing district of Surrey, has also three breweries, namely, the Farnham United Breweries, Limited, Messrs. Barling & Sons, and Messrs. Matthews & Co. Messrs. Lascelles, Tickner & Co. have a considerable brewery at Guildford, and there are also other breweries there and in some of the adjacent parishes, at Albury, Cranleigh, Gomshall, Shalford and Bramley for instance. The following scattered places in

the county possess also one or more breweries, namely: Cobham, Epsom, Redhill, Reigate, Letherhead, Dorking, Horley, Thames Ditton, Surbiton, Cheam, Ashted, Wallington, Walton-on-Thames, Egham, etc. Of the London and suburban districts more particular mention has already been made in this account. Amongst other Surrey suburbs not already noticed in connection with the industry, but now possessing their own breweries, are Bermondsey, Balham, Brixton, Clapham, Putney, Tooting and Wimbledon.

DISTILLING

From the history of the Surrey brewing industry we are naturally led on to the subject of the other manufactures in which the preparation of fermented liquor from malt or other substances is one of the first principles. In the early stages of the distilling of spirits and the making of vinegar the process much resembles that of beer brewing, as in all these the preparation of a fermented wort is first necessary, and all require very similar apparatus in the shape of mash-tuns, coppers, coolers, fermenting vats and the like. The later and more important stages in distillation are however entirely unlike any to be found in brewing. Moreover the history of the two industries in England brings out this important contrast, that whereas the brewing of ale or beer is one of our oldest arts, and the beverage produced has been the national one from time immemorial, distilling is comparatively of recent introduction so far as it has been utilized for the production of a marketable commodity. The knowledge of the art is indeed said to have been introduced into Europe, and perhaps into this country, as early as the eleventh century, but it was confined to the monasteries, where the product was used for medicinal purposes. Not until the Tudor period was the secret more generally divulged and distilling practised for trade purposes. Occasional references, to be noted below, to the existence of the industry in Surrey occur in the seventeenth century. These references become more numerous during the course of the following century, and at the present day some of the firms associated in one way or another with the manufacture of spirits or vinegar are among the oldest established and most important in the county.

The distilling industry in Surrey has been almost entirely confined to the metropolitan

districts of the county. Hence it forms a part of that bigger industry of which down to recent times London was practically the only centre in England. Although Liverpool has now established its claim to be considered a centre of the manufacture, the older city still maintains its pre-eminence, and a few general remarks on the peculiar conditions under which distillation has for long been practised in England are necessary before we can attempt to deal with the more particular examples in the history of the industry which our own county affords.¹

Briefly then it is to be remarked that in the manufacture of beer the flavour is imparted to the wort before fermentation. This is done also in the case of most foreign spirits, which retain some of the flavour of the fruit or saccharine substance from which the wort is prepared. In Scotland whisky is distilled from pure malt by means of pot-stills, and to a lesser extent this is the case in Ireland, where however raw cereals are generally blended with the malt. In England, on the other hand, the wort is almost always prepared from grain with a small admixture of malt and sugar, and the distillation is performed by patent stills on the principle patented in 1830 by Æneas Coffey, a Dublin distiller.² The produce of these stills is very properly known as silent spirit from its want of flavour. Hence therefore the necessity of a second operation, in which, whilst the impurities of the first distillation are corrected, the desired flavours to suit the various tastes of customers are imparted. This second operation is the province of the rectifier. Under the various Excise laws, by which the distilla-

¹ See art. 'Whisky' in *Chambers's Encyclopædia* (1892).

² *Patents of Invention*, No. 5974.

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tion of spirits has for long been stringently regulated, the two operations are not permitted to be carried on in the same premises, or indeed, as at present, within a quarter of a mile of each other.¹ Thus in considering the question of the production of distilled spirits in Surrey we have to deal with two distinct classes of manufacturers, the distiller and the rectifier.

Of the history of distilling in Surrey the evidences for the earlier period are exceedingly meagre, whilst for the later period we are mainly concerned with a few important firms, some of which are still in existence. So far as the returns of aliens dwelling in the city and suburbs of London have as yet been printed by the Huguenot Society, they do not show the presence of a single foreign distiller on the south side of the river. The number indeed that appear in the whole of London itself during this period (1523-97) could be counted on less than the fingers of one hand, and it is probable that here was an industry for the development of which in the sixteenth century we were little if at all indebted to foreign influence. Yet the name of the first Surrey distiller whom we have been able to trace suggests a foreign origin. This was John alias Haunce (Hans) Sturme of Southwark, 'aquavite-maker,' who made his will on 21 September 1603, and must have died some time before 30 September following, when the will was proved.² In the returns of strangers dwelling in London and its liberties made in compliance with the order of the Privy Council of 6 September 1618, three distillers appear to have been then established in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark. These were Nychols Ryce, who had been a joiner, but was then a stiller of aquavitæ; born a subject of the Duke of Cleves, he had been in England sixty years; Roger Addoney, an 'aquevetty' stiller, born in Julich, and in England fifty years; and Christian Welsehm (or Wyhelhames) who combined the making of gallipots with the distilling of aquavitæ, and had been born in the land of the Palgrave.³ During the first half of the seventeenth century the distilling industry was protected by monopolies, the

best known patent being that to Sir Theodore de Mayerne and Thomas Cademan on 25 March 1635.⁴ Later in the century a few token coins of Southwark traders point to the existence of distilleries in the Borough. Thus there is the token of WIL. ROGERS, SWAN & STIL, SOUTHWARK DISTILLER, whilst on the token of JAMES PITMAN IN SOUTHWARKE, 1665, a still is represented, and on that of NEHEMIAH DROUGHT IN S. TOULES STREETE, the arms of the Distillers' Company are seen.⁵

But the seat of the most famous Surrey distilleries has been the adjoining parish of Lambeth. Here on the site of the house called Vaux Hall or Copt Hall in Kennington we are told that Mr. Kent, distiller, had a large distillery by lease in 1725 from the Duchy of Cornwall.⁶ He failed, and the ground was subsequently held under two leases by the names of 'the Manor' and 'Vaux Hall Wharf.' Both leases were at some time after Kent's failure held by Mr. Pratt, who continued the business of the distillery. In this business he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Sir Joseph Mawbey, bart., who was for many years member of Parliament for the borough of Southwark, and afterwards a knight of the shire for Surrey.⁷ He died in 1798, shortly after which event Pennant, in his description of Lambeth, says: 'In this parish are the vast distilleries till of late the property of Sir Joseph Mawbey; there are seldom less than 2,000 hogs constantly grunting at this place, which are kept entirely on the grains.'⁸ Pennant proceeds to moralise on the large sums added to the revenue of the country by the produce of the duty on 'this Stygian liquor,' but does not say whether the business of the single distiller, who he says had in one year (1785-6) contributed as much as £54,000 to the revenue, was carried on in Surrey or not. After Mawbey's death his distillery was carried on by Cuthbert Johnson & Co., the under-tenants of Sir Charles Blicke, who held the lease.⁹ In 1814 the lease was the property of Mr. Snaith, a London banker, and the distilling business was being continued under the style of Snaith's Distillery.¹⁰

Adjoining this distillery on the north side

¹ The principal Act now regulating the manufacture of distilled spirits is the Spirit Act (1880) 43 & 44 Vict. c. 24.

² P.C.C. *Bolein*, 70; see *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xi. 119. A John Sturrome took out Letters of Denization in 1550 (*Huguenot Soc. Pub.* viii. 227). He may be the same as John Sturme here referred to.

³ S. P. Dom. Jas. I. xcix. 43, printed in *Foreigners Resident in England, 1618-88* (ed. Camden Soc. O.S. 82), 95, 96.

⁴ Pat. 11 Chas. I. pt. 39, No. 13.

⁵ Mrs. Boger, *Bygone Southwark*, 243, quoting the late Mr. Syer Cuming.

⁶ Lysons, *Envoirs of London* (ed. 2), i. 232.

⁷ Allen, *Hist. of Lambeth*, 368.

⁸ Pennant, *Some account of London, Westminster and Southwark* (n.d.), i. 33.

⁹ Allen, loc. cit.

¹⁰ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 489.

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there was at the end of the eighteenth century another, that of Messrs. Fassett & Burnett, a firm with which under its present style of Sir Robert Burnett & Co., we deal below as one still in existence.¹ Lysons speaks of the very large distilleries which were at Lambeth, both in 1792 and 1811, but does not enumerate them or give any particulars of their business.² In 1826 we hear of the extensive distillery of Messrs. Hodges & Son in Church Street, Lambeth, occupying part of the site of the old Norfolk House.³ In 1850 or thereabouts this was owned by Mr. Benjamin George Hodges.⁴

Of distilleries in other riverside parishes in Surrey there would appear to have been one at Battersea in the year 1786, for Mr. James Bell, a malt distiller of that place, took out a patent in that year for making a vegetable acid or mineral from the refuse of the malt wash after distillation, commonly called the spent wash.⁵

In 1794 there were at least two distilleries in this parish, those of Messrs. Hodgson & Co. and Messrs. Benwell. The former company, who are described as malt distillers, had purchased the curious horizontal wind-mill, which had been erected near Battersea Bridge some few years before for the purpose of grinding colours, and had converted it into a corn-mill. Their distillery was large and extensive, and almost circumscribing their premises they had built a range of houses about 600 feet in length by 32 in width, for the great number of oxen which they had made it a part of their business to fatten.⁶ Similarly at Messrs. Benwell's distillery from three to four thousand hogs were annually fattened.⁷

Wandsworth has been for a hundred years and more an important seat of the industry. Here as early as 1792 were the distilleries of Messrs. Bush & Co.,⁸ at which we are told in 1794 that 2,000 hogs were annually fattened.⁹ In 1811 there was a large distillery by the waterside belonging to Messrs. Leader, Atlee & Langdale.¹⁰ The John Falconer

Atlee of Wandsworth, distiller, whose patent taken out in 1807 for an apparatus to be used in fermentation we have already noticed in our account of the Surrey brewing industry, was doubtless a partner in this firm. Messrs. Bush & Co.'s distillery¹¹ is now the well known one of Messrs. John Watney & Co., which in 1850 was the only great distillery properly so called in Surrey, and was one of the six great firms which we are told at that period performed in London and its neighbourhood nearly all the English distillation.¹² The description of Mr. Watney's distillery in 1850 speaks of its then newly-erected spacious fireproof granaries 65 feet high, its chimney rising about 120 feet, the ample brewery and distillery, the lengthened stables and the adjoining dwelling-house amidst shrubberies and green fields. The stills in use were on the principle of Æneas Coffey, over steam boilers, and the establishment, employing two steam engines of forty horse-power each and not more than seventy men, paid a duty to Government on an average of £1,000 a day, at the rate of 7s. 10d. per gallon on a million of gallons yearly of proof spirit. The grain employed was malted barley, with a large proportion of raw barley, oats or rye. The distillery at the present day is still devoted to the distillation of the raw spirit from grain. The process of rectification is performed further down the river in compliance with the provisions of the Spirits Act.¹³

But although in Surrey in 1850 the first process in the manufacture of English patent still spirit was carried out in one great distillery only, there were at that time a far larger number of firms in the county than at present devoted to the process of rectification. There were nearly fifty rectifiers, some of whom had very important establishments which required a large outlay of capital and displayed, we are told, great ingenuity in the application of science. Of the rectifying distillery of Messrs. Stephen Child & Son in Trinity Square, Southwark, which was formed in 1840, and in 1850 was occupied by Mr. J. Scott Smith, we learn that: 'Its arrangement of boilers and stills with a steam-engine and supply of hot and cold water is perfect; . . . the chimney to the engine furnace though not fifty feet in height does not emit more smoke than a common kitchen fire, in consequence of the very simple precaution of drying the coal around the fire before it is

¹ Nichols, *Hist. of Lambeth*, 95.

² Lysons, *Environs of London: Surrey*, i. (ed. 1), 318; (ed. 2) 229.

³ Allen, *Hist. of Lambeth*, 341.

⁴ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr. v. App.* 21.

⁵ *Pat. of Invention*, No. 1527.

⁶ James and Malcolm, *General View of the Agriculture of Surrey*, 31-3.

⁷ *Ibid.* 35.

⁸ Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 1), i. 503.

⁹ James and Malcolm, *op. cit.* 35.

¹⁰ Lysons, *Environs* (ed. 2), i. 379.

¹¹ C. T. Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth*, 11.

¹² Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr. v. App.* 21.

¹³ C. T. Davis, *loc. cit.*

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shovelled on to it.' The heat was economized by surrounding the pipes through which the spirit passed with non-conducting substances. Pontifex's patent 'condensing box' was used here, an ingenious vessel in which at the moment of condensation the spirit was made to imbibe the flavour of juniper, aniseed, peppermint and the like, and was again passed off in vapour.¹

The other principal houses in Surrey mentioned in 1850 as engaged in the processes of re-distilling and flavouring spirits were Sir Robert Burnett & Co. at Vauxhall, John Gaitskell in Bermondsey, and G. W. Gray of Tooley Street, Benjamin George Hodges in Lambeth, William Jackson & Co. of New Street, Dockhead, George & Charles Orme of Blackfriars Road, H. & A. S. Pigeon of the Borough High Street, J. Sinclair & Co. in Lambeth, and Vincent & Pugh in the Borough.

Compared with the large number of firms who were engaged in 1850 in the distillation of spirituous liquors, the number at the present day similarly engaged is very small. Many of the firms included in the large number of the estimate for the former period were doubtless in a very small way of business, and the decrease is perhaps in some measure to be attributed to a change in the conditions of the industry precisely similar to that which we have had to record in the case of beer brewing. The improvements which science has introduced into the manufacture necessitate the use of machinery of the very latest pattern, and permit only of the survival of those houses which can afford a constant outlay of capital in the equipment of their works. There are perhaps now barely eight firms which are engaged either in the distilling or rectifying of spirits within the area of the ancient county. Of one of these, Messrs. John Watney & Co. of Wandsworth, we have already treated. So far as the rectifying part of their business is concerned, the firm of

Sir Robert Burnett & Co. at Vauxhall can now claim to be the oldest established in Surrey. As Messrs. Fassett & Burnett it was in existence at least as early as the year 1786, and its distillery and vinegar yards, with the place then called Marble Hall and Cumberland Tea-gardens, were supposed by the author of the *History of Lambeth* to be the site of the capital mansion house which tradition has it that Guy Faux once occupied at Lambeth.² Reference is made in 1826 to the extensive character of the distillery of Messrs. Burnett & Co. and to the considerable number of people to whom they gave employment. Their premises then extended from the road to the riverside.³ In 1850 Sir Robert Burnett & Co., as we have seen, were one of the principal firms of rectifiers in Surrey. A remarkable feature of the constitution of the firm is that now, as in 1850, the partners are all members of the Burnett family. In 1850 they were Messrs. C. F. Burnett, J. F. Burnett, J. R. F. Burnett, G. R. Burnett and C. D. Burnett. At the present time Messrs. C. F. Burnett and G. R. Burnett still remain and have been joined in partnership by Messrs. F. C. Burnett, G. A. Burnett and D. Burnett.⁴ Besides its vinegar, with which we deal more particularly below, the firm has made a speciality of the preparation of gin, but manufactures also bitters, cherry brandy, cordials, whisky, brandy and wines, and in short every article which is usually supplied by the spirit rectifier.

Other rectifying firms now in Lambeth are Messrs. Daun & Vallentin, who are the makers of Orme's gin, and are also brandy distillers and wine merchants, and Mr. Sydney Jousiffe at Kennington Park. There are firms of distillers at Bermondsey, Camberwell, Croydon and Kingston. The distilling of perfumes is carried on by the London Essence Co. at Camberwell, and that of lavender and peppermint at Messrs. Jackson's steam distilleries at Croydon.

VINEGAR AND BRITISH WINES

The manufacture of malt vinegar has for over two hundred years been one of the most important industries carried on in the metropolitan parts of Surrey. In 1850 more than half of the total amount made in England was made in Surrey chiefly by four great firms, namely: Charles & W. Pott of Southwark, Sir Robert Burnett at Vauxhall, Henry Beaufoy at South Lambeth, and Slee, Payne

& Slee of Horsleydown.⁵ With the exception of the former firm, whose business has only recently been incorporated with that of Messrs. Beaufoy & Co., these firms are still in existence and in the enjoyment of large

² Nichols, *Hist. of Lambeth*, 95.

³ Allen, *Hist. of Lambeth*, 368.

⁴ Ex inf. Sir R. Burnett & Co.

⁵ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App.

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App. 21. 23.

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businesses, a sufficient indication of the success of the methods employed by the Surrey manufacturers, who have been amongst the pioneers in establishing the reputation of 'British vinegar,' as the malt product is now generally termed. The operations of some of these firms are not confined to vinegar making. Of Sir Robert Burnett & Co. as spirit rectifiers we have already spoken, whilst Messrs. Beaufoy & Co. have long been noted for their manufacture of British wines and mineral waters, and are now also shippers of foreign wines and spirit blenders.

A further proof of the importance the vinegar industry of Surrey has for long maintained is seen in the amount of stock each of the above mentioned firms had in hand in July 1844, when the duty on vinegar was repealed, as compared with that held by the largest makers in other parts of the kingdom. These quantities were as follows: Messrs. Pott, 746,139 gallons; Sir Robert Burnett, 578,437 gallons; Messrs. Beaufoy, 552,072 gallons; and Messrs. Slee, Payne & Slec, 368,182 gallons. Only one of the forty licensed vinegar manufacturers in other counties could vie with these firms in importance, Messrs. Willis & Co. of Old Street Road, who had 589,714 gallons. The greatest makers out of London were Messrs. Hill, Evans & Co. of Worcester, whose stock was 291,689 gallons.¹

The business of Messrs. Pott was established so long ago as 1641 by a Mr. Rush, in whose family it remained until 1790. For some years the works were carried on by Mr. Rush's widow, and Manning and Bray comment on the remarkable fact that at one time three of the greatest trades in England were carried on by three widows, Mrs. Rush's vinegar manufactory being one of them. The buildings were in Castle Street, Southwark, on part of the Bishop of Winchester's park, and were held of that see on leases for life. In 1790 Messrs. Robert & Arthur Pott became proprietors of the works. Their family had for seventy years previously carried on a similar manufactory in Whitechapel, and this business was transferred by them to the Southwark premises, which were considerably enlarged and fitted up with new apparatus.² In 1844, as we have seen, this firm could claim to have the largest stock in hand of any vinegar maker in England. The incorporation of Messrs. Pott with Messrs. Beaufoy & Co. has taken place only within the last two or three years.

In the history of Messrs. Beaufoy & Co. of South Lambeth we have to deal with one of the oldest established and most important of existing Surrey firms.³ The oldest and still the largest department of this firm's business is the manufacture of vinegar, but their manufacture of British wines was only a little later in its origin and is of considerable extent and interest.

The manufactory was established in 1730 by Mr. Mark Beaufoy, a member of the Society of Friends and a distiller at Bristol, who is said to have been so shocked at the frightful effects of intoxication then so generally prevalent that he relinquished that lucrative business. The original site of the works was on 3 acres of ground known as Cuper's Gardens, which now form the southern approach to Waterloo Bridge. The land had belonged to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and by him is supposed to have been granted to Jesus College, Oxford, of which College Messrs. Beaufoy became the tenants.⁴ Mark Beaufoy first established the works as a malt vinegar manufactory, he having according to the tradition first learned the process in Holland. He had however a great difficulty to encounter in the want of 'rape' wherewith to construct the filters to fine and flavour the vinegar. In Holland the vinegar makers were supplied with the refuse from the raisin wine manufacturers, but in England there was no such source of supply, and he was compelled to purchase raisins, and, after extracting the saccharine and mucilage of the fruit so as to leave only the solid parts of the raisin or the rape, to throw away the liquor. This waste of raisin juice attracted the attention of Dr. Fothergill, the Quaker physician, who pointed out to Mark Beaufoy how wine might be made from it, and advised him to commence it as a branch of manufacture. This Mr. Beaufoy did, and entered his name at the excise as a maker of sweets. The manufacture of raisin wine was however a revived art, for in 1636 Francis Chamberlayne had obtained a patent for the making of wine from the raisins or dried grapes of Spain and Portugal.⁵ The difficulty of obtaining foreign wine during the protracted continental wars of the eighteenth century greatly

³ The following account of Messrs. Beaufoy & Co.'s business is based on information supplied by the Company in its own printed pamphlet supplemented with references to contemporary authorities as to the conditions of the manufactory at different periods.

⁴ Nichols, *Hist. of Lambeth*, 77.

⁵ Pat. 11 Chas. I. pt. 11, No. 14, printed in Rymer's *Fœdera* (orig. ed.), xix. 716.

¹ Brayley and Britton, loc. cit.

² Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 590.

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increased the sale of the home-made product, and its manufacture was further said to have been treated for some time with much indulgence by the Government from a notion that the milder article might gradually lead to a mitigation of intemperance.¹ Pennant, describing Messrs. Beaufoy's works about the beginning of the nineteenth century, thus speaks of the consumption of British wines at this date :—

It has been estimated that one half of the port and five sixths of the white wines consumed in our capital have been the produce of our home vine presses. The product of duty to the State from a single house in one year from July 5th 1785 to July 5th 1786 was not less than £7363 9s. 8½d. The genial banks of the Thames opposite to our Capital yield almost every species of white wine; and by a wondrous magic, Messrs. Beaufoy pour forth the materials for the rich Frontinac to the more elegant tables; the Madeira, the Calcavella, and the Lisbon into every part of the Kingdom.

Pennant paid an actual visit to Messrs. Beaufoy's works, and is rhetorical, as is his wont, over the extent of the undertaking and the number and size of the vessels in use :—

The boasted tun of Heidelberg does not surpass them. On first entering the yard two rise before you covered at the top with a thatched dome; between them is a circular turret including a winding staircase which brings you to their summits which are about twenty-four feet in diameter. One of these conservatories is full of sweet wine and contains 58,109 gallons, or 1,815 barrels of Winchester measure. Its superb associate is full of vinegar to the amount of 56,799 gallons or 1,744 barrels of the same standard as the former. . . . Besides these is an avenue of lesser vessels, which hold from 32,500 to 16,974 gallons each. After quitting this Brobdignagian scene we pass to the acres covered with common barrels.²

The building of Waterloo Bridge, or the Strand Bridge as it was originally intended to be called, the Act for which was passed in 1808, determined the removal of Messrs. Beaufoy's premises from Cuper's Gardens to their present site in South Lambeth. The value of their lease, which was short, and the loss incurred by the removal of the works and in establishing new ones, were estimated by a jury at about £36,000.³ The present

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App. 24.

² Pennant, *Some Account of London, etc.* (n.d.), i. 30, 31.

³ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. App. xli. Elsewhere these writers state that the rent paid by Messrs. Beaufoy to Jesus College for the

premises cover about 5 acres of ground, and occupy the site of Caron House built by Sir Noel de Caron, Dutch Ambassador to England for twenty-eight years in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.⁴

The premises include, besides the malt-stores and the large buildings necessary for the various operations in the manufacture of vinegar, British wines and mineral waters, the large warehouses and cellars in the foreign wines and spirits departments; the cooperage, where, in addition to the work of cask cleaning, a large staff is always engaged in breaking up old and making new casks, and two long ranges of stables for the two classes of horses, heavy and light, respectively employed in the trade. There are also the mansion and gardens formerly occupied by the head of the firm; the counting-house, with the manager's office; and above the counting-house the Beaufoy library, founded by Mr. Henry B. H. Beaufoy, F.R.S., who was deeply interested in the question of commercial education; the laboratory under the direction of an eminent chemist, and fitted up with every modern scientific appliance needed for the analysis of all materials used on the premises and for the constant experiments required to maintain the standard of excellence in the quality of the articles produced; the loading shed fitted up with steam cranes; the shipping office and the mess-rooms of the staff, where provision is made for the comfort of the employes. It is a happy proof of the harmony existing here in the arrangements between masters and men that, although more than two hundred hands are employed, no labour disputes have ever sounded a note of discord in the factory.

The derivation of the word vinegar (sour wine) sufficiently indicates the principle upon which it was formerly made. But in malt vinegar as it is now made there is not a single trace of the vinous element. The process of its manufacture at Messrs. Beaufoy's, as in all manufactories of malt vinegar, resembles in its first stages that of the manufacture of beer and spirits, and consists in the mashing of the crushed malt or grist with a certain quantity of hot water, and the draining off of the liquor or wort through a refrigerator into the fermenting tuns. When the fermentation process is complete, and all the saccharine element of the wort has been converted into alcohol, it is known as 'gyle,' and is stored ready to be passed into the aceti-

old site at Cuper's Gardens was about £1,200 (*Hist. of Surr.* iii. 481).

⁴ Allen, *Hist. of Lambeth*, 396.

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fers. Here acetic fermentation is set up, and the alcohol is converted into acetic acid, the chemical basis of vinegar. Two processes are described as in use at these works in 1850 for this operation, the quick and the slow. In the former, called *stoving*, the unbunged casks were placed in rooms warmed artificially; in the slow process, called *fielding*, they were exposed in long rows in the open air, especially in the favourable temperature of spring.¹ The final process is that of clarifying the product of the acetifiers, and is one of the most delicate operations in the manufacture. For the purpose a number of large vats called 'rapes' are brought into use. Each vat contains a certain thickness of filtering medium, through which the vinegar is passed continuously until it is cleared of all sedimentary matter and assumes the required brightness to fit it for domestic consumption.

A certain quantity of Messrs. Beaufoy's vinegar is distilled after it is taken from the rapes. Great care is required in this process in order to retain the flavour and aroma of the malt in the distilled article, which is as pellucid as spring water and as bright as crystal. This distilled vinegar commands a large sale, especially in Scotland and Ireland, for its pungency of taste and aromatic delicacy.

The manufacture of British wines or 'sweets' is subject to fewer processes than is that of vinegar, and is consequently a far simpler operation. In the case of the wines made from English fruits, such as currant wine, raspberry wine, elder wine and the like, the methods of making them are no secret to many households, and may be found in most cookery books. But the methods of making wines from foreign dried fruits, as practised at Messrs. Beaufoy's, require a little explanation.

The dried fruits or raisins do not lose all the vinous quality of the fresh fruit, although much seems to be lost in the process of drying. Nearly all the grapes thus prepared are imported from the countries bordering on the Mediterranean between Michaelmas and Christmas; from thence to spring, during cool weather, is the principal time for making the wine. The raisins generally arrive packed closely together and forming a hard mass. To separate them the masses are laid on a floor and beaten with wooden mallets, or sometimes passed through rollers. They are then steeped in a quantity of water,

where they stand until all the fruit rises up, swelled with the water, and floats on the surface. Some of the water is then drawn off the vessel, and a perforated board is laid on the top of the fruit and kept down by a weight. Upon this is pumped the water previously drawn from the vessel. This process of drawing off the liquid from beneath the fruit and pouring it in above is repeated from time to time until all parts of the fruit have become equally affected. The liquid is then drawn off into separate vessels, but a considerable portion of the liquid remains absorbed by the spent fruit. To recover this the whole mass is gradually passed through a powerful hydraulic press until all the liquid is extracted.

On the completion of the fermenting process the wine is pumped into other vessels, where it is subjected to repeated rackings and all the precipitate separated from it. Here too all the processes of sweetening and fining with isinglass, etc., according to the different kinds of wine, are carried on until the wine has assumed the form in which it is placed on the market. The skill required in the manipulation of these wines is as great as is needed in the treatment of the vineyards of Champagne and Bordeaux, and in many cases the process is a lengthy one, the wine having to be stored in vats for many years before it is sufficiently matured for bottling.

Messrs. Beaufoy's manufacture of British wines includes, besides those wines such as ginger, orange, and the like, which are designed to gratify the palate, medicinal wines such as quinine, citrate of iron and quinine, coca and kola, all which are accurately compounded in accordance with the requirements of the British Pharmacopœia.

Before passing on to a notice of this firm's manufacture of mineral and aerated waters, which introduces us to another class of Surrey industries, it remains to bring this short account of the vinegar industry of the county to a conclusion.

Besides Messrs. Beaufoy & Co., the oldest established firms of vinegar makers still in existence in Surrey are Sir Robert Burnett & Co. and Messrs. Slee, Slee & Co., Limited, of Church Street, Horsleydown, the latter representing the firm of Slee, Payne & Slee of the year 1850 and earlier. Messrs. Smith & Tyers of Green Street, Blackfriars Road, who claim to have been established in 1788, combine the making of vinegar with the refining of liquid sugar and the manufacture of capillaire spirit colouring, cordial flavouring and the like. Other firms for the manufacture of

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App. 24.

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vinegar exist in Southwark, Bermondsey and Camberwell. There were vinegar works at Wandsworth owned by Messrs. Gattey in

1792 and 1811,¹ and the industry existed there in recent times, but is now discontinued.

AERATED AND MINERAL WATERS

The art of producing effervescing drinks by dissolving carbonic acid in water under heavy pressure is not of great antiquity, and dates back barely a hundred years. Nevertheless the manufacture of aerated and so-called mineral waters, in which, although they do not properly belong to the subject, we may include that of ginger-beer and such temperance beverages as are produced by the natural effects of fermentation, is now so extensively carried on in Surrey that some notice of the industry must appear here.

In the manufacture of these waters Messrs. Beaufoy & Co. have long held a leading position, chiefly due to the absolute purity of the water used by them. This water is drawn from a well on the premises, 400 feet deep, which gives an abundant supply of pure water for all the requirements of the establishment. The well is carried down into the substratum of chalk, in the bowels of which the water is stored in such a state of purity and crystalline brightness that the Geological Society considered it advisable some years back to publish a special memoir on this source of supply, in which full details of the strata passed through in the sinking of the well are given. As some idea of the great expense which the sinking of this well entailed upon the firm, it may be noticed that the cost of deepening it a few yards recently was nearly £1,000, but the outlay has proved remunerative in saving a large annual disbursement in the shape of water rate and placing the firm in an exceptionally favourable position in regard to the quality of an article so extensively employed in the business.

The pipe through which the water is pumped to the surface has a silver lining and delivers the liquid direct into the silver-lined tubes of the bottling machines without the intervention of tanks, thereby obviating any possible contamination by exposure to the atmosphere. It then undergoes aeration, and with the necessary additions is converted into soda water, potass, seltzer, lemonade, or the like, as required. These products are bottled and corked by machinery with astonishing speed and precision.

Owing to the great increase in this branch of the firm's trade, the old premises set apart

for the purpose were early found to be insufficient. Messrs. Beaufoy therefore resolved upon the erection of new buildings of such dimensions as would suffice for all present requirements and future expansion, at least for some years to come. This work was entrusted to the Riley Manufacturing Company of South Lambeth Road, and under its direction the new factory was put up. It is fitted with the most modern plant and machinery necessary for each process of the manufacture. A row of ten of the latest pattern of Messrs. Riley's screw-stopper filling machines forms the main feature of the factory. The machines are driven by a gas engine through one length of line shafting, and they are each capable of filling five gross of bottles per hour. The fact that in the summer season they are all kept well going will give a good notion of the extent of business. The action of these machines is one of the greatest ingenuity. The empty bottle with the stopper screwed home is placed in the machine by a girl; the machine removes the stopper, fills the bottle under pressure, and securely replaces the stopper, and is then ready to receive the next bottle; this process going on with surprising regularity at the rate of twelve bottles per minute. There are other machines for filling corked bottles and syphons, as well as a large plant for brewing ginger beer, which has always been a speciality of this firm.²

Amongst the other principal manufacturers of aerated waters in the metropolitan districts of Surrey may be noted those of Messrs. Barrett in Vauxhall, Messrs. Engster & Koertgen in Lambeth, and the Pure Water Company, Limited, at Battersea. Messrs. H. D. Rawlings, Limited, who have been established for over a hundred years as brewers of ginger beer and makers of mineral waters, have a factory at Camberwell. In the non-metropolitan parts of the county Messrs. Robert White & Sons have large works at Croydon for the manufacture of ginger beer and mineral waters, and have also factories in other places, including Camberwell, Kingston

¹ Lysons, *Environ's of London* (ed. 1), i. 503; (ed. 2), i. 379.

² Ex inf. Messrs. Beaufoy & Co.

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and Guildford. Another firm of considerable repute is that of Messrs. Packham & Co., Limited, who have also works at Croydon. The Chemists Aerated and Mineral Waters Association, Limited ('Camwal'), has its

manufactory at Mitcham. Mineral waters are also made by some of the brewers in the county, including Messrs. Lascelles, Tickner & Co., Limited, at Guildford, and Messrs. Burford & Co., Limited, at their Cranleigh steam brewery.

SOAP AND CANDLE MAKING

The manufacture of soap and candles in those northern districts of Surrey which latterly have been absorbed into the metropolitan county is of extreme importance. It is not only that the industry there can boast of some considerable antiquity, but also that the first practical results of the great advance made during the course of the last century in the science of the manufacture, more especially of the latter commodity, were achieved in the main in south London. Of two south London firms existing at the present day it may be said that one can probably claim to be now the oldest established firm of candle makers in the kingdom, whilst the other is indisputably the largest firm of its kind in the world.

Of soap and candle making in Surrey in medieval times we have indeed little information of a definite character, but it is reasonable to suppose that both industries were then carried on about Southwark to some extent. In a Star Chamber decree of 23 August 1633 it is stated that until within a few years of that date no soft soap had been made in the kingdom but in and about the cities of London, Westminster and Bristol.¹ In Hilary term 1601-2 an information was lodged in the Court of Exchequer against two Southwark soap makers who appear at a later date as men of no little importance.² One of them was Edward Broomfield, who subsequently became Lord Mayor of London and was knighted. In 1637 he became the owner of the large estate in the borough known as Suffolk Place, or still more famous as the Mint.³ The other was Thomas Overman, who appears at a later date, as we shall see, as the largest soap maker about London. The offence with which they were charged was of causing to be made and used between 21 December 1600 and 19 December 1601, 2,000 barrels, and the like number each of kilderkins and firkins, all of less capacity and weight than was required by statute. It is of interest to us to know that the barrels were alleged to have been made at Croydon.

But it is during the period in which the soap monopoly created by Charles I. was in force that we hear more especially of the connection of Surrey with the soap making industry of the kingdom. The story of this curious episode in our economic history, which beginning from humble origins became important enough eventually to stir up a great deal of discontent in the country and to set two of the leading ministers of the Crown by the ears, has been told by the late Dr. Gardiner,⁴ and beyond a recapitulation of the leading facts we need not concern ourselves here with much more than the light which the materials for the history of the incident throw upon the existence of the industry in our own county.

Briefly then the origin of the monopoly was in two patents which James I. had granted on 10 February 1622-3⁵ and 23 February 1623-4⁶ to two persons, Roger Jones and Andrew Palmer, to make hard soap out of barilla and both hard and soft soap out of materials such as bean straw, pease straw, kelp fern and other such vegetables, to be found within the kingdom as could be converted into ashes or potashes. These patents were rendered void by the Act of 1623 against monopolies,⁷ but a loophole was found in the legal maxim that the king could found corporations for the benefit of trade. Accordingly Charles I. on 17 December 1631⁸ transferred the powers which his predecessor had granted to Jones and Palmer to a large body in which the original patentees were included, and shortly after, on 20 January 1631-2, incorporated this body under the name of the Governor, Assistants and Fellows of the Society of Soap-Makers of Westminster.⁹ But whereas the first intervention of the Crown in the matter had been induced by nothing less creditable than the then current opinion that it was a good act to encourage the manufacture of commodities made entirely of English ma-

⁴ *Hist. of England*, 1603-42, viii. 71-76, 284.

⁵ Pat. 20 Jas. I. pt. 12, No. 10.

⁶ *Ibid.* 21 Jas. I. pt. 5, No. 2.

⁷ Stat. 21 Jas. I. cap. 3.

⁸ Pat. 7 Chas. I. pt. 10, No. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.* pt. 12, No. 11.

¹ S.P. Dom. Proc. i. 169.

² Exch. K. R. Mem. R. Hil. 44 Eliz. 97.

³ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xiv. 43.

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terials, the new company was now looked upon as a source of profit to the Crown ; for by an agreement made on 3 May 1632, the company bound themselves to make 5,000 tons of soap every year, and to pay £4 to the king on every ton they made.¹ They agreed at the same time to retail the soap at the low price of 3*d.* per pound, no doubt with a view to underselling the independent makers. The patent was not strictly a monopoly beyond the reservation to the company of the new inventions, but very great powers were conferred upon them by the right to test all soap made by other makers, and to prohibit the sale of all that they had not marked as sweet and good.

As might be expected, the grant of these enormous powers to the new company led to general discontent among the independent soapmakers, and to forcible resistance on their part when the company proceeded to exercise its right of search. Prosecutions in the Star Chamber were ordered against them, and on 29 September 1634 the Attorney General was directed to prepare a form of warrant dormant to apprehend all such persons as the Company should name.² By the general public the new soap was received with suspicion, which was strengthened when it was known that the greater number of the company belonged to the Roman Catholic clique which had attached itself to the Earl of Portland, the Treasurer. The Privy Council did all in its power to advertise the merits of the soap, even to writing to the justices of the peace to point out the advantages to be derived from its being manufactured entirely from home materials.³ But on this and similar measures, including the public trial of the merits of the old and new soaps by two washerwomen before the Lord Mayor,⁴ we need no longer dwell. Suffice it to say that the company soon found itself in difficulties through its inability to manufacture the required quantity, that it was buttressed for a time by the Council, but that finally the triumph of the independent soapmakers, who had bribed the Crown with the offer of £8 on every ton they should make, was complete, and on 22 May 1637 the latter were incorporated under the style of the Governor, Assistants and Commonalty of the Society of Soapmakers of London, with powers which secured to them as stringent a monopoly as

that of which they had previously complained.⁵

So much for the general history of this extraordinary struggle. The chief interest for our purpose in it all is that not only were the soap houses of two at least of the principal members of the Westminster company at Lambeth, but that also the chief instigator of the opposition to them and the largest manufacturer under the new company that supplanted them was Thomas Overman, who, as we have already seen, was a Southwark manufacturer.

When the Lord Mayor on 24 December 1633, certified the Council of the trials he had made of the respective merits of the old and new soap he stated that he had gone to the storehouses of the new soap in Lambeth, St. Katherine's and the Strand.⁶ There is extant the first account rendered by the London company of the soap made and sold by its members and of the amount at £8 the ton due thereon to the Crown.⁷ The company had bought up the remaining stock and materials of the late Westminster company, and accordingly account is first rendered of 211 tons and some odd firkins made in the soap houses at Lambeth and St. Katherine's. According to the certificate of Sir Edward Broomfield annexed to the account the soap houses at Lambeth were those of Sir Richard Weston, who had been the first governor of the Westminster company, and of George Gage, who had been one of his successors in that office. From later evidence we learn that Sir Richard Weston's soap house was in Vauxhall, and afterwards formed part of the ordnance foundry set up by Charles I. there.⁸ Of the above total the amounts made at Weston and Gage's houses were respectively 16 tons 25 firkins and 57 tons, 14 firkins. The remainder had apparently been made by the new company at the St. Katherine's houses of materials they had purchased there from the old company. Only six soapmakers were certified to have made for the new company between 15 June 1637, and 29 January 1637-8. Of these makers Thomas Overman was considerably the largest. Of a total of 2,098 tons and some odd firkins made he had manufactured a little over 549 tons, and had sold 465 tons odd out of the total of 1,824 tons odd sold. It may be noted that in the agreement between the

¹ Pat. 8 Chas. I. pt. 5, No. 27.

² S.P. Dom. Chas. I. cclxxiv. 53.

³ Ibid. cclx. 119.

⁴ Ibid. cclv. 34, 34 i.; Gardiner, *op. cit.* viii.

⁵ Pat. 13 Chas. I. pt. 39, Nos. 11, 12.

⁶ S.P. Dom. Chas. I. ccliv. 34 i.

⁷ Exch. K. R. Accts. bdle. 527, No. 12a.

⁸ See the account of this foundry in the section 'Metal and Machinery Works' below.

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king and the London company arrangements had been made for the erection of six factories in or near the city of London or in the borough of Southwark.¹ Overman and Edmund Whitwell, another of the new soap-makers, had both suffered for their opposition to the Westminster company, and in 1633 had been imprisoned in the Fleet by a decree of the Star Chamber.² Overman, it would also appear, had been the ringleader in 1634 of the independent soapboilers in bringing forward propositions for the creation of a new company in which they should be incorporated.³

One obstacle which had been thrown in the way of the Westminster soap makers may especially interest us because it concerned another industry with which we have had occasion to deal somewhat fully. The obstacle arose from the collision with the saltpetre men, into which the company's agents were led in their quest for wood-ashes. On 18 March 1633-4 the Lords of the Admiralty wrote to the company to complain that their deputies for making saltpetre had been prejudiced by the company's agents in this matter, and to urge that the saltpetre men should be permitted to have the pre-emption of wood-ashes. The original ground on which they based their request was that saltpetre being so necessary a commodity for the king and public it ought to be preferred before the making of soap.⁴ Apparently however they thought better of such an argument, and in the letter they actually wrote stated that there was a sufficiency of ashes both for the saltpetre men and the soap boilers, if only the supply was orderly managed.⁵ Eventually on 19 May 1636, the matter seems to have been settled by the potash makers being restrained from gathering ashes within twelve miles of any of the saltpetre men's 'pitches,' and no ash-gatherers being permitted unless licensed by either the potash makers or the saltpetre men. Strict measures were also to be taken to prevent the export of ashes.⁶

After this period until some time within the last century we know of nothing in the manufacture of soap in Surrey that calls for particular notice, although we may assume with every confidence that in Southwark at least the industry has been continuously carried

on until the present day. Lambeth also, as it was during the events we have just narrated, has again been for long an important seat of the industry. In 1811 there were two considerable soap works there,⁷ those of Messrs. Phelps & Co. and of Messrs. Hawes. The former had ceased to exist in 1826, for we learn in that year that an extensive building in the Belvedere Road, formerly a soap manufactory, the principal manager of which had been a person of the name of Phelps, had then been recently pulled down. The manufacture, we are further told, had been commenced by several enterprising individuals, but from want of a sufficiently extensive connection the speculation had failed.⁸ Messrs. Hawes' works at the old Royal Barge-house continued on, and in 1850 were said to have existed for seventy-five years.⁹ We then find that they combined the manufacture of soap with that of candles. In their great boiling-room for hard soap were ten coppers, averaging 8 feet in diameter, which were heated by steam. The boiling by steam had been found to be a great improvement. The quantity of soap made by them had then exceeded 60 tons per week or about 4,500,000 lb. a year. They were said to have been the first to have prepared their own alkali, but since the removal of the duty on salt had given a preponderating advantage in the production of soda to the coal districts, they had relinquished that part of their business. From this cause and from the employment of machinery in the dipping and moulding of candles they had reduced the number of their men from one hundred and sixty during eight months of the year to less than sixty the year through. The quantity of candles they annually turned out at this period was from six to eight hundred tons.

Another Lambeth firm in 1850 was Messrs. Cole & English, of the Belvedere Road, who had been established there since 1813. As some index to the comparative proportions of material and labour employed in the manufacture, we are told that they boiled 120 tons of tallow, 100 tons of kitchen stuff, 50 tons of rosin and 70 tons of alkali, or about four times as much grease as alkali, and employed ten men.¹⁰

Of the 170,000,000 lb. of soap annually made in England in the same year, 46,000,000 lb. were produced in London and its vicinity,

¹ Pat. 13 Chas. I. pt. 39, No. 12.

² S.P. Dom. Chas. I. ccli. 72.

³ Ibid. cclxxiv. 53 i.

⁴ Ibid. cccxxviii. fo. 131a.

⁵ Ibid. cclxxiii. 1.

⁶ Ibid. cccxxi. 33, 49.

⁷ Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 2), i. 229.

⁸ Allen, *Hist. of Lambeth* (1826), 308.

⁹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App. 41.

¹⁰ Ibid. 40.

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which was second only to Liverpool. 234,000 lb. were made in Wandsworth, but this was exceeded by the produce of the Southwark and Lambeth works.¹

In 1850, as we have seen from the foregoing account of Messrs. Hawes' works, the two industries of soap and candle making, which in earlier times had been quite distinct, had already come to be carried out in the same establishment. This state of affairs is so much the case to-day that it is now impossible to consider the two industries apart. It is due to the classic researches of the French chemist, Chevreul, made between the years 1811 and 1823, into the nature of fatty bodies and to the increase, consequent on the knowledge we have gained of their chemical constituents, of the range of materials which can be utilized for the production of both commodities. Inasmuch as the first practical and successful application of the new scientific facts to the art of candle-making has been due in the main to the efforts of the two great Surrey firms of Price's Patent Candle Company at Battersea, and of Messrs. J. C. & J. Field of Lambeth, it is fitting and necessary in treating of the history of these two firms² to notice here the chief changes that have been brought about in the whole manufacture of candles.

In early times when candles were more of a necessity to our daily life than they are to-day, with our enormous consumption of gas and electricity and other artificial illuminants, two materials only were used in their manufacture, namely, wax and tallow. The manufacture of each of these two sorts of candles was kept distinct, and so far as London and its neighbourhood were concerned was superintended by the two city companies of the Wax-chandlers and the Tallow-chandlers respectively. It was not until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century that another candle-making substance was found in spermaceti.

But all this time, and indeed until 1823, when Chevreul had published the results of his researches, it has been said that candle-making was innocent of science, and as an art

'consisted of little more than taking greasy materials in their natural state and applying to them a means of combustion which had been done even in savage nations from time immemorial.'³ Chevreul proved that oils and fats instead of being simple organic substances, as was previously supposed, consisted of fatty acids in combination with the elements of a comparatively unflammable organic body, namely glycerine. 'The candle-maker, it was then seen, had been making a great mistake in employing fatty bodies in their natural state, and must needs set about the discovery of the best and most economical means for obtaining from them the hard white fatty acids which Chevreul had discovered. Chevreul himself, despite his better judgment that scientific research was his true work, attempted in conjunction with another distinguished chemist, Gay-Lussac, to solve the manufacturing problems which he had propounded. His endeavours in this line proved abortive, but success came in 1832 to a French manufacturer, M. de Milby, of the firm of De Milby & Motard, who succeeded in producing from tallow by a modification of Chevreul's method hard white stearic acid candles that were sold in Paris under the name of "Bougies de l'Etoile" at 1s. 8½d. per lb.'

Although the practical carrying out of the scientific discovery had now been attained, the difficulty of manufacturing the new candles at a low price still militated against their adoption into general use. For stearic acid required nearly twice and a half its weight of tallow to produce it, and the other product of tallow was a comparatively refuse oil. The manufacture was however soon introduced into England, Messrs. J. C. & J. Field claiming to have been the first makers of stearine, about the year 1835, in this country. Some improvements were made and a patent for making fatty acids from palm oil was taken out in 1836 by John Frederick William Hempel, a Prussian officer of engineers, then residing at Clapham, co. Surrey, and Henry Blundell of Hull, co. York.⁴ The rights of the patentees were acquired by the firm of Messrs. Blundell & Spence, who set up a factory at Wandsworth, the manufacture of palm-oil candles being

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App. 40.

² For the following sketch of the development of the candle-making industry and for the more particular accounts of Price's Candle Company and of Messrs. J. C. & J. Field, Limited, the editor is indebted in the main to information supplied by the former company and printed in their *Jubilee Memoir* (29 May 1897), and by Mr. F. A. Field, the present managing director of the latter company.

³ Lecture on 'The Stearic Candle Manufacture,' delivered before the Society of Arts on 5 February 1852, by G. F. Wilson, Esq. This and the following passages in this account quoted in inverted commas are taken from Price's *Jubilee Memoir*.

⁴ *Pat. of Inventions*, No. 7184.

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thus first carried out in Surrey.¹ Lee's map of Wandsworth in 1838 shows this candle factory near the present site of the Royal Paper Mills. Until the year 1840, however, no method had been discovered whereby anything but tallow of a good colour could be converted into white fatty acids, the palm oil candles as yet made, though giving a good light, being too dark in colour to become popular. Hempel and Blundell's patent was afterwards assigned to the proprietors of the firm of Edward Price & Co.,² and it is at this stage in the development of the art of candle-making that we must take up the history of this company.

In 1830 the business of Edward Price & Co. had been established by Mr. William Wilson and his partner, Mr. Lancaster, 'for the purpose of working an acquired patent for the separation of cocoa-nut oil into its solid and liquid constituents, with a view of utilizing the former, cocoa-nut stearine, as a substitute for tallow, and the latter, cocoa-nut oleine, as a lamp oil.'³ In consequence of the difficulty of obtaining regular supplies of cocoa-nut oil, Edward Price & Co. established first a branch house in Ceylon for the purchase of the oil, and ultimately steam mills for crushing cocoa-nuts, in order to extract the oil as the raw material for their London works. More capital being required for their operations in Ceylon and for other purposes, Mr. Lancaster sold his share to three capitalists, Messrs. Cockerell, Brownrigg, and Larpent, and with these as sleeping partners, with the addition of Mr. Brice Pearse, in 1845, Mr. Wilson continued to carry on the business until it was acquired by Price's Patent Candle Company in 1847.⁴ It is to the efforts of this Company that is primarily due the fact, that 'while the discovery of the constitution of fats and its first application were made in France, to England belongs

the honour of introducing those developments by which fatty acid candles have been brought within the reach of all consumers.'

The first solid success of the Company was attained in 1840, by its production of a candle suitable for the illuminations in honour of the marriage of Queen Victoria. In endeavouring to attain this end, Mr. James P. Wilson, who subsequently became one of the managing directors of the new company,—

took advantage of the new stearic acid to harden the stearine from cocoa-nut oil which Edward Price & Co. had been making for some time, and made a mixture of equal parts of the two bodies. He also availed himself of the plaited wick which had been patented in France in 1825 by Cambacérés. By the use of this wick the need for snuffing candles is obviated, for during combustion the wick becomes untwisted so that the lighted end is bent outside the flame, and meeting the air is completely consumed. Utilizing these materials, cocoa-nut stearine, stearic acid, and plaited wick, Edward Price & Co. manufactured the first 'composite' candles, which gave a brilliant light, requiring no snuffing and could be retailed at one shilling per lb. The new candles came rapidly into notice, and the sales advanced in a manner altogether without precedent.

During 1840–2, the work of improving the methods of producing fatty acids was carried on earnestly by Mr. George F. Wilson, Mr. George Gwynne, and Mr. W. C. Jones. Mr. Gwynne directed his attention to distillation *in vacuo*, while Mr. Wilson and Mr. Jones studied distillation by the aid of steam, and the latter method was finally adopted as easily managed and requiring only an apparatus of simple construction. The latter inventors turned their attention also to the use of sulphuric acid as a saponifying agent as well as a decolouriser and deodoriser of dark and strongly smelling fats, and found that when applied at a comparatively high temperature it acted so thoroughly that, after the acidified fats had been well boiled with water and then distilled by the aid of super-heated steam, the distillate on being pressed yielded hard, white, and inodorous fatty acids. These discoveries revolutionised the manufacture by rendering available to candle-makers dark and often malodorous fats, to wit, palm oil, bone, and skin fats and greases instead of the expensive tallow previously used. Then began the growth of an industry which established itself firmly in England and on the continent, and which supplied hard, white, self-snuffing 'stearine' candles in great abundance and at comparatively moderate prices. Thanks to the investigations carried on in their own establishment the business of Edward Price & Co. progressed so rapidly that by 1847 large additional capital was needed for extensions, and in the summer of that year, in the midst of a commercial panic when money was a scarce commodity, Price's Patent Candle Company was formed with a capital of £500,000.⁴

¹ See art. 'Slavery, Candles and War,' in *Chambers's Journal*, May 1854, p. 279. I am indebted to Cecil T. Davis, Esq., for this information.

² In 1845 the partners in this company disclaimed all that part of the patent of 1836 which related to the obtaining certain products from animal fat or tallow and applying them and beeswax to the making of tallow, as this part of the invention had not proved beneficial (Close, 1845, pt. 139, No. 9).

³ The patent in question was that taken out by James Soames, a Spitalfields soapmaker, in 1829, for 'a new preparation or manufacture of a certain material produced from a vegetable substance and the application thereof to the purposes of affording light and other uses' (*Pat. of Invention*, Nos. 5842, 5863).

⁴ Price's *Jubilee Memoir*.

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Mr. William Wilson became the first chairman of the company, and his sons, Mr. James P. Wilson and Mr. George F. Wilson, the two managing directors. Mr. William Wilson died in 1860 and Mr. J. P. Wilson in 1890. Mr. G. F. Wilson, F.R.S., until his death on 25 March 1902, continued as a director to give the company the benefit of his unique experience, whilst Mr. John Calderwood, the late managing director and the writer of the article on 'Candles' in the last edition of *Chambers's Encyclopædia* died so recently as 20 August 1903.

A short account of Price's candle factory published in 1850 refers to it as an extraordinary instance of the capability of private capital and energies.¹ Attention is especially drawn to the possession by the company of its own cocoa-nut plantations in Ceylon, whence the palm oil used in its manufacture was brought. The moulds in which the candles were run, the machines by which the wicks were cut, and the hydraulic presses by which the oil was pressed through filtering mats, all showed a vast improvement and a total change in the operations of the candle manufacture. The number of hydraulic presses used was thirty-six of 250 tons each. Three hundred men in light agreeable workshops performed the whole of the immense business with a quiet and comparative absence from smoke and disagreeable odour very different from even small establishments on the old system. Patent candles of every kind were made for the supply of both high and low priced markets, and those made for the East and West Indies were of such a consistency as to be unaffected by the hottest weather.

A new candle material was introduced in 1850 in the shape of paraffin wax which was first manufactured in this country under the patent granted to Mr. (afterwards Dr.) James Young in that year. Despite the beautiful transparency of paraffin it was unable to supersede stearine, for it lacks the stability, especially in warm atmospheres, of the latter and needs admixture therewith. Price's Company were not slow to take up the new material and, thanks to an invention introduced in 1871 by one of their own staff, Mr. J. Hodges, and patented, they were enabled to refine it more economically and safely than was possible by any previously known method. After the expiry of this patent, the process became almost universally adopted with modifications in the plant employed. Down to

1882 however stearine candles alone were exported to warm climates, but an important experiment made by the company in that year led to the introduction of 'paraffin composite' candles. These having stood the test of use in many markets where the temperature is higher than in Great Britain became established favourites and resulted in a great increase in the company's business abroad. The great increase in the production of solid paraffin which has taken place in the United States within the last ten to twenty years has rendered the utilization of this material a matter of moment.

Although the company has given most of its attention to the manufacture and refining of candle materials, it has contributed also in no small measure to the improvements effected in other branches of the industry, notably to the evolution of the modern candle-moulding machinery and to the manufacture of night-lights or 'mortars' as they were originally called. For the latter the company acquired in 1848 a patent held by Mr. G. M. Clarke, and in 1849 the night-light business of Mr. Samuel Childs. In 1853 Mr. George Wilson introduced moulded cocoa-stearine lights and now, like that of candle making, the night-light branch of the business has reached a paraffin stage and has steadily grown in importance, notwithstanding that it has had to meet the increasing competition of rival makers.

So far we have been solely concerned with the primary and most important branch of the business of Price's Company—the manufacture of candles. From the account we have given of the change that has come over this manufacture consequent on the scientific discoveries of Chevreul as to the nature of fats, it will be readily understood that there must now be a considerable residuum from the materials used, which from the candle maker's point of view must be regarded as waste products. The utilization of these products led in the first place to the company developing other branches of its business which have since acquired considerable importance.

After the liberation of the solid stearine from the fats two liquid products are obtained, oleic acid (known in commerce as oleine) and glycerine. The use of oleine for oiling wood was first introduced on the continent but was for some time regarded with suspicion by British mill owners. But after acquiring a French patent and taking advantage of the patented improvements of Messrs. J. P. & G. F. Wilson the company succeeded in producing a refined oleine which dispelled the fears of the mill owners and which, known

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App. 41, 42.

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as cloth oil, became, and continues to be, an important article of commerce. The medicinal virtues of glycerine were not realized until Mr. G. F. Wilson's valuable discoveries, made in 1854, of separating it from fats and oils by means of steam at a high temperature and of purifying it by distillation in an atmosphere of steam. By this means he produced for the first time a pure article, and although glycerine is now made very generally by others it still remains one of the important productions of Price's Company.

The company's lubricating oil department originated in the need for an outlet for the liquid fats obtained when tallow, cocoa-nut oil, etc., in their natural state were separated into their solid and liquid constituents. In course of time the mineral lubricating oils appeared, and since then the blending of these with fatty oils, a work requiring considerable experience both of machinery and of lubricants, has been taken in hand, and all grades of lubricating oils, from sewing machine and spindle oils to heavy engine and cylinder oils, are now supplied by the company. Soap making was first taken up by the company in 1854 and the business so developed until in course of time they became makers of all kinds of household, mill, laundry and disinfecting (carbolic) soaps, and eventually of toilet soaps.

The company's predecessors, Messrs. Edward Price & Co., began operations at the Belmont Works, Vauxhall, where the company's factory remained until 1864, when the premises were acquired by the Phoenix Gas Company. In 1843 a little factory was leased at Battersea, the freehold being afterwards purchased, on land which covered the site of York House, which we have elsewhere noticed as the seat of the manufacture of Battersea enamels. The company erected here their Sherwood factory for the purpose of carrying on the new distillation process of manufacturing fatty acids.

The premises were enlarged by gradual purchases of additional land, and now the 'Belmont Works, Battersea,' cover an area of eleven acres, with an excellent river and road frontage of 287 yards and 329 yards respectively, and are rendered still more valuable by possessing a navigable creek, which runs from the Thames close up to the road frontage, and nearly bisects the property. The Company's London property was added to in 1889, by the purchase of about an acre of riverside land about 250 yards higher up the Thames than the Belmont Works, and there stabling of the most modern construction was erected for their horses.¹

¹ Price's *Jubilee Memoir*.

In 1895 additional land being required for the company's increasing stocks of raw and finished goods, and none being available near at hand on the Surrey side, 8 acres on the Fulham shore, opposite the Belmont Works, were purchased. The company's large works at Bromborough Pool on the Cheshire side of the Mersey were started in 1852 with a view of establishing a factory close to the great port of arrival of palm oil, Liverpool. The company's estate here comprises 60 acres of ground, and the total freehold land in its possession now amounts to 80 acres, of which about thirty are occupied for factory purposes. The progress of the company is moreover evidenced by the increase of the finished products sold. During the first five years, 1847 to 1851, the quantity sold was 14,220 tons, whilst during the five years ended December 1896, it had reached the large total of 129,665. The total number of employes is over 2,000, of whom about 1,400 are at Battersea, and about 600 at Bromborough Pool. It is pleasant to note the satisfactory relations which have always existed between the company and their staff, and in this connection we can only allude to the Workers' Pension Fund which has been found to work with very successful results, and to the classes and recreative clubs for the physical and intellectual well-being of the workers. At Bromborough Pool, where the company's village is at a distance from any town, something more than this has been done, but the consideration of it does not fall within the scope of the present work. Of the company it may in conclusion be said that, founded at a time when as yet no scientific knowledge of the fatty bodies existed, it can justly claim to have been the pioneer in the modern candle manufacture.

In this respect however due recognition must be had of the very excellent and valuable work done by another eminent Surrey firm of candle makers, that of Messrs. J. C. & J. Field, Limited, of Lambeth Upper Marsh. Possessing works of considerably less extent than Price's Company, this firm can for length of days compare with any other similar firm in the kingdom. Although the year 1642, in which the firm claims to have been established, is problematic, there is evidence that sometime before the middle of the seventeenth century members of the Field family were settled as candle makers in Lambeth. In 1655, and this is the first definite notice we have of one of them, Thomas Field a wax chandler of Lambeth Marsh retired from business and received his pension from the Wax Chandlers' Company. From

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1655 to 1680 the record of the firm is again obscure, but from the latter date onwards is unbroken. The business has always been in the hands of the Field family until in 1887 it was converted into a limited company, and ever since that date the managing director has always been a member of the same family down to the present gentleman who occupies that position, Mr. F. A. Field, through whose energy much is now being done to extend the operations of the company.

At first the business of the firm was confined to the manufacture of wax candles, wafers, sealing wax and the like, and the bleaching of the wax was the chief operation. The use of spermaceti for candles was taken up about the year 1740. From an old bill-head in the company's possession it appears that in 1779 the style of the firm was Sarah Field & Son, 'who make and sell all sorts of fine sealing wax and wafers, wax candles, branches, flambeaux, fine spermaceti candles and links wholesale at the lowest prices.' Sarah Field was the wife of William Field of Lambeth whose son's indentures of apprenticeship to the business bear date 1764. William seems to have retired in favour of his wife for he was living some time after 1779. In 1800 John and Charles Field had the business and were the chief purveyors of candles to the palaces of London and Windsor. In 1820 the style was changed to J. C. & J. Field, which, with the single addition of the word 'Limited' when the business was converted in 1887, it has ever since retained.

In 1822 mortars or night-lights were invented by the firm, and in 1835 they became the first makers of stearine in this country, and did much to introduce the use of paraffin candles in the early 'fifties' of the last century. The first paraffin candle in England is indeed believed to have been made at Lambeth Marsh, although not by the Messrs. Field. In 1861 John Lyon Field patented the well-known self-fitting candles and a similar invention the wedge-end candles. These patents have now of course long expired and the idea is utilized by most of the leading candle makers of the kingdom. About 1869 the firm commenced the manufacture of candles from ozokerit, a kind of shale or earth wax of a brownish, yellowish or greenish colour, which is found chiefly in Galicia.

Although the headquarters of the firm have always been at Lambeth Marsh, they have during the course of their history had various branches in outlying districts, hitherto always within the boundaries of Surrey. Thus from 1830 to 1890 they had a factory in Bermond-

sey, and from 1870 to 1895 the ozokerit works were at Battersea. For about a hundred years previous to 1891 the wax bleaching was performed on the firm's grounds at Molesey. In 1855 the business of another company, situated in Paradise Street, Lambeth, was acquired, but this was dissociated on the formation of the limited company in 1887 and has since been discontinued. In 1891 the whole business was concentrated at Lambeth, the bleaching which had been carried on by natural means at Molesey being discontinued in favour of bleaching by chlorine and other chemical agents, which could be effected within the more circumscribed space at Lambeth. Extra land was bought here, and the old premises, which were then stated by experts to be upwards of 400 years old, were pulled down in 1892 and the company's present premises erected.

Every description of candle is now made by the company of paraffin, stearine, bees-wax and ozokerit. Stearine candles are still more in demand abroad than those of paraffin, but the more beautiful and transparent qualities of the latter find more favour for them in this country. The candles however purchased by the Government for the use of the army and navy are nearly all of stearine. Bees-wax candles are chiefly made for use in Roman Catholic churches, although there is still some demand for them in private families. The firm has made soap for about a hundred years, but hitherto this manufacture has been confined to those sorts intended for toilet purposes. But the Lambeth premises of the Messrs. Field, covering some two or three acres of ground, have been found all too small for their increasing business, and in order to keep pace with the demand an additional estate of fourteen acres has been lately acquired at Rainham in Essex and work, in October of last year (1903), has been already started there. The company hopes with this additional space at its command not only to increase the output of its present stock products but to extend its operations to other branches of the business, notably the manufacture of household and other soaps, which it has hitherto, for want of room, left untouched.

Besides the two important firms of Price's Candle Company and Messrs. Field, there are at the present day a number of others in South London extending from Bermondsey to Putney which carry on the businesses of candle or soap-makers or both. Amongst the principal of these may be noticed Messrs. Wright, Layman & Umney, Limited, of Southwark, makers of the well known Wright's coal tar soap, Messrs. Francis Tucker

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& Co., Limited, and Messrs. Dallett & Co. soap and candle makers both of Putney, and Messrs. John Gosnell & Co., Limited, fancy soap makers in the Blackfriars Road. Messrs. Wiggins, Pease & Co., carry on a considerable business as melters and tallow chandlers at Bermondsey, and have works at Bow Common, Shadwell, Deptford and Northolt in addition to their bone mills at Wandsworth. At their Garratt Mills in the latter place the grease is boiled out of the bones and the

liquor converted to size. The bones are afterwards sorted, the leg bones being exported to France to be made into tooth-brush handles and other articles, and the remaining bones converted into superphosphate of lime for manure.⁴

With the single exception of a present candle-manufacture at Kingston-upon-Thames, the soap and candle industry of Surrey does not appear to have ever strayed out of the more metropolitan districts of the county.

METAL AND MACHINERY WORKS

Apart from the production of its own native iron ore, various industries connected with the preparation of different metals and their manufacture into finished products have been and still are carried on in Surrey. At the present day iron founding, engineering and machine-making engage a fair proportion of the population in the metropolitan districts in the north-east corner of the county. But there are several notices of early metal industries in Surrey which are of somewhat exceptional interest and demand particular treatment.

A number of conflicting statements based as we believe on somewhat unsound authority have been made as to the sites and dates of the first wire mills and the first brass works in England. The scene of both has been claimed to be in Surrey. One account tells us that 'it is said that the first wire making was at Esher in Surrey by J. Mommer and D. Demetrius.'¹ These works were set up in the year 1649 and are more generally claimed as the first works for the manufacture of brass in England, that is to say of the alloy of copper with zinc to which later usage has restricted the meaning of the word.² Anderson gave 1663 as the date of the first wire mill which he said was set up by a Dutchman at Sheen near Richmond.³ It is certain however that wire drawing by means of machinery was practised much earlier in this kingdom than either of these two dates, and there can be little doubt that it owed its introduction in this country to the arrival about 1565 of Christopher Shutz, a native of Annaberg in Saxony, upon the invitation of William Humphrey, assay-master of the Tower Mint. Shutz was reputed to be a

workmaster of great cunning in the finding of calamine, one of the ores of zinc, and in its right use for the composition of the mixed metal called latten, as well as in working both this metal and iron and steel into all sorts of battery wares, cast works and wire. On 17 September 1565 Humphrey and Shutz received a patent to dig for calamine in England and Ireland, and to manufacture latten and other metals.⁵ The powers conferred upon them under this patent they afterwards transferred to the well known company formed by several of the nobility and others under the style of the Governors, Assistants and Society of the Mineral and Battery Works. The patent of 1565 was confirmed to this company by another of 2 July 1584,⁶ and on 22 January 1603-4 the company was incorporated by James I. as the Society of the City of London of the Mineral and Battery Works.⁷ The company's most important works were at Tintern Abbey in Monmouthshire and it was for having enticed away some of its workmen from these works and for having under their direction set up at Chilworth in Surrey certain wireworks, houses, hammers and engines, which were alleged to be a direct infringement of its privileges, that a prosecution was commenced in the Exchequer against one Thomas Steere and others in the very year of the company's incorporation by royal patent. Witnesses were examined in the course of the proceedings as to the principles of the patent which had been infringed, and from their evidence it is clear that the chief feature of Shutz's invention in the matter of wire drawing had been the substitution of water power for the old engines called 'brackes' on which the wire had been formerly drawn in England

¹ Burn, *Foreign Protestant Refugees*, 256.

² C. Drury E. Fortnum, F.S.A., *Bronzes* (S. K. Handbooks), 16.

³ *Origin of Commerce* (1787), ii. 474.

⁴ C. T. Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth*, 5.

⁵ Pat. 7 Eliz. pt. 8.

⁶ *Ibid.* 26 Eliz. pt. 4, m. 33.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1 Jas. I. pt. 7.

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by mere manual strength. Humphrey and Shutz were declared to have brought into England twenty-two Germans to instruct the English in their art. According to the evidence the Chilworth wire works appear to have been started about the year 1602, and one of the defendants, Robert Hunt, was stated to have made osmund iron to serve them, apparently another violation of the company's monopoly.¹

Eventually on 3 July 1606, judgment was given against Steere and his fellow defendants, and they were forbidden to use the Chilworth or any other works for the straining of iron into wire or the drawing of wire in the manner practised in the works of the company. The plaintiff company was however ordered to purchase within a month at a reasonable price all the iron and movable working tools at Chilworth, and at Steere's own request and upon his assertion of his skill in the art to entertain him in its works as a workman, at the rate of wages usually paid by the company to one of his quality. Upon Steere's submission, and in regard to his poverty, the court forbore to fine him for his infringement of the king's patent.²

It is clear therefore that even in Surrey itself a wire mill had been in existence considerably before 1649. Whether better authority exists for the statement, that has been persistently put forward in works dealing with the subject, that Mommer and Demetrius' works set up at Esher in this year were the first for the manufacture of brass in this country we have been unable to determine. The term brass is of ancient use in the English language, but was not originally employed in the special sense it has now acquired, being made to include such alloys of copper with other metals as we now know as bronze, bell-metal, and the like. Zinc indeed, one of the two components of brass, is said not to have been recognized as a metal until the time of Paracelsus, but to have been principally known through calamine which we now know to be an important ore of zinc. The alloy of copper with calamine produced latten the manufacture of which Shutz seems to have been the first to introduce into this country. Previously to this the plates of brass or latten so extensively used for the engraving of monumental inscriptions and effigies are believed to have been imported into England from abroad, and the frequent occurrence here of so called palimpsest brasses supports the view that the plates were a somewhat scarce and valuable commodity.

The Esher works were short lived, and seem to have resulted in the ruin of their founders who are stated to have spent £6,000 on their erection. Rosette copper, imported from Sweden, is said to have been exclusively employed in them.³

Another place in Surrey for which a claim has been made as the site of the first brass works in England is Wotton where John Evelyn in his letter to Aubrey prefixed to the first volume of the latter's *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* states that the first brass mills for the casting, hammering into plates, cutting and drawing it into wire were set up. Evelyn describes the process of wire drawing, which at first, he says, was done 'by men sitting harnessed in certain swings taking hold of the brass thongs fitted to the holes with pincers fastened to a girdle which went about them: and then with stretching forth their feet against a stump, they shot their bodies from it, closing with the plate again.' Afterwards this practice was quite discontinued and the process was performed by an 'ingenio' brought out of Sweden, which at the time of his writing he supposed to be still used. The mills however had been removed some further distance from his brother's house at Wotton. Nothing further appears to be known of these works, nor indeed do we hear anything more of the wire-mill which the Dutchman is said to have set up at Sheen in 1662 or 1663. We may note the appearance of a wire drawer in Stephen Combs of Godalming, who is so described in his will dated 12 December 1677.⁴

Another instance of our indebtedness to foreigners for the introduction of brass works in this country is the manufacture at Wandsworth, noticed by Aubrey, by Dutchmen, who kept it a mystery, of brass plates for kettles, skellets, frying pans, and the like.⁵ This manufacture would appear to have been still in existence in 1754.⁶ According to Lysons the houses where it was carried on bore the name of the Frying-pan Houses.⁷ In 1814 they are said to have been used by Messrs. Gattey & Sons for preparing iron liquids and sowers for the use of calico-printers.⁸ Mr. C. T. Davis thinks that they

³ W. Graham on 'Brass founding, tin plate and zinc working' in *British Manufacturing Industries* (ed. G. P. Bevan), 125; G. Clinch on 'Early Surrey Industries' in *Bygone Surrey*, 231.

⁴ Prob. Commissary Ct. of Surrey, 19 May 1681.

⁵ *Nat. Hist. and Antiquities of Surrey*, i. 14.

⁶ Dr. Richard Pococke, *Travels through England* (ed. Cam. Soc. N.S. xliv.), ii. 171.

⁷ *Environs of London* (ed. 1), i. 503.

⁸ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 342.

¹ Exch. Dep. by Comm. Hil. 2 Jas. I. No. 12.

² Exch. K.R. Mem. R. Trin. 4 Jas. I. 61.

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must have been situated at Point Pleasant, for a little creek at the back of the brewery there bears the names of Frying-pan Creek, and in an old lease of land mention is made as the western boundary of the common road called Love Lane (now Putney Bridge Road) leading to the Frying-pan Houses.¹

No account of the various metal works of Surrey would be complete without some mention of the important bell foundry of the Eldridges at Chertsey. From this foundry came no small number of the bells that are still hung in Surrey churches. The works were started by Bryan Eldridge, who was the son and grandson of bell founders carrying on their manufacture at Wokingham, Berks, in the latter half of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Bryan's Surrey bells extend in date from 1619 to 1638. He died in 1640, leaving in his will dated 14 August and proved 8 September of that year, his bell house in Chertsey with all his working tools to his eldest son Bryan. Provision was made for the payment of £40 out of the house and tools to his daughter Katherine on attaining the age of twenty-one years or marriage, and the widow was to have the annual rent of £3 out of the house during her life. Mention is also made of the testator's house in Gilford Street, Chertsey, which was left to his youngest son William, who was also to pay his mother the rent of it during her life.

The younger Bryan continued to carry on a large business, and, according to Mr. Stahlschmidt, there were in 1884 seventeen bells of his still in use in Surrey, whilst two others had been known to have been recast. The entire peal of five bells at Lingfield, dated 1648, were made by him. He died in November 1661, when the business passed into his brother William's hands. William carried it on until his death in 1716, when the foundry came to an end. Apparently the business declined during William's latter years, for only seven bells in Surrey made at Chertsey are dated in the eighteenth century, and, according to his will, there was a mortgage on the house. The reputation of the Chertsey bell-foundry probably declined be-

¹ *Industries of Wandsworth*, 6. One of the brass pans made at this manufactory was discovered in Wandsworth in 1902, and is now in the possession of Mr. Davis. It averages $10\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, is 6 inches deep and has a circumference of 2 ft. 9 in. It is made of a single sheet of metal, the 'mystery' of its manufacture consisting in the process whereby this sheet was hollowed out into the requisite shape. (Ex inf. C. T. Davis, Esq.)

fore the increasing prosperity of some of the London foundries of that time.²

A few works set up in Surrey for the manufacture of ordnance and instruments of war, other than those produced in the iron-works of the Weald, may be noticed here. That the manufacture in the Tudor period was one to which we were largely indebted to alien immigrants is evidenced by the fact that the office of 'provider of the king's instruments of war' was held from its first creation by Henry VIII. to the end of the reign of Elizabeth by foreigners.³ There were a few foreign gunmakers in Southwark in 1571, namely, Arnold Gilles from Liege,⁴ Andrew Mullenbeck from Holland,⁵ and Jasper Barneson from Cologne,⁶ all in St. Olave's parish; Warner Williamson from Guelderland⁷ in St. George's and Peter Wellens from Brabant⁸ in St. Thomas's, whilst the 'stockmaker' in St. Olave's, Tice Randewe, who was born in Cologne, was presumably a maker of gun-stocks.⁹ Three or four other gunmakers or gunstock-makers appear in the later Southwark returns of 1582 and 1583.¹⁰

Charles I. erected at Vauxhall in Lambeth a foundry for ordnance, which, to judge from an inventory of its contents taken by order of the Committee of Lords and Commons for the Safety of the Kingdom in 1645, must have been of a somewhat extensive and varied character.¹¹ A beginning seems to have been made with these works upon the surrender to the Crown on 2 November 1629 by one John Abrahall of the messuage called Copped Hall with lands and thirteen cottages in Water Lambeth within the manor of Kennington. Afterwards upon the dissolution of the Westminster Company of Soapmakers the soaphouse in Vauxhall belonging to Sir Richard Weston of Guildford, the first governor of that company, was purchased with a view to converting it into a founding house for the king's use, which was seemingly extended to include Copped Hall and the grounds which had been Abrahall's. One Colonel Scott was first established in

² J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, *Surrey Bells* (1884) 109-21.

³ W. Page, F.S.A., *Denizations and Naturalizations*, 1509-1603 (Hug. Soc. Publ. viii.), p. xlii.

⁴ Kirk, *Returns of Aliens dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London* (Hug. Soc. Publ. x.), i. 472; ii. 107.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 107. ⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 98.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 466; ii. 119.

⁸ *Ibid.* i. 463. ⁹ *Ibid.* i. 472.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 289, 291, 329, 332.

¹¹ Land Rev. Enrolments, cxiii. 41.

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these works for the purpose of making leather guns, and they were subsequently held by a Scotsman, Colonel Wemyss.¹

In 1645 some part of these works, consisting of sixteen rooms and workshops, in addition to his own private rooms, were occupied by John Bishop, who is described as 'engineer and overseer of all the instruments of war made, moulded and contrived in Fauxhall' by virtue of an order of the Committee for Safety of 14 June 1643. The contents of these workshops show that they were mainly utilized for the production of guns, muskets and carbines. Another part of the works, the boring room and the melting room, had been utilized since the king went away by William Lambert, the gunfounder. Other rooms contained a variety of models, such as models of ammunition waggons, of breech-charging guns, of a freestone to cast saker shot in, of fortifications, of ships' decks contrived to entrap men who came aboard, and the like. The models of a waggon to go without horses and of a boat to go by itself against stream and tide strike one as premature, whilst 'the wooden model for a perpetual motion' is anticipatory of many later attempts to solve a still unsolved problem. Into the brick house which had been built for the manufacture of leather guns the surveyors could not gain an entry owing to the refusal of Colonel Wemyss to part with the key.

After the Restoration Charles II. granted a lease of Vauxhall to Henry Lord Moore, afterwards Earl of Drogheda, with power of resumption upon a proper allowance being made if his Majesty should think fit to make use of the house or any part of it. This power was exercised the year after this lease was granted, and a Dutchman, Jasper Calthoff, was settled at Vauxhall and employed in making guns and other warlike implements for the king's service. Apparently this manufacture was not long continued, for a few years afterwards we are told that part of the premises were occupied by a sugar baker, and in 1675 Sir Samuel Morland obtained a lease of the house and made it his residence.²

In connection with the manufacture of ordnance we may notice here two or three manufactories of shot in Southwark and Lambeth. The Southwark shot tower was in the parish of Christ Church, and is described by Manning and Bray³ (1814) as a slender tall

brick tower for the manufacture of lead shot under a patent. A patent had been granted on 29 June 1758 to Henry Raminger of Christ Church, Surrey, for certain 'engines or machines whereby shots commonly used for fowling and bullets of lead are made more exactly round, solid and to much greater perfection than hath hitherto been practised.'⁴

The manufactory for making patent shot near Waterloo Bridge in Lambeth was established about the year 1789 by Messrs. Watts. The principle of making the shot was to let it fall from a great height into water, thereby allowing it to cool and harden sufficiently to prevent its receiving any pressure on falling into the water. In the manufacture of ordinary shot we are told the metal fell scarcely a yard before touching the water and lost in consequence some of its spherical shape. The height of the Lambeth tower was about 140 feet from the ground to the top of the turret, and the shot fell 123½ feet.⁵ In 1826 this manufactory was in the possession of Messrs. Walker, Parker & Co.,⁶ under which style it continues to be carried on at the present day, and a new shot factory was being erected in the Belvedere Road, which when finished was to be considerably higher than its neighbour.⁷ The patent shot tower at Lambeth is still one of the most conspicuous landmarks on the Surrey side of the Thames.

Copper is another of the metals that have at one time or another been worked within the county. Here again the first to be mentioned in connection with the industry are of foreign birth. Mark Bennyman or Benamon—the name is spelt in various ways—who was living in St. George's parish in Southwark in May 1571, and is then stated to have been in England for twenty years, is described as a coppersmith, and was a Fleming, having been born in Brabant.⁸ In 1583 he was resident in St. George's,⁹ and is called elsewhere 'Marcus Copersmith alias Bynnyman.'¹⁰ He is no doubt the 'Marck the coppersmith' in Southwark in 1586.¹¹ Other alien coppersmiths in Southwark in the latter part of the sixteenth century were Simon Percey, a Norman, aged seventy-three in November 1571, when he was then living in St. Olave's, and was declared to have been in England for fifty-three years,¹² and John

⁴ *Pat. of Invention*, No. 725.

⁵ Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 1), i. 318.

⁶ Allen, *Hist. of Lambeth*, 313.

⁷ *Ibid.* 308.

⁸ Kirk, *Returns of Aliens, etc.* i. 466.

⁹ *Ibid.* ii. 332. ¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii. 333.

¹¹ *Ibid.* ii. 402. ¹² *Ibid.* ii. 107.

¹ Land Rev. Enrolments, cxlii. 77.

² Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 1), i. 322.

³ *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 536.

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Kinge in the ward of Bridge-Without in 1582 or 1583.¹ These latter had both received letters of denization. Another alien was perhaps Olyf Burr of Southwark, copper-smith, who petitioned the Council on 11 August 1579 that, in consideration of certain losses he had suffered, his shipping might be employed by the Company of Merchants trading to Spain in preference to any other.²

A copper mill is marked on the map issued with Aubrey's *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey*, published in 1719, at Merton Abbey on the Wandle. This is probably the copper mill at the north-east corner of the abbey premises which is said in 1792 to have been long established there.³ At the latter date it was occupied by Mr. Thoytts, but in 1811 had passed into the hands of Messrs. Morgan.⁴ Other copper mills on the Wandle were in Wimbledon, but at a considerable distance from the village. They were owned in 1792 by Messrs. Henckell⁵ and in 1811 by Mr. Benjamin Paterson.⁶

Although the native ore of the county has long since ceased to be worked, the business of iron founding has been carried on at various places, chiefly in the neighbourhood of the capital, for some considerable time. The iron plate mill at Wimbledon, which is mentioned in 1649, and an iron mill which appears to have existed at Byfleet at the beginning of the eighteenth century, have already been noticed in the account of the extinct iron works of the county, though they belong more properly to the category of works dealt with here.

Several iron foundries must have existed in Southwark during the eighteenth century, and both here and in Lambeth there were numerous works for the manufacture of iron goods and machinery at the beginning of the nineteenth. The iron railings for St. Paul's Cathedral are said to have been finished at the Falcon foundry just within the north-western boundary of St. Saviour's parish after having been cast at Lamberhurst in Sussex.⁷ An iron foundry in the same parish is noted as one of the 'things observable' there in 1756.⁸ Mr. Bradley's iron foundry next to the house called the Unicorn described by Stow is mentioned in St. Saviour's in 1814.⁹ In

1783 John Bradly (*sic*) of Bankside in Southwark, founder, took out a patent for 'his new invented forge back, the iron and frame on a new construction for conveying wind by the blast of bellows or otherwise,'¹⁰ and in 1807 a patent was taken out by James Bradly, an iron founder of Maid Lane, Southwark, for an iron bar to be used in fire-places, the principle of his invention consisting in making the bars hollow so as to allow the air a free passage through.¹¹

To conclude our notices of those works in Surrey which were early in the nineteenth century more particularly devoted to iron founding, we may mention the two, Mr. Joseph's and Messrs. Weale & Co.'s, in existence at Lambeth in 1811.¹² At the same date there were in Rotherhithe the extensive ironworks of Messrs. Gardner, Howard & Co., which were chiefly devoted to the manufacture of iron bolts out of old scrap iron;¹³ and in Wandsworth were Mr. Henckell's iron mills,¹⁴ which had been there at least as early as 1792.¹⁵ Writing of these latter in 1808 Dr. Hughson says:—

Here are cast shot, shells, cannon, and other implements of war; in another part the wrought iron is manufactured, and the great effect of mechanic power is exemplified in all their operations—in the splitting of iron bars of prodigious lengths, in a pair of shears which will cut asunder pieces of iron more than two inches in thickness, and in the working of a hammer which weighs from five hundred and a half to six hundred pounds; the timbers employed are of an enormous size, and the wonderful powers of all the elements are here made subservient in the production of various tools and implements necessary for man in the arts of war and peace.¹⁶

Though the mills have long since disappeared their memory is still kept alive in the name of Ironmill Road at Wandsworth.

Iron foundries have continued to the present day to form one of the staple industries in the north of the county between Bermondsey on the east and Nine Elms on the west. The number of firms engaged in this industry and established in this district is very considerable, but many of them have works in the midlands and more northern parts of the country, where the casting of the larger classes of goods is more generally done.

¹ Kirk, *Returns of Aliens, etc.* ii. 294.

² S. P. Dom. Eliz. cxxx. 61.

³ Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 1), i. 345.

⁴ *Ibid.* (ed. 2), i. 250.

⁵ *Ibid.* (ed. 1), i. 539.

⁶ *Ibid.* (ed. 2), i. 404.

⁷ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xvi. 99.

⁸ Maitland, *Hist. and Survey of London*, ii. 1391.

⁹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 590.

¹⁰ *Pat. of Invention*, No. 1362.

¹¹ *Ibid.* No. 3061.

¹² Lysons, *Environs of London* (ed. 2), i. 229.

¹³ *Ibid.* (ed. 2), i. 354.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* i. 379.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* (ed. 1), i. 503.

¹⁶ Quoted by C. T. Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth*, 24.

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These works will be noticed more particularly later. In the meantime we have to deal with the important manufactories of engines and the engineering works which were established more especially in Southwark and Lambeth during the course of the nineteenth century. Several of these have been carried on by engineers who have been amongst the most distinguished in their profession in a century characterized by nothing so much as by its engineering triumphs.

A considerable number of engineers seem indeed to have been established in business about Southwark, Bermondsey and Lambeth towards the close of the eighteenth century. A study of the published indexes to the patents of inventions granted during this period and the first half of the following century shows that a very large proportion of those for inventions and improvements in machinery were taken out by engineers and others hailing from this district, and bears strong testimony to the activity of their inventive genius. Bryan Donkin, for instance, who first appears as a millwright of Dartford, Kent, but was afterwards settled as an engineer in Fort Place, Bermondsey, and whom we shall have occasion to refer to later in this account of the industries of Surrey in connection with improvements in the manufacture of paper and printing machinery, took out between 1803 and 1850 eleven patents. Some of these were in conjunction with others, his inventions besides those for paper and printing extending to other machinery and to the manufacture of pens,¹ lace,² wheels for railway carriages,³ steam engines and fluid meters.⁴ Another Surrey engineer who was somewhat prolific in inventions was John Collinge of Lambeth, the founder of Messrs. Collinges' machinery and patent axle-tree works in the Westminster Bridge Road, which seem to have been of considerable extent about the year 1826.⁵ This manufactory is among those in Lambeth mentioned by Lysons in 1811.⁶ Between 1787 and 1830 Collinge took out eight patents. Three of these—his first on 2 November 1787,⁷ his second on 17 July 1792⁸ and his fourth on 9 March 1811⁹—were for carriage wheel boxes and axle-trees, which became the speciality of his firm. His remaining patents

include improvements in sugar mills,¹⁰ in the cast-iron rollers for the same,¹¹ in hinges,¹² springs for closing doors and gates,¹³ and apparatus for hanging ships' rudders.¹⁴ In his first patent he is described merely as a cabinet maker of Bridge Road, Lambeth, but subsequently appears as a wheel-box and axle-tree maker, until in 1821 he is dignified as an engineer. Charles Collinge of the same firm, also an engineer, patented further improvements in the manufacture of axle-trees on 2 May 1833.¹⁵ In connection with this manufacture of carriage accessories we may here recall the fact that the elliptic spring which superseded to so great an extent the leathern straps on which carriages had been generally hung since early in the eighteenth century was the invention of Obadiah Elliott, a coachmaker of St. Mary's, Lambeth. Elliott took out a patent for this invention on 11 May 1805, and on this spring most carriages have since been mounted.¹⁶

Among the famous engineers who at some period of their career resided in Surrey it is interesting to note Marc Isambard Brunel, who at his first settling in England seems to have lived at Newington. Shortly afterwards however he must have removed to Canterbury Place, Lambeth; for he is described as of this place on 11 April 1799 in the patent, the first taken out by him in this country, for an invention of a duplicating writing or drawing machine.¹⁷ But two years afterwards he had gone to live on the Middlesex side of the Thames, and appears as of Bedford Street, Bedford Square, in his second patent, taken out in February 1801.¹⁸ Two of his more important engineering feats may be noticed here, as they especially concern our county. These were the erection of his saw-mills at Bermondsey, the destruction of which by fire in 1814 led to his bankruptcy, and, the most remarkable of all his undertakings, the construction of the Thames tunnel under the bed of the river at Rotherhithe. This was commenced in 1825 and opened in 1843.¹⁹

The most important engine factories and machinery works which have existed in Surrey were those founded by the famous engineers Rennie and Maudslay in Southwark and Lambeth respectively. These were con-

¹ *Pat. of Invention*, No. 3118.

² *Ibid.* No. 4842. ³ *Ibid.* No. 10932.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 12964.

⁵ Allen, *Hist. of Lambeth*, 304.

⁶ *Environs of London* (ed. 2), i. 229.

⁷ *Pat. of Invention*, No. 1626.

⁸ *Ibid.* No. 1899. ⁹ *Ibid.* No. 3410.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* No. 2019.

¹² *Ibid.* No. 4617.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* No. 6023.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* No. 2846.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* No. 2478.

¹⁹ Art. 'Brunel' in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*.

¹¹ *Ibid.* No. 4583.

¹³ *Ibid.* No. 5123.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* No. 6415.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* No. 2305.

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tinued under different styles during the greater part of the last century, and call for more particular notice here.

John Rennie, the son of a Scotch farmer, was born in Haddingtonshire on 7 June 1761.¹ At an early age he seems to have interested himself in machinery, and visiting England in 1784 after a short visit to James Watt at Soho, Staffordshire, he came to London to take charge of the works at the Albion Flour Mills by the south end of Blackfriars Bridge. These mills were a great advance on any that had preceded them, and were being erected on an extensive scale, and fitted up with improved machinery by Messrs. Boulton & Watt. Their novelty consisted in the use of cast-iron instead of wood for every portion of the machinery. This machinery is stated to have been the most perfect of its kind, and to have been all designed by Rennie. The mills were completed in 1787, and soon afterwards Rennie commenced the Wandsworth mills, which, on the destruction by fire of the Albion mills in 1791, became the most considerable near London.² Rennie continued to reside in Christ Church parish, Southwark, where in 1791 and 1794 his two famous sons, George and John, who afterwards succeeded him in the business, were respectively born. About 1804, perhaps earlier, he set up in business on his own account in Holland Street, Blackfriars, whence he and his successors until 1890 conducted their vast engineering operations. At first he is said to have employed but fifty men in the Southwark factory, this number of course not including the many employed by the contractors of the various works superintended by him.³

Upon the death of the father in 1821 the two sons, George and John Rennie, entered into partnership, and the works in Holland Street were continued by them for many years. Although like his younger brother a civil engineer by profession, the genius of George Rennie was chiefly mechanical, and to him fell the work of superintending the manufacture of the great variety of machinery which was executed by the firm. From 1818 he held for eight years the posts of inspector of machinery and clerk of the irons or

dies at the Royal Mint. He had considerable practice as a railway engineer, and in 1846 was the chief engineer of the Namur and Liège railway. He died in 1866. The younger John Rennie, who completed as we have said several of his father's most important undertakings, carried on the greater portion of the civil engineering business of the firm.

Among the works carried out by the firm in Blackfriars were the first biscuit-making machinery, corn and chocolate mills for Deptford victualling yard and the machinery at other royal victualling yards and dockyards, in addition to many orders executed for foreign governments. A short account of the firm's operations about the year 1850 states that the usual number of workmen then employed within the works was from three to four hundred, 'assisted by steam-engines that give motion to ingenious machines for turning, planing, shaping, boring, punching, drilling and screwing in the most efficient manner.' The following list of undertakings which had at this date been carried out at the Blackfriars works shows the great variety of the firm's operations: the Royal Mint, Tower Hill; the Calcutta Mint; the Mints of Bombay, St. Petersburg, Lisbon and the Anglo-Mexican; the flour mills at Deptford, Plymouth, Gosport, besides biscuit machinery for each of those ports and for the French government; the smithery and various machinery at Chatham, Sheerness, Woolwich, Deptford, Portsmouth and Plymouth royal dockyards, with rope machinery, diving bells, cranes, engines, etc. for those places; the great armoury at Constantinople; dredging machines for Calcutta, Malaga, Valentia, Barcelona, Amsterdam, etc.; block machinery for Russia, etc., steam ships and frigates.⁴

George Rennie had taken much interest in the screw propeller for ships, and his firm built the engines for the *Archimedes*, in which Sir Francis Pettit Smith's screw was tried. In 1840 the *Dwarf*, the first vessel in the British navy propelled by a screw, was built by the firm. The firms which succeeded to the business of the two brothers, Messrs. George Rennie & Sons and Messrs. John & George Rennie, Limited, confined themselves to marine engineering, iron and wood shipbuilding and boiler-making. In the 'sixties' a branch establishment was opened for these purposes at Greenwich. The Blackfriars works were continued until the year 1890, when they were finally abandoned, the Greenwich works being apparently carried

¹ See the articles on the Rennies by R. B. Prosser in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, from which many of the following particulars as to them and their firm have been taken.

² Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App. 25, 26.

³ *Ibid.* 44.

⁴ *Ibid.* 44.

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on for a few years longer under the two firms of Messrs. John Rennie & Co. and Messrs. George Rennie & Co.

The founder of the firm which subsequently became known as Maudslay Sons & Field, was Henry Maudslay, who was born at Woolwich in 1771.¹ After a brief training in the arsenal at Woolwich, he entered the works of Bramah, and for nearly ten years was engaged in making locks. In 1798 he set up on his own account as an engineer in Wells Street, Oxford Street, removing to Margaret Street in 1802. Here he patented several inventions, two of them for calico printing,² and one, in 1807, for a steam engine.³ In 1810 he set up the famous works in Westminster Bridge Road, Lambeth, which were afterwards carried on under the style of Henry Maudslay & Co., and later when Mr. Joshua Field was taken into partnership under that given above. The establishment was begun with 150 men and a 6 horse-power steam engine.⁴ One of the elder Maudslay's most valuable inventions was his measuring machine, so finely adjustable as to be able to register one ten-thousandth of an inch. Among his pupils and workmen were some who afterwards became famous in the engineering world. Sir Joseph Whitworth and James Nasmyth, to name two of the most important of these, worked for some time with him at Lambeth. Two of his sons, Thomas Henry Maudslay and Joseph Maudslay, were also well known engineers, and helped to continue the business after his death in 1831. Joseph Maudslay had received a training in early life as a ship-builder, and it was doubtless chiefly due to him that the firm, like that of the Rennies, became devoted more especially to marine engineering. In 1839, in conjunction with Joshua Field, and in 1841 by himself, he took out patents for the double-cylinder steam engine for ships,⁵ which came into extensive use, and the making of which we are told constituted a large portion of his firm's operations about the year 1850.⁶ At this date the premises covered about 3 acres of ground and 1,000 men were employed in them. The casting foundry was said to be one of the largest and busiest in the kingdom. The

engines in use consisted of two of 10, four of 6, and one of 4 horse-power, with every application of machinery that could facilitate the iron and brass foundry, model making, turning, boring, planing, clipping, rivetting and the like. The precision with which all this machinery could be adjusted to perform these various operations called for particular comment. For more than a quarter of a century the firm constructed the engines for ships of the royal navy. Joseph Maudslay took a great interest in the question of marine propulsion and in the development of the screw propeller. He took out a patent in 1843 for propelling machinery,⁷ and in conjunction with Joshua Field, two others in 1845 and 1846 for the same object.⁸ He died in 1861, his elder brother surviving him until 1864. The firm continued until its dissolution within the last few years to be carried on under the same style, but was afterwards converted into a limited company. In its later years branch works were opened at Greenwich, and in 1900 the Lambeth establishment was the first of the two to be abandoned.

At the present day the various metal trades and the manufactures of engines and machinery which are carried on in Surrey, especially in Southwark and Lambeth and the more metropolitan districts, are very numerous. Nearly thirty companies of iron-founders, many of them of considerable importance, are established between Rotherhithe and Battersea. Several of these, however, have their foundries in the midlands and the north, where the girders, columns, stanchions, gas and water pipes and the like, to the storage of which their London premises are devoted, are cast. But in a large proportion of the cases the actual works are within the county. Among such works we may mention those of Messrs. Measures Brothers, Limited, and the Thames Bank Iron Company in Southwark, the Globe Foundry Company, Limited, in Battersea Park, and Messrs. H. Young & Co., Limited, of the Nine Elms Iron Works. In the more rural parts of the county are the East Surrey Iron Works of Messrs. H. & G. Measures at Croydon, with their extensive stores of iron and steel columns, girders and joists, the ironworks at Millmead, Guildford, of Messrs. Dickenson & Burne, iron and brass founders and makers of agricultural implements, and the works of Messrs. George Coffin & Sons at Addington, who also make a speciality of their agricultural and horticultural implements.

¹ See the article 'Maudslay,' by R. B. Prosser in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* for many of the following facts.

² *Pat. of Invention*, Nos. 2872, 3117.

³ *Ibid.* No. 3050.

⁴ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App.

44.

⁵ *Pat. of Invention*, Nos. 8060, 8881.

⁶ Brayley and Britton, *loc. cit.*

⁷ *Pat. of Invention*, No. 9833.

⁸ *Ibid.* Nos. 10637 and 11039.

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Of the engineers and manufacturers of machinery in Surrey the greater number are to be found about Southwark. The following firms may be more especially noted in conclusion of this account of the metal and machinery works of Surrey as typical of the various branches of the trade which are now carried on in the county: Messrs. Thomas Green & Sons, Limited, in Southwark Street, are makers of gas and steam engines, garden and agricultural implements, chopping machines, and machines of every description; they have also works in Leeds. Messrs.

Shand, Mason & Co., of Upper Ground Street, Blackfriars Road, devote themselves to the manufacture of steam fire engines. In Lambeth are the works of the Brush Electrical Engineering Co., Limited, who make steam engines for electric light in addition to being contractors for electrical lighting and tramway works. At the works of the Vauxhall Ironworks Co., Limited, in the Wandsworth Road, steam yachts and launches are built, and single and twin screw engines and paddle engines are made for light draught steamers.

PAPER

Paper mills at a comparatively early date seem to have existed in Surrey along the course of the river Wey. Howes in his *Annales* (1631) states that coarse paper, commonly called brown paper, was first made in England in the reign of James I., especially about Windsor and Surrey, where the paper was called white brown paper and served for grocers and such like. Aubrey, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, connects this manufacture more particularly with Godalming, which he had frequently heard bore the bell from all the county for its excellence.¹

The mills at Eashing, which had long previously been used for the grinding of corn, were probably in part converted into paper mills about the year 1658, for on 3 August of that year John Keene conveyed his four corn mills called Eashing mills to William West, a papermaker of Wraysbury, co. Bucks.² It is not however until 23 December 1704, that we have any definite notice of the Eashing paper mills. By his will of that date³ Thomas Hall of Eashing, miller, left to his wife Elizabeth amongst other things the rents of his corn mills and paper mills in Eashing, until his son Thomas should have attained the age of twenty-one years. By his will dated 20 April 1713,⁴ Thomas Hall of Midhurst, miller, late of Witley, the father of the preceding, left to his granddaughter, Ann Hunn, a legacy of £20, being parcel of the arrears of rent due to him out of the paper and corn mills in Eashing. The paper mill seems to have been continued throughout the eighteenth century until some date in the latter half of the last century. In 1823 Mr.

Richard Smith was a paper maker at Eashing.⁵ About 1833 the mills were purchased by Messrs. Pewtress,⁶ who were carrying on the manufacture of paper in Surrey in the year 1850.⁷

John Evelyn visited some paper mills at Byfleet in 1678, where he found a coarse white paper being made. He gives the following interesting account of the process:⁸—

They cull the rags which are linen for white paper, woollen for brown; then they stamp them in troughs to a pap with pestles or hammers like the powder-mills, then put it into a vessel of water, in which they dip a frame closely wired with wire as small as a hair and as close as a weaver's reed; on this they take up the pap, the superfluous water draining through the wire; this they dexterously turn, shake out like a pancake on a smooth board between two pieces of flannel, then press it between a great press, the flannel sucking out the moisture; then taking it out, they ply and dry it on strings, as they dry linen in the laundry; then dip it in alum-water, lastly polish, and make it up in quires. They put some gum in the water in which they macerate the rags. The mark we find on the sheets is formed in the wire.

At Catteshall near Godalming paper is still made. Mills existed here both for corn and fulling at an early date, but it is uncertain when one or more of them were first used as paper mills. It is possible that John Wilde of Farnecombe, who is described as a papermaker in 1699, was employed at Catteshall.⁹

¹ *Nat. Hist. and Antiquities of Surrey*, iv. 16.

² Close R. 1658, pt. 14.

³ Prob. P.C.C. 26 Jan. 1704-5.

⁴ *Ibid.* 18 June 1713 (*Leeds*, 135).

⁵ Pigot & Co. *London and Provincial Commercial Directory* (1823-4).

⁶ Ex inf. P. Woods, Esq. C.B.

⁷ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App. 34.

⁸ *Diary*, 24 Aug. 1678.

⁹ Ex inf. P. Woods, Esq.

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John Knight, whose will bears date 10 March 1778,¹ describes himself as of Cattesshall, paper-maker. On 20 June 1794, Joseph Chandler of Guildford, baker, had a moiety of the water corn mills and paper mills called 'Catshull Mills,' which in his will of that date² he devised to his sons William and Thomas. Quite early in the nineteenth century the paper mill and corn mill at Cattesshall are mentioned as the property of George, Earl Onslow.³ Of Thomas Sweetapple, who was at this mill in 1838, some notice will be found below. At the present day paper-making is carried on here by the Farncombe Paper Co., Limited, who have two machines of 85 and 106 inches respectively, use steam power, and manufacture cream-laid paper, fine printings, music, cartridge, tinted and litho papers.⁴

Manning and Bray mention two paper mills on the Tillingbourne stream as being in existence at the date of their History.⁵ One of these was at Chilworth, and from the evidence in the trial of *Rex v. Tinkler and Mountford* in 1817, it appears that the lower powder works at that place were converted into paper mills in 1704. Some notice of this trial has been given in our account of the gunpowder industry. The chief instigator of the prosecution of the owners of the Chilworth powder mills was Mr. Rowland, the then proprietor in conjunction with a Mr. Ryde of the paper mills, which appear from the evidence to have been situated 114 yards from the dusting house of the powder works. Some time previously the paper mills appear to have been damaged by an explosion in the powder mills, but they had been since not only rebuilt but extended.

The other paper mill on the Tillingbourne was at Albury, near the church, and had been converted from a corn mill some time prior to 1814.⁶ In 1850 this mill is spoken of as the principal one in Surrey. It then belonged to Sir William Magnay, and contained two machines and nine engines, with a water fall of 12 feet. Within five miles of it were at the same period the paper mills of Messrs. Pewtress, Warren, Sweetapple, Spicer, and others.⁷ A Mr. Thomas Sweetapple was in partnership with Mr. Thomas Downham in 1823, at Godalming, as a paper manu-

facturer, and there was another mill there in that year owned by Messrs. Thomas & William Harrison.⁸ In 1838 Thomas Sweetapple was of the Cattesshall mill, Godalming, for he is so described when on 6 December of that year he took out a patent for an improvement in the machinery for making paper. The object of this invention was to improve the texture and strength of paper made in machines such as Fourdrinier's, in which the paper was formed upon a revolving endless web of wove wire. Sweetapple claimed that this improvement would be effected if a greater number of the fibres of the paper could be laid lengthwise in a horizontal direction, or nearly parallel with the plane of the sheet of paper, and this he proposed to do by means of a series of shallow tanks in which the pulp was kept in flotation for a time as it passed over the web instead of being immediately drained as it left the vat.⁹

This concludes our notices of the paper making industry in south-west Surrey. The other districts in the county where the industry has been established, and is still carried on, are in Bermondsey and Southwark, and at several places on the course of the Wandale.

Although very short lived an especial interest attaches to the attempt which was made at the Neckinger Mills, in Bermondsey, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, to manufacture paper from straw and waste materials. Paper machinery seems to have been made on the little watercourse called the Neckinger, to some extent before this ill-fated attempt if we may judge from the fact that one Elias Carpenter, described as of the Neckinger, took out a patent on 19 November 1795, for a method of bleaching paper in the water leaf or sheet, and sizing it without drying, 'whereby the manufacture of it will be improved by shortening the process, lessening the expense, and considerably increasing the value.'¹⁰ In 1800 or 1801, however, a steam engine was erected for a mill which seems to have been intended to carry out the inventions of Matthias Koops, for which he took out three successive patents. The first of these was on 28 April 1800, for a method of extracting printing and writing ink from printed and written paper, and converting the paper from which the ink was so extracted into pulp.¹¹ His second and third patents were taken out on 2 August 1800, and 17 February 1801, respectively, and

¹ Prob. Archd. Ct. of Surr. 29 Feb. 1779.

² *Ibid.* 6 Oct. 1795.

³ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* i. 615.

⁴ *Paper Trade Directory* (1903); *Directory of Paper Makers* (1903).

⁵ *Hist. of Surr.* ii. 117.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 123.

⁷ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App. 34.

⁸ Pigot & Co., *London and Provincial Commercial Directory.*

⁹ *Pat. of Inventions*, No. 7897.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* No. 2075. ¹¹ *Ibid.* No. 2392.

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were both for 'his new invented method of manufacturing paper from straw, hay, thistles, waste and refuse of hemp and flax, and different kinds of wood and bark, fit for printing and other useful purposes.'¹ The process of utilising old paper and straw as pulp in the making of new paper, which has latterly been very extensively adopted, would seem at that date to have been imperfectly understood, for the mills failed, and the premises were sold in 1802 to the Messrs. Bevingtons, who have ever since carried on their leather manufacture on this site.²

About 1840 there seem to have been several paper mills in Bermondsey in the Blue Anchor Road and Bermondsey Wall.³ A large paper mill, where much heavy brown paper was manufactured, existed also at some time on the east side of Mill Street. The water wheel, which was very large, could only be worked after high water by the flowing back to the river of the water which had been admitted at flood tide.⁴ Amongst the many inventions of Bryan Donkin, the Bermondsey engineer, was one for the making of paper by machinery or hand, which was patented by him in 1839.⁵ John Donkin, a civil engineer, established in Grange Road, Bermondsey, had previously in 1834 patented machinery for making paper;⁶ and later, in 1846, when he had removed to the Blue Anchor Road, took out a further patent for machinery for the same purpose, and for the bleaching of paper and other materials in which chloride of lime was employed.⁷

Although at the present day there is only one paper mill within the county of London, and that at Wandsworth, of which shortly, mention may be made of the recently erected and large factory of Messrs. Spicer Brothers, Limited, in Southwark, for the preparation of every description of stationery. Messrs. Millington & Sons, Limited, manufacturing stationers, have also their principal works in Southwark and Great Guildford Streets.

Paper mills have been established on the busy little Wandle for upwards of a century. In 1792 there were two such mills at Carshalton, occupied by Mr. Curtis and Mr. Patch.⁸ By 1811 these had passed into the hands of Messrs. Charles and James Ansell,⁹

from whom the present firm, styled the C. Ansell Paper Company, Limited, has descended. The business now consists of the manufacture of the finest hand-made paper, well known in the trade with the water mark 'C. Ansell,' and ledger papers, writing, drawing, and loan papers are made. There are five vats in use on the premises, and the Carshalton mills are now the only ones in the county for hand-made papers.¹⁰

Messrs. Albert E. Reed & Co., who are the owners also of paper mills at Maidstone and South Darenth in Kent, and at High Wycombe, Bucks, are the proprietors of the Merton Abbey Mills, where they use one machine of 80 inches for the manufacture of super calendered printings and fine newspapers.¹¹

The mills at Wandsworth are of considerable importance, and were owned some time previously to 1850 by Mr. Thomas Creswick, when they supplied a large portion of the London trade with cards, Bristol boards, drawing papers, tinted papers, and the like.¹² Paper is now made at Wandsworth by McMurray's Royal Paper Mills, Limited, the materials used being Esparto and Tripoli grass. The grass is first cleaned by beating, and then boiled in caustic soda, after which processes it is passed into washers and breakers, and the resultant brown pulp is bleached and strained, when it resembles blotting paper, and is termed 'half made.' It is then again washed and broken and passed into the vats in the form of a thin milky fluid. From the vats it passes through the paper-making machine to emerge as rolled up paper ready for the printers. The rolls of paper are in lengths from five to eight miles, and weigh from half a ton to fifteen hundred-weight. Other machines are in use for calendering and sizing the various descriptions of paper made at these mills.¹³

From the foregoing account it will not appear that paper making is an industry that has ever been very extensively pursued in Surrey, although the county affords one or two examples of some interest in the general history of the manufacture. It was pointed out in 1850 that while Surrey then retained a large portion of the parchment manufacture, it did not, like Middlesex and Kent, fully participate in the increased production of paper.¹⁴ So far at least as the latter of these two counties is concerned very much the same may be said at the present day.

¹ Ibid. Nos. 2433, 2481.

² Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* i. 229; Lysons, *Environ's of London* (ed. 2), i. 47.

³ G. W. Phillips, *Bermondsey* (1841), 107, 108.

⁴ Mrs. E. Boger, *Bygone Southwark*, 237.

⁵ *Pat. of Inventions*, No. 8212.

⁶ Ibid. No. 6725. ⁷ Ibid. No. 11417.

⁸ Lysons, *Environ's* (ed. 1), i. 123.

⁹ Ibid. (ed. 2), i. 91.

¹⁰ Ex inf. C. Ansell Paper Co. Ltd.

¹¹ *Paper Trade Directory* (1903).

¹² Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App. 34.

¹³ C. T. Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth*, pp. 29, 30.

¹⁴ Brayley and Britton, loc. cit.

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PRINTING AND PRINTING MACHINERY

Very early in the history of printing a press was set up in Southwark by Peter Treveris who here printed, as the imprimatur shows, Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* in the year 1500. In 1529 this was followed by the earliest English Herbal printed by the same printer.¹ In 1536 the Bible was first printed in its entirety in England in the English language at Southwark by James Nycholson under the patronage of St. Thomas's Hospital.²

A curious press from which issued a number of Puritan tracts in or about the year 1572, and the whereabouts of which it was necessary at the time to conceal with a considerable amount of mystery, has been conjectured to have been at Wandsworth. One of these tracts has the following on the title page: *Certaine Articles collected and taken (as it is thought) by the Bishops out of a little booke entituled an Admonition to the Parliament, wyth an Answer to the same. Containing a confirmation of the sayde Booke in shorte notes . . . Imprinted we know where, and when, Judge you the place, and you can. I.T.I.S.*, and on the same title the last two lines of a verse of eight run:—

You will marvel where it was fynished,
And you shall know (perchance) when domes-
day is ended.

Three other tracts of a like tendency, all from the similarity of type and appearance printed at the same press, are known to exist.³

We need not doubt that printing in some form or another has been carried on continuously at one place or another in Surrey from this latter date until the nineteenth century, although we are in possession of no facts concerning the industry of any special interest. About the year 1810 or a little later a Mr. Hamilton, after his house in Falcon Court, Fleet Street, had been burnt down, had converted Holstein House at Weybridge into a printing office and was employing about sixty men there.⁴ In 1826 the machine printing offices in Duke Street, Lambeth, of Mr. Augustus Applegath, whose name is specially connected with several improvements in the machinery of printing to be noticed below, appear to have been very extensive and important. Upwards of one hundred persons

were employed and the printing was executed by a steam engine which drove several presses. Here were printed various works both for government and private individuals, among them being the *John Bull* and *Examiner* newspapers, the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, *Hone's Every Day Book* and the *Scientific Gazette*.⁵ Sometime before 1828 Applegath removed to Crayford in Kent and set up as a calico printer.⁶ He subsequently became of Dartford in the same county, where he seems to have continued his calico printing.⁷

In 1850 two Surrey printing firms called for especial notice. One of these was Messrs. Clowes of Duke Street, Stamford Street, who were then very eminent in the department of type and block printing. Their works comprised the foundry of movable type and stereotype for their immense printing establishment. The quantity of paper consumed by them exceeded 1,500 reams or 750,000 sheets weekly, whilst their stock of stereotype plates was estimated at the value of half a million sterling and weighed 2,500 tons. They were the printers of the *Penny Cyclopædia*, the plates of which alone were 12,000 in number and weighed 85,000 lb. They had twenty-five printing machines, which would each throw off 800 copies per hour, besides thirty-one hand presses, the whole capable of printing on an extraordinary emergency more than 100,000,000 sheets in a year. Their machinery included steam engines, printing machines that twirled the paper in a serpentine direction around its rollers in quick succession, a powerful hydraulic press, and various contrivances to facilitate the compositors' and print-casters' operations.

⁵ T. Allen, *Hist. of Lambeth*, pp. 314 seqq.

⁶ He is described as of Duke Street, Blackfriars, printer, in the specification for a patent he took out on 19 February 1824 (*Pat. of Invention*, No. 4902), but as of Crayford, co. Kent, printer, in his next patent on 26 January 1828 (*ibid.* No. 5613), and on 22 September 1832, he was of the same place, calico printer (*ibid.* No. 6310).

⁷ In his patent taken out on 21 December 1846 he is described as of Dartford, calico printer (*Pat. of Invention*, No. 11505). Between 1818 and 1851 he took out fifteen different patents, the majority dealing with improvements in printing machinery, but in 1832 and 1833 he seems to have applied himself in conjunction with Joseph Gibbs, an engineer, to improvements in machinery for cutting out wood for carriage wheels, in steam carriages, and in the construction of railroads, bridges, etc. (*ibid.* Nos. 6310, 6318, 6438).

¹ Mrs. E. Boger, *Bygone Southwark*, 233, 234.

² *Ibid.* 157, 234, 235.

³ C. T. Davis, *Industries of Wandsworth*, 35, 36.

⁴ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* ii. 785.

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Four to five hundred men and boys were employed at these works.¹

The other important firm of Surrey printers in 1850 was that of Messrs. Max & Co. of the Borough Road who carried on a different department of the industry as lithographic printers. Of their works at this date we may quote the following account from Brayley and Britton's *History of Surrey*² :—

Messrs. Max & Co. are the only printers from stone or zinc we know, who employ a steam engine. This adaptation allows the printers to apply their undivided attention to the plate, and with this mitigation of toil, intelligence can be successful without the usual necessity for a strong arm. They have at their establishment seventeen presses, which from the above arrangement perform the ordinary work of twenty-four. The number of persons, men and boys, is about forty. This method of setting figures on stone or metallic plates, discovered by Senefelder within the last fifty years, is an interesting consequence of the general diffusion of science. He began his attempts without reference to chemical affinity or knowledge of its principles, but circumstances led him to its application, and the result is admirable.

Within recent years a considerable change has been introduced into the printing trade by the removal of many of the larger London establishments into the provinces. This has been rendered necessary by the increased cost of living in the metropolis and the cheaper rates at which labour can be procured in the country. In Surrey at the present day there are three large printing businesses outside the suburban area, namely Messrs. Billing & Sons at Guildford, Messrs. Unwin Brothers at Woking, and Kelly's Directories, Limited, at Kingston-upon-Thames. The two former of these carry out all descriptions of commercial and book printing, and the last, besides printing the large series of its well known directories including the now colossal ones for London and its suburbs, does a considerable amount of other book-work for the trade. In addition to these there are a large number of local printers who devote themselves chiefly to jobbing and commercial work.

The greatest change in the printing trade during the latter half of the last century and perhaps one of the most significant in our social history has been the vast development of the newspaper press. Most places of any size have now their weekly or bi-weekly local newspaper, and there are at the present day more than fifty such newspapers issued in the suburban and rural districts of Surrey.

This number includes such important county newspapers as the *Surrey Times* (established 1855) and the *Surrey Advertiser* both published in Guildford, the *Surrey Comet* (established 1854) published at Kingston-upon-Thames, and the *Surrey Mirror* published at Redhill.

But it is in connection with printing machinery, the great development of which during the course of the past century has so completely revolutionized the conditions of the newspaper press, that the history of the printing industry in Surrey may more particularly claim our attention. It is only by means of such improved machinery as now exists that the rapid printing and wide circulation at their present low prices of the leading London dailies are rendered possible. Although we can do no more here than touch the fringe of a great subject, it will be found that in treating of the part Surrey engineers have played in the evolution of modern printing machines we shall have occasion to point out the main lines in which improvement has been sought and ultimately secured.

The history of these improvements extends throughout the whole of the nineteenth century, and briefly the development may be said to have taken place in a three-fold direction : firstly, in the introduction of the use of the steam engine which took place early in the century ; secondly, in that of the rotary web machines by which newspapers are printed off from a continuous web of paper. The latter is a comparatively recent innovation and although the machines have now reached such a degree of perfection as to be able to perform within a very few minutes every operation that a newspaper has to undergo from the time when the unprinted paper is in the roll until it is ready printed, cut, and folded to be put into the news-vendors' hands, the account we shall have to give of the present Southwark firm, which is now the most important one of printing machine makers in the world, will show that not even yet have the efforts to secure further improvements been relaxed. The third and most recent of all the methods by which rapid and cheap printing has been obtained has been by the introduction of the linotype or composing machine. With this we are not particularly concerned here.

The earliest appearance of the cylindrical mode of printing seems to be in a machine patented by the Adkins, father and son, Taylor and Walker in 1772.³ This however would appear to have been primarily

¹ Brayley and Britton, *Hist. of Surr.* v. App. 45.

² *Ibid.* v. App. 45, 46.

³ *Pat. of Invention*, No. 1007.

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designed for the printing of calicoes and other textile fabrics. In 1790 William Nicholson took out a patent for a printing machine which has been said to foreshadow every fundamental improvement even in the most advanced machines of the present day.¹ Inasmuch however as he never actually constructed a machine, Nicholson cannot be claimed as the inventor of the printing machine.² The inventor whose efforts in this direction were the first to bear fruit was Frederick König, a native of Saxony, who came over to England about the year 1804. His machine, patented in 1811, attracted the attention of Mr. John Walter of the *Times*, and on 28 November 1814 that paper was printed by steam and was the first in the world so printed. So far however and for many years after the cylindrical mode of printing consisted of the substitution of a cylinder for the flat platen of the hand press in order to give the impression, the type being set in flat formes. König's first machine was a single cylinder one and printed on one side of the paper only. A further improvement consisted in the method of inking the type and was due to the inventions of Edward Cowper. Previously to this a Bermondsey engineer, Bryan Donkin, had in conjunction with Bacon, a Norwich printer, taken out in 1813 a patent for a machine in which the glue and treacle composition was first used for the inking rollers in place of the old pelt balls or the leather rollers of König's first machine.³

The premises in Bolt Court having been consumed by fire in 1719 König's machine, as improved by Cowper, was purchased by Mr. Applegath, who has been already mentioned as a printer at Lambeth. He applied other improvements by which its powers of printing were doubled. The cylinders were made to print the sheets at every revolution instead of at every other revolution as before, and, most important of all, to print on both sides of the paper; 3,600 sheets could thus be printed by it in an hour. In its improved condition it was repurchased for the *Times*. In 1826 Messrs. Applegath and Cowper's machines were said to be used in printing the *Morning Herald*, *Morning Chronicle*, *St. James's Chronicle*, and *English Chronicle*, and to be in use at the king's printers and several of the largest printing offices in London, as at the Imprimerie Royale and several private

offices in Paris and St. Petersburg.⁴ In 1848 Applegath invented another machine in which the type was set on a vertical cylinder nearly 6 feet in diameter, the paper to be printed being placed in sheets on eight other cylinders. This also was adopted by the *Times*, but proved expensive and liable to frequent stoppages, and was discarded in 1857 for a somewhat similar machine in which, however, the cylinders were horizontal instead of vertical, by Messrs. Hoe & Co. of New York.⁵ It is with the later inventions of this firm, which has since become established in Southwark as well as New York, that we must bring to a conclusion this sketch of the evolution of the modern printing machine, so far especially as the labour and ingenuity of Surrey engineers and printers have tended to bring it about.

One of the most striking features of contemporary newspaper enterprise is the increasing demand for rotary web printing machines, which but a little more than thirty years ago had not been introduced into this or any country. At the present day these machines are in use in every quarter of the civilized globe where newspapers are printed, and in the United Kingdom there is hardly a large town which does not possess at least one or two of them. Indeed, individual journals sometimes now possess as many as eight or even more of these machines. As a result the manufacture of such presses has come to be a large and important industry, and of the great firms which are devoted to the designing and building of them none is better known than that of Messrs. R. Hoe & Co. of New York and Southwark.

The founder of the firm was Robert Hoe, who was born in 1784, and was the son of a farmer in Leicestershire, England. He emigrated to the United States in 1803, and soon established himself in trade and formed a partnership with two of his brothers-in-law, Matthew and Peter Smith, as press makers. The two brothers died in 1823, and the business was taken over by Hoe, who however was compelled through failing health to relinquish it in 1832 and died in the following year. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard March Hoe, and Matthew Smith, son of his deceased partner, both of whom had been associated with him since 1823. Their steadily increasing prosperity led soon after to the erection of extensive buildings on Broome Street, New York,

¹ *Pat. of Invention*, No. 1748.

² See art. 'Printing' in *Chambers's Encyclopædia* (1891).

³ *Pat. of Invention*, No. 3757.

⁴ T. Allen, *Hist. of Lambeth*, 314 seq.

⁵ *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, art. 'Printing.'

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where the firm's premises still are. Matthew Smith died in 1842, and Robert Hoe and Peter Smith Hoe succeeded him. Richard M. Hoe, better known as Colonel Hoe, continued in charge of the mechanical department and devoted himself with great success to inventions. As the inventor of the rotary or 'lightning' press he became well known to printers throughout the world. His new process was that we have already referred to in connection with the printing of the *Times*. It consisted in placing the types on a horizontal cylinder revolving on its axis, against which the sheets were pressed by exterior smaller cylinders. The first such machine introduced into England was for printing *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* in 1856. The machines required the presence of one person at each exterior 'impression' cylinder to direct the entry and transit of the paper. Ten cylinder machines turned out 20,000 impressions in an hour, but printed only on one side of the sheet.

Experiments were about this time being made in the direction of a perfecting machine that would print the paper continuously from the web without cutting it. But it was not until the successful substitution of curved stereotype plates for pages of movable type had been attained in 1859 that the idea was rendered practicable. In 1861 the first web press for newspaper printing was built by William Bullock of Pittsburg, and in 1866 this was followed by the Walter Press, as the machine has been named, wherewith the *Times* was henceforth to be printed. This machine is capable of printing 10,000 perfect sheets per hour. In the meantime Messrs. Hoe & Co. were making an improved web rotary press, printing 12,000 copies per hour, but the difficulty in increasing the speed still further was in delivering the sheets at the fly. It was not until 1873 when Hoe invented the contrivance that first obviated this difficulty—an accumulating cylinder on which six or eight sheets were laid one above another, and then delivered from the fly at one motion—that the increased working speed of the perfecting machine went up to 18,000 per hour. This first web rotary was made for the late Mr. Edward Lloyd of *Lloyd's News* and the *Daily Chronicle*, and was adopted almost immediately by the *Daily Telegraph* and *Standard* and other leading newspapers.

Colonel Hoe died at Florence on 7 June 1884, and his brother Robert a few years later. Soon afterwards Peter Smith Hoe, the remaining brother, retired from the firm, and then the present Robert Hoe, son of Robert and nephew of Colonel Hoe, took entire

charge of the business. It is to his great energy and enterprise that the enormous development that has taken place during the last sixteen years is primarily due.

Mr. Robert Hoe, on a visit to the London works, then situated at Tudor Street, Whitefriars, found them too cramped, and no land or building adjoining being available in order to develop his London business, looked farther afield and bought up the lease of the existing London works situated in Southwark, bounded by the Borough Road, Mansfield, Earl and Dantzie Streets. The works are entirely devoted to the manufacture of printing machinery, and are believed to be the most extensive premises in the kingdom for this class of work. They cover a large area of ground and employ about six hundred men, with a complete outfit of British and American machine tools of the highest class and of the most recent design. But with all these resources the capacity of the works is taxed to the utmost to keep pace with the orders that are continually coming in from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland and the British colonies for new machinery.

Messrs. Hoe & Co. make at present a very great variety of printing machines for every description of press work, and it is impossible within our present limits to attempt even a mere enumeration of their various productions or of the vast number of newspapers and magazines that are now printed by them. Not only do they make machines to print every size of newspaper that can be desired, but these machines are capable also of performing every process that is necessary to complete the newspaper, ever to pasting the sheets together, and in the case of certain periodicals to wire-stitching them. Machines for fine multicolour and half-tone printing are also made by the firm, and many of the best illustrated of our magazines are now printed by their means. Their Power Plate Printing Press for the printing of bank notes, bonds, postage and revenue stamps and similar work is used by such well known London printing firms as Messrs. Perkins, Bacon & Co., Messrs. Bradbury, Wilkinson & Co., and Messrs. Thomas De La Rue & Co. In short, the firm's operations extend to every appliance that is required in the printing trade, and not even has the hand-press been omitted from the range of their improvements.¹

¹ This account of Messrs. R. Hoe & Co.'s works is in the main an abstract of materials kindly supplied by the firm and contained in a reprint from *The British and Colonial Printer and Stationer* of 21 June 1900.

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THE absence of natural boundaries, except the river Thames on the north, and its position relatively to London, have combined to produce a lack of individuality in Surrey as a county, and this again has operated to prevent the formation of any great controlling ecclesiastical centre of interest. It is therefore only to be expected that the church architecture of the county should reflect these conditions. Surrey has never formed a separate diocese, nor possessed a cathedral of its own. Neither can it be said that the monastic bodies that have held land within its borders have exercised an influence upon the ecclesiastical architecture of the county proportionate to their wealth and power. Another cause, however, has contributed to produce this lack of individuality in the churches as a whole, viz., the scarcity of good building stone. Where there are no quarries there can be no local schools of masons, and the absence of these involves the comparative absence of local traditions and peculiar styles.

The neighbourhood of London and Middlesex, it is easy to see, has largely influenced the architecture of northern Surrey—the district lying between Chertsey on the west and Croydon on the east—and the churches of this area have a great deal in common with those of Middlesex, especially in the poor, spiritless work of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, represented on both sides of the Thames and in London itself. Sussex, like Surrey, displays a lack of individuality in its architecture, also in part owing to the absence of good building stone. Moreover, there was never a clearly defined boundary between the counties, and, as might be expected, there is no distinct Sussex influence apparent in the churches that lie on the border line of the two counties. Only in a few exceptional instances, such as the churches of Reigate, Wotton, Chiddingfold and Alfold, do we trace the handiwork of the schools of masons who were busy in western Sussex during the thirteenth century; but in the numerous wooden bell-towers and turrets that are to be found in the forest country of this borderland we have a natural link between the two counties.

Perhaps we must look to Hampshire for the greatest influence which neighbouring counties have exercised upon the architecture of Surrey—and this chiefly for ecclesiastical reasons—the diocese of Winchester having from ancient times included the county of Surrey within its borders. This influence is specially noticeable in the churches

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of the south-western quarter of the county, and also, strange as it may appear, in the neighbourhood of London, in the priory church of St. Mary Overie, Southwark, hard by which was the town house of the Bishops of Winchester. The work of Bishops Godfrey de Lucy and Peter des Roches in the Lady chapel and other parts of Winchester Cathedral is curiously similar to the early thirteenth century portions of St. Mary Overie, or St. Saviour's, Southwark, as it is now generally called. We can trace the same hand in the vaulted entrance to the deanery at Winchester and the undercroft at Waverley Abbey. The architecture of Godalming church probably owes much to its early connection with Salisbury Cathedral (e.g. the remarkable group of lancets in the south chancel and the early traceried windows) ; while the late twelfth century central towers of Witley church and Wimborne Minster (Dorset) show the handiwork of the same school of masons.

To the monastic bodies established in the county we should naturally look for the patterns of architecture followed by the parish churches that were in their patronage, but here we are unfortunately for the most part in the dark, as in nearly every case the great churches and other buildings of these bodies have been destroyed.

The priory of St. Mary Overie, Southwark, probably of very early foundation, but refounded by two Norman knights in 1107, and the powerful Cluniac priory of Bermondsey founded by Alwin Child, 1082, became possessed of the lands and spiritualities of many parishes in the county.¹ And it is possible to trace certain features in the village churches to-day to their influence. Chertsey Abbey (Benedictine), the oldest monastic establishment in Surrey, founded in or about 666, must long have stood alone as the chief seat of monkish learning in the county. It was a great landowner in the county, and has left the impress of its ownership on several village churches.

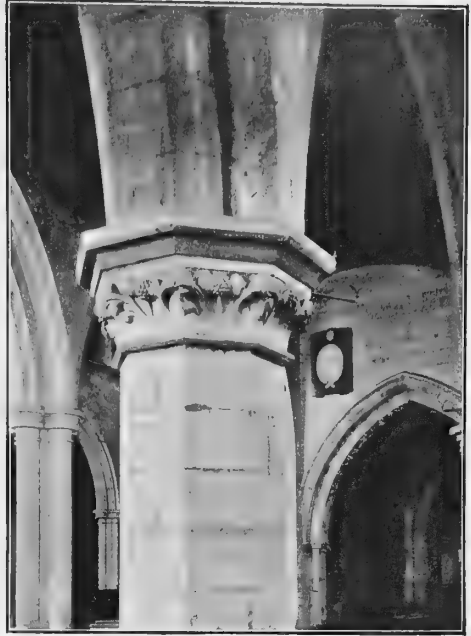
Waverley Abbey, in the neighbourhood of Farnham, historically and architecturally has perhaps the greatest claims to interest of all the monastic foundations in the county. This is not the place to consider its history, except in relation to its architectural remains. Founded by William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, in 1128, the first house of the Cistercian order in England, the church and its surrounding buildings must, when perfect, have formed the stateliest architectural ornament of Surrey.

In many of the mouldings and carvings the work of the school of late twelfth century masons who have left abundant evidences of their skill in Winchester and Hampshire is apparent. This is, of course, only to be expected, owing to the close tie between Waverley and Winchester. It cannot, however, be said that Waverley in its turn has exercised much apparent influence on the church architecture of Surrey.

¹ Probably much of the plan of this important priory (in 1399 raised to the dignity of an abbey) could be recovered by excavation. Recently a quantity of worked and carved stones of twelfth and thirteenth century date, forming part of the extensive range of buildings, were dug up on land belonging to the London County Council. There are still the piers of a gateway *in situ* (in Grange Walk), with the hinge-pins remaining in their rebates.



CARSHALTON.



CARSHALTON.



BANSTEAD.



LEATHERHEAD.

CAPITALS AND COLUMNS IN SURREY CHURCHES, 1180-1200.

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

Merton, the next in importance of the religious houses of Surrey, founded in 1115 for Augustinian canons by Gilbert the Norman, is to-day little more than a name. Fragments of a late thirteenth century window, probably the east window of the priory church, a gateway, much altered, and parts of the enclosing walls, give little indication of the former greatness of this establishment.

Of Newark Priory, in the parish of Pirford, founded by Ruald de Calva and his wife at the close of the twelfth century, large parts of the walls are standing to a considerable height, but for the most part stripped of their stone dressings. The style of the work, so far as it can be judged from these gaunt remains, accords with the date of foundation.

There were about twelve other religious houses in Surrey, ranging in date and consequence between the little hospital founded by Robert de Watteville at Sandon (*temp.* Henry II.) and the establishment of Observant Friars at Sheen, founded by Henry VII. Amongst these was the late foundation at Sheen by Henry V. of an important Carthusian monastery. Of all these various houses, with one exception, hardly a stone remains above ground, and in most cases the very sites of the churches and conventual buildings are conjectural. Of the priory of Augustinian canons at Tandridge (founded about the year 1200) the general situation of the buildings is known, and a few tiles, grave-slabs, and a very graceful little capital of early fourteenth century date still remain.

Lingfield church, a collegiate foundation of about 1431, is the exception above mentioned. Although only some foundations and low walls of the college are standing, the church, with its collegiate and parish chancels and twin naves, happily survives, and presents us with a valuable example of a somewhat rare type. Its lofty tower is probably a relic of an older building.

The great church of St. Mary Overie is thus (if we except the collegiate church at Lingfield) the only church of a monastic house still in use. Before the destruction, in 1830, of the so-called Bishop's chapel (strictly the Lady chapel), it boasted externally a total length of 292½ feet. It then retained examples of every phase of architecture from early twelfth to mid-sixteenth century.

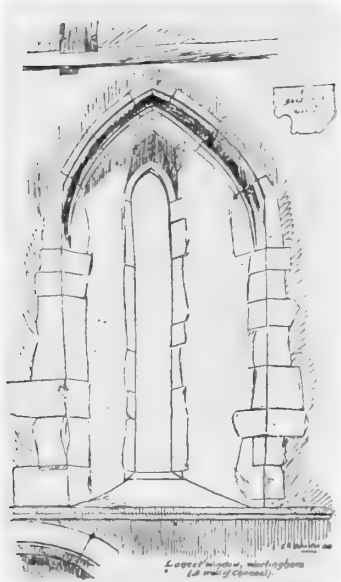
Speaking generally, however, the building dates from the thirteenth century, and is a noble example. The (lately rebuilt) nave, and the quire with the east and west arches of the crossing, belong to the first half of the century, while the Lady chapel, famed for its slender columns and graceful proportions, is of about the middle of the century. The later periods are also represented, Bishop Fox's great altar-screen (1520) forming the latest addition before the Reformation. Of the other buildings of the priory nothing now remains.

Lambeth Palace still preserves its beautiful chapel, elevated upon a crypt, both belonging to the first twenty years of the thirteenth century. The proportions and details of the grouped lancets (triplets in the side walls and a quintuplet in the east) and of the double doorway in

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the west wall make this little building one of the finest examples of that period.

The chapel of the archbishop's palace at Croydon, rebuilt by Archbishop Bouchier in the second half of the fifteenth century, is a rare example of pre-Reformation brickwork in this county, but the details of the building are poor and uninteresting. It is well to bear in mind that the archbishops held the churches of Lambeth, Croydon, Cheam, Merstham, and East Horsley, and no doubt influenced more or less the architecture of these churches. Archbishop Courtenay (1381-96) contributed to the rebuilding of Croydon parish church, but the work was probably not completed until the second decade of the fifteenth century, in the days of Archbishop Chichele. Previous to the fire of 1867 the coats of arms of these prelates were to be seen carved in different parts of the building.



Lambeth parish church also owes its present form to successive archbishops. It was rebuilt between the years 1374 and 1377, and further enlarged about the close of the fifteenth century.

The influence of Winchester and Hampshire upon the rural church architecture of Surrey must have been strengthened by the presence of the castle of the bishops of Winchester at Farnham. There still remains here the original chapel of twelfth and thirteenth century work (now used as the servants' hall), and we can doubtless trace in this the hand of Henry de Blois, the brother of Stephen, and the founder of the Hospital of St. Cross. The piers and arches in the chancel and chapels of the parish

church are probably due to this bishop.

Bermondsey Abbey held lands in various parts of the county, and Warlingham church and its chapel-of-ease, Chelsham, were given by William de Wateville to this foundation (then a priory) in 1158, and to its influence we may ascribe with some confidence the graceful thirteenth century lancets and other features in Warlingham church; while the unusually elaborate piscina and other ornamental details at Chelsham may be set down to the same connection.

Chertsey Abbey owned more churches than any other of the religious houses of the county, and it has left plainer evidences of its fostering care upon them than any. In Bisley, Great and Little Bookham, Byfleet, Chaldon, Chipstead, Chobham, East Clandon, Cobham, Coulsdon, Egham, Epsom and Horley churches, out of the score or more in their possession, we can clearly trace the wealth and artistic taste of this great house. Abbot John de Rutherwick, a great builder, certainly rebuilt the

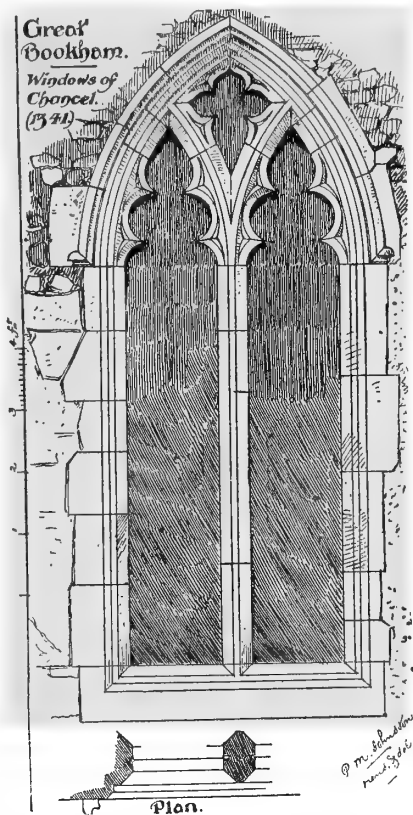
ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

chancels of Egham and Great Bookham, for in both churches contemporary inscribed stones recording the fact still remain. According to these the dates of rebuilding were respectively 1327 and 1341, and the graceful windows in the chancel at Great Bookham can thus be accurately dated. It is hardly hazarding too much of a guess to conjecture that Byfleet church owes its early fourteenth century windows and piscina to the same munificent abbot or his immediate predecessor. But we must look to an older generation for the chancel of Coulsdon, in which are to be seen some of the most beautiful mid-thirteenth century mouldings in Surrey or elsewhere. In Chipstead, Cobham and Bisley churches we find work of the early part of the thirteenth and the latter half of the twelfth century, doubtless due to previous generations of the same abbey's masons.

The prior of Merton held the advowson of Effingham from an early period, and the chancel was rebuilt, in all likelihood, by William de Brokesbourne, prior from 1307 to 1335. In particular two small early fourteenth century windows are ascribed to him. Carshalton church probably owes some of its earlier features to this priory, to which the advowson was given in the reign of Henry II.

A few monastic bodies outside Surrey owned lands and advowsons in the county. Thus the fine church of Shere probably derives some of its thirteenth and fourteenth century features from Netley Abbey. Battle Abbey had a holding in Limpsfield, and we may perhaps look to it for the interesting early thirteenth century chancel. It is, of course, often the case that more than one religious house held land in a particular parish,¹ so that it is open to question which may have been responsible for its architectural features. But where we find, as in the case of St. Martha's Chilworth, and Bramley and Wonersh churches, that they were in the hands of bishop Odo of Bayeux, or that, as at East Horsley, the bishops of Exeter possessed a manor, it seems highly probable that these patrons caused to be built some work still existing in the churches.

¹ As, for example, Tooting, where among the landowners were Westminster Abbey, St. Mary Overie, Chertsey Abbey and the canons of Bayeux.

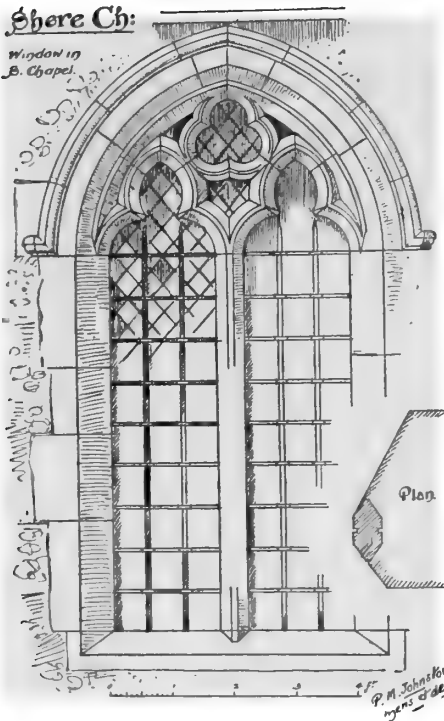


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In later times we have a striking instance of outside influence in the beautiful church of Dunsfold,¹ belonging to the last quarter of the thirteenth century. This may be ascribed to the Augustinian priory of St. Mary at Spital without Bishopsgate, London, to which the advowson was given by Edward I.

The materials of which the churches of the county were constructed have now to be considered. In pre-Conquest times timber must have been used very extensively in the county. The reasons for this were that much of the area of the county was then forest land, the roads were bad, and there was but little opportunity for water carriage except along the northern boundary, while the building stones

afterwards so extensively used do not appear to have been quarried in any systematic fashion. The numerous timber towers, bell-cotes, and porches must be regarded as the natural outcome of this early use of timber, which in some cases affected even the main fabric. Thus at Frimley, down to the middle of the nineteenth century, the old timber and plaster church was still standing, being then about three hundred years old. One Surrey church—Haslemere—formerly possessed oak pillars and framework instead of stone arcades between the nave and aisle, but it has been rebuilt within recent years. The great abundance of timber in most parts of the county should have made naturally for fine roofs, but for various reasons these are neither so numerous nor so elaborate as might be expected. For roof



coverings (besides thatch, tiles, stone, slates and lead) oak shingles were much in use, and there was an extensive and organized trade in fashioning these among the oak woods and commons round Farley in east Surrey. The vertical faces of timber-framed churches must in early times have been 'hung' with them. Another material was anciently much in use in Surrey and Sussex for church roofs, viz. the picturesque stone 'healing' known as Horsham slabs. The roofs of Albury, Ashted, Betchworth, Chiddingfold, Cranley, Fetcham, Leigh, Reigate, Send and Witley churches are instances where these slabs remain. Although

¹ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xiii. i.

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identified with Horsham in Sussex, there is evidence that these roofing slabs were quarried also in Surrey, as at Chaldon, where the hills are said to have furnished stone for the roof of Westminster Abbey.

Next to timber, the handiest materials for building were the chalk and field flints found throughout the greater part of the county. There is no better material for inside work, short of marble—certainly none more easily obtained or fashioned—than the harder chalk (sometimes called clunch) quarried from deep beds in the Surrey hills. It is obtainable still in large and clean blocks, often veined like marble, and the mystery is why it should be so neglected to-day. From the eleventh century to the sixteenth it was largely used in the internal work of most of the churches of Surrey. Some of the best instances of the use of chalk are in the arcades of Farnham, Compton, Godalming, St. Mary's Guildford (also in the vaulting and window dressings), Fetcham, the Bookhams, Stoke D'Abernon (also in vaulting), and Banstead. It is not always easy, however, to distinguish between the hard chalk thus used and the calcareous sandstones from Reigate, Gatton and Godstone (see *post*).

Flints are used for the walling in quite two-thirds of the ancient churches of the county, sometimes mixed with stone rubble, and such walls appear to have been originally brought to an even face externally with a thin coat of rough plaster, which in many cases has remained to this day. There is but little of the squared and coursed flintwork in Surrey, such as is found in the eastern counties. The towers of Croydon and Beddington churches are examples of this treatment, which in itself only came into general use in the fourteenth century. Esher, Leatherhead and Mickleham have a little flint and stone chequer work.

Ironstone rubble, or masses of pebbly conglomerate, in some cases take the place of flints for walling. The gravelly heaths of north-west and south-east Surrey seem to have furnished such materials, and the best examples of their use are the tower of Cobham church and the churches of Albury, Byfleet, Chessington, Send, Ripley and Woking. The deep blood-red look which the ironstone assumes after rain gives the walls a very singular appearance. This rubble, as distinguished from the pebbly conglomerate, appears a good deal in the churches of south-east Surrey. Limpsfield (chancel) and Oxted (tower) are good instances of its employment.

Down to the middle of the sixteenth century bricks seem to have been rarely made or used in Surrey. The chapel of Croydon Palace is a rare instance of their use prior to this date. We have, however, many cases of the re-use of Roman bricks, as at Ashted, Stoke D'Abernon, Fetcham and other churches in the neighbourhood of Roman settlements. In post-Reformation ecclesiastical buildings we have a few examples of the use of bricks, as the chapels of Archbishop Whitgift's almshouses at Croydon and Archbishop Abbot's almshouses at Guildford, the churches of Malden and Morden, rebuilt respectively in 1610 and 1636, while Petersham, Kew, Kingston (upper stage of tower, 1708),

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Wandsworth (tower built 1630), Effingham (tower rebuilt 1758), Holy Trinity Guildford, and three of the Southwark churches—St. George, St. Thomas and Christchurch—are instances of seventeenth and eighteenth century brickwork.

In the neighbourhood of Reigate, Gatton and Godstone in the south-eastern quarter of the county, a building stone has been dug from a very early date, generally known as 'firestone,' and variously called according to the place where it is found. It is a calcareous sandstone, green to pale blue-grey or greenish white in colour, and, though excellent for internal use, is of uncertain durability when exposed to the weather.¹ Nearly all the churches in the eastern and a good many in the western half of the county were largely built in this stone. For evenness of texture, fine grain and freedom in working, few stones will compare with it, but its absorbent character causes the surface to burst or scale after frosts; and this has led to the destruction of much of the external stonework of Surrey churches and to its replacement in restorations by that unsympathetic material, Bath stone. The internal work of the quire and transepts of St. Mary Overie and the churches of Beddington, Banstead, Coulsdon Chipstead, Merstham, Caterham, Warringham, Oxted and Limpsfield are among the best examples of the use of this stone. Although chiefly employed for the dressings and coursed masonry, it was also much used for rubble walling.



EXAMPLE OF THE ORNAMENTAL USE OF CLUNCH AND FIRESTONE, c. 1190.

On the eastern border of the county rubble and dressed stone from the neighbourhood of Scanshill—a hard brownish sandstone—have been used. Tatsfield church is partly built with this material. Bargate stone is the chief building stone of the south-western quarter of the county. It is a hard, compact, ferruginous sandstone, of a brown colour and of excellent weathering qualities, chiefly used for rubble and hammer-dressed walling, but sometimes, as in the cases of the twelfth century towers of Witley and Godalming, for coursed

¹ This stone was employed perhaps more than any other in the building of mediæval London. We find it in use in the remains of the Confessor's work in Westminster Abbey, and when Henry III. rebuilt the Abbey church, the quarries at Godstone supplied the greater part of the stone. It has been supposed that from this circumstance the name of the village, *Godstone*, arose, Wachelestede (Walkhamstead) being its Domesday designation. The use of this stone, owing to its popularity with the masons, extended into Middlesex, Kent and Sussex. Among many other Kentish buildings, the thirteenth century quire and transept of Rochester Cathedral are built of firestone.

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

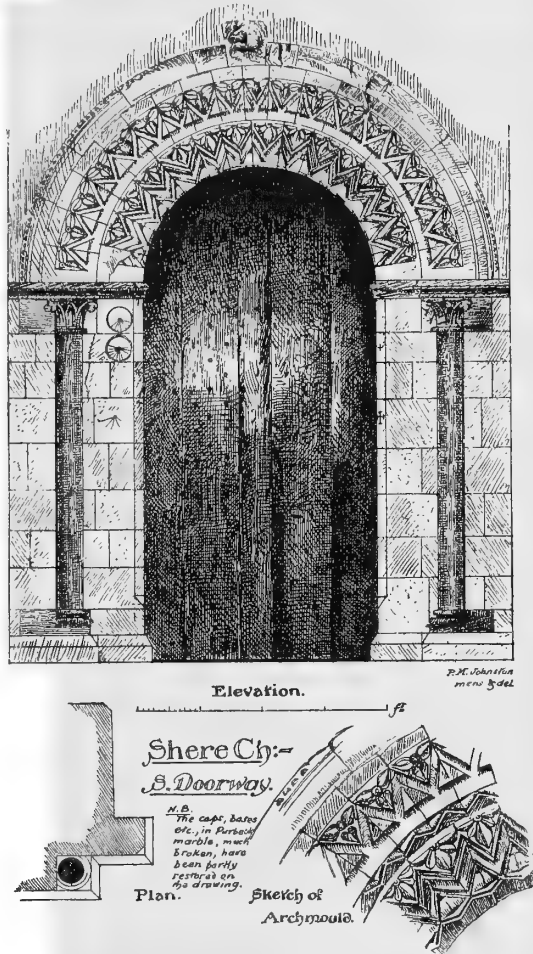
masonry. Most of the churches of the south-western corner of Surrey contain specimens of this stone, which has been in use from before the Conquest to the present day.¹

Caen stone was comparatively little used in rural Surrey, owing to the difficulties of carriage across country. St. Mary Overie and the remains of Bermondsey Abbey and the other monastic houses show that it was used to a limited extent, and it reappeared in monumental work on the eve of the Restoration. Probably it was easily obtainable in London, as it was brought up the Thames in barges; and nearly all the mediaeval buildings of London contain large quantities of the stone to this day.

The two allied marbles, Sussex (or Petworth) and Purbeck were both used, although sparingly, in Surrey. The latter is found in the shafts of the north transept at St. Mary Overie and in the doors, arches and font of Shere church, perhaps owing to the Hampshire connection in both cases. The Sussex marble appears in the fonts of Albury, Beddington, Great Bookham, Merstham, Frensham, Worplesdon, West Clandon, Mickleham, Seale and Chelsham; in the pillars of the under-croft at Waverley Abbey, in the sedilia at Dunsfold, in the shafts of a piscina at Coulsdon, in the windows and door of the chapel at Lambeth Palace, in the north doorway at St.

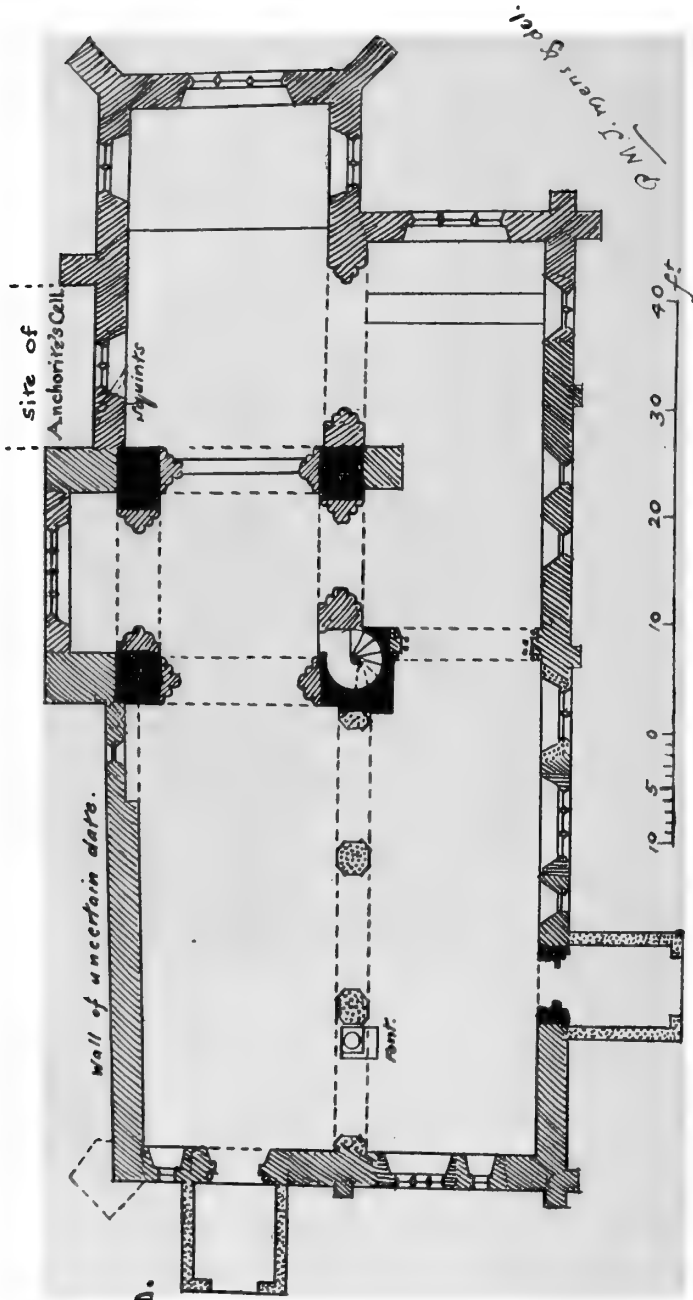
Mary's Guildford, in the east window of Ockham, in a group of lancet windows in the south chancel of Godalming church, and in numerous monuments and coffin lids throughout the county. There are many

¹ The pre-Conquest work remaining in St. Mary's Guildford and Godalming church shows that the stone was known during the eleventh century, and probably earlier still. The south door of Witley church and the font of Thursley, both belonging to the close of the eleventh century, are good examples of its lasting qualities. The stone is named after the hamlet of Bargate, or Burgate, near Godalming, where it has been quarried from a very early date.



Plan of Shere Church.

- Dates.
- c. 1160 = [Solid black square]
 - c. 1190 = [Square with diagonal hatching]
 - to 1280 = [Square with cross-hatching]
 - c. 1290 = [Square with horizontal hatching]
 - to 1330 = [Square with vertical hatching]
 - c. 1450 to 1500 = [Square with horizontal lines]
 - c. 1550 to 1650 = [Square with brick pattern]



ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

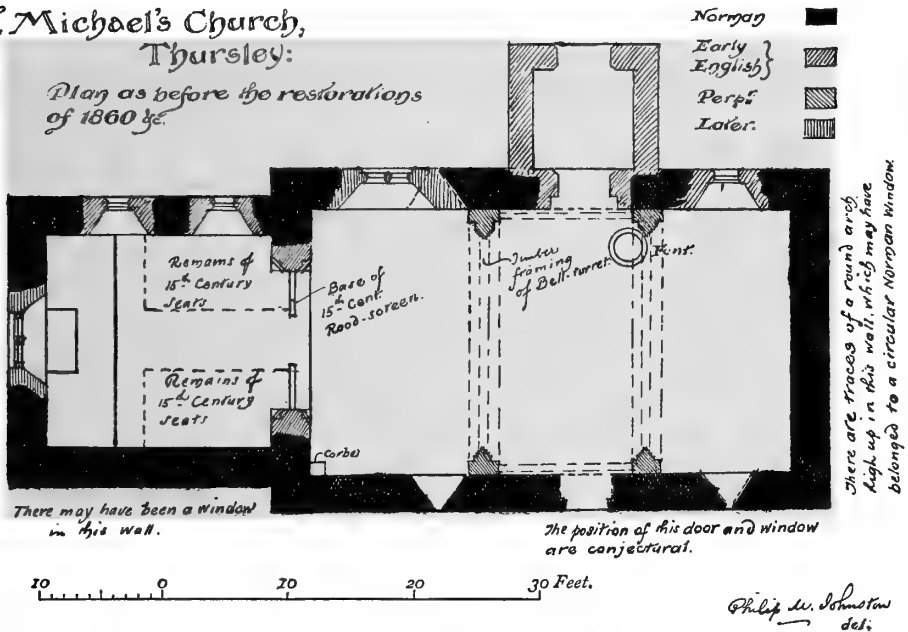
ledgers or slabs of the same marble, unpolished and of a beautiful blue-grey tint, used for the flooring as well as to mark interments, in a large number of Surrey churches.

Two other materials which one would expect to find prominently exhibited in Surrey churches—glass and ironwork—are strangely wanting. Doubtless we owe most of what little ancient glass is still left to the glass works at Chiddingfold. The few examples of ancient glass and of wrought and cast ironwork remaining will be noticed later.

There are 145 parish churches and chapels-of-ease of pre-Reformation foundation at present standing in Surrey, and rather less than half that number are specifically mentioned in Domesday. About one hundred of the ancient churches remain, allowing for minor alterations,

St. Michael's Church, Thursley:

*Plan as before the restorations
of 1860 &c.*



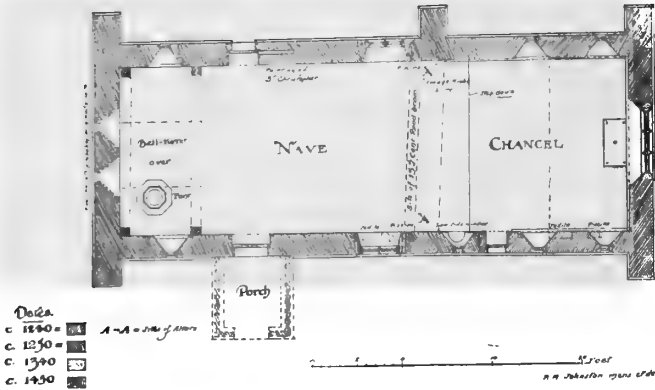
substantially as they were in the sixteenth century. The remainder—nearly one-third of the total—have been rebuilt at dates ranging between the commencement of the seventeenth century and the end of the nineteenth.

There cannot be said to be any type of plan especially characteristic of Surrey churches. Of the smaller primitive buildings of eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth century date a few examples have survived with the original simple aisleless plan unaltered by later additions; or the plan can be recovered with a little study. Thus, we have the late eleventh century churches of Farley and Thursley; twelfth century, Pirford and Wisley; thirteenth century, Oakwood and Warlingham. The earlier of these had the nave and chancel under separate roofs, with a chancel arch between, but in the case of the last two examples there

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was no chancel arch, and the roof was either continuous over nave and chancel, or the division was marked by a framework of timber and plaster sometimes forming a sort of screen or partition. These simple plans are, however, much more exceptional than in other counties.

WARLINGHAM CHURCH: — *Plan as before enlargement*



Simplicity of plan is not in itself evidence of early date. The cruciform type was in existence side by side with the plain parallelogram. But there was another plan intermediate between these — that of chancel, central

tower without transepts, and aisleless nave. Of this the following churches are, in their original construction, examples: Albury, Betchworth, Carshalton, Charlwood, Seale and Shere. This plan is essentially an early one, and in all cases, with the exception of Carshalton, which belongs to the beginning of the thirteenth century, the date is either late eleventh or early twelfth century. Godalming has not been included in this list, as, although it seems to have assumed this plan at one stage of its growth, it was not originally so built, and soon developed a cruciform plan.

Cruciform churches with central towers are found at Chipstead, Dorking (old church, now rebuilt), Ewhurst, Godalming, St. Mary's Guildford, Kingston and Witley. These are all, with the exception of Kingston (which may be only a later rebuilding on the old lines), earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century. The circumstances which caused St. Mary's Guildford to grow up around a pre-Conquest tower are exceptional.

The original early naves were very generally enlarged by the addition of aisles on one or both sides; and these early narrow aisles were commonly pulled down at later dates to give place to wider ones. The twelfth century aisles, only 7 feet wide, remain at Compton and the early thirteenth century south aisle, 8 feet wide, at Limpsfield.

The apsidal end to chancels and side chapels is almost unknown in Surrey. St. Mary Overie had, besides the apse to the main chancel, others on the east of the transepts; and probably St. Mary's Guildford was originally finished with an apse; the north and south chapels still retain them. With the exception of Hascombe (rebuilt in modern times), no other instance of an apse in connection with the smaller type of village church is on record in Surrey.

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Surrey possesses in the case of Compton church an almost unique instance of a double chancel, i.e. a loft or chapel, with the chancel proper forming a sort of vaulted undercroft below—the whole of late twelfth century date.

There are now remaining fifty stone-built western towers of mediaeval date, and allowing for rebuildings since the sixteenth century, there must at that time have been at least twenty more occupying that position. They may be divided into two groups—those of early date, about twenty in number, ranging between the end of the eleventh and the middle of the fourteenth century, and a later group, of more architectural pretensions. Compton and Wotton (late eleventh century), Cobham (twelfth), Merstham (thirteenth) and Cranleigh and Horsell (*c.* 1330), belong to the first group; while to the second may be assigned the following: Reigate (*c.* 1370), Lambeth (1377), Beddington (*c.* 1399), Putney (*c.* 1420), Stoke-by-Guildford (*c.* 1420), Ewell (*c.* 1420), Worplesdon (*c.* 1420), West Moulsey (*c.* 1420), Croydon (*c.* 1430), Ockham (*c.* 1450), Send (*c.* 1460), Leatherhead (*c.* 1480), Ashted (*c.* 1500), Farnham (*c.* 1500), Richmond (*c.* 1500), Mortlake (1543). The following seven churches have flanking towers, i.e. towers built on the north or south side of the church, generally in a transeptal position, viz.: Bramley (thirteenth century), West Clandon (thirteenth century), Fetcham (twelfth century), Godstone (thirteenth century), Limpsfield (late twelfth century), Lingfield (fourteenth century), Wonersh (late eleventh century). The solitary round tower of Surrey—that belonging to the destroyed church of Tooting—stood on the north of the nave.

About thirty of the churches of the county have, instead of a stone tower, a wooden tower or turret, the generality being placed at the west end of the church, on a framework from the walls or tie-beams, and rising only a short distance above the roof, crowned with a squat cap, shingled or boarded. Others are larger and are carried higher, terminating in lofty spires, and these rest upon huge beams and posts standing upon the floor of the church: Alfold, Great Bookham, Buckland, Byfleet, Crowhurst, Dunsfold, Elstead, Horley, Tandridge and Thursley are the principal examples. Elstead and Tandridge are the oldest, possibly thirteenth or fourteenth century, while Alfold and Thursley are the latest, being late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. In the south-east corner of the county are three towers of timber construction, at Burstow, Horne and Newdigate; they are external on three sides at the ground level, the massive framing being covered with weather-boarding. These are all of late construction, and are so similar in design and detail that all may be the work of the same body of carpenters. Shingled spires are commonly found in conjunction with a great many of the stone towers.

Many stone examples of mediaeval porches survive, mostly of very plain character, but those built of timber are almost as numerous. The porch at Merrow retains a fifteenth century barge-board, and

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another, perhaps earlier, existed at Chiddingfold, but was replaced by a modern copy ; while the wholly timber porches of Elstead, West Horsley and Merton date from the latter half of the fourteenth century. Hascombe and East Clandon porches were probably even older. Fifteenth century timber porches occur at Albury, Pirford and West Clandon ; Send church has a porch of the early half of the sixteenth century. Stone porches of the earlier periods are rare in Surrey ; those of Wotton and Chiddingfold are probably thirteenth or fourteenth century. But several remain of fifteenth century date, as at Croydon, Beddington, Blechingley, Merstham and Oxted.

Thirteenth and fourteenth century manorial chapels are exceptionally numerous in Surrey. They are nearly as large as the chancels to which they are attached. Abinger, Banstead, Chaldon, Chiddingfold, Cobham, Merstham, Nutfield, Witley and Wotton are a few instances.

Low side windows are found in about twenty churches, as at Send, Wisley, Compton, Chiddingfold, Wanborough, St. Mary's Guildford, Wotton, East Clandon, Great and Little Bookham, Limpsfield, Tatsfield, Warlingham and Addington, mostly of the first half of the thirteenth century, but instances occur as late as the fifteenth.

Crypts and charnel-houses are practically non-existent in Surrey. In some few cases there may be a crypt whose existence has been forgotten. There is a crypt of fifteenth century date under the chancel of Lingfield church, with an external door and windows.

The Anchorite's cell was probably at one time a fairly common feature in Surrey. We have remains of the cells, or traces of their former existence, in at least five churches—Blechingley, Chessington, Compton, Leatherhead and Shere—mostly on the north side of the chancel.

The ancient roofs of oak remain in the following churches :—

Banstead, north chancel (thirteenth century) ; Great Bookham, south aisle (*c.* 1390) ; Chaldon ; Charlwood ; Chessington (thirteenth century and later) ; Chiddingfold, with moulded tie-beams and plates (thirteenth century) ; Cobham ; Compton (? late twelfth century) ; Crowhurst ; Dunsfold (fourteenth century) ; Fetcham (parts thirteenth century) ; Horsell (fourteenth century) ; Limpsfield (thirteenth century) ; Send (fifteenth century) ; Shere ; Thursley (? fifteenth century) ; and Witley, transepts (*c.* 1190).

The group of more ornamented, and generally later, roofs includes the following :—

Beddington, Blechingley, Carshalton, Farnham, Godalming, St. Mary's Guildford, Lingfield, Merstham (north chapel), Merton, Ockham, Pirford and Reigate.

These belong to the fifteenth century for the most part.

Ornamental plastering must occasionally have found its way into the churches, as at Elstead, where the Pelican—the cognizance of Bishop Fox—alternating with the *fleur-de-lys* and *cross fleury*, were modelled on the plaster ceiling of the chancel. The roof of the Lumley chapel at Cheam has a plaster ceiling, dated 1592, richly ornamented with quatrefoils and popinjays, the crest of that family.

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Coming to the smaller structural features of churches, there are aumbries of the twelfth century at West Clandon and Compton, and double aumbries of thirteenth century date at Nutfield, Tatsfield, Fetcham, Godalming and St. Mary Overie. Piscinae remain in about fifty churches. The earliest are to be found in West Clandon, Compton and Thames Ditton—the last a ‘pillar’ piscina (*c.* 1140–60). Another, in the nave of West Clandon, dates from *c.* 1180; while to the thirteenth century belong those in the following churches:—

Ash, Blechingley, Carshalton, Chaldon (three), Charlwood (aisle), Chelsham (chancel), Chiddingfold, Chipstead, Cobham (north chapel), Coulsdon, Cranley, Dunsfold (four), Fetcham, Gatton, Godalming (four), St. Mary’s Guildford, Limpsfield (three), Merstham (two, one double), Ockham (double—in chancel), Oxted (two), Warlingham (three), Witley (north chapel), and Wotton.

There is an interesting series of sedilia, beginning with plain single-arched recesses of the thirteenth century at Warlingham (nave and chancel), Limpsfield, Oxted and West Clandon, and going on to the beautiful triple-arched ranges of seats found at Coulsdon, Thames Ditton, Fetcham, Blechingley, Godalming, Cranley, Dunsfold, Thorpe, Leatherhead (restored), Beddington, Farnham and St. Giles’s, Camberwell. Recesses in the east wall, probably used for reservation, remain at West Clandon, Limpsfield and Tatsfield. A wooden balance lever, perhaps used for the suspension of the pyx containing the Host, still remains attached to the wall plate on the north side of the chancel at Pirford. What have been variously explained as niches for lamps or ovens for baking the sacramental wafers are to be seen in one or two churches—Nutfield, Dunsfold (north wall of chancel), and Limpsfield.

Easter sepulchres are neither numerous nor easy of identification, for the reason that they were usually movable wooden structures, and also because in the century before the Reformation it was fashionable for wall-tombs to be constructed for the double purpose of a monument and for a place of deposit for the wooden ‘sepulchre’ containing the Host and crucifix. Tombs so used remain in several churches, e.g. Compton, Carshalton, Kingston, Peperharrow and Witley; while recesses which may have served as Easter sepulchres occur at Alford, Blechingley, Burstow, Cranley, Nutfield, Oxted, and, perhaps, Thames Ditton.

Image niches and brackets are not very common, but good examples of the former occur at Blechingley, Burstow, Caterham, Charlwood, Dunsfold, St. Mary’s Guildford, Leigh, Merstham, Oxted, and Reigate; while wall and pillar brackets are found at Caterham, Compton, Limpsfield, Pirford and Thursley. Where stone brackets or corbels occur over an altar—or, what is the same thing (as at Chelsham church), small shafts with capital and base—the presumption is that they carried the altar-beam, but in some cases they may have been image brackets.

Besides the great altar-screen at St. Mary Overie, stone reredoses of elaborate tabernacle-work have been found at Reigate and Limps-

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field. An oak altar-screen at St. Mary's, Guildford, has been removed from its original position.

The founts of the county may be arranged as follows:—

Eleventh century.—(late) Thursley; Alfold; Hambledon.

Twelfth century.—(early) Thames Ditton, with symbolical carvings; (late) Beddington; Great Bookham; West Clandon; Frensham; Godalming; Merstham; Mickleham; Ockham (fragment); Seale; Wonersh (broken bowl);—all except the first of Sussex marble, with square bowls ornamented with shallow arcading. Also, Chaldon; Compton (of a very uncommon design, recalling the early Venetian well-heads); Shere, beautifully carved in marble; and Walton-on-the-Hill—of lead, richly ornamented.

Thirteenth century (early), Chelsham; Chessington; Crowhurst; Gatton; West Horsley; Limpsfield; and Witley.

Fourteenth century.—Banstead; Chipstead; Effingham; Ewhurst; Reigate.

Fifteenth century.—Burstow; Byfleet (with curious carvings); Epsom; Godstone; Leatherhead; Lingfield (with coeval cover); Morden; Mortlake (1486); West Moulsey; Nutfield; Stoke D'Abernon; Tatsfield; Warlingham—all of the common octagonal type.

Sixteenth century.—Chobham (a lead bowl, cased with wood).

Seventeenth century.—Charlwood; Chiddingfold; Dunsfold and Hascombe (1690).

Eighteenth century.—Dulwich College Chapel (1729, with a copper cover); Holy Trinity Guildford; St. George's and St. Thomas's Southwark.

Dial markings, masons' marks, votive and pilgrims' signs occur on the walls and pillars of most Surrey churches, of which Alfold, West Horsley, Newdigate, Shere and Stoke D'Abernon may be cited.

Of ancient glass there are remains in the following churches, but much, like the Jesse window at Cranley, has disappeared within living memory:—

Betchworth; Great Bookham; Banstead; Bramley; Buckland; Byfleet; Charlwood; Chertsey; Compton; West Clandon; Croydon, Whitgift Chapel, 1596-9; Crowhurst; Coulsdon; Effingham; Egham; Godalming; Guildford, Chapel of Abbot's Hospital; Horley (early fourteenth century—now destroyed); East Horsley; West Horsley (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries); Lambeth (figure of pedlar and dog); Leigh; Lingfield (fifteenth century, east window); Malden (east window, c. 1610); Merstham (east window); Merton; Newdigate (east window, etc., fifteenth century); Nutfield (fifteenth century); Ockham (fifteenth century and cinque cento Flemish); Oxted (east window, early fourteenth century, very fine); Pirford (east window, part of a figure of Christ); Send (fifteenth century pattern work); Shere (thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries); Stoke D'Abernon (heraldic glass and quarries in screen of Norbury Chapel, and other fragments, fifteenth century and later); Warlingham (fourteenth century fragments in head of east window, and late fifteenth century canopy work in north window of nave); Wimbledon (fourteenth century, a figure of St. George, and seventeenth century heraldic glass); Witley (fifteenth century shields of arms, etc.); Woodmansterne (figure of St. Paul and other fragments, fifteenth century); and Worplesdon (Tudor roses in east window).

Great quantities of plain quarry work must have been turned out by the glass manufactory of Chiddingfold from the thirteenth to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and some proportion of this must survive in the less restored churches. A few diamond quarries of a thick tinted glass in Warlingham church were probably thirteenth century. They were preserved and re-leaded at the restoration. Besides these there have been a number of flowered quarries, ranging in date between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries, of which hardly any now remain.

St. Mary Overie still retains a few mediaeval tiles, and an interesting piece of mosaic-like pavement, formed of small red cubes, in its south quire aisle, which there is reason to believe was part of the floor of the

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early twelfth century apse. Alfold, Godalming, Lingfield, Tandridge, Titsey, and a few other instances of encaustic tiles might be cited; but they pale before the unrivalled collection from the site of Chertsey Abbey (dating from the thirteenth century), and now dispersed between several museums and private collections. The late excavations on the site of Waverley Abbey have brought to light a great variety of tiles, mostly of thirteenth century date, but a few perhaps somewhat older.

From the remains that have come down to us it is easy to see that Surrey must at one time have been singularly rich in mural paintings; as it is, she boasts perhaps the most interesting in England in the remarkable painting at Chaldon. The following is a list of paintings now or formerly existing in the county, of which a record has been preserved:—

Eleventh century.—Guildford, St. Mary's Church; the Sacrifice of Isaac.

Twelfth century.—Chaldon; the Harrowing of Hell, and the Ladder of Salvation: Godalming; decorative colouring: St. Mary's Guildford; a Doom, and scenes from the miracles of our Lord and the life of St. John: Pirford; the Manna in the Desert, Moses bringing water from the Rock, the death of Jezebel: Wisley; decorative patterns: Witley; large indistinct figure subject.

Thirteenth century.—Byfleet; figure of king seated: Charlwood; legends of St. Margaret, St. Nicholas, and St. Edmund: Godalming; St. John Baptist: Limpsfield; masonry pattern: Oakwood; figure and pattern subjects, among them perhaps St. George and the Visitation: Stoke D'Abernon; masonry pattern and part of a Majesty; a crucifix on a pillar.

Fourteenth century.—Great Bookham; pattern decoration: Charlwood; the Three Dead and Three Living: Dunsfold; the same subject?: Ockham; decorative patterns: Reigate; painting on roof: Shere; vine pattern: Tatsfield; patterns.

Fifteenth century.—Albury; St. Christopher: Blechingley; arabesque pattern: Dunsfold; uncertain subject at west of nave: Kingston-on-Thames; St. Blaise: Leigh; traces of colouring: Merstham; figure of bishop, our Lady and Child, and? Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury: Warlingham; St. Christopher.

Later paintings.—East Moulsey; Time and Death.

Of the many destroyed paintings the following may be mentioned:

Alfold; Crucifixion, lily pots, roses, fifteenth century (whited over): Beddington; Scourging of our Lord, Carrying of the Cross, Crucifixion, *c.* 1400: Cranleigh; paintings over chancel arch and nave arcade: Croydon; Sts. George and Christopher: Dunsfold; the Fall of Man, Nativity, Coronation of our Lady, St. Christopher, and perhaps St. George, late thirteenth century: Fetcham; Coronation of our Lady, the Three Dead and Three Living, Extreme Unction, Purgatory: Horley; many traces of colouring: Kingston-on-Thames; paintings destroyed 1835: Leatherhead; Moses and Aaron, and royal arms, *temp.* Charles II.: Lingfield; St. Cyprian?, St. Clement, St. Margaret, St. Michael, fifteenth century: Newdigate; St. Christopher, diaper patterns, *c.* 1470: Putney; masonry patterns: Worplesdon; St. Christopher, Moses and Aaron over chancel arch.

Less important remains exist at Capel, Caterham, Chipstead, East Clandon, Coulsdon, Elstead, Mickleham, Reigate, and Woking.

Of ancient oak doors and their ironwork not many examples survive. That at Woking (west door), *c.* 1100, of exceptional size, has hinges and scroll work on the ancient oak, both apparently coeval with the stonework of the doorway. So also at Merton, the doorway on the north of the nave, which can be dated with some degree of certainty to 1121, still retains the original door, covered with scrolled straps and nails, and with **C** shaped hinges. The priest's door in the same church also has ancient hinges. At Merstham, in the early thirteenth

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century doorway of the tower, are peculiarly elegant strap-work hinges, nail heads and key-scutcheon on oak doors of contemporary date. Some of the scrolls terminate in a sort of dragon's head. Crowhurst has a door of early thirteenth century date, with its original hinges of plain design, on the south of the nave; and Dunsfold, late in the century, retains a massive oak door with large plain hinges and straps, together with an arched border fillet round the head, a closing ring, key-scutcheon, etc. The south door of Send church has some good late ironwork and a massive lock-case.

In screen work the county is not very rich. The best examples are :—

c. 1180, Compton (a balustrade rather than a screen) in the chapel over the chancel. Late fourteenth century: Farnham, Cranley, and Beddington. Fifteenth century: Alfold, Great Bookham, Chipstead, Elstead, Gatton, Godalming, Hascombe, Horley, Horne, Horsell, West Horsley, with return stalls on its east face, Leigh, Lingfield, Merstham, Nutfield, Reigate, Send, with the returns of parclooses, Shere, Thursley, Wanborough, and Witley. Sixteenth century: Charlwood and Chelsham. Seventeenth century: Compton.

Chancel seats with misericords remain at Beddington, Lingfield, Nutfield, Ockham, West Horsley, and Worplesdon.

Ancient seating at Dunsfold (late thirteenth century with scalloped tops), Witley (fourteenth century), Woking, Send, Alfold, Nutley, Pirford (fifteenth century), Chessington, Pirford, Croydon, Whitgift's Hospital (sixteenth century).

Surrey possesses two pulpits for which a pre-reformation date may be claimed—those of Crowhurst and Nutfield. Later specimens are to be found at Beddington and Charlwood (Elizabethan), Compton (*c.* 1600), Byfleet and West Moulsey (*c.* 1620), Woking (1622), Newdigate (1627), Pirford, Send and Stoke D'Abernon, also at Chaldon (1650), and there are many eighteenth century examples.

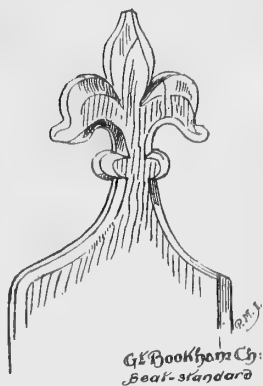
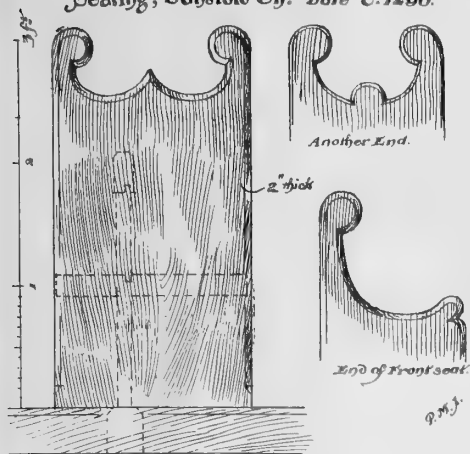
Pulpit hour-glasses, with wrought-iron stands, remain at Blechingley and Stoke D'Abernon.

There are two mediaeval lecterns in Surrey, a brass eagle at Croydon and one of oak at Lingfield, both of fifteenth century date. The latter bears a black-letter chained Bible.

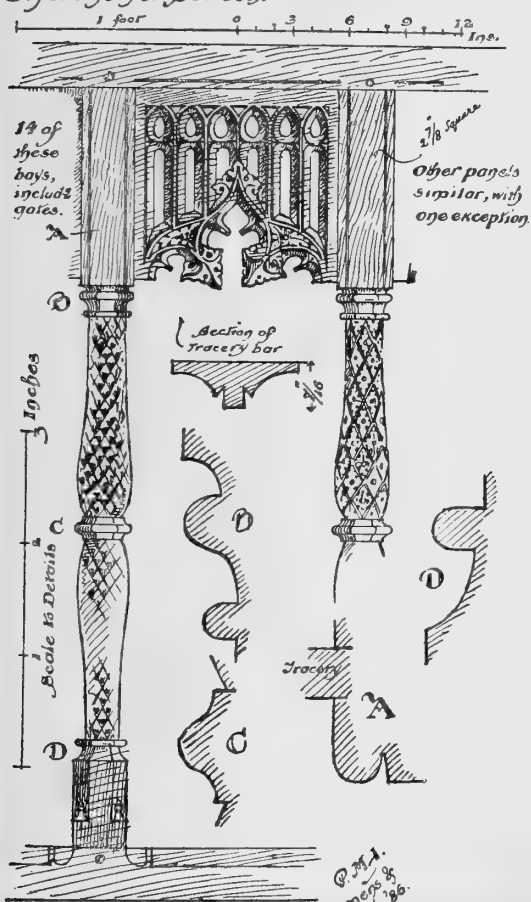
One or two of the fine western galleries of the early part of the seventeenth century have managed to survive the changes and chances of 'restoration.' Of these may be cited the examples at Send, Woking, Walton-on-Thames and Newdigate.

Surrey possesses an interesting series of church chests, the earliest of which appear to be the rude gouged-out, roughly squared tree-trunks, bound round with iron straps, as at Newdigate and Betchworth. This type is of great antiquity, and would be perpetuated for practical reasons long after the skill of the carpenter had evolved a chest of posts, rails and panels such as the thirteenth century example at Stoke D'Abernon, which retains its slit and tray for money-offerings. It belongs to a family of about a dozen in various parts of the south of England, a few ornamented, but mostly of plain design, except for the scrolled ends to their iron straps. Shere, Godalming and Chobham churches possess similar chests, but of plainer character. Later chests exist at Charlwood (fifteenth

Seating, Dunsfold Ch: Date c. 1200.

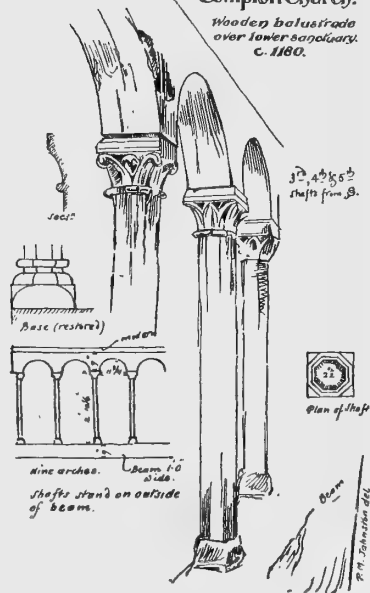


Chelsham: Screen.



Compton Church:

Wooden balustrade over lower sanctuary. c. 1180.



DETAILS OF WOODWORK IN SURREY CHURCHES.

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century), Send, Burstow, Chessington (sixteenth century), Epsom, St. Mary Overie (Elizabethan), and Oxted.

Smaller details which may be noted are the fragments of alabaster carvings (fifteenth century) found at West Horsley and Chessington, the copper cauldron, called 'Mother Ludlam's Cauldron,' at Frensham, and brass candelabra at St. Mary Overie, East Horsley, and elsewhere.

The bells of the county have been thoroughly dealt with by the late J. C. L. Stahlschmidt in his *Surrey Bells and London Bellfounders*. It need only here be noted that the bell in Chaldon church is one of the oldest in use in England.

The church plate has been published by the Rev. T. S. Cooper in *Surr. Arch. Coll.*, vols. x. to xvi.

The sepulchral monuments of the county commence with the rude grave-slabs of coarse local sandstone found in some numbers at Titsey, and also at Oxted, Tandridge and Warlingham. These are very thick (6 to 9 inches), and the earliest have a plain Latin cross in relief occupying the whole length and breadth of the slab. With them at Titsey were found others worked in chalk-stone or 'burr,' of more ordinary character, bearing floriated crosses and other ornaments of thirteenth century design. The purpose of all seems to have been to mark the sites of the graves, and they were no doubt merely laid on the surface of the ground.

Stone and Sussex marble coffin lids are found in many churches, and are usually of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a few being even older. Examples occur in St. Mary Overie (c. 1180), with the sun, moon and stars grouped within the arms of the cross; at St. Martha's (or Martyr's) chapel; at Chipstead, Chaldon, Cranley, Frensham, Mickleham, Stoke D'Abernon, Effingham, and St. Mary Overie. The four last-named have inscriptions incised around the edges in Lombardic letters, and are of thirteenth and early fourteenth century date. At Caterham is a slab with an incised cross and the remains of an undecipherable inscription of fifteenth century character.

The monumental brasses of the county are a numerous and important series. Mr. Mill Stephenson tabulates them as follows:—

Ecclesiastics	17
Military figures	26
Civilians	62
Ladies alone	26
Miscellaneous	5
	136

Among them is included the oldest remaining example of this class of memorial in England—the brass to Sir John Daubernoun (Stoke D'Abernon, 1277). This church is but one of several noteworthy for a series of the brasses or monuments of particular families. Thus, Great Bookham is associated with the Slyfield family, Camberwell with the Scotts, Cheam with the Fromondes and Lumleys, Crowhurst with the

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Gaynesfords, Leigh with the Ardernes, Lingfield with the Cobhams, and Merstham with the Ellinbrygges. Other good groups of brasses are at Beddington, Camberwell and Thames Ditton.

Akin to the brasses are the cast-iron grave-slabs, which at one time must have been fairly numerous. A few are to be found in Surrey, among which may be instanced the very curious slab, 1591, to **ANE EOR3T(E)R**. This bears, besides the inscription, a shroud and four shields with rude kneeling figures and coats of arms thereon.

There are but few monumental effigies now remaining, and the county would appear never to have been rich in them, a fact somewhat hard to understand, as the easily worked Reigate stone was well adapted for such effigies, and was employed in fashioning many for London and other churches. Only one oak figure has come down to us—the figure of a knight, now lying in a recess in the north quire aisle at St. Mary Overie, Southwark. The series of effigies includes the following :—

Horley ; a knight, *c.* 1320 : West Horsley ; a priest, *c.* 1325 : Guildford St. Nicholas ; Arnold Brocas, rector, 1395 : Streattham ; a knight, *c.* 1360 : Lingfield ; Reginald, first Lord Cobham, 1361 ; Sir Reginald Cobham and lady, 1446 ; and the second Lord Cobham, 1403 : Merstham ; a civilian, *c.* 1420 : St. Mary Overie, the poet Gower, *c.* 1408.

There is a late type of tomb common to the south-eastern counties, of which Surrey exhibits a number of examples. It is in most cases of Petworth or Purbeck marble, and usually takes the form of a canopied altar-tomb, generally recessed in the wall, and most commonly furnished with brasses. The strong family likeness evident in various groups suggests that the marble masons must have modelled them upon a general design, and kept a stock in hand to supply their customers. The following may be instanced as Surrey examples :—

Beddington (Sir Richard Carew, 1520) ; Carshalton (Nicholas Gaynesford, *c.* 1495) ; Cranley ; Croydon (Elias Davey, 1455, and Warham monument, ? 1538) ; Godalming (John Westbroke, 1513) ; Kingston (several, all late) ; Merstham (John Ellinbrygge, 1473) ; Mickleham (William Wydownson, 1513) ; Peperharrow (Johanna Addirley, 1487) ; Thames Ditton and Witley.

At Blechingley is an altar-tomb of Renaissance character (1559) to the memory of Sir Thomas Cawarden, the sides of which have enriched panels and elaborate mouldings. This forms a link between the pre-Reformation altar-tombs and the numerous later sixteenth and early seventeenth century monuments, of which Surrey furnishes a fine series. As is usual in monuments of this class, they are largely composed of alabaster and various coloured marbles, and frequently enriched with colour and gilding. Nearly every church in the county possesses one or more belonging to this period.

Later monuments, belonging to the Restoration period and to the eighteenth century, are plentiful, but have no special local features. Among churchyard monuments the wooden 'bed-head' or grave-board, with its simply moulded posts and shaped inscription-board, should be mentioned. These probably have a very ancient pedigree, and must have been the rule rather than the exception in many churchyards of the

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home counties, and in a wood country they have a special appropriateness.

No example of a churchyard cross, or even of the steps of one, has come down to us in Surrey. Lych-gates also are almost unknown, so far as ancient examples are concerned; but that at Limpsfield appears either to be old or a restoration, and Chobham used to boast another.

PRE-CONQUEST REMAINS

Remains of pre-Conquest work are slight and comparatively unimportant. They occur in the following churches:—

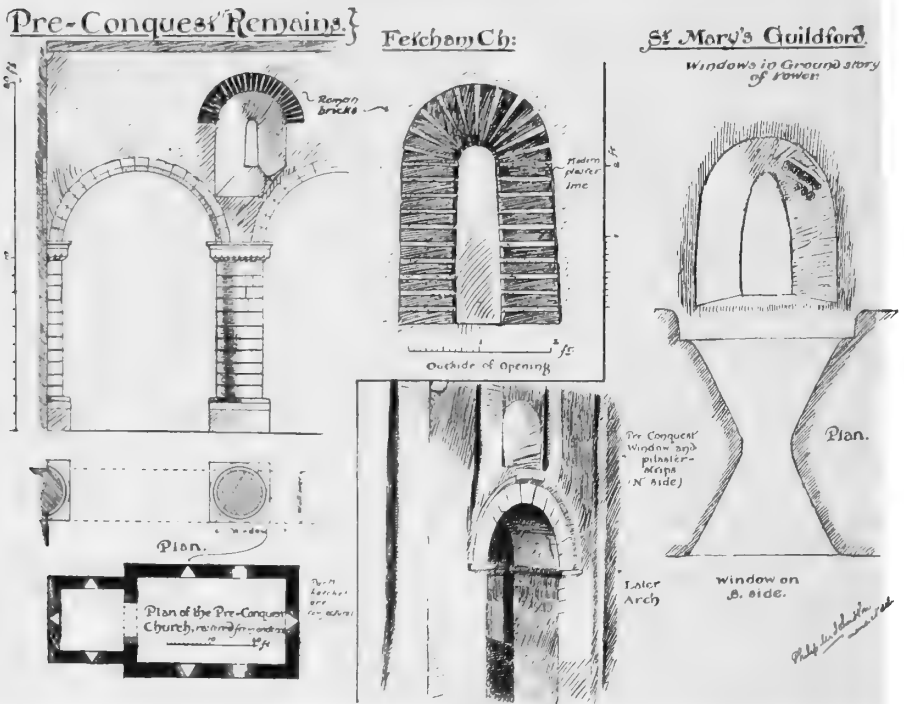
ASHTHEAD.—Parts of nave walls, largely built with Roman bricks.

FETCHAM.—South wall of nave, with window of Roman bricks, and part of west wall.

GODALMING.—Part of east gable of nave, and carved fragments.

GUILDFORD, ST. MARY'S.—Tower.

STOKE D'ABERNON.—South walls of nave and chancel.



Long and short work and baluster-shafted windows are conspicuous by their absence.

There used to be a window in the north wall of the nave of Ashtead church, the arch of which was formed with Roman bricks, and there are still many of these bricks in the east and south walls. There was a Roman camp here.

The window at Fetcham is in very perfect preservation, having been blocked when the wall was pierced, *c.* 1150, for an aisle. It is round-headed and the internal arch is turned with Roman bricks, the narrow external loop being in the same material. The splays retain their plaster coats.

Part of what was originally the east gable of the pre-Conquest nave, with two 'eye-holes'

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

in its apex, is incorporated in the west wall of the central tower of Godalming church.¹ But far more interesting are the richly-carved stones, with interlaced and other patterns, now in the south chancel, discovered at the restoration of the church in 1879.²

The tower of St. Mary's church, Guildford, is the most important structural work of this period remaining to us in Surrey. The present church has been built round it, so that the tower is now central, but originally the ground story was external on the north and south and possibly the west, as is proved by the original double-splayed windows and rude pilaster strips or buttresses in the north and south walls. These buttresses appear above the roofs in the upper stage of the tower, and are noteworthy as being constructed entirely of flints without any stone quoining. The windows of the ground story are also built in this manner.³

The principal evidence of the pre-Conquest date claimed for Stoke D'Abernon Church is the general character of the walling, and in particular some herring bone work of Roman brick, re-used material to which the Roman brick mortar still adheres in places, in the south wall of the chancel, while a window of peculiar character, possibly also pre-Conquest, together with more fragments of Roman brick, is to be seen high up in the south wall of the nave. In the same wall is a sundial with a projecting face, for which the same early date is claimed. The height of the wall in which this is built is another evidence of its pre-Conquest origin. The bases of the pillars at Albury old church are formed of parts of Roman columns said to have been brought from Farley Heath.

In Betchworth church a small fragment remains, which undoubtedly belongs to this period. It is a capital or base of a shaft, circular in form, and composed of a number of narrow square-edged bands, projecting one beyond the other, and is now built into a modern window in the tower.

FROM c. 1070 TO c. 1120.

Of work executed in the last thirty years of the eleventh and the first twenty of the twelfth century a few examples may be cited. The north and south arches of the ground-story of the tower at St. Mary's, Guildford, belong to this period, and perhaps also the chancel, with remains of two blocked windows.

ABINGER.—Walls and windows of nave, c. 1080.

ADDINGTON.—A blocked window in south wall of chancel, c. 1080.

ALFORD.—Font, c. 1100.

BETCHWORTH.—An arch in the tower (shifted), c. 1080.

CHARLWOOD.—Central Tower, north and west walls of nave, with one window, c. 1080.

CHOBHAM.—Windows in nave, above later arcade, c. 1080.

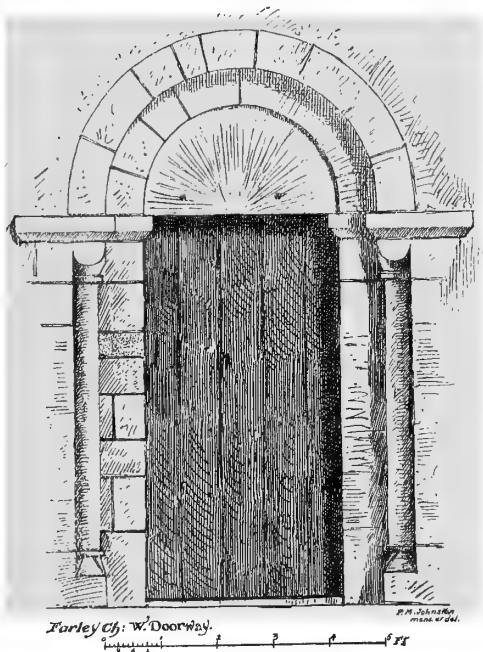
COMPTON.—Tower, c. 1075.

EWHRUST.—Parts of nave, c. 1100.

FARLEY.—Nave, with west door, c. 1075.

HAMBLEDON.—Font, c. 1100.

MICKLEHAM.—West door of nave, c. 1120.



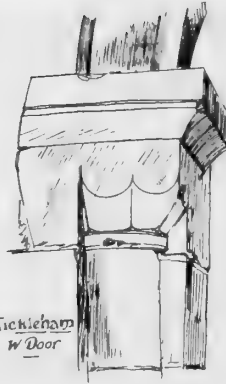
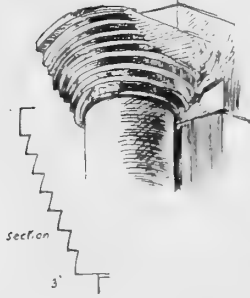
¹ See Welman's *Parish and Church of Godalming*, 1900, where the facts relating to the author's discovery of this early work are very fully and ably set forth. The same writer gives the dimensions of the foundations discovered in 'the minster field' at Tuesley, near Godalming, of a very early Saxon church.

² In a hard shelly limestone, similar to that found in the Isle of Wight, and much used in many of the churches of pre-Conquest date in Sussex.

³ There are traditions of a still older church at Albury (? Romano-British), the site of which used to be pointed out.

Melchworth Ch:

Pre-Conquest Capital, now built
1916 modern window-jamb

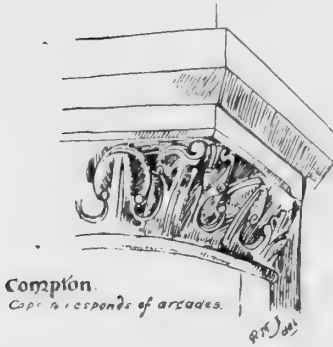


Mickieham
W Door

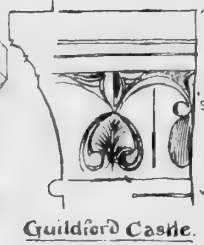
Witley Ch:



Western Cap to S. Door.

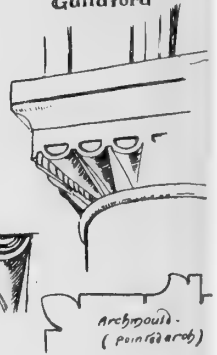


Compton.
Cap. to responds of arcades.



Guildford Castle.

St Mary's
Guildford

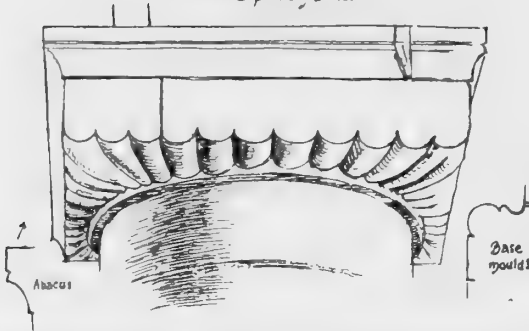


Variation
in
Scallops

Archmould
(pointed arch)

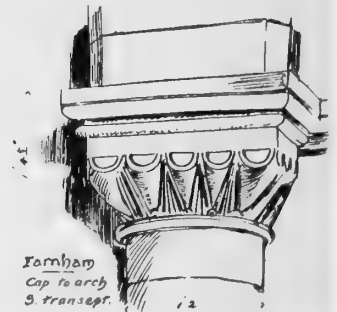
Fetcham:

Capitals of S. Arcade



Abacus

Base
moulds



Farnham
Cap to arch
S. transept.

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

OCKHAM.—Tower arch, *c.* 1080.

SOUTHWARK, ST. MARY OVERIE.—Part of north transept and remains of apsidal chapel, *c.* 1109.

ST. MARTHA'S CHAPEL (near Guildford).—Parts of the walls and some arches.

TATSFIELD.—North wall of nave, with window, *c.* 1075.

THURSLEY.—Parts of nave, with window and font, *c.* 1100.

WITLEY.—Nave walls, with south door, *c.* 1080.

WOKING.—West door of nave, with coeval door and ironwork; north wall of nave, *c.* 1100.

WONERSH.—Parts of the chancel, etc., *c.* 1080.

WOTTON.—Arch to western tower, *c.* 1080. There are certain peculiarities about this tower, which point to the possibility of its being in part of pre-Conquest date, e.g. the character of the arch to the nave. This tower may have been originally central.

All the above examples are of the plainest character. The windows are small and narrow, splayed to the outer face of the wall, and were either left open or closed by a board. The doors have square-edged arches, with a bold round moulding in some cases as an inner order, resting upon shafts with cushion caps. These at Witley have been partly enriched with star-pattern and mouldings at a slightly later date. The tower arches are of one or more square orders upon square jambs, with heavy imposts, plainly chamfered. Bargate and Reigate stone is used, but no chalk, for the masonry.

FROM *c.* 1120 TO *c.* 1160.

Chalk is brought into extensive use, and the freedom of working in such a material developed the ornamentation of the work enormously.

ADDINGTON.—Chancel windows in north, south and east walls.

Very complete example, *c.* 1120.

ALBURY.—Central tower, with two-light and other windows, *c.* 1150.

BOOKHAM, GREAT.—Remains of first south aisle, with narrow loop in western wall, and south arcade of nave, with scalloped capitals, cf. Fetcham, *c.* 1150.

BOOKHAM, LITTLE.—Arcade, blocked, in south wall of nave, with richly ornamented scalloped capitals, *c.* 1150.

BRAMLEY.—Nave, with plain west door, *c.* 1150.

BURSTOW.—Windows in north wall of nave, *c.* 1120.

CATERHAM.—Blocked window, south wall of nave, *c.* 1120.

CLANDON, WEST.—Doors in nave, and piscina in chancel, *c.* 1150.

COBHAM.—Western tower, with two-light windows, and south door, *c.* 1150.

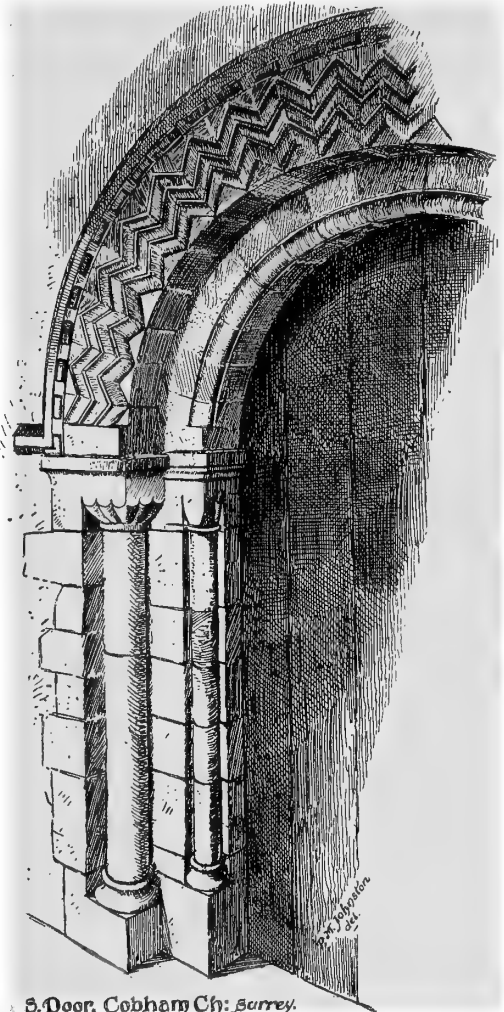
FARNHAM.—Remains of central tower and chancel.

FETCHAM.—Arcade to south aisle, with scalloped capitals, and tower at east end of aisle, *c.* 1150.

GODALMING.—Chancel and transepts, with many windows and central tower, *c.* 1120.

GODSTONE.—Stones in and around west door, *c.* 1120.

HORSLEY, WEST.—Western tower, *c.* 1120.



β. Door, Cobham Ch: Surrey.

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- MERTON.—North door, with its original wrought-iron hinges, and strap-work. Window in western part of nave, *c.* 1121.
 MICKLEHAM.—Chancel arch and chancel, etc., *c.* 1150.
 PEPERHARROW.—Chancel arch, north and south doors, *c.* 1150.
 PIRFORD.—The entire church, with doors and windows. A very complete example, *c.* 1150.
 PUTTENHAM.—Nave and aisles, with fine arcade and one window. Chalk used in interior dressings.
 RIPLEY.—The chancel, windows, vaulting shafts and string courses—very rich work, *c.* 1150.
 SHERE.—Central tower, south door, etc., *c.* 1160.
 SOUTHWARK, ST. MARY OVERIE.—Parts of north wall of north aisle.
 TANDRIDGE.—Chancel, with door and window in its north wall, *c.* 1120.
 THAMES DITTON.—Lower part of tower, and font, *c.* 1130.
 WALTON-ON-THAMES.—Arcade with scalloped capitals, *c.* 1160.
 WISLEY.—Chancel and nave with doors and windows, *c.* 1150.

The cut plaster edgings round the windows and the coeval painting on their splays at Godalming deserve special mention as very rare survivals. The doors are in most cases richly ornamented with zig-zag mouldings, and the billet and pellet mouldings also occur. The south door of Shere church is remarkable for its richness, and is perhaps the best of this period in the county. The scalloped capitals of doors and arcades are a noteworthy feature.

The old church of Tooting, pulled down in 1832, boasted the unique distinction, so far as Surrey is concerned, of a round tower of this period, built of flints and rubble.¹

FROM *c.* 1160 TO *c.* 1200.

The following churches contain portions belonging to the latter half of the twelfth century.

- ASH.—South door of nave, with interesting early foliage in capitals, *c.* 1170.
 BANSTEAD.—Arcades of nave, *c.* 1180.
 BEDDINGTON.—Font of Sussex marble and a capital and other remains found in walls, *c.* 1180.
 BLECHINGLEY.—Tower, with rich capitals to arch,² *c.* 1160.
 BOOKHAM, GREAT.—Base of tower, north arcade of nave. The arches are pointed on octagon piers, *c.* 1160.
 CARSHALTON.—North arcade (lately destroyed), *c.* 1180.
 CATERHAM.—Blocked arches in chancel and nave, *c.* 1190.
 CHALDON.—Nave (with coeval painting), lancet window, etc., *c.* 1190.
 CHESINGTON.—Windows in north wall of nave, south door, and window and door in chancel, much over 'restored.' Some have flat lintels of oak instead of arches internally, *c.* 1160.
 CHIDDINGFOLD.—Remains of an arcade of this period are worked up into the late arcade (*c.* 1500) of nave.
 CHILWORTH.—St. Martha's (or Martyr's) Chapel, arches of central tower, etc.
 CHIPSTEAD.—North wall of nave, with doorway,³ *c.* 1175.
 CHOBHAM.—Arcade in nave, *c.* 1160.
 CLANDON, WEST.—Font, piscina and sundial in nave, *c.* 1180.
 COMPTON.—Nave, aisles and double chancel, with wooden screen, *c.* 1160–80.
 CROWHURST.—South aisle, *c.* 1190.
 EWHURST.—Central tower, *c.* 1180.
 GODALMING.—Arches in transept, *c.* 1180.
 GUILDFORD, ST. MARY'S.—Arcades in nave with richly ornamented scalloped capitals. Apsidal chapels, vaulting in chancel, etc., progressively built between *c.* 1160–1200.
 LEATHERHEAD.—North and south arcades of nave and chancel arch, *c.* 1190.
 LEIGH.—Chancel, with lancet windows, *c.* 1190.
 LIMPSFIELD.—Tower on south of nave, *c.* 1180.
 MERROW.—Door and arcade. *c.* 1170.
 MERSTHAM.—Chancel arch, etc., *c.* 1190. For this and two kindred examples, see p. 45.
 OXTED.—Responds of arcades, blocked up in later piers, *c.* 1180.
 PUTTENHAM.—South door.
 REIGATE.—South arcade, *c.* 1180.

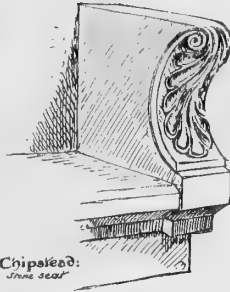
¹ *See* Cracklow's *Churches and Chapels in Surrey*, 1824.

² The carving is curiously similar to that of the nave arcade capitals in Bexhill church, Sussex, of the same approximate date (*c.* 1160), and may well be by the same hand.

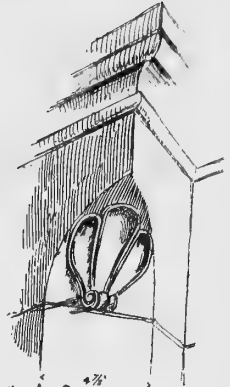
³ A good instance of the early use of the dog-tooth moulding and of a pear-shaped moulding peculiar to this period. The capitals are formed out of a grotesque head with pointed ears and distended mouth swallowing the shaft—a feature also characteristic of the period.



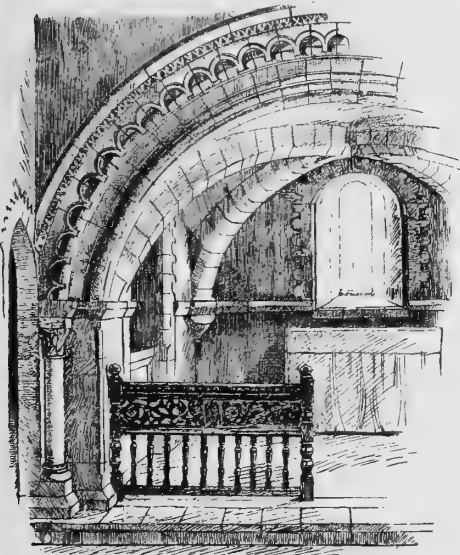
Mersham:
Classical Arch



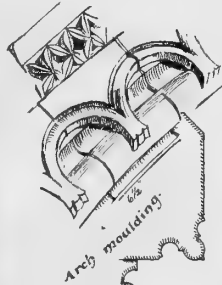
Chipstead:
Stone seat



Leatherhead:
Obsolet Arch.



Compton Church:
Sanctuary Arch.



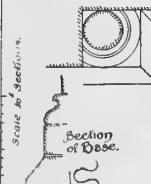
Arch moulding



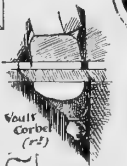
Left hand Capital.



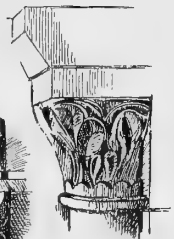
Joint



Section of Base.



Scull Corbel (r2)



Right hand Capital.

R.H. Johnson
genl. & del.

Cutplaster
adging to Nave.

ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS: LATE TWELFTH CENTURY.

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- SHERE.—West door and arch in south aisle, *c.* 1200. This work has a foreign look, as though executed by a French mason.
- SOUTHWARK, ST. MARY OVERIE.—Parts of west end, including responds of nave arcades and wall arcading, *c.* 1190.
- STOKE D'ABERNON.—Arcade in nave, *c.* 1190.
- WITLEY.—Central tower and parts of chancel, *c.* 1190. Bargate stone and chalk.
- WORPLESDON.—Chancel arch, *c.* 1190.

FROM *c.* 1200 TO *c.* 1220.

Many of the later examples among the foregoing are closely allied in date and character with those in the following list.

- ABINGER.—North chapel.
- ADDINGTON.—South arcade with massive cylindrical columns. Cf. Cobham and Limpsfield.
- ALBURY.—Chancel.
- ALFOLD.—Arcade of south aisle.
- BANSTEAD.—Chancel, chapels and western tower, *c.* 1210.
- BETCHWORTH.—Arch from tower to south chapel, south chapel and south arcade of nave. Lancets in chancel, *c.* 1200.
- BRAMLEY.—Chancel, with good triplet in east wall.
- CAPEL.—Chancel and nave.
- CARSHALTON.—South arcade of nave, central tower and chancel, *c.* 1200.
- CATERHAM.—Arches in north and south walls of chancel and window in north chapel.
- CHALDON } —Blind arches in walls, *c.* 1200.
- CHARLWOOD. }
- CHELSHAM.—Tower, angle shafts for altar beam in chancel. Font.
- CHIPSTEAD.—Central tower (vaulted), north transept, chancel and south aisle of nave.
- COBHAM.—North chapel.
- CRAMLEY.—Parts of nave and north transept, with arch to same.
- CROWHURST.—Font and parts of walls.
- ELSTEAD.—Fabric of nave and chancel, with lancet windows.
- FARLEY.—Lancet in western part of south wall of chancel.
- FETCHAM.—Chancel and transeptal chapel on north, with altar recess, piscina, sedilia, etc., north aisle walls, with door and windows (arcade later), *c.* 1200.
- GATTON.—General structure of church (modernized). Good piscina.
- GODALMING.—North and south chapels, nave arcades (eastern part, etc.), *c.* 1220.
- HORSLEY, EAST.—Chancel.
- HORSLEY, WEST.—Arcade, chancel arch, north door and font, *c.* 1200.
- LIMPSFIELD.—South aisle of nave, with heavy cylindrical columns, very similar to those of north chapel at Cobham.
- MERSTHAM.—Western tower, with fine doorway (retaining elaborate ironwork) nave arcades, clear-story windows and chancel,¹ *c.* 1200.
- MERTON.—Chancel (and parts of nave destroyed), *c.* 1200.
- NEWDIGATE.—Chancel and N. wall of nave, with lancet windows.
- OCKHAM.—Remains of original triplet in east wall of chancel, *c.* 1200.²
- SEND.—Chancel with lancet windows and priest's door.
- SOUTHWARK, ST. MARY OVERIE.—Nave and quire in building, *c.* 1200–1240.
- STOKE D'ABERNON.—Chancel, with vaulting, lancets and remains of paintings, *c.* 1210.
- TATSFIELD.—Elaborately moulded window (chalk) in north wall of chancel, etc., *c.* 1220.
- WOKING.—Chancel, with lancet windows, aumbry and piscina.
- WOODMANSTERNE.—Window now in vestry.
- WOTTON.—South door, north chapel and chancel, with low side window, *c.* 1220.

The windows in Chipstead (chancel and north transept) are remarkable, if not unique in having triangular or pedimental heads. The openings are exceptionally narrow (less than four inches) in the chancel and narrowly splayed. They have a double chamfered hood-moulding and an outer rebate. The transept windows are generally similar, but wider,

¹ The tower door at Merstham has a trefoiled inner arch, very bold and effective, and the design of the whole bears much likeness to the frater door in the monastic buildings of Rochester Cathedral, the work of Prior Helias in the first decade of the thirteenth century.

² Only the lower parts of these windows are visible beneath the magnificent group of seven thirteenth century lancets by which they were replaced. It is possible that the first triplet belongs to the twelfth century.

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

and the door in the west wall of the transept has a triangular head. These triangular heads are found also in the piscina in the north transept at Fetcham, and in a double piscina in the North Chapel at Cobham, and it has been suggested that as Cobham and Chipstead churches belonged to Chertsey Abbey, the same architect was employed on both. Another theory, originated by the late Mr. Street, is that Chipstead, Merstham, Gatton and Merton, in Surrey, and Cliffe-at-Hoo and Brasted churches in Kent were all the work of the same architect. Certainly they have many features in common, such as quatrefoil openings in the clearstories, double chamfered hood-mouldings and string courses, capitals and arches of similar sections and doorways of kindred design. At Merstham, Merton, Cliffe and Brasted there are, or were originally, blind arches rising from the floor to the wall plate in the chancel, transepts or tower, forming in some cases a continuous arcade, in which windows were pierced. The details of these are precisely similar, and there can be no doubt that the period of execution is the same.¹ There is also a curious resemblance in the trefoiled and segmental forms of the door heads at Merstham, Chipstead and Cliffe.

There is a peculiar feature in the work of this period at Banstead which merits special notice—the little firestone column belonging to the two arches dividing the chancel from the north chapel. The actual shaft is only 4 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 4½ in., and in plan it is octagonal, but the sides are alternately hollowed and sunk flat, with chamfered angles. The capital is moulded and square, with the angles canted, and springing from them knots of stiff foliage like an elaborated volute. The whole design is unlike anything else in Surrey, and bears a close resemblance to some of the shafts in the chapter house and other parts of Lincoln Cathedral. It dates, like the work at Lincoln, from the very beginning of the thirteenth century.

FROM *c.* 1220 TO *c.* 1260.

To the next forty years belong the following:—

BARNES.—East triplet (modernized).

BISLEY.—Fabric generally.

BLECHINGLEY.—Blocked windows in south chapel, arcade and lancets in chancel and south and west doors, *c.* 1220.

BOOKHAM, LITTLE.—East window, with marble shafts and foliated capitals, resembling those in the east window of Ockham, *c.* 1230.

CATERHAM.—Windows and door in chancel, chancel arch and north aisle of nave.

CHALDON.—South chapel, south aisle of nave, with arcade, piscina, etc.

CHELSHAM.—Windows, south wall of chancel, piscina in east wall, *c.* 1250.

CHESSINGTON.—Parts of nave, etc. Base of font.

CHIDDINGFOLD.—Chancel and north chapel, south door and porch. Fine groups of lancets and coeval roof to chancel, *c.* 1230.

CLANDON, EAST.—Chancel.

CLANDON, WEST.—Lancet windows, sedile, piscina and aumbry.

COULSDON.—Nave, north aisle, chancel, *c.* 1260.

EWHURST.—Windows in transepts.

FARLEY.—Eastern part of chancel. The east wall has two lancets, instead of the usual triplet.

FETCHAM.—Chancel arch, possibly heightened at restoration.

GODALMING.—Triplet in south wall of south chapel, separated by mullions, and with detached marble shafts on inside, *c.* 1260.

GUILDFORD.—Lancets, and door in north aisle.

HORSLEY, WEST.—East window, triplet.

LIMPSFIELD.—Chancel and north chapel, *c.* 1230. Two-light window, with circle over, in tower ground-story (restored), *c.* 1250.

NEWDIGATE.—Chancel, two-light window with circle over.

NUTFIELD.—Lancet and double recess or aumbry, north wall of chancel.

OAKWOOD.—Fabric generally, with lancet windows and doors.

¹ There are similar constructional arches in the ground-story of the towers of Cliffe-at-Hoo and St. Mary Cray Church, Kent, both of this date. These blind arcades—as distinguished from the ordinary wall arcading—comparatively lofty and forming frames for windows, are a feature fairly common in Kent and other counties. Hardlip church has one of late twelfth century date on each side of the chancel. They are found also in Horton Kirby, Dartford, Rainham, Upchurch, Newington and Sittingbourne churches, all in Kent, and all belonging to the early part of the thirteenth century. Teynham church, Kent, has many points in common with this series. The remarkable blind arcades in the chancel of Coulsdon Church, Surrey, are a later development.

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- OCKHAM.—East window—a group of seven lancets, double piscina, chancel arch, etc., arches to north aisle, etc., *c.* 1230.
 OXTED.—Priest's door, piscina, etc., in chancel, *c.* 1250.
 PETERSHAM.—Remains of blocked lancets in chancel.
 RIPLEY.—East window.
 SEALE.—Chancel.
 SOUTHWARK, ST. MARY OVERIE.—Lady chapel, *c.* 1240-3. Nave and quire completed.
 TATSFIELD.—Chancel arch, segmental and without caps, *c.* 1260.
 THURSLEY.—Chancel arch and windows.
 WANBOROUGH.—Church generally.
 WARLINGHAM.—Church generally, *c.* 1240-50.
 WISLEY.—Low side window, etc.
 WITLEY.—Windows in south wall of chancel. Font.
 WOKING.—Tower.

The churches of Chiddingfold, Oakwood and Warlingham are valuable examples of this period because they retain so much of their original character. There is much in common between the chancel at Chiddingfold and that of Climping church, Sussex, and as they are of the same general date (about 1230) they may perhaps have been built by the same school of masons.

The doors at Guildford and Blechingley are models of simple beauty. The church of Coudson exhibits some of the curious blind arches in its chancel to which attention has been directed in the previous period.

FROM *c.* 1260 TO *c.* 1320.

With the introduction of window tracery in its simpler and more geometrical design another period opens, of which the following churches or parts of churches may be cited.

- ALFOLD.—North arcade of arches without capitals, *c.* 1280.
 BYFLEET. Church generally; doors, windows, piscina, etc., *c.* 1310.
 CHARLWOOD.—Arcade between nave and aisle, south door, piscina and windows in aisle, *c.* 1270.
 Window in north wall of nave, eastern end, *c.* 1320.
 CHELSHAM.—Window in south wall of chancel, consisting of two lancets with a plain circle over, *c.* 1260. Windows in north wall of nave and south door, *c.* 1300.
 CHIDDINGFOLD.—East window, with plate tracery, *c.* 1270.
 CRANLEY.—Tower and church generally, including sedilia and piscina, *c.* 1290.
 CROYDON.—Window in west wall of south aisle (modern copy), *c.* 1300.
 DUNSFOLD.—The entire church—a singularly beautiful cruciform building, *c.* 1290.
 EFFINGHAM.—Two western windows in chancel, *c.* 1310.¹
 ELSTEAD.—Window in nave with flat tracery, *c.* 1320.
 FETCHAM.—The north arcade, similar to that at Alfold, *c.* 1280.
 GODALMING.—East windows of chancel and south chapel, *c.* 1270. Cf. east window of Raunds church, Northants.
 GUILDFORD, ST. CATHERINE'S CHAPEL.—Building generally. The trefoil-headed south door is of interest, *c.* 1317.²
 HORLEY.—North aisle—beautiful windows and door, *c.* 1315.
 LEATHERHEAD.—Chancel and transepts, with arches from aisles to transepts, *c.* 1320.
 MERSTHAM.—Some windows in chancel and western parts of church.
 MERTON.—Windows in chancel, *c.* 1310.
 NUTFIELD.—Windows in chancel, *c.* 1310.
 SHERE.—Chancel, south chapel, and arches of central tower, *c.* 1280 to 1320.
 SOUTHWARK, ST. MARY OVERIE.—Windows of quire aisles and Lady Chapel, some with plain circle and unfoliated pointed arches; others with reticulated tracery, *c.* 1260-1320.
 TANDRIDGE.—Windows.
 TATSFIELD.—East window, piscina and low side window, *c.* 1300.
 THORPE.—Windows in nave.

The east windows of the north and south chapels at Godalming and the east window of the main chancel at Chiddingfold are excellent illustrations of plate tracery.

¹ Probably the work of William de Brokesbourne, prior of Merton 1307-1335.

² The chapel, from an entry in the Pipe Rolls, must have been in existence in 1230, and perhaps this door is a relic of the older building. But Richard de Wauncey, parson of St. Nicholas' church, Guildford, applied for its re-consecration in 1317—a date that fits the style of the building generally.

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Horley church, the north aisle of which is entirely built in this style, used to boast of another series of windows, very like what we find in a group of churches chiefly in Kent and eastern Sussex, of which Chartham and Winchelsea are the most prominent instances—the peculiarities of which are so marked as to have obtained for their tracery the name of Kentish. The north doorway, which possesses beautiful and characteristic mouldings of this period, and the arcade between the nave and aisle, have fortunately not been spoilt in restoration.

There is a type of two-light window found in several Surrey churches, of which those at Effingham are good instances, in which the design is of two trefoil-headed lights, with a plain uncusped opening over, formed by the intersection of the heads of the sub-arches with the enclosing arch. The trefoils are of a somewhat inelegant, elongated shape. Windows approximating to this type are found in the churches of Byfleet, Merstham, Merton and Nutfield; while the same design on a larger scale is seen in the great five-light east window of Godalming. Their date may be fixed at about 1310.

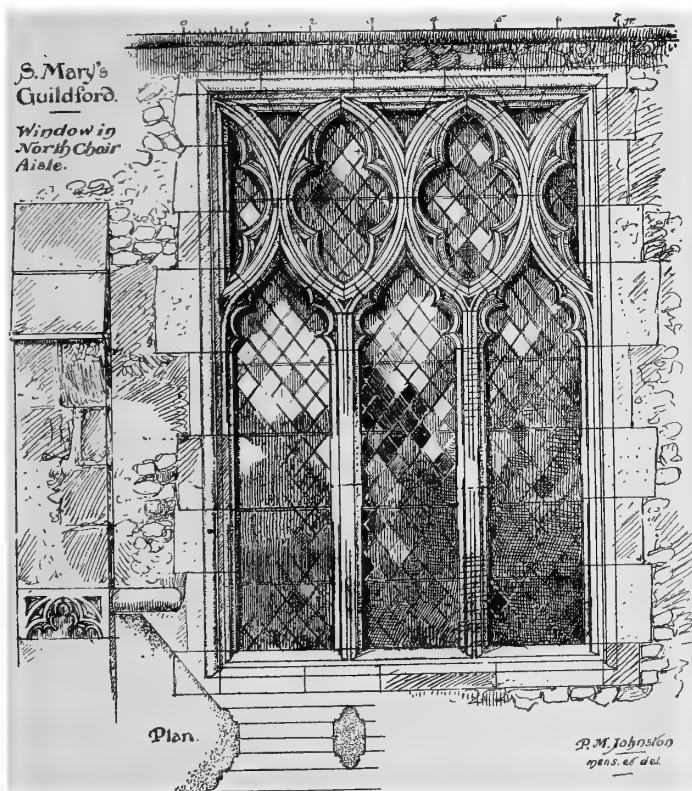
In Charlwood Church is an extremely graceful two-light window, in the eastern part of the north wall of the nave. Its date may be about 1320, or possibly somewhat later.¹

FROM c. 1320 TO c. 1350.

From this point the beauty of window tracery grows less. In the following group, however, will be found many interesting examples.

BANSTEAD.—Font.

BETCHWORTH.—Windows in north aisle of nave, c. 1330.



¹ André on Charlwood Church, *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xi. 6. This window is in firestone and in a somewhat decayed state. Happily, so far it has not been restored. The late Mr. William Burges notices (*Arch. Jour.*, xxi. 210) 'a rude figure of a peacock, incised or scratched upon one of the jambs, being possibly a rebus of the name of a workman.'

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BOOKHAM, GREAT.—Chancel with its windows, 1341. One of these, on the north, is a low side window.

BOOKHAM, LITTLE.—Low side window south of chancel.

CHALDON.—Window in east wall of south chapel.

CHIDDINGFOLD.—Windows in south aisle of nave, *c.* 1330, and porch with oak bargeboard.

CLANDON, WEST.—East window and windows in nave, *c.* 1350.

COBHAM.—Windows in north chapel, *c.* 1330.

COMPTON.—East window and piscina in south aisle, *c.* 1330.

ECHAM.—Parts of church, now destroyed, dated 1327.

FRENESHAM.—Windows nave and chancel, *c.* 1340.

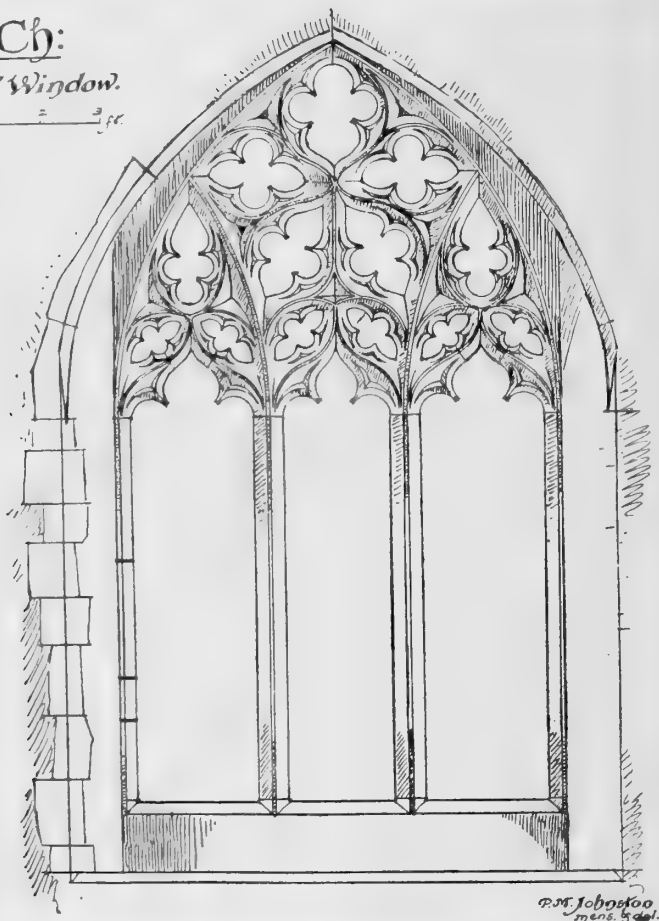
GUILDFORD, ST. MARY.—Window north wall of north chapel, *c.* 1320.

Witley Ch:

East Window.

12 6 0 2 3 ft.

Section
of
Jamb &
Mullion



HORSELL.—Window, north wall of nave, *c.* 1330.

LEATHERHEAD.—Window, etc., in chancel side walls, *c.* 1330.

OCKHAM.—Window in west wall of aisle, *c.* 1330. Window south wall of nave, *c.* 1350. Cf. windows in Harbledown, Southfleet, and Sutton-at-Hone, Kent.

OXTED.—Fine east and side windows of chancel and chancel arch, *c.* 1330.

PIRFORD.—East window.

REIGATE.—Window on north side, and east windows of quire and south chapels, *c.* 1330.

SANDERSTEAD.—Church generally, windows and chancel (modernized).

SOUTHWARK, ST. MARY OVERIE.—South transept rebuilt in this period, *c.* 1350. The windows have tracery already stiffening into the hard lines of the succeeding period, and of a

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type common in Kent. The blind tracery at the back of the reredos is slightly earlier, *c.* 1340.

SUTTON.—Windows in chancel, now destroyed, *c.* 1340.

THORPE.—Chancel windows.

WARLINGHAM.—East window, *c.* 1340.

WIMBLEDON.—Windows in chancel, *c.* 1330.

WITLEY.—East windows of chancel and north chapel.

WOKING.—Windows in chancel and south aisle; upper part of tower, *c.* 1340.

There are several curious square-headed windows in this period, e.g. those at St. Mary's Guildford, Chiddingfold, Ockham and Cobham. That at Guildford is peculiarly graceful in design. The three lights have ogee cinquefoiled heads, and over these are somewhat narrow vesicas, quatrefoiled, the whole richly moulded. The other windows are somewhat later, and, although of generally similar design, are not so refined in detail as this.

The east window of Oxted church is one of the finest in the county, and the flowing design of the tracery is singularly beautiful.¹

FROM *c.* 1350 TO *c.* 1400.

The succeeding half-century (1350–1400) saw the change from flowing to straight lines in the tracery. Most Surrey churches show windows, doors and other features of this and the succeeding periods. A few instances may suffice.

BETCHWORTH.—A good typical example of two lights in north wall of north aisle of nave, with pointed segmental head, *c.* 1390.

BEDDINGTON.—The entire church with the exception of the south chapel: in building, 1390.

BOOKHAM, GREAT.—Enlarged south aisle and porch, with doorway and good three-light windows of the same date and character as that at Betchworth and the windows at Effingham (below), *c.* 1390.

CROYDON.—A noble building, the design of which dates from *c.* 1390. Destroyed by fire in 1867, and rebuilt mainly on the old lines.²

EFFINGHAM.—East window and two-light eastern windows, north and south walls of chancel, 1388.³

FARNHAM.—The nave arcades and parts of the transepts, and east end of chancel, including the fine range of sedilia and piscina.

GUILDFORD, ST. MARY.—Windows in north apsidal chapel, *c.* 1350.

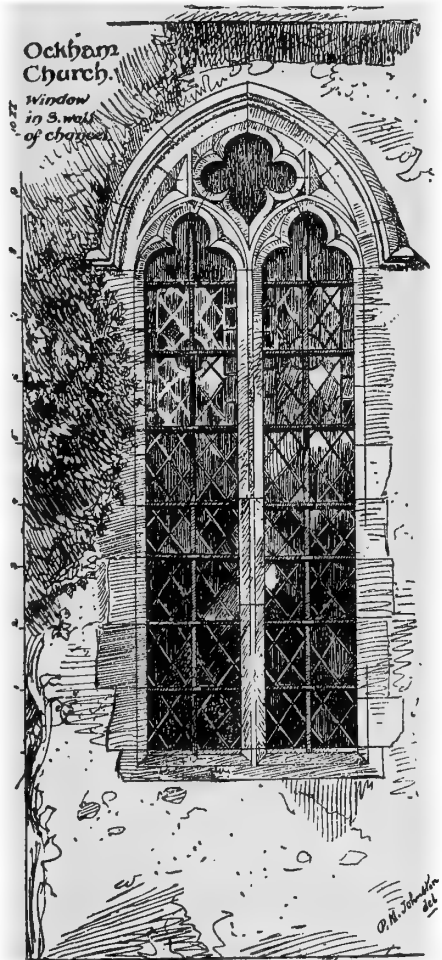
HORSELL.—Tower and window in nave.

KINGSTON, FREE CHAPEL.—Rebuilt in or about 1350. A most complete and valuable dated example, particularly in regard to the window tracery.

¹ The tracery mouldings were barbarously pared back a century or so ago on the outside, but fortunately the inside has been left alone.

² Besides the south porch and a few niches, tombs, etc., of mediæval date preserved *in situ*, there are many loose fragments of this period in the north aisle.

³ A valuable instance of a date fixed by documentary evidence. *Surr. Arch. Coll.*, ix. 374. *et seq.*



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- LAMBETH.—Tower and parts of fabric, 1374-7.
OCKHAM.—Windows of two designs in chancel side walls, *c.* 1350 and 1400.
OXTED.—South porch and inner doorway with richly panelled oak door, *c.* 1380.
REIGATE.—Parts of nave and aisles with many windows and western tower, *c.* 1380.
WOKING.—Some windows in nave, *c.* 1360.

Most Surrey churches contain portions—if only windows and doors—belonging to the following period, of which the subjoined examples are typical. Churches wholly in this style are rare in Surrey.

FROM *c.* 1400 TO *c.* 1500.

- BARNES.—Tower and windows, *c.* 1420.
BEDDINGTON.—Carew Chapel, with fine east window of peculiar design, *c.* 1420.
BLECHINGLEY.—Arcades of nave, aisle walls, windows and roofs. A good series of grotesque corbels, *c.* 1400. The chancel arch is four-centred, of bold design.
BURSTOW.—Timber tower, arcade on south of nave, windows, Easter sepulchre, font, etc. (a good and rare example), niches, *c.* 1470.
CHIDDINGFOLD.—Arcade on north of nave, and windows of north aisle, *c.* 1500.
CHIPSTEAD.—Central tower (upper story), east and west windows and windows of aisle, *c.* 1400.
CHOBHAM.—Tower, windows, etc., *c.* 1400.
COULSDON.—Tower, windows in chancel, etc., *c.* 1400.
CROWHURST.—East window, aisle windows, timber steeple, Gaynesford tombs, *c.* 1400.
CROYDON.—Tower (restored).
CROYDON PALACE CHAPEL.—A late example.
EPSOM.—Tower (re-cased) and spire. Font, *c.* 1460.
FARNHAM.—Windows generally, and tower (lower stages), the latter *c.* 1500.
GUILDFORD, ST. NICHOLAS.—Loseley Chapel, late in the century.
HORLEY.—South side, with windows, *c.* 1480.
HORNE.—Windows and timber tower, *c.* 1470.
KINGSTON.—Parts of nave, arcades, windows, etc.; and north chapel and chancel, *c.* 1460.
LEATHERHEAD.—Tower and windows, north wall of nave. Font, *c.* 1480.
LEIGH.—Church generally, *c.* 1420.
LINGFIELD.—Entire church (except tower), rebuilt in 1431.
MERSTHAM.—East window, south chapel, south porch, screen, etc., *c.* 1400.
MERTON.—East window. Roofs of nave and quire, *c.* 1400.
MICKLEHAM.—Tower, windows and parts of aisle, *c.* 1460.
MOULSEY, WEST.—Tower and font, *c.* 1420, in nave.
NEWDIGATE.—Windows, north wall of nave. The wooden tower at the west end is of about the same date.
NUTFIELD.—Tower, several windows, rood screen, *c.* 1400.
OCKHAM.—Tower, window, south wall of chancel, screen, seats in chancel, *c.* 1400.
OXTED.—South porch, arcades in nave, *c.* 1400.
PUTNEY.—Tower and arcades of nave.
PUTTENHAM.—Various windows, one a low side window in south wall of chancel, *c.* 1420.
SEND.—Nave, with its roof, windows, door, seating and rood-screen, western tower, *c.* 1480.
SHERE.—Windows in nave.
SOUTHWARK, ST. MARY OVERIE.—Central tower, upper stages. Bosses of former wooden vaulting, *c.* 1400-1500.
STREATHAM.—Tower arch and part of tower.
STOKE D'ABERNON.—Norbury chapel, *c.* 1490.
THURSLEY.—Wooden tower, *c.* 1470.
WALTON-ON-THAMES.—Tower, windows, etc., *c.* 1400.
WOKING.—Window, north wall of nave, arcade on south side, seating, etc.
WORPLESDON.—Tower, with good window, etc.

To the next half century—the closing period of mediæval architecture—Surrey contributes comparatively few examples, but some of them are noteworthy for their elaboration of detail.

FROM *c.* 1500 TO *c.* 1550.

- ASHTED.—The church, including massive west tower, east window and font, belongs to the beginning of the century, although there are traces in the walls of a much older building.
BOOKHAM, GREAT.—North chancel, with arch in yellow sandstone, *c.* 1500.
CHALDON.—Window of south aisle, and porch.
CHARLWOOD.—Windows of chancel and south chapel, *c.* 1500.

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CHIDDINGFOLD.—Arcade between nave and north aisle, *c.* 1500.

ESHER.—Flint and stone chequer work.

EWELL.—Tower.

HORSLEY, WEST.—South aisle of nave with arcade, *c.* 1500.

LAMBETH, ST. MARY.—The north and south aisles, 1505; west end rebuilt, 1523. Modern restorations have obliterated most of these works.

MICKLEHAM.—Norbury chapel and tombs, *c.* 1500.

MORTLAKE.—Tower, dated 1543.

PETERSHAM.—Church rebuilt, 1505. Parts of the chancel of this date.

PUTNEY.—Bishop West's chapel, *c.* 1520. Fine example of fan tracery vaulting. (The chapel formerly stood on the south side of the chancel, but was removed to the north side in *c.* 1830.)

RICHMOND.—Tower, *c.* 1500.

SOUTHWARK, ST. MARY OVERIE.—Bishop Fox's altar-screen.

Of post-Reformation ecclesiastical architecture, other than purely classical or modern, Surrey is fortunate in possessing some highly characteristic examples. Some are such 'good Gothic' that, as has been before remarked, they might easily be mistaken for the work of a much older period.

FROM *c.* 1550 TO *c.* 1650.

CROYDON, WHITGIFT'S HOSPITAL CHAPEL.—1596-9.

DULWICH COLLEGE CHAPEL.—1610.

GUILDFORD, ABBOT'S HOSPITAL CHAPEL.—*c.* 1619.

MALDEN.—Rebuilt 1610, and retaining in the chancel parts of the earlier walls.

MORDEN.—Rebuilt 1636. The windows, priest's door, and other features are possibly relics from the older church.

SHERE.—South porch, of brick, *c.* 1630.

WANDSWORTH.—Lower part of brick tower, built 1630.

WOKING.—Brick porch, south of nave, *c.* 1622.

With the period of the Commonwealth, Gothic architecture practically ceased to struggle against the classical taste. Church-building was, however, almost at a standstill and existing churches, which had fared ill enough during the Reformation period of the previous century, were in many cases suffered to fall more and more into disrepair, so that by the time of the restoration of Church and King numbers of them must have been in a semi-ruinous condition. This is evident from churchwardens' accounts and other records, and also from the extensive repairs of which the buildings themselves bear witness; as at Warlingham, where the initials **O. A.** appear with the date **1678** upon a stucco panel on the south wall of the chancel, indicating that Mistress Olive Atwood 'restored' the church at that time. Christ church, Southwark (1671) is perhaps the only new church built in the county in the latter part of the seventeenth century, but one or two old churches, such as Windlesham and Bermondsey, were practically rebuilt in that period—both in 1680.

The many rebuildings, or new buildings, which date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, possess no features which can be considered local, and can find no place in this account.¹

¹ The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. G. C. Druce for several of the photographs with which the article is illustrated.

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

IN such a county as Surrey, small in extent, containing no great estates or towns, and consisting largely of downs and heaths, it is not to be expected that many important architectural works will be found.

Of the castles that guarded the passes of the North Downs, there remain only ruins at Guildford and parts of Farnham. There are important fragments of the palaces of the Archbishops of Canterbury at Lambeth and Croydon, and the brick gate-house of Bishop Waynflete's house at Esher Place still exists, although sadly altered. With these exceptions, a doorway of Henry VII. at his manor house of Woking and the two thirteenth century crypts at Guildford are probably the only remains of mediaeval domestic work in the county, with the exception of such frames of timberwork as have been incorporated into later buildings.

Some of the most important pioneer buildings of the Renaissance were in Surrey, but they have all been destroyed. The palace of Richmond, rebuilt by Henry VII., was probably very slightly of Renaissance character, but Wolsey's gallery at Esher Place, the house of Henry VIII. at Otelands, and especially the palace of Nonsuch, owed their ornamentation to the new school. It is from the surveys of Richmond, Nonsuch and Wimbledon that writers on this period of architecture largely draw their illustrations.

Southwark once contained many palaces, important houses and notable inns, but these have passed away ; Guildford and Kingston were the two principal towns, and though the latter had until lately fallen in estate, the former still retains many buildings of the time of Elizabeth and James I. ; indeed, the fabric of the High Street is, with a few exceptions, of this date. Godalming, which was always a prosperous little town, also retains many interesting buildings, and with it and Guildford should be grouped the villages of Shere and Wonersh and others adjoining, which were members of a manufacturing district. In such districts the architecture of the humbler buildings is always interesting, and there are here many remains of the houses of the master clothiers and of the cottages of the weavers.

In the zone of country north of the southern sandhills are still to be found many buildings of the time of Elizabeth and James I. that

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were erected by the numerous retired servants of the Court who acquired so many small estates in Surrey, while half a century later came the houses of ex-lord mayors and enriched citizens. On the south side of the sandhills, in the belt of the Weald, are numerous small manor houses and farms that are good types of the timber dwellings of an agricultural country.

It is with these two latter classes of buildings that an account of the architecture will be chiefly concerned, as others do not present local characteristics.

It will be as well to begin this architectural survey of the county by a few words on the building materials which have been from time to time available. On the east of the county there were very important quarries at Merstham that belonged to the Crown. These supplied most of the rough stone for the royal buildings in London and for Windsor Castle ; the stone obtained is very similar to what is known as Kentish rag. A fine variety was quarried in the neighbourhood and was used in Sussex and the east of the county for mantelpieces and fireplaces. It is known as firestone from its resistance to fire, and is still used as a bed for casting plate glass. It is of a strong greenish grey colour, of the finest texture, and can be delicately carved. It has been used again of late years, and is sometimes called Godstone stone.

There was plenty of chalk, which was universally employed for wrought work both externally and internally. The best kind was probably quarried from such deep workings as the caverns at Guildford, whence it could be obtained in large blocks without flints. This material is also capable of the finest detail, and is very durable where reasonable care is taken of it. The carved mantelpiece in the museum of the Surrey Archaeological Society at the Castle Arch at Guildford is a good example of the very delicate finish of which it is capable. This mantelpiece was thickly coated with paint until a few years ago, but had not been otherwise protected. The elaborate mantel in the drawing-room at Loseley is also of chalk.

From the hills to the south of Guildford a rough and very hard stone called Bargate is dug, but this has never, until lately, been used more than locally. In some places this stone is found of a texture that admits of its being dressed, and it is used in churches for quoins and even, as at Dunsfold, for the tracery of windows. As a general rule it was used for the base of the walls of timber houses and for chimney blocks. As this stone was of rough shape, it had to be laid with thick joints, and the plan was adopted in the seventeenth century of sticking little black ironstone pebbles into the joints at intervals ; this is known as galleting.

In the sand districts the black ironstone is often found in pieces of size sufficient for use as building stone, and it is used alone or mixed with Bargate. This is the stone that was used so largely by the Romans in Britain for the black cubes in their mosaic floors ; it is found in pieces of the proper thickness and with smooth surface and only required squaring and rubbing down ; it has been lately used again for outdoor pavements.

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In south-east Surrey, where stone was plentiful, the main parts of good houses were built of it and only the offices made of post and panel ; good instances of this are Smallfield Place near Reigate and New Place at Lingfield. The lower stories of Nonsuch and similar buildings were also of stone, which was doubtless brought from the royal quarries at Merstham.

The bricks and tiles of Surrey made in the southern parts, where the sand contains much iron, were, and are, not only of excellent character, but of a colour that cannot be surpassed. Many of the older bricks are $9\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 2$ inches with $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch joints, but those at Unsted are $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick, and at Abbot's Hospital thirty-six courses scale

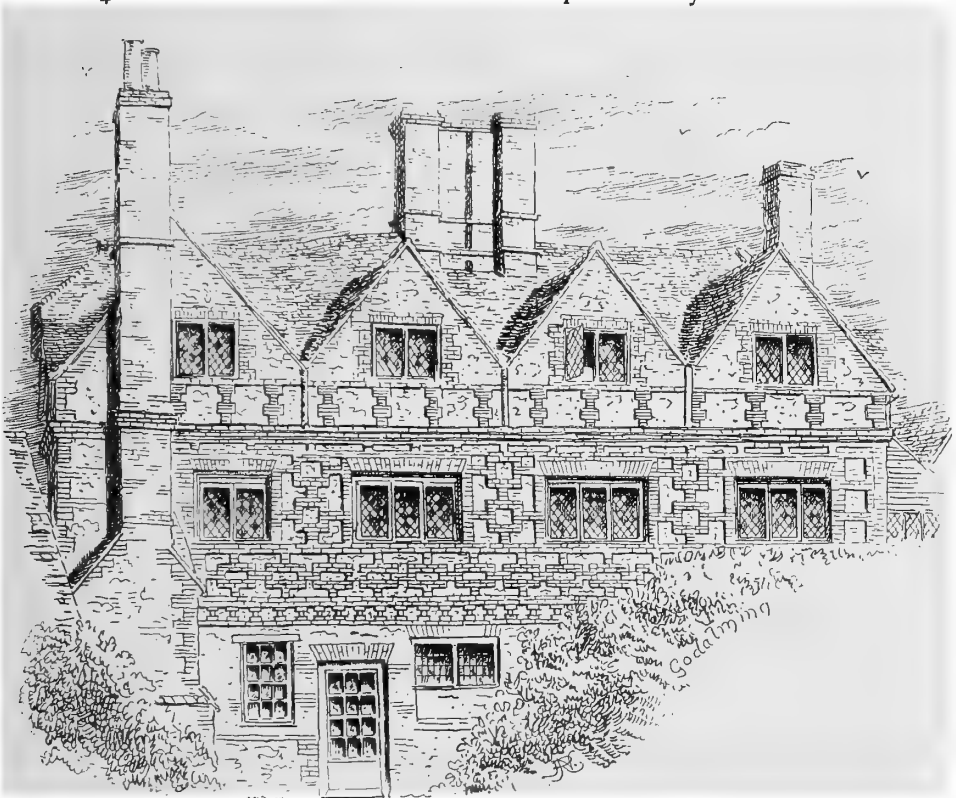


FIG. 1. BACK OF HOUSE IN HIGH STREET, GODALMING.

8 feet. Some at Puttenham dated 1685 measure $8\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, which is the standard size at that date. The joints were nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness, which is one secret of the great charm of old brickwork.

The gateway at Esher Place with its fine spiral vaulted stair is an interesting example of early brickwork ; it was built by Bishop Waynflete between 1450 and 1480. The vaulting of the stairs is on the same principle as that in the Château of Blois, built by Francis I., and argues very skilled work.

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Soon after this, in 1529, Sutton Place near Guildford was built. This is the finest specimen of the use of terra cotta and brick in England, and in colour at least far surpasses the other leading example at Layer Marney in Essex; although the two houses were built about the same time the work is curiously dissimilar.

About this period bricks began to be freely used for chimneys and for the bases of walls and filling in of panels; it was some time however before the walls of ordinary houses were in this county built of brick except in the London districts. How little its use and advantages were understood is shown by the fact that timber bond continued to be used and prescribed up to modern times, to the infinite ruin of buildings.

In the south-west of the county there is an interesting class of buildings composed of the rough Bargate stone and ornamental brickwork; the Bargate filling corresponds to the flint found in other counties. The buildings are so straightforward and free from undue straining after style as to be well worthy of attention.

The two best examples are the two houses in the High Street of Godalming; of these the back of one, which is dated 1663, is shown (Fig. 1); the projection of the brickwork in these examples is only from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. A house by the mill at Shalford is of this kind of work and is somewhat like Slyfields Manor, built about 1614, although the capitals of the pilasters at Slyfields are unusually bold.

What is left of the Old King's Head at Dorking has remains of similar cornices and other brickwork and transomed and mullioned windows composed entirely of bricks. At Farnham are the remains of the Town Hall, which must have been a very ornate little building (Fig. 2): unfortunately the street front, which is said to have borne the date 1657, has been taken down. There is a very pretty front of fancy brickwork of about this date at Crossways farm, Abinger, apparently planted on to an older timber house.

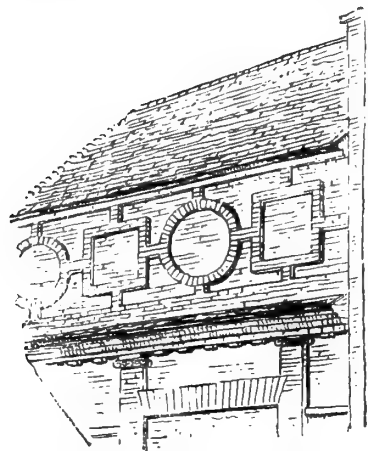


FIG. 2. TOWN HALL, FARNHAM.

Pendell house, opposite Pendell Court, is the work of Inigo Jones, and the same artist is said to have designed the south front of Sanderstead Place; the pilasters and cornices resemble some of his work, but he had certainly nothing to do with it if the date 1676, said to be on it, is coeval.

Leapale house at Guildford is dated 1684, and is of a kind of which various specimens are to be found (Fig. 3). The little garden house was apparently attached to the garden which was afterwards in the occupation of the Martyr family, who held it in conjunction with 25 High Street, on the other side of the Town ditch now represented by North Street,

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The brick chimneys are an interesting feature of Surrey architecture: although there are none of the more ornate with moulded shafts left, yet the chimneys at Abbot's Hospital at Guildford are as fine and dignified as anything can be. The variety and skilful proportions and

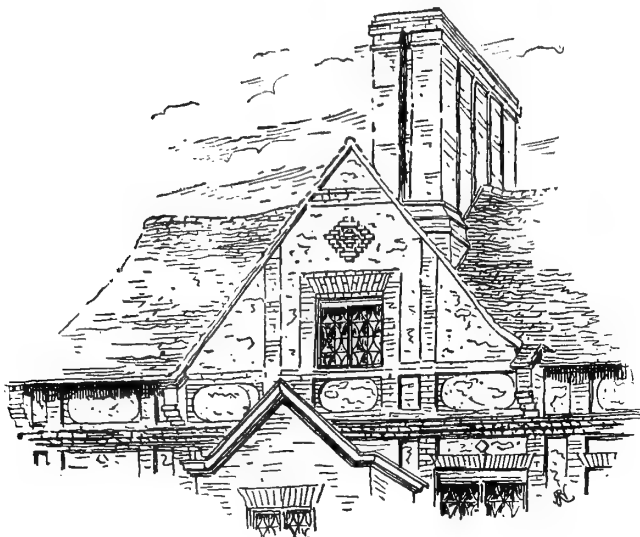


FIG. 3. LEAPALE HOUSE, GUILDFORD.

arrangements of many of the cottage chimneys in the county are not to be surpassed. This arises no doubt from the fact that these cottages were not purely agricultural but were the homes of flourishing weavers and mechanics. Something must perhaps be allowed for native taste, since neither in brick nor in timber work do we anywhere find those extravagances that so often have to be condoned for their antiquarian interest.

A particularly graceful chimney is that at Abbot's and elsewhere in which the octagon shaft gradually changes in the head to the star shape. The star shaft and head is a frequent form and other features are the use of the projecting bricks called crow rests and of crow steps to the set-offs (Fig. 4). These are constantly found, although the tops have commonly been knocked off and only the stumps remain. A chimney at Shere is dated 1620, and there is reason to think this is about the date of those with ornamental heads.¹

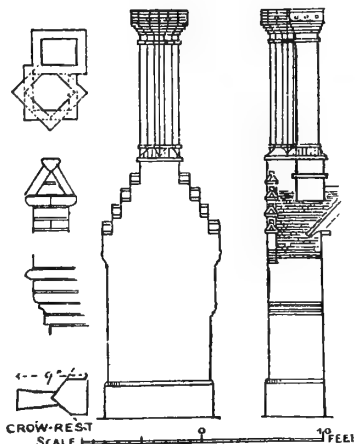


FIG. 4. CROW RESTS AND CROW STEPS.

¹ The subject has been treated with some fullness elsewhere; see *Surr. Arch. Coll.* iv. 253, and *Old Cottage, etc., Architecture, West Surrey.*

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On the borders of Sussex there were to be found, in the memory of man, specimens of the wattle and clay chimneys that appear to have preceded those of brick; these were so dangerous, especially where thatch was used, that ordinances were made at Clare in Suffolk in 1621,¹ to take them down and rebuild them in brick, and doubtless similar measures were taken elsewhere.

The large ingle openings in the farmhouses are commonly spanned by great oak beams. In good houses the fireplaces have arches of chalk, of which there are good examples at Loseley, Smallfield Place, Leigh Place, the house at the Castle Arch, Guildford, and elsewhere. In other houses and cottages the fireplaces are in brick with Tudor arches; the sides of these were plastered and painted with arabesques in distemper.

In the southern parts of the county the better class of house was originally covered with the large thin stone slabs called Horsham slates. These give a very noble appearance to a roof, although they are very heavy and can not be made to fit very close. Most buildings in the Weald were roofed with them, and they were used as far as the middle of the county. Thatch was the principal alternative, although there is record that tiles were used to roof the buildings on Edward the Second's manor of Woking. In surveys of his manors generally tiles are ordered to be used instead of shingles.

An architectural feature for which Surrey and Sussex are famous is the use of weather tiles, which are tiles, generally with fancy ends, fastened to the upright timber walls. There does not seem any evidence for early use of these, and it is probable that it began at the time when the timber on the weather sides began to decay. That this had been found to be a difficulty we may conclude from the fact that the timbers at Nonsuch were from the first covered with gilded lead in patterns and with slates cut with fancy ends like weather tiles; of such slates there are specimens to be found in Devon and France. On present information it will be safe to date the introduction of weather tiles from the commencement of the eighteenth century. The most usual pattern is that marked B, but others are found as shown (Fig. 5).

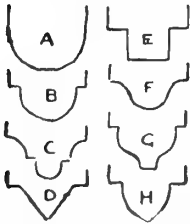


FIG. 5. PATTERNS OF WEATHER TILES.

In towns it was desired to give to the timber fronts the more fashionable appearance of brickwork, and a form of brick was devised that could be nailed on like a tile (Fig. 6). Many of the fronts in Guildford and other towns that are apparently of brick are made of these and their presence can be detected by the absence of any possible bond.

Although there is some weather tiling in Kent, the more usual plan there is to cover the timbers with weather boards, and in the eastern counties ornamental pargetting is used for the same purpose. Of this

¹ *Proc. Suff. Inst. of Arch.* ii. 108. Such chimneys are probably meant in a reference to chimneys of plaster in Parker's Handbook, which that author failed to understand, and took to mean mantelpieces.

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latter there is little to be found in Surrey, although it occurs now and then in simple forms.

Surrey is not rich in internal plaster work ; for some reason the small houses do not possess the ceilings and friezes that would be found as a matter of course in other counties. This is strange when we remember what an important part plaster played in the decoration of Nonsuch. Perhaps the fact that the sand is what is called hungry, and ill adapted for plaster, may have something to do with this.

There are the usual ceilings at Loseley and Ham House and fine Elizabethan ceilings of interlacing beam and strap work at Eagle House,¹ Wimbledon, ceilings at 25 High Street, Guildford, and an armorial ceiling at Brabœuf Manor. The state room at Slyfields has a famous arabesque wagon-shaped ceiling and there are others below of the style used by Inigo Jones. There is an elegant Georgian ceiling at Reigate Priory, and probably many others of that date not readily accessible to archaeologists.

The ordinary material used for dwelling houses up to the middle of the seventeenth century was oak, in the usual post and panel construction ; the Wealden district supplying oak in abundance. Fire and natural decay account for the disappearance of most of the important early houses of this class. Such a house as that of the Ormondes at Vachery near Cranleigh, where Queen Philippa was entertained, must have been very extensive. When such houses ceased to be constantly inhabited they would rapidly decay and would finally be taken down and smaller and more useful buildings made from the material. The old surveys show that kitchens and all manner of domestic offices were in outbuildings, as were lodgings for guests, retainers and attendants. These were probably less substantially built than the hall and its belongings, and were the first to go.

The old farmhouses and cottages frequently contain the skeletons of fifteenth and even of fourteenth century timber houses. The old open-roofed hall often exists in these, although it has long been divided by floors and partitions. A careful examination of the roof will often show the smoke and discoloration from the open fire in the centre of the hall, an arrangement universal in all early domestic work.

Great Tangle, the best example of an ornamental timber house left in the county, was built round a fifteenth century open hall of which the massive tiebeam remains in one of the bedrooms.

¹ This house belongs to the end of Elizabeth's reign, if not to that of James I. It is mentioned as a "fair new house" in a survey of the manor of Wimbledon, 1617. *Surr. Arch. Coll.* x. 151.

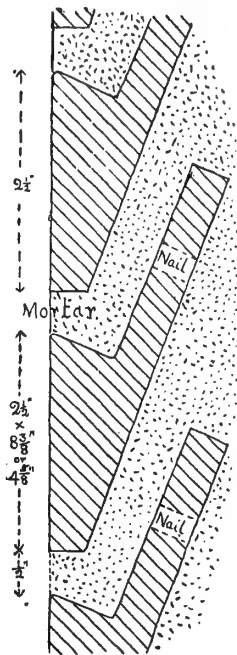


FIG. 6. SECTION OF TILE
FACING IMITATING
BRICKWORK.

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Before further considering the details of such buildings, it may be well to say something of the plans. Those of the larger houses present no local peculiarities and have been dealt with in textbooks, but smaller houses such as those lived in by the Elizabethan settlers and the farmers of the Weald have not been fully described or illustrated and it may be useful to give plans where the plan is fairly preserved.

Up to the middle of the fifteenth century the plan of all houses included a central hall open to the roof; an outer door led into a passage cut off by a screen from the hall. From this passage three doors led to the offices; two of these led to the pantry and buttery, and the other, sometimes to a passage to the kitchen, sometimes to stairs to the upper floor, sometimes to a cellar, and in larger houses to another



FIG. 7. HOUSE AT LINGFIELD.

parlour. About the middle of the sixteenth century the mode of life had become different, and the halls commonly had a floor put in so as to form rooms above; a fireplace and chimney had then to be added to take the place of the old central hearth. In houses built during the century, the hall had already a large open fireplace and a floor over it. Later on, a state room was formed on the first floor and the stairs at the same time improved, the stairs winding round a newel being superseded by those with balustrades with which we are familiar.

A very usual, indeed almost universal, form of early timber house, had the upper storeys corbelled out on each side of the open hall. The roof was carried straight over all, leaving a recess in the centre, the wallplate over which was carried by curved struts. A typical

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example is shown from Lingfield (Fig. 7),¹ but instances may be detected in many other places where later additions have almost obscured them.

The plain roof running over all was probably adapted to suit the large Horsham slates or thatch; in other cases the wings are gabled or hipped at a slightly different angle to the main roof. Large plain and hipped roofs are however by no means always original, since an examination of the timbers often shows that gables have been shorn off to simplify repairs. Of such a form was the Crown Inn at Chiddingfold, which has a fine king-post roof and timbers left beneath the modern accretions; from these timbers its original form has been clearly demonstrated.² The house is mentioned in deeds of 1383, and another deed of 1548 speaks of additions lately made to 'le Croune.'

The plan of Alfold House is a good example of an early sixteenth century house (Fig. 8). We have here the two offices and stairs to the upper floor. A large brick chimney has been put in with its back to the screen, which is an arrangement frequently found. On the other side of the hall is a Tudor-arched door leading to the solar. It is uncertain whether the stairs and the other parlour were original, or added when the brick chimney was put in.

A later type that obtained is shown in the plan of Rake House, Witley, which was built some time before 1602 (Fig. 9). What is called the hall was probably from the first the kitchen, and the offices are arranged in a new way. There is a fine mantel and panelling in the inner parlour, and still better in the state room above. Henry Bell, who had been Controller of the Household to James I. and had purchased the royal manor of Witley, lived and died here, and bequeathed the property to his nephew-in-law Anthony Smith, also a Court servant and a man of substance. There are eight armorial coats of glass in the house showing the alliances, and this family, whose representatives still own an extensive property here, was of importance. These facts are mentioned because we have here the house of a substantial county family which lived in it for a century. It is very unusual to find a plan that remains so unaltered; and both here and at Alfold House there is clear evidence

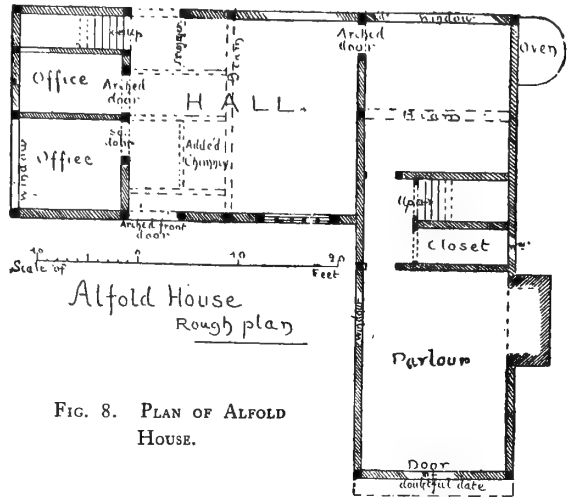


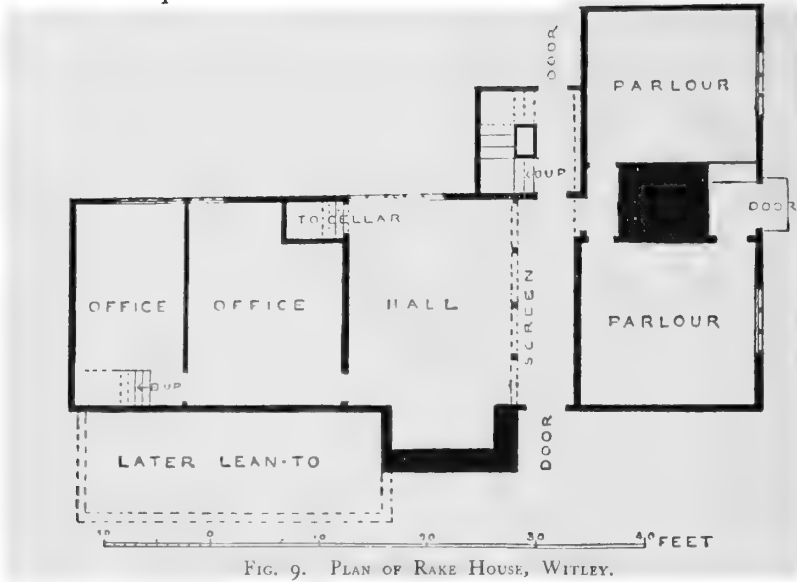
FIG. 8. PLAN OF ALFOLD HOUSE.

¹ See also *Surr. Arch. Coll.* iv. 253.

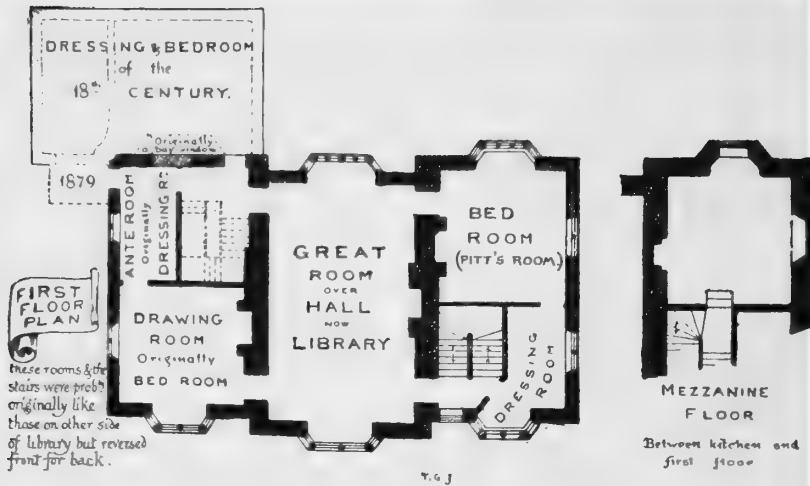
² *Ibid.* xiii. xi.

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that there has been nothing taken down. The arrangement found at Witley of the large chimney block, door and two parlours, was one that became quite usual, and arose from experience in adapting old open halls to the new requirements.¹



The plan of Eagle House, Wimbledon,² is of great interest, as it is a very complete specimen of a London merchant's suburban house of the



time of Elizabeth (Fig. 10). We here have the tradition of the hall preserved, although on the first floor ; the various bedrooms open out of a

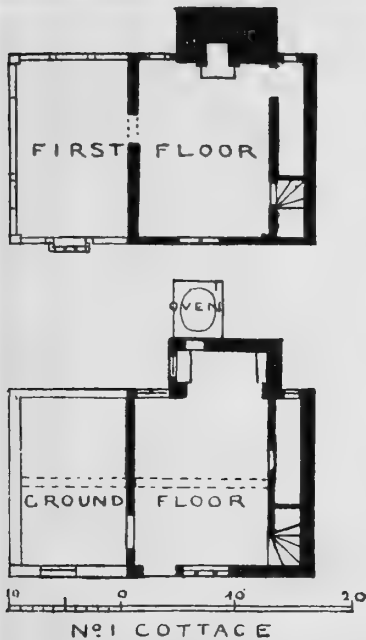
¹ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xviii. 11.

² *Ibid.* x. 151.

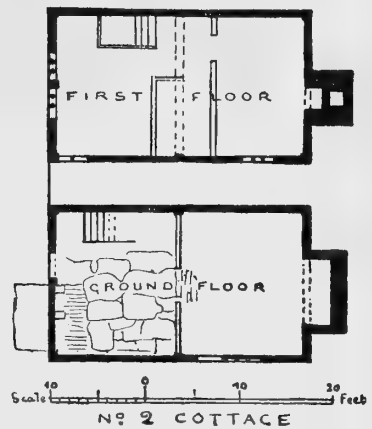
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large state room which has a remarkably fine plaster ceiling. Similar arrangements exist elsewhere, but have seldom been left unaltered. It is quite different from the ordinary arrangement of an upstairs state room, such as is found at Slyfields, but it is found again in the early eighteenth century house at Sudbrook Park, Richmond.

Plans of two cottages may be added, both from Darbyn's Brook, Blackheath near Guildford; the parts shaded black are certainly original. No. 1 (Fig. 11) had a wooden stair as shown; the annex and the oven are not original, but of old date. No. 2 (Fig. 12) has a good king-post roof and was of earlier date; the brick chimney may have been added; the partitions upstairs and the stairs are not original.



No 1 COTTAGE
FIG. 11. PLANS OF COTTAGE AT
DARBYN'S BROOK.



No 2 COTTAGE
FIG. 12. PLANS OF COTTAGE AT
DARBYN'S BROOK.

The method of timber construction in post and panel does not vary much throughout the country. In the examples previous to the latter part of the sixteenth century, when timber was plentiful and building less frequent, the uprights are placed close together; there is, indeed, as much post as panel. The work in Kent is of this fashion, as is that of early buildings such as Crowhurst in Surrey. Plain curved struts to the angles of frames are used, but the quadrant pieces arranged in circles round the crossing of the timbers were not adopted till it became desirable to economize material and to introduce more ornament of a cheaper character than the carving that had adorned the mediæval buildings. The new owners in Surrey were smaller men than in the

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midlands, and there have never been in Surrey any of the great timber mansions that still remain further north and in East Anglia. The



FIG. 13. UNSTED FARM.

oaks of Surrey and Sussex are also of very tough quality and particularly adapted for old ship building, but would not yield the same long balks as the trees of Herefordshire and the neighbouring counties.

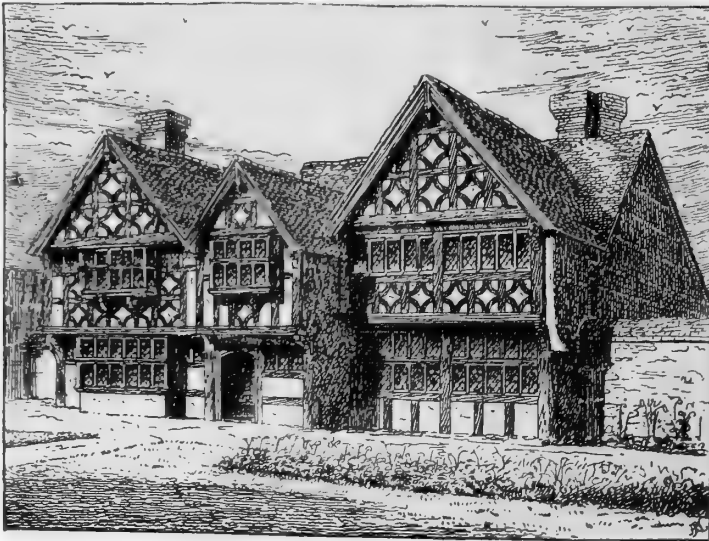


FIG. 14. GREAT TANGLEY MANOR.

The gable at Unsted (Fig. 13) shows an early development of ornamental quartering combined with close work below. This and the con-

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struction of the bow window resemble a house in the High Street at Godalming, and the building probably dates from soon after 1577, when the property changed hands.

The front at Great Tangle (Fig. 14) has similar but richer detail to the windows, and the regular circular quarterings, and is dated 1582. This is the ornament chiefly found in Surrey; it is simple and does not require any skill in design, and was therefore suitable to the very moderate houses that remain. Lythe Hill, Haslemere, Burningfold, a house at Gomshall, a house lately uncovered at Godalming, and part of a house in a courtyard at Bramley, are the other principal examples that remain visible.

Sometimes the panels are filled in with brickwork laid in herring-bone fashion, and occasionally the bricks are set in a basket pattern. Bricks for filling in the narrow spaces between close-set timbers seem to have been purposely made, and were set in alternate rakes, giving a herring-bone effect.

The corner brackets carved from the butt of a tree turned upside down are of humble character in Surrey, and so are the brackets used elsewhere (Fig. 15). Cusped and traceried bargeboards survive, but they are not of the elaborate character found on the Kentish border. After 1550 there came so great a demand for workmen that it is not surprising that the new fashion of moulded bargeboards quickly supplanted the traceried patterns. The ends of projecting joists were shown in the earlier houses, but covered with a moulded beam later, when the joists were of smaller scantling.

The jambs, heads and sills of original windows are worked on the solid frame; the detail of that at Unsted was apparently a stock pattern, and is found in neighbouring counties. Upper windows were commonly corbelled out even in cottages, partly perhaps for the sake of the wide window board. At Farnham is an interesting window of this sort of much richer character than is usually found (Fig. 16); the pedimented top occurs elsewhere in windows of this date.

In the fifteenth century the heads were often cusped, as is shown in old drawings, but none of these are known to remain in Surrey. In cottages and the offices of houses there was often no glass in the window, but the opening was divided by square oak uprights set diagonally and closed by a shutter. Glazed windows also were often carried about by important people for use at the manors in which they went to reside. A student will be struck by the great absence of original windows in the cottages and houses, the mullioned windows of which are evident

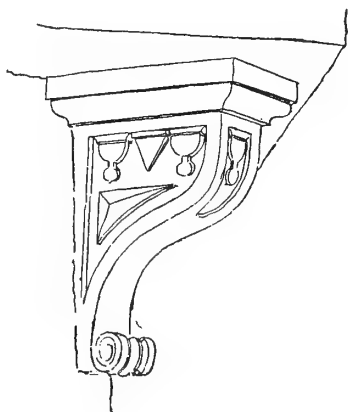


FIG. 15. BRACKET, QUARRY STREET, GUILDFORD.

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insertions of the eighteenth century. The repair of some old cottages at Womersh, that had evidently been weavers' cottages, showed that all the windows on the upper floors had superseded these open bars, the sockets of which were disclosed in the sills. Such a barred window and shutter remains at the end of the bedroom of No. 2 cottage at Darbyn's Brook,¹ and plenty of them remain in outhouses.

In the middle of the seventeenth century arose a fashion of square faced mullions to casements; at the back of 25 High Street,

Guildford, are some of these that show that the effect was a carefully thought out part of the design (Fig. 17).

Door frames were generally Tudor-arched up to the end of the sixteenth century, and are to be found at such houses as Crowhurst, Leigh Place, Alfold House, Tangley, Unsted, Shoelands, Crossways and many others. The earlier specimens have tracery or shields in the spandrels. The square doors have heavily moulded frames with modifications of the usual late Gothic stop; a form of this, more ornate than usual, is shown on the illustration from the White Hart (Fig. 18).

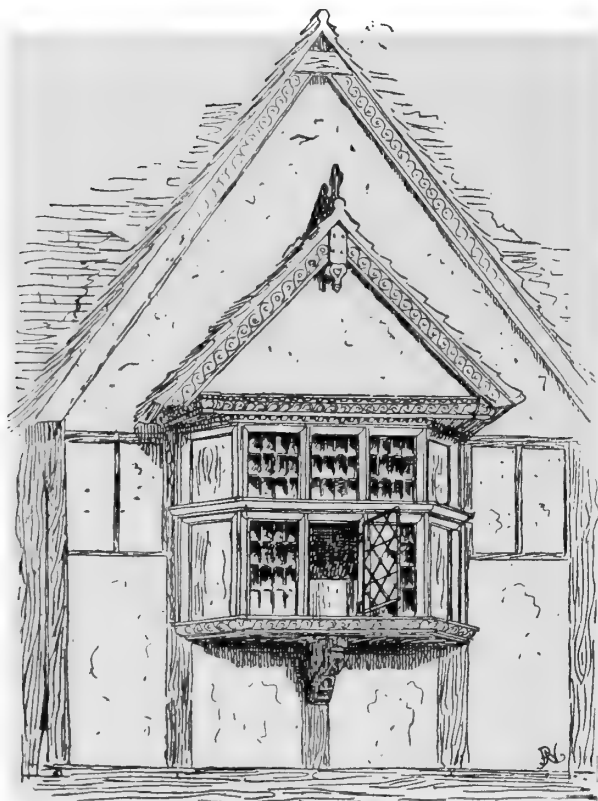


FIG. 16. WINDOW AT FARNHAM.

There are few remains of the heavy early doors, but there are excellent examples of the ornamental doors of the early seventeenth century. Of those with a radiating head, Abbot's Hospital possesses a probably unequalled series; the form is found all over England, but this neighbourhood is rich in them. Various other fanciful patterns are found, made before classic design introduced a dull uniformity.

In the early seventeenth century the arches and old Gothic mouldings to frames were given up, and we get both door and window frames rusticated and carved in a very graceful way. Portions

¹ P. 471.

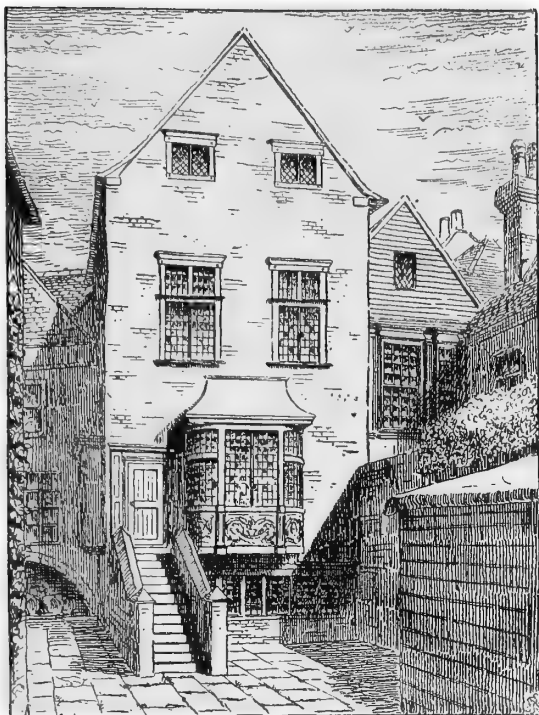


FIG. 17. BACK OF 25 HIGH STREET, GUILDFORD.

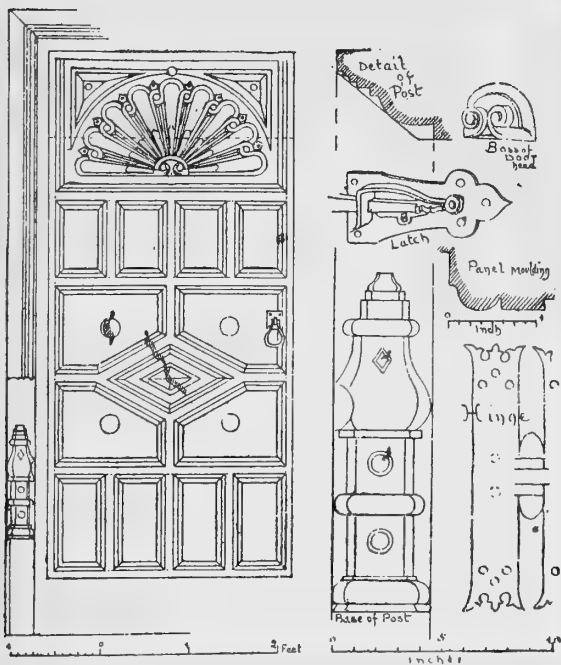


FIG. 18. DOOR AT WHITE HART INN, GUILDFORD.

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of this work which match the stairs at Slyfields and Shalford remain at Guildford, and in the outbuildings at Slyfields are some original window frames of this sort ; such are very rare. Leigh Place has some of the best carved woodwork in the county.

Building in Surrey seems always to have been of a refined and cultured quality, as may be seen from the delicate Georgian bow windows in the Guildford High Street and in other towns. Happily there is much of this still left.

Early stairs either went up between two walls, as at Crowhurst and Alfold House, or wound round a central newel. Some of the latter are

left, and often in unexpected places as at Hurst farm, Milford. At Cobden's, a small farmhouse on the Sussex border, there is a stair that, starting at the side of the ingle, winds back in the thickness of the wall over the top of the ingle nook. This seems to have been the normal position, but the stairs are so impossible that it is rare to find them left.

Winding stairs were so troublesome for furniture that they were generally replaced by square-planned stairs that rapidly developed into the usual balustraded form. An interesting intermediate stage is found at Rake House, Witley, and a similar instance on a larger scale exists at Borde Hill near Cuckfield in Sussex. In the former of these a central square of four corner posts filled in with plastering is carried about 3 feet above the top landing and finished with a table top ; the stairs run round this in short flights. The next



FIG. 19. STAIRCASE AT SHALFORD.

step was to fill in between the four posts with a balustrade, work the newels, and ultimately cut these asunder and form ornamental tops to them.

There are many fine early staircases left, of which those at Slyfields, a house at Shalford (Fig. 19), and Smallfield Place near Reigate are of similar character, with rusticated newels and balusters formed of upright planks pierced and carved. Another form is that in which the

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balustrade is carved in bold scrolls from a solid plank running lengthwise; fine examples of this remain at 25 High Street, Guildford, and in the shop in the Marketplace, Kingston, formerly the Castle Inn.

The main staircase in the Warden's house at Abbot's Hospital at Guildford is a fine piece of work, with carved newel tops and carved arcaded balustrade; like everything in this house it is of the best character. The general shape of this newel top was largely used in the neighbourhood; at Shoelands near Puttenham is an example (Fig. 20), and rougher specimens may be found in many old farms. A similar stair to that at Abbot's is in the house next the church at Godalming.

Many good examples occur of stairs with the ordinary turned balusters, and balusters of flat section cut and pierced, but these are in no way peculiar to any county. At Milton Court near Dorking is a curious specimen with the newels carried up as posts and turned in very bold style. The original gates at the foot of the stairs for the purpose of keeping dogs from the upper floor are still to be found at Slyfields and at Abbot's Hospital.

There are probably but few remains of such early internal fittings as those at Crowhurst Place, where the panelling, or rather the wood lining, is part of the structure (Fig. 21); similar boarding is however occasionally to be found in cottages. In spite of the ravages of collectors there is plenty of panelling left and many examples of carved mantelpieces. Of the latter there are fine examples at Loseley and Barrow Green, and one at Reigate Priory that was designed by Holbein, and was formerly at the royal manor of Blechingley, one of Anne of Cleves' principal residences. At Levyl's Dene, Merrow, is a good chalk and oak mantel brought from the old mansion of the Onslows at Clandon, and another with small well-designed figure subjects in chalk at the Town Hall, Guildford, brought from Stoughton Grange. Of a less pretentious kind are two at Rake House, some at Leigh Place, two at Abbot's Hospital, two at Ham farm, Blechingley, and elsewhere. The carving for these mantels, and also on friezes and panelling generally, is of the simple sunk kind, and generally of a refined design. Such work is often found unexpectedly in farmhouses and cottages in the Weald that have been modernized externally. In several of these houses the long table

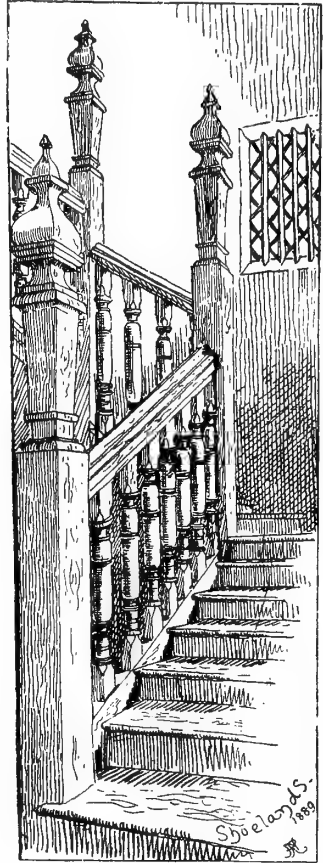


FIG. 20. STAIRCASE AT SHOELANDS, NEAR PUTTENHAM.

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remains that was placed to fit seats fixed against the panelled walls. Many other old fittings likewise remain, such as the spit-racks over the mantelpieces, firebacks, firedogs and other cooking arrangements.¹

Few seventeenth century houses of importance being left in Surrey, there are not such specimens of fancy lead glazing to be found there as in some other counties. The cottages generally retain their quarried

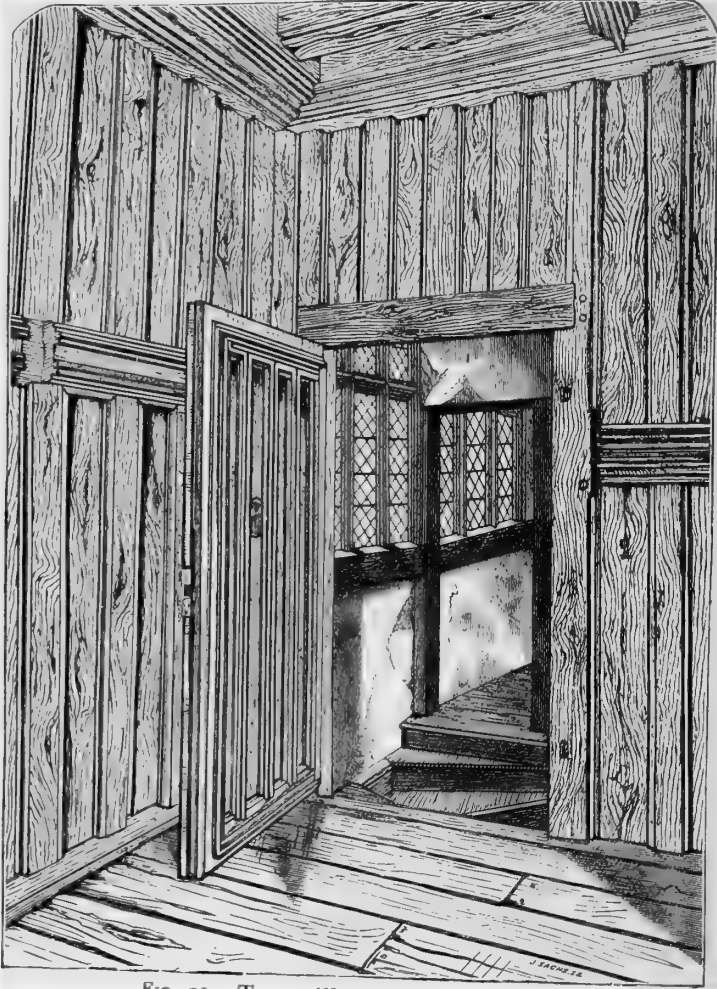


FIG. 21. TIMBER WORK AT CROWHURST PLACE.

lights, but these are fast vanishing. Ventilating lead panes are rare, and one from Farncombe and another may be recorded. A fine series of armorial glass is preserved at Sutton and some good specimens remain at Rake, at Barrow Green, at Crowhurst, and other houses.

¹ See also : *Old West Surrey*, by Gertrude Jekyll.

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The ironwork to the casements is particularly good throughout Surrey, even in the cottages. No better collection can probably be found than that at 25 High Street, Guildford, although the same patterns are to be found elsewhere (Fig. 22). Some very clever early casement fastenings also exist at Ham House, Richmond.

There are still left numbers of wrought ornamental hinges, although until lately they were constantly being destroyed; there are also many old latches of complicated construction. At Beddington house is a sumptuous lock-plate of the time of and with the arms of Henry VII., somewhat similar to one at St. George's Chapel, Windsor.¹

It is to be noted that this old internal ironwork was always tinned; after a little while this becomes a nice colour which harmonizes with the oak; the process was used in the fourteenth century and probably earlier, and answers well for internal work.

In old ironwork, such as is found in connection with sign posts, the county is not rich. Two of the finest iron gates existing are in Surrey, and both attached to houses built by Leoni. Those for the Earl of Onslow at Clandon date from 1776, and though there are not so many accessories, they are quite as good as the other example, the famous Carshalton gates.

There is a remarkable railing to the front of Trinity Church, Guildford, of fine design. Good examples also exist at Richmond, Putney and other parts near London, but there is no special local character in them.

The iron firebacks of Surrey and Sussex are famous, indeed they do not seem to have been made elsewhere. At first they were large and of somewhat coarse and unconventional patterns, though some are of fine heraldic design. Afterwards very beautiful floral designs were made, probably by French artists. The patterns for the common Biblical subjects probably came from Holland, and are very inferior to those of the pagan subjects. Backs with the arms of the various Dutch provinces commonly occur, and had no doubt been made for export.

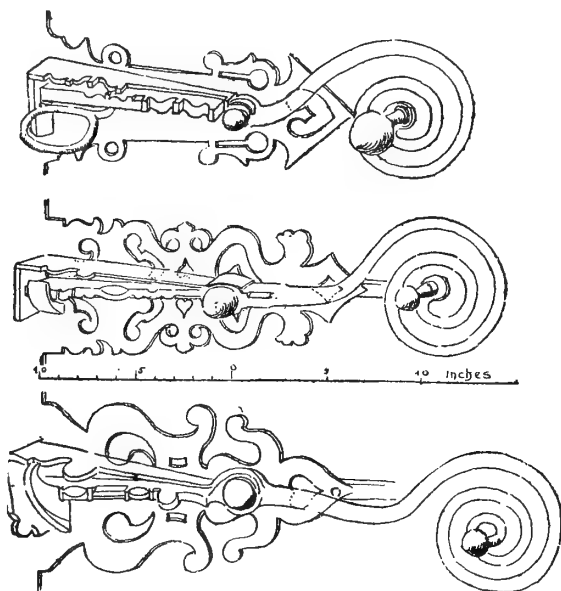


FIG. 22. CASEMENT FASTENINGS FROM 25 HIGH STREET, GUILDFORD.

¹ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xii. 27.

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The description of particular domestic buildings of architectural interest must be left for the topographical part of this history, but it will be convenient for reference to give here a list of the principal examples.

A SHORT LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT EXAMPLES OF DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

PUBLIC BUILDINGS

GUILDFORD, TOWN HALL.—A well preserved specimen, dating from 1683.

SEMI-PUBLIC BUILDINGS

CROYDON, WHITGIFT HOSPITAL.—An interesting example, founded in 1596.

GUILDFORD, GRAMMAR SCHOOL.—A stone building of good character, dating from the sixteenth century.

GUILDFORD, ABBOT'S HOSPITAL.—A remarkable building in excellent condition, built in 1619.

GODALMING.—A little hospital in Mead Row, founded by Richard Wyatt in 1622, still in its original state ; now administered by the Carpenters' Company.

PRIVATE BUILDINGS

CROWHURST PLACE.—A fifteenth century building, and exceptionally interesting as a type of an early manor house.¹

LINGFIELD.—Some fifteenth century buildings, among which is one with an original shop front that has always been used as a shop, also the Star Inn.

SUTTON PLACE NEAR GUILDFORD.—Built in 1529, and already mentioned as a brick and terra cotta house ; of little interest inside except for the stained glass there.

LOSELEY HOUSE NEAR GUILDFORD.—Contains much ancient furniture ; the drawing room and hall and the tapestried bedrooms used by Elizabeth and James I. are in excellent condition. This house is a meet home for the famous collection of manuscripts which its owner possesses.

HAM HOUSE NEAR RICHMOND.—Built in 1610, and has been little altered. It retains the furniture used when the Cabal met there in the reign of Charles II.

BEDDINGTON.—Only the hall of the home of the Carews now remains.

WEST HORSLEY PLACE.—The home of Carew Raleigh, son of Sir Walter ; of Jacobean date, and contains its original collection of valuable portraits.

SMALLFIELD PLACE NEAR REIGATE.—A stone mullioned house with memories of Ann Boleyn. It has a fine staircase already mentioned, also some interesting fireplaces, a screen and much old panelling, all in good preservation.

LEIGH PLACE.—Stands in its original moat, and was until lately approached by a drawbridge ; of little interest externally, but has much fine woodwork inside.

GREAT TANGLEY.—Already referred to as the best example of an ornamental timber house ; part of the building dates from the fifteenth century.

NEW PLACE, LINGFIELD.—A stone house already mentioned.

EAGLE HOUSE, WIMBLEDON.—A good specimen of a suburban house of the Elizabethan period.

BRABEUF MANOR, GUILDFORD.—Once an imposing half-timbered house, and still has on the first floor a fine state room, with ceiling and mantelpiece enriched with armorial bearings. It has escaped the notice of previous historians of Surrey.

SHALFORD HOUSE.—Has a fine oak panelled room and mantelpiece ; reference has already been made to a house opposite it, with fine stairs and panelling.

BAYNARDS, CRANLEIGH.

PENDELL COURT, BLECHINGLEY.

WOTTON HOUSE.

TITSEY PLACE.

} All have parts of the old buildings.

¹ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* iv. 272.

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

- MILTON COURT, DORKING.**—Has a fine old staircase and other features.
- SLYFIELDS MANOR.**—A fine example of a house dating from about 1620. The style of the outside brickwork is interesting, and the inside woodwork of the hall and stairs which is of the rusticated order is particularly good. The wagon-headed plaster ceiling of the state room is always cited as a model of plaster decoration.
- GUILDFORD, 25 HIGH STREET.**—Has had shop windows put in, but is otherwise a remarkably complete example of a town house with carved staircase, rich plaster ceilings, and particularly fine window ironwork. Until lately has been used by the judges when on circuit. It is evidently of the same date as the Town Hall, and was then owned by the Child family.
- BARROW GREEN NEAR OXTED.**—A building with a fine armorial mantelpiece of the sixteenth century.
- LIMPSFIELD.**—An interesting old panelled house.
- LYTHE HILL NEAR HASLEMERE.**
- BURNINGFOLD NEAR CHIDDINGFOLD.**
- SHOELANDS NEAR PUTTENHAM.**
- RAKE HOUSE, WITLEY.**
- } Smaller houses, where much old fitting is preserved.
- HAM HOUSE, BLECHINGLEY.**—Remains of a larger house and has two carved oak mantels.
- GATE HOUSE, BREWER STREET, BLECHINGLEY.**—Part of the royal Manor House.
- HOE PLACE, WOKING.**—Of somewhat later date; once the home of the Zouch family, and rebuilt by one of them about 1708. The staircase and other parts are painted with allegorical subjects in the style of Hampton Court, and, it is said, by Verrio. A boudoir is of more finished style, with a painted ceiling commemorating the triumphs of William III. and the Apotheosis of Mary.
- WANDSWORTH.**—The Manor House¹ which has been lately pulled down was built about 1670. Near the spot is a house where Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, once lived.
- PUTNEY.**—The once familiar Fairfax house has gone, but there are still some old buildings left in the High Street.
- SUBBROOK PARK, RICHMOND.**—Has fine features of the early Queen Anne period. There is a large saloon on the first floor out of which open rooms, as at Eagle House. It belonged to the Duke of Argyle, but its early history has not been made out.
- PETERSHAM.**—A collection of Georgian houses of delightful quality.
- RICHMOND.**—Many houses of the Georgian period are to be found here.
- SANDERSTEAD COURT.**—Has a two-storied Georgian hall and earlier brick south front.
- WOODCOTE GROVE, EPSOM.**—A fine specimen of a Georgian house, of which there are several in the neighbourhood.
- PITT HOUSE, EPSOM.**—Said to have been largely built of fragments from Nonsuch.
- CHERTSRY.**
- EGHAM.**
- } Specimens of the Georgian period that existed in these neighbourhoods fifty years ago may still survive, but it is to be feared that they perished before interest in work of this date was revived.
- CLANDON HOUSE.**—The home of the Onslows, and built by Leoni in 1731. It has a fine hall and other features. The entrance gates have already been mentioned.
- CARSHALTON HOUSE.**—Was also built by Leoni, but has been robbed of all architectural features.
- GUILDFORD.**—There is a good brick house built by a Duke of Somerset early in the eighteenth century, and another near the bridge.
- WONERSH PARK.**—Has stately rooms and is built on a plan which suggests that an older building has been converted into a late Georgian house. The saloons contain some very elegant fittings in the best style of the Regency, put in by the first Lord Grantley.
- PEPERHAROW.**—Built by Sir William Chambers.
- GATTON PARK.**—Possesses a famous marble hall fitted with choice old marbles from Italy.
- GODALMING.**—Good examples of cottages are to be found in this district.
- DORKING.**—There are some most interesting old farm houses in the Weald south of this town, especially near Ockley.

¹ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* x. 96.

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HUNTING

FOXHOUNDS

IT cannot be said that Surrey takes high rank as a hunting county, but it provides better sport than do many hunting districts of far greater pretensions.

Some sixty years ago Mr. R. S. Surtees caricatured Surrey hunting unsparingly. He pictured the Surrey hunting man as a Cockney pure and simple, ignorant of sport, of country life and country ways, addicted to riding over all sorts of crops, and worst of all as a timid horseman. We have always been of opinion that Surtees grossly exaggerated his pictures of hunting in Surrey; but whatever the opportunity it offered for the caricaturist sixty years ago, it is certain that at the present time hunting in Surrey is carried on in orthodox fashion, as it has been for long past. Surrey men ride just as hard as do men of any other county. In the best of the Burstow country, and in the southern district of the Surrey Union, below the hill, one who really follows hounds encounters fences of the most formidable description; and yet when hounds run hard in these particular districts there is as large a proportion of men with them as there is out with the Quorn in a quick run over the Hoby Vale. It may be added that broadly speaking Surrey 'fields' are the best behaved we have ever met, and the writer has seen most of the famous English packs of foxhounds at work.

The sportsman who hunts in Surrey to-day is far more careful about crops, about damage generally, and about over-riding, than is the average hunting man elsewhere. The Surrey hunting man is sometimes a Londoner, more frequently a dweller in the outskirts of Suburbia, and very often he lives in the heart of the country where he hunts, and has made it his business to know the nature

of every crop at a glance, so that he may not ride where his horse is likely to do harm. We remember one Saturday when hounds were running hard, near Leigh, that after several grass fields a small enclosure of growing corn presented itself. The huntsman was leading, and he rode straight on after his hounds; but the first man of the field pulled up as he landed over the fence, and rode down the headland of the field. His example was copied by every one who was riding the line, and in a moment some forty or fifty horsemen and women were touring round two sides of a field in single file. In no other county that we know is observance of this rule so punctilious, and it applies equally to the shutting of gates and replacing of slip rails.

There is a gate which is peculiar to the southern part of Surrey and to Sussex, which is known as a 'heave gate,' and this is almost invariably jumped. Though strongly built, it is by no means a formidable obstacle, being, as a general rule, rather under than over three feet in height. In the big woods, where every one follows hounds into covert, the exit is almost invariably by a heave gate, and the spectacle of a whole 'field' jumping it in succession is not uncommon, for very often the gate is locked or fastened up. Sometimes the jump is made more formidable by a single rail placed about 10 inches above the gate proper, but this rail is nearly always a slip rail, and is generally pulled out, unless hounds are running hard.

Of foxhound packs Surrey can boast four whose kennels are situated in the county; but, as a matter of fact, only one of the four confines its operations entirely to the county. The packs in question are the Old Surrey, the Surrey Union, the Burstow and the Chiddingfold. The Old Surrey has part of its country in Kent, the Burstow district

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extends into Kent and Sussex, and the Chiddingfold have nearly as much country in Sussex as they have in Surrey. The Surrey Union territory alone lies wholly in the county from which the hunt takes its name; but it often happens that hounds run over the Sussex border when they meet in the neighbourhood of Somersbury or Baynards, in the extreme south of their country.

Foxhunting has been carried on in the county of Surrey for more than 150 years. The then Duke of Grafton in 1735 kept a pack of foxhounds at Croydon; but from the fact that he occasionally had foxes caught in Whittlebury Forest, Northamptonshire, and sent them to Surrey, it would seem as though foxes were not at that period very plentiful in this county. Foxhunting came into vogue in Surrey much about the same time that it became general all over England. It is the fact that several packs of foxhounds claim a longer continuity than 150 years, but, broadly speaking, deer and hare were more generally the quarry with every pack of hounds during the first half of the eighteenth century, and the records of very old establishments are generally silent as to the exact date of the change from hare or deer to fox. It is certain that once the change was made there was no going back, the fox being found to give far more sport than either deer or hare, since the *wild* red deer became practically extinct, except in such favoured localities as Exmoor, the Quantock Hills, the New Forest and in a small district of Lancashire.

Both the Old Surrey and the Surrey Union have had a long existence, compared with those of the other county packs, but the OLD SURREY, as its title indicates, is the older of the two, and as such may be dealt with first. According to those who have busied themselves with research, one Mr. Gobsall kept foxhounds at Bermondsey in 1750, and until quite lately the remains of his kennels and stables existed. It is also an article of faith that the present pack has been in existence ever since Mr. Gobsall's time, but the names of those who were at the head of affairs, or the periods during which they held office during the latter half of the eighteenth century cannot now be ascertained. We are told that Mr. Gobsall hunted the country in 1750, and that Mr. Snow had the hounds during the last few years of the century, remaining in office until 1808, when he was succeeded by Mr. Neville, who was master for four seasons. He in turn gave way to Mr. Makerly, who held office for eight seasons. After Mr. Makerly came Mr. Daniel Haigh, whose mastership of sixteen seasons

was memorable. A song was composed in honour of the 'Old Surrey' and Mr. Haigh.

Sir Edmund Antrobus followed Mr. Haigh, remaining in office for eleven seasons, and then came a triumvirate of masters—Messrs. Hood, W. Mortimer and H. Nicholl, who reigned from 1847 until 1859. It was during this period that the Old Surrey enjoyed what was probably the very best run which they have ever known. This occurred on 12 February 1857 when Tom Hills was huntsman,¹ and it is said to have been a twenty-two mile *point*, the time four and a half hours. The meet was at Nutfield, they found at Old Park, now in the Burstow country, and ran to Cansion, which lies on the Kent and Sussex border, some five or six miles south-east of East Grinstead.

According to the map the point is a good deal less than twenty-two miles, but it is possible that the points of starting and killing have not been correctly indicated, and the account says that they crossed the river (presumably the Medway) no fewer than five times, and that Tom Hills' 'horse was beat beyond Dry Hill,' which is nearly midway between Eden Bridge and East Grinstead. The redoubtable Tom changed horses with his son Sam, who was whipping in to him at the time, and at the next fence he had such a tumble that for long afterwards, when he went into that part of the country, they used to ask him 'when he was going to send a horse and cart to fill up the hole he had made.' Shortly after his fall the remounted huntsman saw his favourite hound, Warrior, carry the scent down a lane into a coppice when the rest of the pack were at fault, which caused him to exclaim, 'He's been waiting for us; he must be own now!' This Warrior was an old Surrey bred hound by Joker, who did great service in the pack for many seasons.

After the triumvirate of masters came to an end in 1859 Messrs. Mortimer and Nicholl continued as joint masters until 1871, from which date Mr. Mortimer continued alone until 1877. He was succeeded by Mr. Edmund Byron of Coulsdon Court, who remained at the head of affairs until 1902, when Mr. H. W. Boileau, the present master, was elected, he having just previously held office with the South Coast Staghounds (kennelled

¹ This worthy went to the Old Surrey when he was fifteen years of age, was a whipper-in for seven seasons, and was huntsman for over forty seasons; he was a brother of Jem Hills, the famous Heythrop huntsman, and was the father of several sons, who all became huntsmen.

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near Havant in Sussex), and before that with the Wirral Harriers in Cheshire.

The kennels of the Old Surrey are now at Coulsdon, between Smitham Bottom and Redhill, close to the old Brighton road, and the pack meet on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Not long ago there were three fixtures every week—Monday, Thursday and Saturday. In all probability the curtailment of the country, owing to the spreading of south London, has brought about the reduction in the number of hunting days, for now there is no hunting north of Croydon, nor indeed of the line of hills which extends eastwards from Croydon into Kent. In some localities, much further south, building has been on so great a scale during the last quarter of a century that hunting has become practically impossible. In the Caterham Valley for example houses have multiplied tenfold within the present generation. Croydon advances further and further south every year, and all over the Old Surrey country 'eligible building sites' are offered to the enterprising builder. Fortunately there are too many 'eligible sites,' and even allowing for increase in population many years must elapse before half of them can be taken up. What Surrey may come to in the future it is hard to say, but there is always room for hope in the fact that building schemes for the most part cling to the railways, and thus there remain plenty of areas where fox hunting is still practicable within twenty miles of the centre of London.

The Old Surrey possesses two kinds of country, hill and vale, of which the vale is far the best. The hill country lies all along the northern part of the hunt, and is very thoroughly wooded. Big woods, small woods and chains of woods clothe the tops of the hills, and in some places these same hills are remarkably steep, and indeed dangerous to ride up and down. Leading is often resorted to; but a majority of the field, knowing the country well, know all practicable places, and use them when hounds go up or down an almost perpendicular hill. Hounds on a good scenting day run very hard in this hill country, and often it is no easy matter to keep them in view, first because of the numerous coverts, and secondly because of the steepness of the hills. In fact, the ground is more favourable for hounds than horses, though hounds are often lamed by the flints. There is little or no jumping in this part of the Old Surrey territory, but as it forms the Saturday country it is well patronized, fields being much larger on the last day of the week than they are on the Tuesday. The meets, which are not advertised, extend from the Banstead

and Chipstead district on the west away to Addington and beyond in Kent, and all through this tract of country the sport is of much the same character. Then again between Woldingham and Oxted there is a large area of coverts, with a chain of woods near Tatsfield, which lies more in the centre of the hunt.

The vale portions of the Old Surrey country lie east of the Brighton main line and south of the Merstham kennel, and extend beyond Oxted on the east. On its southern side there is another range of hills, extending from Redhill by Bletchingley to Godstone, and south of this again is the best bit in the whole hunt, spoken of as 'below the hill.' There is more grass than ploughed land in the vale, or rather vales, of the Old Surrey country, and the fences are formidable enough, being for the most part thick and well grown, and placed on a low bank with a ditch always at one side and generally on both. Just inside the Burstow border—the railway line from Redhill to Edenbridge forms the boundary between the hunts—there is a really good piece of country, which would not disgrace a hunt of far higher pretensions. In wet weather the vale rides somewhat deep, and at parts of its western end floods are not unknown; but it carries a good scent, and if the ground is nicely soft hounds run almost as well in covert as they do in the open. About Nutfield and Bletchingley the builder is very active, but further east the country is wild and thinly populated, and the 'Charts' at the south-eastern corner of the hunt might be a hundred miles from town instead of about five and twenty, so desolate and lonely are these great forest wastes of beech and oak. In all, the available hunting country of the Old Surrey Hunt extends about fourteen miles from north to south, and about sixteen from east to west. It is bounded on the west by the country of the Surrey Union, on the south by that of the Burstow, and on the east by the West Kent country, while on the north the ever extending suburbs or London do not admit of hunting. The best centres are Caterham, Reigate and Oxted, from each of which places other packs can be visited.

The SURREY UNION country is of greater extent than that of the Old Surrey. The Hunt can claim an existence of over a hundred years, dating as it does from 1799. A portion of the Garth country, in the neighbourhood of Chertsey, is actually the property of the Surrey Union, and is only lent to the neighbouring hunt. When the Hon. Francis Scott was master of the Surrey Union (1866—

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76) he made the Staines and Ascot railway the boundary between the two countries; but the Union pack have not gone further west in that direction than St. George's Hill, which lies immediately south of Weybridge. Roughly speaking the boundaries of the hunt may be drawn from Surbiton to Banstead on the north, from Banstead to Holmwood on the east, from Holmwood to Guildford on the south, and from Guildford to Surbiton, thus completing the circle, on the west.

On the whole the Union country is a better one than that of the Old Surrey, at least if it be judged from the rider's point of view alone. Very big woodlands with deep holding rides are its worst feature; on the other hand perhaps none of it is so good as the Old Surrey vale country between Nutfield and Godstone. Hills there are in the Surrey Union, notably the great range which begins with the Merrow Downs on the east of Guildford, and extends to Leith Hill, near Holmwood, on the extreme eastern border of the hunt. Box Hill, the Mickleham Downs, the hills which lie between Bookham and Dorking, are also somewhat formidable; but the north-western portions of the hunt are fairly flat, and south of the big range of hills there is a considerable amount of vale. From the foot of the Banstead Downs to Ewell and Esher the country is undulating and good galloping ground. South-west from Esher to Guildford, on either side of the Portsmouth Road, is a flat rather than a hilly country. Hereabouts however are two enormous areas of woodland, the Princes' Coverts on the east side of Esher, which lie close to the woods of Claremont, and St. George's Hill, a few miles further away, which with the adjacent coverts of Burwood House form a huge tract of woodland. About Byfleet and Ripley the country is fairly flat and open, and though there are plenty of coverts between Leatherhead and Guildford they are not of great extent. All this portion of the hunt is thinly populated, and so far is fairly free from building.

Indeed the Surrey Union has suffered much less from the encroachments of the builder than has the Old Surrey country. It is true that a huge lunatic asylum, and many other new buildings, the property of the London County Council, have lately been erected at Horton near Epsom, and on the south side of Sutton there has been considerable increase of villadom, while at Weybridge and Woking—especially the last-named place—whole colonies of new houses have lately sprung into existence; but beyond Esher on the Portsmouth road, between Esher and Guild-

ford in fact, there has been no building worth mentioning for many years past, saving only at Eaton Park, near Cobham, where a few scattered villas have been erected, which, at present at all events, cannot interfere with the hunting. Woking is of course some miles off the main road, and on the railway, and the lines of building always follow the rail or the river Thames in this particular district. Thus it happens that east of the Portsmouth road, when once the river Mole is crossed at Cobham, the hunting man finds himself in a fine, wild and fairly open country, and when once the best roads through the coverts are known, in quite a nice country to ride over. The fences are mostly on a bank, with a ditch on one side, sometimes on both, and there is quite as much grass as arable land.

It is in fact a fair hunting country this north-western portion of the Surrey Union; but the Princes' Coverts are a terrible place in wet weather, the rides being few and far between and generally of the deepest clay. Then too, if scent is not particularly good, foxes will not leave the woodlands, and the field may be kept all day in these interminable thickets, where it is no easy matter, even for a huntsman, to keep within sight and hearing of hounds. St. George's Hill and the neighbouring Burwood Park have a strong heather bottom, and in St. George's Hill there are many wild deer, so that a more difficult place for hounds to hunt a fox could hardly be found. South of the Mole at Cobham many of the fir plantations are much more open, but from Esher to Wisley Common the country is all heavily wooded, while it is open from Stoke D'Abernon to Leatherhead. Hereabouts at Slyfield the point to point steeplechases of the hunt and of the West Surrey Staghounds are usually held. There is a nice tract of open country near Chessington and Hook up to Worcester Park, perhaps the nearest point to London where foxhounds are now seen; but possibly the members of the hunt prefer the vale country about Cranleigh, Baynards, Ockley and Ewehurst, at the extreme south-eastern corner of the hunt. This country is pretty well wooded too, but covert and open are nicely mixed, and it lies well away from population; also the foxes are said to be wild and strong.

It is probable, almost certain, that there are not so many wild foxes in any part of Surrey as there were a quarter of a century ago. Some owners of property there are who place shooting before hunting, and the shooting tenant is much in evidence in some parts of the county. People who do not live in

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the district, but come down from London once or twice a week, naturally leave a good deal to their gamekeepers, and as these gentry are often paid by results—i.e. by the head of game killed—it certainly happens that foxes are not favourably regarded in some particular places. On such properties the foxes disappear, and the litters of cubs are often interfered with in the early summer.

Little is known concerning the earliest masters of the Surrey Union. In the year 1841 Mr. G. Barnard Hankey held office, and he remained until 1858, when he was succeeded by Captain Sumner, who was master until 1866. The Hon. Francis Scott followed Captain Sumner, being followed in 1872 by Mr. J. Barnard Hankey, whose term of office lasted until 1882. Then came Mr. N. Farnell Watson for a couple of seasons; he was followed by Colonel Blake, who also only held the place for a couple of seasons. In 1886 the late Mr. T. H. Bennett of Cobham Court became master, and hunted the country for eleven seasons, his retirement in 1897 being due to the effects of a bad fall. Mr. A. H. Tritton followed Mr. Bennett for a single season, Mr. A. Labouchere followed for another single season, and Major Gould-bourn, the third master in three years, also held office for a single season. In 1900 Mr. Bennett, partially restored to health, again went into harness, with Mr. G. H. Longman as joint master; but the first named died in September of the same year, and since that time Mr. Longman has worked the country single-handed.

Though for long a three days a week country, the Surrey Union Hounds now hunt on Tuesday and Saturday before Christmas, and on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday from Christmas to the end of the season. The hounds are now in new kennels, built for the hunt by Lord Ashcombe, at Bookham; to these they were removed from Cobham Court in 1902. They have been kennelled at different places at various periods; during the Hankey era they were at Fetcham, which is perhaps as central a spot as could be found. On Tuesdays—when they are hunting three days a week—the centre of the country is requisitioned, the coverts about Bookham, Fetcham, Norbury Park and Box Hill, and the southern side of Epsom, being drawn. On Thursday they hunt the vale country between Guildford and Holmwood, and on Saturday they are on the north-western side of their country, hunting the Oxshott, Cobham and Byfleet districts.

As already stated the BURSTOW Foxhounds are comparatively modern, dating as a

foxhound pack from 1866. Previous to that date the same establishment was in existence as a harrier pack, and according to old residents of the district very pretty sport was shown. During the harrier period the vale country, which forms the northern part of the present hunt, was practically undrained, and much of it was unrideable after the autumn rains had fallen. Followers of the harriers for the most part went on foot, and carried jumping poles to assist them over the broad brooks and big open ditches; but with the advent of the 3-inch drainpipe, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the ground became firmer and rideable. Hounds began to travel much faster than they had done, and an occasional burst after a fox whetted the appetites of those who found it no longer possible to follow hounds except on horseback. Then came the question of country. The northern portion of the Burstow Harrier country belonged to the Old Surrey, some of the western portion to the Surrey Union, and a great deal of the centre of the hunt—practically from Crawley to East Grinstead—to the Crawley and Horsham, while on the south side the Southdown came further north. All the hunts mentioned however were a long way from their own kennels when they went into what is now the Burstow country, and thus the outlying districts of several countries were welded together to form a new one, the principal of the courteous contributing hunts being the Old Surrey and the Crawley and Horsham.

The first master of the Burstow Foxhounds was Mr. Henry Kelsey, who for many years had been master of the harriers, Mr. Hooker of Crowhurst acting as huntsman. The last-named gentleman, an enthusiastic sportsman of the old-fashioned type, looked after the kennels and the establishment generally until he was over eighty years of age, and hunted on wheels when he could no longer ride. He did much to bring the Burstow country into repute, and his name is honoured to this day by the inhabitants of the vale. When Mr. Hooker gave up hunting the hounds his place was taken by Mr. H. Gerard Hoare, and when Mr. Kelsey died in 1881 Mr. Hoare became master as well as huntsman. He continued in office until he died in 1896, hunting hounds until within a few months of his death, when a professional—White, who came from the Goodwood, and only remained at Burstow one season—was engaged for the first time in the history of the hunt. Mr. Hoare was succeeded as master by Mr. Edward Forbes of Tilburstow Hill near Godstone, and in 1900 Mr. Uve-

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dale Lambert of Bletchingley took office, which he still holds.

Physically considered the Burstow country is very unlike the two older Surrey hunts. Its northern portion is vale, or very slightly undulating plain, and its southern portion, which includes Ashdown Forest, for the most part woodland. From a riding point of view the northern district of the hunt is very good, and from the point of view of hound work the forest portions are also good, but riding in these big woodland tracts has not the excitement of galloping over the open, and roughly speaking the fields at the southern fixtures are not a fourth the size of those seen out in the vale. This same vale extends from Leigh—between Reigate and Dorking—on the west almost to Edenbridge, the boundary with the Old Surrey being the railway from Redhill to Edenbridge. South from Leigh it includes the country about Park Gate, Norwood Hill, Newdigate and Rusper, and joins the Crawley and Horsham not far from Crawley. Due east from Crawley the good country extends almost to the railway line between Three Bridges and East Grinstead, but south of this line it is all more or less woodland or forest hunting. On its eastern boundary the vale extends two or three miles east of the line between Oxted and East Grinstead, where the Burstow country marches with that of the west Kent. It must be understood that the vale just described is not the whole, but only the northern and best part of the Burstow country, and that below the Three Bridges and East Grinstead railway there is another large and rather wild district, extending as far south as Sheffield Park and Fletching.

That the Burstow vale is the best bit of hunting country in Surrey few who know all the hunts of the country will dispute. The enclosures are not very large, but there is now a good deal more grass than plough, whatever there may have been in the past, and fair jumpable fences, mostly of the bank and ditch order. Both the Mole and the Medway having their sources in this district, and either river being formed by the union of a perfect network of small brooks, there is plenty of water jumping. There is a good deal of wire, especially near the various houses which are dotted about the district, but there is very little population, except that of the hamlet order, and no larger town within the precincts of the vale than Horley, and no manufactories. Indeed, as a matter of fact there is no industrial district anywhere in the county of Surrey beyond the outskirts of South London, and therefore the crowds of

foot people who go fox-hunting in many northern or midland districts are unknown. The coverts of the vale are for the most part small, and some of the best, South Hale and Ham Roughet to wit, are very small, and far enough from any other covert to make a find almost a certainty of a gallop. West of the Brighton Road, between Reigate and Crawley, the country is neither so good nor so flat as on the east. Indeed the Norwood Hill district is, as its name implies, somewhat hilly, but the uplands are insignificant, quite unlike the downs further north and further south; and perhaps the greatest drawbacks to this part of the country are the innumerable ghylls or wooded ravines. These are often boggy at the bottom, while the steep sides are densely overgrown with bushes. Moreover the pheasant has many patrons on this western border of the Burstow, and very frequently a fox is not to be found.

Like other Surrey packs of foxhounds, the Burstow do not advertise, but rather shun publicity, the fields, especially on Saturdays, being quite as large as is convenient. For the same reason it is very seldom that the doings of the pack find their way into print. Under these circumstances it is almost impossible to find authentic accounts of the best runs the Burstow have enjoyed. One exceptionally good day was in the early spring of 1896, very shortly before the close of Mr. Hoare's mastership. The meet was at Lingfield village. Foxes for some time past had been reported as lying in the thick clump in the centre of Lingfield racecourse, and Mr. Fowler, the resident manager of the estate, had been at great pains to keep the place undisturbed. While hounds were fording the brook which bounds the racecourse, and which was in high flood, a fox was seen stealing away. He crossed the brook rather higher up; hounds were quickly on his line, and nearly all the field were hung up by wire a few minutes later, so that fox and hounds obtained a capital start. Going due west they reached the Brighton line in about forty minutes, ran through the paddock at Gatwick—the gates of which were open—and then turning southwards held on towards Crawley, where the fox was killed in a thick hedgerow, having given a capital run of about an hour and ten minutes, with no checks of any consequence.

Being a long way from the intended draw, hounds were taken back by Copthorne Common into the neighbourhood of the meet, and put into a covert near New Chapel Green. They found a brace of foxes, and quickly divided, and for quite half an hour hounds

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were running round and round the covert in two lots. It was now about 3.30, and a great number of the field had gone home, but the few who remained came in for another grand run. Both foxes broke at the same time, and ran almost side by side as long as they were in view, parting eventually. The hounds stuck to one, and held on at a holding pace, pointing at first for Cutandly. Half a mile short of this stronghold they turned left-handed and travelled due east, crossing the main road about half way between East Grinstead and Dormans. They then ran on to Hammerwood, through some of the coverts, and out on the north-east side, skirted Holteye Common, and ran on very near Cowden and into the West Kent country, killing their fox at 5.20, with just enough light to break him up. The exact spot at which the run ended was never quite known, for the light was very bad during the last half hour, and all the few who remained with hounds were ignorant of the country after leaving Hammerwood. About seven got to the end, and they, after the obsequies were over, were completely lost in the dark. It was 7.30 before any of the party reached East Grinstead, where all the horses were left for the night, except that of the huntsman White, who reached the kennels about 10 o'clock. Each of these two runs had a point of at least eight miles.

White, by the way, rode remarkably well to his hounds that afternoon, and performed one very singular feat. It was within half an hour of the end of the second run; hounds crossed a narrow, but deep ghyll. The way into the ghyll was over a low stile giving on a foot-path, very narrow and much entangled with thorns. The path ended at a flight of stone steps, which went down some ten or twelve feet to a small stream. On the opposite bank there was a corresponding flight of steps. White walked his horse down three or four steps, took a standing jump across the stream, and with a scramble landed on one of the topmost steps at the opposite side.

White came, as has been stated, from the Goodwood country, and golf links were unknown to him. One day hounds running from South Hale to the southern corner of Earlswood Common crossed the golf links. White was in front, and a member of the hunt seeing him point straight for one of the greens shouted to him not to gallop over it. White evidently had no idea what was meant, for after turning round and failing to discover the meaning of the warning he galloped right over the green, shouting 'Ware hole! ware hole!' as he passed the hole, which happened

that day not to be marked with the usual flag.

The Burstow kennels are at Smallfields, about two and a half miles from Horley station, and they hunt on Wednesdays and Saturdays; on Wednesdays in the southern or forest half of the country, and on Saturdays in the vale or northern district. Of late years after Christmas they often hunt also on Mondays, going wherever it may be convenient.

The CHIDDINGFOLD Hounds have been in existence about as long as the Burstow, the hunt having been founded by Mr. J. Sadler in 1863. Previous to that year the Sadler family hunted a part of the country with a scratch pack, while the Surrey Union came into the northern part of the present Chiddingfold country until 1876, when Mr. C. B. Godman took up the mastership, and the country was re-organized on its present lines. Mr. Godman resigned in 1883, and was succeeded by Mr. Ellis Gosling, who in 1886 gave way to General F. Marshall. In 1892 Mr. T. Graham succeeded General Marshall, and two years later Mr. Gosling took a second spell of mastership, which lasted only one season. Sir Frederick Marshall was again elected master in 1895, and his second term lasted five seasons until his death in 1900. Mr. Cowley Lambert then came forward, but he gave up before the season was over, and was succeeded by the present master, Mr. G. H. Pinckhard of Combe Court, Witley. Mr. Alfred Sadler is the huntsman; except for one very short period amateur huntsmen have always carried the horn with this pack.

The Chiddingfold country, which lies partly in Surrey and partly in Sussex, is not a big country, being only about fourteen miles from north to south and fifteen miles from east to west. The traveller journeying between London and Portsmouth by the South-Western Railway enters it a mile or two south of Guildford, and it extends south to Haslemere and Hindhead, having the H. H. on its western border. It then joins Lord Leconfield's Hunt on its southern border, touches the Crawley and Horsham at its south-eastern corner, and has the Surrey Union for its neighbour on the east and the Garth Hunt on the north. From a riding point of view the country is the worst in Surrey owing to the great area of woodland. Woodland and heather—the latter especially in the Hindhead district—are in much greater quantity than pasture and plough, though there are some open spots, perhaps the best being in the neighbourhood of Cranley on the Surrey Union border. There is a good

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deal of timber to be jumped and stiff banks, generally with a ditch on one side, in the more open portions of the hunt; but on the moorland side there is little jumping, and hereabouts a sure-footed horse is the greatest essential to comfort. The big woods are pretty evenly distributed all over the hunt, but those in the north are much more hilly than those in the south of the country; the latter, being on stronger soil, have the reputation of holding a better scent.

The kennels are at Hyde Style, near Milford, two or three miles south of Godalming, and hounds hunt on Wednesday and Saturday, the fields never being very large. In fact the Chiddingfold is the most 'local' of all the Surrey hunts, as the country does not tempt strangers, and the sport is left to those who dwell within the district. It is an old saying that the prettier the country the poorer the hunting therein, and that the duller and flatter a country, so much more likely is the sport to be good. The first half of this saying applies to the Chiddingfold, for the country is lovely throughout, and some of its scenery is not to be surpassed in England. It is the home of the artist and the man of letters.

STAGHOUNDS

Besides its four packs of foxhounds Surrey has three packs of staghounds, all hunting the carted stag. These are the Surrey, the West Surrey, and the Warnham; and the first named is the biggest establishment, hunting three days a week, while the other packs hunt two days. The kennels of the SURREY are at Horleylands, near Horley, close to the Burstow kennels. The hunt is an old one, having been established in the early part of the nineteenth century by the then Lord Derby, whose huntsman for many years was the celebrated Jonathan Griffin. The country hunted lies in Surrey, Kent, and Sussex, and includes the entire country hunted by the Old Surrey, and by the Burstow foxhounds. The hunt is exceedingly popular, and fields are large, especially on Saturdays, but as the subscription is high the number of members is kept fairly within bounds. Captain McTaggart of Lingfield is the present master.

The WEST SURREY, known until the year 1896 as the Surrey Farmers' Staghounds, have their kennels and paddocks at Chessington midway between Kingston and Leatherhead. They hunt on Wednesday and Saturday, and broadly speaking their operations extend over the country hunted by the Surrey Union Foxhounds. There is much hard riding among the Epsom division, which includes

all the trainers and jockeys of that district. Mr. Ernest Robinson succeeded Mr. A. J. Curnick as master in 1903.

The WARNHAM, as the name suggests, have their country round about Warnham, which is situated midway between Dorking and Horsham. They hunt on Monday and Friday, and their territory, a good deal of which lies in Sussex, is partly Surrey Union, partly Burstow, partly Chiddingfold, and a good deal—on the Sussex side—Crawley and Horsham country. Holmwood is their most northern, Henfield their most southerly, Ifield (near Crawley) their most easterly, and Pulborough their most westerly meet. Mr. Lee Steere has been the master since 1890.

HARRIERS AND BEAGLES

So much of the county of Surrey is covered by wood that it is not an ideal country for harriers, and at present there are only two harrier packs, the RIPLEY and KNAPHILL, whose country lies between Chertsey and Guildford, and on either side of the Portsmouth road between Cobham and Guildford, and the Milford, Godalming and District, whose name indicates the scope of their operations. Much of the Ripley and Knap-hill territory is open moorland, and the rest fairly equal parts of plough and grass. The big woodlands to the north of the district are of course avoided, and pretty sport is afforded, much of this country being very suitable for harriers, though too limited in extent for foxhounds. It lies partly in the Garth and partly in the Surrey Union hunts, and the kennels are at Worplesdon, between Woking and Guildford. The hunt was carried on by the Onslow family for about seventy years, but during the last thirty years various masters have held office, and the establishment is quite one of the most important of its kind in the south of England. The present master is Mr. J. Hutchinson Driver, who has J. Enever as huntsman.

The MILFORD, GODALMING AND DISTRICT Harriers were established at some time prior to 1897. Colonel Francis is the master.

In the same district as the Ripley Harriers is a pack of foot beagles known as the HORSELL, and nearer London are two very famous packs of these little hounds, the WORCESTER PARK and the SURBITON. Horses are not allowed with these packs, whose meets are never advertised, but each has an ardent band of followers and admirers. The Worcester Park, whose kennels are situated at Worcester Park, hunt one full day in the middle of the week, and on Saturday afternoons. For this full day the downs

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of Banstead or Epsom, or the country about Chipstead, are generally requisitioned, and this is considered quite their best country. On Saturdays they come as near London as Coombe, or hunt the country about Ewell and Chessington. They kill a fair number of hares, and owe much of their present prosperity to the labours of Mr. Simpson of Hampton Wick, who has hunted the hounds for many seasons, and to Mr. G. H. Longman of Epsom, the present master of the Surrey Union, who at one time was a very regular follower of the Worcester pack. The Surbiton pack also show excellent sport, going as a rule further west than do the Worcester pack. By invitation both packs go to many of the same places in turn, and it may be added that lady followers, who run all day, are by no means few.

Point to point steeplechases are popular

with the members of the various Surrey hunts, and in most years the Old Surrey and Burstow have a fixture of this description. The West Surrey and the Warnham Stag-hounds too, have point to point meetings, and the good natural course which lies by the banks of the Mole, at Slyfield, between Cobham and Leatherhead has often been requisitioned by the Surrey Union and the West Surrey Stag-hounds in successive weeks. Should the date of the fixture become public—and it generally does—enormous crowds are attracted, and lately it has been deemed advisable to go further from the railway, to play what in these districts is always the final act of the hunting season.

The kennels of the Staff College drag-hounds, are just within the borders of Surrey, at Camberley, but the 'lines' run lie entirely within the adjoining county of Berks.

RACING

The reasons for Surrey's high position in the racing world may be briefly put forward. Firstly, the Derby is decided on a Surrey common, and this race, in spite of the institution of the ten thousand pound prize, holds its own as the most important race of the year, and still draws by far the largest crowd. Secondly, there is more racing in Surrey than in any other county; and lastly, the modern enclosure first came into existence, in 1875, at Esher, where was decided in 1886 the first mammoth prize; and now the county includes within its boundaries four of the five enclosed courses, which take rank as the best and most important of their kind in the south of England.

EPSOM has now six days of racing, and in the present year (1904) Sandown Park has eighteen days, Hurst Park sixteen days, Lingfield sixteen days, and Gatwick fifteen days, which gives a total of seventy-one days on which racing takes place. It is true that at some of the enclosures the meetings held during the winter months are under National Hunt rules, but if we deduct the days which are given over to cross country sport, there still remain forty-six days of flat racing in Surrey against the twenty-nine days Newmarket can show.

No other county can approach these totals, and therefore from a numerical point of view Surrey stands first as a racing county. Yet curiously enough the county is not exactly a sporting one, in the same sense as Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and some midland

counties. Comparatively few horses are bred in Surrey, and at the moment there are only three studs—for the breeding of thoroughbreds—of any importance, viz. the Cobham stud at Cobham, the Westerham Hill stud, owned by Mr. Musker, which is partly in Kent, and the private stud of Mr. Stedall near Denmark Hill. The assertion that the county of Surrey is not exactly a sporting one is in a great measure borne out by its history; in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, after racing had become popular all over the country, Surrey could only boast four flat-race meetings, viz. Epsom, Guildford, Egham, and Reigate; and of these Epsom was the only one of the four places at which two meetings were held in the year. At the same period race meetings were held at some twenty different towns in Yorkshire, while the Midlands, especially Staffordshire and Worcestershire, provided an extraordinary number of small fixtures.

Reigate, Guildford, and Egham have been barren of sport for many years; the last Reigate meeting was held in 1864; the last at Guildford in 1870; and at Egham in 1884; the Croydon meeting has been defunct since 1890. The interests of the last named however were transferred to Gatwick, where the old Croydon titles for the principal steeplechases and hurdle races are used. Epsom alone of the old meetings remains; and in spite of all modern rivalry the Derby is still the greatest race of the year, and confers greater lustre on its winner than does

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any other race in the world. Other races are more valuable, the Ascot Cup is more difficult to win, but 'the Derby' remains the greatest race, and the Derby winner the greatest horse of the year.

The great number of days of racing in the county of Surrey is due to the fact that the district, in which the various meetings are held, lies within a very short distance of London. Formerly, nineteen race meetings out of every twenty were of only local interest, and where the sporting element was strongest, and where most horses were bred, or trained, there the fixtures were more frequent, and of greater importance. Railways have brought about great changes in the racing world, for easier facilities for transit of horse and man produced a general tendency towards centralisation; and one by one the small country meetings disappeared from the list of fixtures, the cause of their effacement being in most cases lack of pecuniary support.

An edict of the Jockey Club that no flat race should be of less value than £100, and the rise of the gate-money meeting practically made an end of the old-fashioned country fixtures, for of the few that remain about three-fourths have been modernised and turned into gate-money meetings; while the others—such as Epsom, Ascot, York and Doncaster—have had sufficient prestige, and make enough money, to be independent of what, in the slang of the course, is called the 'bob a nob' income.

This tendency towards centralisation practically made London the centre of racing; hence the high position of Surrey. Now putting on one side Epsom—which is an open meeting—the Surrey fixtures do not draw great crowds, except on the bank holidays, and even then the numbers hardly reach half the total which pays admission on a Cup day at Manchester, or a Northumberland Plate day at Gosforth Park. It has been a general opinion for many years past that on the Derby day there are something like a million people in the neighbourhood of Epsom Downs; while on the other hand an ordinary day's flat racing at a Surrey enclosure attracts not more than from ten to fifteen thousand, while a bank holiday crowd, if the weather be fine, sometimes reaches seventy thousand. A day of cross country sport in the winter, if the weather is indifferent, will bring together not more than a thousand people.

We may take it then that racing has come to Surrey because of its proximity to London, and not because dwellers in the county really care about the sport. It also owes something to the fact that the stations of Waterloo and

Victoria are in the West End of London, and within easy distance of the clubs, restaurants, and residential parts of the Metropolis. Practically all race trains to Surrey meetings start from one of the two stations named, or from London Bridge (though a line from Charing Cross and Cannon Street to Tattenham Corner has lately been opened), and thus the racing man living at the West End need not start until shortly before noon, and from all the Surrey meetings he can be back in town about six o'clock.

The town of Epsom is within sixteen miles of London, and the grand stand of the race-course is two miles beyond the town. Sandown Park is thirteen miles by road from Hyde Park Corner, Hurst Park fourteen, and Kempton Park perhaps half a mile farther by the shortest route, these four places being all within an easy drive. Gatwick and Lingfield are beyond driving distance, unless with a change of horses, Gatwick being twenty-five, and Lingfield about twenty-seven miles from the West End. Nowadays all the Surrey fixtures can be reached in from forty minutes to a couple of hours by motor car, and this without infringing the law by going too fast.

Racing at Epsom is of great antiquity, and during that period of the town's history when it enjoyed some reputation as a Spa, and as far back as 1690, we are told that 'on the Downs races were held daily at noon.' It would appear that the meetings were of little account until the races for the Derby and Oaks were established. The programme of the spring meeting of 1780 comprised six races, including these two great events. The meeting occupied three days, but races in those days being run in heats, took more time than they do nowadays. The institution of the Derby and the Oaks has been graphically described by Lord Rosebery.¹

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century a roystering party at a neighbouring country house founded two races, in two successive years, one for three year old colts and fillies, the other for three year old fillies, and named them gratefully after their host and his home—the Derby and Oaks. Seldom has a carouse had a more permanent effect. Up to that Epsom had enjoyed little more than the ordinary races of a market town. The great Eclipse himself, who long lived in Epsom, had run there in some obscurity. But now horses, some of them unworthy to draw him in a post-chaise, were to earn immortality by winning on Epsom Downs, before hundreds of thousands of spectators. Parliament was to adjourn during the ensuing century, not without debate, to watch the struggle.

¹ In the Introduction to *Epsom*, by Gordon Home, 1901.

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Ministers and ex-Ministers would ride or drive down to the famous race; and in white hats with blue veils discuss the prospects of their favourites. Political leaders would give vent to splendid groans when they realized that they had sold the winner. In the midst of the Crimean War the result of the Derby was to be recorded in general orders. Crowds would assemble in London, and from London to Epsom, to watch the still greater crowds returning from the contest. For a week Epsom would reek of racing. During that period the eyes of the sporting section of the civilized world would be turned on the little Surrey town. Many indeed, who were in no respect sporting, became sporting for that occasion. It is much the same now. The Olympian dust is the same, and is still scattered by the flying horses. The world still admires—not perhaps with so concentrated a gaze. And all this excitement, enthusiasm, triumph, whatever you may call it, Epsom, and the universe perhaps owe to an extra magnum of Lord Derby's choice claret, or a superfluous bottle of Lord Derby's curious port.

In all probability there was at the period of this memorable carouse a feeling amongst owners of racehorses that stakes should be increased, or rather, perhaps, that certain stakes should be made of great importance, with the object of attracting horses from all parts of the country. Racing, all through the eighteenth century, had been conducted on local lines, and at Newmarket—then, as now, the headquarters of the sport—matches appear to have been more popular than open stakes. The St. Leger had already been established, and though it had hardly yet become a success, it is possible that southern owners were a little jealous of their northern rivals, or at least determined to have as great a race as that which had come into existence at Doncaster three years before. The St. Leger dates from the year 1776, the Oaks from 1779, and the first Derby was run in 1780.

The first Derby was a very different affair from the Derby of the present day, the prize being about a fifth of its modern value, and the race half a mile shorter. The conditions are thus described in the calendars of the day:

Thursday, May 4, 1780. The Derby stakes of 50 guineas each, half forfeit for three year old colts 8 stone; and fillies 7 stone 11 lbs. One mile (36 subs.).

The winner was Sir Charles Bunbury's chestnut colt Diomed. Diomed started favourite at 6 to 4, and beat eight opponents, the placed horses being Bowdrow by Eclipse, and Spitfire by Eclipse—the sire of these two being the most remarkable, and probably the best, horse that ever ran on Epsom Downs. Eclipse was closely identified with Epsom. His running

days were over some years before the institution of the Derby, but in all the history of racing at Epsom no horse has ever performed there who was, like Eclipse, in a class by himself, or who, during his two seasons on the turf, won race after race with such consummate ease; he almost invariably 'distanced'¹ his opponents.

At the stud Eclipse was almost as great a wonder as he was on the racecourse. His owner, Capt. O'Kelly, made £25,000 by Eclipse's services as a sire—an enormous sum for those days—and at the present day nine-tenths of the best racehorses in the world have his blood in direct tail male, while every thoroughbred foaled can trace back to him in scores of different ways. From him are directly descended the three great lines of Birdcatcher, Touchstone and Blacklock, and it is only very occasionally that the winner of the Derby comes of some other line of blood. In fact, to put it briefly, Eclipse is even now the most famous of all English racehorses, and his blood, nearly 120 years after his death, may be said to dominate the only other lines which still exist. In his racing days, it used to be, in the words of his owner, 'Eclipse first and the rest nowhere' (meaning that his opponents would be distanced), and now for years past it has been a case of 'Eclipse first and the rest nowhere' in the matter of pedigree. All the great horses of modern times, such as St. Simon, Ormonde, Isinglass, Persimmon, St. Frusquin and Flying Fox descend in the direct line on the sire's side from this mighty chestnut, whose blood has gone all over the world, and is equally at the head of affairs in the English colonies and on the continental turf.

Eclipse was brought to Epsom, or rather to Mickleham, and there put into training, and his debut was made in a £50 Plate, on Epsom Downs, in 1769. He had been well tried, but the result of the trial had leaked out—a thing which sometimes occurs even now—and as much as 4 to 1 was laid on him, in spite of the fact that he had never run before. He distanced his opponents, and during that season and the next he scored one victory after another. According to the turf historians of the day he was never even held for speed, though it is said that Bucephalus, whom

¹ 'Distanced.' Two hundred and forty yards from the winning post on the racecourse is placed a post called the 'distance post'; in the old days of heat racing, a horse which had not reached the distance post when the winner had passed the judge's chair was said to have been 'distanced,' and was thereby disqualified from starting in subsequent heats.

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he beat in a match over the four mile Beacon course at Newmarket in April 1770, made a sort of race with him. He never ran at Epsom again, but was always trained on the adjoining downs.

The first Derby was worth £1,125, all of which went to the winner. Nowadays the race is never worth less than £6,000, and in the year 1903 the winner received £6,450 (after his own stake had been deducted), while the second received £400, and the third £200. The stake is still the same, a subscription of £50, half forfeit, but owners can save the bulk of this by paying a minor forfeit of £5 fourteen months before the race comes off. It is needless to trace in detail the history of the Derby, nor does space permit it, but some facts in connection with it may be noticed. For instance in the fourth year of its existence the distance was increased to a mile and a half, and at this it has remained ever since. In the preceding year (1782) the second received £100 out of the stakes, and in 1784 the weights were raised 3lbs., colts carrying 8st. 3lbs. and fillies 8st. Two years later the race, which had previously been run on Thursday, was run on Wednesday, but in the following year Thursday was again chosen, and this continued to be the day of the race until 1838, when Wednesday was once more chosen, and has been 'Derby Day' ever since. In 1801 the weight for fillies was reduced to 7st. 12lbs., that carried by colts remaining unchanged at 8st. These conditions remained in force only two years, for in 1803 a fresh rule was made under which colts were required to carry 8st. 5lbs., and the fillies 8st. In 1807 a further increase of 2lbs. was imposed upon both sexes, which weights remained in vogue until 1862, when colts were required to carry 8st. 10lbs., and fillies 8st. 5lbs. In the year 1884 the weights were raised to 9st. for colts, and 8st. 9lbs. for fillies, and there they remain to this day, further change in this matter being most improbable.

Though the stake money for the Derby has never been increased, the race is now worth six times as much as it was in the year of its inception. This increase in value has been brought about by the rise in the number of subscriptions. The rise was very gradual at first, and at times has not been continued. Thus the first Derby secured thirty-six subscriptions, but for thirteen years there was a slight falling off, until 1793, in which year Waxy proved himself the best of an original entry of fifty. After this date the members dropped to below fifty, and did not reach

that total again until 1813, when Smolensko was the winner, from an entry of fifty-one. The numbers have never again fallen below fifty; they rose gradually to one hundred and five in 1831, and after that came a somewhat rapid rise, the subscriptions in 1848 reaching 215. Since that date they have fluctuated considerably, falling below 200 on thirteen different occasions, and only once, in Diamond Jubilee's year, exceeding 300. Diamond Jubilee's Derby holds the record with 301 subscriptions, while the Derbys of 1785 and 1786 tie for lowest place in the list, with twenty-nine subscriptions apiece.

Omitting the last three years, the subscribers and starters for 120 Derbys can be thus tabulated:—

For the first twenty years of the race the subscriptions averaged . . .	36,	the starters 10
For the second ditto . . .	43,	" 12
" third " . . .	93,	" 18
" fourth " . . .	194,	" 26
" fifth " . . .	237,	" 22
" sixth " . . .	228,	" 12

It will be seen that fields are now very much smaller than they used to be; this is due to two very simple causes. Firstly the training reports and accounts of trials which are published make known much more concerning the form of racehorses than was the case about fifty years ago, when the average number of starters stood highest. Secondly, so many other valuable prizes have sprung into existence in late years, that unless a horse has a first-rate chance of winning the Derby he is very often kept for some other race which he appears to have a greater chance of winning. If we go back a quarter of a century to the period immediately before the advent of the gate-money meeting, and examine the calendars for a few years, it will be found that, with the exception of the four classic races, Derby, Oaks, and One and Two Thousand Guineas, there were no really valuable prizes for three year olds before the Ascot meeting. The Newmarket Biennial, the Craven Stakes, and the Biennial at Bath, were the best three year old prizes of the spring, apart from the classic races, but of late all the successful enclosed meetings have been offering rich prizes for three year olds, and the Newmarket Stakes has been remodelled, and is now a very valuable race. In short, apart from the honour and glory of being represented in the great Epsom race, there is no particular reason why an owner should start a second-class horse in the Derby, when he can almost certainly find a less valuable but yet a most desirable prize, in competing

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for which a classical winner would be heavily penalised.

Epsom itself at one time afforded a sort of Derby Consolation Stakes in the shape of the Epsom Grand Prize, and it is a fact that on one occasion the race was won by a horse who, as subsequent running proved—as far as such matters can be proved—would have won the Derby itself had he not been kept for what appeared to be the easier task. Reference is made to the well known St. Simon horse St. Serf, who won the Epsom Grand Prize in 1890, the Derby of that year going to Sainfoin. Later on in the season the last named did very little to maintain his reputation, whereas St. Serf won many races, and when the pair met again, in the Free Handicap for three year olds at Newmarket, the Epsom Grand Prize winner very easily defeated the Derby winner, who, indeed, finished last in a field of five. It had been generally considered for some months that St. Serf would have won the Derby had he been started, but the result of this Newmarket race practically put the matter beyond doubt.

As regards weights and distance there is nothing more to be chronicled, but it may be stated that only on three occasions has the race been won by a filly, viz. by Eleanor in 1801, by Blink Bonny in 1857, and by Shotover in 1882. Of winning owners Lord Egremont—who took the third Derby—has the greatest score, the race having fallen to him five times in its early days. This score has never been equalled, but the Duke of Grafton was four times successful in the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century, and in the middle period of the Derby's history Mr. John Bowes won four times; his last winner, just fifty years ago, being that famous horse West Australian. Coming to a period a little later, Sir Joseph Hawley also won four Derbys, and later still the late Duke of Westminster was successful with Bend Or, Shotover, Ormonde, and Flying Fox, of which the two last named were exceptional Derby winners. In its early days such good supporters of racing as Sir Charles Bunbury, the Duke of Bedford, and Lords Grosvenor and Jersey could each claim a triplet of winners; and during more recent years four owners have each scored twice since the year 1890, the King with Persimmon and Diamond Jubilee, Lord Rosebery with Ladass and Sir Visto, Sir James Miller with Sainfoin and Rock Sand, and Mr. Gubbins with Galtee More and Ard Patrick, while the Duke of Portland won in 1888 and 1889 with Ayrshire and Donovan.

Brief reference only can be made to some of the more important circumstances connected with the Derby. Diomed, the first winner of the race, was sold at the end of 1798, by Sir Charles Bunbury, for fifty guineas, to go to America, and on landing he changed hands again at 1,000 guineas. He did good stud work on the other side of the Atlantic, and became one of the fathers of the American turf. Passing over the next half dozen years, with the remark that three of the six winners were sired by Eclipse, we come to Lord Derby's Sir Peter Teazle, who was successful in 1787 in a field of seventeen, the largest number of starters the race had known up to that time. 'Sir Peter,' as he was always called, was a great celebrity; he was of the Herod line of the Byerly Turk, and was a son of Highflyer; his name lives to this day in the stud book, chiefly through the line brought down by Wild Dayrell, Buccaneer, and the Hungarian horse Kisber, who won the English Derby in 1876, and that which comes through Sweetmeat, Gladiator, Partisan, and Walton, and which is now to be found—for example—in the dams of such celebrities as Ormonde and Sceptre. Sir Peter was the sire of four Derby winners.

In 1788 the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.) won the Derby with Sir Thomas, who started an odds on chance; and passing over the next four years we come to Waxy, who, starting at 12 to 1, upset the odds laid on Gohanna for the Derby of 1793. Waxy was a great horse and is one of the most memorable of Derby winners, because to this day his blood has come down in direct male line (through several channels) and is to be found in several of the most powerful running lines. He was bred by Sir Ferdinand Poole, and was the sire of Whalebone who won the Derby in 1810; and Whalebone in turn sired Sir Hercules, whose son Birdcatcher sired The Baron and Oxford. From The Baron came Stockwell, Doncaster, Bend Or, Ormonde, Orme and Flying Fox in direct line. From Oxford came Stirling, Isonomy and his sons Isinglass and Gallinule. From Stockwell, through his son St. Albans, came Springfield, Sainfoin and Rock Sand.

Then again, to go back to Whalebone, that horse sired Camel as well as Sir Hercules, and from Camel, in direct father to son descent, came Touchstone, Newminster, Lord Clifden, Hampton and his many sons, of which Ayrshire and Royal Hampton are doing most for the blood now. Touchstone was also the sire of Ithurial, from whom came Longbow, Toxophilote, Musket and Carbine; and Newminster founded another

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line through Lord Clifden and Petrarch : among these descendants was The Bard, who will be remembered as having made a good race with Ormonde in the Derby of 1886. A third line is in existence which came through Waxy's son Whisker, who won the Derby for the Duke of Grafton in the year of the battle of Waterloo.

The Epsom Derby has amongst its roll of winners many great horses whose names are indissolubly linked with the history of the Turf, and as these, each and all, made their greatest mark at Epsom, they give to the county of Surrey an importance, from a turf standpoint, which it would hardly otherwise possess.

In 1794 Dædalus, the least fancied of four runners, beat the smallest field which has ever gone to the post for the race. In 1797 the race was won, for the only time in its existence, by an unnamed horse, the colt by Fidget out of Sister to Pharamond; and in 1801 a filly was for the first time successful. This was Sir Charles Bunbury's Eleanor, who started favourite and who on the following day won the Oaks, thus completing a double event, an achievement which was not repeated until the Malton trained Blink Bonny won both races in 1857. In 1809 the winner was Pope by Waxy, who started at 20 to 1 and beat the odds-on favourite Wizard by a neck. There was nothing very remarkable about this Derby, but a description of the race which appears in Orton's *Turf Annals* shows the changes which have since taken place—

Salvator took the lead and kept it until they turned the Tattenham Corner, when Wizard passed him, and kept the lead whilst within a few strides of the winning post, where T. Goodisson, the rider of Pope, who lay close by him, made one run serve for all, and won by a neck. What was most remarkable Goodisson had only one bet, which was 80 to 10 against Pope. He rode his horse with much skill and judgment, and gave great satisfaction to all present.

We need hardly write that it is many years since jockeys were forbidden to bet, and were such a report floated now, and the truth of it proved, the rider would at once forfeit his licence.

Another son of the 1793 Derby winner was successful in the following year, when Whalebone 'took the lead, was never headed, and won easy.' This horse, although a good all-round performer, was a very little one, standing only half an inch over fifteen hands, and after his running days he was sold very cheaply, it being thought that he was not

likely to prove a stud success. Never were prognostications more rudely upset, for he established through his son Camel the line of Touchstone and through his son Sir Hercules the line of Birdcatcher. It is probable that it was the horse's appearance that caused him to be so disregarded from the breeder's point of view, for he was described by an authority of the day as 'the lowest, longest and most double-jointed horse, with the best legs and worst feet I ever saw in my life.' He sired three Derby winners, or only one less than his sire Waxy.

In 1816 the Duke of York won the race with Prince Leopold, and we are told that His Royal Highness backed his colt freely and won some thousands on the race. In 1818 it was won by Mr. Thornhill's Sam, who had been foaled on the same day of the same month three years before and was then exactly three years old—or about two months younger than the average Derby winner. In 1822 the Duke of York won for the second time, with Moses by Whalebone, and in 1828 the Duke of Rutland's Cadland and Mr. Petre's The Colonel ran a dead heat; in the run off Cadland won by half a length. The following quaint description of the deciding heat has been handed down—

Cadland again set off at good sound running, being well looked after by the Colonel, and so they went to the Chains, where the latter made play and got up. A desperate contest followed and lasted to the last few yards, when Cadland won by half a length.

In 1830 the celebrated jockey-trainer W. Chifney won the race with Priam, ridden by Samuel Day, and in 1834 the famous Plenipotentiary was successful. In his racing days this horse was a veritable wonder. Wildrake in his book on English thoroughbreds described him as 'the crack of his day, as well as of every other, a horse such as we shall ne'er look upon the like again, the unequalled, the ill-used Plenipo.' Some years later Taunton in *Portraits of Celebrated Racehorses* wrote—

We find from contemporary testimony, that Plenipo occupied a station of preeminence never before attained by any of his predecessors. Childers, doubtless, was a phenomenon, and the wonders of Eclipse have come down to us with higher claims to authenticity; but if speed be the test of superiority in a racer, then we are bound to draw the conclusion that at a period when such distances as six and four miles were the ordinary trials of excellence, a certain amount of power and substance was absolutely a necessary element which does not enter into the breeding arrangements

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of more recent times. Here, however, we have a most splendid exception in this horse, Plenipo, who possessed bone and size enough to go between the shafts of a cabriolet. . . . Plenipo was a large horse of such ponderous muscle and carried so much flesh, that he always looked like a pet bullock when in training, but no horse was ever so much admired for his beauty, and his racing points.

It is a pity that such a horse should have been a stud failure, but the fact remains that the mighty 'Plenipo,' about whom an enormous amount of fulsome praise has been written, did very little towards transmitting his own excellence to future generations, and was as easily beaten by Touchstone in the paddock as he had been by the same horse in the St. Leger.

In 1836 Lord Jersey's Bay Middleton, an exceptionally good class Derby winner, was easily successful in a field of twenty-one, and this horse, of the Byerly Turk line, was also a stud success, being the sire of that great horse the Flying Dutchman. In the following year an outsider named Phosphorus, who started at 40 to 1, took the prize, and perhaps the most remarkable feature of this Derby was the prognostication in verse, published in a newspaper a few days before—

'Tis over—the trick for the thousands is done—
George Edwards on Phosphorus the Derby has won.

The Derby of 1838 was a famous one for the county of Surrey, as the winner, Amato, by Velocipede, was bred by and ran as the property of Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Bart., of Durdans, near Epsom (now the seat of Lord Rosebery). The colt in question was emphatically a 'dark' horse, the secret of his splendid trial a few days before the Derby being known only to Sir Gilbert, his trainer, and a few friends, who held their peace so well that nothing leaked out, and Amato started at 30 to 1. He won by a length, beating Ton (the sire of Wild Dayrell) and a large field, and it is recorded in Orton's *Turf Annals* that

the principal winners were several gentlemen living at Sutton or in the neighbourhood of Epsom; Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who resides in the vicinity of Epsom, never bets. Vehement acclamations took place when the owner of Amato was declared the winner; and the honest, straightforward, and civil little jock (J. Chapple) that rode the worthy baronet's colt received many sincere and hearty good shakes of the hand from the humble, as well, we trust, more substantial proofs from the winners on this important race.

Curiously enough this was the only race for which Amato started, and he did but

little at the stud to sustain his Derby honour. He was buried in the grounds of Durdans.

In 1839 the race was again won by an outsider, Bloomsbury starting, like Amato in the previous year, at the long odds of 30 to 1. While the race was being run a heavy shower of snow fell—the same thing had occurred twenty-eight years before when Hermit won the race for Mr. Henry Chaplin. Two days after Bloomsbury had won Mr. Fulmar Craven, who owned the second horse (Deception), objected to the stakes being paid on the ground that Bloomsbury had been improperly described when he was nominated for the stake. The stewards, after some delay, found that the nomination was correct, but Mr. Weatherby still declined to pay the stakes, having been threatened with action in the law courts on the subject. Meantime Bloomsbury followed up his Epsom triumph by winning the Ascot Derby and was again objected to. The dispute was carried on, and finally the case was tried at the Liverpool Assizes on August 22nd, when Mr. Ridsdale, the owner of Bloomsbury, won the action, it being proved that the entries in the General Stud Book were wrong. After his racing career Bloomsbury was sent to Germany.

In 1840 an even greater outsider than Amato or Bloomsbury won. Mr. Robertson's Little Wonder, who started at 50 to 1, beat the hot favourite Lancelot—a full brother to Touchstone—by half a length. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were present when the race was run, and immediately after the weighing-in was accomplished, Mr. E. Anson delivered to W. Macdonald (the rider of Little Wonder) an elegant riding whip, as a testimonial from Prince Albert of his admiration of his jockeyship. In 1841 Coronation won easily, being the first favourite to win the race since Bay Middleton eight years before. He was owned by Mr. Rawlinson, who, according to the published reports of the day, won about £8,000, in addition to the stake.

Nothing need be said on Attila's victory in 1842, but in the following year when Mr. John Bowes won his second Derby with Cotherstone, the following regulation was agreed upon by the stewards previous to the commencement of the races and a printed copy of it delivered to every jockey—

TO JOCKEYS.—No false start will be allowed. Every jockey attempting to go before the starter has given the word will be considered as taking an unfair advantage, under Rule 57, and fined accordingly.

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The reports or the race tell us that the regulation was acted upon with the most complete success and had the effect of preventing those annoyances which had so often occurred in the starting for the Derby. Cotherstone won very easily; it is stated that when the horse was at Leatherhead for his Epsom race, great efforts were made to 'get at him,' and all kinds of plans and devices were resorted to, but were foiled by the vigilance of William Scott, Cotherstone's jockey, who never left the stable.

The Derby of 1844 may be described as the most sensational on record, for the actual race was won by a horse falsely described as Running Rein out of Mab by Duncan Grey, who was subsequently proved to be a four-year-old colt named Maccabeus (afterwards Zanoni) by Gladiator, dam by Capsicum. The so-called Running Rein was disqualified and the race awarded to Colonel Peel's Orlando by Touchstone, who came in second.

The case of Wood (the owner of Running Rein) *v.* Peel which was tried by Baron Alderson and a special jury is perhaps the most famous turf lawsuit on record. The matter, however, hardly comes within our scope. It may, however, be said that Mr. Wood's case broke down through his inability to produce the horse, as ordered by Baron Alderson, the animal having been removed without Mr. Wood's knowledge or consent. There was no imputation against Mr. Wood, who had bought the horse with his engagements, and he withdrew from the case as he was satisfied that some fraud had been practised on him with reference to the horse.

On this withdrawal the jury found a verdict for Colonel Peel, the effect of which was that the stakes were awarded to Orlando, and the Jockey Club, at a meeting held shortly afterwards, passed the following resolution—

That, it being now proved that Running Rein was three years old when he ran for the Two Year Old Plate at Newmarket, Crinoline must be considered the winner of that race, and that the Duke of Rutland is entitled to the Plate. That the thanks of the Jockey Club are eminently due, and are hereby offered to Lord George Bentinck, for the energy, perseverance, and skill which he has displayed in detecting, exposing and defeating the atrocious frauds which have been brought to light during the recent trial respecting the Derby stakes.

Throughout the case Lord George Bentinck played the part of amateur detective with marked ability, and so greatly was his

action in the matter appreciated by the best patrons of racing that after all was over he was presented with a valuable piece of plate 'in token of the high sense entertained of his indefatigable and successful exertions, not only in the Running Rein affair, but for the services which he had rendered in promoting the stability and prosperity of racing in general.'

Lord George Bentinck, a mighty power on the turf during the middle of last century, abandoned racing for politics, and sold his stud *en masse* for £10,000. Amongst the horses sold was Surplice, who in Lord Clifden's colours won the Derby of 1848. Disraeli, in his *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, wrote that he met Lord George in the library of the House of Commons on the day after Surplice had won, and on trying to condole with him, he (Lord George) 'gave a sort of superb groan.'

'All my life I have been trying for this, and for what have I sacrificed it?' he murmured.

It was in vain to offer solace.

'You do not know what the Derby is,' he moaned out.

'Yes, I do. It is the blue ribbon of the Turf.'

'It is the blue ribbon of the Turf,' he slowly repeated to himself; and sitting down at the table, he buried himself in a folio of statistics.

Lord George's fame is perpetuated by the existence of the Bentinck Benevolent Fund, which grants annuities and other relief to trainers and jockeys, or to their wives and families should they fall upon evil days. The fund was started with a sum of £2,100 subscribed for the testimonial to Lord George Bentinck, of which mention has been made, and has always been managed by the Jockey Club. It is at present most flourishing and does a great deal of good.

Following the win of Surplice in 1848 came two memorable Derbys in following years, when the two great rivals, Voltigeur and The Flying Dutchman, took the prize in turn. Brief reference only can be made to their doings. The Flying Dutchman was bred by Mr. Vansittart, at Kirsleatham, some two or three miles from the Redcar race-course (which then did not exist) and was sold to Lord Eglinton. He was by Bay Middleton out of Barbette by Sandbeck, and as a two-year-old he won all his engagements, amongst which were the July Stakes at Newmarket and the Champagne Stakes at Doncaster, without being extended. His stride was enormous, and so much better than all his opponents was he thought to be when he came to Epsom that he started

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a hot favourite, although the field was a very large one. His feet, however, were not adapted for getting through dirt, and as there had been much rain for three days before the Derby, the going was very bad. The account of the race tells us that 'The Dutchman' was in front at the mile post, but appeared anything but comfortable when struggling through the mire. After Tattenham Corner was passed 'he seemed altogether confused and muddled in the deep and holding ground, and perfectly inactive in comparison with his two-year-old movement.' The upshot was that Hotspur, who went over the dirt like a swallow, passed him in the straight, and was in front until within three strides of the judges' box when Marlow struck the Dutchman, and the last stride gave him the 'short neck' victory. The horse won all his three-year-old engagements, and in the following year took the Emperor of Russia's Plate (which did duty for the Ascot Cup for a few years) and also won at Goodwood, but at Doncaster he was beaten half a length for the Cup by Lord Zetland's Voltigeur, who had that year won the Derby, and who, two days before he beat Lord Eglinton's horse, had won the St. Leger, after a dead heat with Russborough.

Voltigeur was bred by Mr. Stephenson of Hart, in the county of Durham, and was sent up to Doncaster as a yearling, but no one would give two hundred for him, and after awhile he was sent to Aske, 'on loan or liking' to Mr. Billy Williamson, Lord Zetland's brother-in-law. He quickly won two or three trials, and so easily did he beat all that could be pitted against him that Lord Zetland gave the £1,500 asked for him, with a further contingency of £500 on each of the great events. As a two-year-old Voltigeur only ran once, winning an insignificant stake at the Richmond (Yorkshire) meeting. He came to Epsom with a moderate reputation, and a few days before the race the Epsom touts gave him so bad a character that he went back to 30 to 1 in the betting, having stood at a much shorter price some time before. He won easily enough, and at Doncaster he took the St. Leger, after a dead-heat with Russborough; walked over for the Scarborough Stakes, and finally beat The Flying Dutchman by half a length in the Doncaster Cup.

It is worthy of note that Voltigeur was the first Derby winner of the King Fergus line of Eclipse, which line has in its much later removes been most conspicuous in the great Epsom race.

In 1851 a good horse in Sir Joseph Haw-

ley's Teddington, who with his dam only cost his owner £250—with a contingency if he won the Derby, and who was bred by a blacksmith at Stamford, won for the Kentish baronet the first of his four Derbys. In the following year Mr. John Bowes, a Durham squire of large fortune, who had previously taken the race with Mundig and Cotherstone, won his third Epsom prize with Daniel O'Rourke, probably the smallest horse who has ever won the race. According to *The Druid* he was only fourteen hands three inches when he won, but he reached fifteen hands two inches a year later. The course on this occasion was terribly heavy, and it has always been understood that Hobbie Noble, who was one of two favourites at the start, had been drugged. Amongst the unplaced lot in this race was the famous Stockwell, a much greater and a more remarkable horse than the winner in every way, but who was, unfortunately, amiss on the Derby day, and unable to give his proper running.

Stockwell was perhaps the best racehorse, and certainly the most successful sire ever bred in the county of Surrey. He was bred by Mr. Theobald at Stockwell, within half-a-dozen miles of the centre of the City of London, and he takes his name from what was then a suburban village, but is now a dreary waste of bricks and mortar. As a racehorse he did well, being one of the giants of his day; amongst his victories were included the Two Thousand Guineas and St. Leger. It was as a sire, however, that he made his great name, and long before he died the soubriquet of 'Emperor of Stallions' had been conferred upon him.

Stockwell is a connecting link in the tail male descent of the Birdcatcher line of Eclipse, and to this day his family is contesting the honours of the stud with those of Blacklock and Touchstone. Whalebone was the last winner of the Derby before Stockwell, in this particular direct line, and Whalebone sired Sir Hercules; Sir Hercules sired Birdcatcher, and his son, The Baron, was the sire of Stockwell, whose line has been chiefly carried on by Doncaster, winner of the Derby in 1873, and then through Bend Or, winner of the Derby in 1880; Ormonde, winner of the Derby in 1886; Orme, who could not run for the Derby; and Flying Fox, who won for the late Duke of Westminster in 1899.

Stockwell sired three winners of the Derby: Blair Athol, Lord Lyon and Doncaster; and in Lord Lyon's year he was also the sire of the second and third horses,

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Savernake and Rustic ; he also sired Regalia who won the Oaks in 1875. In all he was responsible for no fewer than seventeen winners of classic races, a number which has, at the time of writing, been equalled, but not exceeded, by St. Simon. The sons and daughters of Stockwell, between the years 1858 and 1876, won £359,963 in stake money among them, and it should be borne in mind that this was before the days of ten thousand pound prizes, and when no two-year-old race was worth £2,000. Indeed the only really valuable prizes, as judged by the modern standard, were the five classic races ; and Stockwell's achievement was therefore a much greater one than it would be now. In 1866 the progeny of Stockwell won no fewer than 132 races, of the total value of £61,195, and this amount, both as regards the number of races won and the value thereof, holds the record to this day. In some ways, then, Stockwell was the most extraordinary horse that ever took part in the Derby. He was the best of his year too, and though he missed the great event of his life he turned the tables on Daniel O'Rourke in the St. Leger, which race he won in a canter by ten lengths, while his Derby conqueror could do no better than finish an indifferent third.

In 1853 Mr. Bowes won his fourth and last Derby with West Australian, by far the best horse the northern squire ever owned ; as a two-year-old he was beaten in the Criterion Stakes by Speed-the-Plough, but he turned the tables in the Glasgow Stakes, in the same week, and never suffered defeat again. It is worthy of note that he was the first horse to win the treble event of Two Thousand Guineas, Derby and St. Leger. At the stud he did fairly well, and was sold for 4,000 guineas to go to France after having been at the stud for some little time in England.

In 1854 Andover, not a very high-class horse, won the Derby for Mr. Gully, pugilist, bookmaker, and afterwards Member of Parliament for Pontefract ; and in the following year a much more notable horse in Wild Dayrell secured the coveted trophy for Mr. F. L. Popham of Littlecote, near Hungerford. The story of the early days of this winner is perhaps worth repeating : his dam, Ellen Middleton, was one of the first two thoroughbreds Mr. Popham ever owned ; she was mated with Ion, on the choice of Rickaby, Mr. Popham's servant at Littlecote, who up to that time had been a jack-of-all-trades, but now became stud groom, and afterwards the trainer of a Derby winner.

In due time Ellen Middleton had a colt foal, and as Mr. Popham at this time had no idea of training he advertised this foal, with its half-sister (whose dam was the other thoroughbred referred to just now) for sale. Several offers were made for the pair, and after a while they went to Lord Henry Lennox at 500 guineas. When they were two years old the filly beat the colt in a trial, and Lord Henry sent them up for sale at Tattersall's, when Mr. Popham bought them both back for 350 guineas. As a two year old Wild Dayrell only ran once, winning a sweepstake at the Newmarket First October meeting, but he had won such a capital trial that he started first favourite for the Derby, which he won by a couple of lengths, and so full of running was he at the finish that he went right on into the hedge which surrounds the paddock before he could be pulled up. He was ridden by the late Robert Sherwood, an Epsom man, who in after years trained for Mr. Jack Hammond a Derby winner in St. Gaiien. Mr. Thomas Sherwood, a brother of Robert, is now training at Epsom. Wild Dayrell never ran after he was three years old, and died when in his prime as a sire.

Of Ellington, who won the Derby of 1856 for Admiral Harcourt, it need only be written that after his two-year-old season he was ridden about by his owner's coachman as a hack. Blink Bonny was a notable winner, and until she took the prize in 1857 no filly had been successful since Eleanor won in 1801. Blink Bonny, who belonged to l'Anson, the Malton trainer—the father of the present William l'Anson, of Highfield—also won the Oaks, and at the stud she was a great success, being the dam of Blair Athol, who won the Derby only seven years later than his dam.

In 1858 and 1859 Sir Joseph Hawley won his second and third Derbys with Beadsman and Musjid respectively, and the first named—on whom it is said that Sir Joseph won £80,000—was not only a good horse, but a successful stud horse, and sired Blue Gown, the Derby winner of 1868.

Thormanby, who won the Derby of 1860 for Mr. James Merry, was a light-fleshed horse of the 'wire and whipcord' type. He failed to beat St. Albans in the St. Leger three months later, but he turned the tables on his Doncaster conqueror in the Ascot Cup of the following year. He was a good hard horse, who won many races, and did fairly well at the stud. It was worthy of note that as a two-year-old this Derby winner was beaten into third place for a somewhat

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insignificant race at the Epsom Spring meeting. In 1861 Colonel Townley's Kettle-drum, bred by Mr. James Cookson of Neasham and sold as a yearling at Doncaster, was lucky to win as he only just got home in front of Dundee, who broke down some distance from home, and whose fetlock was touching the ground when he was pulled up after passing the post. In 1862 Caractacus, an outsider who started at 40 to 1, pulled through; his owner, a veterinary surgeon, had so little expectation of his horse winning that he did not even go to Epsom to see him run, and when the news of his victory was brought to his house, he was discovered in bed. In 1863 Mr. R. C. Naylor's Macaroni beat the subsequent St. Leger winner, Lord Clifden, after a desperate race, and in the following year Blair Athol, one of the best of Derby winners of all time, justified his high lineage by his easy victory. This great horse was a son of Stockwell and the Derby winner Blink Bonny, and was bred and owned by the late Mr. William l'Anson of Malton. He never ran before the Derby, and he was by no means favourite at the start, but he was quite an exceptional horse, and he won the St. Leger quite as easily as the Epsom race.

In 1865 the Derby was won for the first time by a foreign horse, Count Lagrange's Gladiateur. The same owner had won the Oaks in the previous year with Fille de l'Air, and he now completed a double event, owning in Gladiateur a plain and almost ugly, but exceptionally good colt, who, like West Australian, won the Two Thousand and St. Leger as well as the great Epsom race. Gladiateur was not a great stud success, nor was Mr. (afterward Sir Richard) Sutton's Lord Lyon, by Stockwell, who won the great event in 1866, and who, like his predecessor, won the triple crown of Guineas, Derby and Leger.

Hermit's Derby in 1867 was in many ways a most sensational one. The race was won in a snowstorm, and Hermit, who had a bad habit of breaking blood vessels, was an extreme outsider, the long price of 66 to 1 being offered against him at the start. Yet he won easily enough, in the colours of Mr. Henry Chaplin, and some very big bets were landed by his owner, by the late Captain Machell, who had the management of Mr. Chaplin's horses, and by others connected with the stable. After winning the Derby Hermit had a somewhat chequered career as a racehorse, but at the stud he was most successful, his sons and daughters winning no less than £351,121 in stake money in

England alone, and further large sums in France. He sired Derby winners in Shot-over and St. Blaise, and Oaks winners in Thebais and Lonely; but his stock were not as a rule great stayers.

In 1868 Blue Gown won for Sir Joseph Hawley his fourth and last Derby, and in the following year the moderate Pretender just scraped home after a desperate race with Pero Gomez. It is worthy of note that Blue Gown was the last Yorkshire trained horse to secure Epsom honours. Kingcraft, who won for the late Lord Falmouth the first of his two Derbys in 1870, was not a very high class winner; but Favonius, the winner in 1871, was above the average Derby champion in point of merit, and he carried the colours of Baron Meyer Rothschild, who won the Oaks two days later with Hannah, which mare was also successful in the One Thousand Guineas and St. Leger. Indeed the Rothschild stud had an extraordinarily successful season in 1871, when the staying of 'Follow the Baron' was in every one's mouth. Favonius at the stud was a partial success; he sired Sir Bevys, who gave George Fordham his only winning mount in the race in 1879.

Favonius was by the Sweatmeat horse Parmesan. The same sire was also responsible for the Derby winner in 1872, when Mr. Henry Savile's Cremorne scraped home by a head from the outsider Pell Mell. Cremorne was a good horse and a most consistent runner, and he would probably have won the Derby by many a length, but his rider, Maidment, never saw Chaloner and Pell Mell, who were on the Upper Ground, until they were close at home, and Maidment was only just able to set his horse going again. Cremorne won the Ascot cup in the following year.

Doncaster, the hero of the 1873 Derby, was bred by Sir Tatton Sykes, and was sold as a yearling at Doncaster for 950 guineas, his purchaser being Mr. James Merry, a Scottish ironmaster, who had won the race with Thormanby thirteen years before, and who enjoyed a fair measure of success on the turf. The colt was catalogued 'All Heart and no Peel,' but his name was changed to Doncaster, and he never appeared until he started for the Two Thousand of his year, in which he was easily beaten. He turned the tables on his Newmarket conquerors at Epsom, and earned fame at the stud by siring Bend Or, who in turn was the sire of Ormonde.

George Frederick, who won the Derby for Mr. Cartwright in 1874, had a short career on the turf, and came in a moderate

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year, but Galopin, who reintroduced the line of Blacklock, barren of Derby winners since Voltigeur had won twenty-five years before, was an exceptional horse and enormous stud success. He was a very easy winner of the Derby, and the hero of a sensational £1,000 match with Lowlander at Newmarket. At the sale of Prince Batthyany's horses he went to the Blankney stud at 8,000 guineas, and his stock won £262,670 in stake money. He was the sire of St. Simon, and the founder of what has been for some years, and is still, the strongest winning family in the world.

In 1876 the Hungarian bred Kisber won for Mr. A. Baltazzi, and in 1877 Lord Falmouth scored again with Silvio, a son of Blair Athol, and in 1878 Mr. Stirling Crawford took the prize with Sefton, who beat the French horse Insulaire and who also distinguished himself by winning the City and Suburban at the Epsom Spring Meeting. In 1879 Baron Lionel Rothschild, who raced as 'Mr. Acton,' won with a very moderate horse named Sir Bevys; but 1880 was a vintage year both as to the quality of the competitors and the race itself. The winner was the Duke of Westminster's Bend Or, and the runner up Robert the Devil; and so close was the finish between the two that few of the spectators knew which had really won until Bend Or's number went up. Both were good horses, fit, as regards class, to rank with any that the very best Epsom has known, and they met no fewer than five times, Robert the Devil beating Bend Or thrice, while the Duke's horse had the best of it on two occasions. Curiously enough the fifth and last meeting between these champions was in the Epsom Gold Cup of 1881, and Bend Or—who had also carried off the City and Suburban of that year with nine stone in the saddle—once more asserted himself on his favourite course.

In connection with Bend Or's Derby it should be mentioned that an objection was laid against the winner, on the ground that he was Tadcaster, by Doncaster out of Clemence, and not Bend Or by Doncaster out of Rouge Rose. It was supposed that the two colts had been accidentally changed when sent to the stable as yearlings, and the evidence was supplied by a stud groom, who was under notice to quit. The stewards went into the matter, and on 24 July gave their decision unanimously overruling the objection.

A few years afterwards the ex-stud groom died, and on his deathbed he solemnly averred that he had spoken the truth. To this day there are many who believe that Bend Or

was Tadcaster and *vice versa*, the subsequent produce of the mares, Rouge Rose and Clemence, confirming by their appearance and capabilities the idea that a mistake had been made.

In 1881 the Derby was won by an American horse named Iroquois, the property of the late Mr. Lorillard; but the sensation of the meeting was supplied in the race between Bend Or and Robert the Devil for the Epsom Gold Cup, to which allusion has already been made. In 1882 a somewhat uninteresting Derby was won by the Duke of Westminster's Shotover, the third and last filly to win the great race. In 1883 the class was very moderate, and—as often occurs in such cases—the issue was very close between St. Blaise and Highland Chief, the first-named, who has been a stud success in America, winning by a neck.

In 1884 the second dead heat in the history of the race occurred, the judge being unable to separate Mr. John Hammond's St. Gation and Sir John Willoughby's Harvester. The first named was a great horse and Harvester a moderate one; it was generally thought that the owner of the latter was lucky when Mr. Hammond agreed to divide the stakes. Following Harvester in 1885 Lord Hastings won the race with Melton, a fair but not a first-class horse. In 1886 the winner was the mighty Ormonde, who never knew defeat, and who was, in the opinion of many of the most capable critics, the best racehorse of modern times. That he was the greatest horse which has run over the Epsom course in the last fifty years is extremely probable, and the evidence in favour of this idea is supplied by the fact that he fell in a 'vintage year,' and that during his career he beat with ease horses who were themselves capable of doing very big things. He twice defeated Minting, who won the Kempton Jubilee stakes with the record weight of ten stone in the saddle. The Bard, from whom he strode away in the Derby, was a big winner, and about the most brilliant two-year-old of modern times, while Saraband and St. Mirin were also high-class horses. The pity is that such a horse should have had such a chequered career after his running days were over. The Duke of Westminster, who was averse from breeding from a roarer, sold him for £12,000, and he was sent to Buenos Ayres. Meantime, however, he had sired Orme, and Orme in turn was responsible for Flying Fox. This is the one redeeming feature in the case, viz. that the blood has not been lost. From Buenos Ayres Ormonde went to the

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United States at the then record price of £30,000, but he had suffered greatly from illness during his early stud life, and did not prove the success expected.

In 1887 Merry Hampton, a very common horse, won the Derby for Mr. Abington Baird, and in the two following years the Duke of Portland secured a double event with Ayrshire and Donovan, two fairly average winners, who have both done pretty well at the stud. Donovan was the better racer of the pair, and in stake money alone he won the huge sum of £55,154; but his lines were cast in somewhat easy places, stakes being rather large just then. Indeed as a two-year-old he won a prize of £6,000 at Leicester, and a year later on the same ground he took a prize of £11,000, while at Manchester a few weeks later he won another worth £10,131 15s.

In 1890 Sir James Miller won his first Derby with Sainfoin, the class in the race being exceedingly moderate; but the horse has perpetuated his name through his son Rock Sand, who won in 1903. Sainfoin was followed by Common, owned jointly by Lord Abingdon and Sir Frederick Johnstone, and who won the Two Thousand and St. Leger as well. In 1892 the late Lord Bradford won with Sir Hugo, who, as subsequent running proved, was lucky to beat La Fleche, and was also lucky in that Orme, undoubtedly the best colt of the year, was prevented by illness from taking part in the race.

In 1893 an exceptionally good colt in the late Mr. H. McCalmont's Isinglass won the Derby, and this horse holds the record for stake money won by a single horse. He only won eleven races in four seasons, but the amount totals to £57,455, or £2,300 more than the amount won by Donovan. Isinglass was in training for four seasons, while Donovan was sent to the stud at the end of his three-year-old career.

In 1894 and the following year Lord Rosebery was successful with Ladas and Sir Visto, the first-named a very good horse, and the second hardly the best of a bad year. When Ladas won the scene was an extraordinary one, his lordship, who at the time was Premier of England, being cheered to the echo by the crowd; the demonstration was a greater one than had been seen on Epsom Downs within living memory. And yet only in the following year, 1896, an even greater demonstration was forthcoming when the King (then Prince of Wales) took the prize with Persimmon. This time a surging, excited, hatless mob shouted themselves hoarse for something like a quarter of an hour.

Every now and then the noise partially died down, only to be renewed with greater vigour, and those who were present will never forget the scene. The royal colours have always been popular, but never was their success more warmly greeted, and never was the race more stoutly contested. Persimmon was one of the best and most notable of modern Derby winners, but he had a great rival in Mr. Leopold de Rothschild's St. Frusquin, and between this pair the race was a match for quite a quarter of a mile, and it was only in the last few strides that the bearer of the royal colours asserted his supremacy.

These great rivals met again a few weeks later in the Princess of Wales' stakes at Newmarket, when St. Frusquin turned the tables on Persimmon; but the distance was half a mile shorter, the winner had 3 lb. the best of the weights, and then he only won by a bare margin. Both horses were by St. Simon, Persimmon being the first Derby winner for the great Welbeck sire, who had already made a big Epsom mark by siring (previous to 1896) four winners of the Oaks. It should be added too that Persimmon, in the following year, was a remarkably easy winner of the Ascot Cup, and that he also took the Eclipse stakes, beating with the greatest of ease Lord Rosebery's good horse Velasquez, who won the same race a year later. St. Frusquin did not run again after the middle of his second season, but both this horse and Persimmon have done remarkably well so far at the stud, and the first named, in his first season, was responsible for Sceptre, who in 1902 won four of the five classic races, and was the sensational heroine of a somewhat sensational Epsom week. In appearance Persimmon was a most commanding horse, tall, stately and well formed, a big horse all over, but endowed with great quality, and if some of the critics took objection to his length behind the saddle, his forehead and shoulder were perfect enough to model from, his courage was undoubted, and his stamina most pronounced. He was bred at Sandringham stud, was trained by Richard Marsh at Newmarket, and was ridden by the late John Watts, who was then at his very best.

Following the victory of Persimmon in 1896 came that of the Irish bred Galtee More in 1897. This horse, another high class Derby winner, was by Kendal, a son of Bend Or, and therefore of the Stockwell branch of the Birdcatcher family. Galtee More, an exceptionally handsome horse, perhaps filled the eye better than any Derby winner of recent years, being most symme-

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trically built and beautifully turned. He was at least 10 lb. better than any other three-year-old of his year; but he did not remain long in training, his owner being tempted by an offer of 20,000 guineas from the Russians. In Derbys, as in other things, there are years of plenty and years of famine, and 1898 was a famine year, when the field was composed of bad horses, and the race was won by Jeddah, a grandson of Isonomy, whose legs looked like scaffolding poles, and about whom the only remarkable thing is that he started at the forlorn odds of 100 to 1.

In 1899 another great horse, the late Duke of Westminster's Flying Fox, by Orme, showed immense superiority, but he fell in a moderate year.

In some of his races Flying Fox fairly electrified the spectators by the brilliant style of his galloping, and curiously enough he was seen to less advantage in the Derby than in any other race. In this Derby, by the way, a French colt named Holocauste was greatly fancied; but he fell when coming round Tattenham Corner, and, breaking his leg, had to be destroyed. Flying Fox was put up to auction at Kingsclere in March 1900, when the horses in training owned by the late Duke of Westminster were sold, and realized the enormous sum of 37,500 guineas, the record price obtained for a thoroughbred, either by private sale or at public auction.

In 1900 the then Prince of Wales won his second Derby with Diamond Jubilee, a full brother to Persimmon, but nothing like so good a horse as his elder brother. In make and shape there was little or nothing to choose between the brothers. Diamond Jubilee was as strongly built as Persimmon, and not quite so much on the leg, but he was a wayward horse, especially in his two-year-old days, and on more than one occasion he quite declined to do his best. As a three-year-old he exhibited much better behaviour, and in addition to the Derby he won the Two Thousand Guineas, St. Leger, and Eclipse stakes. In all these races he was ridden by a jockey named Herbert Jones, a Surrey-bred lad, the son of the late 'Jack' Jones of Epsom, a well known rider and trainer of cross-country horses a quarter of a century ago. This Herbert Jones, who is attached to Marsh's stable at Newmarket where the king's horses are trained, had no great reputation as a jockey, had indeed ridden but little in public, but when Diamond Jubilee was a two-year-old it was discovered that he would go in Jones' hands, when he would not give his best running for the regular stable jockey Mornington Cannon. It was therefore

decided that Jones should have the mount in the Two Thousand, and the boy acquitted himself so well that he was allowed to ride in the Derby, and St. Leger, thus winning the three greatest races of the year; Jones since has been able to hold his own. There was another great demonstration at Epsom when Diamond Jubilee won the Derby.

In 1901 Mr. Whitney, an American gentleman, won the Derby with Volodyovski, who was, however, an English horse, bred by Lady Meux at Theobalds, a dozen miles north of London, and who was leased to Mr. Whitney for his racing career. Volodyovski is by one of the King's stud horses, Florizel II., and is a grandson of St. Simon, but he was not a high-class horse in his running days.

In 1902 a much more sensational Derby took place, and the form was immensely superior to that of the two previous years. The hero of the great event was Mr. Gubbins' Ard Patrick, an Irish bred colt by St. Florian—another son of St. Simon—out of Morganette, who had already bred for Mr. Gubbins a Derby winner to Kendal, in Galtee More. This Ard Patrick, though a high-class two-year-old, had been well beaten in the Two Thousand Guineas, by the beautiful Sceptre, a daughter of Persimmon, who as a yearling was sold at the dispersal of the late Duke of Westminster's stud, and had brought the record earling price of 10,000 guineas. As a two-year-old Sceptre had shown brilliant form, and had become a great favourite with the public. Prepared by her owner, Sceptre won the double event of the 'Thousands' at Newmarket, but in the Derby she did not give her true running, and was beaten into fourth place. She in a great measure redeemed her character by winning the Oaks two days later, and in the St. Leger she showed immense superiority to Isinglass and Friar Tuck, who had finished in front of her in the Derby. That Ard Patrick beat her on his merits—though there was very little between them—was proved in the Eclipse stakes of 1903, when the pair ran home locked together, and the Irish colt just won. The history of these two great horses is not finished at the moment of writing, but both may be included among the great horses who have run over Epsom Downs. Ard Patrick has been sold to the German Government for 20,000 guineas, but is not to be sent abroad until his running career is at an end.

Of the Derby of 1903 little need be said except that it was Sir James Miller's second success, and that he won with a horse of his

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own breeding, viz. Rock Sand by Sainfoin (who won for Sir James his first Derby in 1890) out of Roquebrune by St. Simon. A corky, stylish, but rather small colt is Rock Sand: he was a good deal superior to all he met at Epsom, but as in the case of Sceptre and Ard Patrick the last chapters of this horse's career are not yet written.

As far as the general public are concerned it is not too much to say that Epsom is the most popular racing centre in the kingdom. On all the six days—two of the Spring meeting in April, and four of the Summer fixtures at the end of May—enormous crowds attend, and even in these days of many special trains, the road is more used than any other road which leads to a race meeting. At the Spring fixture the City and Suburban and Great Metropolitan Handicaps have an enormous hold on the general public of London and its environs, and at the Summer meeting the programme for each of the four days is so strong that the attendance is always very great. Indeed on what used to be called the 'off days' (Tuesday and Thursday) the crowd is ten times as large as that which would be seen, were similar racing in progress at an enclosed meeting; and this rather suggests that a large section of the British public is still averse from putting down its shilling, or half-crown entrance fee to a course.

There is, however, another and greater reason for the popularity of Epsom, and that is the character and situation of the course, which affords a view of the racing, which cannot be rivalled on any other open course save Goodwood and on no enclosed course but Sandown Park. At Epsom the stands and enclosures are placed on the side of a somewhat steep hill, the various enclosures sloping downwards to the running track. Then again a great many of the races—the Derby, Oaks, Great Metropolitan, and City and Suburban to wit—are run on round or oblong courses and the horses are never out of view, and are never more than two-thirds of a mile away, in point of actual distance from the stands. Racing in fact is very easily seen at Epsom except on the new straight course which commences out of sight of the stands behind the railway station at Tattenham Corner. This new course is used for short distance races only, and if they run seven furlongs the horses are not seen for a furlong and a half. They then come rather straight into the line of vision, and from the stands it is difficult to see what is taking place; from the coaches and carriages opposite the winning post, however, a fair view can be obtained.

In the long races, in all of which the horses have to come round Tattenham Corner, the runners keep as near the far side—furthest away from the stands—as possible, that being the shortest way home, and in such races the spectators on the various stands, or on the high ground above the course, have a splendid view. 'The Hill,' too, situated in the centre of the Derby course, is a fine coign of vantage, but is a long way from the winning post, and those who watch the racing from this point have a good view of the earliest parts of each contest, but cannot see much of the finish, owing to the dense mass of vehicles and people which congregates on the rails of the run in.

The Epsom course is situated at a high altitude on down land, and during some eight or nine months of the year it affords capital going, but in a drougthy summer the track becomes very hard and dry and horses have had to gallop through clouds of dust in the Derby week. If the summer should be wet, the going is generally good, and, though there is no supply of water laid on, the running track has, at the beginning of recent Derby weeks, presented a beautiful surface of emerald green. Unfortunately—no matter what weather conditions may prevail—the half mile which forms the run in, gets terribly worn by the end of the meeting, owing to the crowd rushing on to it at the conclusion of each race, and moving up and down in enormous numbers until the course is cleared again.

The start for the Derby, the Oaks, Epsom Gold Cup, and other races of a mile and a half, takes place at the High Level starting post on the rising ground opposite but to the west of the stands, and the course is of horse-shoe shape. For nearly half a mile there is a gradual rise, but the ground becomes more level when the new or present course joins the old one. The old course used to begin behind Sherwood's house and the starting post was much farther from the stands than the present one. This more level ground extends through that part of the course generally called 'the Furzes,' and which is the highest point the horses reach. Shortly after passing the mile post the track bears to the left and begins to slope downwards; broadly speaking there is nearly half a mile of descent, some of it quite steep, to Tattenham Corner. The turn into the straight is somewhat sharp and horses not well in hand are apt to go wide, but once round the corner there is a broad run in of between three or four furlongs, and the latter part of this rises slightly towards the winning post. Whether the course is a

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really good one or not has been a long disputed question amongst owners and trainers of racehorses, but a very strong argument in its favour as a test of merit is forthcoming in the fact that the best horse nearly always wins the Derby, and that the running is almost always confirmed on courses of a totally different nature—as for example that of the Doncaster Town Moor.

Large fields are generally to be found in nearly every race but the Cup at Epsom, and the place is remarkably popular with owners of racehorses, more indeed than it is with trainers, who prefer the comfort and the stabling provided at the enclosures. At Epsom stabling has to be taken in the town, for visiting horses, except those for which accommodation is found at the various Epsom training stables, and this latter is of course only possible in the case of a stable which is not full. The horses are walked from the town to the large paddock which lies a quarter of a mile west of the stands, above the grounds of Durdans. It is quite the largest race-course paddock in England, but its distance from the weighing room is a cause of considerable delay at times, and thus it happens that very often indeed the racing is not finished until half an hour later than the advertised time, or even more.

The programme of the Spring meeting is chiefly prolific of handicaps, and two-year-old events of secondary importance. It has always been held on a Tuesday or Wednesday and is almost always sandwiched between the Craven, and first Spring meetings at Newmarket. On the Tuesday the Great Metropolitan stakes of two miles and a quarter is the most important race, and by many this is thought to be quite the prettiest race of the year to watch. As a rule a dozen or more horses are in the field, and the start takes place at the stands, the horses going down the reverse way of the course, until they are within a few yards of Tattenham Corner. They then wheel round to the right and wind up the side of the hill, keeping within the horse-shoe of the Derby course, which they join just below the Furzes, the last mile being on the same track as the Derby. The race is of course contested by stayers, but very often the class is only moderate, the best names in the list of winners for a period of nearly sixty years being Virago, St. Alban's, Parmesan, Sabinus, Dutch Skater, Hampton and Chippendale. On the same day the Great Surrey Handicap of five furlongs is a popular spring race, and there are also the Tattenham and Westminster Plates for two-year-olds in the programme.

On Wednesday the City and Suburban, a high-class handicap of a mile and a quarter, is the chief attraction, and this race ranks as one of the most important handicaps of the racing season, and is invariably productive of a good field, both as regards quality and quantity. It is run on the last mile and a quarter of the Derby course, and in it many great performances have been achieved, not the least of which were the victory of Mr. Vyner's Thunder under 9 stone 4 lb. in 1876, the victory of Master Kildare under 9 stone 2 lb. in 1880, and the victory of Bend Or under 9 stone in the following year. Other notable winners were Virago and Sabinus, both of which completed the double event of Great Metropolitan and City and Suburban; Sefton, who won the Derby six weeks later, Reve d'Or, a winner of the Oaks three years before she took the 'City,' Grey Leg, who carried the highest weight under which a three-year-old has ever won, and Worcester. The Americans have won the race with Parole—who also accomplished the double event, having won the Metropolitan on the previous day—and Australian horses were successful in 1899 and the two following years, viz. Newhaven II., The Grafter and Australian Star, of which the first named who carried 9 stone in a field of thirteen was much the best. On the City and Suburban day other fairly important races are the Hyde Park Plate for two-year-olds, and the Kingswood stakes, which is a sort of second edition of the Great Surrey Handicap.

The Epsom Summer meeting is held in the last week of May, or the first week in June, beginning on Tuesday and extending over Friday. On the first day the Woodcote stakes for two-year-olds is the principal prize, and this race is decided on the last six furlongs of the Derby course (not on the new straight course), and is the first race of the year in which two-year-olds compete over six furlongs, and it is often won by a really good horse, the bead roll of winners since 1807—the year of its institution—including many great names of which such as Lord Clifden, Achievement, Cremorne, Surefoot, Bonavista, Ladas, Sceptre, and Rock Sand, may be cited as being within memory of most racing people. Other races decided on this day are the Egmont Plate, a five furlong handicap on the new course; the Craven stakes, a weight for age race on the last mile of the Derby course; the Norbury Plate, a handicap of a mile and a half; and the Epsom Plate, a seven furlong handicap on the new course.

On Wednesday the card, which generally

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includes seven races on the other days, is curtailed to six events, and more time is allowed before and after the Derby, which race, of course, dominates the day's proceedings. The Epsom Town Plate, a six furlong handicap on the new course, and the Effingham Plate, a handicap of a mile, are the most important races; but apart from the Derby the racing is the poorest of the week as regards class, and, on the other hand, Thursday's programme is much the strongest of the four, except that it includes no Derby or Oaks. The chief event on this day is the Cup—sometimes called the Epsom Cup, sometimes the Epsom Gold Cup, and for the last two years the Coronation Cup—and this, which always brings out good horses, is often productive of a capital race. It is run on the Derby course; and on the last mile and a quarter of the same track the Durdans Plate, a high-class handicap of £1,000 is decided; while on the six furlongs of the new course the Royal Stakes, also a thousand pound handicap, is run. This race generally brings out many of the best sprint runners of the day. Then there is the Great Surrey Foal Stakes for two-year-olds, and thus four of the six or seven races decided on this day are not only valuable, but are competed for by thoroughbreds of the best class.

On Friday fillies are chiefly catered for, the *pièce de résistance* being the Oaks, a classic race, and the most important three-year-old filly contest of the year. The conditions are the same as those of the Derby, and the two races are run over the same course; but the Oaks does not by any means arouse the interest excited by the Derby, though it is of great historical interest, and includes in its list of winners many of the most famous mares of all time. From a purely racing point of view it fairly maintains its prestige, and, like the Derby with regard to the colts, it is, as a very general rule, won by the best filly of the year. Notable instances of recent years may be quoted in La Fleche, who was beaten by Sir Hugo in the Derby, but won the Oaks, and turned the tables on her Derby conqueror in the St. Leger. Memoir too won the Oaks and beat the Derby winner at Doncaster, as did Seabreeze a couple of years before. A little further back Apology and Marie Stuart each in turn won the Oaks and St. Leger, and in Marie Stuart's case she fought out the St. Leger finish with her stable companion Doncaster, who had won the Derby, and beat him after a memorable encounter. On this point it may be stated that, on the evi-

dence of the last hundred and twenty years, the colts are better than the fillies in about three years out of every four, and that once in every six or seven seasons one—very occasionally more than one—filly stands out as the best of the year, and she is almost invariably an Oaks winner.

On the Epsom Friday fillies are also provided for with the Acorn Stakes, a valuable prize for two-year-olds, and which often brings out the future Oaks winner. This race is run over five furlongs, and has been won by many fillies which have afterwards distinguished themselves on the turf. The minor prizes decided on the last day of the summer meeting are of second importance only, and perhaps on the whole the programme is the least attractive of the four.

SANDOWN PARK

Previous to the year 1875 all racecourses—apart from the stands and enclosures—had been free to the public, as are still Epsom, Ascot, Goodwood and Newmarket. Years before an enclosed course had been tried, without success (at the Bayswater Hippodrome), but Sandown, opened in 1875, was the first venture of the sort to prove successful, and has been so widely copied that modern racing has been altered in an extraordinary degree within the present generation. If we go back to the state of affairs which existed previous to the present gate-money period we find that the outside portions of all racecourses were free to the public; and that those who could afford to pay, patronized the Grand Stand, or a cheaper stand, while the Jockey Club had some small place reserved, which was generally called a Steward's Stand, and into part of which the best racing men, other than stewards, were also admitted. There were also one or two small private stands, notably at Ascot, Epsom, and Goodwood, but the advent of Sandown Park caused a complete alteration in these matters, for with the institution of Sandown came the racing club, with its own stand and lawn, and its ladies' tickets.

Sandown, in point of fact, introduced two radical changes into the life of the average racing man, partly by forming a large and comprehensive club for the wealthier supporters of racing, and secondly by charging gate-money, and thus protecting the humbler and poorer admirers of the sport, who can nowadays see much of the best racing at a very small outlay without being crowded and hustled as are those who watch from

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'outside' at an open meeting. Then again another great change, for which Sandown is chiefly responsible, is the presence of ladies at all modern race meetings. Before the days of gate-money fixtures ladies went to Ascot, a few to the boxes at Epsom, a few to Goodwood, and very few to Newmarket. Practically there was no room or accommodation for them in the old-fashioned stands, and at the country meetings they were mostly to be seen in carriages on the far side of the course. Sandown, however, altered all this, for the club house and enclosure were made big enough to accommodate thousands of ladies, and to every full member of the club two ladies' badges were issued, while more could be obtained for a reasonable daily payment. Thus in a very short space of time it became customary for ladies to go to Sandown, and now on a big day the club enclosure contains as many as four or five thousand. Indeed, on this part of the course it is a fact that there are often more women than men, and probably a similar state of affairs obtains at Kempton Park on a Jubilee day, this enclosure being a good second to Sandown in the matter of popularity.

'Drawing-Room Racing' is an epithet often used with regard to the sport which takes place at Sandown and similar places, but such a description only applies to the comfort of visitors, and has nothing to do with the horses or the course. It means indeed that the crowd are better treated than they were at the old-fashioned open meetings, that the stands are better adapted for watching the sport than were the flat, or nearly flat, roofs of the old stands, that music is provided, that luncheon can be eaten comfortably in what is nothing more than a big restaurant, and that going and coming is rendered easy by special trains—many of which are for club members only—and that in fact a sort of garden-party picnic can be enjoyed, with the sport thrown in.

The first meeting at Sandown Park was held in April 1875, immediately following the Epsom Spring meeting of that year, and was an unqualified success. The course, situated at the village of Esher, is thirteen miles by road from Hyde Park Corner, and the railway station is at the bottom of the course, a short half-mile from the stands. The spacious paddock lies between the stands and the village; the lawn—in which stands a handsome royal pavilion—is at the western end of the club stand, and great part of it is shaded by magnificent old timber. The stands—which in 1903 were

reconstructed—are placed at such an angle that a huge crowd can watch the racing, and as at Epsom the course lies well below the stands, and every inch of it is easily seen.

From a purely racing point of view it cannot be said that the course is a good one, because in all the races, except those run over five furlongs, there is a very big turn or elbow to be negotiated, and this necessitates horses being to a certain extent pulled back for something over a furlong in every race, as a horse cannot gallop round it at top speed without losing ground by going wide. At the same time the circular racing is far more popular with the public than the straight mile business, when little of the early part of many races can be properly seen. Sandown Park is undoubtedly the most popular enclosure in the kingdom, and yet its course is in many ways quite the worst. The five-furlong track is right across the centre of the Park, and on the rise all the way; its chief faults are that the finish is a long way from the stands, and that there is not sufficient room between the outside palings of the Park and the starting gate in which to manœuvre a large field of horses. The round course is a mile and five furlongs, horses starting in front of the stands; and the Eclipse Stakes course is between nine and ten furlongs going straight and slightly down hill for half its distance, then round the aforementioned elbow, and turning right-handed straight and uphill for the last four furlongs, the finish being somewhat severe.

The Eclipse Stakes, established in 1886, was the first £10,000 prize ever given in England, and therefore Sandown Park was the pioneer of what has often been called the 'mammoth' stake. Its example was copied at Manchester, Leicester and Kempton Park, but at all these places such races have ceased to exist, and now the only imitators of Sandown in the matter of great prizes are the Jockey Club, who in 1894 established the Princess of Wales Stakes and the Jockey Club Stakes run respectively in the First July week and the First October week at Newmarket. The Eclipse Stakes is much more valuable to the winner than either of the races decided at Newmarket, because very large deductions are made for the benefit of the second and third horses, and also for the nominators at the last-named place. Almost from its commencement the Eclipse Stakes has been an extraordinary success, and though it failed to fill in its second and fifth years, it can claim a brilliant list of winners, and has only once been won by a moderate horse. In 1886 the winner was Mr. Hedworth Barclay's

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Bendigo, a very great horse, who also won the Lincolnshire Handicap, the Cambridge-shire, the Jubilee Stakes at Kempton under 9 stone 7 lbs., the Hardwicke Stakes at Ascot, and the Champion Stakes at Newmarket. With the public this horse was a great favourite, and though he won the Eclipse Stakes on a day of pouring rain, his victory was witnessed by an enormous concourse of people, and it is questionable whether so many carriages have ever been seen on the Sandown course since—though the numbers in the rings and club stand have been exceeded.

The victory of such a horse as Bendigo gave the Eclipse Stakes a wonderful send off, but it took a year or two to firmly establish the race, and as stated just now, it failed to fill in its second year. In its third it was won by a very moderate racehorse in Orbit. Then came a winner of fair class in Ayrshire, who had won the Derby a year before, and who is a stud success of the present day. The class was not particularly good when Surefoot won, though the horse in question was gifted with a great turn of speed, and defeated Common, who that same year took the treble event of Two Thousand Guineas, Derby and St. Leger. Orme's first victory in 1892 was a notable one, for he had not been able to run for the Derby owing to a mysterious illness which attacked him in April of that year. That he had been poisoned was the general idea, and the evidence in favour of this theory, as set out in John Porter's book, *Kingsclere*, is remarkably strong and convincing. Whether Orme was poisoned or not the public fully believed that he had been the victim of foul play, and when he first pulled through, after a tremendous struggle with Orvieto, there was such a demonstration as has only been equalled on a racecourse once within living memory, viz. when Persimmon won for the King his first Derby. In the following year, 1893, Orme won again, beating this time his brilliant stable companion, La Fleche; and in 1894 there was a veritable meeting of the giants, the field including Isinglass, Ladas, Ravensbury, Raeburn and Throstle, who between them won two Derbys, two St. Leger's, a brace of Two Thousands, an Ascot Cup, and various £10,000 prizes. It was reckoned at the time that the five were worth at least £60,000, and Isinglass, who ran home a gallant winner, was quite one of the best horses who has ever been seen on the Sandown slopes.

In 1895 the French horse, Le Justicier, beat a moderate opposition, but in the two

following years the race was won by a brace of really great horses, St. Frusquin and Persimmon. St. Frusquin had little to beat when he won, but Persimmon had gained the Ascot Cup a few weeks before he took the Eclipse Stakes, and having been trained for a long race, it was just on the cards that his speed might have been impaired. However, he won in grand fashion, beating a good horse in Lord Rosebery's Velasquez, who himself took the prize a year later. The next two winners were Flying Fox and Diamond Jubilee, the first-named an exceptionally good horse. Epsom Lad won in a moderate year, and an even poorer specimen of an Eclipse Stakes winner was the Duke of Devonshire's Cheers, who was perhaps lucky to beat Rising Glass in 1902. Lack of quality in these two last-mentioned winners was amply atoned for in 1903, when Ard Patrick, Sceptre and Rock Sand filled the first three places. Ard Patrick had won the Derby of the previous year, and Sceptre the Two Thousand, One Thousand, Oaks, and St. Leger, while Rock Sand had taken the Two Thousand and Derby in 1903, and had proved himself to be much the best of his age. Partizanship ran high between the three, but the smaller, cobbler Rock Sand was soon out of it when the real fighting began, and Ard Patrick wore down Sceptre after a magnificent struggle. This was quite the most important Eclipse Stakes as regards the class of the competitors since Isinglass had won nine years before.

Sandown generally has about five flat race meetings in each year, occupying about nine days. The first is held in April, immediately following the Epsom Spring Meeting, and extends over three days, the last day being given over to sport under National Hunt rules. On the first day the Tudor Plate for three-year-olds and the Sandown Park Stud Produce Stakes, a valuable prize for two-year-olds, are the principal events, and on the second day a long-distance handicap, called the Esher Stakes, and a short-distance handicap, called the Princess of Wales Stakes, afford most interest. The second meeting is held in Mid June, usually in the week following Ascot. The Sandringham Foal Stakes for three-year-olds on the first day, and the British Dominion Stakes for two-year-olds on the second day, are the chief events decided, but the programme is fairly strong all through.

The Second Summer, or 'Eclipse' meeting, is held in the middle of July, on the Friday and Saturday following the Second July meetings. Its trump card is, of course,

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the Eclipse Stakes, but on the first day the programme also includes the Great Kingston Two-year-old Race, in which horses of good class compete. On the second day the big event is the National Breeders' Produce Stakes, of a total value of £5,000, which is at present the most valuable two-year-old stake of the year. Curiously enough this race has often been won by a horse who has failed to distinguish himself afterwards, but owing to penalties and allowances the weights take a wide range, and thus the best of the field have on some occasions succumbed to very moderate animals. In September, generally on the Friday before Doncaster, a single day meeting is held, when the September Stakes for three-year-olds and the Michaelmas Stakes for two-year-olds are the most important races; and towards the end of October the last flat race meeting is held, the sport being under Jockey Club rules on the two first days, with a supplementary day of cross-country racing to finish. At this meeting, generally held at the end of the week which intervenes between the Cæsarewitch and Cambridgeshire fixtures at Newmarket, the Great Sapling Plate for two-year-olds, the Orleans Nursery, and the Sandown Autumn Handicap are the features of the first, whilst the Sandown Foal Stakes for three-year-olds and the Hersham two-year-old race are the principal items of the second day.

Steeplechasing at Sandown is quite as popular with devotees of cross-country sport as flat racing is with those who follow the legitimate game only. Several meetings are generally held during the winter, one of two days in December, and two of two days each in February or the beginning of March, while the Grand Military Meeting has also been held there for many years, and is now looked upon as a regular Sandown fixture. This is an enormous 'draw,' if only the weather is propitious, and probably attracts as big a crowd to the club enclosure as any other day of the year, the Eclipse Stakes day alone excepted. For an artificial track the steeplechase course is a very good one, and nearly all the crack cross-country horses of the last quarter of a century have raced over it in their day.

HURST PARK

Hurst Park, situated at East Molesey, thirteen miles from town by road and fifteen miles by rail, has had an existence of rather more than a dozen years, and is now a remarkably popular racecourse. It occupies the site of the old Hampton Race-

course on Molesey Hurst, but the course is not the same as was used in the old days; the stands are much farther from Molesey, and are differently placed. Beginning at first with pony racing and steeplechasing, Hurst Park acquired a flat racing license in the second year of its existence, and since that time it has marched steadily onwards, and now its meetings rank very highly indeed, though it has never attempted the big prizes offered by the Sandown executive. The great secret of the success of Hurst Park lies in the fact that it is excellently managed, and that the course is naturally wonderfully good. The subsoil is sandy gravel, light and porous, which becomes wet rather than deep in bad weather, but allows of such free and quick drainage that the ravages of a heavy storm very quickly disappear. Then, too, in dry weather the surface is so friable that it crumbles, and thus it is almost impossible to find the going hard. Moreover in times of drought a liberal system of irrigation is employed, and at all times the "going" is constantly attended to by a gang of experienced men. Under these circumstances the place is immensely popular with owners and trainers, who never need fear the breakdown which often occurs on a very hard course in dry weather.

The Round or Oval Course, as it is called, is a mile and three furlongs in length. It is, as its name implies, almost a perfect oval, with no very sharp turns, and the run in of about half a mile is quite straight, with a short but sharp rise about two furlongs below the judges' box. There is also a straight course of seven furlongs, but this does not allow of mile races being run on it, and in fact all distances beyond seven furlongs are run on the Oval Course. The stands are large and well-built, and the club enclosure is a very fine one; but the angle of the stands to the winning post is such that if horses finish very wide of each other—and the course is a broad one—it is no easy matter to know which has won. In the matter of dates Hurst Park is not particularly well off, for, like all modern courses, it has had to stand aside for the 'vested interests' of old-established meetings. In consequence its fixtures are nearly all held at the beginning or end of a week. Probably these arrangements suit the place well, for by catering for bank holiday crowds and London Saturday racegoers it has been enabled to earn big dividends for its shareholders. Whereas 2s. 6d. is invariably charged for admittance to the course at Sandown, the entrance money is reduced to 1s. at Hurst

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Park, and on fine Bank Holidays, Whit Monday and the first Monday in August, it is reckoned that quite 50,000 people pay this shilling toll.

The Hurst Park programmes are varied, but always liberally endowed, and usually some nine or ten meetings are held in the course of the year. The first flat racing fixture usually takes place on Whit Monday and Tuesday, and on the first day The Great Whitsuntide Handicap of a mile and a half, and worth something less than £1,000, is the chief attraction, while on the second day the Hurst Park Yearling Plate of £1,000 for three-year-olds holds pride of place. Some fair second-class handicaps are run at this meeting too, and the Monday crowd is, generally speaking, the largest which any of the southern enclosed courses know during the racing year. The second meeting is held on a Saturday in June, and though only a one-day fixture, it takes somewhat high rank owing to the excellence of the programme. Three of the six races are, in point of fact, very valuable prizes, which bring out the best class, and seldom at any course—except at Ascot—are so many big things included in one card. The Victoria Cup, a handicap of a mile and a quarter, worth to the winner £1,470, is the most valuable of the three; it is supplemented by the Duchess of York Stakes of a mile and a half for three-year-olds and the Hurst Park Foal Plate for two-year-olds. The first of these is worth £979, the second £1,135 to the winner, but there are also prizes for second and third horses, and for the nominators. The third flat race fixture is the August Bank Holiday Meeting, when the Holiday Handicap of £500 often brings out a capital field. Three weeks later in the same month a two-day meeting is held, when the August Two-year-old Stakes of £500 is the big event of the first day, and the Hurst Park Lennox Stakes of the second. This last-named race, which is worth something between £1,500 and £2,000 to the winner, is for three-year-olds over a mile and a half, and in 1901 it afforded a memorable struggle between the Derby winner Volodyovski and William the Third, who in the following season proved himself a great stayer by running away with the Gold Cup and Alexandra Plate at Ascot. The fifth and last flat race meeting of the year is held on the first Saturday in October, when the Molesey Park Handicap of a mile and a quarter, the October Plate (weight for age; a mile and five furlongs) and the Stewards' Nursery are the principal events. About four cross-country meetings are also held

during the winter months, and the National Hunt Meeting, which is a movable feast, chose Hurst Park for their venue in 1901.

GATWICK AND LINGFIELD

Of the five Surrey racing centres, three, viz. Epsom, Sandown, and Hurst Park, are all somewhat close together, in the northern portion of the county. Indeed the Epsom and Sandown Park courses are not more than seven or eight miles apart as the crow flies, and from Sandown Park to Hurst Park it is a walk of less than three miles through the fields. The two remaining Surrey courses are farther south, Gatwick being situated on the main line between London and Brighton, about a mile and a half beyond Horley, and just over twenty-six miles from town, while Lingfield is on the East Grinstead line, twenty-eight miles from London, and about eight miles south-east of Gatwick. Both courses are comparatively new. Lingfield held its first meeting, under National Hunt rules, on 15 November 1890, and Gatwick was inaugurated in the following year with flat racing; as already said, it is the successor of the old Croydon Meetings, the last of which took place at Woodside—between Croydon and Norwood—on 25 and 26 November, 1890.

GATWICK is in many respects the best enclosed Race Meeting in the kingdom, and is admirably managed. It possesses a noble course, a fine range of stands, a spacious club enclosure, and a very large paddock. In fact, everything is on a big scale at Gatwick, but being practically double the distance from London that Sandown and Hurst Park are, and having no holiday fixtures, the crowd is never so great as at the more suburban meetings. The local population is by no means large, and a huge majority of the visitors come by special trains from London or Brighton. Indeed, there is practically no 'outside' crowd at these Mid Surrey fixtures, firstly, because, as has just been remarked, the population is scanty, and secondly, because, except on an occasional Bank Holiday, the Surrey working man does not go racing. Reigate, Red Hill, East Grinstead and Dorking are the only towns within an easy drive of the Gatwick course, and these places supply a very small proportion of the attendances.

The course at Gatwick is one mile and seven furlongs round, and is broad everywhere, being 100 feet wide in the straight mile, which is joined by the round course five furlongs from home. There are considerable gradients, the oval or round course

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rising round the top turn, where it passes the paddock, and descending down the back stretch. The turns are very gradual indeed, and in the straight there is a rise of eight feet from the five furlong starting post to the winning post. There is also what the executive term a kite-shaped course of a mile and a half, which begins and finishes in front of the stands, and although the general appearance of the place suggests flatness, a walk round the course makes it apparent that there is a good deal of undulation. For a long distance race there is no grander course in the world, unless it be that on which the Cæsarevitch is run at Newmarket, or the Cup course at Doncaster, which, by the way, is just the same distance. It is better than the Ascot course, the turn into the straight being more gradual, and if it has an equal at an enclosed meeting, one has to go to far-away Gosforth Park, in Northumberland, to find it.

Gatwick being of such recent date, it has no great history. It adheres to some of the old Croydon titles for its races; thus we find the Croydon Hurdle Race and the Metropolitan Steeplechase at the December meeting, while the Wickham Hurdle Race figures on the card of the March meeting; but the Grand National Hurdle Race of the Croydon days has become the International Hurdle Race, and with the altered title has fully maintained its popularity. About eight meetings a year are held, four under Jockey Club rules, and four of Steeplechasing and Hurdle racing. The flat race meetings generally take place in May, June, at the end of August, and in October, and at the first or Spring Meeting, the Alexandra Handicap of six furlongs, worth £1,000, is the chief prize of the first day, while the Princes' Handicap of a mile and a half, and also worth £1,000, is the big event of the second day. Other fair class races at this meeting are the Champney Plate, weight for age, over a mile and a half, the Worth Stakes for two-year-olds, and the Marlborough Plate, one mile, for three-year-olds. At the June meeting the prizes are not so valuable, the most important, from a money point of view, being a Selling Handicap of a mile, worth £500. At the August fixture the Norbury plate for two-year-olds, and the August Handicap of a mile and a quarter, are the principal items, and in October the Gatwick Stakes, weight for age, a mile and a half, the Surrey Stakes, weight for age, six furlongs, and the County Nursery are the most important races. But some very valuable races will be decided at Gatwick in the immediate future.

From a scenic point of view LINGFIELD stands alone among modern racecourses. It is not placed at an altitude high enough to afford the magnificent panorama commanded by the stands of Epsom, nor can it in this respect compare with Goodwood; but its more homely beauty is unique, as it is situated on a well-wooded slope, amidst undulating pastures, tree-lined hedgerows, and winding water. The great attraction, however, is the garden of the club enclosure, which is of great size, and is most tastefully laid out. Here ladies can sit and watch the racing without leaving the shade of the magnificent trees, and here Nature and Art in combination have produced floral decorations which quite eclipse the somewhat stiffly designed flower-beds of other courses. The bedding-out plants, so dear to the managers of most modern courses, have been discarded in favour of a much more varied array. Thousands of roses, a profusion of flowering shrubs, and a wealth of old-fashioned annuals and perennials give a rural charm, and at the June meeting the tree lupins—which grow in great variety and to a great height—make a show of which any gardener might be proud.

The Lingfield course is also unlike the usual racecourse. The stands—much smaller than those at Gatwick—have been designed with some regard for beauty of architecture; moreover, they are placed at a capital angle to the racecourse, so that a good view can be obtained, and though they are not quite so close to the station as those of Gatwick—which adjoins the railway platforms—they are only about a quarter of a mile away, and the walk to and fro is by pleasant pathways. The park extends to something like 300 acres, and contains a round course, a steeplechase course, and a straight mile. This last-named track has its starting post very near the bungalows of the Bellagio estate, and is on the descent all the way, the first half-mile being decidedly downhill, while the last half is nearly level. The round course is about a mile and a half, beginning at a point two furlongs below the winning post, and joining the straight course again four furlongs from home. It is flat for something like half a mile, then there is a gradual rise of about four hundred yards to the top of a hill, and then a descent to the junction of the courses. The turns are very gradual, but horses sometimes come wide into the straight, as they do round Tattenham Corner at Epsom. The steeplechase course is alongside the round course, and both are very genuine tests of merit.

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Some eight or ten meetings are held during the year, cross-country fixtures being in excess of those under Jockey Club rules. There are about five two-day or one-day fixtures of flat racing, the dates of which vary a little; taking the season of 1902 as a guide we find that the first meeting under Jockey Club rules was held on 3 May, when the Victoria Plate, a six-furlong handicap of £1,000 was the most important race. The next, held on 10 and 11 June, provided for better-class racing, and included in its programme such events as the Lingfield Spring Two-year-old Plate of £500, the High Class Selling Handicap of £300, and the Imperial Plate of £1,000, one and a quarter miles for three-year-olds, and the Eden Welter Handicap of a mile and a half. A month later, on 11 and 12 July, the most important meeting of the year was held, when the Lingfield Park Plate for three-year-olds, of the full value of £3,000, and over a mile and a quarter course, was the big attraction. This race came into existence in 1899, and was, in its first four years, run on the straight mile; the first winner, Harrow, created a mile record by covering the distance in 1 minute 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. It is said that a mile has since been run in faster time elsewhere, but the circumstance is worthy of note, because it shows

what a remarkably fast course the straight mile at Lingfield is. The American Colt Caiman was the next winner; Mackintosh, who secured the prize in 1901, was a really good horse, but unfortunately could not be kept long in training. He was followed by St. Windeline, who also won the One Thousand Guineas, and in 1903 Sir Ernest Cassel's Love Charm, a useful colt and a very genuine stayer, was the winner. On the second day of this meeting the Great Foal Plate of £1,000 for two-year-olds was the big event of the card.

A single-day meeting at the end of September had for its chief race the Lingfield Handicap of a mile, worth £400, and a single-day meeting a month later had a varied programme of races, which were attractive enough to draw large fields, but were of no great value. The last meeting of the year was held in the first week of November, and extended over two days, and again the fields were large, and the prizes somewhat small. The place does not draw big enough crowds to be able to afford large prizes, except for some particular races, but on the other hand there is no racecourse in the kingdom where the fields are regularly of such great size, and this speaks volumes for the popularity of Lingfield amongst owners and trainers.

POLO

Polo flourishes in Surrey, more especially on those grounds which are within convenient reach from London. The game was first played at RANELAGH in 1893, the management of its interests being entrusted to the late Mr. J. Moray Brown. For two seasons one ground sufficed; but the popularity of the game increasing with great rapidity, a second ground was opened at Ranelagh in the year 1895. The polo managership by this time had passed into the hands of Captain (then Mr.) E. W. Miller who, with the co-operation of his brothers Messrs. George and Charles Miller, made the game the principal attraction at Barn Elms.

The number of players continuing to increase, the four grounds available at Hurlingham and Ranelagh became quite unequal to their requirements: and in 1901 a strong syndicate of polo players commissioned Mr. Charles Miller to find a third resort. Thus it came about that the ROEHAMPTON Club near Barnes was established on a portion of the Grove House Estate, between the Roehampton and Priory Lanes, a site little, if at all, less beautiful than that of Ranelagh. This

club, with Mr. C. Miller as manager and secretary and Captain E. W. Miller as polo manager, achieved immediate success. It was opened in the spring of 1902, and enjoys the great advantage of possessing three full-sized polo grounds; so that it shares the patronage of players with its older neighbours, Ranelagh and Hurlingham.

The WIMBLEDON Club, established in 1900, with one ground, owes its support to the officers of the regiments of Foot Guards quartered in London.

The FETCHAM PARK Club at Leatherhead is the successor of the Ashtead Polo Club which was founded in 1887 by Mr. Walter Peake. In 1892 the Ashtead ground ceased to be available and the club migrated to Fetcham, where Mr. J. Barnard Hankey placed at its disposal a full-sized and very picturesque ground in his park.

Other clubs are: the LONDON, formed in the year 1899, whose ground is at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham; and the WORCESTER PARK, organised in 1901, with a ground at Worcester Park.

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SHOOTING

Surrey deserves to rank as a shooting county, though its claims do not rest on the dimensions of the bags made. In this respect Surrey shootings cannot compare with others; but the character of the country lends to the pheasant shooting a sporting quality which atones for more than numerical shortcomings in the head of game. The undulating ground and the number and area of the woodlands combine to encourage the 'tall' pheasant. A glance over the Losely Coverts, the Hambledon and Park Hatch Hangers, the Cosford and Witley Park Woods, and those at Peperharow, Lea Park, and Lythe Hill, shows at once that in such coverts the birds must fly high and afford really sporting shots. Bags on the average Surrey shooting are not large; and 200 head, of which 150 would probably be pheasants, in any of the places named means a thoroughly good day's sport; for he is a good shot who can show one bird for every two cartridges used, when the pheasants are flying strongly at the height usual on a typical Surrey shooting.

It is only during the last thirty years that the battue as now understood has become fashionable in the county. It was in vogue previously on some estates, but on very few indeed were bags approaching 100 pheasants made; in fact, until some time after the opening of the railways it was the practice of the owners either to let their shooting with the land at about sixpence or a shilling per acre, or to shoot over it themselves with the assistance of a pointer or setter and perhaps a man to carry the game. In those days the sportsman, after six or seven hours' walking, would return home with a brace of pheasants, a partridge, a hare, a couple of rabbits, and a woodcock, his dog too tired to hunt longer; every shot was then well earned and every bird was retrieved, though half an hour or more might be occupied in searching for it. Such was Surrey shooting until the early seventies, and it certainly afforded more healthy exercise than, and sport quite as true as, the modern system.

How different is the shooting of the present day! A considerable stock of hen pheasants is left at the end of the season; almost all their eggs are picked up and hatched under hens, and about the time when the cocks can be distinguished from the hens they are taken into the woods whence they are least likely to stray. Few are killed until the leaf is off in November, when perhaps

the first real day's shooting takes place; and an average bag for five or six guns would be 108 pheasants, 1 partridge, 1 hare, 24 rabbits, 1 woodcock. In the years 1897-8 on one shooting the bag was: 2,986 pheasants, 784 partridges, 109 hares, 413 rabbits, 28 woodcock. Between 1 January and 1 February in that year, both dates inclusive, 18 days' shooting produced an average bag of 120 pheasants, 9 partridges, 3 hares, 12 rabbits, 1 woodcock, the two best bags of pheasants being 600 and 336, and the smallest 20. In the year 1898-9 on the same shooting the bag was—2,433 pheasants, 260 partridges, 71 hares, 187 rabbits, 18 woodcock, the best bag in that year being 254 pheasants. In 1899-1900 the bag was—2,427 pheasants, 309 partridges, 74 hares, 259 rabbits, 21 woodcock.

This shooting included about 5,000 acres of land belonging to different owners but rented by one tenant. The land may be roughly classed as three-quarter arable and meadow and quarter woodland. Pheasants were extensively reared, but no eggs were bought after the first season, and no partridges were hand-reared. On one day three guns walked up and bagged 55 brace of partridges between 10.30 a.m. and 4.0 p.m., but in an average year 20 brace of birds may be considered a good bag for two or three guns to walk up in September.

This, it must be said, was a shooting larger than the Surrey average in point of area. Information which has been kindly furnished by owners and lessees shows that Surrey shootings as a general rule vary from about 700 to 2,000 acres, including woodland, arable and rough land. There are few large estates in the county of which the proprietors retain the shooting in their own hands. Lord Derby's shootings at Witley and Lord Onslow's at Clandon suggest themselves as the most prominent examples.

The latter estate has long been famous for the sport obtained. Evelyn writes in his *Diary*, August 23 1681:—

I went to Wotton and on the following day was invited to Mr. Denzil Onslow's at his seat at Purford, where was much company and such an extraordinary feast as I had hardly seen at any country gentleman's table. What made it more remarkable was that there was not anything save that his estate did afford: as venison, rabbits, hares, pheasants, partridges, pigeons, quail, poultry, all sorts of fowle in season from his own decoy near

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the house, and all sorts of fresh fish. After dinner we went to see sport at the decoy, where I never saw so many herons.

To return to the partridge shooting of Surrey at the present day. If after September the birds are fairly plentiful, driving is often resorted to; but there being so much woodland, it is very difficult to keep them out of the coverts. As long drives cannot be managed, the county cannot be considered suitable for this form of shooting; but if the flights of the birds are carefully studied, some very enjoyable short drives can be had, and thirty or forty brace of birds brought to bag.

Partridges are not extensively reared by hand in the county, and in very few instances have any birds been imported. A few Hungarians were turned down near Hambleton about ten years ago and some fine birds were produced in the district: but the blood appears now to have died out. The late Mr. Freshfield introduced this variety at Nore and Scotsland about the year 1901 but the effect on the stock has not yet (1903) been noticeable.

Partridge shooting has not undergone the same change as pheasant shooting, though dogs other than retrievers are not often used, pointers and setters being almost useless on account of the different methods adopted for cutting the corn. Straw, which years ago was held of small account, is becoming more and more useful, and even before the reaper came into fashion, the system of fagging instead of reaping the corn was adopted. This means that instead of leaving a stubble of twelve or eighteen inches high, the straw is now cut off as near as possible to the ground, which gives no chance to pointers unless the wind is in their favour; even then birds constantly will not lie to them. Furthermore, as shootings grew in demand they were broken up into smaller holdings, and pointers are more suitable for large properties.

It is undoubtedly true that birds are wilder than they used to be, but this is owing to the cover not being so good.

Some years ago it was customary to put bushes at intervals about the stubble directly after harvest to prevent the partridges being netted, but this form of poaching is now very rarely, if ever, resorted to; and the once familiar bushes are now seldom seen in Surrey. It is difficult to say when red-legs were first introduced, but it was probably about 1860—certainly at some date prior to 1870. In most places they have not

increased to any great extent during the last few years, but appear to have established themselves. They are to be found all over the county and have a particular liking for the heath lands, where they generally exceed in number the English birds.

A few landrails are generally killed in September when walking up the partridge, but they seem to grow scarcer.

Hares, formerly so numerous in some districts that fifty might be killed in a single day, are now far from plentiful. From many shootings they have disappeared altogether during the last few years. This is entirely owing to the operation of the Ground Game Act. Since that enactment was placed on the statute book, hares have been killed down unmercifully by the occupiers of land. They often travel far in a night for food, and unless an owner has a very large area of land in his own occupation he cannot preserve a fair head of hares. Almost every tenant kills them by every means in his power, except in a few districts where harriers or greyhounds are kept; and even in such localities they are scarce. They have decreased to a much greater extent than rabbits, for two reasons; they are much easier to catch and are of more value when caught.

Rabbits are plentiful throughout the county, especially in the woodland parts; but the soil for the most part being of a sandy nature they afford little sport in an ordinary day's shooting; although it is fairly easy to obtain good rabbit shooting after the majority of the pheasants have been killed off. They need only constant ferreting to make them lie out. Few owners however will allow many rabbits to exist, as they do so much damage both to the crops and the underwoods, and by damaging the underwoods they spoil, to a great extent, the pheasant shooting. Rabbits have not suffered so much as the hares through the passing of the Ground Game Act.

To no part of Surrey is the woodcock a frequent visitor; but occasionally these birds are found over the entire county save in the vicinity of London. Fourteen were killed in one day some few years ago on Lord Derby's property at Witley Park, and eight in one day somewhat later on Mr. Knowles' adjoining woods; but two or three in a day's bag is, as a rule, considered very good.

The most noted places for 'cock are—Witley Park and Whitmoor Valley; but those at Whitmoor are seldom found there in the day time, for though the birds like a damp place to feed at night they are also very fond of a dry retreat in the day; and those at

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Whitmoor are mostly found just over the Surrey border, at the Land of Nod, in Hampshire, where as many as thirteen were once counted on the wing at one time when the fox-hounds were drawing some small coverts dotted about in the heath.

Before game preserving was carried to its present pitch a great many 'cock were killed about the end of February and the beginning of March, when they were mating. These were shot by casual gunners, who would place themselves in the roads at likely places and, although the birds were only to be seen for about twenty minutes 'between the lights,' sometimes as many as three or four would fall to one gun. It has been stated that these late birds nested in this county, but this is not the case; woodcock are, as a rule, plentiful in some parts of Surrey about this time of the year, but a nest is of very rare occurrence. At Nore Brook and Witley Park nests have been found, and at the latter place the birds are known to have hatched and reared their young.

On the rivers and some of the ponds there are a few wild duck and teal; but they are not now as plentiful as formerly. At Peperharow and for some miles around there are still a number of wild duck, which nest chiefly in the long heath on the Thursley and Elstead Commons. Sometimes in winter considerable numbers of duck come to the ponds from the coast; but these are indifferent eating until they have been inland for some weeks. Wild duck do not often appear in the bag in an ordinary day's shooting, but by walking along the river it is not unusual to get several duck and two or three brace of snipe. By waiting in the evening at places where they come to feed two or three couples of duck can sometimes be shot. At a few places they are reared by hand, but these, as a rule, will not leave their native water, and afford poor sport, flying round and round, until shooting at them becomes monotonous.

At Peperharow there still exists an old decoy, but it is not now used. There is very little marsh land in the county and snipe are therefore rare; they may, as already said, be occasionally found near the rivers and streams, especially in frosty weather.

Both grouse and black game were introduced into the county about seventy years ago; but although the Surrey commons appear to resemble the moors of the North they do not furnish natural food for grouse, and the imported birds very soon died out.

Black game however remained for many

years, and were to be found up to within the last ten years, or later, in the neighbourhood of Thursley. Fifteen years ago it was not at all unusual to find them on the commons at Hindhead, Churt, Tilford and Thursley, and there is little doubt but that they would have remained had they been fairly preserved; they could be successfully reinstated perhaps if properly looked after. Two guns bagged three and a half brace of black game in one day near Hindhead about fifteen years ago. When once fully grown they become very wild, and it was very difficult to get within shot of them, but they suffered most when barely fledged. The commons not being well protected at that time, poachers knocked the young birds on the head; an easy matter, even after they had become quite large. They evidently either leave a very strong scent, or their scent is similar to that of a fox, for the foxhounds would always throw their tongue merrily on the scent of a blackcock. In former years it was a very common occurrence to see hounds suddenly start off full cry for about 100 or 200 yards, when a blackcock got up and the run was over! In later years, when these birds had become very uncommon, a huntsman who was new to the county would never believe that his hounds were hunting a blackcock though he might have seen the bird rise just in front of them.

In some seasons wood pigeons are very plentiful and afford capital sport. In winter they come for the acorns, when there is a good crop, but soon travel on after having cleared the country. If just the right day be chosen, and decoys used, many may be shot, but the ordinary sportsman seldom troubles about them. After the acorns are finished they sometimes turn their attention to the young seeds or turnip greens, and this as a rule is the best time to shoot them; several hundred may be killed at one place if the gunner takes care not to show himself more than he can help. Wood pigeons breed very extensively in the county, but the number of residents bears no proportion to that of the visitors in winter. Forty or fifty, mostly young birds, may often be killed in the corn and pea fields on an August afternoon.

During recent years some birds, which may be considered rare in the county, have been noticed. Two quails and a sheldrake were killed at Titsey in 1887. A curlew was once flushed at Witley Park. The pochard, pintail, and other species of duck sometimes visit the lakes and large ponds in winter.

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ANGLING

The more recent history of Thames angling, so far as the county of Surrey is concerned, may be said to date from the year 1838, when the Thames Angling Preservation Society was founded by a few friends in the neighbourhood of Twickenham. These having expressed to each other their regret that the fishing of late years in the river Thames afforded them so little sport owing to incessant poaching and destruction of the young broods and spawn—particularly during the fence season—suggested that if a proper representation of the facts were made to the then Lord Mayor (Sir John Cowan, Bart.) his lordship, in his capacity of ‘Conservator of the River Thames,’ might be induced to apply those powers already vested in him for the suppression of unlawful fishing. It was decided to hold a meeting and on 17 March, in the year mentioned, there assembled at the Bell Inn Hampton, the following gentlemen—Henry Perkins, of Hanworth Park; C. C. Clarke, of Twickenham; Edward Jesse, of Twickenham; Henry Jepson, of Hampton; W. H. Whitbread, of Eaton Square; Richard Kerry, of Hampton; and David Crole, of Strawberry Hill.

It was then and there resolved to form a society for the protection of fish from the poachers. Having made their intentions known to their friends and acquaintances, the united exertions of the gentlemen mentioned were thereafter devoted to accomplish the desirable object of improving their favourite amusement.

The foregoing is the account of the origin of the Society published in what is known as the ‘Annual Blue Book’ of the Thames Angling Preservation Society. In the thirties, and for many years afterwards, netting was allowed in practically all parts of the river, but in course of time it was found necessary to close portions of the Thames here and there to nets with the object of providing sanctuaries for the fish. Some few years ago netting was prohibited in the tideway above London except with regard to a few individuals who for many years had depended on netting as a means of livelihood. On the death of the last of these (we believe one or two still remain) licensed netting will cease so far as the Surrey portion of the river is concerned. The extent of the poaching carried on in the early days is evident from the fact

that in 1839 there were twenty-two prosecutions with fines amounting to £53, three nets were ordered to be burnt, and three men were sent to prison without the option of a fine.

Among the well-known men associated with the Thames Angling Preservation Society was the late F. T. Buckland, M.D., 2nd Life Guards, who, I see, from a circular before me bearing date 1861, was one of a sub-committee appointed to obtain from the two City Companies and the late Queen a reduction in the number of swans on the river, which were rightly believed to be devourers of enormous quantities of the eggs of fish. There were then counted on two miles of the river—Weybridge river to Chertsey bridge—no less than 173 of these birds. The result of the sub-committee’s exertions was the reduction of the Queen’s swans from 476 to 200, and those of the City Companies in like proportion.

In 1839, at the first annual dinner at the Bell Inn, Hampton, Mr. H. Warburton, M.P., stated that he and some friends intended to place grayling in the river. The fish were obtained and turned in, but did not establish themselves. Between 1860 and 1863 about 177 brace of grayling were also placed in the Surrey reaches of the Thames, but yielded no lasting results, though a few of the strangers were taken, mostly by gudgeon fishers, the largest weighing 3lbs. In 1860 Frank Buckland and Stephen Ponder commenced the artificial breeding of trout for the Thames Angling Preservation Society. Little was known on the subject in those days; the work was not wisely carried out and the Thames hardly benefited.

At the present day the King and the Prince of Wales are Patrons of the Thames Angling Preservation Society; the Vice-Patrons are the Duke of Northumberland and the Earl of Ducie; the President is the Hon. H. L. W. Lawson, whose private secretary, Mr. H. W. Higgins, has for some years now voluntarily given a large amount of work and attention to the heavy duties of honorary secretary. Perhaps the most remarkable work carried on by the Society is the occasional netting of the huge reservoirs which supply London and obtain their water supply from the Thames.

Thames trout fishing has been considerably improved by the efforts of this Asso-

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ciation, and is better now than at any period within living memory. Owing to the obstructions across the smaller tributaries—to which trout naturally go to breed—the natural increase of trout in the Thames has for some centuries been inconsiderable, but for fifty years or more large sums of money subscribed by the public have been spent in stocking not only this portion but also the upper reaches of the Thames with trout, with the result that a good many splendid fish are caught in the course of the season which commences on 1 April. Trout of less than 16 inches extreme length have to be returned to the water under the admirable fishing bye-laws.

With regard to angling generally in the Thames at the present day, it does not perhaps compare favourably with what it was half a century ago. This is in a large measure owing to the steam traffic, which invariably has a bad effect on a fishery, not only disturbing and alarming fish, but destroying their eggs and brood and injuriously affecting the various kinds of food on which they exist. Anglers too, have increased a hundred-fold during the last twenty years or so, and the open waters near London are more heavily fished than any others in the United Kingdom.

Among the principal fishing stations on the Thames in Surrey are Chertsey, Walton (long famous for its bream fishing and more particularly in a deep pool a little below the bridge), Sunbury Weir (one of the best spots for Thames trout in the Surrey portion of the river), and Molesey Weir, also a favourite place for trout fishers. Penton Hook and Chertsey are on the opposite side of the river, but must be mentioned, as in the neighbourhood of these places the trout fishing is some of the best in this portion of the Thames. Near Molesey a great many barbel are caught in favourable seasons. It is a peculiarity of the Thames barbel that it feeds much more eagerly in the lower reaches of the river than in Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire. There are, indeed, some weir-pools on the upper Thames where the barbel can be plainly seen, yet are hardly ever captured.

Near Molesey and Hampton Court the river Mole, which flows across the county, enters the Thames, and of this particular stream a word must be said presently. Passing down the river, we come next to Thames Ditton, Surbiton, and Kingston. From Molesey down to Teddington—an important reach—the river is for the most part of considerable depth, holding some heavy

fish which would be more often caught were the navigation less. At Teddington Lock there used to be an important lampern fishery, but this is not now carried on to any extent. Below Teddington the river swarms with dace, which may be caught with the fly or with float tackle. Other freshwater fish are comparatively scarce, but we constantly hear of smelts ascending from the sea and being caught in this portion of the tideway. If these delicate fish can make the ascent of the polluted portions of the Thames estuary, it is difficult to understand why salmon and sea trout should not also ascend.

For some years now there has been in existence a Thames Salmon Association, of which the most active members are the chairman, Mr. W. H. Grenfell, M.P., and Mr. Crosbie Gilbey, who, as an amateur fish-culturist, has hatched out at Denham near Colne many thousands of salmon eggs for the Association. A few thousand young salmon varying from one to two years of age have been turned in from time to time during the last three or four years, but no results have as yet been obvious, and it may very well be that the experiment has not been carried out on a sufficient scale to test the question. In Germany it is believed from observations made on the Weser, a river where there is said to be no natural increase of salmon, that of the young salmon turned in aged about four or five months, only three in a thousand returned to the river after their migration to the sea. Assuming this calculation to be correct, if the Thames Salmon Association turned in 6,000 samlets only about eighteen could reasonably be expected to return. It would be very possible to have eighteen grilse in the Thames without anybody being the wiser.

Before leaving the Thames for the other angling waters of Surrey, there are one or two points which may be lightly touched upon. The word 'Teddington' is usually supposed to be derived from the word 'tide-end-town,' for here it is, since the weir was erected, that the tide ends, though the upward flow of water is now checked by the comparatively modern half-tidal lock erected at Richmond. Mr. Lysons, however, has pointed out that for long after the name first occurs the place is called in all records 'Totyngton.' There seems no doubt, indeed, that many centuries ago when there was no weir at Teddington the tide ascended to a considerable distance, and may even have backed up the water and made its influence felt at Maidenhead. At that period the character

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of the Thames fishing in Surrey would be somewhat different to that which obtains at the present day.

Convents and monastic establishments, or their ruins, are found on many of our principal rivers, owing doubtless to the necessities of the Catholic Faith in connexion with fast days and fish eating. For instance on the spot now occupied by Sion House at Twickenham once stood Sion Convent. Near here the little river called the Crane flows into the Thames. It yields some very fair coarse fishing, but attempts which have been made to turn it into a trout stream have not met with very marked success. Of little interest from the angler's point of view is the junction of the river Wandle with the Thames at Wandsworth, for now, alas, this once beautiful trout stream is little better than a sewer in its lower reaches.

Of the Surrey portion of the Thames in the neighbourhood of London there is little of present day interest. Time was, as a picture still in existence informs us, when the citizens used to sit on the buttresses of old London Bridge and fish with huge floats. In those days an interesting fish known as shad used to ascend the Thames for spawning purposes; stray examples are still captured in the estuary many miles below London, but the river does not appear to be sufficiently pure for the fish to ascend, or it may very well be that they are deterred by the steam traffic. Time was, too, when the young eels or elvers used to enter the river in myriads every spring, but these mysterious fish are now scarce in the Thames, for the eel is a saltwater breeder, and once the ascent from the sea of the infant eels or elvers is stopped, the river becomes depopulated. There were anciently more or less important rights of salmon fishery connected with the Abbey of Westminster. The rights may still exist for all that is known to the contrary, but the fish have departed. Now and again a wandering salmon or seatrout is netted in the estuary many miles below London, but none visit the precincts of the old Abbey.

Next to the Thames the Medway is perhaps the most important river which touches Surrey, but it only flows across the south-eastern corner of the county, where it contains a few coarse fish. A curious Surrey river is the Mole, which after rising in Sussex at Horsham, soon enters our county and flows into the Thames at Hampton Court. It probably derives its name from its burrowing habits, for it breaks through the North Downs

between Dorking and Leatherhead and for a considerable distance vanishes completely underground. In places it contains quantities of coarse fish and affords very fair angling; here and there trout are caught. If judiciously treated, portions of it might be made into a very fair trout stream. But of trout streams, the Wandle was once the pride of Surrey and from a fly fisher's point of view one of the glories of England—flowing crystal pure and sweet, and producing trout of great beauty, with small heads and well rounded backs and bellies. Now, alas, except near its source the stream is polluted to such an extent that trout can no longer breed though a stock is maintained by artificial means. It is a great misfortune—few would condemn us if we wrote 'disgrace'—to Surrey that so much of the Wandle has been turned into a sewer for the disposal of the effluent from Croydon and other places.

Of some importance as an angling river is the Wey, which rises in Hampshire and enters Surrey below Farnham, where it yields a few trout. Some miles below Godalming a small tributary called the Tillingbourne enters it. Very soon we come to Guildford, then Woking, Wisley, and lastly Weybridge, where the river is lost in the Thames. For the most part it is a slow flowing stream containing coarse fish, and is notable for bream which used to be in great abundance in the neighbourhood of Bramley. Another minor stream enters the Wey at Weybridge. It is called the Bourne and rises near Bagshot.

There are, it need hardly be said, numerous sheets of water in private parks and elsewhere, all of which contain coarse fish, that is to say pike, perch, roach, tench, carp, and eels. Among the most notable are the Frensham Ponds, about five miles from Aldershot, lying in a hollow of the pine-topped hills. This water is about three-quarters of a mile in length and contains a goodly number of coarse fish. In Richmond Park are the well-known Penn Ponds which are noted for carp. One of the feeders of the river Mole is a lake known as Ifield Pond; it is situated near Crawley, and has been a noted angling resort. Then not far from the Thames at Weybridge is Oaklands Park lake, beloved by the skaters of the district, which is fairly well stocked with fish. Between Limpsfield and Godstone is a fine sheet of water known as Oxted Pond, which contains some large carp, and has from time to time been stocked with trout. Not far distant is the fine mill dam at Godstone where the writer caught his first pike and his first perch and learned to skate in days

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long ago. Lastly may be mentioned the lake in Wimbledon Park, on the bank of which many an honest London angler has spent the greater part of the night legering for the big and shy carp which it contains.

These remarks upon angling in Surrey would not be complete without some mention of the Surrey Trout Farm, which was founded by the late Mr. Thomas Andrews, of Guildford, who was one of the earliest and most success-

ful of our English fish culturists. The eggs, which were hatched (practically in the town of Guildford) in his garden, ultimately in the form of fry were transferred to ponds at beautiful Cricmere and other parts of Surrey, and the trout which have been produced in this way have long been celebrated in the south of England for their size and excellence owing to the splendid natural feeding qualities of the waters selected.

ATHLETICS

A very large number of athletic meetings are held in Surrey. By far the largest and most important athletic club is the South London Harriers, which has a membership of nearly four hundred athletes, active and honorary. Its headquarters are at Croydon, and its annual sports fixture, which takes place at Kennington Oval in the autumn after the close of the County Cricket season, ranks second only to the Amateur Championships in importance. Sir T. C. Bucknill is a vice-president and a staunch supporter of the club. During the winter the South London Harriers go in for much cross-country work, and invariably run a team in the Southern and National Cross-Country Championships. The club motto is 'Fortuna sequatur,' and the date of its foundation 1870.

Still dealing with the Metropolitan district, a well-appointed ground at Putney has in connexion with it a fairly strong club, the Putney A. C., but its members are for the most part cyclists, the banked cement Putney track being much used by wheelmen for training purposes. The club was only established about the year 1893; it now holds several meetings during the year on its own ground. A very much older club, the Ranelagh Harriers, founded in 1881 with a membership of 130, also has its headquarters at Putney, near Wimbledon Common, where every Saturday during the winter the members indulge in cross-country paper-chases and runs. In the same district, and but a very short distance from the Ranelagh men, is to be found the pioneer club and originator of all cross-country running, namely, the Thames Hare and Hounds, whose members during the winter months make the King's Head at Roehampton their rendezvous. The Thames Hare and Hounds Club dates from 1868. It was founded by Mr. Walter Rye, the Walking Amateur Champion of that year, with the object of encouraging winter paper-chasing simply as a healthy exercise,

without the inducement of valuable prizes and personal rewards. The club for a long time had the monopoly of the Cross-Country Championship, winning the first contest for that title in 1877, but gradually, as new harrier clubs were formed, the Thames Hare and Hounds lost their supremacy, withdrew from the National Cross Country Association soon after its formation, and confined their attention solely to their own club runs. Although the club still exists, the membership is small, and it has quite dropped out of the circle of cross-country competitions except against the University teams.

One more Surrey Metropolitan club remains to be mentioned: the youngest of them all, the Herne Hill Harriers, having for its headquarters the Herne Hill Athletic and Cycling grounds close to the well-known railway junction of that name. The club has a large membership, is run on popular lines, and its colours, red and black, are rarely absent from any important athletic meeting in the London district. Richmond, although it possesses a capital ground and track on the site of the Old Deer Park, easy of access from the Metropolis, has no athletic club in connection with the town, and but few athletic meetings are held there. In the winter, however, it is entirely devoted to Football and International matches. In the sixties, however, the Richmond Athletic Sports, arranged by the R. F. C., the leading Rugby club of the period, was one of the chief athletic fixtures of the season. Surbiton, although without an athletic club proper, annually in the spring holds an athletic meeting managed by the various other clubs of the district, which always attracts most of the best men of the day and is very largely attended.

Every year at Wimbledon athletic sports are held by some cycle club or other cricket or football organization, but the meetings are not important, and the want of a good ground

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is one of the chief causes why athletics proper do not flourish in this district. Indeed outside the London radius athletic clubs and grounds are very few and far between. Horley up to a few years ago boasted a fairly prosperous club and ground, but local interest waned and the club is now defunct. Chertsey and Epsom have harrier clubs and annual athletic meetings, but the latter do not aspire to anything beyond local support both as regards spectators and competitors, and foot-racing cannot be said to flourish in either locality. Hershham, near Walton-on-Thames, held a well-attended open athletic sport fixture at Burvale; in 1902 a club was formed to encourage running, and its membership is rapidly increasing. Woking is another new and recent addition to the list of A. A. A. affiliated clubs, and its annual Whit Monday Meeting is always a success. At Mitcham, Ewell, Sutton, Leatherhead, Carshalton and Beddington athletic sports are held every year, the local football or cricket club being responsible for the management; but with the exception of Leatherhead on Easter Monday the various races and events are confined to the district, and have little bearing on the athletic history and championships of the year. The same may now be said of Dorking, although formerly the fixture was well supported by some of the best of the Metropolitan runners.

Reigate, with a capital ground recently laid out and a newly-formed harrier club

appears likely to become in the near future an important athletic centre. The club holds annually a couple of most important fixtures on its new enclosure, at one of which the Mile Champion, A. Shrubbs, made a record which, but for a trifling informality, would have been passed by the governing body. Three of the running championships of Surrey are decided at the annual Whit Monday Meeting of the Guildford Athletic Club held on their own ground in the centre of the town. This is one of the best managed and most popular fixtures in the county. The neighbouring town of Godalming also used to hold an annual athletic meeting until the year 1893.

Two other old established and rapidly improving meetings are those of Chiddingfold and Farnham. They are both admirably managed and every year attract an increasing number of entries from prominent athletes. The athletic records of Surrey would not be complete without reference to the fact that for one or two seasons the National and Southern Counties Cross-Country Championships were decided at Ockham, and that in 1902 and 1903 the National and the Southern Cross-Country Championship executives found in Lingfield racecourse the best and most suitable ground for these severe tests of pace and stamina. Having regard to its area an exceptionally large number of athletic meetings are held within the county of Surrey.

GOLF

The county of Surrey is the cradle of English golf. The first regularly organized Golf Club in the county, apart from the Royal Blackheath Club, founded in 1608, dates from the year 1866. This is the London Scottish on Wimbledon Common. Its establishment was followed a short time afterwards by the Royal Wimbledon Golf Club. At that time these two influential clubs, and one older institution, embraced the majority of golfers in and around London. For the most part the golfers of those early years were exiled Scots who had elected to come on a civilizing mission southwards, who had brought their national game with them, and who had chosen with magnanimous disinterestedness, to bear the self-imposed burden of teaching their English brethren the game. If their labours are to be measured by the statistics of to-day their success in Surrey must be pronounced unqualified, for their example soon proved contagious.

The county began, after an interval of indifferent scrutiny, to appreciate at their true value the virtues of the Royal and ancient game.

During a period of twenty years there were only four golf clubs in Surrey—Blackheath, the London Scottish, the Royal Wimbledon, and Clapham Common. Those were the years between 1866 and 1886; and outside this area no golf was played under the auspices of a regularly organized club. Following the ancient precedent set in Scotland, the golfers in the county chose the public commons upon which to play their game. But there was a great difference in the conditions prevailing in Surrey and those in Scotland. Golf was the national game of Scotland; it had been played from time immemorial on the commons, generally close to the sea-shore. All classes of the people understood the game, and they extended to the players a wide and generous toleration in its

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pursuit. On the Surrey commons the case was different. The game was a strange and weird importation. It was not in the least understood, and where there was a faint glimmering of knowledge among small sections of the population, the spirit revealed was as a general rule frankly hostile. The public considered it to be the correct thing to 'field' the golfer's ball. Obliging mothers of hopeful sons would invite their boys to pick up the ball lying near the hole on the putting green and run back with it 150 yards to the player who, for a moment, had congratulated himself that a splendid shot from a difficult lie had met with its reward. That excess of polite consideration could be borne; but it was less easy, in a resigned spirit to contend against the stolid assertion of those who claimed the right to pitch the miniature family wickets on the best kept putting green, who turned a wilfully deaf ear to warning cries of 'Fore,' and who met the gentle remonstrances of the golfers with a threat to call the police. The local authorities were petitioned to suppress golf as a dangerous game, and ridicule was heaped upon the pastime of the golfer by cataloguing his golf clubs as implements of 'horse dentistry.' The time soon came, therefore, when golf on the public commons in the immediate neighbourhood of London was controlled by the local authorities. First a by-law was passed making it obligatory on the part of a single or foursome to employ a fore-caddie, bearing a red flag, to go ahead and warn the public in the line of the flight of the ball. That system, however, did not work quite successfully. There were always contumacious members of the public to foment a real or fancied grievance about the sacrifices which were being exacted from the people in order to minister to the privileged amusement of a small band of golfers. A steady stream of complaints and memorials poured in to the County Council, with the result in time that the playing of golf on the commons was limited either to certain days of the week—as is the case at Wimbledon—or to certain hours in the morning—as is the case now on Clapham, Tooting, and Streatham Commons.

The golfers were thus compelled to go farther afield. The game on the public commons had at best been only tolerated, and the growth of suburban London with the rapid extension of the tramway system brought such crowds of visitors to the commons at holiday times and on Saturdays as to make the game intolerable to the players and a danger to the public. The first Parliamentary Tournament was played over

Tooting Bec Common, and in one of the matches which Mr. Balfour played one Saturday afternoon a large crowd assembled to see him play. The people were much more intent upon scanning a distinguished public man at close quarters than in following the intricacies of a game about which they knew nothing and cared less: and all unwittingly, of course, they seriously incommoded the players.

In addition, however, to the drawback of an ever-increasing crowd, the 'jerry-builder' was busy converting surrounding estates into small towns. The finely-wooded estates surrounding Clapham and Tooting Commons were cut up into rectangular lengths of streets of working-class houses, the youthful inhabitants of which made the commons their football and cricket ground.

The two clubs that still play over Wimbledon Common may be fitly looked upon as the pioneers of the widespread popular movement in favour of golf which has increased year by year throughout the whole of the county. By a regimental Order issued from the headquarters of the London Scottish volunteers on 2 May 1866 it was stated, 'The commanding officer has sanctioned the formation of a London Scottish golf club, and has appointed the following committee—Private A. G. Mackenzie, Lieutenant Fisher, Private Dudgeon, and Private Usher; Armourer-Sergeant Kerr, Treasurer. Subscription is 5s. a year, payable on St. Andrew's Day.' This Order was signed by Captain and Adjutant S. Flood Page. The golf club stood precisely on the same footing as the curling and other regimental clubs. All resolutions of the golf club were submitted to the commanding officer for approval. After a time this authority seems to have been disputed, and alterations were made in the constitution of the club in its relation to the regiment. In 1871, when the regiment added to the shooting accommodation of the Iron House for the convenience of golfers, a meeting was held, with the Earl of Wemyss in the chair, at which an agreement was drawn up stating that the London Scottish Golf Club became tenants of their rooms at the Iron House at the rent of £10 per annum. The Commanding Officer was to be President of the club, and all rules, by-laws, and arrangements of the club were subject to his approval. It was out of the internal dissensions created by the military government of the club that a couple of years later the Royal Wimbledon Golf Club was formed at the Wimbledon end of the Common, the London Scottish playing from the Iron House at the Putney end.

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For a long period of years these two clubs, joined with the Royal Blackheath, were the influential governing authorities of the game in the neighbourhood of London. Though restricted by the Conservators to the playing use of the Common on three days a week only—Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday—the membership of each club is numerous, as well as being representative of the highest golfing skill. Each club has had for a long time upwards of 300 members on its roll, and the fact that each club charges an entrance fee of £10 10s. with an annual subscription of £3 3s. attests sufficiently the popularity of the game and the desire to obtain adequate facilities to play it within easy reach of town. Among those who have been associated with the fortunes of the London Scottish Club are the venerable Earl of Wemyss. In the earlier days of golf he was one of the keenest playing members, but since the Conservators passed a by-law in the interests of public safety that every golfer playing on the Common must wear a red coat Lord Wemyss has not played there.¹ But Lord Wemyss did not sever his connection with the club. His box containing his old-fashioned set of clubs, all of them in wood, is still there, and the club has recognised his services as one of the pioneers of the game, not only in Surrey but in England, by electing him Hon. Captain. Mr. A. J. Balfour has been a member since 1885, and some years ago when the cares of State were less exacting than they are to-day, he often played at Wimbledon in the company of his brother, Mr. Gerald Balfour, M.P., and Sir Robert Finlay (the Attorney-General). Sir David Baird of Newbyth, Sir George Newnes, M.P., Colonel Eustace Balfour, the Duke of Argyll, and the Hon. Percy Wyndham are some of the better known public men who have long been associated with Wimbledon as golfers. Among the members who have figured in championships and other important tournaments are Messrs. James, John and George Duncan (brothers), Mr. D. Stanley Froy, Mr. T. R. Pinkerton, Mr. Kenneth Brown (captain in 1903), and Mr. F. H. Newnes. Attached to the Royal Wimbledon Club either as past or present members are or have been Mr. Horace Hutchinson, Mr. Andrew Lang, Mr. Mure Fergusson, Mr. J. A. Fairlie, Dr. Laidlaw Purves, the Earl of Darnley (then Mr. Ivo Bligh), Mr. Alfred

Lubbock, Mr. Norman Foster, Mr. J. L. Ridpath, Mr. Arthur Molesworth, and the late Mr. Henry A. Lamb, while J. H. Taylor, the well-known professional and ex-open champion, was for several years attached to the club.

The course over which the members play has been changed several times since the inauguration of the game at Wimbledon. When golf was first started on Wimbledon Common, Willie Dunn, a well-known Scottish professional, was brought over from Blackheath to plan out a course. Dunn laid out eighteen holes round the outskirts of the Common, but this course being over three miles, was found too long, and too expensive to maintain. It was curtailed to seven holes, laid out a short distance round the Windmill and back to the Iron House. The club, however, grew in prosperity and membership, and a few years later Tom Dunn, a North Berwick professional engaged by the club, extended the course at first to fifteen, and later to eighteen holes; and this course was played over until 1901, when another change was made. Many of the holes skirted the open ground near the public roads. In the intervening years the population had been steadily pressed out towards the Common, with the result that the players were often greatly incommoded by pedestrians who, in turn, ran no little risk of injury from the golf balls. With the consent of the Conservators four new holes were made among the rough heath and bracken west of the Windmill, on ground not much frequented by the general public. Another change affecting the London Scottish was the demolition of the old Iron House which had served as their quarters for thirty years. When the shooting competitions of the National Rifle Association were transferred to Bisley the volunteer target practice on Wimbledon Common was abolished and the Iron House was no longer needed. It has been razed to the ground, and the golfers in 1896 took a forty years' lease of a piece of land within the enclosure at the Windmill, upon which they erected a very handsome club-house at a cost of £3,000.

The Clapham Golf Club comes next to Wimbledon in seniority. It was instituted in 1872, and for many years in its early history it included among its members a fair sprinkling of first-class players whose playing career has since become associated with later and more important greens. But when the game of golf was played on Clapham Common the governing authority of this open space was the old Metropolitan Board of Works; and with the exception of one or two made foot-

¹ Up to a time within living memory the wearing of the red coat was an obligation forced on all golfers in Scotland under a system of fines and penalties imposed by the clubs.

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paths the condition of the Common was largely as nature had left it, with beautiful undulations, and dotted with clumps of bracken and gorse which afforded capital guards to the putting greens. The soil is dry and porous, and rain has not much effect upon it, even in winter. The area of the Common is 220 acres, and the golfers laid out a very interesting and diversified course of nine holes on the west side near the estate of Broomwood. The Common was then surrounded by large mansions in beautifully wooded parks. Now the several causes already mentioned have driven the golfer into a small corner. The club still exists, but the golf enjoyed is a poor substitute for the varied picturesqueness of the old course. Play, moreover, is restricted to certain hours in the early morning.

The exodus from Clapham led to the formation in 1888 of the Tooting Bec Club on the neighbouring common. The ground here was wilder, more picturesque, and more retired than Clapham; indeed, it was quite a common occurrence for the golfer in the course of his round to start rabbits out of the whin bushes when searching for a lost ball. Here a club was formed, largely recruited from the old Clapham club; and for a few years its playing existence was a happy one. But the same inexorable fate overtook Tooting. The tramways were carried out to Streatham, and on Saturday afternoons the cars unloaded hundreds in search of a rural walk and fresh air. The public squeezed the golfers off Tooting as at Clapham, and the interesting eighteen-hole course laid out by Tom Dunn among the bushes had to be abandoned. The club grew so rapidly in membership that the Committee decided to lease at an annual rent of £455 a portion of the neighbouring estate of Furzedown, the property of Sir Charles Seely. The ground is clay, soft and heavy in winter, but yielding fine, hard, grassy lies in summer. Tom Dunn, the professional to the club, used the natural advantages of the ground to the utmost, planning out a fine sporting course.

The Tooting Bec Club was the first to acquire a private golf course in the neighbourhood of London. That example has since been followed by numerous clubs, though the experiment at Tooting was felt to be a hazardous one at the time. In addition to building a large and commodious club-house at a cost of £3,700, the private property of the club, £1,700 were spent in draining the ground, making bunkers, and re-laying putting greens. The club prospered so quickly that until within a year or

two ago, when its lease of ground began to expire, its membership exceeded 500, the entrance fee being £15 15s., and the annual subscription £3 3s. For the first five or six years of its existence the Parliamentary Tournament was held on the Tooting course. The Marquis of Granby, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Sir Charles Tennant, Mr. Hayes Fisher, Mr. Samuel T. Fisher, Mr. W. H. Forster have all been captains of the club, and its roll of membership includes the majority of the golfing members of both Houses of Parliament. But here again the rising tide of population has overtaken the golfer. The lease of the club expires in 1906, and it will not be renewed by the landlord. The ground has been mapped out for streets.

As the golfers were being pressed farther and farther out into the county, the next space chosen was Mitcham Common. In the spring of 1892 the Prince's Golf Club was formed here. Mr. Balfour was the President, and the Committee included among others Sir William Hart Dyke, M.P., Sir Herbert Maxwell, M.P., Lord Edward Cecil, Grenadier Guards, the Marquis of Granby, Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, Mr. Cosmo Bonsor, M.P., Mr. T. W. Legh, M.P. (now Lord Newton), and Mr. Hwfa Williams. Mitcham Common is about six miles in circumference, the sub-soil is gravel, and the ground dries rapidly in wet weather. Tom Morris, of St. Andrew's, reported it suitable in every way for a golf course. He and Tom Dunn, the professional of the Tooting Bec Club, planned out a course of eighteen holes, covering a distance of 6,325 yards; a club-house was erected overlooking the platform of the railway station of the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway, and the membership rapidly reached 300. To-day the membership stands at 700, with an entrance fee of £10 10s., and an annual subscription of £5 5s. Members of Prince's Racquet and Tennis Club, the Guards' Club, the Marlborough, St. James's, Bachelors', Arthur's, Brooks' and White's clubs are eligible for election without being proposed or seconded.

The club bought up certain manorial rights, and a lease giving the right to make a course and play golf on the Common was obtained from the Common Conservators. At this time Mitcham Common was one of the most picturesquely rugged pieces of country in the neighbourhood of London; a waste of whin, swamp, and yawning gravel pits. It was subject to certain manorial rights and commoner's servitudes, such as liberty to graze cattle belonging to the parishioners; but as a place of public recrea-

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tion, or as a cricket or football ground, it was not to be thought of. For very many years the available portions of the Common had been literally carted away in the gravel carts, while the other portions of the Common were dense growths of whin. There was no attempt locally, corporate or otherwise, to improve this condition of affairs, until the golfers appeared upon the scene. The Prince's Golf Club spent thousands of pounds in improving and beautifying this waste. The swamps were drained and filled up, the carting of gravel was stopped, the gipsies, who made the Common impossible for any woman to walk through alone, were pushed further afield, and a beautiful golf course was carved out of the immense stretch of whins. Tons of soil were carted to fill up the excavations made for gravel. Indeed it is owing to the enterprise of the golfers at Mitcham that the inhabitants are able to use the Common at all, for it happens that the portions used to-day for public recreation and as the feeding ground of the commoners' cattle are mainly found where the putting-greens and other clearings in the whins have been made. Though the advantages arising from the appearance of the golfers at Mitcham are indisputable, a local agitation against the club was attempted in 1894. Letters appeared in the newspapers complaining that the game was dangerous to the public, that the appearance of the Common was being altered, that the sum of £60 paid to the conservators for the lease was paltry, and that, in short, a wholesale spoliation of public rights was being attempted. A threat was made to make 'Golf or no golf' at Mitcham a test question for the election of Conservators at the local elections in April of that year. The storm, however, blew over. The amateur record of the course is held by Mr. Horace Hutchinson.

In the ten years between 1886 and 1895 golf clubs grew with great rapidity throughout all districts of the county. These new institutions for the most part avoided utilizing the public commons near the towns. Repeated experience had shown that the duration of tenure, under such conditions, was so short as to make it highly inexpedient to undertake any great outlay in making a course. With the exceptions already mentioned, the commons at present utilized for golf are so far removed that there is no danger of the public seriously molesting the players. These are places like Epsom, where a club with 250 members has been established since 1889, Limpsfield Chart (a Kent and Surrey word for 'wooded waste-land') nearly 550 feet

above sea-level, Kenley Common, Claygate Common, the Sutton Club, which plays on the highest part of Banstead Downs, Purley Downs, Hankley Common, near Farnham, where the course commands lovely views of the country, Ashted, Esher Common, Earlswood Common, and the Merrow Downs at Guildford. On these places the game is played to the highest advantage both in respect of situation, the character of the ground, and the absence of interference. The golf clubs, moreover, have long been recognized by local inhabitants, who were once opposed to them, as a substantial aid to local prosperity, for the game attracts well-to-do residents. But in other portions of the county the new golf clubs lease for seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years a suitable piece of land and make a private course. The owner usually leases his land at a fairly moderate rental; and if the ground is highly suitable for the game the future prosperity of the club is assured. Under this system of leasehold ownership many of the most important golf clubs have been constituted. For example, there are the two large and influential clubs at Richmond. Formed in 1891, the Richmond Golf Club leased the whole of Sudbrook Park, including the old mansion house once a Royal residence and now the headquarters of the club. A great deal of money has been spent in making one of the most beautiful, and from a golfing point of view, one of the most interesting courses in Surrey. The membership of the club is 400, at an entrance fee of ten guineas, and an annual subscription of five guineas; and frequently at Sudbrook Park, in the summer months when Parliament is in session, Lord Chancellor Halsbury, Mr. Speaker Gully, and Lord Shand, may be seen playing a round. The Mid-Surrey Golf Club, whose course is in the Old Deer Park at Richmond, was formed in 1892, and its entrance fee and subscription are the same as the other club. The membership is limited to 450, and there are always plenty of candidates for vacancies. The club rents from the Crown 300 acres of the Park, the soil being sand and gravel, and highly suitable for golf purposes. The professional attached to the club is J. H. Taylor, three times Open Champion, one of the most brilliant players the game has ever produced. The record of the green is 70, held by H. Vardon, another Open Champion. Another important club started the year following is the Woking Club, which plays over one of the best of inland golf courses at Hook Heath, two miles from the railway station. The limit of the member-

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ship is 350, the entrance fee being seven guineas and the subscription three guineas. Its playing members are drawn largely from the Bar; and among those who play there are Mr. Justice Kekewich, Sir Robert Reid, K.C., M.P., Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, K.C., M.P., and Mr. Gerald Balfour, M.P., who has recently built a residence in the neighbourhood of the golf course.

Perhaps the most unique golf course in Surrey, or indeed anywhere in the country, is that of the New Zealand Golf Club at Byfleet. The course has been carved out of a pine forest, and though doubts were expressed at the time it was opened, in May, 1895, whether it would ever be made suitable for play, subsequent experience has justified the faith of those responsible for its creation. It has become one of the most popular clubs in the county. The making of this course arose out of a challenge made to Mr. H. Locke King, of Brooklands, an extensive landowner in the neighbourhood, that his property near Byfleet could not in any circumstances be turned into a golf course. The challenge was accepted, and after eighteen months of arduous labour the present course of three and a half miles was cut through the woods. Mr. Mure Fergusson, helped by Douglas Rolland, a well-known professional, bore the brunt of the labour connected with the formation of the course and in making the club the success it is. The soil is sandy and the turf is as good as can be found at the seaside. The membership is 300, with an entrance fee of five guineas and three guineas subscription. Byfleet is one of the most popular resorts near the Metropolis for Sunday play.

There were in the year 1903 forty golf clubs in the county officially chronicled in the directory, and others were then in process of formation. This number does not include the large number of ladies' clubs which, as a rule, are formed at the same time as those of the men, and are managed by a committee of the ladies' own election. These ladies'

clubs have very frequently a separate clubhouse and a separate course, and they are therefore separate organizations in all respects, except that sometimes the ladies are indebted for a little friendly business supervision from the men. The two most influential ladies' clubs are the Prince's Ladies at Mitcham and the Royal Wimbledon Ladies on Wimbledon Common, a club which was formed so far back as 1872. Both these ladies' clubs have separate courses and separate club-houses, and among the players in each club are to be found some of the best lady players in the country. The members belonging to these two clubs were mainly instrumental in instituting the Ladies' Championship and in founding the affiliation of the Ladies' Golf Clubs all over the kingdom known as the Ladies' Golf Union. Among the names of ladies who have done much to promote the highest interests of ladies' golf in the county as well as generally, are Miss Issette Pearson, Mrs. H. C. Willock, Mrs. Cameron, the Misses Tyrwhitt Drake, Miss Frere, Mrs. Lyndhurst Towne (*née* Miss Lena Thomson, a winner of the Ladies' Championship), Miss Pascoe, Miss M. E. Phillips, and Miss Kenyon Stow. Their labours to promote the Golf Union and to watch over the interests of ladies' golf have been greatly aided by the valuable counsel and experience of Dr. Laidlaw Purves, Mr. Norman Foster, and other gentlemen connected with the Royal Wimbledon Club. The Prince's Ladies have an exceedingly interesting private course on Mitcham Common, in acquiring which they are much indebted to the efforts of Miss Grace Langley and Mr. Samuel T. Fisher. The Surrey ladies are not only ahead of the men in having thus early founded a Golf Union to regulate their competitions, rules and handicaps, but they have long since begun a series of inter-county championship matches with other districts in the country. They have thus been the pioneers in the ladies' golf movement begun ten years ago.

CRICKET

Surrey men are proud, and with reason, of the distinguished part their county has played in the history of our national game. Long before the Hambledon Club came into existence Surrey cricketers had won fame above their fellows. When the game was first regularly played in the county it is not easy to determine. That it was one of the amusements of Surrey schoolboys over three

hundred years ago is beyond dispute. The official records of the City of Guildford furnish proof positive of this. The following extract is from Russell's *History of Guildford*, which is to be seen reproduced in facsimile in the Pavilion at the Oval—

'Anno 40 Eliz. 1598 John Derrick, Gent., one of the Queen's Majesties Coroners of the County of Surrey aged fifty-nine saith this land before



A CRICKET BAT IN 1729.



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mentioned lett to John Parrish Innholder deceased that he knew it for fifty years or more. It lay waste and was used and occupied by the inhabitants of Guildford to saw timber in and for Sawpits and for making of frames of timber for the said inhabitants. When he was a scholler of the Free School of Guildford he and several of his fellows did run and play there at Crickett and other plaies and also that the same was used for bating of bears in the said towne until the said John Parrish did inclose the said Parcell of land.¹

This evidence of one of the Queen's Majestie's Coroners of the county establishes the fact that 'crickett,' however crude, was familiar to the schoolboys of the middle of the sixteenth century. The literature of the next few generations contains few if any allusions to cricket. The inference is that for a long time, perhaps a century or more, it did not advance beyond the status of a schoolboy game. There is presumptive evidence that by the end of the seventeenth century it was gaining popularity among men. A quaint announcement in one of the London papers, published in March 1700, gives bold advertisement to the fact that 'a match at cricket of ten Gentlemen on each side was to be played on Clapham Common on Easter Monday.' Clapham Common then was evidently little known, for the notice takes pains to specify that it is near Fox Hall, which can be no other than Vauxhall Gardens, one of the favourite resorts of all classes about that period.

With the opening of the eighteenth century cricket undoubtedly gained a firm hold on that part of Surrey bordering on the Metropolis. Walworth Common, as well as Kennington Common, now Kennington Park, were frequently the scenes of matches, and by this time the game had spread to more remote parts of the county.

Already Richmond and Mitcham had made names for themselves as cricket nurseries. Mitcham was then laying the foundation of the reputation which it has maintained to the present day. A little later, about 1730, the Richmond Club was running it close in popular favour. Both clubs were strong enough to play the London Club, which had its headquarters at the Artillery Ground, Finsbury, the first enclosure on which matches of importance were played, so far as records tell us. In 1736 we find the gentlemen of London playing the gentlemen of Mitcham at Mitcham, and beating them. A year later the combined forces of London

and Surrey were beaten on Kennington Common by Kent, the Prince of Wales being backer of the former, and Lord Sackville of the latter.

The London Club, which had for its chief patron Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales, was then mainly dependent for its success on Surrey cricketers. A generous supporter of the game, the Prince of Wales was particularly liberal in his favour to Surrey cricket and cricketers. He took a most active interest even, it is said, to the extent of selecting the Surrey elevens. In any case, it may fairly be claimed that his munificent support induced a great number of the aristocracy of the period to take up the game.

Though the cricket records of the middle of the eighteenth century are disappointingly scanty, it is certain that Surrey played in a large number of matches of which no details, or at least no full scores, were published.

By this time there were clubs, and strong clubs too, all over the county. The Addington Club was perhaps the best; indeed for several years its performances entitled it to a place in the foremost rank. In the twenty years ending 1750, as far as we can find, Surrey played England five times without a reverse. The chief Surrey cricketers at this period were Stephen Dengate, Thomas Faulkner, the brothers Harris, Joseph and John, and John Frame, who was a prominent figure in the cricket field in the latter half of the century, and was one of the best players in the days when the Hambledon Club was at its zenith. The Hambledon Club itself, though its headquarters were of course in Hampshire (first on Windmill Down, and subsequently on Broad Halfpenny Down), was in great measure indebted to Surrey players for the brilliant reputation it enjoyed for so many years. William Beldham, Tom Robinson, Tom Suiter, Tom Walker, and the two Smalls, were a few of the Surrey men who contributed to the greatness of the Hambledon Club. Contemporary with the rise of the Hambledon Club came a sudden check to the progress of Surrey as a cricket county. The death of the Prince of Wales from the effect of a blow received from a cricket ball in 1750 was no doubt to some extent the cause of the temporary disappearance of Surrey from the records of the game. Whether this were the reason or not, the fact remains that for over twenty years from 1750 there was practically a blank in Surrey cricket, that is as a county. On the other hand, clubs of importance had come into existence all over Surrey.

¹ *History of Guildford* (J. and S. Russell, 1801), p. 202.

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Mention has already been made of the Addington Club, which numbered among its members at one time four of the best all-round cricketers—Thomas Faulkner, George Jackson, John and Joseph Harris. But there were many others of hardly less influence distributed all over the county in districts so wide apart as Barnes and Bramley, Cheam and Chertsey, Egham and Lingfield, Moulsey Hurst and Ripley, Mitcham and Farnham.

Even the glories of the Hambledon Club, as has already been pointed out, were in the main the work of Surrey rather than Hampshire cricketers. 'Surrey' in the old scores, says the author of the *Cricket Field*, meant nothing more than the Farnham parishes. This corner of Surrey, in every match against all England, was reckoned as part of Hampshire, and Beldham truly said, 'You find us regularly on the Hampshire side in Bently's Book.' The latter part of the eighteenth century found many of the highest men in the land enthusiastic in their support of cricket and Surrey cricketers. The principal grounds in the county itself were Moulsey Hurst and Holt Pound near Farnham. The latter, which had been made by David Harris, the Surrey cricketer, for Lord Stowell, shared with Moulsey Hurst the monopoly of the best cricket in the county. The Earl of Tankerville was one of the great patrons of Surrey cricket from 1770 till 1780.

It was the custom for the patrician supporters of the game to find employment for the principal players. 'The active Earl of Tankerville,' as he was called, did his duty nobly in this direction, retaining Lumpy and Bedster, two of the best Surrey players of the period, in his service as butler and gardener respectively.

Another famous ground about the time was Laleham Burway Ground at Chertsey. It was here that Surrey played Kent on 11 and 12 June 1773, the first fully recorded match of eleven a side in the history of Surrey cricket.

The game, it is said, was the outcome of a challenge issued by the Earl of Tankerville on behalf of Surrey. In any case he was one of the principal scorers on the side of his county, which won by 35 runs. The Surrey eleven on that occasion included, in addition to Lumpy and William Yalden, Thomas White, the great wicket-keeper of his day, generally known as Stock White, who for many years was quite one of the most successful batsmen of his time. The retirement of the Earl of Tankerville in or about 1781 deprived Surrey cricket of a friend in every

sense of the word. Fortunately only a few years elapsed before a capable successor appeared in the person of the Earl of Winchilsea; a good player himself, Lord Winchilsea not only befriended Surrey cricketers in more ways than one, but led them with great skill on the field. He was one of the safest batsmen in a side of run-getters. How strong Surrey was just at the end of the eighteenth and at the commencement of the nineteenth centuries its brilliant record against England from 1793 to 1817 will show.

Several times Surrey's eleven played thirteen of England, and twice in 1800 and 1809 the county was able to lend its best all-round player, William Beldham, to England, and still win.

As the nineteenth century opened Surrey cricket was quite in the ascendant. The break up of the Old Hambledon Club in 1791 had freed several of the best Surrey players, and for a long term of years the best cricket was to be seen in the Surrey matches.

William Lambert, certainly without a superior as an all-round player, in the first quarter of the century, was just then commencing to represent the county. He played first for Surrey in 1801, at the same time as William Beldham, Robert Robinson (Long Bob), and the two Walkers, Tom (Old Everlasting, as he was called) and Harry. For many years William Lambert stood out as one of the most prominent figures in the cricket world. He was a fine batsman, a bowler of many parts, and a fieldsman of exceptional versatility, equally at home in any position, and pre-eminently safe. 'The very best batsman of his time,' was the estimate of William Clarke, the great bowler of Notts, founder of the All-England Eleven and one of the shrewdest judges of the day. As a cricketer Surrey born and bred, the county had good reason to be proud of Lambert. While his reputation as a player was of the highest, it was otherwise not unblemished. Betting on the game was much in vogue about this period, and rumour was busy with innuendoes against some of the principal players. In some cases charges of selling matches were made and undoubtedly believed. Lambert was accused of having sold the match between England and Twenty-two of Nottingham at Nottingham in 1818, and he was not only 'warned off' Lords, but omitted from all the chief matches played subsequently. Though left out of the better class of cricket, he played regularly in country matches until 1839. His last appearance, so far as can be ascertained, was in this year,

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when he played at Crabbet Park, Mr. Blunt's seat at Worth, near Crawley.¹

These old Surrey cricketers played an important part in the early evolution of the game. The introduction of the third stump was due to Lumpy, or at least to the fact that he bowled on one occasion three balls, which passed between the two stumps without, as the rules then stood, getting the batsman out. It was Stock White who was responsible for the increase of the width of the bat. Harry Walker was the first to cultivate cutting as an art. Legend gives to 'Old Everlasting' the credit of being the pioneer of round arm bowling. The Earl of Winchelsea was responsible for the experiment of a fourth stump. Robinson introduced spikes and leg-guards. Thomas Boxall was the author of the first book on cricket, and Daniel Day the earliest to use batting gloves.

To return to the history of Surrey cricket; about 1810 to 1815 Mitcham and Epsom were among the best clubs in the county. John Bowyer, John and James Sherman were the mainstays of the former. In 1815 Epsom was strong enough to play Hampshire, Sussex and Middlesex, the last with success. Ten years later James Saunders, James Cobbett, G. Brockwell, uncle of the excellent all-round player of to-day, D. Hayward (whose grandson Thomas takes high rank among the cricketers of the first years of the twentieth century), John Bailey and T. Sewell senior were upholding the reputation of Surrey on the cricket field. Surrey as a recognized County Eleven, however, really ceased to exist about 1830. There are records of only some five matches from 1793 to 1845.

Fortunately the middle of the nineteenth century witnessed a revival which resulted in the establishment of a County Club on a properly organized basis. The formation of the County Cricket Club in 1845 not only marked a new era in Surrey cricket, but has been of immense service to the development of the game generally. One of its first acts was the conversion of Kennington Oval, then a market garden, into a recreation ground to be utilized for cricket. It was some little time before the County Club became anything like a real force in cricket. Several of the best Surrey players had from stress of circumstances, found employment in other counties; but the first act of the executive of the new club was to find en-

agements on the Oval, as practice bowlers, for two well-known Surrey players, William Martingell and George Brockwell. The former, in the absence of any opening in Surrey, had accepted monetary inducement to live in Kent. He was persuaded to return to the Surrey fold, signalling his reappearance on 25 and 26 May 1846 by taking 9 wickets of the M.C.C. in a low scoring match. Brockwell, who was a slow bowler with a puzzling delivery, was already old as cricketers go, being in his thirty-sixth year; nevertheless, he did good work for Surrey for some years. After his active career closed he was retained at the Oval, being finally superannuated and pensioned by the Surrey Club till his death in 1876. In addition to Martingell and Brockwell, the Surrey Eleven at the end of the forties included several other distinguished cricketers. T. Sewell has already been mentioned; Mr. Nicholas Wanascrocht, who played under the cognomen of 'N. Felix,' was one of the best all-round players of his time, as well as one of the most charming personalities of the period on the cricket field; J. Heath, not only a safe bat, but a capital bowler and good in the field; Daniel Day, a bowler of infinite resource and variety; and John Bayley, a good bat and excellent slow round-arm bowler, who played in great matches for over thirty years. These seven, with Messrs. A. M. and C. H. Hoare, E. Garland, one of the best amateur fast bowlers, and R. Groom constituted the eleven which met and beat Kent in 1846, the first match after an interval of eighteen years. Keen rivals from the earliest days, Surrey and Kent, when the series of games was resumed, fought their battles with fresh vigour. Their match of 1847 furnished excitement enough and to spare, producing the first tie recorded on the Oval, Kent, who had equalled their opponent's score with three wickets still in hand, being unable to make another run. Though beaten at Lords, 1849, in the first match, Surrey, with Hillyer and Box as ground men, was able to meet England again on even terms, and defeat them at the Oval. At that time, and indeed well into the middle of the fifties, Surrey's programme was very small; five matches a year was about the average, and these were mostly against Sussex, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey and Oxfordshire, though on one or two occasions Surrey, with the assistance of Sussex or Kent, measured its strength against a representative side of England.

Up to the middle of the fifties Surrey cricket under the new regime, if not remark-

¹ His book, *Lambert's Cricketers' Guide*, is a practical treatise of no small merit.

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ably successful, had maintained a fairly high standard. But difficulties arose in the internal economy of the club, with the result that the very existence of the Oval as a cricket ground was imperilled. The relations between Mr. W. Houghton, in whose name the lease of the Oval had been originally taken, and the management of the club had latterly not been of an amicable character. By 1854 an open rupture obliged the club to adopt strong measures, and it was decided to play no more matches at the Oval for the time being. It was not till the licence of the tavern was actually lost that this measure produced its effect. At last Mr. Houghton retired from the management, and the club was able to acquire a direct lease of the ground. Even then the continuance of the club was by no means assured. Adoption of the suggestion of the late Earl of Bessborough to create a few life memberships relieved it of debt, and the dissolution which at one time had appeared imminent was avoided.

For a few years after this crisis the eleven had an almost uninterrupted career of success. William Caffyn, one of the most skilful of all-round players, as well as the most graceful, had already made a name for himself, as also had Lockyer, greatest and most artful of wicket-keepers, in a different line; Julius Cæsar had also made a reputation in only a slightly less degree. By this time, too, a quartette of exceptionally fine amateurs had come, or were coming, to the front in Messrs. F. P. Miller, a versatile all-round cricketer and a captain of unflinching resource; F. Burbidge, a sound bat, safe under any conditions, and a fearless and active point; C. G. Lane and E. Dowson. In addition were H. H. Stephenson, Surrey's Stephenson as he was familiarly called, another fine all-round player, William Mortlock, George Griffith, Tom Sherman, and others who did Surrey service at the end of the fifties, and, most of them, well through the sixties. These were the men who mainly contributed to Surrey's successes of the period, and no less than nine of them were members of the eleven which played England, and beat it by more than an innings. Until the early sixties Surrey, whatever their successes in the Inter-County Matches, found themselves equal to the task of playing England on even terms. So far their other opponents had been Notts, Cambridgeshire, Kent, Oxfordshire, Sussex, and latterly the North of England. In 1860 they again met England, this time without definite result, though the county had the best of an unfinished game. Just

before this, new fixtures had been arranged with the two Universities; the latter in those days were allowed sixteen men, so it is not surprising to find that Surrey was generally unsuccessful. Material improvement in the condition of the club warranted an extension of the match list. Mr. William Burrup, who had succeeded his twin brother John as Honorary Secretary in 1855, utilised the opportunity to revive the Yorkshire match; and this with Notts, Cambridgeshire, Kent (another revival after a brief interregnum), Sussex, Middlesex, and the Universities represented Surrey's programme in the commencement of the sixties. A few years later Hants reappeared, playing fourteen men for a time; a match with Lancashire was arranged somewhere about 1865.

At this period a trio of fine players appeared to reinforce the county team. These were H. Jupp, T. Humphrey and E. Pooley, who were followed a year or two later by James Southerton. These four bore a large share of the burden of the work towards the end of the sixties. Their appearance was the more opportune as for a time there was unmistakable retrogression in Surrey cricket. The players who had brought the county to quite the front rank under Mr. F. P. Miller's captaincy had all aged at once, and the executive had not foreseen the necessity of a reserve of capable youngsters to take their places. The Surrey eleven went from bad to worse, till in 1871 they just escaped a season of unbroken failure, their single success in sixteen matches being won by one wicket. The natural effect of this deterioration was a steady reduction in the membership. The cares of office, moreover, had been weighing with increasing heaviness on Mr. William Burrup, and at the end of 1871 he found it advisable to give up the position of Honorary Secretary which he had filled with credit for eighteen years. On Mr. Burrup's retirement the executive of the County Club wisely decided to appoint a paid secretary. The growth of the club and the necessities of Surrey cricket had rendered it imperative to appoint some one who should be able to devote his whole time and energy to the interests of the club. The choice of the committee fell on Mr. C. W. Alcock, and on 6 April 1872 the minutes of the club record his election as secretary in succession to Mr. William Burrup. During his tenure of office from 1855 to 1872 that gentleman had done energetic and good work. It was on his initiative that Notts, Cambridgeshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire and other counties were induced to come to the



A CRICKET MATCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.
(From a painting by George Morland, at Kennington Oval.)

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Oval to try conclusions with Surrey. It was to him Mr. Mallam, the agent of Messrs. Spiers and Pond, appealed when he wished to get together an English Eleven to visit Australia at the commencement of 1862, and it was to Mr. Burrup's personal influence, in great measure, that the players were assembled for this visit, so that Australian as well as English cricket has reason to remember him with gratitude. That the club suffered, as it undoubtedly did for a time, was due to the existing arrangements, or rather to the lack of proper organisations than to an official who did his best with the means and time at his command. The fact remains that when the new regime began the club was in a somewhat unsatisfactory state. The next few years, too, found the County eleven weaker perhaps than at any period of Surrey's history. Three players whose names have been mentioned were of quite the first class; Southerton for a long time was without a superior as a slow round-arm bowler, Henry Jupp was one of the most painstaking batsmen of his time, and Edward Pooley beyond doubt was the most brilliant wicket-keeper of the later sixties; but even these three had seen their best days in the early seventies. Surrey cricket was at a very low ebb from 1871 to 1875; in the season of 1871 only one victory was credited to the County eleven, and that over a weak eleven of the Marylebone Club and Ground. This time of depression was relieved by the appearance of Mr. W. W. Read, whose brilliant record as a batsman for Surrey during a period of twenty-five years forms one of the brightest pages in the cricket history of the county during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Mr. W. W. Read, who made one of the Surrey eleven when a boy of seventeen, was the first of a succession of great Surrey amateurs. A combination of circumstances induced Mr. John Shuter, who had previously been tried in a minor match for Kent, for which he was qualified by residence, to give his valuable services to the county of his birth. How much Surrey owed to him as a captain it is impossible to say. Coming into the eleven as he did in 1877, when Surrey cricket was under a cloud, the value of his personal influence and cheery personality, combined with his great experience and profound knowledge of the game, during the fifteen years he was captain of the Surrey eleven can hardly be overrated. The latter part of his captaincy was a long record of brilliant successes. One of the first of the great amateurs to serve under him, after Mr. W.

W. Read, was Mr. A. P. Lucas. After a very short period he dissociated himself from Surrey to assist Middlesex, and later on Essex. Fortunately there were other promising amateurs and professionals coming on. Among the former were Mr. W. E. Roller, one of the best all-round cricketers latter day Surrey cricket has produced, and Mr. K. J. Key, a batsman of great power and resource, who did splendid service for Surrey up to 1899.

Of professionals the principal were Maurice Read, Robert Abel, William Brockwell, all Surrey born and bred, with Henry Wood, the wicket-keeper of the team for many years, and George Lohmann, one of the greatest all-round players (many will say, in some respects, the greatest) of the latter part of the century. These five, with Messrs. J. Shuter, W. W. Read and W. E. Roller, formed the nucleus of a side which for a number of years had certainly no superiors in county cricket. Good service was rendered by Bowley, Beaumont and Sharpe among other bowlers, but they were not natives of the county. Neither George Lohmann nor Wood was born in Surrey, but the former came into the county when a very small boy and learned his cricket in Surrey, as did Wood, though the latter owed his adopted county less. The roll of the County Championship prove the strength of Surrey towards the end of the eighties and up to the end of the nineties.

For six years in succession, from 1887 to 1892 inclusive, Surrey was the champion county. In 1893 the position was lost, but it was regained in 1894 and 1895, and was once more held in 1899. Thus during the thirteen years from 1887 to 1899 inclusive the Surrey eleven held the County Championship no less than nine times—a wonderful record. Mention has been made of the players who formed the regular eleven for a number of years. To this list may be added Mr. C. E. Horner, who came to the relief of the county as a bowler when bowling was sadly needed, and did yeoman service for several years. As a batsman, R. Henderson well deserves notice. Messrs. E. J. Diver (who subsequently became a professional, and qualified for Warwickshire) and M. P. Bowden, both brilliant batsmen and good fields, the latter, in addition, a more than useful wicket-keeper, were for too brief a time connected with Surrey cricket; W. H. Lockwood, T. Richardson, T. Hayward, and Mr. D. L. A. Jephson were all practically of a later period, entering the County eleven in successive years, the first-

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named in 1890, Mr. Jephson in 1891, Richardson in 1892, and Hayward in 1893. These four players were equal perhaps to any four Surrey cricketers the county has produced.

The successes of the Surrey eleven on the cricket field naturally tended to increase the strength and add to the reputation of the club. Another factor in adding to its prosperity, and thereby developing the resources of Surrey cricket, was the advent of the Australian teams. How closely Surrey and Australian cricket have been associated has already been shown. It was therefore quite in accord with the fitness of things that Surrey should take the leading part in welcoming the earlier Australian teams to England. It was on the invitation of the Surrey Club that the first match between England and Australia was played in 1880. It took place at the end of that season at the Oval, which has been the scene of a representative match on the occasion of every subsequent visit of an Australian team. English cricket, which was in rather a slack condition when the first Australian team came in 1878, received a great stimulus from the scientific methods of the Colonial players. The different county clubs moreover, profited financially by the greatly increased number of spectators attracted to their grounds on the occasions of the Australian matches. The Surrey County Cricket Club in particular, thanks no doubt to the accessibility of the Oval, has reaped substantial pecuniary advantages from the periodical visits of the Australian cricketers. By this means Surrey has been enabled to increase its matches. It might be argued, and with reason, that the visit of the Australian cricketers was only an incident, however important, in the history of Surrey cricket, for the county had already begun to recover its old prestige in 1878, when the first Colonial team arrived. It was not until 1883, however, that the county really commenced to take its place once again in the front rank, and the ensuing fifteen years formed a period of uninterrupted prosperity.

Edward Barratt, of Stockton-on-Tees, the left-handed bowler, who had been drafted into the county from Lords in 1872, was still the mainstay of the attack with Mr. Roller, Mr. Horner, Maurice Read, and Henderson as his chief assistants. Abel was only beginning to make a name as a batsman, but there was, as already pointed out, plenty of batting talent. A few years later Lohmann was a name to conjure with both in England and Australia; Jones, Beaumont, Sharpe and Bowley, only the first of whom was a native

of the county, in turn helped Lohmann with the bowling. Long before this Pooley had been replaced at the wicket by Henry Wood, who, though born in Kent, had been some years resident in Surrey. How much Surrey was indebted to Lohmann's brilliant cricket during the eight years from 1885 to 1894 the records show. In the seasons 1884 to 1895 inclusive he took 1,439 wickets for an average of only 12·4 runs per wicket, and scored 5,813 runs in 287 innings, with an average of 20·2. He was unsurpassable as a field, certainly one of the very best short slips the world has ever seen. Unfortunately an affection of the lungs compelled him to go to South Africa at the end of 1892, and though he returned to play in 1895 and 1896, and played for England in the latter season, he was not again seen at his best. After the season of 1896 he retired to South Africa, where he died, at the early age of thirty-six, in December, 1901.

The question has frequently been asked: In which year was Surrey at its best during the period of its triumphs in the County Championship? The general verdict would perhaps favour the team of 1892. The full eleven of that year was a very powerful combination, with Mr. John Shuter, Mr. W. W. Read, Mr. K. J. Key, Lockwood, M. Read, Abel, Brockwell, Lohmann and Sharpe, all in form, and Tom Richardson just coming on. The team of 1888 was in the main the same, but Bowley and Beaumont, useful bowlers as they were, were hardly the equals of Lockwood and Sharpe at their best; and though Mr. M. P. Bowden was a fine player, Mr. W. E. Roller, who at his best had few superiors, was out of health, and nothing like his old self. Before Lohmann was lost to the team Richardson had come well to the front as a fast bowler. Lockwood, who had been tried and rejected by Notts, had meanwhile qualified by residence, and for a few years was a useful bat and quite one of the best fast bowlers in England. Abel, by sheer perseverance and practice, had become one of the most trustworthy batsmen of the day. Brockwell had developed into an exceptionally good all-round player, with, for one year, the best batting average in first-class cricket. Two very promising young cricketers had come in, Holland and Hayes; and when Wood was beginning to lose some of his skill, a new wicket-keeper, well able to take his place, appeared in Stedman of Cobham. In addition to these, all Surrey born, two excellent all-round players came from outside in T. Hayward and Lees, the latter a young player from Yorkshire. Hay-

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ward was born at Cambridge, but came of a good old Surrey stock, his grandfather, who lived at Mitcham, having played for Surrey in the latter part of the forties. Mr. John Shuter had given up the captaincy of the eleven in the interim, to be succeeded by Mr. K. J. Key, who in turn resigned, making way for Mr. D. L. A. Jephson at the close of the century. No one had arrived capable of taking Lohmann's place, and the want of a round-arm bowler of his pace and style had been severely felt. When in their best form the eleven continued as strong as ever, batting from 1896 till 1901. While certain of a big score on the fast and easy wicket at the Oval, the team have shown themselves wofully uncertain whenever the bowlers have been able to make the ball do anything. The batting, in fact, has been ultra careful, too correct in method; a batsman or two who would force the game regardless of average would have been invaluable. In fielding, too, there has not only been a tendency to drop catches, but what is worse, a general slackness which is quite inexcusable.

The new century has certainly not opened in a very promising fashion as far as actual cricket is concerned. Otherwise the position of the club leaves little cause for misgiving. The renewal of the lease from the Duchy of Cornwall in 1896 for a new term of thirty-one years, though at a considerably increased rent, enabled the club to arrange for the additional accommodation for members which had long been much needed. Over £13,000 were spent in the erection of a new tavern and pavilion, with all the latest improvements. In respect of accommodation the pavilion at the Oval is certainly equal to the best of its kind, in England at all events. The growth of the club itself in the last thirty years is best shown by figures. With 600 members at most in 1872, the roll at present shows over 4,000 names. In these three decades, too, the revenue shows an advance even greater, having increased from £2,500 in 1872 to £20,466 15s. 11d. in 1900. At present the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Alverstone, is the President, Mr. William Cattley the Treasurer, and Mr. C. W. Alcock the Secretary. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who as Duke of Cornwall is the freeholder of the Oval, is now patron in succession to his father, King Edward the Seventh.

To what has been written above by that greatest authority on Surrey cricket, Mr. C. W. Alcock, little need be added; but the history of the county cricket would be very incomplete without reference to the mag-

nificent work done by Mr. Alcock. When Lord Alverstone presented him with a large silver bowl, for which many friends had subscribed, even his warm praise fell short of the dues of the most energetic secretary that ever any county possessed.

Adding a few data to his contribution, it may be mentioned that in September 1736, during the progress of the match between Kent and Surrey, won by the latter by two wickets on Kennington Common, three soldiers apprehended a deserter, but the populace rescued him; and in the following year so great was the crowd that a poor woman had her leg broken, for which she received ten guineas from the Prince of Wales as a trifling consolation. The first game between Kent and Surrey of which the score is extant is one in 1773. Coming down to 1847, an interesting tie between these counties must be noted, for Kent made the scores equal when 7 wickets were down, but Mr. Whittaker, E. Martin and W. Hillyer all failed to make the required run. Surrey first played Notts in 1851, winning by 75 runs. In the same year, when Surrey twice beat Yorkshire, only five of the twenty-two players participated in both matches. These were the earliest encounters, and no more took place until 1861. The famous cricket strike of 1896, when Lohmann, Gunn, Abel, Richardson and Hayward clamoured for higher pay on the eve of a test match, found an earlier precedent in 1855, when H. Stephenson and Julius Cæsar refused to play without further increase, but came back next year. In 1857 Surrey twice beat the North at the Oval by 6 wickets, and at Sheffield by 5 wickets. In 1857, when Caffyn and Griffith dismissed Sussex for 35 and 31, Mr. F. P. Miller, by scoring 74, beat the double effort of the visitors to the Oval off his own bat. The year before, the majority by which Surrey won, 240 runs, was at that time considered enormous. When Surrey met Oxfordshire in 1856, an arrangement was made that only three professionals should play on either side. Surrey won by 11 runs. It was a curious feature of the match between Single and Married, played in 1844, 1849 and 1858, that Martingell played in all three. Carpenter, who batted in 1858, also played in the next fixture, which was in 1871. For the benefit of Hillyer in 1858, England played eighteen veterans, and beat them by 9 wickets. Seventeen years later only three of the older team were dead. In 1862 at the Oval the New All England Eleven played the New England Eleven for the word All, and won by

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10 wickets; but though the losers became extinct, the winners did not play again. That same season, when England scored 503 against Surrey, Lillywhite, having no-balled Wilsher, Street stood umpire on the last day. After 1863 the Universities regularly played the Surrey eleven. In this year Surrey played XVIII of Rugby, Marlborough, and Cheltenham, when Griffith took 20 wickets, and Sir R. T. Reid was admirable in the post of wicket-keeper. For England *v.* Surrey, Bennett took 4 wickets in 1 over—Stephenson, Caffyn, Mr. Dowson and Griffith. In 1865 the news that Middlesex had beaten Surrey by 158 runs created some enthusiasm at Lords, as feeling ran very high. Mr. C. F. Buller, aged nineteen, scored 105 not out, and Mr. R. D. Walker took 8 wickets for 23 runs.

The earliest match between Surrey and Lancashire was in 1866, when Surrey scored 422, Jupp making 165 in six hours. That year, when England beat Surrey by an innings and 296, the national score being 521, W. G. Grace, who was then eighteen, made 224 not out, and during the progress of the match won a hurdle race at the Crystal Palace. No other county played England until 1877, when Gloucestershire did so. Surrey did not meet Notts owing to dissensions. George Parr had refused to play in the previous year, when Surrey won by a wicket. At Lords in 1867 the Grand Stand was first used for the match between M.C.C. *v.* Surrey, when Wootton and Grundy dismissed the latter for 38. Surrey tied Middlesex in 1868, and did so again in 1876, Messrs. V. E. and I. D. Walker, as well as Jupp, Street, Pooley and Southerton playing in both matches. In 1868, in successive matches against Sussex and Kent, Pooley actually dismissed twenty men at the wicket. Surrey won the toss against M.C.C. in 1869, but put the club in, and lost by 10 wickets. Grundy, aged forty-five, bowled 50 overs for 28 runs and 4 wickets, and Jupp was at the wicket two and a half hours for 26. In 1870 Kent beat Surrey by only 2 runs, Wilsher claiming 7 for 22. Oddly enough 891 was the aggregate in the match with either University that year, the blues in each case beating the county. Surrey dismissed Kent for 20, Southerton taking 5 for 16, and Anstead 4 for 3. The match between Gentlemen of South *v.* Players in 1871 was won by the latter by 3 runs, the aggregate being the then record of 1,139; Jupp made 97, and Pooley 125; Mr. C. I. Thornton hit a ball 140 yards before it pitched. Surrey, in a bad light, dismissed the M.C.C. for 16,

W. G. Grace, C. P. Coote, D. R. Onslow, C. J. Brune, with A. Shaw and Tom Hearne, being all out before a run was scored. No one in the match obtained 20 on the saturated pitch. Surrey also beat Gloucestershire by 1 wicket 3 June 1872, and in 1873 met M.C.C. for the last time. When Yorkshire beat Surrey in 1874 by 4 wickets, Jupp in each innings carried his bat, with 43 out of 95, and 109 out of 193. A quaint match was that between Non University Gentlemen *v.* Past and Present of the Universities; the former won by an innings and 76 runs. Prior to the rejuvenescence of Surrey's cricket, Notts in 1880 sent the side back for 16, Shaw claiming 3 for 6, and Morley 7 for 9. When this review was being prepared the Surrey Club published a monumental work on the history and associations of Surrey cricket. By bringing up to date the mass of statistics prepared by the Marquis de Sant Susana, we find that up to the close of 1904 Surrey has won 481 matches, 5 being tied, 195 drawn, and 298 lost.

In all, Surrey has scored 304,390 runs for 14,558 wickets, averaging 20.90, the opponents scoring 287,544 for 16,314 wickets, averaging 17.62. Abel has scored the most centuries, 40, has twelve times exceeded the second hundred, and three times the third. Mr. W. W. Read scored 38 centuries, including 338 *v.* Oxford. The largest score made against Surrey is 236 not out, by Gunn in 1898.

To deal with the tremendous series of extraneous games played at the Oval would occupy much space. Of test matches three must be briefly recalled. Firstly, the superb initial victory of England over Australia by 4 wickets in September 1880, when Dr. W. G. Grace scored 150, and Mr. W. L. Murdoch 151. Next the disastrous return in 1882, when after Mr. H. H. Massie had hit up 55 with extraordinary brilliance, England was left with 85 to win. With only 19 to get, Mr. A. G. Steel joined Mr. A. P. Lucas with Maurice Read, Barnes, Mr. C. T. Studd and Peate to follow, but so marvellously did Mr. Spofforth bowl that the Colonials won by 7 runs. Finally must be mentioned the fifth contest of 1902, when England, after being 141 behind on first hands, had to go in to get 263 on a bad wicket, with Mr. Trumble literally conjuring with the ball. After five men had gone for only 48, Mr. Stanley Jackson and Mr. Gilbert Jessop gave an astounding exhibition of courageous cricket, and as Hirst subsequently played with great spirit, England won, amid unparalleled excitement, by 1 wicket.



CRICKET AT MOULSEY HURST IN 1780.
(From a picture at the Marylebone Cricket Club.)

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CLUBS

Rich in Cricket Clubs as Surrey is, and always has been, the task of making a selection in any order of merit must be a thankless one at best. To attempt the briefest record of even part of the hundred and more clubs distributed all over the county would obviously be impossible within reasonable limits. For the purpose of this history the standard has been rather one of service to County Cricket than of playing strength or local importance. It would be easy to challenge any list of course. In the districts immediately bordering on London there are numerous clubs fulfilling aims as high in many respects; Honor Oak, and Dulwich, for example, not to mention others, have done and are still doing, in their ways, as much for the game as the clubs we have chosen. More than that, they and the clubs in like circumstances are doing national good in preserving as long as possible from the encroachments of the builder open spaces which would otherwise soon be lost for recreative purposes. There are village clubs too, such as Kingston, Dorking, Godalming, Farnham, Ewell, Cranley, Redhill, and many others doing equally good, if not better work. Some of these have seen better days, and more than one has had a chequered and not altogether continuous career. The village greens in their day laid the foundation of Surrey's greatness in the game. Reference to them has been made in the history of the county, and a proper tribute paid to the important part they have played in training and perfecting the cricket of the rising talent of Surrey. Some of them, Mitcham Green in particular, have long and honourable records of generation after generation of cricketers born and bred on the spot, trained in the best traditions, and carrying on in unbroken descent the best principles of the game. But if the village greens laid the foundation, it is the clubs that have given opportunities to the players who have formed the backbone of County Cricket. How far they have done it the record of the following will show.

Founded in 1865, under the title of St. James' Cricket Club, the CROYDON Club took its present name in November 1875. The few home matches arranged for the first season were played in Oakfield Park. The following season saw the ground changed to Duppas Hill, the first of four moves made between 1868 and 1882. In 1868 the headquarters were again in Oakfield Park, but in 1874 they were moved to Fairfield, which site was given up in 1878 for a field in White-

horse Road. In 1882 the club had to find another habitation, this time in the Frant Road, where it has remained ever since. In its time Croydon has played most of the best clubs of greater London, though to its credit, be it said, Surrey has as a rule furnished the larger proportion of its opponents. At the present the principal clubs it meets are the M.C.C. and ground, Surrey Club and ground, the London Cricket Club, Epsom, Beddington, Granville (Lee), Clapton, Whitgift Wanderers, Forest Hill, Mitcham, and Dulwich. Though the members who have taken part in first-class cricket have not been many, some of them have done well for their counties; among them Mr. S. M. Tindall of Lancashire, Mr. L. de Montezuma of Sussex, Mr. H. T. Allsopp, who played for the club in 1874, got his blue at Cambridge the following year. Mr. A. L. Kemp, a regular member of the Croydon team, also played for Middlesex two or three times. In 1884 a new pavilion was erected from the designs of Mr. Alfred Hill, A.R.I.B.A., a member. In respect of its officers the club has been particularly lucky. Mr. A. H. Groom, who joined the club in 1868, has been its Honorary Secretary for the last twenty-seven years. The President, Mr. T. F. Roberts, has served a term very nearly as long, as he succeeded to the office on the death of Mr. G. Andrews in 1879. Among its records Croydon can recall one of a quite exceptional kind in the feat of Mr. H. A. Roper, who took 5 wickets with 5 consecutive balls in 1878.

Amongst the principal clubs, several of which do not now exist, which Croydon has played at different times may be mentioned Addiscombe, St. John's Wood, Owls, Lausanne, Lordship Lane, City Ramblers, Blackheath, Morden, Sutton, Stoics, Putney, Pallingwick, Dorking, Granville (Lee), Clapton, Burlington Wanderers, Yalding, Norwood, Whitgift Wanderers, Mr. J. W. Hobbs XI, Tunbridge Wells, Beddington, Epsom, Crystal Palace, Reigate Priory, Mitcham, Brixton Wanderers, Spencer, Forest Hill, Dulwich, London County, Surrey C. and G., M.C.C.

Cobham is another village that has done its best to maintain the standard of Surrey cricket. It is certain that the game was played there on an organized basis long before the oldest inhabitant can remember. Fifty years ago there was a cricket club in full and regular practice. Tilt Common was then the village ground, but as the space became more and more restricted the club moved first to Pypart Field, and subse-

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quently to the White Lion Meadow, its trysting-place till the year 1902. There is still a small club which plays on the old Tilt, and another in a more distant part of the village called Downside. Though a Dorking man, H. Jupp was living at Cobham in 1859, and it was from Cobham that he went up to the Oval in that year. Latterly Cobham has sent up two good players to first-class cricket, Stedman, Surrey's excellent wicket-keeper, and Mr. H. B. Chinnery, a son of Mr. W. Moresby Chinnery, the champion long-distance runner of the sixties, the old Etonian who has represented Surrey (captain in 1904) and Middlesex in turn.

The COBHAM Club, which is happily still in a flourishing condition, has recently come into occupation of a new ground in one of the prettiest spots in Cobham, and a considerable sum has been spent on the preparation of the pitch, the erection of a new pavilion, and the necessary fencing. The Cobham Club is fortunate in numbering among its active supporters the villagers as well as the resident gentry, and the matches are always productive of earnest cricket as well as of good fielding. Much has been done of late years in the interest of the game by former presidents, including Mr. H. W. Price, who held the position for thirteen years, and Mr. W. M. Chinnery, and the club is happy in having at the present time so thoroughly a sportsman as Mr. Frank Cripps for its president.

The EPSOM Club dates back to quite the middle of the last century. The present ground was not opened till 1860. Henry Willis, who played for Surrey once or twice in 1868, was at the time captain of the club, a position he held until 1876. During the sixteen years of his captaincy the club was very strong, numbering among its members several who made high reputations on the cricket field, notably the three brothers, J. B., S. H., and B. N. Akroyd, G. C. Alexander, the three Hollands, J. B. Hanley, R. Henderson, R. Walters, R. Wrangham, R. Gillespie, A. C. Lucas and his brothers, and E. Budd. For a short time after, somewhere about 1879, the club practically ceased to exist owing to lack of funds; but the interval was happily only very brief, and the last twenty years have seen very good second-class cricket on the Epsom ground, which is certainly one of the best in the county. The advent and prestige of Mr. G. H. Longman, the old Eton and Cambridge cricketer, who played county cricket for Hampshire, gave the club a considerable fillip, and for the last few years, under the direction of Mr. F. W.

Ledger, an enthusiastic cricketer and a most capable secretary, it has flourished bravely. Of late it has had its week, playing two-day matches against the Free Foresters and the Eton Ramblers, as well as one-day matches with such clubs as the Burlington Wanderers, Merton, the Crystal Palace, and the neighbouring villages of Leatherhead, Dorking and Ewell. In the old days Tom Lockyer sometimes played on the ground, later R. Henderson, the Middlesex amateur, and the Budds. Brockwell and Sharpe, the two Surrey professionals, were occasionally to be seen there at a more recent date. For the last few years the Longmans, father and son, Messrs. H. T. Bull, F. W. Freeman, Williamson, and the two professionals, Green and Edwards, have been the mainstays of the Club.

The ESHER Cricket Club was the outcome of a meeting held at the Bear, Esher, it is said, in 1862. There had previously been an Esher Village Club, confined mainly to the tradesmen of the place. The object of the new club was to include all residents, and notwithstanding some slight opposition on the part of the village club, the new one was founded successfully. A ground was taken for three years, and when it was fit for cricket the Esher Club commenced what has proved a very prosperous career. Among the best of the earlier players was H. H. Stephenson ('Surrey Stephenson') and Mr. A. J. Wilkinson, who played for Middlesex and the Gentlemen against the Players, W. J. Collyer of the Surrey team, Henley, Clarke and Bristow. After a time the village members, preferring to return to the Green, withdrew; the club then became a strictly amateur club, and such it has continued ever since, with the occasional assistance of one or two legitimately Esher men. Among other first-class players upon whom Esher could count in its earlier days was J. J. Sewell of Middlesex, one of the best amateur cricketers of the later sixties. In those days Esher's principal opponents were Wimbledon, Chobham, Cobham, Leatherhead, Epsom, Thames Ditton, Oatlands Park and Weybridge. After three years' tenure the old cricket field had to be given up, and the ground on which the club has remained ever since was taken.

Of late years the club has lost a good deal of its original character, though the Martineaus, the Peacheys, and others have retained for it a certain local as well as Surrey interest. Still, thanks originally to Mr. C. C. Clarke it has become quite one of the strongest clubs round London, numbering

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among its opponents some of the very best amateur teams. It possesses one of the prettiest grounds in the country, and the attention of its caretaker, F. Bowler, for the last twenty-five years has made a perfect pitch.

As stated on a previous page, cricket was played by the schoolboys of Guildford as far back as the middle of the sixteenth century.

The GUILDFORD Club was a 'going concern' in quite the early part of the last century, but, in common with so many other cricket centres in Surrey, it seems to have fallen on bad times somewhere about the fifties. Chiefly through the instrumentality of Mr. W. Stevens, a keen local cricketer, it was reorganized in 1866, with, as subsequent events have proved, marked success. Among the chief players in its early days were George Griffith, a celebrated Surrey cricketer, T. Anstead, G. Elliott, and Messrs. J. Carmichael and T. Smith, all of whom represented the county at one time or another. Dible, who played for Surrey as well as Hampshire, Major Matheson, Messrs. W. and J. Stevens, W. and T. Smith, S. Farnfield, Denzil Onslow and R. Garth at one time rendered good service. For many years the club played on the ground now occupied by the Cattle Market. Its present home is what is known as the Guildford Sport Enclosure, a beautiful ground opened in 1895 for the purpose of cricket, football, tennis and amateur athletic sports. Among the principal playing members of the club since this ground was acquired are K. Christopherson, the President, Stanley Christopherson, the old Kent player and one of the Vice-Presidents, the Captain, G. A. Franks, a good all-round cricketer, K. D. Thorburn, S. H. Northcott, F. Martin and F. Hegtill. Guildford numbers among its opponents the M.C.C. and G., the Surrey C. and G., as well as the chief clubs of Surrey.

A cricket week, too, is usually arranged at the end of July. The club forms a part of an Association of Clubs (cricket, football, tennis, cycling, and amateur athletics) formed for the promotion of sport in its several branches.

The present LEATHERHEAD Club was established as the Leatherhead United C.C. in 1865; previous to that date there existed two, one purely a village club, the other for amateurs. Neither was sufficiently strong to play matches, so the two combined, with Mr. Green as Hon. Sec., and Mr. J. Chilly, a wealthy tanner, President. For the first fifteen years the club only played some

eight matches a year against such opponents as Ripley, Oakley, and Sharford, and, occasionally, Guildford and Dorking. Since 1881, however, when the word 'United' was dropped, the club has grown by the addition of residents and of players resident in London and elsewhere. In fact, it has lost much of its local character. For some years now it has played regularly home and local matches with such clubs as Dorking, Epsom, Ewell, Reigate Hill, Broadwater, Streatham, Byfleet, Ockley, M.C.C. and G., and occasionally with Esher, Horsham, Guildford, Sutton, Otlands Park, Incogniti and Richmond. F. Hugh Williams, who joined the club in 1868, was appointed captain in 1870, and has held the position ever since, a record we should think unprecedented. The Club Ground was acquired in 1865. Among its members the Leatherhead Club has numbered such players as W. Greenhill (Sussex), A. P. Lucas, A. C. and S. W. Cattley, S. W. Scott, and the well-known Lucas family. Leatherhead now boasts no fewer than four clubs—The L.C.C., St. John's School, the Rovers, and the Red, White, and Blue.

Situated on a delightful ground at Barnes, the cricket of this rural annexe to the LYRIC club situated in Coventry Street, Piccadilly, was principally managed by Mr. C. I. Thornton, and proved to be of the same type as that of the defunct Orleans Club at Twickenham. Against the Green Jackets Mr. C. I. Thornton himself scored 138 out of 180 in fifty-eight minutes, and against the Ninety-third Highlanders he rattled up 60 in twenty minutes, while Mr. F. R. Spofforth claimed 6 regimental wickets for 2 runs. In 1890 the Lyric Club defeated the Australians by 96 runs, but this was the only important contest in its brief history.

The village of MITCHAM has played a very conspicuous part as a Surrey cricket nursery. Mitcham Green has been the favourite trysting-place from time immemorial. As long ago as 1736 the records point to Mitcham as one of the most, if not the most, popular centre of Surrey cricket. Particulars are extant of important matches on the Green at Mitcham, which, with Kennington Common, Moulsey Hurst and Holt Pound, near Farnham, were the chief county grounds of the period. How long the Mitcham Club has existed really matters little. Mitcham cricket was practically the Mitcham Club, though it boasted no corporate form, and Mitcham can trace its great players back at least to the days when John Bowyer was one of the immortals of cricket. A fine player,

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and a cheery old soul to the last, John Bowyer has been immortalized by a loving biographer, the late Mr. F. Gale (the 'Old Buffer'). In 1810 he represented the Bs against England, and until 1836 he was one of the bright particular stars of Mitcham cricket. About the middle of the last century Mitcham was again well represented by a trio of excellent all-round cricketers in John Bayley and the two Sewells, William and Tom. There was a fourth, of hardly less ability, in Hayward, grandfather of Thomas Hayward, the celebrated player of to-day, a Mitcham man born and bred. The Mitcham Club just at that period had a liberal and keen supporter in Mr. Charles Hoare, the treasurer of the Surrey County Cricket Club for several years. His era brought to light useful cricketers of the stamp of Tom Sherman, who is still alive, and Fred Harwood, one of the main stays of the village team for some fifteen years. Another generation saw T. Sewell, junior, Tom Humphrey and J. Heartfield worthily representing Mitcham in the higher world of cricket. Richard Humphrey, who belonged to the early seventies, and G. Jones, were two players who did the county good service, trained on Mitcham Green when Mr. F. Gale was the moving spirit of the village club. On 18 June 1870, a match was played against the Civil Service for the benefit of John Bowyer, who attained his eightieth birthday that day. John Bowyer had played on Mitcham Green six months before the Battle of Trafalgar, Nelson and Lady Hamilton being present. With the commencement of the eighties Mr. Gale handed over the management to Mr. W. W. Thompson, and another race of Mitcham cricketers arose to do good service for the county. Among them was Tom Richardson, the greatest fast bowler beyond doubt of the end of the century; players of useful calibre like Mr. A. F. Clarke, who kept wicket for Surrey for a time; Mr. T. P. Harvey, an excellent player, who would have made a name had he been able to play first-class cricket regularly; and Strudwick, whom the county considers the best wicket-keeper in England. Particularly fortunate in the possession of a succession of enthusiasts like Messrs. C. H. Hoare, F. Gale, and W. W. Thompson, the management of Mitcham Club since Mr. Thompson's retirement in the middle of the nineties has been a difficult office for others to fill. On the other hand, the 'old order' of cricket has been changing during the last few years, and village cricket has suffered as much as, if not more than, any other type. Still, Mitcham will always

stand out as one of the brightest and most interesting stars in the Surrey cricket constellation.

One of the oldest clubs still playing an important part in Surrey cricket, the REIGATE PRIORY celebrated its jubilee in 1902, having been founded in November, 1852. It has done its part as a nursery for county players. William Caffyn often played for it, in its early days. It was for this club that another world-renowned county cricketer, Mr. W. W. Read, when quite a boy, played his first match, that against Tunbridge Wells. James Nightingale, who represented the county once or twice, and his brothers, were from the commencement among the members, active in its administration as well as on the field, and it is not too much to say that the success of the club in the early part of its career was in a great measure due to the Nightingale family. Of other Surrey cricketers who learned the game on the Reigate Priory ground were Mr. W. Kellick Cumberlege and Mr. E. C. Hanbury, both of whom assisted Surrey on a few occasions. Some years ago a cricket week was held annually under the auspices of the club, in which several of the best players of the day took part. In the week of 1892 Mr. G. Brann of Sussex, playing for sixteen of Reigate against Mr. W. W. Read's XI, did a remarkable piece of hitting, scoring 58 in 3 overs. After this the week was discontinued, but it has been revived, and 1902 saw the first of what it is hoped may prove a prolonged series.

Horsham, Tunbridge Wells, M.C.C. and G., Surrey C. and G., Eastbourne, Petworth, Brighton, Wimbledon, Croydon, Dorking and several other of the leading clubs of Surrey, Kent and Sussex have at different times been numbered amongst the opponents of Reigate Priory. The club has been fortunate in having had the same ground throughout its career. The Priory Ground, which is held on lease from Lady Somerset, is in the very heart of Reigate, and though on the small side has a high reputation for the excellence of its wicket.

The present RICHMOND Club only came into existence in 1861. Its first pitch was on the Green, and we can recall cricket and football there played by the Richmond Club about that time. The Green before long was abandoned, by cricketers at all events, and the next scene shows the club in occupation of a part of the older Deer Park, close to the Richmond Green entrance. There it stayed for a short time preparatory to its last move, which was to its present quarters

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in the old Deer Park facing the New Road, and on one side running up to Kew. R. Danvers was the first Hon. Secretary, but he held office only for a year or so at most; John Hale, who resided and worked in Richmond for over sixty years, succeeded him; and occupied the position from 17 November 1862 to 19 February 1868. Mr. Hale was in the Cambridge University eleven of 1853 and 1856.

How early cricket was played at Richmond has not as yet been really discovered. That Richmond Green was a popular resort of cricketers from all parts a hundred and seventy years ago is certain. The records tell of county matches there in 1730. But it was not until ten years later that Richmond comes into evidence as a team. At times, by itself, occasionally in conjunction with Kingston, once with Kingston, Moulsey and Esher, Richmond played London with varying success. As a matter of fact the first mention we have now of Richmond as a side is in 1741. It may be taken for granted that the Royal borough of Richmond was represented in some form or other on the cricket field, though big matches ceased to be played on the Green before the end of the eighteenth century. There may have been a Richmond Club that lapsed during the long interval when Surrey cricket lost organization and place in the history of the game.

The Richmond Club of to-day can boast a long list of cricketers who have made their mark. John Hales, one of the early fathers of Richmond cricket, was in the Cambridge University eleven. A later generation brought to the front J. Robertson of Oxford and Middlesex, for years one of the best fast bowlers. A. H. Lushington of Hampshire, F. W. Bush of Surrey, Sir Kildare Borrowes, who kept wicket for Middlesex, J. Dunn of Harrow and Surrey, the brilliant bat who went down with the ill-fated steamer *Bokhara*, F. B. Shadwell, who played for Surrey as 'A Sagle,' W. Lindsay, H. K. Avory, F. Fielding, all of whom represented Surrey; T. Latham of the Cambridge eleven, C. H. Prest of Yorkshire, a good short-distance runner and an actor, E. D. C. Cecil of Hampshire, Capt. Inglis and A. M. Inglis, both in the Kent team; C. M. Tuke, whose fast bowling was occasionally of use to Middlesex. Such well-known players as H. J. Hill, E. J. C. Studd, H. M. Studd, F. E. Street, J. S. Russel (Northumberland and M.C.C.), J. Tomlinson, a really good lob bowler, A. H. Hamilton, who was captain of the eleven for a time, F. S. Willett and J. Wilkes of Cambridge University, J. Sudel, W. E.

Martyn, and O. B. Martyn of Oxford University, played for Richmond during the ten years A. E. Yerburch acted as Hon. Secretary of the club or captain of the eleven. Yerburch's immediate predecessor in the secretaryship was F. B. Shadwell, his next successor L. H. Gunnery, who was followed by H. B. Denham, the present holder of the office. During its career of forty years Richmond has played most of the best wandering teams, as well as the pick of the metropolitan clubs. Among these may be mentioned the Marylebone, the Surrey County C.C., the now defunct Will o' the Wisps, Civil Service, Yorkshire Gentlemen, Incogniti, Harrow, Blues, Anomalies, Elstree Masters, Crystal Palace, Wimbledon, Kensington Park, Beckenham, Ulster C.C., Beckley Park, Emeriti, Eton Ramblers, Bexley, Upper Tooting, 'Ne'er-do-Weels,' Orleans Club, Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and Moor Park. The Richmond ground is not only one of the most picturesque round London, but the pitch will compare favourably with the best in the country.

The STREATHAM Club was not, it is said, actually founded until 1856; but cricket was played at Streatham and in some organized form as early as the thirties. Long before the formation of a regular club matches were played by Streatham elevens. The brothers Scott, father and uncles of the present Hon. Secretary, H. H. Scott, represented the village of Streatham against other clubs in the later thirties. Scores of matches in which Streatham met Clapton as well as Kent between 1846 and 1850, and a good old Surrey match recall vividly the details of a game about this time on Streatham Common, in which the late John Walker, the senior of the Great Southgate Brotherhood, represented Clapton. At that time Henry Mortimer, for many years the treasurer of the Surrey County Cricket Club, was one of the regular players for Streatham, and in the match with West Kent of 1849 F. P. Miller, subsequently captain of the famous Surrey eleven, scored 30 for Streatham. In this same match Herbert Jenner first represented West Kent. He had been at the wicket for some time, and Streatham were anxious to get him out before they left off as it was getting dark. To this end they put on a lob bowler, with the result that every ball of the over was hit by Herbert Jenner, as he was then, for four. Streatham, the story naively adds, 'then made for the tent.' In the first half of the fifties the Westhalls, A. Plant, E. Riley, and E. R. Hickling used to play regularly on Streatham Common,

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and it was no doubt partly through the efforts of A. Plant that the club was started.

In 1856, when the club was founded, Streatham Common was its ground, and, to show the condition of the ground then it may be said that the first step of the committee was to obtain the sanction of the lords of the manor, then the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, to enclose a piece of ground against the cattle grazing on the common. This ground, it may be stated, is still in existence, being used by various local clubs under a licence from the London County Council. Sir K. Key, Bart, father of the well-known Surrey captain, K. J. Key, and Mr. F. H. Leaf, father of several sons well-known in University and other prominent cricket circles, took a very active part in the management of the club at its inception. In those early days the ideas of the members were modest enough, for the first meeting gave effect to a resolution 'that beer should be paid for by members playing on the ground either by the losing side or all round.' An entry of the members of 17 April 1861, has quite a Pickwickian flavour, being nothing less than a resolution to challenge the Dingley Dell Club! As the result of troubles of various kinds in 1881, it was decided to lease a field in Angles Road, Streatham, as a private ground.

The present ground was laid by George Hearne, the old Middlesex cricketer. The selection of H. Wood, then professional to the Garrison Club at Dover, as ground man, was a very fortunate one for Surrey, as it enabled the county to obtain by Wood's residential qualification a wicket-keeper who did brilliant service for many years. In 1891 the ground was considerably extended by the addition of half the adjoining field, some 150 yards by 45, the pavilion being altered and enlarged at the same time. Eight years later a ladies' pavilion was built, to replace the tent which had previously been the only accommodation for ladies. Once, when the Oxford Authentics had declared, leaving Streatham 280 to win in two hours and twenty minutes, the runs were hit off, Mr. N. Miller scoring 181. The following prominent cricketers were all regular players for Streatham a few years ago: the late W. S. Trollope, D. D. Pontifex, C. Morgan, and C. L. Morgan, all of whom did duty for Surrey in their time; G. Brown and G. L. Wilson of Sussex, T. Lindley of Notts, R. H. de Montmorency (Oxford University), E. C. Evelyn, N. C. Bartey and E. C. Bambridge. The best of Streatham's

latter day cricketers have been K. J. Key, the Surrey captain, N. Miller (also of Surrey), the brothers W. G. and N. F. Druce of Cambridge University, E. Field, R. O. Schwarz (of Middlesex and South Africa), L. Mortimer and W. J. Hancock.

Though there are indubitable proofs of the existence of the club prior to 1876, the official records of the SURBITON Cricket Club do not go beyond that date. The original ground was in a field on Surbiton Hill, and the first change was in 1883, when a field off Balaclava Road, close to the Railway Embankment, was secured. This formed the headquarters until 1888, when the present ground, then the property of Lord Lovelace, came into possession of the club. A short time ago it was purchased by the Lambeth Water Works, and as the lease under which it is held by Surbiton expired in 1904, there are doubts about its retention as a cricket ground. It is to be hoped that the club's tenancy will not terminate, as, in addition to cricket, football and hockey are played there during the winter, and the sports held under the auspices of the club every Easter are amongst the most popular amateur athletic gatherings. The loss of the ground would be a great blow to local sports of all description.

The programme of the club has generally been of a high class; its opponents have included among others M.C.C. and G., Surrey C. C. and G., Oatlands Park, Upper Tooting, Mote Park, Streatham, Esher, Pallingswick, Marlborough College, Hampton Wick, Thespians, Leatherhead, Kensington Park, Broadwater, Old Wykehamists, Wimbledon, Tonbridge School, Byfleet, Hampstead, Old Cliftonians, Old Carthusians, Teddington, East Molesey and Chiswick Park. Of the many good cricketers Surbiton has put into the field at one time or another the best known are Sydney Castle, who played for Kent, and his brothers; the late R. P. Sewell and F. C. Francis, both of whom represented Kent; George Brown of Sussex, H. B. Richardson, F. Fielding, C. A. Trouncer, all of whom played in the Surrey eleven. George Ricketts of Oxford University, H. Davenport, A. R. Holdship, N. C. Cooper of Cambridge University, the three brothers Windeler, Read, C. R. Bailey, A. C. Beaven, who has been Hon. Secretary since October 1890, F. H. Bryant, and J. C. E. Hickson. The captains of the club since 1880 have been R. Howell in 1881-83, 1897 and 1898, J. E. Leslie 1882, G. H. Windeler 1885 to 1894, F. Fielding 1895 to 1897, and J. A. S. Hickson 1899 to 1901 inclusive.



THE SURREY CRICKET GROUND.
(From an engraving by C. Rosenberg, 1848, at Kennington Oval.)

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The SUTTON Cricket Club has been fortunate in having enjoyed uninterrupted use of its present ground since it was formed in 1865. The ground was originally lent by the late Mr. H. L. Antrobus, but at the end of 1901 it was purchased from the present owner, so the club has now a permanent home. The ground, which is situated in the Cheam Road, is small, but very picturesque, and excellent wickets have always been obtained. At its foundation the club mustered forty members, of whom only twelve played; now it has a roll of two hundred and sixty, with an effective list of a hundred playing members. Mr. A. Hyslop, one of the earliest captains, held the position for twenty-one seasons, and only retired some five years ago. The office of the present captain, Mr. G. Blades, who has been in office three years, is no sinecure, for three teams are placed on the field every Saturday, in addition to a series of Wednesday matches weekly during the season.

Of the famous cricketers who helped Sutton in older days prominence may be given to Messrs. A. W. Ridley, W. J. Ford, A. S. Tabor, all of the first rank; C. J. Smith, a successful Harrow captain in his time, and his brother, Arthur Smith, of Cambridge University; Roberts, the Gloucestershire bowler, was ground man for several seasons; he was engaged there fifteen years ago, when Dr. W. G. Grace had him at the net at the Oval, with the result that he migrated to Gloucestershire, and took a regular place in the County eleven.

Cricket at THAMES DITTON takes one back to the early years of the last century. The local club itself was certainly in existence in the middle of the thirties. Giggs Hill in those days did not receive the care that is bestowed on the cricket pitches of to-day, and what cricket the Thames Ditton Club enjoyed was mostly confined to one or two villages in the immediate neighbourhood. The ground on which the matches were played was not enclosed, and the cricket took place under conditions that would now be regarded as primitive to a degree.

Thirty-five years ago the game was still played amid very much the same surroundings, and it was not till after 1880 that the Thames Ditton Club began to assume the position it now occupies in the front rank of Surrey clubs.

Fifteen years ago, in point of playing strength it was at least the equal of any village team in the county. Of that time the best eleven would have included Maurice Read and G. W. Ayres, both natives, and

both of whom, the former in particular, did good service for Surrey.

W. Deane, who kept wicket both for Surrey and Hants; W. T. Melbourne and F. J. Matthews, who also played for Surrey; G. J. Arnall, the old Reptonian, who played for Lancashire, besides T. Crowther, the Captains H. Reddick, A. Morrison, F. R. Tayler, subsequently of the Granville C.C., Clarke, R. D. Matthews and E. L. Strike must also be mentioned.

The club's connection with Surrey cricket has been closely cemented lately; its captain, W. T. Grayburn, has done excellent work for the Surrey County C.C. as official supervisor of rising cricketers and general manager of the Colts' matches.

The UPPER TOOTING Cricket Club was founded in the year 1858 by the late Mr. Samuel Harper and his sons in association with some other residents in the village of Tooting. Indeed, the club not only owes its prosperity but even its existence to the Harper family, as but for the enterprise of the various members who held office of one kind or another, it certainly would not have survived to its present respectable age. Mr. T. J. Miller, the first President, held office until 1866, when Mr. Samuel Harper, an ardent supporter, succeeded him. At the outset the club had no ground of its own, but pitched its wickets where it chose on Tooting Bec Common, then unfettered with by-laws, and free from notice-boards. In those days the nearest railway station was six miles distant, so that the club was necessarily dependent on local support. This was liberally given in many instances. Mr. John Taverner Miller, for example, granted one of the fields attached to his house for the use of the club until a lease of the present ground was obtained in 1864. The present field consists of five acres on high ground overlooking the valley of the Wandle, and affording a prospect of the Epsom and Banstead Downs towards the south, and the heights of Wimbledon to the south-west. In former days the cricket ground was bordered by other fields, but these to a great extent have been covered by the advancing tide of bricks and mortar. But although the field has lost some of the amenities which made it an ideal resort for the spectator on a sunny match-day, it remains as good as ever for cricket purposes. It was well laid down in the first instance by George Brockwell of the Oval, uncle of the present Surrey cricketer, turf from Banstead Downs being used to a great extent. After the construction of the railway the club membership naturally in-

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creased, and for many years Tooting has been able to put a good all-round eleven into the field. Some few years it was able to include in its programme matches against the Free Foresters, Uppingham Rovers, and several of the public schools, e.g. Rugby, Clifton, Marlborough, Cheltenham, and Haileybury. Circumstances have latterly prevented the schools continuing their Metropolitan fixtures, but the card is still of an attractive character, containing matches against the principal London Clubs, Streatham, Beckenham, Kensington Park, Surbiton, Wimbledon, with the Blue Mantles, and others. In the course of its history Upper Tooting has reckoned among its members many cricketers who have played for their Universities or counties. The chief names that occur in this connection will be T. W. Weeding, who, in the sixties, represented Surrey on a few occasions; W. E. Roller, one of the best all-round players Surrey has ever had, came direct into the county eleven from the club; F. Lee of Cambridge University eleven, who played a few matches for Surrey in the sixties; W. H. Lipscombe of the Oxford eleven, who captained the club for some years; H. C. L. Tindall, the holder of the quarter-mile record, who has played for Sussex; and of recent years D. H. Butcher, an occasional player for Surrey, and L. V. Harper, a son of the present President, Sydney Harper of the Cambridge University eleven of 1901, and a cricketer likely to be of great use to the county.

The WIMBLEDON Cricket Club has attained its jubilee. It was founded on 20 May 1854, principally through the exertions of Messrs. Devas, the first President, P. Hathaway, E. D. Holroyd, and J. S. Oliphant, and numbered at the outset fifty-six members. Particularly fortunate in its early officers, under the energetic direction of Mr. J. S. Oliphant, who occupied the position of Hon. Secretary till 1859, and subsequently of Mr. F. W. Oliver, holder of the double office of Captain and Hon. Secretary for many years, the Wimbledon C.C. in a few years became quite one of the most popular clubs round London. Its first ground was on Wimbledon Common, an excellent pitch, which answered every purpose for thirty-five years. Under the captaincy of Mr. F. W. Oliver, Wimbledon prospered greatly; indeed, the value of his services cannot possibly be over-estimated. As an all-round player he was much above the average; as Captain he understood every turn of the game, and as Secretary his loving interest was best illustrated by his con-

tributions to cricket history in the shape of the volume he published in 1871, giving the full scores of the club matches from 1854 to 1870. The Wimbledon Club retained its original pitch on the Common until the end of 1889, when opportunity occurred of acquiring the present ground in Wimbledon Park. The disadvantages of an unenclosed match ground had been for some time much in evidence, and the Park site was indeed immediately secured. So satisfied were the executive with their new abiding place that the freehold was purchased in 1899. Of the earlier members the best-known players were Messrs. F. W. Oliver and W. J. Collyer, two of the original committee, and G. P. Greenfield, all of whom played for Surrey; T. A. Rayne of Sussex, F. C. Greenfield of the Free Foresters, and for four years Hon. Secretary of the Wisps, another of the first committee. Later on came the old Harrovian S. W. Gore, and the old Brightonian, Rev. A. T. Scott, who played for Cambridge University in 1870 and 1871, W. E. Martyn, C. W. Aston Key, W. Holland, E. W. Reeves, D. Forde and B. Hay Cooper. All of these were regular players in their respective generations. As a proof of the camaraderie which prevailed, it may be stated that when the club moved from the Common to its present quarters in 1899 four of the original members of 1854 still belonged to the club. Another interesting fact worthy of mention, is that the club possessed a member who played for thirty-three years consecutively and was not out at the finish.

It would hardly be possible to find anywhere in the neighbourhood a prettier situation than the home of the Wimbledon Club. The ground, which has two pavilions and a cottage for the caretaker, has also several lawn tennis courts and a bowling green; it is one of the best as a cricket pitch. The programme generally includes matches with Marylebone Club and Ground, Surrey Club and Ground, Esher, Oatlands Park, Leatherhead, Surbiton, Streatham, Upper Tooting and Ewell among others. In succession to Mr. F. W. Oliver, E. Oliver, E. W. Reeve, Sid. Christopherson, W. E. Martyn, H. Lomas, and Bernard Hay Cooper, the last of whom holds the position at the commencement of the century, have acted as Honorary Secretaries.

SCHOOLS

CRANLEIGH SCHOOL was founded in 1865, and cricket has been part and parcel of the

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boys' recreation from the outset. The ground, which is still on that fine expanse of turf known as Cranleigh Common, was at first of very small dimensions, consisting of a small piece in the centre duly cut and railed in. The present enclosure, with its excellent pitch, has been made by the combined efforts of the school and the Village Club. The school games are divided into 'First Club and six Dormitory sides.' At the end of the season the Dormitory teams, strengthened by the inclusion of the members of the Eleven and First Club, compete for a Cup. A fund provided by the late Sir Henry Peek provides the Peek Cup and Spoon for the best batting and bowling averages, and also a Cup for the highest score against the School at the annual Old Boys' Match. Cranleigh School has played its part, if not a very important one, in County Cricket. While Captain of the School eleven in 1895 E. C. Mariner received a trial in the Hampshire eleven. C. W. Potter and J. Carmichael both played for Surrey in the seventies, the latter while he was still at Cranleigh. A member of the same eleven, W. Barton, made a high reputation in New Zealand cricket. R. B. Brooks, a wicket-keeper who would have been quite first class if he had been able to get practice in good cricket, has kept for Surrey, and also represented the Gentlemen against the Players in the Scarborough Festival. Several Cranleighians present and past have taken part in the minor matches of the Surrey County Cricket Club. The chief matches played by the Cranleigh School eleven are against Marylebone Club and Ground, Epsom College (whom they beat for the first time in 1901), St. John's School, Leatherhead, Whitgift School and the City of London School. Hampton Wick and Ealing are annual opponents, and some of the Hospital Clubs are generally met. James Street, the Surrey fast bowler of the early seventies, was in charge of the cricket for several years. The standard of play has varied a good deal, and the best teams turned out so far have been those of 1875, 1889, and 1896. H. Casswell, one of the first boys to enter the school, was a prominent figure in Cranleigh cricket for many years. He did a great deal for the school games during his mastership, which extended over a quarter of a century, from 1870 to 1894.

From its foundation in 1619 till the year 1858 DULWICH COLLEGE consisted of twelve scholars, and of twelve only, so that the cricket of that period need not be seriously considered. In the year 1858, when the College was first

opened as a public school, the buildings were of such a size as only to hold at the most 130 boys; and though the number of the school almost immediately reached their maximum of 130, the difficulty of securing a suitable playing field, and consequently the impossibility of introducing properly organized games, rendered the period from 1858 till 1870 equally devoid of anything of permanent interest connected with the game. Even at that time, notwithstanding difficulties, there existed first, second, and third elevens, which competed with corresponding teams from other schools.

It was not till the College removed to its present buildings and playground in 1870 that cricket really began to flourish, as in every other public school in the kingdom.

The interests of the game from 1876 practically up to the present time have been most energetically and carefully guarded by Mr. T. G. Treadgold, one of the assistant masters, and under his guidance the organization of the school cricket, at first necessarily very incomplete, and improvement of the playing fields have made vast strides.

The games on half-holidays are arranged in the following way. At the beginning of the season the first three elevens have practice games amongst themselves or against scratch teams. Besides these, there is a special game arranged for the most promising of the boys under sixteen years of age, and representatives from this game play an annual match against a Haileybury team of corresponding age. If none of the first three elevens have matches, trial games called Side Matches are often arranged, representatives of each of the four sides into which the school is divided, namely, the Classical, Modern (including the Army Class), Science and Engineering sides playing one against another. These Side Matches, utilizing as they do all the best cricket talent of the school, and by reason of the additional interest attaching to them, have proved, perhaps, the most effectual means of bringing to the front and developing the talent of the players. The remaining games are arranged in gradation according to merit, and boys are moved up from one game to another as they improve. Captains are appointed to each game by the captain of the School eleven, whose duties consist (1) in seeing that all necessary arrangements for their special game are properly carried out; that is to say, that the wicket is properly prepared, the rolling and marking out of the wickets being done to a very great extent by the boys themselves; (2) in seeing that those

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whose names are put down for the game are present; (3) in reporting to the captain of the School Eleven at a meeting held to discuss their games at the end of the afternoon the names of those whom they think deserving of a move into a higher game. In this way, including the games of all grades, nineteen different games are in progress at the same time, some having necessarily more than eleven a side. On other days in the week matches according to forms are substituted for the ordinary half-holiday games. This is, of course, contrary to the usual practice of schools, but the reason is found in the day-boy element, which is far greater than at most schools, the number of day-boys compared with that of the boarders being in the ratio of nearly six to one; it has been found that form matches make an excellent substitute in every way for House matches.

The system of the holiday games having succeeded up to the present time, it has been thought that even more interest might be produced by arranging form matches on the half-holidays worked on the system of league matches. This system was tried in 1901 for the first time. The change has been suggested, especially with the idea of improving the standard of cricket outside the first few elevens.

The number of the school first eleven matches has gradually been allowed to fall to eight yearly fixtures. When a match is being played there must be a certain number of boys for whom there is no space to play, so in the interests of the school generally the matches of the first eleven are made as few as possible.

Four schools are now played regularly every year, all one-day matches; these are Tonbridge, Bedford Grammar School, Brighton College, and St. Paul's; and the result of all the matches against these schools gives up to the time of writing a balance of 1 in favour of Dulwich. Tonbridge have won 14 as against Dulwich 9, and 1 was drawn. Probably the most remarkable match played with Tonbridge was one in 1884, in which W. Rashleigh for Tonbridge played a magnificent innings of 203. With Bedford, Dulwich leads by 1, having gained 8 victories and suffered 7 defeats, 4 being drawn matches. The chief match of note played against Bedford was one in 1886, in which W. G. L. Wyld and C. O. Cooper each scored a century in the same innings, the only occasion on which two centuries on the same side in one innings have been scored on the College ground. Against Brighton

Dulwich has been more successful, for though suffering defeats in 1885-6-7, during which years the Brighton team included such magnificent cricketers as S. M. J. Woods, G. H. Cotterill, G. L. Wilson and N. C. Cooper, it has altogether won 10 out of the 16 matches played. There was one drawn match in 1895; each side in its first innings made 131, and, time forbidding second innings, the match remained a tie. In 1896, on the Brighton ground, a most exciting match ended in a win for Dulwich, who, in the fourth innings, after a very hard and tiring day's play, went in to get 136 in an hour, and hit off the runs in fifty-five minutes. Dulwich has played St. Paul's School nine times, winning the first 5 matches and losing the last 4.

The first old Alleynian to gain distinction in first-class cricket was the late Major W. G. Wyld, who, whenever his military duties allowed, played regularly for Surrey. In regimental cricket, both at home and abroad, he was a most prolific scorer. M. P. Bowden played as a regular member of the Surrey eleven for some years. As a schoolboy he was a beautifully free batsman, and though his style, when he found himself in first-class cricket, certainly became less free, he proved himself indispensable to the county, combining as he did with his batting, splendid fielding and wicket-keeping ability. In this last capacity he was chosen to play for the Gentlemen against the Players. A. W. Dorman, a left-hand bowler with a nice easy action, obtained a place in the Cambridge XI of 1886. Capt. A. P. Douglas played occasionally for Surrey; but, having served nearly all his time abroad, he has appeared very seldom in first-class cricket. R. N. Douglas, C. M. Wells and J. Douglas all obtained their 'blues' at Cambridge in their first year, and played regularly for the University. Both C. M. Wells and R. N. Douglas played for Surrey during and after their three years at Cambridge; and both, with J. Douglas, have since played regularly for Middlesex during the month of August, and have all been chosen to play for the Gentlemen against the Players. C. M. Wells in 1893 had the best bowling average, counting those who took at least 50 wickets during the season, whether of gentlemen or professionals, and he has the distinction of having made the largest individual score ever made in a county match by a Middlesex batsman. His analysis in 1893 shows that 73 wickets fell to him at a cost of just over 14 runs each, and his great score of 244 was made against Nottingham

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in 1899. N. Miller, whose average in club cricket for the last few years has been enormous, has been prevented by business from playing regularly for Surrey, though he showed his high merits as a player by scoring a century in the very first match in which he played for the county. F. P. Knox, the Oxford captain, was captain of Dulwich in 1897 and 1898, and won his 'blue' at Oxford in 1899, proving himself most successful against Cambridge in that, his first, year. He also has been found worthy of a place in the Surrey eleven. Besides those already mentioned, the following have taken part in first-class cricket: J. M. Campbell and L. S. Wells (London County Cricket Club); C. O. Cooper, F. D. Browne and F. de L. Solbé (Kent); C. Wells (Cambridge), and H. O. Dolbey (Surrey).

EPSOM COLLEGE was founded in 1853. Cricket has been played from the beginning, but was for some years rough and unscientific, as the only available pitch was the open ground on the Downs. During the headmastership of Dr. West, about twenty-five years ago, a good cricket field was laid out inside the school grounds. Further extensions were made from time to time, and there is now enough good ground for the whole school of 250 boys to play with comfort and enjoyment. The school games are compulsory on four afternoons in the week, medical exemption being of course given where necessary. They are managed by the school captain of whatever game is being played, with the assistance of the house captains. The general plan is that the best players are first selected to make up the first side. Below that the organization is by houses. The chief matches are against the Marylebone Club and Ground, the Surrey Club and Ground, St. John's and Cranleigh Schools, Leatherhead, Old Epsomians, Banstead, and generally one or two of the hospitals. Epsom College has not produced many county cricketers. Probably the reason is that pressure of business or professional duties prevents men from developing the promise of their school-days. H. C. Pretty a few years ago made a brief and brilliant appearance for Surrey. Before his time there had not been for some years any county player of note except R. Wright, who played and did good service for Leicestershire in the eighties. The Lower School games are supervised regularly by masters. In the other parts of the school prefects and house captains see that the games are conducted and played in the true and best spirit of cricket. Many of the

masters take a keen personal interest in the games, and do what they can both by coaching and playing to develop any promising material.

The connection of St. JOHN'S SCHOOL, Leatherhead, with Surrey cricket may be said to have commenced with the removal of the school to its present site in 1872, though it was not till some years afterwards that matches with the more important clubs were arranged. With the engagement of a professional in 1884 the match list was improved, with the result that interest in cricket increased throughout the school, and more attention began to be paid to the junior games. The system now in vogue is much the same as obtains at other public schools. On whole school days net practice prevails, with games or matches on half-holidays, the boys being divided into elevens at the commencement of each season. There is in addition a House Competition. This is a matter of some difficulty, in that all are under the same roof. It has been surmounted, however, by the arrangement of north, south, east and west, according to the place of residence.

Famous cricketers from St. John's have not been very numerous; in after life the boys generally have little or no opportunity of keeping up the game. Of the fortunate few who have been able to devote time to it after leaving school the most promising is T. N. Perkins of Cambridge and Kent, also an Association Football Blue. In his fourth year (1887) in the school eleven he made over 1,000 runs, and also took nearly 150 wickets, a double achievement never equalled. L. T. Driffield, a more recent captain, has played for Northamptonshire with success, but only tardily gained his blue at Cambridge, though he has represented the University in their trial matches several times. An older generation produced the Rev. E. D. Shaw, of Oxford University and Herts, while L. Bruton of Northumberland was a contemporary of T. N. Perkins at St. John's. Most of the neighbouring clubs are played annually in addition to M.C.C. and Ground, Surrey Club and Ground, and the five schools, Epsom, Cranleigh, Christ's Hospital, Merchant Taylors' and Forest School. The boys have generally been successful in their school matches, if not so fortunate with some of the stronger clubs. Marshall, the Leicestershire and Surrey wicket-keeper, has recently been engaged as school professional.

The history of cricket at WHITGIFT GRAMMAR SCHOOL practically commences with the

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formation of the cricket club under the presidency of the headmaster, Mr. R. Brodie. C. Rogers was then the captain, the first of a succession of excellent leaders. During the first few seasons the cricket was not of a particularly high order. During the last fifteen years or so it has steadily improved, and has now reached a fairly high standard.

Cricket, like the other school games, is now managed by the games committee, which consists of four masters, two old boys, and five present boys. Every expense is defrayed out of the games fund, and all subscribers to the funds are entitled to participate in all the games, the sports included, without additional expense. Whitgift has three school elevens. Matches take place annually against St. John's School, Hurstpierpoint, Cranleigh School, the Royal Naval School, the City of London School, Christ's Hospital, the Guards Depot at Caterham, the Surrey Colts, etc. On the afternoon of whole school days there is practice at the net. A series of matches also takes place on the tournament system among the different forms, the lower forms having a greater number of players than the higher. The school professional bowls as well as coaches at the nets, and sometimes has the eleven out for a practice game, with a view to improve the wicket-keeping and the fielding generally.

In its short career the Whitgift School Cricket Club has turned out a number of excellent batsmen. Prominent mention among them may be given to Geoffrey Marks, the first boy to score a hundred for the school, and a wicket-keeper of some ability, who has played occasionally for Middlesex. T. P. Harvey, who captained Surrey's second eleven for a time, L. J. Turner, A. R. W. Moody, C. Moss and H. L. Turner; also V. F. S. Crawford, Secretary of Leicestershire and formerly a Surrey amateur, learned their cricket at Whitgift. D. F. S. Goodden was the first of a long array of bowlers. The best of the others were E. H. Bald, C. Moss, A. E. Howes, J. C. G. Harrison, and H. B. B. Hawkins, who played for Cambridge University in 1899. Some of the hitting of V. F. S. Crawford was phenomenal. He scored 103 in 70 minutes, 28 in one over, against St. Dunstan's College; 218 out of 296, before luncheon, for Young Amateurs *v.* Young Professionals of Surrey; 100 in 40 minutes for Kennington *v.* Fareham; 201 *v.* Blackheath in 105 minutes, four overs yielding respectively 24, 22, 19, and 17 runs apiece, and 106 out of 128 in 42 minutes.

At what precise date CHARTERHOUSE began to play cricket is a question not easy to

determine; its registers go back as far as 1837, and the game was then played with some success, considering the limited space and opportunities then available. We are not called upon to unearth those dim and musty records, for Charterhouse cricket, as identified with the county of Surrey, began in 1872, when the school moved out of London and found a resting-place on the hill a mile outside Godalming.

Though there was ground in plenty it was not level, and having been mainly a game preserve, a vast deal of labour was required to level and clear even one fair-sized ground 140 yards square; when that one was eventually finished, funds and patience were alike exhausted, and that had to suffice the whole school for the next ten years or so. The ground itself was good, for much care had been expended on it; unfortunately, however, the same care was not devoted to its upkeep. If the match wickets were bad—not to say dangerous—the practice wickets were worse. The cricket feeling in the school, given over as it was to the glories of football, was not strong enough to make its discontent heard, if discontent existed.

In 1881 four small grounds of about 25 by 30 yards were laid; of these only two are now left, and serve as practice grounds for the eleven. By this time the numbers of the school had risen to over 500, and there were only five grounds for them: no wonder cricket did not flourish. In 1888, however, a field of some 10 acres adjoining the school property came into the market; the price asked was £4,000. It was bought at once by the governing body, and the money required for putting it in playing order, some £2,000, was furnished mainly by masters, friends and Old Cartusians, of whom the last-named, through their cricket and football club, also built a most excellent pavilion. The ground was laid out in three terraces practically, with three squares to a terrace, and a strip down the south side for practice nets. This ground has from the first been kept in excellent order; indeed, so good were both the wickets and the out-fielding that it was felt something must be done to bring the first eleven ground into line with it. This result was brought about by top-dressings of loam and clay; no expense was spared, and the result has been eminently satisfactory to everybody except bowlers. So fast and true are the wickets now that it is difficult to induce good amateur bowlers to face the ordeal, and it may be that the hearts of many promising Charterhouse bowlers have been broken thereby.

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Two more additions have been made lately to the grounds. In 1899 a fresh strip of ground 120 yards by 12 was laid along the edge of the football field, on which every house has a net; and in 1900 a fresh ground, some 110 by 100 yards was laid partly for the use of the second XI, and partly for the use of the people called Maniacs, of whom more anon. There are therefore now four grounds, which are named in the order of their birth—Green, Under Green, Lessington and Wilderness—providing altogether about 18 acres of the very best cricket ground in the county.

Management of the school cricket up to the year 1891 was entirely in the hands of the captain of the XI and the four club captains. The captain of the XI made up his game out of such members of three XI's as were left from last season, supplemented by the most promising cricketers he could get from the clubs; these represented the whole of the rest of the school, which was divided into four clubs, Swallows, Nomads, Cygnets and Harpies, consisting of two or more houses each, and managed by one of themselves. Each club was supposed to have four games, thus providing cricket for eighty-eight boys, who played three times a week; but somehow the system never worked properly. Many of the games stopped in the middle of the afternoon, and even where the sides were full, and play continued until the ordinary time for drawing stumps, nothing like eighty-eight boys were requisitioned. Too much was left to the individual energy of the captain of the XI and of the club captains, and, with one or two notable exceptions, they were seldom equal to the task imposed upon them.

In 1891 one of the masters took the Under School cricket in hand, drew up a code of rules to prevent cutting or sending substitutes, insisted upon all the sides being full and the games played out the full time, and finally, to encourage the aspiring cricketer, started an Under Green XI, under the title of Maniacs (an old Charterhouse Club name), for which none of the first three XI's were eligible; got up a programme of ten to twelve foreign matches, and had the names of the elevens recorded in the Under Green pavilion. It was no doubt a great help to the captain of the XI in discovering and fostering talent for his use, and in only one year did the Maniacs fail to provide at least one member of the school eleven, while the large majority of those who eventually attain to first eleven honours have received their training on the tricky wickets of the neighbouring village grounds, where a score of 100 generally wins

the match with a good margin, and marvellous decisions by the umpires supply the element of luck and give zest to the encounter. The return matches on Under Green and Wilderness are looked forward to eagerly by the village teams, and have, it is hoped, tended to encourage friendly relations with the neighbours. They raise the standard of cricket about the school, and have led in many instances to improvement in the village grounds.

The Maniacs proved an undoubted success, but there was still a twofold want. First, the keenness observable in the first and second games where there was a chance of being favourably noticed for the Maniacs, did not extend to the third and fourth games where cricket was not played, but played at; and secondly, the Maniacs, when promoted to Green, if not lucky enough to be tried for the first XI, were strangely neglected; the games were arranged in the interests of a few good bats, and the rest seldom got an innings; while on match days, of which there were a great many, they had nothing to do. This latter difficulty had been partly met by a run-limit in ordinary games, and will be further met by a series of Second XI matches on the same lines as the Maniacs, only against stronger teams. The former difficulty has been met, it is thought, successfully by the establishment of the league system. A league is arranged for 'yearlings,' i.e. boys who have joined the school since the previous summer; this consists of twelve teams, and each team plays the eleven others. A second league is formed, for those members of the third and fourth club games who are not yearlings, called 'etceteras,' who also provide twelve teams, and play in the same manner among themselves. The first and second club games account for 176 boys more, and the nets on Lessington are open all the day for those who cannot find a place among these forty elevens. Each club has, moreover, three nets on Under Green, which are always full between 12.30 and 1.30, and have two professionals to help the bowling, one provided by the masters, the other by the Old Carthusian Club.

The fortunes of the school cricket have been entrusted successively to Julius Cæsar, J. Street, J. Russell and J. T. Mounsey; the first two are well-known old Surrey players, the third was rather a ground man and bowler than a coach, and the grounds owed much to his care. J. T. Mounsey was appointed in 1900.

The only two schools which Charterhouse

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play annually are Westminster and Wellington.

There are records in existence of two matches played at Vincent Square against Westminster in 1850 and 1851, but the match appears not to have been played again until 1865, from which year, with the exception of 1872, when there was no match, it has been a regular fixture. The summary reads:—Charterhouse 20, Westminster 13, drawn 4. Only once has the match furnished a really exciting finish, namely, in 1876. The wicket was not all that could be desired—sodden and rough. Charterhouse went in first and made 60; Westminster followed with 63. Charterhouse, going to the wickets a second time, ‘took the long handle,’ and hit for all they were worth; 200 was up in an incredibly short time; the tail ran themselves out, for there was no declaring in those days, and Westminster were left with the apparently simple task of keeping up their wickets for 100 minutes. But the two famous school bowlers of that year, Dobie and Wood, were not to be denied. The former bumped his lightning deliveries down at a frenzied pace, while Wood made his slow left-hand teasers pop in all directions, with the result that Westminster were out in forty minutes for 22. The bowling analysis is worth recording—

	Overs.	Maidens.	Runs.	Wickets.
H. H. Dobie. . .	7	5	8	3
H. Wood. . .	6·4	1	8	7

The Wellington match was first played in 1872, then for a few years omitted, but since 1877 it has been a regular fixture. Like the Westminster, this match has only furnished one exciting finish, namely, in 1885, when H. H. the late Prince Christian Victor of Schleswig-Holstein captained Wellington, and C. Wreford-Brown did the like for Charterhouse. Wellington went in first and made 133 (E. W. Markham not out 75), to which Charterhouse responded with 114 (C. Wreford-Brown not out 33). It was a one-day match, and triumphant telegrams were despatched to Wellington. But with the second innings Wellington were perhaps over-confident; the order of batting was altered, with disastrous results, as so often happens, and Wreford-Brown and E. C. Streatfield had the satisfaction of dismissing the whole side in a very short time for 33. Their analysis reads—

	Overs.	Maidens.	Runs.	Wickets.
C. Wreford-Brown	18·4	6	17	6
E. C. Streatfield .	18	9	15	4

Charterhouse were left with 54 runs to get and only 25 minutes wherein to get them. Nothing daunted they set to work; orders were given to hit or get out; 2 wickets fell at once; but before the retiring batsmen could fully realize what had happened the next men had taken up their position. The credit of this performance belongs no doubt to Messrs. C. Wreford-Brown and J. B. Hawkins, who lashed out at everything, and ran almost impossible runs. The score mounted slowly—too slowly—and it seemed that the clock must win; then Wellington made the mistake that cost them the match; they changed their bowling, and as a result the 54 runs were hit off, with three minutes to spare.

At the time of writing the total summary of the Wellington matches reads: Charterhouse won 12, lost 10, drawn 1.

Many Old Carthusian cricketers have made their mark outside the narrow range of school cricket, playing for their Universities, their counties, and elsewhere in first-class cricket.

For Oxford there played F. G. Inge in 1861, 1862, and 1863; C. E. Boyle in 1865, 1866, and 1867; C. E. B. Nepean in 1873; E. L. Colebrook in 1880, when he saved the match by stubborn defence; C. Wreford-Brown was selected to play in 1890, but was obliged to stand down at the last minute owing to an injured finger; G. O. Smith in 1895 and 1896. A later representative was F. L. Fane, in 1897 and 1898 so valuable to Essex.

For Cambridge there played in 1882-3-4-5 C. A. Smith, ‘All-round-the-corner-Smith,’ as he was called, from his peculiar method of advancing to the wicket to bowl. C. W. Wright in the same years kept wicket and made many runs in an incredibly long time. E. C. Streatfield in 1890, 1891, 1892 did wonders both with bat and ball, and is perhaps the finest all-round cricketer that Charterhouse has ever turned out. In 1892 he was invited to play for the Gentlemen of England. E. H. Bray kept wicket for Cambridge in the famous match of 1896, when he scored 49 and 41.

In connection with County Cricket E. C. Streatfield, G. O. Smith and E. O. Powell have appeared for Surrey on more than one occasion, and the last-named, with Major E. G. Wynyard, also for Hampshire. C. W. Wright has frequently been included in the Notts team, and F. L. Fane and H. J. E. Burrell in the Essex eleven. E. H. Bray has played for Middlesex, and C. Wreford-Brown for Gloucestershire. The only Carthusian who has had the honour of repre-

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sending England against Australia in a test match is Major E. G. Wynyard.

The total amount spent on cricket during

the year amounts roughly to between £700 and £800, not including special grants for laying out fresh grounds or putting up buildings.

FOOTBALL

Football in some shape or other is an old pastime in some parts of Surrey. Of the early Shrovetide football festivals that at Kingston-on-Thames, if not presenting some of the sensational features which characterized its rougher rivals at Chester, Derby, or the numerous celebrations prevalent throughout Scotland, was at least entitled to an honourable place by reason of its universal local popularity. It had not lost any of its peculiar attractions for the townsfolk over a century ago, to judge by the description given of 'Football Day' at Kingston in 1815 in Hone's *Every-Day Book*. A traveller journeying to Hampton Court by coach 'was not a little amused upon entering Teddington to see all the inhabitants securing the glass of all their front windows from the ground to the roof, some by placing hurdles before them, and some by nailing lathes across the frames.' At about twelve o'clock (according to the traveller) the football began, and everybody who chose joined in. Several games were in progress at the same time, and the amusement lasted four hours. The neighbouring royal borough of Richmond in the first half of the last century had been subjected to the pains and penalties of these Shrovetide football festivals. In 1839 (according to the records) the principal inhabitants, seeing that the practice had been attended with accidents and much destruction of property, availed themselves of the Police Act and signed a requisition to the Commissioner of Police, who caused a notice to be issued cautioning persons from practising the sport. In view of possible disturbance a large force of police was in attendance on the following Shrove Tuesday, and, an attempt being made to commence the game, some of the mob were arrested and taken before the magistrates, who imposed fines. Some disturbance occurred and the police were assaulted, but not seriously. The Kingston people, however, were not to have their amusement stopped so summarily, for in 1840 a request was sent to the Commissioner that the police should not interfere.¹

¹ *Bell's Life* of 22 February 1844 tells of a golden ball. Before the game commenced, the Kingston Band, preceded by about five hundred of the inhabitants bearing flags, marched in procession to

Dorking also gave itself up freely to football on Shrove Tuesday. Mr. Charles Rose, in his recollections of old Dorking, tells us that it was customary in the morning to carry the footballs round the town with collecting boxes to receive funds to defray the cost of repairing any damage that might be done in the shape of broken windows, etc. The balls were usually painted blue, red, black and yellow, and the framework on which they were suspended bore the inscription, 'Wind and Water's Dorking's Glory,' to which recently was added a preliminary line, 'Kick away both Whig and Tory.' The game was started from the Church gates, and was continued till six o'clock in the evening. The 'brook' offered great attractions to the more desperate spirits, and duckings therein represented a great deal of the day's enjoyment.

ASSOCIATION

Among the early fathers of Association football were not a few Surrey men. The first football club to play a regular programme of matches was the Forest Football Club, founded in 1859; it was established by J. F. and C. W. Alcock, the latter of whom played an active part in cricket and football for nearly forty years. The Barnes Football Club, one of the earliest clubs, claimed Mr. E. C. Morley, the first hon. sec. of the Football Association, as one of its most active players. The success which attended the first inter-district match, that between London and Sheffield in the early sixties, was in a great measure due to the energy of Mr. Morley, who was assisted by a few other well-known Surrey players.

Happily there were at this time several real football enthusiasts eager to develop the Association game. The institution of inter-county matches was one of the first results of their labours. Matches in which the players had *bonâ fide* qualifications for their respective counties were arranged with Kent and Middlesex in friendly rivalry. The Football Association was the controlling body

the market-place, where the golden ball was kicked off, and the usual bumping, kicking, thumping, pulling and hauling ensued for several hours, all ending satisfactorily.

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in each case, but the teams were selected and the games played under the management of leading players of the several shires connected with, and working under, the auspices of the Football Association. Mr. Morley was succeeded as hon. secretary of the Football Association by Messrs. Willis and Graham. The latter in his turn gave way to Mr. C. W. Alcock, who after holding the office for some twenty-five years, was succeeded by Mr. F. J. Wall. The fact that the five secretaries of the Football Association, since it came into existence, have all been Surrey men is one of which the county may well be proud.

The era of county associations was not to commence until much later. In some respects Surrey, as a county for the regulation of sport, suffers from the fact that it is in part within the area of London. It is difficult for the residents of Brixton or Southwark to feel themselves county men in the same sense as those who live, say, in Guildford or Redhill. But in spite of the obvious difficulties in the way Surrey was one of the very first to form an association with the object of consolidating the different clubs and players within its boundaries. According to its official handbook, the Surrey Football Association dates back as far as 1877. The first record that can be found of it is two years later. At a meeting held in the Pavilion at Kennington Oval a working committee was formed to manage its affairs. A trial game between metropolitan Surrey and the rest of the county was arranged to be played at the Oval, and it was also decided to have some matches in the outlying parts of the county for the benefit of the charitable institutions of Surrey. It should be stated that for some time before this there had been in existence an association which did good work in west Surrey. It was known as the West Surrey Association, and the original clubs forming it in 1875 were the Surrey Zingari, West Surrey Wanderers, Guildford, Farnham, Godalming and one other.¹ Reigate Priory even was not admitted to membership, as the association limited itself strictly to west Surrey, though a little later mid-Surrey outside of the metropolitan area was taken in. The association was very modest in its aims. Some of the constituent clubs had very primitive notions, one to the extent of playing its matches on moonlight nights. Still football thrived steadily, with the result that new clubs were formed at Dorking, Haslemere, and other centres. A match between east and west Surrey was started in 1877. It was practi-

cally a trial of strength between suburban and rural Surrey, and was continued with one exception (in 1886) for many years. The West Surrey Association even then played some of the smaller associations, e.g. Oxfordshire, Hants, Dorsetshire and West Sussex.

The revival, or the re-establishment, to use the official expression as it was used at the fore-gathering which led to it, took a formal shape at a meeting held at the *Angel Hotel*, Guildford, on 16 March 1882. The minute book records it rather quaintly as 'a meeting of the West Surrey Football Association and the other clubs in the county.' In any case there was unanimity among those present to judge by the adoption of the following resolution:—'That it is desirable to re-establish the Surrey County Football Association on a substantial basis in order to encourage the development of the Association game within the County of Surrey, and that the Surrey County Football Association be affiliated with the Football Association of England.' That the western division however was still to be the predominant partner was shown by a subsequent resolution to the effect that the headquarters of the association be considered to be in the western division of the county, and that meetings be held (when practicable) at Reigate, Guildford and other important centres. The ten clubs whose names appear on the minutes of this meeting as supporters of the association were Reigate Priory, Farnham, Dorking, Clapham Rovers, East Sheen, Mosquitoes, Esher, Guildford, St. Thomas' Hospital and Surbiton.

According to the rules adopted each of these clubs was represented by one delegate on the general committee, which was completed by the members of a special committee consisting of the president, vice-president and seven others elected at the general meeting. The first vice-president was Mr. C. W. Alcock, the hon. sec. of the Football Association, as well as secretary of the Surrey County Cricket Club. A challenge from Middlesex to play in the following week was duly accepted.² It was also decided to institute a challenge cup. The official records state

² The following were selected to represent the county in its initial inter-county match under the new regime:—Goal: W. Shearburn (Dorking); backs: W. W. Read (Reigate) and W. H. Norris (Reigate); half-backs: E. C. Bambridge (Clapham Rovers) and N. C. Bailey (Clapham Rovers); forwards: W. J. Anderson (Farnham), W. A. Burridge (Limpsfield), F. J. Morrison (Reigate), R. R. H. Lockhart Ross (East Sheen), W. J. Down (Dorking), and J. H. Thompson (Mosquitoes).

¹ Probably Aldershot.

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that the cup was 'established for competition amongst Surrey Clubs.' At the same time there was the important reservation that 'No Clubs with headquarters within six miles of London were to be allowed to compete at present.' Still, though the actual management of the association was practically in the hands of the western division, the Metropolitan area had an influential representation in the vice-president, Mr. C. W. Alcock, the captain, Mr. N. C. Bailey, and the brothers W. S. and E. H. Bambridge. Fittingly enough in the first final for the cup East and West were represented, though the latter, with Reigate Priory, managed to get the best of East Sheen, the champion of the east, after a hard fight, by the narrow margin of a goal. In these early days R. R. H. Lockhart Ross was the moving spirit of the association. Joint hon. sec. with W. J. Down at the outset, he held the office alone from 1883 to 1885 inclusive, following this up by holding the captaincy of the county eleven in 1885-6 and the two subsequent seasons.

It was mainly due to his energy a football tournament, or as he preferred to call it, a *bonspiel*, was arranged in 1883. Two competitions, one open to all Surrey, the other only to the clubs of west Surrey, were also instituted. These football *bonspiels*, it is only fair to say, were very popular, and were instrumental in the formation of several clubs. The same year (1883) also saw the installation of the Duke of Connaught, a Surrey resident, as president of the association. The question whether the tournaments which had come into vogue in Surrey, Hampshire and in some other counties were permissible under the rules of the Football Association became a matter of discussion in 1884. The decision of the parent association, which was against their legality, naturally was a source of trouble to the Surrey Football Association, as well as to the other associations concerned. The first idea was to organize a counter movement in the shape of a combination of associations which should act independently of the Football Association. That the Surrey executive favoured such an action is shown by the minutes of a meeting which was called to consider the question of secession from the Football Association and empowering the secretary to call a general meeting if necessary at an early date to arrange an alliance with Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Sussex and other counties. This meeting was held on 5 November 1884 but the scheme failed.

All this time the record of the association had shown a division of opinion producing

naturally anything but consistency of action or continuity of policy. The management in 1884 seems to have been in the hands of delegates representing the different hundreds of Surrey, one to each, with two for each division of the Brixton hundred. But in spite of the prevalent discontent in 1884 the year produced one good thing in the formation of the charity competition, open to west Surrey only. Meanwhile the Surrey eleven had been playing a few matches annually with a fair amount of success. Middlesex, Berks, Bucks and Sussex were Surrey's chief opponents, with Oxfordshire and Oxford University, and later on Hampshire and Dorsetshire.

The end of the year 1886 was memorable for the establishment of a junior cup. For the purposes of the competition, Reigate Priory, Dorking, Surrey, Zingari, East Sheen, Barnes, Sandhurst, Charterhouse, Clapham Rovers, Dulwich, Weybridge, and Walton, Guy's Hospital, St. Thomas' Hospital, Lyndhurst, Godalming, Champion Hill and Leatherhead School were declared to be senior clubs, with any others subsequently competing for the Surrey cup. Mention has already been made of Reigate Priory's success in the challenge cup in 1883, the first year of its institution. Though it only came into their possession once again in the next three seasons, the club took part in the final every year from 1883 to 1887 inclusive. Reigate also supplied the first winner of the junior cup in the Reigate West End team, who administered to their then opponents, the Prince of Wales' Own Regiment, a most decisive defeat by five goals to one. In 1886-7 Surrey's chief matches were against Sussex, Kent, Middlesex, Hertfordshire and the two Universities.

An important change in the working of the challenge cup competition was made at the annual general meeting held on 31 October 1887. It consisted of the sub-division of the county into six districts, each managed by its respective committee. The six districts were: (1) Guildford District, comprising the hundreds of Woking, Farnham, Blackheath and Godalming; (2) Dorking District, comprising the hundreds of Walton, Copthorne, Effingham and West Wallington; (3) Reigate District, comprising the hundreds of Reigate and Tandridge; (4) Walton and Weybridge District, comprising the hundreds of Emley and Godley; (5) Richmond and Kingston District, comprising the hundreds of West Brixton and Kingston; (6) Dulwich and Croydon District, comprising the hundreds of East Brixton and East Wallington. By this time (1887-8) the Surrey Football

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Association had already a fairly long programme to carry through. In addition to the matches against Essex, Northamptonshire, Sussex and Hampshire, there were two inter-district matches and the All Surrey and the West Surrey Tournament, East and West Surrey, the two cup competitions and the West Surrey Championship. At the end of this season Lockhart Ross gave up the captaincy he had held for three years to E. J. D. Mitchell, who after one season retired, to be succeeded by the Rev. F. W. Pawson, the old Cambridge blue, who for some years, indeed until he left the county, took a keen and active interest in the management of the association, besides controlling the county eleven on the field with distinct success. The absence of any minute between 31 October 1888 and 16 October 1889 leaves a blank of a year in the records.

By the commencement of the nineties Reigate Priory had come quite to the forefront of Surrey clubs. For a time it almost monopolized the senior cup, winning it again in 1891 and 1892, besides taking part in the final of 1890. The other senior clubs about this time (in 1892) were Surbiton Hill, Barnes, Godalming, Guildford, Leatherhead School, St. Thomas' Hospital, Guy's Hospital, Walton, West Croydon, Old Cranleighans, Vampires, Old Wilsonians, Weybridge, Ferry Works and Guards Depôt. The competitors for the cup in the same year were St. Thomas' Hospital, Old Cranleighans, Surbiton Hill, Guildford, Reigate Priory, Walton, Vampires, Guy's Hospital, Weybridge and Ferry Works. As yet the Surrey Football Association had not a sufficiency of clubs to enable it to send its own delegate to the Council of the Football Association. A step in this direction was made in 1892, when Surrey joined with Northamptonshire to secure representation on the managing body of the Football Association. In 1893 the West Surrey League received the sanction of the Football Association on condition that all the competing clubs should belong to the Surrey Football Association.

Before this arrangement was made the regulation providing that all the meetings should be held in the western division of Surrey had been modified in several special cases. West Surrey, as a matter of fact, had now lost a good deal of its preponderance on the governing body. On giving up the position of honorary secretary to undertake the captaincy, Mr. Lockhart Ross handed over the secretarial duties to Mr. W. T. Barkworth, who after three years' tenure of office was succeeded by Mr. H. F. Highton. The

latter's reign was short, as after one season he in turn gave way to Col. A. M. Handley. The result of all these different changes was gradual removal of the sphere of influence from the west. In 1891 it was decided to hold all meetings, except the annual general, in London. This was only the prelude to a complete removal. For some years past the committee have had the power to hold the meetings of the association, general or otherwise, in any part of the county they may think fit. One of the first indications of the new policy was the decision of the committee in 1898 to co-operate with the Middlesex and London associations in the promotion of a county championship for the south of England. Two or three years later this action took practical form in the institution of a championship competition divided into two sections, one for the south-eastern, the other for the south-western counties. At this time A. M. Daniel, of the Crusaders, was captain of the county eleven in succession to the Rev. F. W. Pawson. Mr. W. W. Read, the well-known cricketer, himself a good footballer when in regular practice, shared the honorary secretaryship with Mr. C. E. S. Hardman. Messrs. Read and Hardman were succeeded in 1893 by Mr. J. P. Asher of Guildford, who, with Mr. E. Carter, undertook the duties for four years, that is up to 1897. Mr. A. M. Daniel gave up the captaincy after one year to Mr. G. H. Cotterill of Weybridge, for several years one of the best of English forwards, and one of the most popular members of the Corinthians Club. Mr. Cotterill's influence did much for Surrey during the term of his captaincy, which was only too short. Altogether the association considerably improved its position during the first half of the nineties.

Through the liberality of the Rev. G. Godfrey Burr, the spring of 1894 saw another trophy added to those at the disposal of the association in the shape of a shield for competition among the schools belonging to the Croydon Elementary Schools Football Association. A still more important addition was made a year later. This was a large silver shield presented by Mr. F. H. Roberts, of Redhill. The committee had just decided to institute a charity competition, and Mr. Roberts' handsome gift was gratefully accepted for the purpose. To what good use it has been applied will be judged from the fact that during the few years it has been held by the association the charity matches which have been played for the honour of holding it have realized upwards of a thousand pounds for

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distribution among the many deserving charitable institutions of the county. Following Mr. Roberts' graceful lead Messrs. Lockhart Ross and W. T. Barkworth, past honorary secretaries, offered a shield for junior clubs, to be competed for annually in a series of charity matches. The year 1895 was altogether one full of events for the Surrey Association. The county had from the first taken an active interest in helping to institute the competition for the South-Eastern Counties championship. It had its reward in securing the cup that year, though only to be disappointed of it the following season.

Since 1897 the administrative officer of the association has been Mr. W. J. Wilson, of whose untiring devotion to the increasing work of the secretaryship, too much praise cannot be given. The last three years the captaincy of the county eleven has been in the hands of Mr. A. J. Orr. He celebrated his first season fittingly by carrying off for the third time the South-Eastern Counties Championship Cup, which had also been won in 1898-9. Owing to a scarcity of clubs the Surrey Junior League competition was held over in 1896-7, to be revived the following season with the incentive of a silver cup, the gift of Sir T. T. Bucknill, then Member for the Epsom Division. Among the later developments of the Surrey Football Association have been the formation of a Referees' Association in October 1900, and of the Mid-Surrey League in the preceding May. In testimony of the good work Surrey Association Football has done and is doing may be mentioned a donation of £178 10s. 10d. from the Surrey Football Association to the Transvaal War Fund, the result of a collection from the clubs forming the association.

Since 1897 the supremacy of Reigate Priory in the Senior Cup competition has been successfully challenged by more than one club. Weybridge, who, after winning in 1895, were the runners up in 1896 and 1897, won it in 1898 and 1899, and again in 1902. Guildford, who have won the Senior Charity Shield three times in the seven years, have only got into the final of the Senior Cup once, in 1900, when West Croydon beat them easily. Only twice have the cup and the shield been won by the same club, by Reigate Priory in 1897, by East Sheen in 1901. Until 1902, when the Guards' Depôt won it for the second time, the junior competition had never been twice won by the same club.

How large a share of international honours Surrey men have taken will be gathered from the following list of those who played against Scotland since the two countries first met at

Glasgow in 1872. C. W. Alcock (Wanderers), 1875 *¹; N. C. Bailey (Old Westminster), 1878 to 1887 inclusive *; E. C. Bambridge (Swifts), 1879 to 1882, 1884 to 1887; E. H. Bambridge (Swifts), 1876; R. H. Birkett (Clapham Rovers), 1879; C. J. Chenery (Crystal Palace), 1872 to 1874; G. H. Cotterill (Old Brightonians), 1893 *; L. S. Howell (Wanderers), 1877; R. K. Kingsford (Wanderers), 1874; W. Lindsay (Wanderers), 1877; W. J. Maynard (First Surrey Rifles), 1872 to 1876; C. J. Morice Barnes, 1872 *; G. O. Smith (Old Carthusians), 1894, 1896 to 1901 *; A. M. Walters (Old Carthusians), 1885 to 1887, 1889-90; P. M. Walters (Old Carthusians), 1885 to 1890.* The following have represented England against Wales only: A. L. Bambridge (Swifts), 1881, 1883; F. E. Saunders (Swifts), 1888; against Ireland only, A. L. Bambridge (Swifts), 1884; N. C. Cooper (Old Brightonians), 1887; F. W. Pawson (Cambridge University), 1883, 1885.

The following have been the winners of the different competitions under the auspices of the Surrey Football Association.

WINNERS OF JUNIOR COMPETITION (*Established* 1886).—1886-7, Reigate West End; 1887-8, P.W.O. Regt.; 1888-9, Chamois; 1889-1890, Aldershot Institute; 1890-1, Guards' Depôt; 1891-2, Ferry Works; 1892-3, E. Surrey Regtl. Dist.; 1893-4, Ewell; 1894-5, Balham Athletic; 1895-6, Balham Wanderers; 1896-7, Chertsey;² 1897-8, Camberley; 1898-9, Old Londonians; 1899-1900, Wingfield House; 1900-1, Parthians; 1901-2, Guards' Depôt; 1902-3, Beddington Corner; 1903-4, Dorking.

WINNERS OF CHALLENGE CUP.—1882-3, Reigate Priory; 1883-4, Barnes; 1884-5, East Sheen; 1885-6, Reigate Priory; 1886-7, Guy's Hospital; 1887-8, Lyndhurst W.O., Barnes scratched; 1888-9, Guy's Hospital; 1889-90, Royal Scots; 1890-1, Reigate Priory; 1891-2, Reigate Priory; 1892-3, Weybridge; 1893-4, Reigate Priory³; 1894-5, Weybridge; 1895-6, West Croydon; 1896-7, Reigate Priory; 1897-8, Weybridge; 1898-9, Weybridge; 1899-1900, West Croydon; 1900-1, East Sheen; 1901-2, Weybridge; 1902-3, Townley Park; 1903-4, Townley Park.

JUNIOR LEAGUE.—1898-9, Old Londonians; 1899-1900, Wingfield House; 1900-1, Beddington Corner; 1901-2, Guards' Depôt; 1902-3, Farncombe; 1903-4, Guildford II.

¹ Those with an asterisk have played against Wales and Ireland.

² After a drawn game with Kingston.

³ After a drawn game with Guy's Hospital.

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SENIOR CHARITY SHIELD, PRESENTED BY T. H. ROBERTS; WINNERS OF SHIELD.—1895-6, Guildford; 1896-7, Reigate Priory; 1897-8, West Croydon; 1898-9, Guildford; 1899-1900, Guildford; 1900-1, East Sheen; 1901-2, Guildford; 1902-3, Dulwich Hamlet; 1903-4, Woking.

CHARTERHOUSE SCHOOL

Football has been played for over a century at Charterhouse School. Mr. A. H. Tod finds the earliest definite reference to the game in 'the Charterhouse Song,' first sung in 1794 to the tune of 'Ally Croker':—

I challenge all the men alive to say they e'er were gladder
Than boys all striving who should kick most wind
out of the bladder.

Football was certainly in vogue thirty or forty years later, though the football registers of the school do not commence until the captaincy of G. J. Cookson in 1861-2. Charterhouse then was in the heart of the city, within about half a mile of St. Paul's, and formed a part of the square bearing its name. It was not until 1872 (when it was moved bodily to the much more imposing position it now occupies at Godalming) that Charterhouse became connected with Surrey football. Before then the Charterhouse game had played an important part as a basis in framing the laws of 'The Football Association,' and indeed the rules in force at Charterhouse and Westminster formed the foundation of the revised code which is in the main the Football Association Code of to-day. The history of Charterhouse football as a Surrey sport of course begins with the history of New Charterhouse in 1872. Some nine years before, Westminster and Charterhouse had met in Vincent Square, and the remark in the register that 'it was the first match with Westminster for many years' shows that the contest was much older than the existing records would seem to indicate. Before the migration to Godalming three other matches had been played between the two schools in 1864 and two succeeding years. The result was to leave Westminster, who had been successful in 1863, still one to the good.

The very limited area allowed to football on the Old Green in Charterhouse Square did not prevent the school from rearing a number of good players. T. C. Hooman, the late C. E. B. Nepean, the two Muir Mackenzies, K. and M., were among the best exponents of the game in the early seventies. The adoption of the rules of the Football

Association in their entirety in 1875 brought the school directly into touch with the governing body of the game. Since then Charterhouse has supplied an uninterrupted succession of great players to Inter-University and International football. From W. N. Cobbold and the brothers, P. M. and A. M. Walters, down to G. O. Smith, the history of Association football is full of the names of Carthusians who have taken the highest rank as players. As an instance of sustained excellence, G. O. Smith is perhaps the most conspicuous. From 1894 to 1902 inclusive he played in twenty-one International matches, the largest number at credit of any player up to date. That Charterhouse, too, has furnished a very large number to the ranks of University footballers of late years is a matter of history. As an illustration of this it is only necessary to point to the Inter-University match of 1897; no less than ten of the twenty-two competitors engaged had been taught the game at Charterhouse.

To say that football is *the* game of Charterhouse is only to assert an indisputable fact. From September till the end of March it is practically the only pastime. Of late years, the organization has been so perfected that every boy in the school has a fair chance, if he is inclined to take it. The latest development has been the introduction of the league system. Originally introduced in 1894, it was extended in 1898 by the formation of a second as well as a first division, the former composed of twelve, the latter of fourteen teams. This latter is for the new boys with the weaker players, and is irrespective of the four school elevens for those of the higher class. As there are the house matches in addition to these, it will be seen that every grade of player is cared for.

The match with Westminster has been played alternately at Charterhouse and Vincent Square since 1875. The following is the result of the thirty-one matches played (including those of 1863-4-5-6):—

Charterhouse	. . . 21
Westminster	. . . 7
Drawn	. . . 3
Goal Score:—Charterhouse,	97
Westminster,	35
	—
Total	132

How Carthusians have done in International football the names of the following who have played for England will show. Against Scotland: A. Amos (1885); W. N. Cobbold (1883, 1885, 1886, 1887); E. S. Currey

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(1890); E. H. Parry (1882); F. J. Prinsep (1879); G. O. Smith, 1894, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901; A. M. Walters, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1889, 1890; P. M. Walters, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890; C. Wreford Brown (1898). Against Wales: M. H. Stanbrough (1895); against Ireland: W. E. Gilliat (1893). Amos and Currey played against Wales as well, and Cobbold, Smith, the two Walters and Wreford Brown against both Wales and Ireland.

RUGBY

The formation of the Rugby Football Union in 1871, with its rules and regulations for the maintenance and guidance of the Rugby Union game, was bound to lead in time to the foundation of county unions, having as their object the development and control of football in the various districts in England. But it was not until the latter end of 1879 that the Surrey County Club came into existence, though Middlesex had been met and beaten in each of the two previous seasons. At a meeting held at the *York Hotel*, Waterloo Road, S.E., on 22 December 1879, it was decided to form a club for the purpose of thoroughly establishing county football in Surrey. R. R. H. Ross (Oxford University) was in the chair, and among those also present were the brothers J. and M. Shearman, H. S. Lockhart-Ross (East Sheen), H. J. Graham (Wimbledon), W. Wallace (Richmond), and H. S. Holloway (Flamingoes). H. J. Graham was elected the first president, and H. S. Lockhart-Ross honorary secretary and treasurer.

At the next committee meeting a letter was read from the president of the Rugby Union (A. G. Guillemard), stating that the Rugby Union Committee did not at present propose defining what length of residence constituted the qualification for a county player, but left the question to be settled by each separate county!

As a start, a very successful trial match was played on 12 January 1880, on the ground of the London Scottish F.C. at Clapham Junction, and matches were arranged with Middlesex and Yorkshire. They duly came off, resulting in an easy victory over Middlesex, and a defeat by Yorkshire to the tune of one goal and four tries to nothing. For 1880-1 that well-known athlete, Montagu Shearman, was elected captain. Matches were arranged with Middlesex, Kent, Yorkshire and Gloucestershire. The Middlesex match fell through, but Surrey lost the other three. In 1881-2 W. Williams (Richmond) succeeded

H. S. Lockhart-Ross as hon. secretary and treasurer. This was another unfortunate season, as the three matches played (*v.* Midland Counties, Middlesex and Kent) were all lost. Matches were also arranged with Yorkshire and Oxford University, but fell through. That *versus* Oxford was fixed for a Saturday, but was put off (according to the minute book) 'as the County match clashed with the Club matches and members considered their Club engagements prior to their County engagement.'

Montagu Shearman succeeded H. J. Graham as president in 1882-3, and C. F. Palmer (Richmond) became hon. secretary, and F. S. Clark (Old Cheltonians) captain. Matches were played *versus* Middlesex, Kent (both lost), Somerset and Midland Counties (both won).

In 1883-4 W. W. Ord (St. Thomas' Hospital) became hon. secretary, and G. Waddell (R.I.E. College) captain. Apparently there was considerable difficulty in raising teams this season, as the fixtures with Somerset and Midland Counties fell through, and only two matches (both *versus* Middlesex) were played. Surrey won the first, but lost the return match.

There was a complete change of officers for 1884-5, A. S. Bryden (Clapham Rovers) A. S. J. Hurrell (Clapham Rovers), and H. Vassall (Blackheath) being elected president, hon. secretary and captain respectively. Only one match (against Kent) was played, and that resulted in a drawn game, nothing being scored. Among those chosen to play appear the names of A. Allport, G. F. Berney, F. W. Burnand, L. F. Elliott and W. R. M. Leake, all of whom in later days rendered such sterling aid to Surrey football.

Something undoubtedly was wrong with county football in Surrey in 1885-6, for no meetings were held during that season, and no matches were arranged.

It was not until 5 November 1886 that a committee meeting was held at which it was decided to call a general meeting to consider the advisability of carrying on or dissolving the club. This was duly held on 16 November 1886, when it was agreed (*nem. con.*) 'That the various clubs in Surrey be invited to co-operate so as to form an Union to place the Club on a firmer basis,' and a club subscription of 10s. 6d. per season was instituted. F. W. Burnand (Harlequins) was elected president, W. J. Olivey (Clapham Rovers) hon. secretary, and H. T. Keeling (R.I.E. College) captain. An attempt was made to arrange matches with Northamptonshire, Yorkshire, Somersetshire and Gloucester-

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shire; but owing to inability to fit in the dates only the two former counties were played. Yorkshire, as has always been the case in her matches with Surrey, won, but Northamptonshire was defeated by three goals and one try to one try.

In 1887-8 W. P. Carpmael succeeded H. T. Keeling as captain. The minutes of the annual general meeting held on 17 October 1887 contained, for the first time, a list of the clubs represented thereat. The list is interesting, as showing who supported and helped to resuscitate Surrey Rugby football; it is as follows: Clapham Rovers, Croydon, Eaton Rovers, Guy's Hospital, Harlequin, Kensington, Kingston, Lennox, Old Leysians, R.I.E. College, St. Thomas' Hospital, Surrey Wanderers and Wasps. Matches were played against Northamptonshire (won by a goal to a try), Yorkshire (lost by three tries to nil), and Midland Counties (lost by two goals, both dropped, to one goal).

In 1888-9 a more ambitious programme was arranged. Five matches in all were played, but the only one in which Surrey was successful was that against Kent, who were beaten (for the first time) by two goals and three tries against one try. Defeats were sustained from the Maories (who were that season touring in England), Midland Counties, Yorkshire and Oxford University.

W. J. Olivey having completed his medical studies went to India in the summer of 1889, and was, therefore, compelled to relinquish the post of hon. sec. He had done excellent service, and to him, as well as to F. W. Burnand, must all praise be given for their efforts to re-establish county football in Surrey. With the assistance of such enthusiasts as G. F. Berney, W. P. Carpmael, A. B. Cipriani and L. F. Elliott, they were successful in putting matters on a more businesslike footing. G. F. Berney (Croydon) became hon. sec. on Mr. Olivey's resignation.

Fixtures for 1889-90 were arranged with Northamptonshire, Middlesex, Yorkshire, Kent and Essex. The last-named match fell through owing to frost, but Northamptonshire and Kent were beaten, and the other two were lost, 44 points being scored by Surrey against 18 by their opponents. During this season G. F. Berney was elected on the Rugby Union Committee to fill the vacancy caused by the death of J. D. Vans Agnew; the only other Surrey man to receive this honour since the reorganization of the County Union in November 1886 having been F. W. Burnand. The Rugby County Championship scheme came into existence during 1890-1, in which season A. Allport (Blackheath) succeeded W.

P. Carpmael as captain. The efforts made by the executive bore fruit this season, for Surrey, by defeating Kent and Middlesex, became winners of the South-Eastern Group in the County Championship. The team then journeyed north to Wakefield and Manchester to play Yorkshire and Lancashire, the respective winners of the North-Eastern and North-Western Groups, losing to the former by 11 points to nothing, and to the latter by 14 points to nothing. Matches were also played, and won, against Suffolk and South Midlands. W. R. M. Leake (Harlequins) played for England in all three International matches in 1890-1. In April 1891 Surrey sustained a very heavy loss by the departure of her president, F. W. Burnand, for St. Petersburg, where he has since resided. He had been of the utmost value to Surrey, and his services were greatly missed, both on the executive and on the Rugby Football Union Committee, where his place was taken by W. R. M. Leake.

L. F. Elliott (Kensington) became president for 1891-2, with A. Allport again in the captaincy. G. F. Berney, owing to pressure of business and the amount of time needed to attend to his duties on the R.F.U. Committee, felt compelled, while continuing as hon. treasurer, to give up his post as hon. secretary; he was succeeded by H. E. Steed, of the Lennox Club. A great effort of the executive about this time resulted in a material increase in the affiliated clubs, whose numbers rose during the season from sixteen to twenty-two. Two Colts matches, against the Middlesex and Kent Colts, were played. In addition, four engagements in the county championship were fulfilled: those against Eastern Counties and Sussex being won, while defeats were sustained from Middlesex and Kent. The South Midlands beat a weak Surrey team towards the end of the season, when also a trial match was played, to enable the committee to view players who had developed promise during the past season. During the season of 1890-1 W. P. Carpmael had suggested the institution of a cup competition among Surrey clubs, in order to encourage Rugby football. Opinions were equally divided on the subject, and the project fell through for the time being. The new hon. secretary however at once took the matter up and collected sufficient funds among supporters of Rugby football in Surrey to purchase a handsome silver challenge cup, which was presented to the County Union for competition. The rules for the Cup Competition were passed at a special general meeting held on 31 March 1892.

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A. Allport played for England *versus* Wales in 1891-2, and N. F. Henderson (London Scottish) gained his cap for Scotland.

The principal officers were all re-elected for 1892-3, but the only matches played were those against Kent (won) and Midland Counties and Middlesex (both lost). A. Allport played for England *versus* Ireland, and C. M. Wells *versus* Scotland. The number of affiliated clubs increased to twenty-seven, and the honorary members to 123.

Only seven entries were received for the challenge cup, which was won by the Lennox F.C. W. R. M. Leake being unable to give the necessary time to attend Rugby Union Committee meetings, L. F. Elliott took his place at the commencement of 1892-3, and, with G. F. Berney, continued to represent Surrey and London until they both retired in May 1900.

W. P. Carpmael became president for 1893-4, and A. Allport and H. E. Steed again accepted office as captain and hon. secretary respectively. Surrey won four of the five matches played, and experienced hard luck in not becoming Group Winner, as Midland Counties only won by a goal and a try against two tries. Fifty-seven points were scored during the season against 14. A. Allport represented England in all three International matches, and C. M. Wells played against Wales and Scotland. Twelve entries were received for the Challenge Cup Competition, which was won by Streatham.

In 1894-5 three matches (*versus* Middlesex, Gloucestershire and Sussex) were won, and three (*versus* Kent, Midland Counties and Middlesex) lost. Curiously enough, 47 points were registered both for and against Surrey. The Challenge Cup Competition produced eleven entries, and Streatham again succeeded in winning the trophy.

G. F. Berney was in the presidential chair for 1895-6, and S. B. Peech (Harlequins) was elected captain, with H. E. Steed as hon. sec. This was Surrey's record season, and her success caused extraordinary enthusiasm among Londoners. In the County Championship Middlesex was beaten by 14 points to 9, and Kent by 14 points to 3. Then Midland Counties and Surrey played a drawn game, nothing being scored. On this last match being replayed at Birmingham, Surrey won easily by 18 points to nothing. Having been declared winners of the South-Eastern Group, Surrey then defeated Devonshire at Richmond by 16 points to nothing. This win encouraged many to fancy Surrey's chance against Yorkshire in the final match, which was played at Richmond Athletic

Ground on 20 February 1896. Surrey scored first with a goal from a mark, but at half time Yorkshire led by 5 points against 4. The home team, immediately on re-commencing, had the hard luck to lose their full back, K. B. Alexander (Marlborough Nomads), who retired suffering from a fractured collar-bone and concussion of the brain. Yorkshire then had the game in hand, but the sterling defence of their opponents kept them out until ten minutes before time; though in the end Yorkshire won by two goals and two tries (16 points) against one goal (4 points). No fewer than eight players in the Surrey team received injuries in the course of the game, which was generally conceded to be about the most vigorous county match ever played under Rugby Union rules. Though played in mid-week, nearly 10,000 spectators were present. The following Internationals took part in the match: C. M. Wells, F. C. Lohden, W. Ashford and H. W. Dudgeon for Surrey, and E. F. Fookes, S. Morfitt, T. Broadley, J. Rhodes, A. Starks and J. W. Ward for Yorkshire.

Surrey also met and defeated Gloucestershire (at Bristol) and Hampshire (at Guildford), but with a weak team were unexpectedly beaten by Sussex at Brighton. The season's results showed nine matches played, of which six were won, one drawn and two lost; 93 points were scored against 42. No other county played more than eight matches during that season, and no other metropolitan county has ever played more than six matches in any one season. The Cup Competition was won by Streatham for the third time in succession, but that trophy not being one that can be held in perpetuity, they were unable to retain it for good.

In 1896-7 Surrey lost her first two County championship matches (against Midland Counties and Kent), and finished only third in the group. Matches were, however, won against Middlesex, Sussex, Gloucestershire and Hampshire.

Streatham did not enter this season for the cup, which was won by the Sutton Football Club.

A. B. Cipriani (Harlequins) became president for 1897-8, with C. E. Wilson (Blackheath) as captain, and H. E. Steed hon. secretary for the seventh time. The first two matches (against Midland Counties and East Midlands) were drawn, and though Middlesex and Hampshire were beaten, defeats were sustained from Kent and Hampshire. Like the results, the scoring for the season was very even, 47 points being obtained by Surrey against 45. Eleven clubs entered

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for the Challenge Cup Competition, which was won by Sutton for the second time in succession.

In 1898-99 R. C. Mullins (Guy's Hospital) succeeded C. E. Wilson as captain. No fewer than nine matches, two of them against the second fifteens of Kent and Middlesex, in addition to a trial game, were played this season. Of the first fifteen matches, those against Midland Counties, Middlesex and Somerset were won, a drawn game was the result of the match with Gloucestershire, and defeats were sustained from East Midlands, Kent and Hampshire. The Cup Competition was won by the Battersea Football Club, a genuine working man's team; unfortunately the Battersea men were unable to reap the benefit they deserved as holders of the Surrey cup, for in the following season they lost their ground, and after playing all matches on their opponents' grounds, were compelled to disband a year later.

S. B. Peech (Harlequins), who captained the county team in the memorable season of 1895-6, became president in 1899-1900. H. E. Steed and T. S. T. Tregellas still retained their posts of honorary secretary and treasurer respectively, and F. C. Long (Streatham) undertook the task of getting together the teams. The first and last matches played (against Midland Counties and Somerset) were won, drawn games were played with East Midlands and Kent, but defeats were inflicted on the county by Middlesex and Gloucestershire. Sutton once again entered for the Challenge Cup Competition, and came out winners.

In May 1900 G. F. Berney and L. F. Elliott resigned their positions as two of the representatives of London on the Rugby Union Committee, and Surrey, for the first time for many years, was not represented. But this state of affairs was not to continue long, for at the annual general meeting of the Rugby Union, held in September 1900, the representation of London on the Rugby Union Committee was divided into four parts, one representative each being accorded to Kent, London, Middlesex and Surrey. At the instance of some London clubs, a special general meeting of the Rugby Union was called in May 1901 to review this decision, but the meeting confirmed it, so that Surrey, although without a representative in 1900-1, is now, and for the future will be, directly represented on the governing body.

F. C. Long (Streatham) became hon. secretary for 1900-1, in place of H. E. Steed, who, after nine years of office, felt compelled to resign on account of pressure of business :

he retained, however, the post of hon. treasurer.

Only four matches (the smallest number for years) were actually played. Fixtures were arranged with Midland Counties and the East Midlands, but neither took place owing to frost. Kent and Eastern Counties were beaten, but defeats were sustained from Middlesex and Hampshire. The Surbiton Football Club, after several attempts won the Challenge Cup Competition.

During H. E. Steed's tenure of office, the County Championship scheme and scoring by points had been developed; the County Challenge Cup Competition and the London Rugby Union Society of Referees had been instituted; and Surrey had secured direct representation on the Rugby Union Committee. Altogether Surrey football had been placed on a firm basis.

The principal clubs who have supported Surrey football, and contributed to its successes, are the Clapham Rovers (which became defunct about 1895-6), Croydon, Guy's Hospital, Harlequins, Kensington, Lennox, R.I.E. College (Cooper's Hill), R.M. College (Sandhurst), and St. Thomas' Hospital; in later years in addition Blackheath, Richmond, Old Merchant Taylors, Streatham, Surbiton and Sutton have done much to keep Rugby football in Surrey conspicuously to the front.

DULWICH COLLEGE

The first authentic record of a football match by a Dulwich team takes one back forty years. The City of London School was the earliest opponent of Dulwich College, and their one meeting, which was in 1865, resulted in a victory for Dulwich by a goal to nothing. For several years after this, so far as school contests went, football lagged superfluous on the college stage. It was in fact not until 1872 that Dulwich really took seriously to the question of playing other schools. That season A. P. Doulton, who subsequently did good service to Surrey cricket in minor matches, was captain of the college fifteen, and his captaincy proved successful. Of the two school matches played that year against Merchant Taylors was won, the other, against St. Paul's School, drawn. Tonbridge School was played for the first time in 1874, and resulted in a win for Dulwich by 2 goals and 12 tries to nothing. A. Meredith, who was captain in 1873 and 1874, left a record of unbroken success behind him. From 1875 to 1881 the Tonbridge match was the only school fixture on which

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Dulwich was engaged. St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors School had both dropped out for the time. Merchant Taylors School was played, however, once in 1882, and defeated by eight goals and six tries. Bedford Grammar School had a year before been played for the first time, and had won easily. The Haileybury match, which was first played in 1891, has been a regular fixture up to date. After having been in abeyance since 1873, the meeting with St. Paul's School was revived in 1891. Merchant Taylors re-appeared on the card again in 1896, and for the last six years Tonbridge School, Bedford Grammar School, Haileybury College, St. Paul's School and Merchant Taylors School have all been met annually. Naturally the interest centres chiefly in the matches with Tonbridge and Bedford, which have been played regularly since 1874 and 1881 respectively. Dulwich football indeed has particular reason to speak well of the Bedford team, who have won sixteen of the twenty-eight matches decided.

Dulwich College has certainly played an important part in Inter-University, Inter-County and International football.

The following is a list of International caps and University Blues up to 1903 :—

England.—S. Ellis (1880); W. R. M. Leake (1891); C. M. Wells (1893-4-6-7); B. C. Hartley (1901-2).

Scotland.—N. F. Henderson (1891).

Cambridge.—P. H. Clifford (1876-7-8); J. J. Gover (1879); E. S. Chapman (1879-80); J. L. Templer (1881-2); W. R. M. Leake (1885-6-7); R. N. Douglas (1891); C. M. Wells (1891-2); B. C. Hartley (1900); P. Powell (1900).

Oxford.—N. F. Henderson (1886).

The methods in force at Dulwich for the proper organization of football were brought to their present effective state under the captaincy of W. D. Gibbon in 1897 and 1898. The system can be easily explained. The captain, as soon as the term begins, collects the names of all the boys who are to play. These are divided into games, each of which has its own captain to look after it. After the games on a half holiday there is a meeting of the game captains under the general direction of the captain, who receives the names of absentees and makes promotions. In order to stimulate keenness as many teams as possible are given foreign matches. As an illustration on the day of the Old Alleynian matches as many as ten teams have been turned out.

Besides this system of half holiday games, in the Easter term there are form cup matches. The forms are divided into divisions, and the first two play for a cup. There is also a cup for the forms of the Junior School and for the Boarding Houses. These form matches are very valuable, as many a boy is thus persuaded to play for his form who under other circumstances would never have thought of playing. There is also a cup for the best side as well as for the best form. These struggles between the various sides produce some very good matches, although as a rule the classical side is too powerful.

The following is a summary of the school matches up to 1903 :—

<i>Opponents.</i>	<i>Played.</i>	<i>Won.</i>	<i>Lost.</i>	<i>Drawn.</i>
Tonbridge	40	18	11	11
Bedford	37	13	16	8
St. Paul's	16	12	2	2
Haileybury	12	5	6	1
Merchant Taylors	12	11	1	0

FORESTRY

ALTHOUGH far less eventful or remarkable with regard to its ancient forests and woodlands than any of the other counties within easy reach of the royal capitals, Winchester and London, Surrey possesses special interest from an arboricultural point of view through having been the birthplace and home of John Evelyn, the author of the great classic of English forestry, *Sylva ; or, A Discourse of Forest Trees, and the Propagation of Timber in His Majesty's Dominions*. His charming work, written, as the preface tells us in words which apply as well now as they did then, 'only for the encouragement of an *Industry*, and worthy *Labour*, too much in our days neglected, as haply esteem'd a consideration of too sordid and vulgar a nature for *Noble Persons* and *Gentlemen* to busie themselves withal, and who oftener find ways to *fell* down and destroy their *Trees* and *Plantations*, than either to *repair* or *improve* them,' was first read as a paper before the Royal Society on 15 October, 1662, and published with additions in 1664. It met with so favourable a reception that it went through four editions within little more than forty years; and before the author's death in 1706 it had stimulated many landowners throughout England to make plantations of oak and other timber trees with a view to future profit. This was also the effect of the sixth to the eleventh editions of *Sylva*, edited by A. Hunter, M.D., between 1786 and 1825, which appeared when interest had again become awakened by the serious outlook with regard to providing adequate supplies of timber for Britain's growing demands before the introduction of steam communication by land and water had simplified this problem.

As already stated¹ Surrey has a total area of 461,791 acres, of which 54,437 acres, or about 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., are woods and plantations, while 12,981 acres are mountain and heath land (the latter chiefly in the west of the county) used for rough grazing. In proportion to its total area, Surrey is one of the best wooded counties in England, even though it contains few compact woodlands of large extent; and the timber and trees contribute in no mean degree to the beauty of scenery for which the county is famed. The area under woods and plantations had increased by 11,463 acres between 1881 and 1895, when the latest statistics were collected.

¹ *V. C. H.*, Surrey, i. 35.

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Traversed from east to west,¹ and thus divided into two unequal portions by the North Downs range, which rises to a height of 880 feet—though the highest hills (Leith Hill, 967 feet; and Hindhead, 903 feet) are on outlying ridges in the southern portion of the county—it is probable that at one time by far the greater part of the county was covered with woodland growth. Although oak, chestnut, walnut, ash, elm, alder and willow have been extensively planted, as well as Scots pine, which propagates itself freely from seed on the stretches of common in the north-western side of the county, beech no doubt at one time formed large compact masses of woodland on the chalk hills of the Downs, even though these have in most places long since been stripped of such primeval covering. The climate is mild and the air dry, the rainfall north of the Downs being from 25 to 30 inches a year, while it varies from 30 to 35 inches in the southern part of the county.

The soil throughout Surrey varies very greatly in quality, from stiff plastic clays to calcareous earth, poor sands, dry chalk and bare rocky ground. To the north of the Downs on the tracts sloping downwards towards the Thames the land is fertile, while in the central and southern districts it is poor in quality, and consists mostly of sand and chalk. Though some of these latter tracts look as if they could never have been densely wooded, and though no historical evidence can be quoted to show that they once were so covered, yet it seems extremely probable that such was the case. Experience in different parts of the world shows very clearly, and more especially so in the case of limestone hills, that often even within the course of two generations well-wooded hills can be reduced to a condition so bare that it seems difficult to believe they can have been thickly wooded until a comparatively recent date. The Weald, or southern district extending along the north of Sussex into Kent, and consisting of a pale, cold, retentive clay, was undoubtedly (as its name implies) thickly covered with woods, in which oaks probably predominated largely. It is still the principal woodland district of Surrey, and remarkable for the fine growth of its timber trees of all sorts, while the woods on the poorer upland tracts consist to a much greater extent of beechwood and copses than of highwoods grown for timber.

The game laws which William I. found in existence, or the habits and customs sanctioned by long usage having the effect of laws and regulations, fell far short of what he desired and intended to carry out in order to diminish the power of the landowners and to establish his own dominion. Hence his general policy was to enlarge the boundaries of the various royal hunting grounds in the different counties by including extensive areas of cultivated and uncultivated lands, to place these under ban as sanctuaries for game, and to reserve to himself, or to those specially privileged by his royal favour, the right of hunting there. The placing of such tracts under ban was termed

¹ See map facing p. 340, vol. i.

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'afforestation,' and the land included within the afforested limits was called a 'forest' (*foresta*). A forest was therefore not necessarily a woodland, nor was any woodland necessarily a forest; but the latter always included a greater or less extent of wooded tracts in order to provide quiet, shelter and cover for the big game.

The only idea we can form of the woodlands in Surrey towards the end of the eleventh century is from the scant information supplied by the Domesday Book (1086), which will be found in another part of this work.¹ The Domesday entries referring to the woodlands are rather diversified. The value of the woods appears to have been estimated by the number of swine given in return for the pannage and herbage; while the ratio of the hogs thus given varied from one in ten to one in seven. The largest landowners in the county at that time appear to have been King William I., Richard de Tonebrige and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, while the greatest extents of woodlands were apparently in the royal possession.

Of the land held by subjects the largest wooded tract appears to have been that of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, at Oxted in Tandridge hundred, which is described as a wood worth 100 hogs from the pannage (*'Silva c. porcorum de pasnagio'*).

There is one interesting entry in the Surrey Domesday which deserves particular notice. It is popularly supposed, probably from the note at the end of Sir Walter Scott's novel, that Woodstock was the first 'park' formed in England.² That this is altogether improbable is proved by an entry with regard to the king's demesne land in Stoke, Guildford, which speaks of its containing 'a wood worth forty hogs, and the same is in the king's park' (*'Silva xl. porcorum, et ipsa est in parco regis'*).

Apart from certain land of no great extent included in Windsor Forest there do not appear to have been any royal forests formed in Surrey until the twelfth century, when Henry II. afforested the royal manors of Guildford, Woking, Brookwood, and part of Stoke, and finally declared the whole county to be forest,³ although forest administration does not appear to have ever been extended to the whole of the county.⁴

There can be no doubt that Henry II. made very large new afforestations throughout various parts of England, and recast the legislation relating to the forests. In the *Assize of Woodstock*, 1184, he enacted the

¹ See also the remarks made in vol. i. on p. 356.

² Sir Walter Scott, a great admirer of Evelyn's *Sylva*, probably accepted the above statement on the authority of the latter. Apparently made from memory, and never verified by examination of the work referred to, this statement in question (see Dr. Hunter's edition of Evelyn's *Sylva*, 1786, ii. 278) mentioned: 'Woodstock (which, as Camden tells us, was the first park in England).'—What Camden actually said, however, was something entirely different. It was as follows (see Camden's *Britannia*, ed. 2, 1722, p. 298): 'Henry the first also adjoin'd to the Palace (of Woodstock) a large Park enclos'd with a wall of Stone; which John Rous affirms to have been the first Park in England, though we meet with these words, *Parca sylvestris bestiarum*, more than once in Domesday-book. But afterwards, they increas'd to so great a number, that there were computed more in England, than in all the Christian world besides; as great delight did our Ancestors take, in this noble sport of Hunting.'

³ Manning and Bray's *History and Antiquities of Surrey* (1804), i. Intro. p. iv.; E. W. Brayley's *Topographical History of Surrey* (1850), i. 193.

⁴ See i. 356-7, footnote 1.

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first genuine code of forest laws having general application throughout the realm, and in doing so he placed the forest law upon a distinct and definite footing independent of the common law. Although these new forest laws substituted fines instead of the barbarous mutilations of hands, feet and eyes incurred under the harsh Norman laws—under which even the death penalty was exacted by William Rufus—yet the regulations were still very stringent and oppressive within a royal forest. A landowner could cut nothing but fuel in his own woods, and that only in the view of the king's forester; while the clergy, though exempt from common law, were made subject to forest law.

Whether forest jurisdiction was ever actually extended to the whole county or not, it is at any rate certain that great dissatisfaction was aroused locally, and to such an extent indeed that very soon after coming to the throne Richard I. found himself compelled to disafforest, on 4 December, 1189, all the tracts lying east of the river Wey and south of the Guildford Downs, or about three-fourths of the county,¹ while the remaining one-fourth to the west of the Wey and the north of the Downs was still burdened with the royal rights declared by afforestation. This latter tract then formed the Surrey bailiwick of Windsor Forest.²

Under King John there was again a strong inclination to re-afforest, but this was diverted by the knights of Surrey paying a fine of 200 marks;³ and for another 100 marks they obtained a confirmation of Richard I.'s charter of disafforestation. The north-western corner of the county forming the 'Bailiwick of Surrey' had a bailiff of its own for the administration of forest law, in contradistinction to the rest of the county under the jurisdiction of the sheriff and of the common law. The bailiwick included all the townships and parishes west of the Wey and north of the Guildford hills except Chertsey, Egham and Thorpe, which were exempted from the bailiff's administration owing to their being estates belonging to the Abbey of Chertsey.

The afforestations of King John in many parts of the kingdom became so extensive, and the administration of the forest laws so stringent, that⁴—

'certain gentlemen of great accompt . . . made their repaire to the king, and earnestly besought this king John, to graunt them, that they might have all those new afforestations, that were so afforested by King Henry the Second his father, King Richard the first his brother, or by King John himselfe, disafforested againe: and also, that he would likewise graunt and confirm unto them, such liberties and privileges, concerning Forrestes, as they in certain Articles had already amongst themselves agreed upon and set down.'

The result was *Magna Charta* in 1215, sections 44, 47, 48 and 53 of which were provisional clauses relating specially to the forests and relieving the people from some of the most oppressive of the forest laws.

¹ Pipe Roll, 2 Rich. I. Rot. 12b, Surrey.

² See map of Mediæval Surrey, i. 340.

³ Pipe Roll, 5, John Rot. 18a, Surrey.

⁴ Manwood, *A Treatise of the Forrest Lawes* (1598), fol. 128.

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Conformably to the arrangements then come to the bailiwick of Surrey should have been disafforested, but this does not appear to have been done. As King John died in the following year and was succeeded by the boy king Henry III., with the Earl of Pembroke as regent, things may perhaps have been allowed to drift pending a more satisfactory settlement of the many grievances felt with regard to the royal forests.

In 1217 a Forest Charter was issued abolishing some of the grossest abuses, decreeing that all afforestations made 'of any other wood than his own demesne' during the reign of Henry II. should forthwith be disafforested, and in the following year a *pourallée* or 'perambulation' was made to determine the true boundaries of such forests as had been formed previous to Henry II.'s reign (1154). These perambulations having been held and the records duly returned, a new *Forest Charter* was enacted and brought into force on 10 February, 1225, the first clause of which provided for the disafforestation of all woods, except those on royal demesne land, afforested by Henry II. A further perambulation was thereupon ordered, and on 9 May, 1225, a writ was directed to Hugh de Nevill, Brian de Insula and Master H. de Cornhill, constituting them the king's justices in Essex, Surrey and Sussex, for viewing and perambulating the forests in these counties with the assistance of the foresters, verderers and twelve lawful knights in each county, in order to determine what should be disafforested and what should remain forest.¹

With regard to Surrey² this meant the disafforestation of all the afforested tracts except the royal park of Guildford, because other portions of the then royal demesne lands had meanwhile been alienated, namely Brookwood and Woking to Alan Basset in King Richard's time, and the manor of Stoke, with 'Stockton,' to the Bishop of London in 1204. The abbot and monks of Chertsey granted to the king and his heirs for ever the right of hunting over a certain part of their lands to be considered a portion 'of the royal Forest of Windsor, in the county of Surrey.' But this only included a small tract of about 2 to 3 square miles forming the apex at the extreme north-west of the county, and the terms upon which the right of hunting was given could hardly be called an afforestation because there was a special proviso that 'all the lands, woods and tenements included within the boundaries, and all persons residing within the same will be exempt for ever from any Regard of the forest except in so far as concerns the king's hunting.'

The provisions of such charters appear, however, only to have been observed so long as the king felt himself unable to neglect them. Edward I. tried to extend the Berkshire forest of Windsor into Surrey. Four partisan commissioners were appointed to inquire into the Surrey forests, and in a Justice Seat or High Court of the Forest held at Lambeth in 1279 a suborned jury of twelve freeholders found that the

¹ Fisher, *The Forest of Essex* (1887), p. 20.

² Manwood, *op. cit.* fol. 135-51, gives many details regarding the disafforestations and reafforestations during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

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whole of Surrey had been forest in Henry II.'s time, and that none of it had been afforested during that king's reign.¹

Edward I.'s reafforestations throughout the kingdom caused grave discontent, and the barons in Parliament took up a firm stand about the matter. His infringements of the Forest Charter led to his being made to confirm it formally in 1299. Fresh perambulations of all the royal forests were held in the same year, and when the records were certified and returned a reconfirmation of the Forest Charter took place in 1300. In 1305 he obtained a papal bull absolving him from his oaths and obligations regarding confirmations of Magna Charta and the other charters, but this only led to the enactment of an important *Forest Ordinance* in 1306, modifying the harshness of the forest laws and their application.

There was no special legislation regarding forests in the reign of Edward II., but when Edward III. ascended the throne in 1327 the forests were ordered to be perambulated as in the time of Edward I. The Commonalty of Surrey obtained letters patent that such perambulations as had previously been made should be confirmed, and that such as had not yet been made should be held as soon as possible and duly recorded. This latter point had reference to the small portion of the county granted to Henry III. as forest by the Abbot of Chertsey, but which it appeared the king was always trying to extend further southwards. Commissioners were appointed to make the necessary inquiry, and strong endeavours were made by Swinnerton, deputy-warden of all the forests south of Trent, to obtain a judgment determining as forest a much larger area than had actually been the case after 1225. But the jury now found that the true limits of Windsor Forest, as it was declared to be bounded by the perambulation of 9 Henry III., included no portion of the county of Surrey. Matters then came to a deadlock. The king insisted on having the lands along the north-western edge of the county perambulated as forest. A perambulation was therefore made along the north-western boundary of the county, but excluding any portion of the same from Windsor Forest; and after considerable delay a charter, dated 26 December, 1327, was obtained and delivered by king's writ to the sheriff for general proclamation, which granted and confirmed for ever 'that the whole county of Surrey is without the Forest.'

From that time forth none of the numerous forest laws enacted in England should have applied to Surrey, the woodlands in which were only affected by the several Acts relating particularly to timber and coppices. The first of these was *An Act for Inclosing of Woods in the Forests, Chases and Purlieus*, passed in 1482—the 'purlieus' being tracts which had been disafforested.²

¹ Manwood, *op. cit.* fol. 139, 140.

² The north-western part of the county, known as the bailiwick of Surrey, having once been afforested and then disafforested, was a *purlieu*. On all such lands the king still retained full proprietary right over deer straying into them from the neighbouring forest, and could maintain 'Rangers' for driving the deer back into the forest.

This Act of 1482 enabled landowners to enclose their lands against deer and cattle for seven years

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In 1581 (23 Eliz. cap. 5) *An Act touching Iron Mills near unto the city of London, and the River of Thames* was passed for prohibiting the conversion of woods and underwoods into fuel for iron-smelting within 22 miles of London or of the river Thames ; but the Act was specially made not to apply to parts of the Weald of Surrey, Sussex or Kent, 18 miles or more from London, and 8 miles or more from the Thames ; and it further exempted ‘any Woods or Underwoods now standing or growing, or which shall hereafter stand or grow, in or upon any lands of *Christopher Darrell* Gentleman in the Parish of *Newdigate*, within the Weald of the County of *Surrey* ; which woods of the said *Christopher* have heretofore been and be by him preserved and coppiced for the Use of his Iron Works in those Parts.’

In 1585 (27 Eliz. cap. xix.) *An Act for the Preservation of Timber in the Wilds of the Counties of Sussex, Surrey and Kent, and for the Amendment of Highways decayed by Carriages to and from Iron Mills* there was passed, prohibiting the conversion of good timber trees into charcoal for iron smelting, because ‘it is thought that the great Plenty of Timber which hath grown in those parts hath been greatly decayed and spoiled, and will in short Time be utterly consumed and wasted, if some convenient Remedy therein be not timely provided.’ So long as the great woods were still in existence on the Surrey, Sussex and Kent Weald, iron was largely produced in these counties. But the discovery of coal and the opening of mines in the north, coupled with the exhaustion of supplies of wood for charcoal in the south, caused the iron trade of the latter to dwindle away. Smelting furnaces gradually became extinguished, the last of them being closed at Ashburnham in Sussex in 1809.

It was apparently about the beginning of the seventeenth century that planting was first practised, and perhaps mainly in consequence of sowing frequently proving unsuccessful on account of mice :—

‘Many say that they have set Akornes, Beech-maste, Chestnuts, and other seeds of wood, kernels, and stones of fruit that never came up, which can allege no other reason but that they were devoured by Field-mice, for so they show themselves being snouted like a swine, or a moule, which the House-mice be not . . . The remedy for such as would raise plants is by nurseries, where the mice may be destroyed by traps.’¹

During Queen Elizabeth’s reign surveys were made to ascertain the stock of oak timber in all the royal forests throughout England, and in 1608, during James I.’s reign, another survey was made ‘in the Forests,

after each time of cutting the coppice, in place of only for three years as seems to have been customary before then. In 1543 *An Act for the Preservation of Woodlands* ordered ‘twelve standils or stores of oak’ or other trees per acre to be left growing at each time of cutting over the coppices, and provided for enclosure and fencing during the next four to six years, according as the rotation was below or above fourteen years. In 1570 the time permitted for enclosure was increased by two years in each case.

¹ Arthur Standish’s *New Directions of Experience for the Increasing of Timber and Firewood*, ed. 2 (1615), 8th page of preface.

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Parks and Chases belonging to his Majesty,' the summary of which shows the following details for Surrey :—¹

		Nombre	Value
Forrests	Tymber Trees	6,157	£2,730 14 3
	Decaying Trees	5,083	1,939 5 8
Parkes	Tymber Trees	2,488	1,157 19 8
	Decaying Trees	3,367	1,082 13 5
	Coppices, acres	38	3 16 0 per annum

From this it must be concluded that parts of the county were then still considered by the forest officials to pertain to the forests; and, judging from the evidence of MSS. of that period² the old Surrey bailiwick was still commonly reputed and referred to as forming part of Windsor Forest in place of being merely a purlieu.

Charles I. tried to revive the abuses of afforestation in Surrey as well as in other counties. The Attorney-General, Noy, produced the records of Justice Seats or High Courts of the Forest for part of Windsor Forest lying in Surrey, held in the reigns of Edward III., Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, and gave it as his opinion that the bailiwick of Surrey was still forest and not merely a purlieu of Windsor Forest. The Earl of Holland was accordingly made to hold a Justice Seat at Bagshot in September 1632; and in 1634 and 1636, in his capacity of chief justice in eyre of the forests south of Trent, he granted licenses to fell coppice in the parish of Worplesdon, and to till land near Guildown, as being in the forest of Windsor. But this tendency was peremptorily checked by the *Act for the Limitation of Forests* in 1640, when the angry Commons determined that the boundaries of the royal forests should henceforth be only such as they were in the twentieth year of the reign of James I. (1622). A writ of inquiry being issued in 1641, it was on 7 January, 1642, determined that the only portion of the county of Surrey which could be regarded as belonging to the forest of Windsor was Guildford Park; and as in the royal grant of this park to the Earl of Annandale on 31 March 1630, it was expressly declared to be 'out of the bounds of any royal Forest or Chace whatsoever,' it was (under one of the clauses of the Act of 1640) effectually disafforested. Guildford Park had been disafforested by the king, and consequently no part whatsoever of the county was forest any longer.

As compared with the adjoining counties Surrey was but little burdened and oppressed by the forest laws. It only felt them, in fact, during the sixteenth and the earlier part of the seventeenth centuries, owing to the assumption that the country west of the Wey and north of the Hog's Back was forest, and not only a purlieu of the forest.

At one time the acts or omissions constituting offences against the forest laws were almost innumerable, but such as are of chief interest here are those which concerned the woodlands. The three greatest offences

¹ *Eleventh Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State and Condition of the Woods, Forests and Land Revenues of the Crown* (1792), appendix No. 3, p. 45.

² Such as the 'Loseley Papers.'

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against vert were *Purpresture* or trespass and enclosure, *Waste* or clearance of cover, and *Assart* or digging up roots to transform woodlands into fields for ploughing or pasturage. Any enclosure of land within the limits of a forest, without previously obtaining permission, was an encroachment, and punishable as 'purpresture.' If any freeholder, without first of all obtaining the royal permission or a special licence from the justice in eyre, felled timber within his own woods or ploughed one of his own meadows, he was guilty of 'waste,' and the land could be seized for the king's use till a fine had been paid for committing such offence. If any part of a woodland or other cover were grubbed or pulled up by the roots, this was an 'assart,' and it was a graver offence than either of the other two, because it completely destroyed the land as cover for game. Permission to assart could be obtained by royal favour.¹

'The Abbey (of Waverley, in Farnham hundred) had a license of 8 Edward II. to assart and enclose forty acres of wood on this estate, which was renewed or confirmed to them by another patent, in 6 Edward III. At this place, *viz.* *Dokkenfeld*, the Abbot was obliged to find entertainment for the Foresters and Regarders of the king, when they came to take views, for one night, and hay and oats for their horses, to the value of 20s.'

In the *Third Report of the Commissioners of Woods, etc.* (1788),² the only one 'of the several Woods, Forests, Parks and Chases' mentioned as then belonging to the Crown in Surrey is Richmond Park. This is known to have been a park as early as 1292, when it formed part of the manor of Sheen; but in 1485 Henry VII. altered its name to Richmond, after his earldom in Yorkshire.

The palace built here was a favourite residence with the three chief sovereigns of the House of Tudor, and both Henry VII. and Queen Elizabeth died there. In Henry VIII.'s time there were two parks, called the *Great* and the *Little* Park, the former being more generally known as the *New* Park, under which name it is still marked on the map of Surrey given in Camden's *Britannia* (ed. 2, 1722), while the latter formed the *Old* Park.

In connection with this New or Great Park Charles I. resolved to include and impark for himself private estates and common lands along with the woods and wastes owned by the Crown. A Commission was appointed in 1634 to compel owners to dispose of their land, and in 1637 the enclosure was completed, despite strong feeling against and opposition to this high-handed procedure. On 30 June, 1649, the House of Commons granted the New Park to the citizens of London, and only the old deer park (of 349 acres in extent) was mentioned in the survey of that year; but on the Restoration the Corporation of London made a gift of the New Park to Charles II. During the time of George III. a good deal of planting was done in Richmond Great Park, which then had an area of about 2,253 acres, the chief trees planted being oak, elm, Scots

¹ Manning and Bray, *op. cit.* (1814), iii. 146.

² Appendix No. 1, p. 55.

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pine, beech, ash, chestnut, alder and poplar. In 1851 Richmond Park was, together with Battersea Park (formed as a recreation ground under the provisions of a special Act of Parliament in 1846) and various other royal parks in Middlesex, Kent and elsewhere, transferred from the management of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to that of the Commissioners of Works, since which time they have been maintained purely as pleasure grounds and places of recreation.

The principal woodland tract in Surrey is the Weald, extending all along the southern part of the county below the central range of hills; and the stiff clays of this tract produce much oak timber of fine growth, and also ash of good quality, though not in large quantity. The under-wood here is generally of good quality (unless exposed to damage from rabbits), and consists chiefly of hazel, ash and oak, with withy and osiers in moist places, and chestnut, birch and hazel on the hilly land.

So long as there was good demand for poles from the underwoods these paid so well that landowners were not at all anxious to clear their woods and transform them into tillage or pasturage. In the northern part of the county there is of course not only less woodland than in the south, but the crops of timber grown are also, as a rule, not so heavy, the oak in particular generally showing a much less favourable development and rate of growth. There is no record of the amount of timber cleared from this county when oak began to have a high value for ship-building, but that it must have been considerable can easily be inferred from the following lament of Evelyn¹ :—

‘In a word to give an instance of what store of woods, and timber of prodigious size, there were growing in our little county of Surrey, (with sufficient grief and reluctancy I speak it) my own grandfather had standing at Wotton, and about that estate, timber that now were worth 100,000*l.* Since of what was left by my father, (who was a great preserver of wood) there has been 30,000*l.* worth of timber fallen by the axe, and the fury of the late hurricane and storm. Now no more Wotton, stripped and naked, and ashamed almost to own its name.’

The hurricane here referred to was a severe gale which did very serious damage in the Crown forests in Hants and Gloucestershire. It threw down over 2,000 of Evelyn’s oaks, and he writes thus about the storm² :—

‘Methinks I still hear, sure I am that I still feel, the dismal groans of our forests when that late dreadful hurricane (happening on the 26th of November, 1703) subverted so many thousands of good oaks, prostrating the trees, laying them in ghastly postures, like whole regiments fallen in battle by the sword of the Conqueror, and crushing all that grew beneath them. Such was the prospect of many miles in several places.’

Of the 54,437 acres of woods and plantations in Surrey in 1895, the only portions belonging to the Crown are the wooded parts of Richmond Park and certain copses in Esher (845 acres) and Egham (area unstated), which respectively yielded returns of £1,162 and £297 for

¹ *Sylva* (Hunter’s edition of 1786), ii. 278.

² *Op. cit.* p. 329.

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timber, underwood and thinnings in 1888-9, and £139 for shooting over the plantations at Esher.¹ All the rest form part of the estates of private landowners, but no details have ever been collected or published regarding either the area of woods on the various estates, or the individual or total area of woods of oak, beech, larch, pine, etc. The Parliamentary *Return of Owners of Land in England and Wales*, 1873, which has been called 'the New Domesday Book,' expressly states that in its compilation 'no account is taken of those waste lands the area of which could not be ascertained, of woods other than saleable underwoods,' etc.; and no other statistics, official or otherwise, have since been collected.

The greatest acreage of woods is naturally to be found on the largest estates, among which are those of the Earl of Lovelace (Horsley), the Earl of Onslow (Clandon Park), the Duke of Norfolk (Redlands, etc.), Viscount Midleton (Peper Harow), Mrs. Hope (Brockham Hurst) and the Duke of Northumberland (Albury Park), though in certain respects the most celebrated of all of them, from the arboricultural associations connected with it, is Wotton, the seat of the Evelyn family. Such specific details as could be obtained will be found on pp. 576-578.

As in every other county in central and southern England, the woodlands serve the primary purposes of ornament and of game coverts, and the production of timber and underwood is consequently on most estates subordinated to game-rearing and æsthetic considerations. They are therefore not managed on purely business principles, and the monetary return they yield under arboricultural treatment of this sort is far from being so good as it otherwise ought to be. The prevalence of rabbits, too, at the present day the most destructive of all kinds of game in England, causes a great deal of damage in coppices, rendering it impossible to raise plantations unless they are fenced in with rabbit-proof wire netting, and this forms an item of considerable amount, while it is in itself absolutely unremunerative expenditure.

The woods on most estates are worked in a more or less haphazard manner, without any regular scheme of management being adopted. About the beginning of the last century, when the scarcity of oak timber for ship-building and of small wood for miscellaneous purposes caused much attention to be devoted to the woodlands and to planting generally, things were somewhat different. At that time it was said² that—

* the great objects in the weald are the timber and the underwood. From the many purposes to which the latter is applied, and the consequent high price which it bears, the proprietors in the Weald are not anxious to have their timber open and unencumbered as they are in other districts. Hence their timber, enclosed on all sides by the underwood, grows up tall and straight, unfit for any purpose in which *Knees* or crooked timber is wanted.³

¹ *Appendix to Report from Select Committee on Woods and Forests*, etc. (July 26, 1889), p. 234.

² Stevenson's *Agriculture of Surrey* (1813), p. 426.

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Long straight timber is what now commands the best price, though the national copsewood system of British arboriculture does not favour this habit of growth to anything like the extent that might be attained if the highwoods were less freely thinned than usually is the case.

Stevenson gives a good idea of the copsewoods in this weald of Surrey about ninety years ago.¹ Indeed his remarks are so interesting that some of them are well worth quoting *in extenso*, as illustrative of the method of treating copsewoods before this branch of forestry became almost a lost art in England :—

Copse Woods.—These consist principally of the oak, birch, ash, chestnut, sallow, hazel and alder. As it is the usual practice of the woodmen of the Weald of Surrey to look entirely to seedlings for a supply of timber, the sapling shoots from the stools are the principal source of copse-wood. After a fall of timber, these saplings are preserved and taken care of, and thus the undergrowth is continually increasing, and the demand for copse-wood regularly supplied. It is plain that if the stools of the fallen timber had but common justice done to them in protecting them from cattle, and draining the adjoining ground, a most ample supply would be obtained from every part of the Weald. But though this judicious mode is followed in many parts, yet a very slight inspection of the underwoods will convince any one that it is not nearly as general as it ought to be. Proper care and attention, especially to keeping the soil dry, will go a great way to ensure a full and regular supply of copsewood ; but as even under the most judicious and attentive management a partial failure will sometimes happen, it is proper to mention a method which has been found by many proprietors of woods in Surrey effectually to answer the purpose of supplying such failures.

It is simply by plashing the shoots where a vacancy appears. This is done by cutting the shoot about half through with a bill : the shoot thus cut is laid along the ground ; at each of the joints a cut in the direction of the bough is made, over which a little fine mould and turf are laid ; the shoot is kept close to the ground by means of pegs. At each point, the shoot that is plashed will take root and throw out several saplings. As soon as the shoot that has been plashed appears to have taken sufficient root in each of its points (which generally happens in two or three years), it is entirely separated from the parent stool : after this is done, the shoot itself is divided in every point where it has taken root, and thus several stout and flourishing saplings are procured from one shoot, which are found to thrive better than the shoots managed in the usual manner, and to be less hazardous than fresh planted trees.

It is not, however, only in the direct advantage of this mode that its superiority consists : it is plain, that whoever adopts it must pay more than the usual attention to keep the ground clean and dry, otherwise the shoots thus managed would be overpowered and destroyed before they had taken sufficient root. As holding out the necessity of working the ground, therefore, this mode should be recommended and adopted, even though the direct advantages derived from it are less certain and important than they actually are. . . .

Age of Cutting.—The value of underwood has risen so much lately that this circumstance alone, even if no other operated to the same end, would naturally cause the underwood to be cut down before its proper season. To this may be added, that where a farm is held under a lease for twenty-one years, possessed of any great extent of coppice, the farmer is tempted to get two cuttings during the tenancy of his lease, even though neither of them afford much profit, and though by this method he is not doing justice to his landlord or his successor.

Perhaps the greater part of the copse-wood in the Weald of Surrey is cut between nine and ten years : this however is allowed to be much too early. Taking the different kinds of soil, or rather the only varieties that exist in this part of Surrey, the paler and moister, and the darker and drier clays ; and the different kinds of wood which usually form the coppice, fourteen years are considered necessary to bring them

¹ Op. cit. pp. 416–29 and 436–38.

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to a proper size ; and this period is allowed for the growth, where no temptation leads to a premature cutting.

Rent.—This is generally regulated by the rent of the corn-land in the neighbourhood : or more properly speaking, copsewood, though the returns from it are but seldom, yet as it requires, or at least receives, little or no labour, and is exposed to few accidents, is taken at the same rent as the other parts of the farm, where it forms part of a farm, or where it is taken by itself at the average rent of the district. . . . The most common rent of copsewoods in the Weald is from 12s. to 16s. per acre : in the other parts of Surrey, which are not affected by their very immediate vicinity to London, the rent may rise from 15s. to 20s. per acre.

Produce.—In the neighbourhood of such a city as London, and in a county where there is so great a demand for fuel, both for domestic purposes and for the forge, the brick-kiln and the lime-kiln, not the smallest nor the most trifling part of the underwood is useless or without its value. . . .

The most commendable part of the management of the woodmen in the Weald of Surrey is that which respects the draining their woods : the soil is so retentive, and the surface so inadequate to carry the water off, that this practice seems to have forced itself, in a manner, upon their notice and adoption as the only method of preserving their woods from destruction : and from the great and evident good effects produced by keeping the surface dry, under-draining has been employed, with results equally beneficial, in many parts of the Weald.

The trees are always taken down with the saw : this is preferred to the axe, as leaving the stools in a more proper condition to throw out sapling shoots. The inclination is given either by the axe on the falling side, or by a wedge put into the opposite side. . . .

In the Weald of Surrey it is a general remark that the oaks on the dry spots grow much more slowly than those which stand on a moist, but not too wet soil. The latter, however, decay sooner than the former. On a moist soil the leaves of the oak are of a darker green colour and a larger size, and the bark is more roughly and deeply furrowed than they are found to be in oaks growing on the drier spots. . . .

Either from the great demand for oak timber, or from some other cause, the age of felling in the Weald is much earlier than it ought to be, if the most profitable and important uses of the tree alone were regarded. Few oaks are suffered to reach sixty years before they are felled : at this age they will seldom yield more than a ton of timber each.

The value of all kinds of timber on the ground, particularly oak, has been increasing within these last twenty years more rapidly and in a greater proportion than most other agricultural products. This seems to have arisen from an increase of demand both for the wood and bark, unaccompanied with the prospect of an adequate supply after the trees now on the ground are felled. Besides this circumstance, which is common to the Weald and other oak districts, the timber of this part of Surrey, and the adjoining part of Sussex, has always been in higher estimation than that of other woods. At present, the price of oak standing will run, according to its quality and measurement, from £10 to £13 per load. In 1798, large oak timber in the Weald was £5 per load ; in 1803 it had increased in price to £9.

Many of the above remarks as to the copsewoods and their treatment would apply as well now as they did in 1813, although from various causes (the chief being the decline in the value of underwoods and the increasing cost of labour) there is now usually much less method in management than seems to have obtained formerly.

Stevenson also describes¹ an ingenious local method of sowing acorns in southern Surrey along with wheat in fields then used as temporary nurseries :—

‘The field in which it is intended to sow the acorns is completely summer-fallowed, and entirely cleansed of all root weeds, and has a good dressing of manure,

¹ Op. cit. p. 438.

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and sometimes of lime given it. At the last ploughing it is ridged up so as to keep it as dry as possible during the winter. Wheat is then sown in it, at the usual season, and after the wheat is well harrowed in, acorns are put in with a dibble, at about one foot distant from each other. When the wheat is reaped in the ensuing Autumn, the seedling oaks are not sufficiently high to be cut by the sickle; the stubble serves as a kind of protection to them during the winter; and in two or three years after the acorns are put in, the seedling plants are fit to be transplanted.'

That so simple and practical a method could be adopted about a hundred years ago proves that rabbits were not as plentiful then as they are now, because it would be impossible to succeed in raising oak seedlings in this manner under existing circumstances—unless of course the field were to be efficiently protected by a rabbit-proof wire fence.

For raising hedgerow timber, of which there is a very large quantity throughout Surrey, and for filling up blanks in the woods, the method of layering, often locally called 'plashing,' is still commonly practised both here and in the adjoining counties of Hants, Sussex and Kent, very much as it was about a hundred years ago. Shoots up to about the thickness of a man's wrist are cut half through close to the ground, then bent down and pegged with branch-crooks, and finally covered with earth and turf. A strong flush of shoots soon springs from the buds along the 'plasher,' and this can be cut into sections to form several plants if desired for transplanting. Ash, chestnut, alder, willow, and hazel can be very speedily multiplied in this way; but the method is also applied to oak, maple and sycamore, and other broad-leaved trees.

Oak is *par excellence* the timber tree of Surrey. Sixty years ago the Grindstone Oak, near Farnham, although then fast waning to decay, was one of the largest oak trees known to exist in Britain. It had a girth of 48 feet near the ground, and of 33 feet at three feet above that. There were only three other oaks of larger girth known in this country, these being the Cowthorpe Oak, Yorkshire (78 feet), the Merton Oak, Norfolk (63 feet), and the Hempstead Oak, Essex (53 feet).¹ Fine old oak trees abound in Richmond Great Park, but many of them are unfortunately now 'stag-headed' and dead in the crown, thus exhibiting the first unmistakable symptoms of senile decay²; and there is no possibility of anything being done to rejuvenate them. Several of the oaks on the western side of the park girth over 20 feet (the largest measured by me being 20ft. 9ins.); and all of them are old pollards.

The chief of the other kinds of trees throughout the county are beech, ash, elm, maple, sycamore, larch and pine in the woodlands, ash and elm chiefly in the hedgerows. The beech is of course the chief tree in the highwoods on the chalk hills, but it attains its finest dimensions on the more fertile sandy loams. Fine specimens are to be seen on the Wotton

¹ London's *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*, vol. iii. (1844), pp. 170 and 175.

² One of the finest oaks in Surrey is at Tilford, and one of the largest girth is a stump, now nearly dead, behind the wall of Cockshotts farm at the foot of Leith Hill. The Tilford oak, called the King's Oak, is popularly supposed to be the same as one mentioned in a charter of Henry de Blois in the twelfth century. As that was then a notable tree, this oak, still flourishing, is perhaps its successor on the same spot.—Ed.

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estate and in the parks at Norbury, Ashted, Gatton and Richmond. As a hedgerow tree elm is more abundant to the north of the chalk hills than in the southern part of the county.

Birch seeds itself both in the coppices and on the heaths, and was early in last century a considerable source of profit for brooms, which were sold in enormous quantities at Southwark. Of the other broad-leaved trees, frequently to be found throughout the county, the horse-chestnut and the lime are almost purely ornamental trees to be found in parks and avenues ; while the walnut, which grows to a large size and is very productive of fruit all along the base of the chalk hills, is to be found in all parts.

Peculiar interest attaches to the growth of the boxtree or boxwood in Surrey. Elsewhere usually little more than a garden shrub, it attains the dimensions of a tree on the Norbury estate and on the celebrated Boxhill at West Betchworth. Concerning this Allen relates¹ that—

‘various have been the disquisitions concerning the antiquity of this plantation, which for anything which appears to the contrary, may have been coeval with the soil. The late Sir Henry Mildmay, while in possession of this estate, sold the box upon Boxhill for £15,000 : the purchaser was to be allowed 14 years to cut it down. In 1802, forty tons were cut, and from the great quantity which has thus been brought into the market, and the limited use to which it can be applied, this wood has fallen more than 50 per cent. It will not now bring more than £5 or £6 per ton.’

Larch and Scots pine were extensively planted in Surrey between 1820 and 1850, as at Farnham, Betchworth, Dorking and Netley ; but a great many of the former soon became badly damaged by the canker fungus, while the pine plantations have generally done well. Much of the poor heath-land in the western and south-western part of the county is only suitable for planting with the least exacting kinds of conifers (such as pines and Douglas fir) and birch, which can thrive fairly well on inferior soil. But on all classes of land the larch is most likely to escape infection with canker and to develop into good timber if planted in admixture with other kinds of trees. The most interesting of the needle-leaved trees, however, is the indigenous yew, which, growing best on limestone formations, is to be found (like the boxtree) scattered here and there all over the chalk hills, and often occurring as stems of great antiquity. Some of the finest of these are in Norbury Park, on Merrow Downs, and in the churchyards of Crowhurst and Little Bookham. One of the tallest trees in the county is a silver fir growing on the Duke of Norfolk's estate of Redlands. It forms a very distinctive landmark, towering above lofty trees surrounding it, though it is not growing on the highest ridge of the hill. At Kitlands, near Leith Hill, there is a large and interesting *Cryptomeria Japonica*, planted by the late D. D. Heath, Esq., the branches of which have taken root and formed a grove, whose branches root in turn outside.

In the coppices the bulk of the underwood usually consists of hazel, chestnut, ash, field maple, sycamore and birch, with alder and

¹ *A New and Complete History of the County of Surrey* (1831), ii. 195.

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willow in the moister localities. On the banks of streams in the northern part of the county, and on the islands in the Thames, osiers and basket-willows used formerly to be cultivated to a very much larger extent than is now the case. Aubrey¹ refers to these 'Plantations of Osiers which yield four or five Pounds *per* Acre, to the Basket-Makers, and formerly was a good trade to Holland.'

Charcoal-burning is still carried on to a small extent in the county, though it has long since lost the importance it once enjoyed during the days of iron-smelting. Until within the last two or three years, when the manufacture of black powder almost ceased, alder coppices used to be grown for the special use of the gunpowder mills at Chilworth.

The general extent and distribution of the woods, plantations, and timber-producing tracts can easily be roughly guessed from the one-inch ordnance survey maps, but in order to try and give here a summary of the present general state of arboriculture in Surrey endeavours have been made to collect information from various estates as to (1) the acreage of their woodlands and the ages of different portions, (2) the nature of the crops and the kinds of trees, (3) the past method of treating the woods, (4) the extent and nature of recent plantations, and (5) the method of planting usually adopted on each estate. The details kindly furnished by the courtesy of some landowners and agents are, however, insufficient to enable any proper sketch of this sort to be made. Most of the land in the Thames valley having developed into residential districts, the timber there (chiefly oak and elm) is treated more with a view to æsthetic effect than to commercial results; and the same applies to many other parts of the county, except the very light lands bearing plantations of larch and Scots pine. Of recent years a good deal of planting with larch and pine has been done on poor land in the Guildford, Godalming and Leatherhead districts, the thinnings from which at about ten or twelve years of age are saleable as poles for hop gardens or for light fencing work. Until recently the underwood industry was of considerable importance in the Guildford district, the rotation varying locally from seven to eight up to twelve or fifteen years. During the winter months hoops were largely made with chestnut, hazel, ash, withy and osier, while the longest and straightest shoots were sold as hop poles. But now it is becoming more and more difficult to procure labour for such work, while at the same time the old method of growing hops on poles is giving place to training them on a permanent framework of stout posts and wire, so that the underwood in the copses and the early thinnings from plantations are no longer so remunerative as they once were. But in that part the price of timber has maintained itself well. Oak, ash and larch are always in demand, though elm varies considerably, while Scots pine and firs are not yet marketable to advantage owing to the better quality of the foreign imports. The Horsley estate near Leather-

¹ *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* (1718), iii. 167.

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head, the property of the Earl of Lovelace, is one of the best wooded in the county. The woodlands extend to about 2,000 acres, and range from three up to fifty years in age. The natural woods consist of oak, elm, beech and ash, while the plantations are principally larch.

On the Peper Harow estate near Godalming, the property of Viscount Midleton, great attention was paid to planting between 1775 and 1835. The woodlands now amount to 550 acres, in addition to portions of common planted with timber. Most of the woods consist of oak, elm, beech and chestnut planted between 70 and 125 years ago, with larch, Scots pine and cedar on the poorer ground. Ash does well, but is very liable to be damaged by rabbits. In the copses the underwood, which is cut about every eight years, consists mainly of hazel, chestnut and ash on the better soil, while on the poorer and more open land of the commons self-sown birch and Scots pine spring up readily on blank spaces. Withy and alder grow well along the banks of the Wey and in other low places. But during the last ten years the labour difficulty has been gradually increasing. The coppices have been kept planted up, over 20,000 trees having on an average been put out every year, besides new plantings of larch, birch, chestnut, Scots pine, etc., to an extent of about 60 acres during the last thirty years. The decline in the value of saleable underwood subsequent on the dearth and scarcity of labour makes it doubtful, however, whether the system can be continued. Young men are now unwilling to become woodmen, with the result that on this estate there has been a fall of nearly 50 per cent. in the value of underwoods. On some portions of the estate a layer of ironstone underlies the greensand at a depth of 18 inches to 3 feet, and this interferes with the growth of deep-rooted trees like oak and larch.

The woodlands of Clandon Park near Guildford, the seat of the Earl of Onslow, extend to 508 acres, of which $297\frac{1}{2}$ acres are comprised in the large woods, 203 acres include the principal hedgerows and 'rews,' and $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres are young ornamental plantations in the park. The largest blocks are Cottswood (58 acres) and Frithys Wood (54 acres), which consist of oak about seventy years old, with an underwood of ash, oak, hazel, birch and willow, while some of the smaller woods consist entirely of Scots pine ranging from five to sixty years of age. In copses the underwoods are coppiced every eight to ten years, the ash poles being set aside for hop gardens or for conversion into hoops of various lengths, while the oak and hazel are made into hurdles, pea and bean sticks, thatching rods, etc. A certain amount of planting is done every year, but it seldom exceeds 4 or 5 acres; and most of this consists in filling blanks 'in consequence of the ravages of the rabbits in the larger coverts.' For planting operations the ground is trenched in special cases; but when it has been arable land it is simply ploughed, 'then planted rather thickly and thinned every eight to ten years.'

The woods on the Garratts Hall estate (Banstead), the property of Frederick Lambert, Esq., aggregate about 500 acres. The forest trees

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are principally beech, with a few ash and elms, and scattered yews and hollies, while the underwood is mostly of hazel, cut every seven years for withy and wattle hurdles. Recent plantations, amounting to about 100 acres, have chiefly been formed of larch and spruce with a sprinkling of birch. Banstead Park, the only large wood in the parish, was part of the demesne land of the manor. During a survey taken in 1325 the jurors stated that this wood would be worth 25*s.* were it not for wild beasts (*feræ*), and that the underwood could not be extended because it was destroyed by the aforesaid wild beasts.

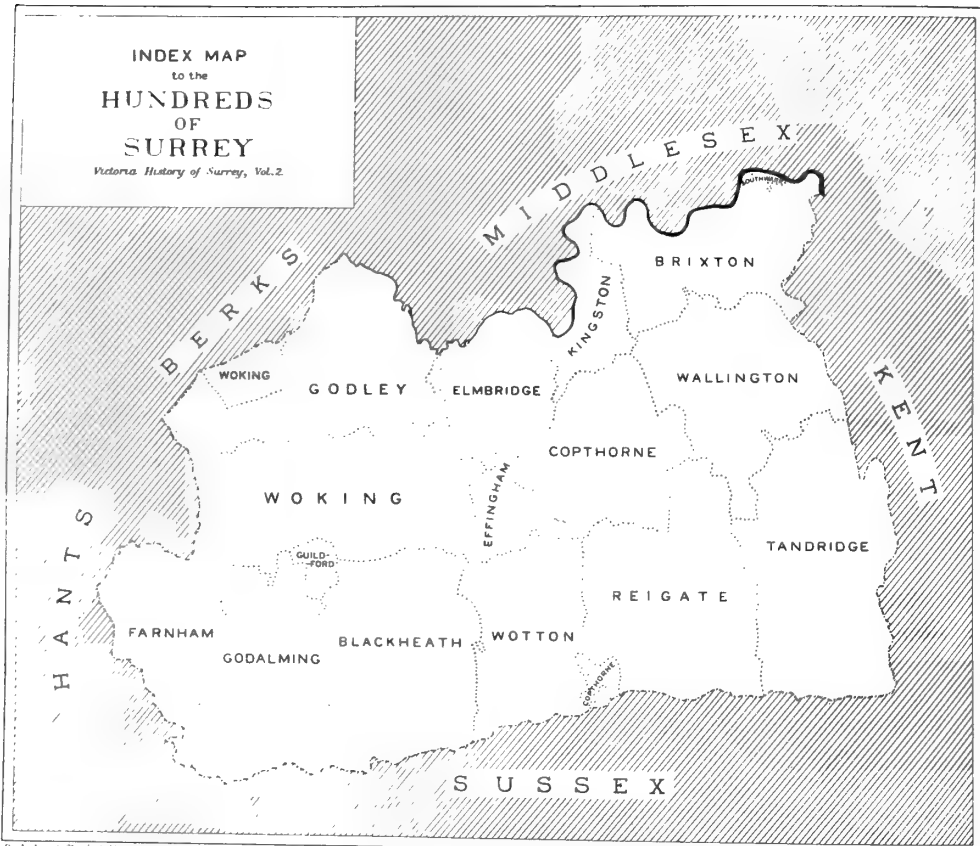
One of the estates having the largest proportion of woodlands in the county is Gatton Park, the seat of J. Colman, Esq., where the 324 acres of woods (varying greatly in age) represent 20 per cent. of the land forming the property. Even these are, however, to a large extent of an ornamental character, having been planted with a view to improving the landscape and as game coverts. In the older woods beech is the chief tree, with oak and ash interspersed; and as these woods are gradually cleared, when mature, they are mainly replanted with beech, oak and ash. The new plantations, aggregating about 25 acres during the last ten years, are a mixture of broad-leaved trees and conifers. The soil is shallow and rests on chalk, and before planting the ground is usually trenched.

Most of the woodlands on the Hampton Lodge estate near Farnham, the property of R. Mowbray Howard, Esq., are of ancient date, and now consist of oaks over 200 years of age. About sixty years ago a good many plantations were formed, chiefly for ornamental purposes, of Scots pine intermixed with oak, chestnut and birch; while during the last twenty-five years a considerable area has been planted, mostly in consequence of the land having gone out of arable cultivation. Most of these last plantations consist chiefly of a matrix of Scots pine at $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart (19,360 per acre), throughout which Douglas fir, spruce, larch, and Corsican and Austrian pines are interspersed. Here the intention was to cut a good many of the Scots pine at twelve to sixteen years of age for hop poles, leaving the rest of the crop to grow up (subject to periodic thinnings) as a mixed wood. All the plantations are thriving well. As the main objects of these woodlands are the encouragement of covert for game and the production of ornamental timber, trees past their prime are utilized, while thinnings are made so as only to leave healthy, well-grown trees standing. But little attempt is now made to grow larch as the main part of any crop on this estate, 'because practically every larch planted during the last forty years is suffering from disease'—the canker due to the fungus *Peziza Willkommii*.

During the last fifty years large tracts between the Hampton Lodge estate and Crooksbury Hill have been planted with Scots pine for hop poles; but this industry is now likely to be discontinued in consequence of many hop gardens having been grubbed up, and because in those still cultivated the use of permanent poles and strained wire has largely been substituted for the old system of two or three hop poles to each plant.

INDEX MAP
to the
HUNDREDS
OF
SURREY

Victoria History of Surrey, Vol. 2



TOPOGRAPHY

THE HUNDRED¹ OF FARNHAM

CONTAINING THE PARISHES OF
FARNHAM SEALE WAVERLEY (Extra Parochial)
ELSTED FRENHAM

THE hundred originally included the ancient parish of Farnham with the chapelries of Frensham, Elsted, Bentley and Seale. These formed probably the 60 *cassati* of land granted by Cedwalla in 688 to the bishops of Winchester,² over which, and over 10 *cassati* more, King Edgar in the latter part of the tenth century granted such liberties and jurisdictions as would warrant the erection by the bishops of a separate hundred court.³ Whether this was the origin of the hundred or only the confirmation of then existing rights it is difficult to say.

Though not called a hundred in the Domesday Survey, these 60 *cassati*, the 60 hides of Domesday composing the manor of Farnham, were apparently considered a hundred, since they are not included in any other hundred in Surrey.⁴ Hence the manor and the hundred were co-extensive.

The bishop took all the profits of the hundred court and was not accountable for them to the sheriff.⁵ The court of 'Farnham Blackheath,' as the hundred court was termed, was held in Blackheathfield⁶ in Farnham

¹ This list represents the extent of the hundred at the time of the Population Abstract of 1831.

² Birch, *Cart. Sax.* i. 106.

³ Ibid. iii. 410. 'Ego Edgar . . . quandam ruris particulam id est xxx mansas loco qui celebri æt Farnham nuncupatur onomate predictæ episcopatus cathedræ ob Sanctæ Trinitatis apostolorumque Petri et Pauli reverentiam æterna libertate uti priscis data fuerat temporibus renovando humili restituo devotione. Hanc itaque libertatem prefatus pontifex ADELWOLD domini cooperante gratia cum magna obtinuit humilitate. Sit igitur prefata terra cum omnibus ad se rite pertinentibus omni terrenæ servitutis jugo libera tribus exceptis rata videlicet expeditione pontis arcisve restauratione.' The alleged charter of Cedwalla speaks of sixty 'cassati,' including ten 'in Bintingum,' perhaps 'in Bentley'; Edgar's charter speaks of 'rus lxx mansis spaciose dilatatum,' sixty at Farnham, ten 'at Beontleh,' certainly 'Bentley.' Compare the charter of Edward in 909. The actual acreage of the present hundred is given as 26,250 acres. The sixty hides of Domesday are therefore very obviously geldable hides or reputed hides.

⁴ *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 300.

⁵ Assize R. No. 877, m. 53.

⁶ The boundaries of the land given in King Edward's charter of *circa* 909 run from Hampshire 'out on to the Heathfield,' and so on past Aldershot. The Heathfield is no doubt this Blackheath

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twice a year, at the terms of Hock tide and St. Martins. The view of frank pledge of Farnham hundred court extended over a large district. Besides the tithings comprising the hundred of Farnham, it seems that from the end of the thirteenth century tithingmen from the hundred of Crondall in Hampshire appeared at the views of frank pledge at Blackheathfield twice a year, and it is stated in 1398 that they had been 'accustomed to attend these from old time and through a time beyond the memory of man.'⁷ Thus in the extant hundred court rolls from Henry VII. onwards to the time of Charles II.—after which the list of tithings is not given—tithing men from Hawley, Crondall, Aldershot, Yateley, Crookham, Badley, Cove, Itchel Sutton, Farnborough, and Bentley, all in Hampshire, presented at the tourn of Farnham Blackheath, as well as those from the ordinary Surrey tithings included in the hundred. At the same time in the Crondall hundred court rolls from Edward III. to James I., tithingmen from Crookham, Yateley, Hawley, Aldershot, Swanthrop, Long Sutton, and Crondall, presented at the Crondall hundred tourn. This shows that the Hampshire tithings owing suit at Blackheathfield, owed suit at two hundred courts. That this was so is proved by the fourteenth century struggle between the bishop and the prior and convent of St. Swithun as to which court these Hampshire tithings owed suit, to Blackheathfield in Farnham or to Crondall. The men of Crondall had made various complaints that the prior had exacted excessive and undue services from them,⁸ and the king had shown himself on their side.⁹ As early as 1283 the bishops' rights had been defined,¹⁰ but the struggle lasted until a settlement came in 1398, during the episcopate of William of Wykeham. On 18 December in that year an indenture was drawn up between 'the Reverend Father in Christ the Lord William Wykeham' and 'the venerable and religious man Thomas Nevyle,' prior of St. Swithun, for the settlement and final definition of the services owed by the tenants of Crondall. All the free tenants of Crondall with all the tithingmen of the towns, villages and hamlets of the entire manor and lordship of Crondall, together with four men of each tithing, were bound to pay two suits yearly at the bishop's court at Blackheathfield, and present there such things as ought to be presented 'according to the law and custom of the realm of England.'¹¹ The prior and convent

Field, on the southern side of Beacon Hill and Cæsar's Camp, Aldershot. Heath Lane still runs up to it, and Lady House or Law-day House, where the court met in later years, is on it, on the brow of the heather-covered hill north-west of Farnham Park. It is still obviously a black heath field. On its northern margin Bowen's map of 1749 marks the Bishop's Bank, the boundary of the manor and of the county. This is still partly to be seen, much obscured by furze bushes.

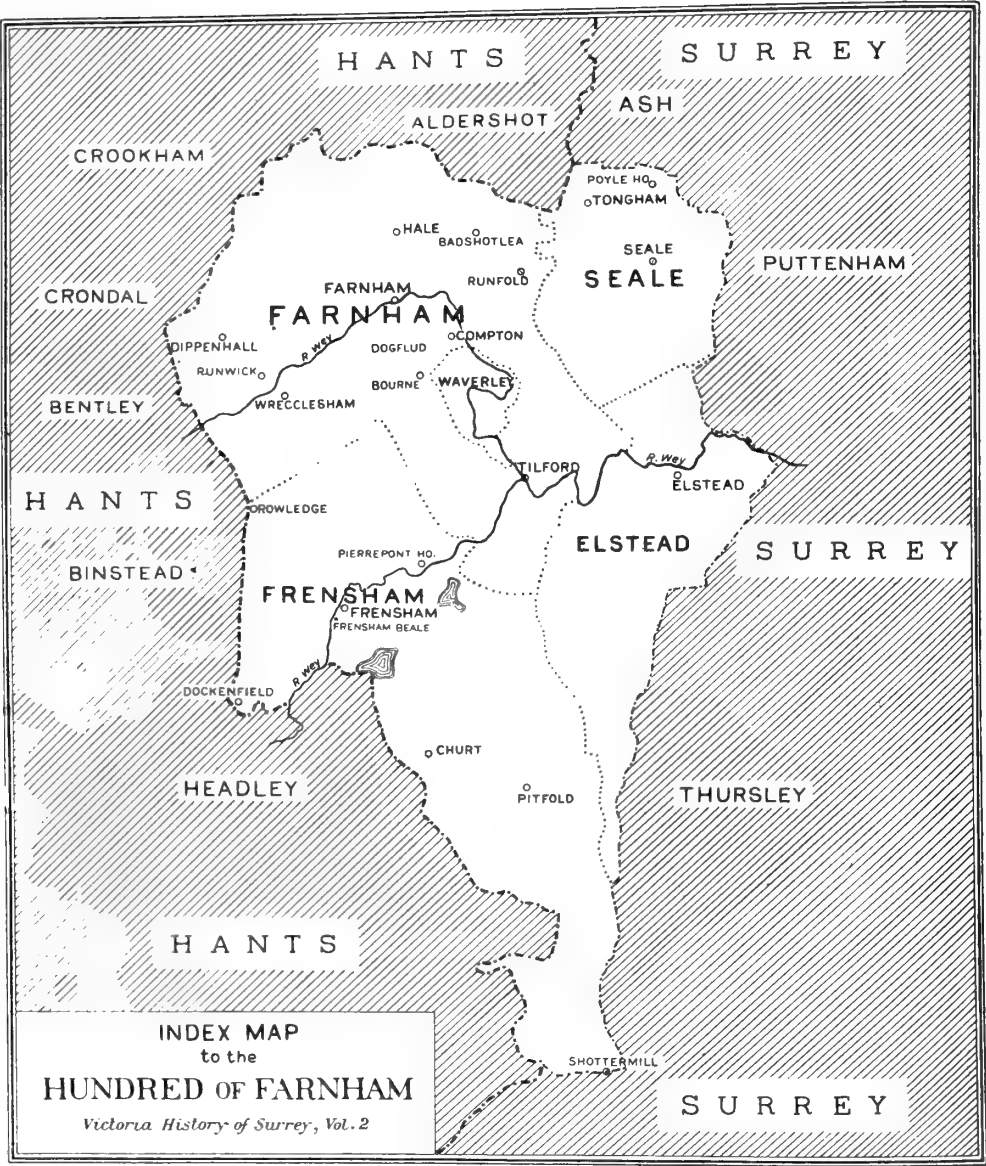
⁷ Winton. Epis. Reg., Wykeham, ii. fol. 324.

⁸ Plac. Div. Cos. 9 Edw. I. R. 29; Codex Winton. f. 117b; Add. MS. 15350.

⁹ Codex Winton. 118b.; Add. MS. 15350.

¹⁰ *Abbrev. Plac.* (Rec. Com.), p. 276, 12 Edw. I. R. vii.

¹¹ Winton. Epis. Reg., Wykeham, ii. f. cccxxiv. 'Unde super hac materia inter partes prædictas modo quo sequitur concordatum existit, quod omnes liberi tenentes de Crondale et omnes decennarii villarum, villatarum, et hamletorum tocius manerii et domini de Crondale prædicta, cum quatuor hominibus cujus libet decennæ, appareant, ac faciant et debeant duas sectas per annum coram senescallo præfati Episcopi, et successorum suorum Episcoporum Wyntoniensium apud Blakehethfeld, quæ est in manerio de Farnham, ad præsentandum ibidem ea quæ ad diem sive dietam hujus modi præsentari debent,



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FARNHAM

were forbidden to call these tenants to account on any articles save those upon which they had not been already charged before the bishop's steward.¹²

It is difficult to discover when Bentley was separated from Farnham hundred and became again a liberty in Hampshire. Bentley had been originally in Hampshire. At the time of the Domesday Survey the one hide held of the bishop, with the church of Farnham, by Osbern de Ow, was Bentley, and was in Hampshire.¹³ Before this, *circa* 909, the charter by Edward of Wessex had distinguished the 60 *cassati* 'æt Fernham in Sudrian,' and the 10 *cassati* 'æt Beonaet in Hamtunscire.'¹⁴ The boundaries given with this charter certainly run through part of Hampshire. Also in *Testa de Nevill*,¹⁵ half a hide in 'Benetleg' in Hampshire appears held of the king in serjeanty by Richard de Briheville, and no other Bentley in Hampshire seems to be known. But as late as 1573 Bentley, or part of Bentley, was considered to be in Surrey for some purposes, for the Bentley tithingmen presented with the other Surrey tithings.¹⁶ The curious point is that in the same roll Bentley is also given among the Hampshire tithings. The population abstract of 1811 gives it as a liberty in Hampshire. By this time also Frensham, Seale and Elsted had been separated from Farnham parish for civil purposes, though not ecclesiastically, and the hundred and the parish were no longer co-extensive in all respects.

From the earliest date the hundred followed the 'descent of the manor of Farnham, that is, it was in the hands of the bishop until it passed with the manor to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, on the resignation of the see by Bishop Sumner in 1869.

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Ferneham (xi. cent. et seq.)

The original parish of Farnham comprised the tithings of Dogflud or Dogfleet, Compton, Wrecclesham, Badshot, Runfold or Runvale, Runwick, Tilford, Seale with Tongham, Elsted, Frensham or Fernesham, which extended into Hampshire, and Cherte, Churt or Charte.

The modern parish, according to the population abstract of 1831, includes the tithings of

Farnham, Badshot and Runfold, Runwick, Culverland and Tilford, Wrecclesham and Bourn. Of these Culverland is identical with the Compton tithing of an earlier date, and includes the Manor of Moor Park.

It seems evident that Frensham and probably Elsted were chapelries of Farnham as early as the middle of the thirteenth century. The Archdeacon of Surrey, as rector of Farnham, held 'the

secundum legem et consuetudinem regni Angliæ; quodque Prior et Conventus prædicti ipsorumve successores, aut alii quocunque nomine censeantur, tenentes ipsos super articulis de quibus coram senescallo præfati Episcopi vel successorum suorum in Visu Franciplegii prædicto onerati fuerint nullatenus iterato debeant onerare.'

¹² Winton. Epis. Reg., Wykeham, ii. f. cccxxiv.

¹³ See *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 284, 300.

¹⁴ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* ii. 300.

¹⁵ *Testa de Nevill* (Rec. Com.), 104.

¹⁶ *Eccl. Com. Ct. R.* Winton. 15 & 16 Eliz. bdle. 87, No. 6.

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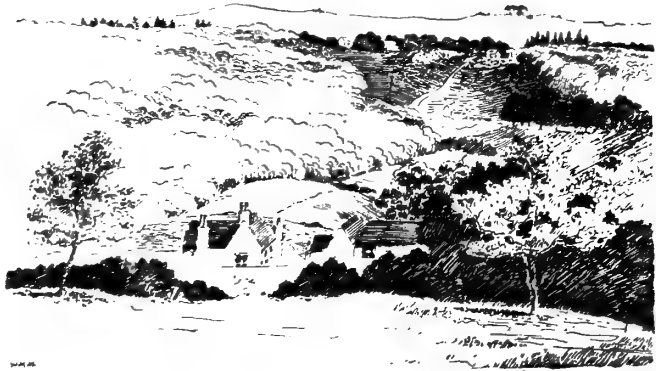
church of Farnham with its chapels¹ by the gift of the Bishop of Winchester, and with the confirmation of his right by the Pope,² as early as the episcopate of William de Raleigh (1244-1250).³ There is evidence in the Waverley Annals that Frensham church existed before 1239, as there is an account of the rebuilding and dedication of the church by Luke, Archdeacon of Surrey, in that year.⁴ The architecture of Elsted church goes to prove that Elsted was also one of the early chapelries of Farnham, since there are traces of early English work dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁵ There is seemingly no evidence that Seale or Bentley chapelries, which by 1535 were attached to Farnham church,⁶ existed so early; the probability appears to be that 'Farnham church with its chapels' meant in the thirteenth century Farnham with Frensham and Elsted. In 1291 the 'ecclesia de Farnham cum Capella' is mentioned in the taxation of Pope Nicholas as worth £80.⁷ In 1535 the Archdeacon of Surrey held the church of Farnham with its chapelries of Frensham, Elsted, Seale and Bentley.⁸ It seems that Elsted and Seale were in some sense parishes by 1539, since the parish registers of both date from this year. By 1553 Frensham also had become a parish, for an inventory made in that year of goods and ornaments in the churches in Farnham hundred, includes the churches of Farnham, Elsted, Seale and Frensham, but curiously Seale is the only one of the four called a *parish* church.⁹ The Frensham parish register does not begin until 1648. In 1865 an arrangement was made by which the tithe rent charges in the parishes of Frensham, Seale, Elsted and Bentley,¹⁰ which had formerly belonged to the rectory of Farnham, held by the Archdeacon of Surrey,¹¹ were to be given over to endow the several churches as the leases by which they had been alienated fell in.¹²

The district of Waverley was probably extra-parochial from the date of the foundation of the Abbey.

The following ecclesiastical districts were erected in the restricted parish of Farnham, not including

Frensham, Elsted and Seale, during the nineteenth century under the Church Building Acts of 1831, 1838, and 1840.¹³ Wrecclesham district with its church consecrated in 1840; Hale with its church consecrated in 1841, although the district was not formed till 1845; Bourne with its church consecrated in 1862; Tilford with its church consecrated in 1867. Rowledge, in 1871, was partly formed from Farnham and partly from Frensham.

The parish lies on the west of the county. Its greatest breadth from west to east is about four miles and a quarter, from north-west to south-east it is about six miles, from north-east to south-west about five miles, covering an area of 9,768 acres. It is traversed by the Wey, which rises in Hampshire in the upper greensand and flows past Alton to Farnham in a north-easterly direction; just beyond Farnham it is joined by a brook from the north, and turns somewhat abruptly to the south-east, away from the chalk downs, and runs in a tortuous but generally south-easterly course past Waverley, where it is joined by a stream from the south-west—the Bourne—to Tilford bridge, where



VIEW FROM BATTS CORNER.

it is joined by another considerable branch from the south, made by the junction of several small streams which drain the lower greensand from Hindhead and the high ground near it.¹³ The united waters then continue in an easterly direction towards Godalming.

The greater part of Farnham parish is on the lower greensand formation, but it extends northwards over a narrow outcrop of gault and upper greensand on to the chalk, on which Farnham

¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i. 279, 294, 405, 406. ² *Ibid.* 279.
³ *Ann. Msr.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 325. *Ecclesia de Farnesham transpouitur hoc anno de loco ubi prius sita fuit, ad alium locum.*

⁴ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* vii. 195.
⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 32.
⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax* (Rec. Com.), 208. It is difficult to explain 'cum Capella,' unless the abbreviation may have been

wrongly extended for 'cum Capellis,' for the *Calendar of Papal Letters*, i. 279, etc., refers to Farnham and its chapels.

⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 32.
⁸ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* iv. 29; *Aug. Off. Misc. Bks.* 511.

⁹ They were none of them rectories or vicarages however, but were served by curates appointed by the lessees of the tithes of the various parts of Farnham. *Vide infra.*

¹⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 32.
¹¹ *Lond. Gaz.* Dec 1, 1865. *Vide infra.*

¹² Stat. 1 and 2 Will. IV. c. 38, 1 and 2 Vict. c. 107, 3 and 4 Vict. c. 60.

¹³ This stream is also now commonly called the Wey. It used to be called the Tilford river. See Loseley MS. letters from Viscount Montague, 9th March, 1590, about the fishing in the Tilford river.

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Castle stands, and crosses the ridge of the chalk, which is here at its narrowest, about half a mile wide, and includes small parts of the Woolwich and Reading beds, and of the London clay north of them, and some of the Bagshot sand. The town of Farnham is on the sand and gravel of the river bed. Patches of the river gravel occur as high as 150 feet above the present level of the stream. But the characteristic scenery of the southern part of the parish and of the larger part, is that of the greensand region, broken hills and moorland covered originally with fern and heather, and still but partially cultivated. The old centres of habitation, Farnham itself, Waverley, Tilford and Wrecclesham, lie either right on the stream or on the slopes near above it. In the valleys of the Wey and of its tributaries there seems always to have been a good deal of wood, and Alice Holt (or Alder Holt) Forest is on the south-west border of the parish over the Hampshire frontier. But the conifers, which are now so thickly planted on parts of Farnham Common and on Crooksbury Hill, are of comparatively recent introduction. Crooksbury Hill is perhaps the most striking natural feature of the parish. It rises in a conical form above the valley near Waverley, to a height of 534 feet above sea-level. The trees upon it are so disposed as to accentuate still further its conical form when seen from the east, so that it has the appearance of another Glastonbury Tor rising above its ancient abbey.

In the extreme north the parish touches the Bagshot sand and gravel of the Aldershot moorlands, the Blackheathfield of the old hundred. But below this the chalk ridge and the soils which lie on each side of it are more fertile but less picturesque than the lower greensand region. The Farnham hops, which have or had a special fame, were originally the growth of this part of the parish below the edge and under the shelter of the chalk on the upper greensand and gault. The hop-gardens were extended into the other parts of the parish where suitable exposure and shelter could be found, but not of course on to the exposed and barren moorland.

The capacities of Farnham for making money existed mostly in the northern part of the parish, and were not purely agricultural, even allowing for the value of the hop-grounds. The place was important as a market for a large district, because it lay at the junction of two roads which came together at Farnham owing to the geological and geographical conditions of the site. The chalk downs were the natural lines for roads in primitive times, when the lower country was marshy or uncleared. The original Pilgrims' Way, the

British track-way, probably passed a little to the north of the town of Farnham along the chalk. The later, and the present road, ran through Farnham, and two miles and a quarter to the east of the town forked into two at Whiteway End. The older branch probably went up the chalk down, along the Hog's Back ridge, with no ancient village on it till it came to Guildford,¹⁴ while the medieval route passed through the villages south of the Hog's Back. But in any case, the line of travel from the south-west to east ran through Farnham.¹⁵ Furthermore the great fault in the strata which occurs two miles north by east of Farnham¹⁶ makes a depression in the chalk, where the Hog's Back ends, which marked this as the spot where the chalk could be conveniently crossed from north to south. The road from London to Southampton came accordingly through Farnham. It left the main road from London to the south-west a little beyond Bagshot, came into Surrey north-east of Farnham, and joined the Pilgrims' Way east of the town.¹⁷

It was its position on these roads which made the place so important as a market. 'It is the greatest market in England for wheat . . . most commonly between All Saints' Day and Midsummer Day two hundred and fifty loads of wheat are sold one week with another; sometimes four hundred loads in a day . . . from Michaelmas to Christmas the market here is good for oats, and a great market for Welsh stockings.'¹⁸ It was in the early part of the seventeenth century that the market had become thus famous. The concourse of farmers was independent of the hop growing, which was then a recent industry, begun in a small way in 1597, and as yet the hops were mostly sold at Weyhill Fair.

The manufacture of the green pots, much used at the Inner and Middle Temple and elsewhere, is as old as or older than the sixteenth century. The clay from which they were made was in all probability found in the Old Park and gives the name to Clay Pits Wood on the site of the Old Park.¹⁹ A share in the cloth trade which existed in so many towns and villages of West Surrey also helped to make the town prosperous. But it was its place on a great road and the through traffic entailed, that gave Farnham much of its importance and gave early eminence to its great inn, the Bush.

The same geological feature, the great fault which brought the Southampton Road through Farnham, has brought the railway there. The line from London by Woking Junction and Aldershot to Winchester and Southampton, opened in 1852, comes to Farnham through the natural depression, and is joined there by the Guildford and Farnham line utilizing the same dip.

¹⁴ This was paved as a turnpike road in 1758 by Act of Parliament 31 Geo. II. c. 78, but it existed as '*strata de Geldeden*' in 1192. Pipe R. 4 Rich. I. m. 8d.

¹⁵ Captain James, R.E., *The Pilgrims' Way in West Surrey*. Lond. 1871. It has been questioned whether

this was a Pilgrims' Way or the name a late invention.

¹⁶ V.C.H. Surr. i. 22.

¹⁷ Ogilby, *Book of Roads and Britannia Depicta*, or *Ogilby improved*. Lond. 1720, p. 129.

¹⁸ Aubrey, *Perambulation of Surrey*, iii. 347, published in 1719, but the

descriptions apply to the previous century. His account is borne out by the Farnham Borough accounts of the amounts received from toll-houses for wheat.

¹⁹ Loseley MSS. ix. 118, Aug. 19, 1594. Letter from Sir Julius Caesar to Sir William More.

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There is one large park in the parish, that of Farnham Castle. This is nearly three miles in circuit and contains over 300 acres. It used to be called the New or Little Park, and Farnham Old or Great Park lay west by north of it, and was nearly three times as large, containing over 800 acres. It extended however beyond the county into Hampshire about Crondall, and reached northwards to the high ground at Beacon Hill, and above the Long Valley, Aldershot. The Great Park was disparted by Act of Parliament under Bishop Mews in 1696,²⁰ and some of the land was further enclosed in 1709.²¹ Both parks were stocked with deer,²² and contained rabbit warrens, where the poaching of the inhabitants of the neighbouring parishes in Surrey aroused the indignation of William of Wykeham.²³ The evil continued in More's time, when pheasants also were taken. The deer were originally the native red deer such as ran wild in the neighbouring Alice Holt and Windsor Forests, and in Farnham Chase.

A demand for houses has arisen, and in the northern part of the parish there are not only many small new houses, but some of a better class occupied by married officers connected with the camp. The actual exercising ground of the camp reaches into the parish at Hungry Hill, and at the west end of the Long Valley, and north-west of the valley near Caesar's Camp. In the south of the parish, about Tilford, and on the slopes of Crooksbury Hill, large houses have been recently built, as a part of the general process which has transformed the once desolate Surrey heaths into a residential neighbourhood.

Farnham was the birthplace of William Cobbett, author of *Rural Rides*, etc. The house in which he was born, now the Jolly Farmer public-house, is still standing.

The antiquities of the parish, apart from Waverley Abbey and the Castle, which need separate treatment, are fairly numerous but rather obscure. There are, perhaps, ancient ditches or earthworks



THE JOLLY FARMER INN.

In 1573 they contained fallow deer; for by the terms of grant to Sir William More as constable and keeper of the parks and chases, he was to receive a stag and hind from each chase, and a buck and doe from each park yearly.²⁴ There are now only fallow deer in the remaining park, though until about two hundred years ago the red deer were numerous in the neighbourhood, and could be found in the chases, on Farnham and Frensham Commons. Of other parks in the parish, Moor Park was never a park properly so called, since the right of free warren was not attached to it. The house to which the park is attached used to be called Compton Hall or Moor Hall. Nor in like manner was Willey Park a park proper.

The modern state of the parish has been much changed by the creation and growth of Aldershot Camp upon its boundaries in the nineteenth cen-

on Crooksbury Hill, and various banks near Tilford, which may be ancient enclosures. Those on Long Down, Tilford, may form a small round entrenchment though they are very small, being only 60 yards in diameter. There were some, no longer existing, in a field called Castle Field, the name of which may suggest that they were, or were supposed to be, a camp. A kiln, with supposed Roman tiles, is said to have been found and destroyed at Tilford in 1893.²⁵ A considerable number of palæolithic flint implements are found in the Farnham gravel, the old river-drift which occurs about the parish. In this they have often been transported to other places, railway lines and gravel walks and drives, wherever this gravel, which is of excellent quality, has been laid.²⁶ Neolithic flints have also been found, especially near Tilford.²⁷

²⁰ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 135.

²¹ Act of Parl. 8 Anne, c. 20.

²² Loseley MSS. Letters Patent 20 April, 15 Eliz. under seal of the bishop, granting custody of the little

park and deer; and 25 Sept. 1573, preserved at Farnham Castle, granting the same in both parks and chases.

²³ *V.C.H. Hants*, ii. Eccl. Hist.

²⁴ Letters Patent of 1573, at Farnham Castle.

²⁵ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* xii. 151, 152.

²⁶ Many of these are in the *Surr. Arch. and Charterhouse Museums*.

²⁷ The Rev. W. H. F. Edge of Tilford has a large collection of these implements.

Historical events in Farnham are numerous and stirring, as is likely in the case of a place on an important road dominated by a great castle. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, read in the light of the chronicle of Ethelwold, leaves no doubt that Farnham in Surrey was the scene of one of the defeats of the Danes by Alfred in 893 or 894. But it is to the history of the castle round which the military history of Farnham centred that the most stirring events belong. These mostly group themselves round the Civil War, and as in so many other cases, end with the same.

There is nothing to indicate the *BOROUGH* existence of a borough at Farnham *OF FARN-* by the entry in Domesday Book, *HAM* and there seems to be considerable uncertainty when the borough originated.²⁸ Farnham was a mesne borough held of the Bishop of Winchester; it had bailiffs in 1205, and had a definite existence, at any rate, by 1207.²⁹

There is no trace of walls, unless an item in the accounts for 1644, 'payed to Thomas Block for the repair of the upper wall,' refers to them. More probably it relates to a temporary fortification of the Civil War time. The borough and the town (*villa*) are early distinguished from each other. The central street of Farnham is still called the Borough, and round this only, if anywhere, there were walls.

It is probable that the borough grew up under the shelter of the castle during the twelfth century, and the burgesses gradually obtained rights from the bishops, whose interest it was to encourage them.

The rent rolls of the bishops of Winchester, almost continuous from 1207, give what can be

gathered about the early history of the borough. From 1207 to 1218 the farm of the borough is carefully noted under the manor accounts,³⁰ as a fixed sum of £7. In the roll of 1222 there comes a change, for the farm is given as £7 13s. 4d. In the next few years it is set down as £8, and by 1247 it had risen to £9.³¹ But there are many signs that the borough was growing in importance, and wished to be independent. As early as 1225 the borough accounts are noted separately from those of the manor, while in 1244, 1245 and 1246 not only the farm is given separately, but there is a detailed account of proceeds from the borough court, from the fair on All Saints' Day and from fines for seisin of various burgages,³² showing that the borough was then in the bishop's hands and governed by his officers, the issues being accounted for under a separate head. A change however in the government of the town took place in 1247, when the burgesses received from the bishop their first charter of liberties.³³

In this the borough jurisdiction and privileges are clearly set out. The burghers were to have the whole borough and town with appurtenances, excepting the privileges of hue and cry, persons and chattels of felons, escheats of their lands and tenements, with the services of William le Parker and two others who held of the bishop in chief. They were empowered to hold a fair on All Saints' Day; to choose their own bailiffs and remove them without hindrance from the bishop; to have assize of bread and ale, with power of punishing defaulters by fine; to have all manner of tolls; to be exempt from suit and service at the bishop's court, except only that which was owing to the lord at 'Law day' at the Castle of Farnham; to have power to issue

²⁸ A manuscript at Farnham Castle states that King John granted the borough to Bishop Peter des Roches, a statement which is probably inaccurate. John may have granted the bishop the right to have a borough, but even this is unlikely, as there are two known charters by him to the bishop, neither of which refers to the borough of Farnham, and the later confirmation charters do not make mention of such a grant.

²⁹ Eccl. Com. Rent R. var. bdes. 22 et seq.

³⁰ Ibid. bdes. 22, 23.

³¹ Rayleigh's Charter of 1247.

³² Eccl. Com. Rent R., Bprie. of Winchester, 1244, 1245, 1246, bde. 23.

³³ The charter runs as follows:—
Omnibus Christi fidelibus ha litteras visuris aut audituris Willielmus Dei gratia Wintoniae episcopus salutem in Domino; Noveritis nos (a) concessisse et dimississe ad foedi firmam tradidisse burgensibus nostris de Farnham totum burgum nostrum de Farnham, et totam villam adjacentem, cum omnibus eorum pertinentiis, exceptis huic levato sanguine fuso, et latrocinibus captis, et eorum cattallis receptis, escaetis omnium terrarum et tenementorum suorum, exceptis Willelmo le Parker, Gervasio de Snellessynche,

Clitone Burton, qui nobis in capite respondebunt sicut prius consueverunt. Volumus etiam concedisse pro nobis et successoribus nostris in perpetuum quod predicti burgenses et heredes sui habeant omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines subscriptsas sicut prius habere consueverunt; (b) videlicet habere debent feriam unam de Farnham integram ad festum Omnium Sanctorum sine aliqua diminutione. (c) Item eligere debent ballivos suos pro voluntate sua et instituire et remove quociens voluerint, sine contradictione quorumcumque ministrorum nostrorum. (d) Item habere debent assisam panis et cervisiae, ita quod panem capere debent ad domum pistoris, et ponderare et probare et cervisiam tastare, in burgo et in villa et per unam leucam in gyro, et emendas habere debent tam panis quam cervisiae, nisi pistor ad pilioriam vel brasiator ad tumbrellam debent condemnari, quod ad nos reservavimus. (e) Item habere debent totum tolum quod aliquo modo potest accidere in spatio predicto. (f) Item de omni secta curiae nostrae erunt quieti, praeter quod ad duo hundreda de Lagheday ad castrum nostrum de Farnham per annum, et ad capitula regalia respondere debent sine occasione: et ad curiam suam propriam sectam coram ballivis suis facere debent, sicut ballivis nostris facere

quondam consueverunt. (g) Item facere debent omnia attachamenta, et omnes summoniciones, et omnes deforcaciones quod accidunt in burgo predicto et in villa predicta, exceptis illis quae tangunt ballivum nostrae liberatis. Haec omnia predicta sicut predictum est, concessimus predictis burgensibus nostris et heredibus suis pro nobis et successoribus nostris sine impedimento et contradictione omnium ministrorum nostrorum in perpetuum. (h) Et pro ista dimissione, concessione et ad foedi firmam tradicione, praedicti burgenses et heredes sui dabunt annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris per manus prepositi nostri de Farnham duodecim libras argenti, ad hokeday et ad festum Sancti Martini pro equali portione, ubi aliquo tempore tantum novem libras reddere consueverunt. In cuius rei testimonium huic scripto signum meum apponi fecimus. Datum apud Esere, quinto Idibus Februarii Anno translationis nostrae quatuor, his testibus, Magistro Waltero Archidiacono Surlensi, domino Othone de Esholte, Radulpho Vaupel iseneschallo nostro, dominis Othone et Fulchero, cum capellanis nostris Willelmo de Hakeford, Roberto de Essex, Johanne de Froyle, cum constabulario nostro Johanne de Farnham, Jacobe de Viel, Gervasio de Snelshinch et aliis.

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attachments, summonses and distresses within the borough and town, not belonging to the bailiff of the bishop's liberty. At the same time the fee farm rent paid by the burgesses to the bishop was in consideration of these extensive liberties increased from £9 to £12 a year.

In accordance with this charter, confirmed in 1266 by John Gervase, Bishop of Winchester,³⁴ there is no return of the issues of the borough in the Bishop's rent rolls from 1247 onwards except that of the fee farm payable £6 at Hocktide and £6 at St. Martin's.

In 1365, however, for some reason difficult to discover, the burghers, evidently in need of money, gave up certain rights in return for the respite of the farm.³⁵ This surrender evidently held good throughout the episcopate of William of Wykeham, for in each rent roll a detailed account is given of

from this time the accounts of the borough again drop out of the bishop's rent rolls, and only the farm—£6 at Hock and £6 at St. Martin's—is given, thus indicating that the borough had again obtained the full rights which the burgesses had under their charter of 1247.

In 1452 Bishop Waynflete is said to have again confirmed the original charter.³⁶ In 1566 what seems to have been a new charter, with no recital of the former grants³⁷ but following on the same lines, was granted by Bishop Horne.⁴⁰ In this charter more is said about the appointment of the bailiffs and burgesses.⁴¹ The bailiffs were to be two in number, chosen annually; the burgesses twelve, appointed for life from the 'better and most approveable inhabitants.' On every Monday before Michaelmas Day the burgesses were to elect two of themselves as bailiffs for the year, to be



CASTLE STREET, FARNHAM.

the proceeds of the borough court.³⁸ Moreover 'customs, tolls and monies' now fell into the hands of the bishop, but were sometimes pardoned by him for the 'relieving and emending' of the town.³⁷

With the first year of Henry Cardinal Beaufort (1405) a change came. Whether the Cardinal confirmed Bishop John Gervase's charter in that year or not till 1411,³⁹ it is certain, at least, that

sworn before the late bailiffs in the presence of the burgesses. The burgesses were to do suit at their court to the bailiffs every three weeks,⁴² for the settlement of small debts under 40s. value, the admission of tenants, and the levying of fines. The court leet, in accordance with the original charter of 1247, was to be held twice⁴³ a year on the lord's law-day.⁴⁴

³⁴ Charter at Farnham Castle.

³⁵ Eccl. Com. Rent R. 21 William Edyngton, 54-159452.

³⁶ Rent R. of W. of Wykeham's Episcopate Eccl. Com. N.B.—It is significant that now as never before 1247 the borough accounts were rendered by the bailiffs.

³⁷ Eccl. Com. Rent R. 33 W. of Wykeham, 45-159404.

³⁸ Beaufort's charter is set out at length in his episcopal register. The charters of 1247, 1266, and a copy and translation of Beaufort's charter are at Farnham Castle.

³⁹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 131.

⁴⁰ This charter does not seem to be at Farnham. It was copied for the town from Horne's Register, f. 45. The inhabitants had not got it to show in 1665. Vide *infra*.

⁴¹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 131. The bishop through charter appoints as two bailiffs for that year John Clarke and Robert Quynbye. Clarke built the old Market House. Vide *infra*.

⁴² Eccl. Com. Rent R. 1 W. of Wykeham. See chart of 1247. 39-159378 gives perquisites of court as £8 8s. 4d., an amount which implies frequent courts.

⁴³ In the probably contemporary

translation of Beaufort's charter the phrase '*Duo Hundreda de Lagbeday*,' was rendered 'To the lord of the Hundred at the law-day.' The translator evidently read 'duo' as 'dmn.' The two early charters read 'duo,' as does Bishop Horne's.

⁴⁴ The court leet assembled at Lady House at Hocktide into the nineteenth century. Then it migrated to the Bush Inn, and is still held there once a year, but is merged into the court baron. A deputy steward representing the secretary of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to whom the bishop's jurisdiction has been transferred, and two tenants are sufficient to constitute a court.



FARNHAM : VIEW FROM THE CASTLE.



FARNHAM : THE OLD MARKET HOUSE, PULLED DOWN IN 1866.

FARNHAM HUNDRED

FARNHAM

No question of the rights of the corporation thus constituted seems to have arisen till after the Restoration. The extant accounts and court rolls of the borough, preserved at Farnham Castle, date only from the reign of Elizabeth, from September, 1566, and are fragmentary till James' reign, when they are set out in English instead of as formerly in Latin. In 1604 there is the following summary of the regular receipts of the Bailiffs.

"Dewes which hath bene payed accostomly paied to the Bayleffs of the Borrough and Towne of Farnham, beyond the memory of any man that now liveth as Aniale rents always as followeth :—

"For the Borough Rent, 41*s.* 3*d.*

"For the 4 Inns, 28*s.* That to saye, of the Georg, 7*s.*; of the Whit Hart, 7*s.*; of the Anteolop, 7*s.*; of the Crown, 7*s.*

"Of every alhouse within the Borough, 2*s.*

"Of every alhouse out of the Borough, 12*d.*

"Of every alhouse at the chosing of the Bayleffs, called knowledge money, 1*d.*

"Of every alhouse as will unlicensed as licensed at every flayr day every on of them, 1*d.*

"Of every inhabitant that hath standing in the markett paying half yeerly 12*d.* by the year, 2*s.*

"Of every fishmonger that selleth fish at his window in the lent to paye at good ffriday a good lb. of samon or of the beast fish they have then leaft."

It is to be noticed that there were probably then salmon in the Wey, and that the Bush, though shortly afterwards claimed as an 'inn by prescription,' was not one of the four inns.

The regular rent of the borough, always received, was 41*s.* 3*d.* In 1594 the amounts are specified. Sixty-five persons paid: of these twenty-nine paid 4½*d.* each, twenty 9*d.*, one 13½*d.*, four 18*d.* The regular payment for a house was 4½*d.* John Bookham, for his dwelling-house, 4½*d.*; Robert Compton, for three houses, 13½*d.*; and so on. It seems to point to an ancient rent, and if all paid equally, there would have been 110 burgages in the place originally, a large number, but not impossible. But earlier payments seem to be unequal.

Manners and customs are illustrated by entries in the rolls. In 1574 a man was fined 3*s.* 4*d.* for killing a bull with dogs, an unexpected protest of humanity. Men were forbidden to blow a horn at night, or to whistle in the streets after nine o'clock, or to make any sudden outcry in the night, 'as making any affray, or beating his wife.' In 1625 many payments were suspended 'by reason of the pestilence.'

⁴⁵ In Farnham Castle. From Mich. 1642-43 no accounts, 1641-44 only fragmentary.

⁴⁶ In 1644 the bailiffs were £9 8*s.* 3*d.* out of pocket. In 1646 3*s.* was paid for replacing lead taken away from the Town Hall by the soldiers. Further repairs are noted in 1646 and 1647 of windows and timber, and many distrants

for rent due from the townspeople.

⁴⁷ In 1631 tolls brought in £33 7*s.* 1*d.*; by 1636 they were over £94. In 1652, when wheat was dear, they were £154 10*s.* 8*d.* In 1660 they were £96 13*s.* 6*d.*, in 1671 £109 18*s.* 6*d.*, in 1681 £184 16*s.* 8½*d.*, in 1691 £157 7*s.*, in 1694 they reached £370 1*s.* 3*d.* In the eighteenth

The Farnham Borough accounts for the civil war period⁴⁵ are very fragmentary until 1644. With Sir William Waller's departure in the September of that year they start again regularly.

They give very definite evidence of the effects of the war on the borough.⁴⁶ But under the Commonwealth the market recovered and business was again brisk and brought in plenty of funds. Thus at the Restoration the value of the market had increased very much.⁴⁷ The rights of bishops and chapters had been in abeyance during the Civil War and the Interregnum, and it was not wonderful that the restored prelates should sometimes try to recover more than that to which they were legally entitled.

Probably as far back as any semblance of a borough had existed, market had been held on Sunday until 1216. Then Peter des Roches obtained a royal grant to hold it every Thursday.⁴⁸ Fair day was originally All Saints' Day, 1 November, but as on the change of style it was held 13 November it would seem that All Souls, 2 November, had been



ST. ANDREW'S, FARNHAM.

adopted instead of All Saints. Toll from the fair had always been a substantial item,⁴⁹ and by 1660 must have become a valuable right.

Bishop Brian Duppa was not satisfied that the corporation of Farnham had any right to exist, or take tolls, and reclaimed the profits of the market for his see. In 1660, immediately after he had obtained possession of the see, he granted a lease of the tolls for twenty-one years to Mr. Thomas Kilvert. In 1661 Kilvert appointed bailiffs of his own to collect the tolls, but they were set upon and assaulted in the market by the inhabitants, their

century they fell fast, but in 1729 they were still over £111. The accounts cease in 1778, when the surviving burgesses enter that they divided £3 10*s.* 3½*d.* between them.

⁴⁸ Pat. 17 John, m. 11 or 13.

⁴⁹ The Rent Rolls of the thirteenth century give it as about 18*s.*; cf. Rent Rolls of 1245 and 46.

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measures taken away from them, and their proceedings forcibly restrained. A series of actions for assault and battery followed, in which the townspeople allowed judgment to go by default. They were in a difficulty, for their charters had been 'mislaid in the late troublesome time,' and they could only allege that they were a corporation by prescription, and had always collected and enjoyed the tolls themselves. Meanwhile Duppa died, and George Morley became bishop. Public spirited and liberal though he was, he stood by Mr. Kilvert, accepted a surrender of his lease of the tolls, but granted him a new one. The townspeople managed to find their charters, and the security of the lease became more doubtful. In 1665 Kilvert was negotiating for its transfer to Mr. Matthew Roydon, and naturally made as little as possible of the difficulties. On 23 October, 1665, he wrote to Roydon, 'as for the grant they talk to have, it is so lame and blind a cheate (having neither signe, seale, nor witness to it), as they are ashamed to show it anybody.' In 1667 he induced Matthew Roydon to accept the transfer of his lease. But it was not the bishop and his leaseholders who were proceeding directly against the corporation. In Hilary Term, 1665, a *Quo Warranto* was brought by the Attorney-General against the 'borougholders' of Farnham for usurping upon the rights of the Crown in taking tolls in the market. The reason is given by both leaseholders; Kilvert writing in 1665 that a *Quo Warranto* will force the inhabitants to exhibit their title, if they have any; and Roydon in 1667 saying that he has been advised that it will be more difficult for the inhabitants to defend a *Quo Warranto* than an action by the bishop. If the town had been worsted, then the bishop could have produced charters of the Crown granting him the market, and the leaseholder would have been secured.

In Michaelmas Term, 1666, the inhabitants were still pleading that they were a borough by prescription. But they were preparing their evidence. They were doubtful about appealing to a record which they had of Bishop Horne's charter, of 1567 they call it, which by its reference to bailiffs and burgesses implies a corporation. They only mention a record, showing that they had not got that document itself. But they were fully furnished with weighty proof that the market was granted by the Crown to the bishop, that the bishop had granted it to them, and that the grant had been confirmed several times. The case was finally tried before Chief Baron Hale, the rest of the Barons of the Exchequer, and a special jury in 1669. Roydon's counsel fell back upon captious objections, such as that the grant was to the original burgesses and their heirs (*hereditibus suis*), and that if the present corporation could not show that they

were the heirs of the bodies of the thirteenth century burgesses their claim was worthless. However, the jury found for the defendants, the town, and thereupon the Attorney-General signed a *non ulterius prosequi*, and the corporation emerged victorious in the contest with the Crown, the form which the proceedings had taken. In 1671 the corporation paid to the bishop £66, being five and a half years' arrears of the £12 rent. They had paid nothing since the dispute began, but up to 1666 the bishop had received payment from his lessee. But to obviate further questions about the validity of the lease, an arbitration was concluded in 1672, by which Roydon surrendered his really worthless lease to the bishop, receiving £210 from the town on consideration of waiving all claims for the future.⁵⁰

It is rather melancholy to contrast the public spirit of the inhabitants in the seventeenth century with their supineness in the eighteenth. About the time of the lawsuit the value of the tolls was rising continually, as is set forth above. In the eighteenth century it had declined to a trifle. But the decline may have been not altogether disconnected with a want of enterprise. The parish registers and churchwardens' books show that in the eighteenth century the vestry had really taken the place of the corporation as the ruling body of Farnham. They repaired roads and bridges in 1738, took measures against vagrants in 1750, and sold the old school building in 1758. The corporation was a close one, supposed to fill up its own numbers. This they neglected to do, and the two bailiffs and twelve burgesses dwindled to six or seven in the latter part of the century. At last, in 1789, Mr. William Shotter, an attorney, was the sole remaining member. He was indicted for neglecting the repairs of Tilford bridges. The last surplus recorded in the hands of the corporation had been £3 10s. 3½d. in 1778. There was a bridge-rent of 13s. 4d. annually set apart for this particular purpose in 1574, from land called Bridge Land,⁵¹ which was not sufficient, and Mr. Shotter had to pay out of his own pocket. Consequently, on 27 July 1789, he 'dissolved himself,' and surrendered the charters and all the documents of the corporation into the hands of the Rt. Rev. the Hon. Brownlow North, the then bishop.⁵² The records are, as a consequence, preserved at Farnham Castle, in place of being in all probability mislaid again by the town. Some have been eaten by mice, others torn, some probably lost, but the most ancient are in a good state of preservation.

In 1812 there is record of the collection of tolls by the bishop's agent; they amounted to £20 16s., representing very nearly the surplus of revenue over expenditure that year in the various town receipts and charges, which was £20 7s. 2½d. The

⁵⁰ An account of the case, and a great deal of correspondence about it from both sides, are preserved among the Corporation papers at Farnham Castle.

⁵¹ Corporation books at Farnham Castle, 1574. In 1666 the town was

prepared to argue that they must be an exceedingly ancient corporation from the smallness of this sum, which shows that though the 13s. 4d. appeared annually in their accounts, they had then mislaid the old book in which the origin of the payment is recorded.

⁵² Mr. Shotter died in 1795 at Farnham. 'Mr. Shotter's Papers,' referred to in Manning and Bray, seem to be those which he surrendered, but they were very partially used by Mr. Manning.

FARNHAM HUNDRED

FARNHAM

Ecclesiastical Commissioners took over the estates of the see in 1869.

The Local Government Act, 21 & 22 Victoria, c. 98, was adopted at Farnham 27 July 1866. By the subsequent Act, 57 Victoria, c. 73, the place became an urban district, with a council of twelve members, the parish being divided into urban and rural districts. In 1902 the urban district was slightly extended into the rural district.⁵³

One of the earlier acts of the local board of 1866 was to pull down the old Market House. The market is now in the hands of a company. The rights of the bishop had been conveyed, with the assent of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, on 8 February 1858, to the Farnham Market House and Town Hall Company, Limited, under the Ecclesiastical Leasing Act of 1857. In 1875 the date of the fair, formerly held on Holy Thursday, was changed to 10 May, and the fair held on 13 November was changed to 10 November.⁵⁴

The old Market House stood at the bottom of Castle Street, in the middle of the road. It was open underneath, supported on brick and timber arches. It is supposed to have been built by John Clark,⁵⁵ who was senior bailiff of the corporation under the charter given by Bishop Horne in 1566.⁵⁶ The inscription upon it, remembered by living people,—

You, who don't like me, give money to mend me,
You, who do like me, give money to end me,

seems to point to its being built by private liberality. It is said to have been put up by Clark to silence critics at the time of its erection. No charge for the building appears in the town accounts. The old Market House was unfortunately pulled down in 1866, having been just replaced by the present Exchange, at the corner of the street, built by the Market House and Town Hall Company, Limited. The clock on this was given by Mr. S. Nicholson of Waverley.

The old Town Hall, where the bailiffs and burgesses met, is in the borough, nearly opposite the Bush Inn. It shows some rather elegant seventeenth century brickwork in the upper part, in the walls at right angles to the street. The upper rooms are now occupied as a meeting-place for the Plymouth Brethren. The front is quite modernized. It is said to have borne the date 1657. In 1604 the borough accounts show that some extensive building was done at the Town Hall, but the general style of the brickwork is of later

date. No later record of its building appears however in the accounts. The Bush Inn has long been the most considerable inn in Farnham, and part of it is ancient. In 1618, though it was not one of the four old inns (*vide supra*), the innkeeper Harding pleaded that it was an inn by prescription, when Sir Giles Mompesson, patentee of inns, proceeded against him for keeping an inn without a licence. The King's Bench decided against Harding, but the judgment was reversed a few



THE BUSH HOTEL, FARNHAM.

years later. The case became a leading one in old licensing law, on the point of the extension of the buildings of a licensed house.⁵⁷

The corporation seal is probably of the date of Bishop Horne's charter, and the revival of the corporation then. It is one inch and three-eighths in diameter, and bears a castle, with the inscription, 'SIGILL COE BALL BURG ET VILLE DE FARNEHAM.' The impression is on some of the town documents preserved at the castle.

In the seventeenth century the want of copper money was met by the issue of tokens by the tradesmen, and more especially by the innkeepers of the borough.⁵⁸

⁵³ *Lond. Gaz.* 1 April, 1902.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 13 April, 1875, 2087.

⁵⁵ Manning and Bray, iii. 131.

⁵⁶ Corporation papers at Farnham Castle.

⁵⁷ Vyner, *Abridgement of the Statutes*, vol. xiv. Inns.

⁵⁸ The following are known to exist, issued at Farnham (see *Boyne's Tokens*, ed. Williamson); they are all farthing tokens, bearing the following impressions and inscriptions:—

O. At Farnham. I.M.D.

R. In Surrey, 1658, Blacksmith's Arms in centre (a chevron between Three Hammers).

O. Robert Prior of Farnum. A Fleur de Lys.

R. Oat Meale Maker. R.I.F.
A Robert Fryer was churchwarden in 1682.

O. John Genang, 1669. The Cordwainers' Arms.

R. In Farnham in Surrey. I.I.G.

O. John Goddard of — A sugar loaf.

R. Farnham in Surrey. I.B.G.

O. John Holloway. A row of candles.

R. In Farnham, 1658. I.M.H.

O. James Hunt in — A castle (the Borough Seal).

R. Farnham in Surrey. I.H. A Fleur de Lys.

O. James Hunt; otherwise the same on obverse and reverse as the preceding.

O. Richard Lunn at the — A Fleur de Lys.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

The borough was represented in Parliament twice only. In 1311 Thomas le Tyghelere and Thomas de Sutton were members for Farnham. In the same Parliament, re-summoned after prorogation, they appear as Thomas le Tyghelere and Thomas de Sottone.⁶⁰ In 1460 Henry Tudenham and Richard Beaufitz were members for Farnham. The dates are interesting. There can be no doubt that the members for Farnham were in reality members for the Bishop. In the Parliament of 1311 the struggle of the earls and of the archbishop against Edward II. came to a crisis. Woodlock, the Bishop of Winchester, was a partisan of Winchelsea the Archbishop, and the Commons were reinforced by members from his pocket borough. The administration was in the hands of the earls and the archbishop, and the parliament met to ratify the ordinances which they had drawn up for the regulation of the kingdom. The Parlia-



THE BUSH HOTEL, FARNHAM.

ment of 1460 met to consider the claim of the Duke of York to the Crown. The Yorkist party had mastered the king for the time. The Lancastrian Chancellor, Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, had been replaced in the previous July by a Yorkist, but his influence was apparently still recognized, and his members were summoned, probably by arrangement with him, as he made his peace with the Yorkists.

When *FARNHAM* was first granted to *MANOR* the church of Winchester is uncertain.

In 688 it appears by a charter that Cedwalla granted 60 *cassati* of land in Farnham for building a monastery.⁶⁰ So far as we know a monastery never existed here, but the charter does not exclude the meaning of the land being for the support of a monastery elsewhere. In 803-5 Alhmund, Bishop of Winchester, apparently granted 60 *cassati* of land at Farnham to Byrhtelm in exchange for other lands.⁶¹ The bishop possibly redeemed the lands under clauses in the grant, for in 858 St. Swithun, then bishop, granted to Ethelbald king of the West Saxons, probably the same 60 *cassati* of land in Farnham for life, and the king thereupon granted the reversion after his death to the Bishop of Winchester 'for the love of God and the health of his soul and the souls of his father and grandfather.'⁶² These lands, with 10 *cassati* more, were in 909 confirmed to Frithestan, Bishop of Winchester, by King Edward the Elder,⁶³ and again at the end of the tenth century by King Edgar,⁶⁴ who further granted the bishop freedom from all earthly services.⁶⁵ This grant was possibly the origin of the bishop's liberty at Farnham.

At the time of the Domesday survey the manor was held by the bishop, 'St. Peter always held it.'⁶⁶ Then it was assessed for 40 hides, whereas in the time of King Edward it was assessed for 60. Of these 40 hides Ralph, William and Waso held 4 hides less 1 virgate, 3 hides and a virgate, and half a hide respectively. Moreover Osbern de Ow held the church of the manor with 1 hide in Hampshire, probably in Bently.⁶⁷

From the Survey onwards the bishops of Winchester held Farnham manor.⁶⁸ That Farnham was a very profitable possession is proved by the Ministers' Accounts for the Winchester diocese.

These are almost continuous from 1207.⁶⁹ Besides the necessarily important rents from demesne lands, the various rents from the six mills on the Wey and its tributaries, especially from Mill Bourne and Willey Mill, were a profitable source of income. Moreover the particular conditions under which the bishop held enhanced the value of the manor. In 1279, in answer to a *Quo Warranto* exhibited against the bishop, he claimed to

R. In Farnham in Surry. A Dragon.

Boyne calls it a Griffin, but it is the sign of the Dragon Inn.

O. Francis Maberley of — F.A.M. R. Farnham Fishmonger. The Fishmongers' Arms.

O. Henry Morris of — The Fishmongers' Arms.

R. Farnham in Surrey. H.E.M.

O. James Wrath, 1658.

R. In Farnham, I.M.W.

There is a similar token, with the date 1664, in possession of the Rev. W. H. F. Edge, vicar of Tilford.

⁶⁰ Returns, printed by order of House of Commons, Parliamentary Blue Books, 1878. In 1280 Thomas le Tyghelar, this man or his father, held le Heghe in Farnham (Plac. Coram Rege, 7 Edw. I. Rot. 39).

⁶¹ Birch, *Cart. Sax.* i. 106.

⁶² *Ibid.* i. 452.

⁶³ *Ibid.* ii. 98, 99.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 300.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 408.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 410.

⁶⁷ *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 300.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* *Hants.* i. 463, and *Surr.* i.

283.

⁶⁹ Chart. R. 4 Rich. II. No. 158, m. 13-11, inspecting charters from William I. onwards.

⁷⁰ Ecll. Com. Rent R. Bprie. of Winton.

hold, without any charter, the following liberties in his manor of Farnham, with the Hundred: to wit that he held the said manor so freely that no sheriff, or other bailiff of the king had right of entry, except by default of the bishop or his bailiffs; that he had return of the king's writs, view of frank-pledge, the assize of bread and ale, gallows, and other rights of the Crown; cognisance executions, or fines of pleas proper to the sheriff, the chattels of felons and outlaws, infangthief and outfangthief, free warren, and a park and market. All this he claimed to hold by prescription.⁷⁰ The jury found that he held all such liberties except that his right of free warren was only from the bank at Tilford to Alice Holt.⁷¹ So in 1282 the homage in answer to the articles of assize at Farnham presented that the bishop held these extensive rights.⁷² The bishops seem to have enjoyed their rights to the full. They held their own courts, their own view of frank-pledge,⁷³ they received profits from assize of bread and ale and other jurisdictional rights,⁷⁴ and vindicated their rights of free warren and free chace.⁷⁵

Beyond the occasional mention of various tenants holding lands in Farnham,⁷⁶ there can necessarily be little history belonging to the manorial descent. It seems that only twice in its history the manor passed out of the bishops' hands. In March 1551 John Ponet, on his appointment to Winchester in place of Stephen Gardiner, gave up the episcopal manors to the Crown in return for a fixed income of 2,000 marks.⁷⁷ But in June of the same year several manors, among which was Farnham, were regranted to the bishop.⁷⁸ With the reaction under Mary Tudor, when Ponet had fled and Gardiner was restored, this regrent evidently held good for the manors mentioned. When Mary could feel her way more safely and dared to restore more of the church lands, a more comprehensive regrent was made, and that of Farnham manor confirmed to John White, the newly-appointed bishop.⁷⁹ With the abolition of episcopacy, followed by the Long Parliament ordinances of 1646, the estates of the

bishops fell into the hands of the highest bidders. Farnham Manor was sold on 25 September 1648 to John Farwell and James Gold, for £8,145 8s.⁸⁰ But with the restored monarchy episcopal estates came back to their rightful owners. Farnham was given back to Bishop Brian Duppa, who had been translated to Winchester, and who held the see for two years.⁸¹ Thenceforward Farnham manor remained in the bishop's possession.

The Ecclesiastical Commissioners appointed in 1836 for the rearrangement of the various dioceses curtailed the Bishop of Winchester's income to £3,600,⁸² and were authorised in 1863 and 1890 to sell property formerly belonging to the bishop.⁸³ In 1879 the bishops were endowed with various lands and tithes in Hampshire and Sussex, and in Farnham in Surrey.⁸⁴ In 1869 the ancient jurisdiction of the bishop in the manor of Farnham was transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.⁸⁵ Since then the court leet, now merged in the court baron, is held once instead of twice a year before a deputy steward of the Commissioners and two or more tenants. The list of the tenants is revised, and changes of ownership affecting copyholds of the manor are noted.⁸⁶

The tithing of *CULVERLAND* or *COMPTON*, originally called *WEST COMPTON*, lies to the south-west of Farnham town. It appears in the earliest subsidy rolls as a tithing of Farnham,⁸⁷ and in the earliest extant court rolls of the hundred of Farnham Blackheath as sending a tithing-man to the town at the terms of Hock and St. Martin's.⁸⁸ Again it appears in the Assize Roll of 1280 as under obligation to repair the bridge of Heghe.⁸⁹

On the left bank of the river in this tithing is *COMPTON HALL*, *MOREHOUSE* or *MOOR PARK*,⁹⁰ which, as before mentioned, was never a park in the strict sense of the word, since the holder did not possess the right of free warren. It was the manor house of an estate described as a manor in 1547, when it was held by the Westbrokes.⁹¹ Indeed the Westbroke family seems to have held lands in this parish from an early

⁷⁰ Assize R. No. 877, m. 26.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid. No. 899, m. 5.

⁷³ Eccl. Com. Ct. R. Farnham, Bprie. of Winton. ⁷⁴ Ibid. Rent R.

⁷⁵ (a) *Cal. of Pat.* 1307, p. 548, Commission of Oyer and Terminer issued to Peter Malore and John Randolph on complaint of Henry Bishop of Winchester, touching persons who entered his free chace at Farnham, Surrey. (b) *Cal. of Pat.* 1307-13, p. 311. The like to John de Foxe and Robert de Harwedon touching a breach of the park and free warren of Henry Bishop of Winchester at Farnham on the confines of Surrey and Southampton.

⁷⁶ Inq. p.m. 45 Hen. III. 42 and 43. Nicholas Bullok held lands in Farnham manor, bought by his grandfather Hugh de Baghesote. There were held of the bishop, 2 virgates by ancient tenure, a rent of 10s. 2d. for 'Wudepanies,' and various other services; but 32 acres of new land, land not belonging to the old

common fields of the manor, indicating the extension of the cultivated area by the thirteenth century, bore a rent of 18s. 4d. and no other service.

⁷⁷ *V.C.H. Hants*, ii. 66.

⁷⁸ Pat. 5 Edw. VI. pt. 6, m. 26.

⁷⁹ Pat. 4 and 5 Phil. and Mary, pt. 7, m. 20.

⁸⁰ Aud. Off. Declared Accts. bde. 367 (P.R.O.).

⁸¹ *V.C.H. Hants*, ii. 93.

⁸² *Lond. Gaz.* (July 18, 1837, 1825).

⁸³ Ibid. (Dec. 11, 1863, 6480) and (Ap. 1, 1870, 1984).

⁸⁴ Ibid. (Mar. 7, 1879, 1944).

⁸⁵ Information from the Eccl. Com.

⁸⁶ Copyholds pass by surrender and admittance, and are held according to the custom of the manor. The fines are fixed, and if at the next court after her husband's death a widow pays $\frac{1}{2}$ a fine, she is entitled to the estate, even if she remarries. The eldest son succeeds, or in default of sons the eldest daughter. The copyholder can cut

timber for repairs only by licence. A fifth of oak, ash, or elm cut for sale goes to the lord.

⁸⁷ *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 442.

⁸⁸ Eccl. Com. Ct. R. Bprie. of Winton. Hen. VII. bde. 79, No. 28 et seq.

⁸⁹ Assize R. No. 877, m. 53. 'Le Heghe' was evidently land in Compton tithing, held by Thomas le Tyheler. The name still survives in the water mill on the Wey called High Mill. In the same roll it is noted that the bridges of Compton and Heghe—between Farnham and Moor Park—the bridge of La Pre near Moor Park and the bridge over the Bourne had not been 'repaired as they ought to be.' The duty to do this fell on the tithings of Compton, Badshot, Crundale and 'Ronfalle.'

⁹⁰ Manning and Bray, iii. 138. In Speed's map it is More House.

⁹¹ Held by John Scarlett, great nephew of William Westbroke. Vide infra, Inq. p.m. 1 Edw. VI. lxxv. 63.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

date. In 1307 an action appears between Stephen de Trolleberg and his wife against Robert son of Richard de Westbrok in Farnham.⁹² Possibly this was the land in Compton which was held in 1516 by William Westbroke,⁹³ who died in 1537. The land then evidently passed to his nephew John Scarlett,⁹⁴ who died 8 October 1546 seised of 'a moiety of the manor of Compton next Waverley,' held by fealty and an annual rent of 4s. of the Bishop of Winchester as of his manor of Farnham. This moiety of the manor seems to have included 100 acres of arable land, 20 acres meadow, 60 acres pasture, 34 acres moor, 20 acres wood, and 200 acres heath in Farnham. John Scarlett's heir was his son John, then aged five years.⁹⁵

In 1571 a deed was made between John Scarlett and Thomas Hull, both of Godalming, whereby the messuage called 'Compton Haul' with appurtenances, in the parish of Farnham, and all the houses, lands, etc., belonging thereto in the tenure of Henry Stynte by lease from John Scarlett for 40s. a year, and 'the moytie part' of the said John Scarlett in the said premises, and all his other lands in Farnham, were conveyed to Thomas Hull.⁹⁶ Scarlett and Hull were grandsons respectively of Florence and Elizabeth Westbroke, sisters and co-heiresses of the William Westbroke who died 1537.⁹⁷

In 1576 Thomas Hull conveyed by fine to Richard Cresswell a messuage, garden, 300 acres of land, 40 acres meadow, 200 acres pasture, 100 acres wood, 200 acres heath and furse in Farnham, Seale, and Waverley.⁹⁸ In 1577 Thomas Hull conveyed by recovery to Richard Cresswell divers lands in the same places; ⁹⁹ and in the same term Richard Cresswell conveyed to Anthony Bagge lands in Farnham, etc., and Compton Hall.¹⁰⁰



WESTBROKE. *Gules a fleur de lys issuing from a leopard's head gold.*



HULL. *Silver a cheveron azure between three demi-lions passant gules with three bezants on the cheveron, and a chief sable with two piles silver.*

In April 1587 Robert Ashton died seised of 'the manor or messuage called from old time Compton Hall,' then leased to his nephew, John Cotton. His son and heir was Robert Ashton, who was then nearly seventeen years of age.¹⁰¹

From 1588 until 1632 the only mention of Compton or Morehouse¹⁰² is in Norden's description of Surrey,¹⁰³ which by internal evidence is after 1590 and before 1597, in which he says that Cotton, gent., lived at Morehouse. By 1632 it had passed into the hands of Sir Francis Clarke, who died seised of it in that year.¹⁰⁴

About 1686 Sir William Temple, the brilliant diplomatist, statesman, and man of letters, author of an *Essay on Gardening* and patron of Swift, purchased the manor from the executors of the Clarke family, and probably changed the name from Morehouse or Compton Hall to Moor Park.¹⁰⁵ Moor Park, during Sir William Temple's life there, was the meeting-place of many interesting men,¹⁰⁶ and the scene of the meeting between Swift and Stella.¹⁰⁷ Temple laid out the gardens in the Dutch style, with a canal. They were modernized by Mr. Timson, the tenant, in the early nineteenth century.

Sir William Temple on his death in 1699 left Moor Park to Elizabeth, the younger daughter of his late son John.¹⁰⁸ Elizabeth married her cousin John Temple, survived her husband and children, and in 1770 devised the manor to her nephew Basil Bacon, son of her sister Dorothy and Nicholas Bacon of Shrubland Hall, Suffolk.¹⁰⁹ In 1775 Basil Bacon¹¹⁰ left his 'capital messuage or manor house called Moor Hall, otherwise Compton Halls, otherwise Moor Park,' and all his Temple estate to his younger brother in tail, with remainder to his elder brother in tail, with remainder to his sister in tail, and failing these to his eldest son Charles, known as Charles Williams, provided he took the name of Bacon, with



TEMPLE. *Silver two bars sable each with three martlets gold.*



BACON. *Gules a chief silver with two pierced molets sable.*

⁹² Feet of F. Surr. 35 Edw. I. printed for Surr. Arch. Soc.

⁹³ Common R. Mich. 8 Hen. VIII.

pt. cxliii.

William Westbroke ob. 1517	Florence = Scarlett John Scarlett ob. 1546 John Scarlett	Elizabeth Thos. Hull Vide infra
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⁹⁵ Inq. p.m. 1 Edw. VI. lxxxv. 63.

⁹⁶ Com. Pleas, 13 Eliz. pt. xx. 857.

⁹⁷ Feet of F. Surr. Mich. 13-14

Eliz.

⁹⁸ Feet of F. Mich. 18-19 Eliz.

⁹⁹ Common R. 18 Eliz. m. 144.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Inq. p.m. 30 Eliz. ccxix. 106.

¹⁰² Speed's Map, 1610.

¹⁰³ B.M. Add. MSS. 31853.

¹⁰⁴ Inq. p.m. 8 Chas. I. ccclxv. No.

69. Sir Francis Clarke had married Grissell, daughter of the neighbouring landowner, Sir David Woodroffe, of Poyle in Tongham.

¹⁰⁵ His open admiration for the garden at Moor Park in Hertfordshire is well known—'the perfectest figure of a garden I ever saw either at home or abroad.'—'Essay on the Gardens of Epicures.' He laid out his own garden in a similar Dutch style. (Manning and Bray, iii. 138 and 139.)

¹⁰⁶ William III. visited Temple at Moor Park, and met there Jonathan Swift, who a few years later was to be the great scourge of the Whig Party. (Manning and Bray, iii. 138.)

¹⁰⁷ Stella was the daughter of Esther Johnson, waiting woman of Lady Giffard, Temple's sister.

¹⁰⁸ Life of Sir W. Temple prefixed to his *Memoirs and Works* (ed. 1814), and Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 138.

¹⁰⁹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, iii. 139.

¹¹⁰ Basil Bacon altered the house and built a new south front.



MOOR PARK.



WAVERLEY ABBEY.

remainder to his other sons.¹¹¹ The brothers and sisters died without issue, and Charles Williams resumed the name of Bacon and succeeded to the estate.¹¹²

In 1796 Moor Park was leased to a Mr. Timson, but in 1811 Charles Bacon was still holding.¹¹³ His son Charles Basil Bacon, who succeeded him in 1820, sold Moor Park to Mr. La Trobe Bateman in 1858.¹¹⁴ In 1883 Mr. F. R. Bateman was holding the manor.¹¹⁵ In 1890 it was sold to Sir William Rose, whose widow sold it in 1899 to Mrs. Johnston-Foster.

In the grounds of Moor Park to the south is St. Mary's Well, in an opening at the foot of the greensand hill above the Wey, whence Waverley Abbey was supplied with water. The cave through which the water runs is locally known as Mother Ludlam's Hole, from an alleged witch who is supposed to have lived there 'once upon a time.' The popular story is that Ludwell is the old name for St. Mary's Well. This has originated from the inaccurate version of a story from the Waverley Annals (A.D. 1216), quoted by Aubrey as told him by a clergyman friend of Sir William Temple.¹¹⁶ According to this Ludwell well ran dry, and an ingenious monk restored its supply by leaden pipes under the river.¹¹⁷ The probability is, however, that Ludwell was in another place, and that instead of restoring the supply of Ludwell the monk discovered fresh springs, connected them by leaden pipes, and made a new supply at St. Mary's Well to take the place of Ludwell.¹¹⁸ Popular tradition has it that a hermit named Foote lived in a hole close by the spring. A more likely form of the story is that Foote was a lunatic who came one day to the hole and was found on the next day in a dying state and removed to the workhouse, where he died. On the road from Moor Park to Waverley is a cottage now commonly called 'Stella's cottage,' but as in the early nineteenth century it seems to have been known as 'Dean Swift's House,'¹¹⁹ it is difficult to decide whether it was actually occupied by either 'Stella' or Dean Swift.

The scenery here is very beautiful, the river flowing through a narrow meadow valley between fir-clad sand-hills. Trout are abundant and of fair size. There is a heronry hard by at the

Black Lake in the woods between Waverley and the Tilford-Farnham road.

TILFORD (Tileford) tithing¹²⁰ lies south-east of Moor Park and Waverley, where the two branches of the Wey, the one coming from the north past Farnham and Waverley, and the other from the south-west, through Woolmer forest and Frensham, unite. From the earliest times on record it seems to have been the duty of the borough corporation of Farnham to repair the two bridges in Tilford.¹²¹ In 1574 a piece of land close to Tilford Green called Bridge Land was set apart for the repair of the bridges,¹²² and the annual rent, 13s. 4d., appears regularly in the borough accounts. Between the bridges on the south side of the southern branch of the river is the fine old oak popularly but wrongly known as 'The King's Oak.'¹²³ More probably¹²⁴ it should be called by the name 'Novel's Oak,' as it is found on the old estate maps, and as it was called by the older villagers.¹²⁵

Tilford appears as a tithing of the manor of Farnham as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century.¹²⁶ There is an interesting note in 1278 that the bishop has only free warren in his manor from the bank of Tilford to Alice Holt forest.¹²⁷ This meant that his right was confined to the north side of the southern branch of the Wey, and only included half of Tilford. There was a Roman kiln on the spot, the old farm-houses are roofed with red weather tiles, evidently of local manufacture, and there is still a pottery at Charleshill close by. The greater part of the tithing is still copyhold of the manor of Farnham, but some of it is parcel of Frensham Beale. The manor contained till recently, and still has remaining, some small farms of 30 acres, which in the nineteenth century retained the name *yardlands*, the *virgatae* of mediaeval tenures. Parts of the estate, particularly to the south, are sandy and mostly unproductive, except of conifers. But the whole locality is very picturesque, and like much of the old Surrey waste land has been parcelled out for the building of pleasant country houses.

*TILFORD HOUSE*¹²⁸ itself dates from about 1690. It is a substantial red brick house with panelled rooms. It was purchased soon after 1760 by Mrs. Elizabeth Abney, only surviving child of

¹¹¹ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 139.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 139. ¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* At this time about thirty of the Moor Park pictures were sold to Lord Palmerston, a descendant of Sir William Temple, but some others were recently in the possession of the family of Mr. Timson. From papers in possession of Capt. K. V. Bacon, nephew of Mr. Charles Basil Bacon.

¹¹⁵ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* viii. Intro. xiii.

¹¹⁶ Probably Rev. Thomas Swift of Puttenham, Temple's chaplain, and cousin to Jonathan Swift.

¹¹⁷ Aubrey, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 149, 161.

¹¹⁸ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.) ii. 284.

The account is perfectly clear:—*Exsiccatu fons, videlicet Ludwell . . . frater Symon . . . aggressus est opus satis*

durum scilicet exquirere et indagare novas aquarum vivarum venas . . . vocabulum fontis est Sanctae Mariae fons. The performance was celebrated in verse with only four false quantities in two lines:

Vena novi fontis, ope Symonis in pede montis

Fixa fluit jugiter, fistula format iter.

¹¹⁹ Local information.

¹²⁰ The tithing possibly derived its name from an early manufacture of tiles in the locality. There is also a frequent mention of a meadow called 'Tilebed' in the Mins. Acc. Also of Tilehill or Tilehulle—both probably in Tilford.

¹²¹ The cost of repairing the same induced Mr. William Shotton to surrender the borough charters in 1789. *Vide* Farnham Borough.

¹²² Farnham Borough papers at Farnham Castle. A quit rent is still made to the Ecclesiastical Commission.

¹²³ It has been identified as the oak mentioned in the charter given to Waverley by Bishop Henry de Blois as 'the oak at Kynghoc,' which was a boundary mark in the lands of the abbey. Dugdale, *Mon.* i. 703.

¹²⁴ The Waverley boundary is well known, and does not come so far south as this oak by half a mile.

¹²⁵ Information from Charles Tayler Ware, Esq., who lived at Tilford House.

¹²⁶ *Ecll. Com. Rent R.* 9 and 10 John, etc.

¹²⁷ *Assize R. No.* 876, m. 2.

¹²⁸ Called 'the Great House' in old estate maps.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

Sir Thomas Abney, the friend and patron of Dr. Isaac Watts.¹²⁹ Mrs. Abney left the estate to her chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Tayler. The Abney family was Presbyterian, and the hall of Tilford House was licensed for Presbyterian services until 1776, when a chapel was erected in the present stable yard. By 1854 this chapel was disused,¹³⁰ and soon after 1857 the pulpit was given to a Wesleyan chapel at Aldershot, where it now is.¹³¹ In 1831 Tilford House passed into the possession of Anne, wife of Mr. Martin Ware and daughter of Mr. Tayler, to whom Mrs. Abney had left the property.¹³² Their son, James Ware, died unmarried in 1902,¹³³ and the estate descended to his nephew, the present owner, the Rev. Martin S. Ware.¹³⁴

In 1852 a great part of the common of Tilford and the waste of the manor of Farnham was allotted to the bishop and to the holders of land and owners of houses in Tilford. Part of the

It consists of a chancel, nave, south aisle,¹³⁷ porch, and western bell-gables in supposed thirteenth century style. There is a handsome timber lychgate. The rearedos is in memory of Miss Charlotte Smith, who resided for a short time at Tilford House, and who had a reputation as a poet.

A Congregational church which has been built close by may be considered the centre of a congregation which really represents the Presbyterian gathering at Tilford House.

WRECCLESHAM tithing lies south-west of Farnham and extended formerly across the Hampshire border into Alice Holt forest. The river Wey flowing south of the Pilgrims' Road seems to have formed the north-western boundary of the ancient tithing. In all the early rent rolls of the bishops of Winchester Wrecclesham appears as a tithing of Farnham manor, and as owing a rent from certain tenements called 'Castle rent.'¹³⁸

A considerable village has grown up round



TILFORD.

Green with the Great Oak was allotted to the bishop as trustee for the preservation of the oak, and the rest of the Green, west of the road to Churt, as a recreation ground for the village.¹³⁵

By a simultaneous arrangement between the bishop and Mr. Martin Ware 4 acres of the Tilford House copyhold estate were set apart for a new church, vicarage, and schools.¹³⁶ In 1865 Tilford with the vill of Waverley was erected into an ecclesiastical parish. A temporary church, which had been built in 1852, was superseded in 1867 by the present church of All Saints, built on the west side of the road south of the river. This is of ironstone, with Bath stone coigns and win-

Wrecclesham, and a pottery is established there where the manufacture of the 'green pots'¹³⁹ is still carried on. The enclosures round and near the cottages were originally in most cases encroachments on the waste of Farnham manor, but have been legalised by grants in the court baron.¹⁴⁰ The eastern part of the tithing takes its name from the stream called Bourne or Winterbourne,¹⁴¹ which flows through it in its course from Alice Holt forest to join the Wey just below Moor Park.¹⁴²

The modern ecclesiastical district of *WRECCLESHAM* formed in 1840 includes the ancient tithing of Runwick north of the Wey, with Willey

¹²⁹ Mrs. Elizabeth Abney was one of the children to whom Dr. Watts inscribed his *Divine and Moral Songs for Children*. Dr. Watts was dead before the family came to Tilford.

¹³⁰ Bishop Utterton, when vicar of Farnham, proposed to Mr. Ware, the owner of Tilford House, that the chapel should be used for church service pending the building of a district church. The suggestion was not followed. In 1857 Mr. Ware offered to lend the pulpit for use in a temporary church, but the offer was refused for want of room.

¹³¹ Information from Charles Tayler Ware, Esq., and the Rev. Martin S. Ware.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Act for Inclosure, 8 and 9 Vict. c. 118.

¹³⁶ Information from Charles Tayler Ware, Esq., and papers at Tilford Vicarage.

¹³⁷ Added in 1899.

¹³⁸ Eccl. Com. Rent. R. Bprie. of Winton.

¹³⁹ See ante, p. 583.

¹⁴⁰ Manning and Bray, iii. 140, and local information.

¹⁴¹ The name is a common one for an intermittent stream which breaks out above the surface only under the influence of autumn and winter rains. Contrary to the usual rule, it seems to be a more constant stream now than it used to be, possibly from the more careful draining of Alice Holt Forest into a pond at its source.

¹⁴² The lower course of the Bourne is between Dogflud and Compton tithings on the left bank and Tilford on the right.

House and Park and Dippenhall. The district church of Wrecclesham, the church of St. Peter, was built in 1840, on the western side of the Farnham road. The church is in thirteenth century style, of sandstone with a chalk interior. It consists of a chancel, nave, and north and south aisles, the former separated from the nave by five, the latter by four pointed arches. There are quatrefoil clearesty windows and three lancets at the east end. The bell-turret, over the north-west part of the church, terminates in a short spire and contains two bells.

In 1862 the *BOURNE* was separated from Wrecclesham and formed into an ecclesiastical district with a church of its own, the church of St. Thomas, on the left-hand side of the road from Farnham to Frensham, on the northern edge of the valley of the Bourne.¹⁴³ It is a plain stone building of local sandstone with chalk interior arches and facings. It consists of a chancel,¹⁴⁴ nave, and south aisle divided from the nave by five pointed arches. There are three lancets at the east end and a bell turret at the west end of the nave and aisle.

In 1871 the south-western part of Wrecclesham and part of Frensham were made into the ecclesiastical district of *ROWLEDGE*, with a separate church dedicated in honour of St. James, and standing just over the Hampshire border. It is built in thirteenth century style; its turret has a spire, but only one bell.

The ancient tithing of *RUNWICK*, considered since 1840 as part of the ecclesiastical district of Wrecclesham, lies north-west of Wrecclesham and west of Farnham. The Pilgrims' Way passes through the southern part of the tithing and through Willey Park estate. Willey House or Willey Park and Willey Mill on the Wey are in Runwick.

Although *DIPPENHALL* seems locally to lie in Runwick, and was included with Runwick in Wrecclesham district in 1840, it was evidently never part of the tithing, since in the thirteenth century it appears as a distinct tithing of Farnham,¹⁴⁵ and in the fifteenth and sixteenth as a tithing of Crondall.¹⁴⁶

There seems to be no early history of *WILLEY PARK*, but the name of Willey is as old as the early thirteenth century. Rent from Willey Mill, probably one of the six mills of Domesday, appears as a substantial item in the rent rolls of the bishop from 1207 onwards.¹⁴⁷ In 1207-8 the bailiffs of Farnham manor accounted for 10s.—'de Willelmo de Wile pro fine terrae.'¹⁴⁸

In Norden's 'Description,' cited above, John Brown, gent., was living at Willey. About the middle of the nineteenth century Willey Park was held by Captain Ward, whose daughter Augusta married Mr. G. F. Roumieu, J.P., coroner for

West Surrey, the present owner. Mr. G. P. R. James, the novelist, resided here for some time.

The land comprised in the ancient tithing of *BADSHOT* lies to the north-east of Farnham, midway between Farnham and Aldershot. The ecclesiastical parish of Hale formed in 1845 is almost coterminous with the ancient tithing, and the name of the tithing survives only in the district known as Badshot Lea, which includes Badshot Farm and Badshot House. In the south-western part of Badshot Lea there are remains of a moated enclosure, three sides of a square, but all other traces of an interior house are gone. The house, which stood in the moated enclosure, was sold in 1713 by John Stevens to John Lampard,¹⁴⁹ who in 1734 built Bagshot Place or Farm. He bequeathed Bagshot House, pulled down about 1830, to Peckham Williams. The present Bagshot House was built near the site.¹⁵⁰

The western part of the ancient tithing is the modern district of *HALE*, including Upper Hale and Weybourne. Hale evidently owes its importance and rapid growth to its nearness to Aldershot, since the locality has become a popular place of residence for officers whose regiments are stationed there. Hale Lodge is the residence of Captain K. Verulam Bacon. Weybourne House, which is north-east of Hale, is the residence of Captain Leslie Sylvester, and Hale Place that of Colonel FitzRoy, late R.H.A.

St. John's Church, Hale, is on the western side of the Aldershot road. It was built in 1841, enlarged in 1861. It is in Norman style, and built of grey chalk and sandstone. It consists of a chancel, nave, narrow south aisle, and a north aisle, as broad as the nave, running up on the north side of the chancel and opening into it by an arch. On the opposite side of the chancel is a short south transept. At the east end of the south aisle is a round bell turret containing two bells. There are four round arches on the south side and five on the north of the nave in imitation of the Norman work of the eleventh century. In the churchyard, at the east end of the church, Bishop Sumner and Mrs. Sumner are buried.

The Chapel of Ease, of St. Mark, Upper Hale, in the north of the parish, built in 1884, is of fourteenth century design, with a turret and three bells.

RUNFOLD (Runvale) tithing is east of Farnham and south of Badshot Lea, on the road leading to Guildford. Runfold House to the north and Runfold Lodge to the south mark roughly the old extent of the tithing, otherwise it has lost importance and is represented only by a few small houses.

It seems in all probability that Runfold was never so important as most of the other tithings of Farnham. Whereas in the subsidy rolls of the fourteenth century the average amount contributed by each tithing of Farnham was a little

¹⁴³ The church, built in 1862, was consecrated after enlargement 21 December, 1869, by Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester. In 1881 it was again enlarged.

¹⁴⁴ Added in 1869.

¹⁴⁵ Assize R. No. 877, m. 53.

¹⁴⁶ Eccl. Com. Ct. R. Bprie. of Winton, Crondall Hund. Bdle. 78.

¹⁴⁷ Eccl. Com. Rent. R. Bprie. of Winton, Bdle. 22 onwards.

¹⁴⁸ Pipe R. Bprie. of Winton, 1207-8, under Farnham, *De Purcbaiuis*.

¹⁴⁹ Manning and Bray, iii. 141.

¹⁵⁰ Captain Bacon, information. Mr. Peckham Williams is said to have introduced the famous White Vine Grape Hop, the finest of the Farnham hop plants.

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over £2, Runvale, as the tithing was then called, paid £1 15s.¹⁵¹ Tilford contributed still less, but by the sixteenth century it had increased in value and was assessed at 4s. at the hundred court, whereas Runvale was assessed at 2s. 6d.¹⁵² This, added to the subsequent decay of the tithing, seems to indicate that the country round was unfertile and consequently thinly populated.

There is little trace now of the ancient tithing of *DOGFLUD*, for it has been merged in the south-eastern part of the town of Farnham. But the tithing had a very distinct existence from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, for it appears in the rent rolls of the bishops both early and late,¹⁵³ and in the extant court rolls dating from Henry VII.¹⁵⁴ Its nearness to the manor and castle of Farnham gave it a marked importance, and it is mentioned in the rent rolls as owing 'Castle rent' for certain tenements to the lord of the manor.¹⁵⁵

In the court roll for 1542-3 an order is given for the repair of 'Tonbrigge' in 'Dogflode.'¹⁵⁶ This 'Tonbrigge' probably survives in the street still called Longbridge, in the part of Farnham town which was originally Dogflud. It was in this part of Farnham, in the Jolly Farmer inn, that Cobbett was born. Close to it, on the left-hand side of the road leading to Frensham, is a fine early timbered house, and opposite to it a carved bow window of good design.

From Domesday it appears that *CHURCHES* Osbern de Ow (Eu) held the church of Farnham of the Manor of the Bishop, and that it was worth six pounds, along with one hide which he had at Bentley in Hampshire.¹⁵⁷ This Osbern seems to be the same Osbern who held the churches of Woking and Leatherhead in the royal manors of Woking and Ewell.¹⁵⁸

At an early date the rectory of Farnham was annexed to the archdeaconry of Surrey. Probably the advowson was at first held by the bishops of Winchester, who collated the archdeacons as their servants to the church of the place of their principal residence. In 1252 dispensation was granted to Walter, archdeacon of Surrey, to hold the church of Farnham annexed to the archdeaconry, as it had been granted to him by Bishop Walter de Raleigh (1238-50).¹⁵⁹ The bishop in 1254 called in question the union of the church to the

archdeaconry, but the Pope, notwithstanding, ordered that the archdeacon should retain the church.¹⁶⁰ Again in 1263 the Pope gave sentence in favour of Peter de Sancto Mauro (or de Sancto Mario), archdeacon of Surrey, against John, bishop of Winchester, and others as to the right of the former to the church of Farnham and its chapel annexed to the archdeaconry.¹⁶¹

In 1283¹⁶² the same archdeacon commenced an action against the Abbey for small tithes, but it does not appear of what parish; as Waverley had land in Farnham, and the vill of Waverley was extra-parochial and afterwards tithe free, it is probable that Farnham was the place referred to. The suit dragged on for fifteen years, when it was settled by the bishop as arbitrator.¹⁶³ In the Taxation of Pope Nicholas the rectory was valued at 26 marks a year, and the vicarage at 22 marks. In 1294, on Easter eve, a vicar was instituted on the presentation of the archdeacon.¹⁶⁴ The endowment of the vicarage seems to have been annexed by the archdeacon, who was rector; hence the quarrel and scandal of 1331, in the time of Archdeacon William Inge, referred to in the Ecclesiastical History,¹⁶⁵ when the archdeacon refused to endow the vicar. There is no record of the endowment of the vicarage being enforced, but the matter was probably settled, for in the valuation of Henry VIII. the vicarage appears as £29 5s. 5d. Bishop Morley, who died in 1684, by his will left £20 a year in augmentation of the vicarage, on condition that the vicar should reside, all dispensations to the contrary notwithstanding; that he should read daily service, and that he or his curate should catechize the children on Sunday. Some of these conditions were not carried out in 1724, for it appears from returns made to the bishop in that year that the vicar was non-resident, and in 1810 it would seem that none of these conditions were carried out,¹⁶⁶ and again in 1827 there was no resident vicar. The great tithes of Farnham were for a long time habitually let by the archdeacons for terms of three lives, with fines on renewal; and the tithes, great and small, of the dependant chapelries of Frensham, Seale, Elsted and Bentley, with the right of nomination of a curate, were let in the same way.¹⁶⁷

It seems to have been a continuous practice, as it appears that on 17 June, 1646, the Committee

¹⁵¹ *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 442.

¹⁵² *Ecl. Com. Ct. R. Bp. of Winton*, bdle. 87, No. 6, bdle. 98, No. 2, etc.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* Rent R.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* Ct. R.

¹⁵⁵ *Ecl. Com. Rent R. Bp. of Winton*.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Ct. R. 34 Hen. VIII. bdle. 79, No. 30.

¹⁵⁷ *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 283 and 300b.

¹⁵⁸ See Introduction to Domesday section.

¹⁵⁹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i. 279.

Probably the date of the grant by Bishop Walter was in 1245. *Ibid.* 219. According to Manning and Bray (iii. 153) King Stephen took the lands of the church of Farnham away from the

bishop, and gave them to the monks of Waverley. Dugdale (*Mon.* v. 242) quotes a bull of Eugenius III. giving 'ex dono Stephani regis Nietham et Ferneham cum pertinenciis' as part of the possessions of Waverley in 1147. If Waverley ever had the advowson of Farnham church, the bishop held it again by 1245 (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, i. 219). A charter of 1283, which has been taken by Manning and Bray to mean the restoration of the advowson to the bishop, is merely a confirmation of existing rights (*Chart. R.* 12 Edw. I. m. 5). Another charter of 1317, which confirms all the possessions of Waverley, makes no mention of any grant of Farnham, although a grant of 23 Henry III. giving Neatham to the

monks is quoted (*Chart. R.* 11 Edw. II. No. 41, m. 41).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 294.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* 405, 406.

¹⁶² *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 400.

¹⁶³ *Winton. Epis. Reg.* John of Pontoise, fol. 27a.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 15. 7. ¹⁶⁶ *Ante*, p. 15.

¹⁶⁶ *Teste*, Mr. Manning.

¹⁶⁷ This practice was apparently very ancient. In Edendon's Registers 1347 appears 'licentia ad dimittendum ad firmam fructus de Ecclesia de Farnham et capellarum annexarum' (*Epis. Reg. Edyngdon*, i. 35). Gardiner allowed the archdeacon to let the tithes of Frensham, Elsted, Seale and Bentley to John Aynbe and his wife for five years (*Epis. Reg. Gardiner*, 49).

THE NORTH VIEW OF FARNHAM-CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF SURRY.



To His Most Excellent
 Lord Bishop of Winchester
 His personal Chaplain

GOD BLESS HIM
 the most flour'nt ever of our island
 & ISLE
 and I begg'd a humbly Assent of
 his Goodships



This engraving was designed and executed by the artist John Kay, who was employed by the Rev. John Kay, Bishop of Winchester, in the year 1737. The drawing is a view of the castle as it appeared in that year, and is intended to show the state of the ruins at that time. The artist has taken great pains to represent the various parts of the castle, and to give a true and accurate idea of its appearance. The engraving is executed in a fine and elegant style, and is well adapted for the purpose of illustrating the history and antiquities of this interesting monument.

FARNHAM CASTLE: THE KEEP AND CURTAIN WALLS IN 1737.



This engraving is a view of the south front of the castle, as seen from Castle Street in the year 1792. It shows the various buildings and structures that surround the castle, and gives a true and accurate idea of its appearance at that time.

This engraving was designed and executed by the artist John Kay, who was employed by the Rev. John Kay, Bishop of Winchester, in the year 1792. The drawing is a view of the castle as it appeared in that year, and is intended to show the state of the ruins at that time.

FARNHAM CASTLE: SOUTH FRONT, FROM CASTLE STREET, IN 1792.

for Plundered Ministers made an order that £30 a year should be paid out of the impropriated rectory, and on 23 December of the same year that £20 a year out of the impropriation of Seale chapel should be paid to Mr. Duncomb, whom they had put in as vicar of Farnham. On 7 August they ordered that Mr. Duncomb was to have the whole benefit and profit of this year's harvest of the said vicarage of Farnham, which Sir Richard Onslow and Mr. Stoughton were to see was paid to him.¹⁶⁸ It would seem, however, that there was some difficulty about the tithes. Mr. Duncomb had been transferred to Farnham from his former living of Martyr Worthy in Hampshire, when that place was in possession of the royalists. He was now sent back there, and for his arrears of tithes and profits of the vicarage of Farnham he was referred to the next justices of the peace in the said county, who were desired to see him paid and satisfied. It is apparent that the great tithes of the harvest, which belonged to the rectory, were requisitioned for his support, as well as the profits of the vicarage. They were probably in the hands of Mr., afterwards Sir Thomas Vernon, a royalist.¹⁶⁹ This Sir Thomas Vernon's son, Mr. George Vernon, held them later. In 1724 Mr. George Vernon, of Farnham, had a lease of the rectory, and Mr. William Bishop, of Frensham, of the chapelries.¹⁷⁰ At Mr. Vernon's death in 1735 the Farnham tithes passed to his daughter Anne, the wife of George Woodroffe, of Poyle in Tongham. Mr. Woodroffe died in 1779, and bequeathed his interest to his sister's son, the Rev. William Billingham, and to Anne, wife of the Rev. Thomas Walker, who sold it to Mr. Henry Halsey, of Henley Park, in Ash.

In 1840 Bishop Sumner introduced a bill in the House of Lords to anticipate the falling in of the leases, and to restore the tithes to the several parishes, Farnham, Frensham, Seale, Elsted, and Bentley in Hampshire; but it was strongly opposed and withdrawn. As the leases gradually fell in, however, they were not renewed, but the tithes remained in the hands of the archdeacon. There was a rather embittered controversy, carried on by pamphlets published by laymen interested in the outlying parishes, and by Archdeacon Utterton, Rector of Farnham, concerning the application of the tithes to the endowment of the various parishes. An arrangement was made in 1864 and confirmed by an Order in Council dated 29 November, 1865, whereby, as the remaining leases fell in,¹⁷¹ the tithes of Farnham were to be divided between the mother church, Hale, Wreclesham, and Tilford; those of Frensham between Frensham, Churt and Shottermill; those of Seale between Seale and Tongham; those of Elsted and Bentley taking their own shares un-

divided. The last to fall in was the joint lease of Frensham and Elsted, which expired on 14 July, 1868. But these tithes were actually twice collected by the agents of the executors of the estate of the last of the three lives after this date.¹⁷² Farnham is now both a rectory and a vicarage in the hands of one man. The present incumbent was instituted as rector and vicar. There are both a rectory and a vicarage house.

The church of St. Andrew stands near the Wey in the south-west part of the town. It is built of local sandstone, rubble walling with ashlar dressings. The roof is red tiled. The character of the walling is completely modernized by refacing and pointing in cement. The church is cruciform; the chancel has north and south chapels, and a north vestry; the nave has north and south aisles; there are north and south transepts and a western tower.

The first church of which any remains exist, though there was one in 1086, was a cruciform building of about 1130, with a chancel 37 ft. long by 22 ft. broad, outside measurement, probably vaulted in two bays, a central tower, transepts 23 ft. by 22 ft., and a nave. At the end of the twelfth century this church was enlarged by adding chapels, north and south, of the length of the chancel and the depth of the transepts. The nave may have had north and south aisles added at the same time, but there is little to show it. Before 1348 money was set apart for rebuilding the chancel, and the work was in progress in 1368, although not completed till 1399, when the new chancel was dedicated.¹⁷³ This dedication may possibly refer to the present eastward extension of the chancel, but the work there has rather the appearance of fifteenth century building. The long delay, after money had been provided, may possibly be explained as a consequence of the Black Death, which arrested church building in many places.¹⁷⁴ The church lost its central tower in the fifteenth century, the area being thrown into the nave at the general rebuilding in local style of the western part of the church. A large arch at the west end of the wall on the north side of the nave was also rebuilt apparently at the same time. This communicated with the chantry chapel, founded possibly in 1351,¹⁷⁵ afterwards used as a school. The school stood in the churchyard and abutted upon the church, and was in Aubrey's opinion, who saw it, a chapel. The ground outside this arch has no old gravestones upon it of a date earlier than 1758, when the school was pulled down. After that William Cobbett's father and William Cobbett himself were buried in this ground.

The chancel is 15 ft. 9 in. wide inside, and consists of the two bays of the first chancel and the added part to the east. The east window is of the fifteenth century,¹⁷⁶ of five lights, and there are

¹⁶⁸ Minutes of the Proceedings of the Committee (B.M. Add. MSS. 15,671).

¹⁶⁹ Thomas Vernon sublet the tithes to Abraham Lec in 1669 (Exch. Dep. 21 Chas. II. Trin. No. 7).

¹⁷⁰ Answers to Visitation at Farnham Castle.

¹⁷¹ Farnham itself fell in 1864.

¹⁷² Local information, and from Mr. W. H. Lee, bishop's secretary. The Rev. J. R. Charlsworth, Rector of Elsted, 1854-1904, took a part in the controversy on the application of the tithe, and has preserved the pamphlets and records dealing with the matter.

¹⁷³ Wint. Epis. Reg. Wykeham, ii. 313.

¹⁷⁴ Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, p. 202.

¹⁷⁵ Pat. 25 Edw. III. pt. 3, m. 11. But see below.

¹⁷⁶ Possibly this may have been the work of 1399 when the alterations to the chancel were completed.

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windows of three lights of similar date in the north and south walls. The three sedilia are of the fifteenth century, with ogee-arched heads and feathered cusps, finished at the sill of the south window with a horizontal string; in the spandrels are open quatrefoils. The piscina with a shelf above is included under a fourth arch ranging with the rest. The altar rails are of fine and elaborate seventeenth century work. On the same line, high up on the north and south walls, are moulded corbels for a beam running across the chancel. There used to be an altar-piece of the Last Supper by Elmer, a local painter of the eighteenth century, famous for his pictures of game and fruit. The western part of the chancel has walls 3 feet 3 inches thick, and opens to the north and south chapels by two arches on each side, the western pair being of the end of the twelfth century, with pointed arches of two orders with small chamfers, and half round responds with scalloped capitals and moulded bases. Of the eastern pair that on the north is similar, but has early thirteenth century mouldings in its capital. That on the south has scalloped capitals like those of the western pair, but an arch of two orders with large hollow chamfers, which may date from the rebuilding of the chancel completed in 1399, or from the general rebuilding of the western part of the church. All four arches are insertions in an older wall, and at the two internal western angles of the chancel are vaulting corbels with carved capitals which belong to the church of *circa* 1130. Other remains of the same date are the two buttresses outside this wall towards the chapels. That on the north is the better preserved. It is ashlar faced with a roll string, and higher up in the wall beside it is part of a chamfered string giving the probable level of the spring of the original window arches. Both buttresses are defaced with monuments. The chancel arch, being in the east wall of the former central tower, is 4 ft. 1 in. thick, pointed, of three chamfered orders with half-round responds and scalloped capitals. The stone work is all modern, the arch having been rebuilt in 1841.

The north chapel, 34 ft. by 19 ft. inside, has three tall lancet windows to the east, partly original, and a three-light fifteenth century window to the north. It opens to the north transept by an arch of two hollow chamfered orders with octagonal responds; a fifteenth century wooden screen runs across the opening. The roof is ancient, perhaps fifteenth century, with tie beams, king posts, and collared rafters.

The south chapel is of the same size, lighted by three windows with modern fifteenth century tracery. At the west is a wide late twelfth century pointed arch of two chamfered orders, the inner order shafts having scalloped capitals. There is a flat wooden fifteenth century ceiling, and a wooden screen in the western arch similar to that in the north chapel. The buttresses at the eastern angles of the chapels are very massive, and may in their original condition have carried pinnacles. The transepts were lengthened north and south in 1855 (from designs by Mr. B. Ferry,

architect). In the gable ends are modern windows of three lights in fifteenth century style with circular quatrefoiled lights above.

Of the central tower part of the east wall alone remains. The side walls are of the date of the rebuilding of the nave, and the west wall is removed.

The nave, including the old tower area, is of seven bays, without clearstory.¹⁷⁷ The arches of the arcades at the east end of the aisles are of two orders with large hollow chamfers, with octagonal capitals, shafts and bases. They belong to the local fifteenth century style, but are largely the result of the restoration in 1855. The aisle walls are very massive, and may be older than the arcade, but material evidence is 'restored' away. The north doorway was perhaps early thirteenth century in its original state, and the windows have modern fourteenth century tracery. The south doorway, now blocked, has a plain pointed arch with a chamfer. The west windows of both aisles are insertions in an older wall, the arched heads of the former windows remaining above them, but all stone work is modernized. At the west end of the north wall is the now blocked arch before mentioned, with the same details as the nave arcades, which possibly opened into a lateral north-west chapel of which no further trace remains. Both aisles have fifteenth or sixteenth century roofs, with tie beams and king posts with struts. The wooden south porch is modern.

The west tower is sixteenth century work of four stages, with square-headed belfry windows of three uncusped lights. A tall belfry with pinnacles, pierced parapets, and two tracery windows in each face was added in 1865. The tower has octagonal buttresses; those at the east angles contain vices and project into the church, destroying the west responds of the nave arcades. The details of mouldings are very large and coarse.

The west doorway has a low four-centred arch; above is a four-light window restored in 1846. Over this are the remains of three moulded corbels with canopies for images. The font is modern. It is octagonal and carved.

The communion plate consists of two silver chalices with London hall-marks of 1797. They replaced an earlier chalice given by Mr. John Byworth, gent. (died 1623), who presented a silver-gilt chalice of thirty-two ounces weight.¹⁷⁸ There is a silver paten, weight five ounces, with London hall-marks of 1623, inscribed 'The gift of Jhon Byworth too the Churchwardens and Parishners of Farneham.' This is the cover of the chalice given by Byworth, the weight of which indicates a chalice with a cover, and an extract from the will of John Byworth, preserved among the Town Accounts, says that he left a cup with a cover. There is also a silver paten of the same date, but not inscribed. There are two silver patens with London hall-marks of 1690 and 1712 respectively. The latter is inscribed 'ex dono

¹⁷⁷ A nave clearstory is said to have been destroyed in the Civil Wars.

¹⁷⁸ Recorded in register of burials.

FARNHAM HUNDRED

FARNHAM

Preston to Farnham Church 1713.' There is a silver flagon, the date of which is obliterated, but probably of 1712.¹⁷⁹

There are a great many sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century monuments in the church. In the north chapel is a black incised slab to Andrew Windsor 1620, and numerous seventeenth and eighteenth century monuments of the Vernon family, who lived in Vernon House, Farnham. Some Vernon monuments are also in the chancel. In the south chapel is a brass to Benedict Jay and Elizabeth his wife, with the figures of six children. He lived at Waverley, and died in 1586; also there is a brass to Sibbilla Birde, who died in 1597, with figures of five children. There is a monument by Westmacott to Sir Nelson Rycroft, who died in 1827. The eight bells bear the following inscriptions: 1st, R. Phelps, London, fecit 1723, Deus laudetur in cymbalis bene sonantibus; 2nd, R. Phelps fecit 1723, Deus benedicit fundatoribus meis; 3rd, Richard Phelps made me 1723; 4th, Richard Phelps made me 1723; 5th, T. Mears of London fecit 1820; 6th, R. Phelps Londini fecit 1735; 7th, R. Phelps Londini fecit 1723; 8th, T. Mears of London fecit 1830. The last two have also the names of the Vicars, James Ford and Henry Warren, and of the churchwardens. The registers date from 1539, but the earlier part has been rewritten.

THE CHURCH OF ST. JAMES, in the London road, was built in 1876, and is a chapel of ease to the parish church. It is a lofty building

faced with the iron sandstone of the district, with hewn stone coigns. It consists of a chancel, nave, and south aisle, separated from the nave by five pointed arches, and a short south transept. There is a handsome marble and alabaster font, of old form copied from some early fonts in the neighbourhood, a cube resting on a round pillar with four corner shafts.

There is a Roman Catholic chapel of St. Polycarp in Park Lane, and there are Congregational, Wesleyan, Primitive Methodist, Baptist and Reformed Church of England chapels.

There existed a Chantry in Farnham; no doubt the chapel at the north-west angle of the church was the chantry chapel, of uncertain date of foundation. Edward VI. granted to John White of London, grocer, and Stephen Kyrtton, merchant of the Staple of Calais,¹⁸⁰ the late chantry called Farnham Chantry, and property in Farnham, Rundal, Wrecclisham and Compton (West Compton), and 4s. a year rent of a message in Godalming. The grant reserved the bells and lead, whereby it is clear that there was a chantry chapel, not merely the service at an altar in the church.¹⁸¹ This building was preserved to form the school. It is probably not the same as the chantry of Farnham Castle, founded in 1351, for that was differently endowed with a rent from Southwark, and three acres of land, a message and eight marks of rent in Farnham.¹⁸² The former chantry, it would appear, provided the building, the latter, perhaps, the endowment of the school.

FARNHAM CASTLE

The nucleus of the castle is a great motte or earthen mound enclosed on the north and east by a bank with inner and outer ditches, which from their levels must always have been dry. To the west and south the steep fall of the ground made any earthwork defences unnecessary. There is no mention of a castle here in Domesday, but the earthworks must belong to the days of Bishop Walkelin (1070-98) or his immediate successors.

The oldest masonry to be seen is the work of Bishop Henry of Blois, 1129-1171. He built a shell keep round the motte, following its rather irregular outline, with an entrance tower to the south-east, and added on the south side a large triangular block of building enclosing a courtyard, the northern apex of the triangle being formed by the motte. The outer walls of this block are massive, but the whole building is rather of a domestic than military character, strong enough to resist an attack, but not primarily a fortress. It is probable that a masonry wall was at this time (if not earlier) built to enclose the whole area of the

castle, but whether any part of the existing wall is as old as the twelfth century it is impossible to say. It has been breached and rebuilt and patched at so many times that it has lost any decisive character, but parts of it are at any rate as old as the fifteenth century. There is some evidence from old plans that the area of the castle was divided into inner and outer courts by walls running east and west at a point a little south of the keep; the foundations are in the ground still, and have been cut by drainage works.

Bishop Henry's keep, though, as has been said, following the irregular outline of the motte, is of fairly symmetrical design, being a polygon of 23 sides, every fourth side projecting to form, in four cases, broad and shallow buttresses,¹ and in a fifth the gateway tower. The sixth projection demanded by this scheme would have coincided with the junction with the keep of the west wing of the triangular block of building, and may have been omitted for that reason. As will be seen from the plan, this arrangement leaves three sides of

¹⁷⁹ Manning and Bray (*Hist. of Surr.* iii. 158) say that Mr. Thomas Preston gave a silver flagon and a silver salver for the use of the Communion.

¹⁸⁰ See in manor of Pitfold.

¹⁸¹ Pat. 2 Edw. VI. pt. 6, m. 6 and 7.

¹⁸² Pat. 25 Edw. III. pt. 3, m. 11; Pat. 35 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 19 and 21.

¹ From Buck's view it appears that these buttresses were carried up, at some date, to form small towers or turrets above the wall.

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the polygon between each pair of projecting buttresses, and the salient angles formed by the intersection of these sides are masked by small pilaster buttresses, which spring from a battering plinth which encircles the base of the walls. Much of the facing masonry has been destroyed, and the whole keep is overgrown with ivy and other vegetation, but the general scheme is still clear. In the north-north-east bay are remains of two garbages, one with two, the other with a single shoot. All the masonry of the keep is of the twelfth century, except certain additions to the gateway tower, which are probably the work of Bishop Fox, 1500-28. The gateway has plain inner and outer arches, the former having a portcullis groove. The masonry is much patched, and the outer angles of the tower have been rebuilt. On the inner side the entrance passage has been lengthened by a flight of steps between walls carried on four-centred brick arches, and having in the west side at the foot of the steps a small chamber 7 feet by 4, lighted from the doorway only; it may have served for the porter. These additions are of the sixteenth century, and remains of work of the same date are to be seen on the top of the outer walls of the tower, including a window of two four-centred lights under a flat head.

From the gateway of the keep a steep descent with several flights of steps leads to the east wing of the main block of building. The steps and flanking walls are in their present state comparatively modern, but occupy the position of the old work, and parts of the east wall may be of Bishop Henry's time. The steps now give access to a passage running at right angles to their direction into the central courtyard, but must formerly have entered the buildings at a higher level, about that of the present first floor. To the south of the passage just noticed is a long narrow wedge-shaped room, now known as the 'dungeons'; its north and south walls are of twelfth century work, and at first it was open at both ends, forming a passage between the courtyard and the area enclosed by the outer walls of the castle. It is spanned by a pointed twelfth century arch, which abuts on its south wall at an angle of 65°, being approximately parallel to the line of the staircase from the keep, and marking the position of the original inner wall of this staircase at its junction with the main block of buildings. The distance from this arch eastwards to the return wall across the passage gives about 12 feet for the probable width of staircase above at this point.

The original arrangements of the triangular block of buildings which forms the inhabited part of the castle at the present day have been somewhat obscured by the alterations and repairs of seven and a half centuries, but the main features are still clear. In the middle of the south wing is the hall, having on the west the kitchen and chapel, and on the east the great chamber and living rooms, through which the stairs to the keep

were reached. The hall as built by Bishop Henry was a spacious room, 66 feet long by 44 wide, being divided by two rows of wooden pillars 10 inches square into a central space 27 feet wide, and two side aisles each about 8 feet 6 inches wide. One of the wooden pillars of the south arcade is yet to be seen built up in the later wall which contains the fireplace; it has a scalloped capital with a deep abacus above it, and being probably not later than 1160 is of great interest as a piece of twelfth century woodwork. Two other similar pillars were disclosed in the same wall during alterations, in the time of Bishop Browne (1873-91). At the west end of the hall is a wide central doorway with a segmental arched head and banded jamb shafts, between two smaller doorways. The central doorway has had doors opening inwards to the hall, and communicated with the kitchen by a short passage. Of the two smaller doorways, whose doors opened outwards, that to the south probably led to the buttery, and that to the north to a small room, which may have been the pantry, looking on to the open area between the kitchen and the chapel.² The details of the central doorway are not compatible with a date in Henry of Blois's episcopate, but the tooling of the masonry suggests that the work is not later than the end of the twelfth century. The hall was doubtless lighted from both sides, but no original windows remain. It must have had north and south doorways where the present ones are, and perhaps a south porch, (which would be the entrance for guests and strangers), parts of whose walls may exist embedded in the later masonry. A cellar runs under the south side of the hall and the buildings east of it. How long the hall retained its original arrangements is not certain, but it received its present shape at the hands of Bishop Morley, 1662-84. Bishop Fox when he built the entrance tower may have done something to bring the hall more into accordance with the ideas of his time, but if so, the later work has destroyed all evidence of this. Bishop Morley remodelled in brick the whole north side of the hall, replacing the old windows by wide roundheaded lights under projecting brick arches, and making an upper tier of windows, which light an open gallery running round the north and east sides of the hall. He cut off the west bay of the hall by a screen with two openings, and built a solid brick wall containing a wide fireplace with wooden jambs and mantel on the line of the old south arcade, thus reducing the size of the hall to 49 feet by 30. The brick entrance tower built against the south wall of the hall at its west end is fine and lofty, the work of Bishop Fox, whose initials R. W. were formerly to be seen on it. At its south-west and south-east angles are semi-octagonal turrets, which do not come to the ground, but are corbelled out at the level of the first floor. It has an embattled parapet with a cornice of trefoiled brick arches and large projecting machicolations of cut brickwork. The entrance archway

² The arrangement is very like that of the hall built by Bishop Hugh of

Wells, at Lincoln, where the large doorway opened to the kitchen,

and the smaller to the buttery on one side, and the pantry on the other.

is not in the middle of its south front, but close to its east end. It has a four-centred moulded brick arch, with a groove as if for the grate of a portcullis, which from other indications can hardly have been the case, and gives access to a flight of steps leading to a second flight, at the head of which is the entrance doorway to the hall screens, having a four-centred arch with a label, of the same date as the entrance tower. It occupies the position of the twelfth century doorway, of which no traces exist.

The kitchen occupies the south-western angle of the buildings, and is of irregular shape, with its south-western angle strengthened by a massive turret 10 feet square. In its south wall is a range of five double-splayed windows with blunt pointed heads, the glass-line being in the middle of the wall. On the outer face of its west wall may be seen traces of three similar windows, of which that to the south is filled in with a fourteenth century loop, and the other two blocked by a fireplace which occupies the greater part of this side of the kitchen. It is spanned by a wide flattened arch of doubtful date, perhaps fourteenth century. The modern fireplaces are in the north wall, and it seems possible that the ancient ones were there also, as there are no traces of angle fireplaces, and no other position is available. The east wall of the kitchen is much thinner than the rest, but seems to be of the same date. It contains a modern doorway, to the south of the presumable position of the original one, but the whole is so hidden by plaster and casings that the existence of the latter cannot be determined. Next to the kitchen, on the north, and separated from it by a narrow court, once open to the sky, is the old chapel, now used as a servants' hall; its orientation is approximately correct. Its floor level is about 9 feet above that of the hall or kitchen, and it must have been reached by a staircase. The arrangement of the plan suggests that this was in its east wall, where a large block of masonry exists, but no evidence is now to be seen in confirmation of this. It had a nave measuring in round numbers 24 feet long by 16 wide, divided from a shallow chancel about 8 feet by 16 wide by a pointed arch of two orders. There are two windows in the south wall of the nave, and at its west end a large round-arched recess 13 feet wide by 2½ deep, with a lamp niche in its southern jamb, and over the head of the recess a round-headed niche. The west wall has two modern sash windows and no traces of the original fenestration. In the thirteenth century an aisle of two bays with round columns and pointed arches of two chamfered orders was added on the north side; this has been destroyed and the arcade remains blocked in the wall. Below the chapel, which from the first has had a floor carried on wooden beams, is a cellar now used as a still-room.

From the north-west angle of the chapel a thick wall, probably of Bishop Henry's date, runs north-east towards the keep. It is covered with rough-cast on its outer face, and pierced with late windows, and may at first have been merely a curtain wall with wooden buildings against its inner side. At

present it is masked by a three-storey range of unpretentious eighteenth century buildings in brick and plaster, though a fine sixteenth century brick chimney stack at its north-west angle, and the condition of the masonry of the wall of the keep in the line of its direction, are evidences of the existence of older work on the site. The wall now stops short of the keep, and the interval is filled by a passage to the inner courtyard and a laundry.

Bishop Henry's buildings to the east of the hall have undergone more alteration than those to the west, and their original arrangement is not certain. The south wall of the hall is continued eastwards for some 80 feet, with the difference that it is only 5 feet 3 inches thick as against 6 feet 3 inches in the hall. It contains two pairs of original windows, which now light the bishop's and chaplain's studies, much altered and retooled and fitted with modern mullions and jambs, but retaining enough of the old stonework in their inner and outer jambs to prove their date. The north wall of this range of buildings is not older than Fox's time, but may stand on older foundations, and the jambs of a window to be seen in the north wall of the cellar, under the west end of the bishop's study, may belong to the original work. The east end of this range may also be Fox's work, as the south wall ends abruptly in such a way as to suggest that it once continued eastward, but there is no evidence on the point. It seems, however, clear that part of the east wall of the hall was at one time an outer wall, and formed the west side of a court, which may have been closed on the east by a wall joining the east end of the south front to the rooms adjoining the staircase from the keep.

At the north-east angle of the hall is a fine stone vice, part of the original work. Its steps are carried by pointed arches radiating from the newel. It is now completely masked by later buildings, and can only be seen, and with considerable difficulty entered, through a hole in the floor at the head of the great staircase at the east of the hall. Its east side is in a very ruinous condition, and the stair has been filled up with rubbish to prevent its collapse. It formerly gave access from the hall to the block adjoining its north-east angle, and, from the evidence of a doorway towards the inner courtyard at first floor level, to some building now destroyed in the south-east angle of the courtyard.

The adjoining block is irregular in shape, set at something less than a right angle with the hall; little can be said about it except that it must have contained the great chamber. Its north wall is of great thickness, and ends towards the courtyard with a straight joint against the later masonry to the north of it. At 2 feet 3 inches south of the straight joint are the quoins of a re-entering angle, of which the west side has been cut away; whether belonging to an angle turret or buttress, or to a wall running westwards, is not clear. It has been cut away to straighten up this side of the courtyard when the later wall north of it was built, for the same reason.

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Through the east end of the north wall a passage has been cut, 20 feet long, to the 'dungeons' before described; the jamb of a fifteenth century doorway shows at its south-west angle. The 'dungeons' have at some time been cut in two by a wall parallel to the diagonal archway, and now broken through; it contains pieces of twelfth century mouldings, and may be mediæval.

The great chamber probably took up the whole of the first floor of this block, being entered from the vice at its south-west angle, and from the stairs to the keep at the north-east. In its south wall, towards the west end, is a blocked fifteenth century window of two lights. Its east wall contains a large modern semi-circular opening filled with glazed casements, giving access to a balcony from which wooden steps descend to the garden.

Adjoining this room to the north, on the same level, is the chapel fitted up by Bishop Morley, and now in use. It has been planned without any reference to the walls of the 'dungeons' and passage below, which it crosses at an angle, and its east end has been obtained by continuing the line of the east wall of the great chamber 22 feet northwards, adding a triangular block of masonry to the face of the older wall. The added work as seen from the garden on the east is of brick, contrasting with the stone facing of the walls of the great chamber block to the south. The only clue to the date of this stone facing is given by the springing of a sixteenth century four-centred arch above the large semicircular arch opening to the balcony before noticed. The chapel is entered from the west through a carved and pierced door in a screen against which the stalls, which run along the north and south walls, are returned. All woodwork details are excellent, and the seats are backed with high carved and moulded panelling, capped by a large cornice. A pulpit with reading desk below is contrived in the north wall, being approached by a staircase in the wall masked by panelling. In the east wall is a wide round-headed window flanked by two narrower square-headed lights.

Bishop Morley did much to bring the east wing of the castle to its present form, inserting large two-light windows with wooden arched heads and mullions at both east and west ends of the great chamber block, on the ground floor, building three sides of the small courtyard east of the hall, and putting in the great and other staircases, and much of the woodwork of the rooms and passages. All his woodwork is on a large scale with heavy newels and balusters to the staircases, and projecting cornices and doorheads, excellent specimens of their kind.

In the north-east angle of the main courtyard, and west of the stairs from the keep, is a small block of building entered from the courtyard by a doorway with a four-centred arched head and splayed jambs in brickwork; it seems to be of late sixteenth century date, but older than the wall and arch at the west end of the diagonal passage.

It is now used as domestic offices, and at its north end is a dairy.

The alterations entailed by the fitting up of Bishop Morley's chapel have made the history of this corner of the castle very difficult to read. The inner arch at the west end of the diagonal passage, and part of its south wall, seem to be of the fifteenth century, and there is evidence that this wall ran on to join the north-west angle of the great chamber block. This points to the addition of rooms on the west side of the stair to the keep, and as this work completely closed the twelfth century passage from the courtyard to the area within the outer walls, the present passage would then have become necessary, its angle with the rest of the buildings being determined by the existing twelfth century wall on the south. The exterior of the castle is not very effective; the south front, from its length, height, and commanding position, has a certain dignity; but sash windows and cement plastering effectually hide any advantages of colour and detail which it might otherwise possess. Bishop Fox's entrance tower is, however, a fine and stately building, its machicolations and cornice of trefoiled arches being very good of their kind, but it has suffered greatly by the loss of its original windows and their replacement by sash windows of more than ordinary dulness.

Of the boundary walls of the castle little can be said. The entrance gateway at their south-west angle contains a good deal of its original fourteenth century masonry, including several windows, but has lost its archways, which are replaced at the west by a wooden lintel carrying a plastered cove of late seventeenth or eighteenth century date, and at the east by a four-centred brick arch. In the portion of wall north-west of the keep are two rectangular bastions, one having an inner wall with an entrance doorway, and a small window, apparently of the fifteenth century, the other forming a recess 12 feet square, with no inner wall. At the south-east angle is another bastion, whose walls rise only a few feet above the level of the terrace.

The stables, south-west of the keep, form a picturesque block of building of early eighteenth century date, with simple and effective details.

The castle was the important centre round which the subsequent military history of Farnham gathered. In 1216, when the faithlessness of John had driven the barons to offer the crown to Louis, the son of the French king and the husband of Henry II.'s granddaughter, Farnham fell into Louis' hands.³ John retired from the coast of Kent past Farnham to Winchester, and probably abandoned the Surrey castles. No siege is recorded. Early in the next year, when John was dead, and the Earl of Pembroke was recovering England for Henry III., Farnham was retaken.⁴ It apparently capitulated, for on 12 March 1217 a safe-conduct was granted to the garrison, '*servientes equites et pedites, qui fuerunt in castro Farnham*,' to retire to London which was still French and the place was given at Farnham, so that the baronial

³ *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 343.

⁴ *Ibid.* The earl was at Farnham

from 7 to 13 March 1216-7 (see *Cal. of Pat.* 1216-25, pp. 35-7, 110).

⁶ *Pat.* i Hen. III. m. 11.



FARNHAM CASTLE: S.W. ANGLE OF COURTYARD, SHOWING ARCADE OF OLD CHAPEL.



FARNHAM CASTLE: DOORWAYS AT WEST END OF HALL.

already in royalist hands, as is further implied by the '*fuereunt*' of the safe-conduct. A picturesque incident of the Barons' Wars of Henry III.'s time is placed at Farnham. Nicholas Trivet and Rishanger tell the story of Adam de Gurdun, an outlawed adherent of the defeated barons, maintaining himself at Farnham Castle, after the battle of Evesham, and controlling the road from Alton to Farnham, till he was surprised by treachery in Alton Wood and overcome in single combat by Edward, the king's son, and then received into his service.⁶

The army of Simon de Montfort in 1263 probably passed through Farnham when hurrying from the west to seize Dover, and certainly the Cornish insurgents marched through it in 1497 on their way from Winchester to Guildford.

Farnham became the scene of fighting early in the Civil War. Its position on the road from London to the south-west made it of some importance, which was increased when after the battle of Edgehill the king had occupied Oxford and begun an advance upon London. On 14 October George Wither, a gentleman of Hampshire, was given the command of the garrison. If it had been in the hands of a soldier we should know little about it; but Wither was a literary man, fully persuaded that he was a powerful moral force in the country, and that anything in which he was himself concerned was of the greatest importance. He used to be a respectable lyric poet, and had he written nothing except *Fidelia*, and *The Shepherd's Hunting*, which he composed in the Marshalsea when imprisoned for writing a satire, he would be remembered with honour. But he would be a moralist, in dreary and conceited verse, such as *Britain's Remembrancer*, published in 1628, and he now exchanged this ill-executed function for the worse executed place of commander of a garrison, following up this as a still worse pamphleteer in defence of his own conduct, and in attack upon Sir Richard Onslow, the chief supporter of the Parliamentary cause in Surrey—an attack which landed him in prison again. Wither's two productions, *Se Defendendo*,⁷ published in 1643, and *Justitarius Justificatus*, published in 1646, which the Commons ordered to be burnt by the hangman in Guildford as a libel on Sir Richard,

describe the state of the garrison as deplorably weak. The town was royalist, and the neighbouring gentry are described as the same almost universally, which was doubtfully true, and Sir Richard Onslow as a traitor to the Parliament, which was certainly false. Wither seems to have occupied the whole castle within the great ditch and the enceinte wall. He had two squadrons, weak and ill-armed, some irresolute volunteers whom he did not trust, only 60 muskets, and a deficiency of ammunition, tools and all necessaries. He wished for an engineer officer, and for artillery, for more men, and for means of bringing over a large store of provisions and of beasts which lay at his own house four miles away. There was no stabling within the walls, as there had been a fire in the stables on the occasion of one of King James' visits. He proceeded to build stables, to try and dig a well, to make a drawbridge, sally-port, platforms, palisades and counterscarp; but was hampered for want of spades and pickaxes. The only reason which he could imagine for the enemy not falling upon him, was their persuasion that he had too much wit to defend an untenable place. The explanation that there was no enemy within miles does not occur to him. He plied Onslow with unreasonable requests for stores which were not in existence. At last, when the royalist cavalry were on the borders of Surrey, Wither left his garrison and went up to London to get what he wanted. He got an order from the Parliament for demiculverins from the Tower, on 7 November, but on the following day the news of Rupert's advance caused the order to be rescinded, and though Wither asked for drakes, or light artillery instead, which he thought he could convey safely through by-roads, he was told that the fortress must be abandoned. He then really distinguished himself. Alone, and well mounted, he rode down to his own house, braving the chance of capture by Rupert's cavalry. A body of royalists were said to be close by at Hartley Row, but he collected carts and horses on his own property near Alton, took them into Farnham, and carried off safely what stores and men he had through Farnham Park, so as to avoid the malignant town, and conveyed them in safety to Kingston.⁸ The royalists took possession of the castle, and Sir John Denham, another poet,

⁶ The story became the theme of a well known ballad. T. Wykes adds the date as Whitsuntide 1266. There is some difficulty about the story. Adam de Gurdun was in right of his wife keeper of Woolmer and Alice Holt forests. He was on the baronial side, and was made keeper of Lundy Island by the king on 15 June 1265, when the king was still in Montfort's hands. But on 2 April 1266 he had a safe-conduct to come and treat for his peace, to last till Whitsuntide, granted at the instance of Henry of Almaine. According to Wykes, again, he was a prisoner in chains at Windsor, soon after Whitsuntide, and certainly he was still a prisoner in January 1267. He

was afterwards received into favour, and had his old post as keeper of the Hampshire forests near Farnham. Gurdun's capture and treatment by Edward seem apocryphal, as the king was in the Midlands over Whitsuntide. Gurdun's name was well known about Farnham, and may have been associated by legend with some resistance there (*Genealogist*, N.S. vol. iv. 'Adam de Gurdun'), but we may admit that the Waverley Annals give a possible explanation. That annalist, who was certainly near the spot, says very positively that Adam de Gurdun was taken in Alton Wood on the Thursday after Whitsuntide. His safe-conduct had expired, and he was taken immediately

afterwards. Only Edward's personal share in his capture and his immediate generous treatment seem to be legendary. A band of outlaws may have gathered in the woods, and may have been dispersed by Edward; but Adam de Gurdun remained for a long time in prison, and was not released at Edward's instance.

⁷ B. M. King's Pamphlets, 14, 7, 13.

⁸ Wither's order for cannon was rescinded on the day on which Rupert entered Surrey (*Se Defendendo*). Rupert came to Egham from Windsor on 8 Nov., and Wither's ride was on the night of the 8-9, therefore he evacuated Farnham on the next night. Kingston was evacuated by Ramsay, the Parliamentary commander, on the 12th.

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was put in command. He had only 100 men, but was well victualled with 300 sheep and 100 oxen.⁹ His tenure was scarcely more glorious than Wither's. The royal forces had retired to Oxford, and Sir William Waller was occupied in clearing the skirts of Surrey, Hampshire and Sussex of their outlying garrisons. He appeared before Farnham with horse and dragoons only. On 1 December 1642 he blew in the gate with a petard. This was probably the gate at the gate house outside the castle. Waller had no artillery, and determined men with muskets ought to have made the fixing of a petard, a sort of iron extinguisher screwed on to gates or walls to blow them down, a dangerous exploit for the assailants. Denham's poetical reading should have incited him, if his military want of experience failed, to make 'the engineer hoist with his own petard.' A barricade of timber had been raised inside the gate, which the garrison suffered the assailants to remove, and Denham surrendered.¹⁰ He was allowed to join the king at Oxford, with the laurels of Cooper's Hill fresh upon him, but no laurels from war. Wither continued to serve in the army, Denham returned to civil employment. The record of the two poets at Farnham is fitly ended by a story that when Wither fell into the hands of the royalists, Denham begged that he might not be hanged, because while Wither lived he was not himself the worst poet in England.

Waller, on 29 December, gave orders from Chichester for the blowing up of the castle to make it untenable as a fortress. Part of the keep wall only was blown up, probably where the path goes up from the garden now, and perhaps part of the enceinte to the north-east. Waller occupied the still habitable bishop's palace as his headquarters during a great part of 1643 and 1644, and breast-works were erected at the end of the town towards Alton.

On 9 January 1645 Goring seized Farnham for the King without fighting. Some part of the garrison had been left, apparently, when Waller finally marched from Surrey in the previous September, but the keep was indefensible. Goring could not have safely quartered in the town had there been an enemy then in the castle, but the next day he retired westward, before troops ordered up from Guildford could molest him. On 4 July 1648, when the royalists were rising at Kingston, Parliament ordered Farnham to be further dismantled.¹¹ And no doubt considerable damage was done by the soldiers, who stripped it of much of its lead, timber and glass, which they sold to replace the arrears of their pay.

In 1648 the Committee for the sale of bishops' lands conveyed the castle to John Godwyn of Blechingley.¹² This Goodwyn was elected member for Haslemere in 1649, and in 1656 was elected both for Reigate and East Grinstead, sitting for the latter place. In 1660 he represented Blechingley. At the Restoration the castle was given back to the Bishop of Winchester, who found it in a ruinous condition. Bishop Duppa spent £2,000 or more upon it in his short episcopate, and Bishop Morley nearly £10,000, which he raised by a lease of Bishop's Waltham and profits of buildings erected at Winchester House. Bishop Thomas, 1761-81, did something to it, and other bishops both before and after him have made alterations, and the general result, though picturesque, is perplexing. The late Bishop Thorold repaired the castle and its drains very thoroughly, laid down a mile and 100 yards of stair-carpet, repaired an acre and a fifth of roof,¹³ and fitted up rooms for the housing of ordination candidates.

So great an episcopal palace was not without its distinguished visitors at many times. Henry VIII. was there on 31 July and 3 August, 1531.¹⁴ Queen Mary was there, entertained by Gardiner, on her way to Winchester, where she was married to Philip of Spain. Queen Elizabeth was there in 1567 and in 1569. On the latter occasion she gave her famous warning to the Duke of Norfolk to beware on what pillow he laid his head, referring to his projected marriage with Mary Stewart. Mary's agent, the Bishop of Ross, was there as a prisoner in Horne's custody a little later. Elizabeth was Cooper's guest in 1591. In 1603 King James was there. On 16 May 1608 the king took a lease of Farnham Castle and parks from Bishop Bilson, for the lifetime of the bishop,¹⁵ as he found it so convenient a centre for his hunting in the Surrey bailiwick of Windsor Forest. In 1609 he made it over to Ramsay,¹⁶ then Viscount Haddington, who had stood by him in the Gowrie Plot, and who became Earl of Holderness in 1620, and joint Lord Lieutenant of Surrey in 1624. The king found the place in a state of great disrepair, the park palings and the lodges especially being broken down and ruinous; squatters had occupied the parks, and the neighbours stole the palings for firewood. The celebrated surveyor, John Norden, was called in to report upon necessary repairs, and subsequently carried them out.¹⁷ A fire in the stables on 1 June 1609 was an additional misfortune. But till Bilson's death in 1616 the place remained in the hands of Ramsay. On 10 June the rights of Sir George and Sir Robert More, as keepers of the parks and constables of the castle, were bought out for an annuity of £106 6s. 10d.,¹⁸

⁹ Wither had left 300 sheep and 60 oxen at his house, which he complains the royalists took. The sheep were no doubt the same 300 which Denham had in Farnham.

¹⁰ Rushworth, pt. iii. vol. ii. p. 82.

¹¹ *P.C.H. Surr.* i. 408-11.

¹² Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.*, quoting an 'original paper' dated 'At

the Committee at Kingston Sept. 10th, 1649,' Goodwyn was to receive recompense out of the arrears of rent due from the bishop's lands, not exceeding £50. The castle, parks, and all appurtenances were subsequently purchased by Goodwyn and conveyed in trust for his family, and settled by deeds of 25 September 1648, 28 February 1656,

20 June 1656 (see Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. App. cxii.).

¹³ *Tate ipso episcopo.*

¹⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* v. 177.

¹⁵ *Cal. of S.P. Dom.* 1603-10, p. 431.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 535.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 508.

¹⁸ Loseley MSS. 10 June 1608.

FARNHAM HUNDRED

ELSTED

and in 1622 the Mores were requisitioned, under the signet and sign manual warrant of the king, to surrender the rights to which they had a claim since the death of Bilson in 1616, in favour of the Earl of Holderness.¹⁹ The king had frequently visited Farnham, and before this date, in 1620, had been entertained at great expense by Bishop Andrewes, who had resumed possession of the castle. Bishop Buckeridge, the preacher of Andrewes' funeral sermon, calls it 'as beautiful and great an entertainment as ever a king received from a subject.'

King Charles slept at Farnham, in a private house called Vernon House, in West Street, on 20 December 1648, on his way from Hurst Castle to the final scene at Whitehall. He was taken in charge at Farnham by General Harrison, by whose appearance he was favourably impressed, as he said, so that had he seen him before he should not have formed so ill an opinion of him as to believe that he had intended to murder him at Hampton Court, before his flight to Carisbrooke. Charles left a silk cap which he wore as a memento to the owner of the house, Henry Vernon, for his courtesy to him. It is mentioned in the will of his grandson George Vernon in 1733,²⁰ and is still preserved by the family.

On 28 March 1648 Cromwell passed through

Farnham, and wrote thence to Colonel Norton concerning his son Richard's marriage to the daughter of Mr. Mayor of Hursley.²¹ But it does not appear that he was in the castle. More probably he was at the Bush.

After the Restoration the castle had a different class of inmates from King James. Morley's chaplain was Ken, and Ken's brother-in-law, Isaac Walton, was given a lodging in the castle, where perhaps he wrote his lives of Donne and Hooker. Morley, the great builder, is said by tradition to have contented himself with a little room at Farnham, under the entrance tower, only eight feet square, where he died after a life of more than monastic austerity. Though William III.'s army was expected to march through Farnham in 1688, it did not really appear. Sir William Temple however left Moor Park for fear of fighting in the neighbourhood. One other sovereign, George III., used frequently to visit his old tutor, Bishop Thomas, at Farnham.

The castle contains a fine collection of portraits of the Bishops of Winchester, copies or originals, though not a complete series, from the time of Fox onwards. The Communion Plate in the chapel was presented by Bishop Morley. In the hall is a modern stained glass window, with the arms of the bishops who have been chancellors.

ELSTED

Helestede (xii. cent.).

The parish of Elsted, like Frensham and Seale, and also Bentley in Hampshire, was formerly one of the chapelries of Farnham, and is probably coterminous with the ancient tithing of Elsted. It is now included in the manors of Farnham and Frensham Beale. The parish is roughly wedge-shaped, being about six miles in length, and at the northern end two miles broad, tapering to the south, and contains about 4,105 acres. The waste was enclosed in 1856. Seale and Puttenham lie on the north, Farnham and Frensham on the west, and Peperharow and Thursley on the east. The north and west boundaries, on waste land, are undefined. The river Wey crosses the northern part of the parish, which abuts on Crooksbury Common. The part next to this southward is cultivated, and the village lies in this part, about 5 miles south-east of Farnham. The village green is 171 feet above the sea level. The southern part of the parish, which tapers down to Hindhead Common, mostly consists of barren heaths. Elsted Common and Hankley Common, which are parts of the heath, have no distinct boundaries. The former is crossed by a long ridge called Kettlebury Hill, which rises to over 440 feet above the sea level. With the exception of a strip of

alluvial soil along the river Wey, or some river gravel on its southern side left at a higher level than the present stream, the soil of Elsted is exclusively the lower greensand. Carrots used to be supposed to grow well in this sandy soil. The crop is not so common as it was, but the natives of Elsted are still supposed to be specially good at the management of carrots, and are in request elsewhere for the work.

The road from Godalming to Farnham runs through the village and crosses the Wey to the west over an old stone bridge with a later brick parapet. In the seventeenth century a rent of 2s. a year was set apart for repairing the bridge.¹ Somerset bridge over the Wey on the road to Shackleford, on the parish boundary, perhaps preserves the name *Sumaeres forda*, one of the points in the boundary of Edward's charter of 909. There seems to be an old road still existing running along the higher ground, from the direction of Seale towards Hindhead, and marked by the name of Ridge in Seale parish and Ridgeway Farm² in Elsted.

There are earthworks on Charles Hill, an embankment stretching from the brow along the summit in a northerly direction. These are more like a boundary line than any relic of military

¹⁹ Loseley MSS. i. 12.

²⁰ Proved at London, 1735. From the Reg. P.C.C.

²¹ Carlyle, *Letters & Speeches*.

¹ Mr. Howard's papers, 1647, xi.

² This existed as Rigway in 1654 (Par. Reg.).

A HISTORY OF SURREY

works.³ Partly enclosed in this curving bank are five round barrows. They have been recently opened without result; apparently they had been disturbed before.⁴ On Britt Hill north-east of the village the Rev. Charles Kerry, of Puttenham, discovered a number of neolithic flakes, three barbed arrow-heads, a fine leaf-shaped spear-head, and a celt of Devonshire granite.⁵

The earliest recorded mention of Elsted by name is in the foundation charter of Waverley, 1123, when William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, granted 'two acres of land in Helested' to the Abbey.⁶ In 1537 the lands which Waverley had held in Elsted were granted to Sir William Fitzwilliam.⁷ Probably after this they passed on as part of the 'site and possession of the late dissolved abbey' to the holders of Waverley.⁸ Other lands in Elsted seem to have been held by various

is now closed as a mill and used only as a house. There is a pottery at Charles Hill. The woollen industry is said to have flourished here, as elsewhere on the Wey. Large flocks of sheep grazed on the commons within living memory. There are few now. The old inns are the Woolpack and the Golden Fleece. In 1666 a place called the Dyehouse existed, possibly giving evidence of wood cultivation and a dyeing place. This was then in the tenancy of Henry Peito.¹³

There are few houses of any importance or age in Elsted. Opposite Westbrook Farm is a small timbered house with the marks of a moat round it. At 'Stacey's Farm' south-west of the green is a possibly seventeenth century window, and there is a good black and white timbered house in the village street, west of the Star Inn.

The fair, which is said to have been held on St.



ELSTED MILL.

neighbouring landowners. In 1583, for example, John Byrche conveyed two messuages etc. in Elsted to Sir Thomas Bowyer, who was then holding the manor of Frensham Beale.⁹

Elsted Mill, a corn-mill on the Wey, was probably one of the six mills of Domesday, for it appears in the rent rolls of the bishopric as early as the thirteenth century.¹⁰ Rent was paid for the mill and for the weir in the water of Elsted.¹¹ In 1647 the mill was burnt down, but was evidently rebuilt that year or the next.¹² In the nineteenth century it was converted into a paper mill, then into a worsted-fringe manufactory worked in conjunction with Shottermill, but it did not pay, and

James' Day, in the seventeenth century,¹⁴ has long ceased.

The *CHURCH* of St. James the *CHURCH* Great of Elsted stands to the south of the village. It consists of a chancel with a vestry on the south side, a nave of five bays, south aisle, north and south porches, and western belfry. It is built of the local sandstone, with some chalk in the windows and doors, and the roofs are tiled. It is presumably earlier than 1291, when the Taxation of Pope Nicholas is in error in mentioning *Farnham cum capella*, instead of *capellis*.¹⁵ The chapel was built probably in the middle or early thirteenth century, as that is

³ *Surr. Arch. Coll.* vii. 193.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 194. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 195.

⁶ *Cal. of Pat.* 15 Edw. III. p. 293.

⁷ *Pat.* 28 Hen. VIII. pt. 2, m. 9.

⁸ *Inq.* p.m. 35 Eliz. ccxxxv. 110.

The Browne family held Waverley, and among the appurtenances were lands and tenements in Elsted.

⁹ *Recov. R.* 25 Eliz.

¹⁰ *Eccl. Com. Rent R. Bp. ric. of Winton*, bdlc. 22 et seq.

¹¹ *Ibid.* e.g. bdlc. 35, No. 159,356; bdlc. 46, No. 159,414.

¹² From an old note-book formerly belonging to the Paynes of Dyehouse now in the possession of Mr. Frederick Stovold of Lidline Farm (*Surr. Arch. Coll.* vii. 193).

¹³ *Elsted Par. Reg.* No. 2.

¹⁴ *B.M. Topography, Surrey*, 6167, Symme's MS. 1670-80.

¹⁵ The probable explanation of the error, see above for the existence of 'capellae' before 1291, is that the MS. of Taxatio in the Record Office is a fifteenth century copy.

FARNHAM HUNDRED

ELSTED

the earliest evidence of date afforded by existing portions of the architecture.¹⁶ The original chapel consisted of a chancel 22 ft. by 11 ft., a nave 53 ft. by 21 ft., and a low shingled belfry spire at the west end supported on very solid oak timbers axe dressed. The large corner buttresses at the west end look as if they were intended to support some heavier structure. The ladder up to the belfry is of one baulk of oak cut into steps. Of the fourteenth century are the plain round-headed door now blocked in the chancel, the pointed chancel arch, the middle window in the north wall of the nave, and the lancet westward of it.¹⁷ The east window of three lights was inserted at the end of the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century. The present glass in it is modern, but there are some fragments of old glass from it now preserved in the vestry. The easternmost window in the north wall of the nave was inserted at the same time. At a later date a western gallery was added. Some alterations were carried out in 1845, when the north porch was repaired by the village carpenter, the west window was probably inserted, and part of the gallery taken down. In 1871-2 the vestry and organ chamber were added on the south side of the chancel, and the south aisle (separated from the nave by an arcing of five bays with pointed arches) and the south porch were built, the remains of the western gallery being at the same time removed.

The roof of the nave is open, with heavy timbered tie beams. One of these had been cut away to give head room in the gallery, and was replaced in 1871-2. The roof of the chancel is round and plastered, with modern decorations. Manning and Bray say that it was decorated with 'a pelican in her piety,' the arms of Bishop Fox (1501-1528), and with fleurs-de-lys and a cross fleury, all in plaster. It is possible that the church was restored in Bishop Fox's time, and that the more easterly of the north windows is of his date. 'Some distance' west of the chancel arch the foundations of an old wall have been discovered. It is possible that the original chapel was only the present chancel, extending westward to this wall; unless this cross wall carried a rood screen outside the chancel.

The font in 1811 was cylindrical and of sandstone,¹⁸ but has disappeared. The present font was given by Bishop Sumner in 1845, before which time the late incumbent, the Rev. J. R. Charlesworth, instituted in 1854, has heard that the chil-

dren were baptized from a china basin placed on the Communion Table. At the same date, 1845, a second 'barrel' was given to the organ, which did duty till 1871-2. The old barrel organ is still preserved in the village.

There is a silver chalice with London hall-marks of circa 1760, much defaced, and a silver paten, with marks defaced except the maker's, which appear to be T. W. C. W., and which the Rev. T. S. Cooper, author of the *Church Plate of Surrey*, conjectures to be the mark of Thomas Whipham and Charles Wright, entered in 1757. There is also a pewter flagon.

There were three bells. One had the inscription 'Bryanus Eldridge fecit me 1653,' another 'John Bayley, John Martin C. W. Richard Phelps made me 1717.' There is an entry in the churchwardens' accounts for recasting the bell in 1653, £3 13s. One of these was broken, another sold by the churchwardens. The third was recast, and two new bells added by the late incumbent in 1865.



THE WOOL PACK INN, ELSTED.

The Advowson was property in the hands of the archdeacon as rector of Farnham, but in accordance with the custom by which the tithes of Farnham and of the separate districts were leased, the appointment and the pay of a curate were in the hands of the lessee of the tithes. In 1725, Martin Gruchy, curate, who was also curate of Seale, reported that the population was about 300, that Mr. William Bishop of Frensham, lessee of the tithes, nominated to the curacy; that there was no dissenting chapel, no lecturer, no papist, 'and but 2 or 3 anabaptists of small account.' There was no endowed school, and no charity except Mr. Smith's Charity for poor persons not relieved by the parish.¹⁹

By an arrangement made in 1864, and confirmed by Order in Council 29 November, 1865,²⁰ the tithes were restored to ecclesiastical use, when the last of the lessees, Mr. Rumball, died in 1868.

¹⁶ Elsted Church, *Surr. Arch. Coll.* vii. 195.

¹⁷ There were formerly two similar lancets on the south side.

¹⁸ Compare that at Thursley.

¹⁹ Returns at Farnham Castle.

²⁰ See under Farnham.

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The living is now a rectory, endowed with the whole of the tithes.

There is a reference in the churchwardens' accounts to a parsonage house in 1656, but there was none in 1854. The field south of the church was called the Vicarage garden then, and perhaps the old cottage next it had been the curate's house. The present incumbent procured the building of the present rectory in 1861-2, on land added to



COTTAGES AT ELSTED.

the glebe by purchase through Queen Anne's Bounty.

The Voluntary Church School was built in 1848 on the site of the old Tith Barn.

Smith's Charity exists, and there is a Congregational chapel with a burial ground.

The Registers begin *seriatim* in 1543. The earliest entry however is of 24 March, 1539. The late incumbent compiled a useful MS. book, for retention at the rectory, with notes on

the events of his time and memory. There are incomplete churchwardens' accounts, in the possession of Mr. Howard, of Hampton Lodge, in Seale, with the names of the churchwardens for every year from 1591 to 1692, except 1613. The chief point of interest in them is the list of extraordinary contributions from the parish for military expenses during the Civil War, especially in 1644-46. 5 May, 1644, 4 months for Farnham Castle at £3 17s. 1d. a week, £61 12s. 4d.; 5 October, 1655, 3 months for Farnham Castle, £40 8s.; 11 September, 1644, 1 month's pay for the Association, £15 8s. 4d.; 25 April, 1645, 2 months for Sir Thomas Fairfax' Army, £14; 10 June, 1645, 6 months for the British Army,²¹ £7 10s.; 16 July, 1645, for Sir Thomas Fairfax' Army, £20; and so on. The garrison at Farnham was withdrawn, and then succeeded by a smaller force for which they were charged in Elsted £3 a month. The British Army appears again 13 January, 1646, £7 10s., and then the 'Scottish' army. On 28 September, 1650 the 'Malishria' cost them £8 6s. 2d. In December, 1648, three months for 'the Association,' amounting to £46 5s. was remitted to Elsted on the ground that the neighbourhood was exhausted by the previous quartering of the whole of Sir William Waller's Army. These are only some of the more extraordinary payments. From May, 1644, to January, 1646, the parish paid £228 1s. 1d. to military purposes, about £11 a month. No wonder that the army became obnoxious and military rule detestable to most people.

FRENESHAM

Fernisham (xii. cent.); Fernesham (xiii. cent.); Fernesham (xv. cent.).

The parish of Frensham occupies the south-western part of the Hundred of Farnham, and the south-western angle of the county of Surrey, and extends into Hampshire. It contains 8,806 acres in Surrey, and also the tithing of Dockenfield, formerly a part of Woolmer forest, containing 578 acres, which is in Hampshire.

With the exception of a small surface of gault in the north, of some patches of gravel, and of alluvial soil by the streams, Frensham is on the lower greensand. It mainly consists of what were barren commons covered with heather, the greater part of which remain uncultivated. Parts have been cultivated, parts planted, and other parts occupied by the houses of the lovers of picturesque scenery. The southern portion of the parish includes much of the high ground about Hindhead,

though not the summit of the hill. It skirts the western side of the hollow usually called the Devil's Punch Bowl, but properly called Haccomb Bottom. Over 147 acres of Frensham are covered with water,¹ chiefly of the two Frensham ponds. There are two large ponds on Frensham Common, Frensham Great Pond and Frensham Little Pond.² The former is the largest sheet of water in Surrey, covering about 100 acres, well stocked with pike and other coarse fish, and the haunt of an innumerable quantity of bird life.³ The latter is about half the size, but much more irregular in shape.⁴ Both ponds were formerly the property of the bishop, who commonly leased them with the custody of the southern chase of Farnham in which they lay.⁵ Sometimes they were leased separately. In 1601 Thomas Bilson, the bishop, let them to a John Smith,⁶ who before 1608 transferred his interest to Sir George

²¹ Mr. C. H. Firth is of opinion that the British army meant the Anglo-Irish troops levied among the Ulster settlers against the Irish rebels.

¹ Ordnance Survey estimate.

² These were both made by damming back inconsiderable streams in natural hollows of Farnham Chase. There

are some barrows, round, on Frensham Common, between the two ponds.

³ According to Manning and Bray it covers 300 acres. This is impossible, since the pond could never have been much bigger than it is from the lie of the ground, and it is not three miles round as locally asserted, but hardly two.

⁴ The ponds contain plenty of coarse fish, and the 'Great Pond' is much frequented by fishing parties.

⁵ Loseley MS. 24 December, 1565.

⁶ Ibid. 10 June, 6 Jas. I., when the Mores surrendered their rights and offices in Farnham for a money payment.



FARNHAM CASTLE: STAIRWAY TO THE KEEP.

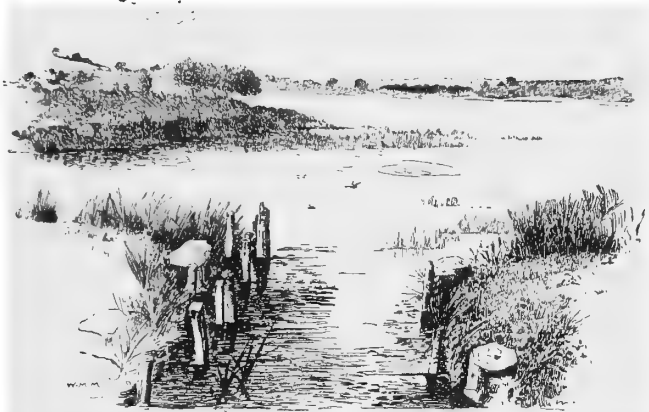
and Sir Robert More.⁷ When the bishop's estates had passed into the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the latter sold the ponds in 1888 to Mr. Combe of Pierrepont.⁸ There was another large pond called Abbot's Pond, in Frensham, on the borders of Elsted, made by damming up the stream which still forms Stockbridge Pond just below the site of the original Abbot's Pond. As the name implies, it was made for Waverley, by a grant from Bishop Walter Raleigh.⁹ In 1841 the dam burst and caused a destructive inundation.¹⁰ It was not repaired, and the pond was completely drained.

Frensham was a chapelry of Farnham church from the early thirteenth century.¹¹ In 1291 'Farnham cum capella' certainly meant Farnham with Frensham chapel, and the probability is with Elsted also.¹² At any rate Frensham chapel then existed,¹³ but was not taxed separately. The chapelry seems to have become in some sense a parish in the sixteenth century.¹⁴ It was under the archdeacon as rector of Farnham, who appointed a curate, or let the advowson with the tithes, and disposed of the tithes up to 1868, when the last lease of the tithes fell in.

The parish of Frensham is divided into the tithings of Frensham to the north, Churt or Cherte south-west, and Pitfold on the south-east. There is no village of Frensham. What is called 'the street' with the church, is situated close to the southern branch of the Wey, less than a mile from the Hampshire border. Spreakley and Shortfield Common are hamlets to the north. Batt's Corner, another hamlet, lies to the west. Half a mile lower down the river than the church is the hamlet of Mill Bridge.

The manor of **FRENESHAM MANORS BEALE** (Fennsham Beale xvi. cent.) was of great extent, reaching from Binsted in Hampshire to Elsted and Thursley. A great deal of it has been enfranchised. It is not, and probably never was, continuous; its acreage

is unknown. The manor house of Frensham Beale, or Beale's Place, where the courts were held down to 1894, stands about a quarter of a mile west of Frensham church, a few hundred yards from the county boundary, close to Frensham Mill, on a knoll above the river. It is now a farm house, and is built of local sandstone, much replaced and repaired with brick in the lower storey, while the upper part is weather tiling on timber and plaster.¹⁵ The name of the manor is clearly connected with the family of le Bel, Bel, Bele or Beale.¹⁶ In 1189 Richard of London owed one mark for entry in the Great Roll that he had successfully claimed land in the king's court against Jokele, brother to Warin the clerk.¹⁷ This is repeated in the Roll of 1190 with the name of Richard's father, Hugh le Bel added.¹⁸ In 1192 Richard of London, son of Hugh de Bel, owed half a mark for the same.¹⁹ A James le Bel ap-



FRENESHAM POND.

pears in 1241²⁰ and in 1258²¹ with land in Frensham.

In 1300 James le Bel held half a knight's fee of the bishop in his manor of Farnham.²² Possibly, if not probably, these lands were those held as a manor by John Bel in 1326, when licence was given him to hear divine service in his manor of Frensham.²³ In 1336 John le Beel appears again as holding Frensham and Elsted.²⁴ In 1338 John son of John le Beel was accused of breaking the bishop's park when the latter was at Southampton fighting the

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Information from Mr. Richard Mason, solicitor to the estate.

⁹ Between 1239 and 1250.

¹⁰ Brayley, *Hist. of Surr.* v. 289, published within seven years of the accident. It belonged to Lord Montague with the rest of the Waverley property when Aubrey wrote (Aubrey, *Perambulation*, iii. 368). Aubrey in this passage speaks of Lord Montague's iron hammer at Pope Hole in Frensham rather as if it were connected with the pond, but it is a long way off on the Sussex border.

¹¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i. 279, etc.

See further account of Farnham parish, p. 581.

¹² *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), p. 208b, and see above.

¹³ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 323.

¹⁴ See account of Farnham parish, p. 581.

¹⁵ Aubrey says that he saw here the arms of Hen. VII. or Hen. VIII. in 'baked earth' a yard square. This does not exist.

¹⁶ The name also survives in Bealeswood Common, part of Batt's Corner, some way to the west near the county border line. Possibly this was included in the ancient tithing of Bele.

¹⁷ Pipe R. 35 Hen. II. m. 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 2 Ric. I. m. 13d.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 4 Ric. I. m. 8d.

²⁰ Feet of F. Surr. 25-26 Hen. III. 269.

²¹ *Ibid.* 42-43 Hen. III. 97.

²² Epis. Reg. John de Pontoise, 156b.

²³ Epis. Reg. Stratford, 13a. This is doubly interesting, showing that John son of James (Feet of F. Surr. 8-9 Edw. II. 149) had his holding recognized as a separate manor, and that possibly Frensham church had ceased to be considered a mere chapel of Farnham.

²⁴ Feet of F. Surr. 10 Edw. III. 54.

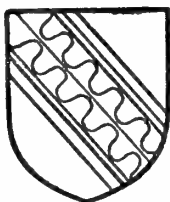
A HISTORY OF SURREY

French.²⁵ A John Beel and his wife Suzanna of Frensham were alive 1418-1422.²⁶ Then the descent of the manor becomes a broken story, but it is still in the hands of the original family at a later date. Fragments exist of the manorial court rolls of 1437, 1443, and 1483, but with no names of the lords.²⁷ In 1570 a Mr. Beale was still lord of the manor.²⁸ In 1571 Robert Beale conveyed the manor to Benedict Jaye.²⁹ This was probably only a mortgage, for in 1583 Robert Beale was still holding the manor, and conveyed the same to Sir Thomas Bowyer in that year.³⁰ This Thomas Bowyer was evidently the Sir Thomas Bowyer of Leythorn, in North Mundham parish, Sussex, to whose son the manor passed in the seventeenth century.³¹



BEALE. *Three roses.*

But between 1583 and 1609 the manor must have passed out of the Bowyer family, for in the latter year James Fuller and Katherine his wife conveyed it to Anthony Radcliffe and his heirs.³² In the following year Anthony Radcliffe conveyed a third part of the manor to Richard Smythe.³³ By 1616 the whole manor had evidently passed to the Smythe family, for in August of that year William Smythe conveyed it to Robert Birch, a cousin of Sir Thomas Bowyer.³⁴ The same Robert Birch, on his death in 1627, willed the manor to his wife Margaret, and on her death to their son Francis, then aged seven years and more. In default of heirs to Francis the manor was to pass to John Bowyer, second son of Robert's cousin Sir Thomas Bowyer, and in default of heirs to the said John to Thomas Bowyer, eldest son of the same cousin.³⁵ Evidently both Francis Birch



BOWYER. *Gold a bend wavy with cotises sable.*

and John Bowyer died without heirs, for in 1651 Sir Thomas Bowyer junior clearly was holding the manor, and conveyed land in Frensham Beale to Henry Goreinge.³⁶ In 1656 Sir Thomas Bowyer, Robert Bickerstaffe and Priscilla his wife conveyed the manor, evidently by way of mortgage³⁷ to Thomas Farrington.³⁸ On the death of Sir Thomas Bowyer the manor passed to his daughter Anne, who was in possession in 1664.³⁹ This Anne Bowyer was betrothed to an Edward Morley, whom she married in 1665. In 1664 she undertook in return for a settlement by Mr. Morley of £300 a year, to convey the estate to Sir William Morley and John Wells as trustees for her till her marriage, and then to settle it upon her husband. In 1665 the estate was conveyed to Richard Yonge and John Truster as trustees for Edward Morley and his heirs.⁴⁰ Mr. Morley neglected to settle the stipulated sum, but mortgaged the estate to Henry Doble.⁴¹ On her husband's death in 1667 Anne Morley resumed possession,⁴² and held it till her death in 1679, when she left Henry Bellingham, her cousin, her heir. Sir William Morley, however, paid off Doble's mortgage and entered into possession.⁴³ The Court Rolls extant from 1688 onwards prove that Sir William Morley held the manor in conjunction with a Sir Thomas Hussey up to 1697. In that year Mr. Bellingham, afterwards Sir Henry, recovered the estate by an action at law from Sir William Morley. Sir Thomas Hussey, however, evidently held independently, for in 1698 he conveyed his 'moiety of the manor of Frensham Beale, otherwise Frensham Beale,' to Morgan Randyll and George Beale.⁴⁴ Sir Henry Bellingham sold the rest of the estate, including the manor house, to George Leach in 1701. The latter sold it in 1704 to Caleb Woods, a maltster of Guildford, who died in 1713, leaving the manor to his son John Woods, merchant, of London, subject to annuities of £100 to his wife and a daughter.⁴⁵ Caleb Woods apparently acquired the other moiety of the manor in 1704, for in 1703 a court was held with Morgan Randyll, George Beale, Caleb Woods, and George Leach as lords, but after that Caleb Woods alone held the court, as did his son John after him.⁴⁶

²⁵ Pat. 12 Edw. III. pt. ii. m. 3d.

²⁶ Feet of F. Surr. 6-9 Hen. V. 46. A John Bele is named in Feet of F. Surr. 10-11 Hen. IV. 64, but not called of Frensham.

²⁷ These are in the hands of Richard Mason, Esq., of Farnham, steward of the manor.

²⁸ Loseley MS. 20 April 1570. A letter from Robert, Earl of Leicester, referring to Mr. Beale, 'lord of the manor,' who is oppressing an inhabitant of Farnham (*sic*) by demanding an exorbitant fine of £21 for the surrender of a copyhold, instead of the customary 40s. By the custom of the manor of Frensham Beale, recited at the court baron, the fine on surrender by a tenant is not to amount to more than one and a half year's rent and not more than two years' rent on a transfer by death. Probably Mr. Beale was in want of

money and was trying to increase the ordinary fine.

²⁹ Jaye lived at Waverley Abbey; he was serjeant of the Woodyard to the queen. Buried at Farnham 21 May, 1586 (Farnham Registers).

³⁰ Recov. R. East. 25 Eliz.

³¹ In 1644 Sir Thomas Bowyer's estate was sequestered. In March 1650 he died when in prosecution of his appeal before the Barons of the Exchequer against his sequestration, leaving a wife and thirteen children and debts of £8,000 to be raised by the sale of his lands. His son Sir Thomas claimed and was granted one-fifth of the estate in 1651, and in 1652 the sequestration was discharged on payment of fine at one-third (*S.P. Cal. Com. for Compounding*, pt. ii. 833).

³² Feet of F. Div. Cos. Mich. 6 Jas. I.

³³ *Ibid.* Surr. Hil. 6 Jas. I.

³⁴ Inq. p.m. 4 Chas. I. ccccclix. 66.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Feet of F. Surr. Trin. 2 Chas. II.

³⁷ The estate was evidently considerably impoverished owing to the heavy fine to discharge sequestration, added to the debts left by the late Sir Thomas (*S.P. Cal. Com. for Compounding*, pt. ii. 833).

³⁸ Feet of F. Hil. 8 Chas. II.

³⁹ Manorial roll referred to by Manning and Bray, iii. 166, but not extant.

⁴⁰ Manning and Bray, iii. 166.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Manning and Bray, iii. 167-8, from deeds and manorial rolls not now existing.

⁴⁴ Feet of F. Surr. East. 10 Will. and Mary.

⁴⁵ Will proved 13 May, 1713 (P.C.C.).

⁴⁶ Manor R. and deeds in custody of Richard Mason, Esq., of Farnham.

FARNHAM HUNDRED

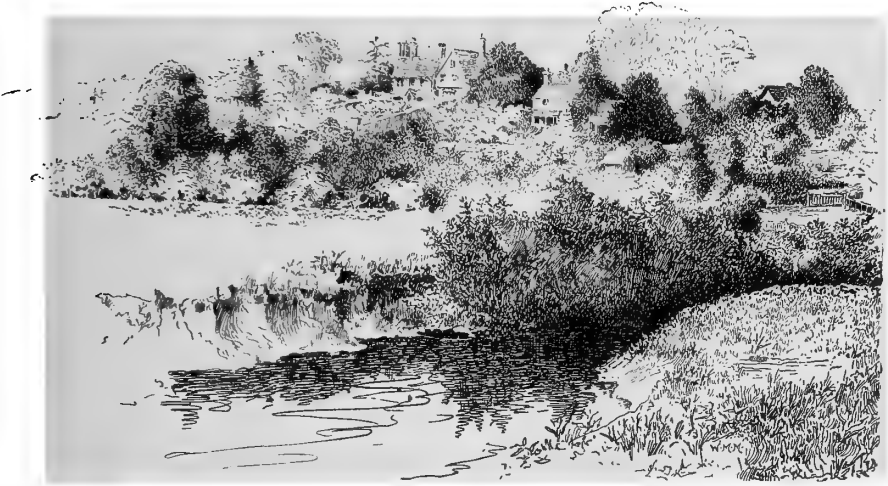
FRENESHAM

Neither Caleb nor John Woods lived at the manor house.⁴⁷ The former lived at Guildford, the latter in London or Bramshott in Hants. In 1761 John Woods died, having settled Frensham Beale on his third wife Mehetabel Goldney for life.⁴⁸ After her death he willed it to William Gill, son of his daughter Mary.⁴⁹ Mehetabel Woods held courts from 1762-1767; William Gill from 1767-1813.⁵⁰ The latter died in 1815, and was succeeded by his brother Henry Streeter Gill, who died in 1818, leaving the manor to his daughter, Mary Frankland, whose husband now assumed the name of Gill. In 1819 she and her husband conveyed the manor, evidently by way of mortgage, to John Leach.⁵¹ Mary Frankland Gill died in 1856, her husband in 1859. Their son William Henry Gill, retired Major, Rifle Brigade, died unmarried 21 August, 1866, and his sisters, Mary Douglas Frankland and the Hon. Agnes Stewart Kerr,⁵² divided the property, the former taking Frensham Beale for her share, the latter adopting

holdings are subject to a heriot on the death of a tenant.⁵³

When the two Woods, Caleb and John, were in possession of the manor, the only resident gentry in Frensham were the Salmon and Bishop families.⁵⁹ The Woods lived elsewhere, and the manor house had probably become a farm house, as it is still. The Salmons were lessees of the tithes until, on the death of Henry Salmon, the last of the family, in 1717, the lease passed to his sister Elizabeth, the wife of Captain William Bishop.⁶⁰ As lessees of the tithes it is probable that they occupied the vicarage house, which before the late fire was old and much too large for the curate whom they put in at £20 a year. It has the appearance of having been a larger house than the manor house.

The tithing of *PITFOLD* (Putfolde xiv. cent.; Pitfall xvii. cent.) lies in the southernmost part of Frensham parish to the west of Haslemere, and east of Bramshott in Hampshire. From the court rolls of Farnham manor, Pitfold seems to have been in



FRENESHAM.

the name of Gill.⁵³ In 1867 Mary Douglas Frankland married Mr. Morton Cornish Sumner, who held the courts of the manor.⁵⁴ Mrs. Sumner, who survived her husband, held her last court in 1885.⁵⁵ In 1888 Mr. Richard H. Combe of Pierrepoint bought the manor.⁵⁶ He died in 1900, and his widow is now lady of the manor.⁵⁷

The manor rolls give many interesting 'customs of the manor.' Tenants can cut timber for the repair of their houses, gates, and fences, and for 'plough-bote' and 'cart-bote,' but cannot transfer it to any one else. Another survival is that

the tithing of Churt as late as the seventeenth century.⁶¹ and then seems to have included Shottermill. In 1847, when Shottermill was formed into an ecclesiastical district, Pitfold was included in that district.⁶² In 1896, when, by Order in Council, Shottermill was created a civil parish, Pitfold became a tithing of Shottermill.⁶³

Pitfold mill in the south of the tithing is used for dressing chamois leather and buckskins.

Lands in Pitfold, which seem to have become the manor of Pitfold, were held by the Bavent family in the thirteenth century. In 1285 Adam

⁴⁷ The manor house had probably become a farm by this time.

⁴⁸ Deed Jan. 30, 1753-4.

⁴⁹ Will of John Woods, 1753.

⁵⁰ Manor R. and deeds *ut supra*.

⁵¹ Feet of F. Hil. 59 Geo. III.

⁵² Widow of the Hon. Arthur Schomberg Kerr.

⁵³ Manor R. and deeds *ut supra*.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Aubrey, vol. iii. p. 365, Visitation Ret. of 1724-5 at Farnham Castle.

Bishop Willis asked for the number and names of all resident gentry in each parish.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Eccl. Com. Ct. R. Bprie. of Winton, bdle. 125, No. 2.

⁶² Under Act. 1 and 2 Will. IV. c. 38.

⁶³ *Lond. Gaz.*

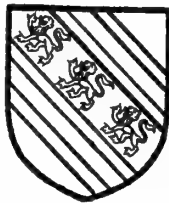
A HISTORY OF SURREY

de Bavent had a grant of free warren in Pitfold.⁶⁴ His grandson, Roger de Bavent, held the same, and sold his lands and rights to Edward III. in 1344.⁶⁵ In 1362 Edward granted the lands for life to John de Winwyk, William de Thorp, and William de Peek.⁶⁶ In 1373, when this life tenure had expired, he granted 'all his lands and tenements with appurtenances in Pitfold' to Maud, Prioress of the Monastery of Dertford and her successors.⁶⁷ In 1372 the Prioress and convent surrendered their lands, including the manor of Hatcham (Heccesham) with lands and tenements in Pitfold in Surrey,⁶⁸ for the purpose apparently of obtaining a new grant.⁶⁹ The lands seemingly remained in the hands of the monastery until the dissolution,⁷⁰ at which time they rendered a yearly customary rent of 49s. 3d.⁷¹ This rent fell to the king after 1538, and is noted in the Ministers' Accounts from 1540 to 1545.⁷² The roll for 1546-7 is not extant, but in that for 1547-8 there is no mention of the rent from Pitfold—evidently the lands had been granted away or had fallen into the hands of the Protector.⁷³

In 1562 Elizabeth granted the 'lordship and manor of Pytfold Dertford, otherwise Highe Pitfolde,' to John White and Thomas Kerton.⁷⁴ On 1 April, 1566, John White exchanged the manor with Viscount Montague for the grange at Tongham and £177 16s. 6d.⁷⁵ In 1593 Anthony Browne Viscount Montague died seised of the manor,⁷⁶ which descended to his grandson and heir Anthony, who died seised of it in 1630.⁷⁷ From him the manor passed to his son Francis and descended in the Montague family to George Samuel, eighth Viscount, who died in 1793 without heirs; leaving the estate to his sister Elizabeth Mary, who married William Stephen Poyntz, of Medgham, Berks.⁷⁸ In 1832 the three daughters and co-heiresses of William Stephen Poyntz, Frances Selina, Elizabeth Georgiana, and Isabella, who had married Robert Cotton St. John, Baron Clinton, Frederic Spencer, and Brownlow, Marquis of Exeter, respectively,



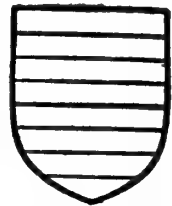
BAVENT. Silver a chief indented sable.



BROWNE. Sable three lions passant between four cotises silver.

sold the manor to Richard Preston Pritchard,⁷⁹ who died in 1836. He was succeeded by his son Richard Preston Pritchard, who sold Pitfold to James Baker, of Frensham Hall, before 1853, in which year an enclosure award of the waste of the manor⁸⁰ shows Mr. Baker to be lord of the manor. He was succeeded by his son, also James Baker, and the latter by his nephew James Goldsmith, of Milton (Hants), to whom some of the property still belongs.⁸¹ There is an old manor house still existing, with the date 1668 over the gateway. But the manor as such has ceased to exist; the copyholds were long ago enfranchised, and much of the land and of the enclosed waste sold in small lots for the building of the modern country houses which cover the formerly wild districts of Hindhead and the neighbouring commons.

PIERREPONT is the present name of an estate which existed here in the eighteenth century. About a mile down the river from Frensham Church there was a ford called Tankersford, and a farm of the same name lay on the left bank below the hamlet of Mill Bridge, held as copyhold of the manor of Frensham Beale. The name occurs in a bill in Chancery, exhibited by Lord Montague against the Bishop of Winchester and Sir William More before Sir Christopher Hatton (1587-1591).⁸² Lord Montague claimed fishing rights in the 'Tyllford' river from 'Tankerforde' to Crickleborne, as having belonged to the Abbey of Waverley. Several letters relating to the case exist at Loseley, and as late as 12 January, 1596-7, Thomas Bilson, the bishop, wrote about it.⁸³ Peter Hampden, chosen a Burgess of Farnham in 1579, also wrote an undated letter about it, to the effect that the Abbey claimed this fishery, and had a weir, for which and for a little house at Tilford they paid 4d. rent. He described himself as 'a distressyd old man,' and though he wrote to Sir George More, apparently after the death of Sir William More, in 1600, it seems that he claimed personal reminiscence of affairs when Waverley was still standing.⁸⁴ The land certainly did not belong to Waverley, though the fishery may have. Tankersford belonged to John Mabank in 1748,⁸⁵ when he surrendered the copyhold, and Colonel the Hon. John Mordaunt, brother to the Earl of Peterborough, was admitted.⁸⁶ He built a house on the site. In 1761 the Duke of Kings-



POYNTZ. Barry gold and gules of eight pieces.

⁶⁴ Chart. R. 13 Edw. I. No. 23 (Harl. MSS. 58, i. 57, a copy).

⁶⁵ Pat. 18 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 30.

⁶⁶ Inq. p.m. 40 Edw. III. (1st nos.) 40.

⁶⁷ Pat. 46 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 28.

⁶⁸ Ancient Deeds (P.R.O.), A. 5280.

⁶⁹ Pat. 46 Edw. III. pt. 2, m. 28.

⁷⁰ *Talor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.) i. 119.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Mins. Accts. 32-6 Hen. VIII.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 38 Hen. VIII.—1 Edw. VI. No. 38.

⁷⁴ Pat. 4 Eliz. pt. 4, m. 51.

⁷⁵ Close R. 8 Eliz. pt. 8.

⁷⁶ Inq. p.m. 33 Eliz. cccxxv. 110.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 5 Chas. I. cccliii. 80.

⁷⁸ Burke, *Peerage and Baronetage*.

⁷⁹ Feet of F. Surr. 2 Will. IV.

⁸⁰ Award at Board of Agriculture made under Stat. 12 and 13 Vict. c. 83.

⁸¹ Information from Mr. Charles

Pritchard of Churt, the son of Richard Preston Pritchard, the younger, and from Mr. James Penfold of Haslemere.

⁸² Loseley MSS. no further date.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 1596-7.

⁸⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com.: Rep. on the Loseley MS.* wrongly describes this letter as to Sir William More.

⁸⁵ Manor R. Frensham Beale, in custody of Mr. Richard Mason, Farnham.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*



FARNHAM CASTLE: THE KEEP FROM S.E.



FARNHAM CASTLE: BISHOP FOX'S ENTRANCE TOWER.



ton was admitted on Colonel Mordaunt's surrender. He enlarged the house and called it Pierrepoint Lodge, after his family name.⁸⁷ In 1772 the duke surrendered in favour of Ascanius William Senior.⁸⁸ Mr. Senior surrendered in 1777, and Thomas James Storer was admitted.⁸⁹ Mr. Storer surrendered in 1782, and Sir William Meredith, Bart., was admitted.⁹⁰ He surrendered in 1785, and Ralph Winstanley Wood was admitted. He was already resident, and is described as 'of Pierrepoint Lodge' in the roll.⁹¹ The land included Tankersford and abutted upon Hillage Common field, a common field now forgotten, but probably in the grounds of Pierrepoint. Mr. Wood built a new house on a place called Highfield, and is described as of Highfield Place when he surrendered in 1820.⁹² Pierrepoint Lodge was rebuilt by Mr. Wood,⁹³ who was a wealthy man at one time, but lost his money by the failure of one of his sons-in-law, John Tayler, an East India merchant, in whose business he had embarked his fortune.⁹⁴ Another son-in-law, Crawford Davison, bought Pierrepoint. He died in 1836, and his son, Crawford Davison, parted with it to Richard Henry Combe in 1864. Mr. Combe enfranchised the copyhold in 1885⁹⁵ shortly before he bought the manor in 1888. In his lifetime an extensive breeding stud of thoroughbred horses was kept at Pierrepoint. Mr. Combe died in 1900. His widow, Mrs. Combe, resides at Pierrepoint, and is lady of the manor of Frensham Beale.

Though the hamlet above this is called Mill Bridge, there is no appearance or record of a mill. Frensham Beale Mill is a long way higher up the stream. The ford is opposite what is now Pierrepoint Farm. Frensham Priory, on the right bank, is a house where Mr. Crawford Davison, the younger, resided before he sold Pierrepoint, which was let. It is an old house, but it was never a priory. On the left bank of the river, on high ground nearly opposite the church, is a house now called St. Austin's, the seat of Miss Moultrie. A part of it is of the sixteenth century, with good woodwork inside. The Vicarage house was a very old building of considerable size, far too large for an original priest's house. It was unfortunately nearly destroyed by fire a few years ago. In the dining-room ceiling is a very fine oak beam, and on another beam a Tudor Rose carved in oak. In the garden are two narrow parallel fishponds. If there

was any house belonging to Waverley Abbey in Frensham it most likely was here.

The tithing of *CHURT* (Cherte xiv. cent.) lies two miles to the south of Frensham Church close to the Hampshire border. On the Common are three curious conical sand hills called 'The Devil's Jumps.' One of these perhaps was the old Borough Hill in the tithing, where it is said the inhabitants could knock on a great stone and ask for a loan of utensils, or even a yoke of oxen, and could be sure to find them when they reached home, provided that they had faithfully promised to return the articles.⁹⁶ Some one, however, so the story goes, borrowed a large cauldron, still kept at Frensham Church, and neglected to return it.⁹⁷ Thus the supernatural loan office ceased! The probability is that the whole story originated from the name Kettlebury Hill in Elsted, doubtless named after a man. Aubrey is very vague in his topography, and 'Borough Hill in Churt a mile hence' may be Kettlebury Hill in Elsted two and a half miles off, quite as well as one of the Devil's Jumps, which are one and a half miles away from Frensham Church.

From the thirteenth century to the time when it was included in Frensham parish, Churt was a tithing of the manor of Farnham.⁹⁸ In the extant court rolls there is frequent mention of Churt heath and Churt common, as for instance in 1540 when John Baker was forbidden at the court leet 'to over burden the common of the tenants of the lord of Churt with his beasts.'⁹⁹ In a subsidy roll of the fourteenth century Churt, as a tithing of Farnham, was assessed at £3 9s. 0½d.¹⁰⁰

In 1693 the tithing was involved in an important lawsuit. Mr. John Salmon, then lessee of the tithes of Frensham including Churt, filed a Bill in the Exchequer in 1692 against Richard Denyer, senior, and Richard Denyer, junior, to the effect that they had cut wood in the tithing of Churt at places called Quinnot's Mead and Quinnot's Moor without accounting for the tithe to him.¹⁰¹ The defence was that Churt was in the Weald, and woodland in the Weald was by prescription exempt from tithe unless specially made subject to it by a grant. The Court of Exchequer sent the two issues of fact, whether Churt was in the Weald, and whether woodlands in the Weald were tithe free, for trial before a jury at the King's Bench. A verdict for the defendants on both points was returned. Mr. John Salmon obtained a fresh trial before a special jury, but with the same result. Whereupon in 1693 the Exchequer dismissed his bill.¹⁰² The case is interesting as showing that the Weald extended beyond the Wealden clay, and that probably the district had been uninhabited after the time when the parochial apportionment



COMBE. Azure a pale ermine between two tilting spears gold with three lions passant guardant on the pale.

⁸⁷ Manor R. Frensham Beale, in custody of Mr. Richard Mason, Farnham.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Manning and Bray, iii. 167.

⁹⁴ From papers relating to the Tayler family in possession of Mr. Martin Ware

of Tilford House, and family information in possession of the editor.

⁹⁵ He enfranchised it at the cost of £1,500 to obviate a heriot if he should die holding a copyhold.

⁹⁶ Aubrey, *Antiquities of Surrey*, vol. iii.

⁹⁷ The cauldron or kettle is a big mediæval cooking pot that might have come from anywhere.

⁹⁸ Ecl. Com. Rent R. Bprie. of Winton.

⁹⁹ Ibid. Ct. R. bdle. 85, No. 3.

¹⁰⁰ *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 442.

¹⁰¹ The places so named seem to be locally forgotten.

¹⁰² Wood, *Hist. of Tithe Causes in the Exchequer*, i. 302, Exch. Dep. 4 Will. and Mary Mich. 12.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

of title had been generally settled, that is about the twelfth century.¹⁰³

Churt House is in the western part of the tithing and west of the common. It is apparently quite a modern residence, and is now held by Mr. Henry Crompton.

In 1865 Churt was formed into an ecclesiastical parish from the civil parish of Frensham, but before this time the church of St. John the Evangelist had been built there on land given by Bishop Sumner in the south part of the tithing north of Redhearn Green and the village.¹⁰⁴ It is built of Bargate stone with Headley sandstone dressings, and quoins and tracery of Bathstone in thirteenth century style. It originally consisted only of a nave and short apsidal chancel. A new chancel vestry and nave roof were erected in 1868, and in 1883 the nave was resetted, transepts added, and a double western bell turret erected. In 1892 further alterations were made, the chancel was enlarged by Lord Ashcombe, and an organ chamber added.

SHOTTERMILL (Shotter Mill, Shotover Mill xvii. cent.) is properly in Sussex, but the modern district named from it is in Surrey. The name of Shotter Mill appears in the Court rolls of Farnham manor, as indicating the portion of land in Pitfold, which seems to have been in the tithing of Churt. For instance in 1660 Henry, son and heir of Anne Bridges, made fine for one messuage garden and plot of land 'near Shotter Mill at Pitfall in the tithing of Churt.'¹⁰⁵ Shottermill was separated from Frensham and formed into an ecclesiastical parish in 1846,¹⁰⁶ and it was created a civil parish by Order in Council in 1896.¹⁰⁷ It includes a wide extent of high land about Hindhead, and is being rapidly covered with large and small country houses where thirty years ago there was nothing but heath. 'George Eliot' lived for some time at Brookbank, Shottermill. Frensham Hall, a modern building in Shottermill, is the residence of the Hon. C. A. Ellis.

Critchmere, with its extensive trout farm, is in this district on the Sussex boundary. The farm consists of several fishponds forming a terrace of lakes supplied with clear running water from a spring. Here some 3,000,000 eggs are hatched annually.

The district church of Shottermill, the church of St. Stephen, was built in 1846, near the southern end of the parish. It is of local sandstone with hewn stone quoins and consists of a chancel added in 1875,¹⁰⁸ a nave, and a western tower with turret and spire and one bell. In 1892 the vestry was

enlarged, and in 1897 and 1902 the church was thoroughly restored.

DOCKENFIELD (Dackeriefeld xii. cent.) tithing was formerly in Hampshire, but the manor of Dockenfield had certain appurtenances on the Surrey side of the border. It is now in Surrey for county rating purposes, having been transferred by order in Council in 1895;¹⁰⁹ but it is still in Hampshire for Parliamentary elections. The principal collection of houses is at a place known as Batt's Corner. The inhabitants, though in Frensham parish, are said to be disinclined to mix with the Surrey people, and even the children in the schools form separate factions. There is a separate national school for infants only, founded in 1877.

The early history of the tithing is vague and uncertain. The charter of Richard of Ilchester, Bishop of Winchester, to Waverley, speaks of Duckenfeld as part of their land before 1189,¹¹⁰ while the Grange or farm of 'Dackeriefeld' was confirmed to Waverley Abbey by Richard I. in 1189.¹¹¹ This was probably the Dockenfield which was among the Waverley lands granted to Sir William Fitzwilliam in 1537.¹¹² It passed from him to his half brother Sir Anthony Browne, then to his son the first Viscount Montague, and afterwards to his grandson the second Viscount, who in 1614 conveyed it, in consideration of £2,400, to Sir Edward Moore, Thomas Graye, and William Yalden. It is described at this time as in the counties of Southampton and Surrey with houses and messuages, etc., in the towns, parishes, hamlets, and fields of Dockingfield, Frensham, and Farnham.¹¹³

Probably this was only a mortgage, for in 1651, in the case for the sequestration of Viscount Montague's estates, William Yalden, who had been '40 years servant to Lord Montague and his father, and who held by lease two-thirds of the estate,' begged leave to have his lease confirmed. At the same time he begged a fair relaxation of his taxes since his rent was raised with difficulty 'by reason of the low price of corn and cattle.'¹¹⁴ The so-called manor of Dockingfield was probably included in this two-thirds of the Montague estate.

The church of St. Mary the **CHURCH** Virgin of Frensham, which lies on the west of 'the street' and to the north of the road, was built upon the present site in 1239. Its former position is unknown.¹¹⁵ It consists of a chancel with a north chapel and vestry beyond, a nave of four bays with a north aisle, south porch, and a western tower of three stages. The walls are of rubble consisting of sandstone

¹⁰³ See ante, *Eccl. Hist.* p. 6.

¹⁰⁴ Bowen's map of 1749 calls this place Red Urn Green. A still living inhabitant remembers a pottery here, near Silver Beck, the house of Mr. Hook, R.A., so possibly the name was really this.

¹⁰⁵ *Eccl. Com. C. R. Bprie. of Winton*, bde. 125, No. 2. Shottermill itself belonged to Shulbrede Priory in Sussex, and was an iron-mill. Survey of Shulbrede Priory, Land Revenue

Office, v. 3. f. 87, 1608; quoted by Dallaway, *Hist. of Sussex*, i. 304.

¹⁰⁶ Order in Council 1 and 2 Will. IV. c. 38, *Stat. Rev.* vol. v. p. 83, et seq.

¹⁰⁷ *Lond. Gaz.*

¹⁰⁸ Alfred Lord Tennyson contributed to the addition in 1875.

¹⁰⁹ Order in Council 30 May, 1895, under the Local Gov. Act of 1888, Sec. 54 (51-52 Vict.).

¹¹⁰ Dugdale, i. 703.

¹¹¹ Chart R. 1 Ric. I. given by Dugdale, *M-nasticon*, i. 704.

¹¹² Pat. 28 Hen. VIII. pt. 2.

¹¹³ Cloae 11 Jas. I. pt. 1.

¹¹⁴ *S.P. Cal. Com. for Compounding*, iv. 2543-4.

¹¹⁵ 'Ecclesia de Fernesham transponitur hoc anno de loco ubi prius sita fuit ad alium locum consilio et auxilio Lucae archidiaconi Surreie et hoc eodem anno dedicata est.' *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 323. Church Hill as a name for the hill to the south of the present church is only of recent use.

and flint with ashlar dressings of local sandstone. The roofs are now tiled, but it appears that formerly they were of Horsham slate.¹¹⁰ The tower is of the fifteenth century and has three stages with heavy angle buttresses, a square parapet, and low pitched tiled roof. It is possible that the two lower stages are older than the highest. The second stage has small single lights in the west and south sides, the latter being hidden by ivy. The belfry or highest stage has a window of two lights with a quatrefoil in the head on each side.

The church, when built in 1239, consisted of a chancel and nave, and possibly a western tower. The lancet window in the north wall of the chancel is of this date. It was formerly blocked by a fine early fourteenth century canopied tomb, conjecturally that of John Bel, who was living in 1326, of which the flanking crocketed pinnacles and shafts alone remain. It had a shelf with an arched recess below. A fourteenth century grave slab of a priest has been placed here. On the south side of the chancel are two modern two-light windows, with a plain doorway between retaining some old stones. There are a plain piscina of the thirteenth century and a locker at the end of this wall. A part of the wall of the north chapel, which was used as a vestry in 1797 and is now filled by the organ, is old. The present vestry was added about 1852, but the doorway into it seems to be the old outer door of the north chapel. The north aisle, and the arcade of four bays with round arches and foliated capitals, are of local work and were erected in 1827,¹¹⁷ at the expense of Mr. Crawford Davison of Pierrepont. The south doorway is probably thirteenth century much patched; it has a plain semi-circular head and jambs with a small chamfer. The wooden door and some of the woodwork of the porch are of an early date. The nave roof is fourteenth or fifteenth century with cambered tie-beams, and collared rafters with pole-piece.

The lowest storey of the tower opens to the church by a lofty pointed arch of two hollow chamfered orders with octagonal capitals, responds and bases of local type. In the west wall is a three-light window with tracery as old as 1797, when it is shown in a view of the church in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, but not ancient, with a four-centred doorway below. At the south-east corner is a stair in a boldly projecting buttress, entered from inside the tower by an early doorway, with its original oak door and ironwork, which looks earlier than the upper part of the tower.

There is an ancient square font, which dates from the latter part of the twelfth century, and was probably brought from the earlier church.

It is of Purbeck marble, on a round stem and angle shafts which were formerly plain cylinders, but have been replaced by ill-designed shafts with capitals and bases.¹¹⁸ On the north and south sides of the bowl are traces of a pattern of arcading of shallow round arches; on the east and west the relief is nearly obliterated, but it was not the same as on the other sides. The font is much weather-worn, having lain in the churchyard from some period unknown till 1875. There are five bells in the tower.

There used to be a gallery lighted by a south dormer window,¹¹⁹ which was removed in 1875 when the church was restored. The lectern and other wood-

carving were then executed by Miss Moultrie, of St. Austins, Frensham.

Aubrey says that in his day there was a screen surmounted by the arms of Arundel of Wardour, which no longer exists. There are no ancient monuments in the church.

There is a silver cup with London hall-marks of 1716. Round the bowl is the inscription 'Ex dono Henrici Salmon Generosi in usum Ecclesiae Parochialis de Frencham in Com. Surrij Ano. Dom. 1717.' Henry Salmon was buried in the Chancel of Frensham Church in 1717.¹²⁰ There



FRENESHAM CHURCH.

¹¹⁰ *Gent. Mag.*, 1797, pt. ii. p. 1085.

¹¹⁷ Diocesan Returns at Farnham. Something was also done to the church in 1852 (*ibid.*), perhaps the vestry added.

¹¹⁸ This font should be compared with the fonts at Thursley and Seale.

¹¹⁹ *Gent. Mag.* plate 1797.

¹²⁰ He died on 18 April, 1717. Aubrey, *Pereambulation of Surrey*, 111, 170.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

is a silver paten of the same date, probably part of the same gift. There is also a silver paten with London hall-marks of 1741, and an inscription to the effect that it was bought by the subscriptions of the parishioners in 1742, I. Phipps, Minister; R. Paine, J. Gamblin, Churchwardens. A silver flagon with London hall-marks of 1716 is presumably likewise part of the gift of Henry Salmon.

The registers are in a book presented by Mr. Salmon in 1710, but written up since 1649. Some old parish books perished in a fire at the Vicarage.

In 1692 Mr. William Salmon had a lease of the tithes of Frensham, and in 1694 he put in Mr. Joseph Munday as curate at £20 a year. About sixteen years before that William Jennings had

rented the tithes of the tithing of Churte, and about seven or eight years before 1692 Jacob Williams was lessee of the tithes of Frensham.¹²¹

In 1725 Mr. Joseph Munday, curate, in reply to the inquiry of the bishop, stated that the population was near 600, that the parish church of Farnham (*sic*) was supplied by a curate who had his nomination from Mr. William Bishop, lessee of the tithes, that there was no school, that Smith's charity, for the poor not receiving parish relief, was distributed annually, that Mr. Bishop and his son were the only resident gentry. No answer is returned about chapels, nonconformists or papists, so presumably there were none.¹²²

SEALE

Seale lies about two miles east of Farnham. The parish, including Tongham, contains 2,993 acres. It is bounded on the west by Farnham, on the north by Ash, on the east by Wanborough and Puttenham, on the south by Elsted. From the Hog's Back, above Seale, a wonderfully extensive and beautiful view, extending into six counties, may be obtained on a clear day. Here no doubt was the beacon recorded in the parish books. To the north across arable and pasture land, over the hills and commons of Woking, Ascot, and Weybridge, can be seen the distant Chilterns. To the west the heights above Aldershot and Hale cut off the more distant view, but as the eye travels south, the line of chalk hills may be followed above Bentley and Alton to Selborne. From Wolmer Forest rising gradually eastward Hindhead cuts the distance, whilst east of this again, between Hindhead and Hascombe, is spread the blue distant Weald of Sussex, extending to the south chalk downs. Further east again the hills rise above the spires of the Charterhouse, to Holmbury and Leith Hill, the highest point in Surrey. Due east the white road, running the length of the narrow ridge, rises until it reaches its summit above Compton, whilst below Crooksbury stands up, and beyond, in the middle distance, Puttenham, Thursley, and Elsted commons, and the Devil's Jumps stretch in graceful undulations of gorse, heather, and fir trees. The main road, along the Hog's Back, goes through the parish, and a road, instead of a bridle road, has lately been opened from Puttenham, and goes on to Farnham south of the chalk range. This is on the line of the mediaeval (reputed) Pilgrims' Way, which ran south of the chalk range in West Surrey. The old tracks across the heaths, in the southern part of the parish, have been replaced by main roads. The valley in which Seale lies is the division between the chalk and the sand, and the change in vegetation on either hand is very marked, beech, elm, and yew, and the typical chalk flowers growing

plentifully on the slope of the chalk down, the opposite rising ground being covered with fir trees, gorse and heather. The north-west corner of the parish is traversed by the London and South Western Railway, from Guildford to Farnham, on which there is a station at Tongham. The southern part of the parish is in the bishop's manor of Farnham, the rest in those of Poyle and Tongham; Poyle Park is in the north, Hampton Park on the eastern border of the parish.

The south-west boundary of the parish runs over the summit of Crooksbury Hill (534 feet). On Crooksbury are marks of ditches, but whether old enclosures to protect the fir trees when planted, or made for any other purpose, is uncertain. North-east of the summit 220 yards, and 100 feet below it, is a circular ditch with the earth thrown up inwards making a low tumulus, rather over 100 feet across. It is locally called the Soldiers' Ring. A discovery of bronze implements near this was made about 1857.¹

The enclosure award was made in 1849, as for the rest of the old parish of Farnham.

TONGHAM (Twangham xiii. cent.) lies in the north-western corner of the parish, north of the Hog's Back. In the population abstracts from 1811 onwards Tongham appears as a *hamlet* of Seale. In the rent rolls of the Bishops of Winchester from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth,² in the subsidy rolls of the fourteenth century,³ and in the court rolls from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century,⁴ Tongham was counted as a separate tithing of Farnham manor, and included Seale. It was evidently an important tithing, since in the fourteenth century it was assessed at £3 8s. 5½d. in the subsidy roll,⁵ and in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries the tithing man presented 6s. 8d. twice a year at the court leet of Farnham.⁶

The modern village is large and populous, the houses being grouped in a long stretch on either side of the principal street.

¹²¹ Exch. Dep. (4 Will. and Mary, Mich. No. 12) in the Churt Tithes Case.

¹²² Returns at Farnham Castle.

¹ *Illus. News*, 27 June, 1857.

² Ecl. Com. Rent R. Bp. of Winchester, bdes. 22-54.

³ *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 442.

⁴ Ecl. Com. Ct. R. Farnham, bde. 79, no. 28, etc.

⁵ *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 442.

⁶ Ecl. Com. Ct. R. Farnham, bde. 87, No. 6; bde. 92, No. 1; bde. 98, No. 2.

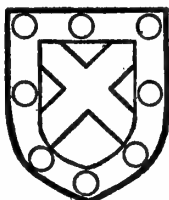


FARNHAM CASTLE : THE KITCHEN.



FARNHAM CASTLE : THE OLD CHAPEL, NOW SERVANTS' HALL.

TONGHAM MANOR seems to have been reckoned a manor as early as 1360, when Henry de la Poyle held a court here for the lands which he held of the Bishop.⁷ These lands had passed to Henry from his grandfather 'Walter de la Puille,' who was seised of a 'tenement in Twangham,' sixty acres of arable land, rents from seven free tenants, etc., held by service of one-seventh of a knight's fee of the Bishop of Winchester, in 1299.⁸ In 1317 John, son and heir of Walter, died, leaving a son and heir John.⁹ In 1333 John died, leaving his brother Henry as his heir.¹⁰ Henry's son, Thomas Poyle, succeeded him in 1369,¹¹ and in 1402 died seised of 'a hall and grange in Tongham,' leaving his brother John as his heir.¹² In 1407 John Poyle conveyed the same to his son Henry.¹³ Henry married Elizabeth Warner, who through her trustees conveyed the manor to John Gaynesford in 1440.¹⁴ In 1474 the Gaynesfords were still holding the manor,¹⁵



POYLE. *Silver a saltire gules and a border sable besanty.*

but between that date and 1516 it was evidently conveyed to William Westbroke, for in 1517 William Westbroke conveyed the manor of Tongham with appurtenances, etc., to Thomas Polstead, Edward Hylle, and William Bus-sell.¹⁶ It seems probable that these were trustees for his heirs, for on his death in 1537 the manor seems to have been divided between his two nephews John Scarlett¹⁷ and Thomas Hull.¹⁸ In 1546 John Scarlett mortgaged his 'moiety of the manor of Tongham' to John Elyot of Godalming.¹⁹ In 1547 John Scarlett died,²⁰ in 1576 his heir confirmed the grant to John Elyot.²¹ In the same year John Elyot conveyed the moiety to Robert White.²²



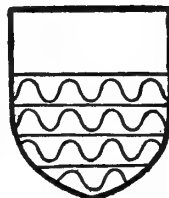
GAYNESFORD. *Silver a chevron gules between three running greyhounds sable with gold collars.*

It is difficult to trace the history of the other moiety of the manor. It seems to have passed to the heir of Elizabeth Westbroke, William Westbroke's sister, who probably married Edward Hull, and her heir may have died while his heir was a

minor. Be that as it may, his moiety of the manor evidently passed to trustees, Henry Weston and John Austen, who in 1569 conveyed the same to Henry Knolles and Richard Polstead.²³ In 1576 Thomas Hull, evidently the grandson of Elizabeth, was in possession, and conveyed the same in that year to Robert White,²⁴ who therefore held the whole manor, and continued to do so until his death in April 1599. His heirs were his daughters Helen Tichborne, wife of Richard Tichborne, then aged seventeen, and Mary, wife of Walter Tichborne, aged fifteen.²⁵ The manor was then evidently divided a second time. In 1600 Walter Tichborne and Mary his wife mortgaged half the manor to Richard Weston, James Weston, and George Blande.²⁶ In 1604 Sir Richard Tichborne, who had been knighted in 1603, and Helen his wife, and Walter Tichborne, and Mary his wife, mortgaged the whole manor to Sir Richard Weston and William Brocke.²⁷ By 1623 Helen Tichborne was dead without male issue, and her half of the manor evidently passed to Benjamin, the eldest son of her sister Mary. In 1623 Sir Walter Tichborne, who had been knighted by King James in 1604, in recognition of his father's services in proclaiming the King at Winchester, and Benjamin Tichborne his son mortgaged the whole manor to Sir John Compton.²⁸ Sir Walter Tichborne died in November 1640, and Mary his wife in the following January. They left six sons, the eldest of whom was Benjamin, the second Francis. Benjamin, who was aged thirty-nine at the time of his father's death, received the whole manor of Tongham.²⁹ He died between 1640 and 1661, evidently without heirs of his body, as in 1661 his brother Francis was seised of the manor, and in that same year he and his wife Susanna mortgaged it to Isaac Lyte and Samuel Brownerigg.³⁰ On his death in 1671 Francis was succeeded by his son White, who died



WHITE. *Six pieces azure and gold with a lion's head erased gules between two roundels silver in the chief and a like roundel between two of the like lions' heads in the foot, each roundel having two waves of green.*



TICHBORNE. *Vair a chief gold.*

⁷ Inq. p.m. 34 Edw. III. (1st nos.), 71.

⁸ Ibid. 27 Edw. I. No. 44.

⁹ Feet of F. Surr. 1 Edw. III. m. 8.

Inq. p.m. 11 Edw. II. No. 17.

¹⁰ Inq. p.m. 6 Edw. III. No. 71.

¹¹ A comparison of the state of the manor in 1299 and 1369 is interesting. After the Black Death of 1349, where in so many cases the population, value and arable extent of manors had diminished, the arable of the manor had increased to 100 acres from 60, and the rent of the free tenants was almost

exactly the same, 15s. 3d. against

15s. 4d.

¹² Inq. p.m. 3 Hen. IV. No. 25.

¹³ Feet of F. Surr. 8 Hen. IV.

¹⁴ Harl. MS. 392.

¹⁵ Rental, Harl. MS. 392, 97b.

¹⁶ Common R. Mich. 8 Hen. VIII.

m. 143.

¹⁷ Nephew of William Westbrook, son of his sister Frances.

¹⁸ Also nephew, son of William's sister Elizabeth, who was possibly wife of the trustee, Edward Hull.

¹⁹ Close 37 Hen. VIII. pt. 3, m. 50.

²⁰ Inq. p.m. 1 Edw. VI. No. 63.

²¹ Feet of F. Mich. 18 and 19

Eliz.

²² Ibid. East, 19 Eliz.

²³ Feet of F. Surr. East, 11 Eliz.

²⁴ Ibid. 18 Eliz.

²⁵ Inq. p.m. 41 Eliz. cclvii. 90.

²⁶ Feet of F. Surr. Hil. 43 Eliz.

²⁷ Ibid. Div. Cos. Mich. 2 Jas. I.

²⁸ Feet of F. Surr. Hil. 20 Jas. I.

²⁹ Inq. p.m. 15 Chas. I. ccccxcii.

129.

³⁰ Feet of F. Div. Cos. Trin. 13

Chas. II.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

about 1701, leaving his son James Tichborne, of Aldershot and Frimley, as his heir. In 1713 James Tichborne mortgaged the manor of Tongham to Samuel Johnson.³¹ Again in 1720 he mortgaged half the manor to Sir Charles Vernon and George Vernon.³² Between 1720 and 1725 James Tichborne evidently sold the manor to a Mr. Richard Smith, who held the court of the manor in the latter year.³³ In Michaelmas 1790 Thomas Smyth was dealing with the manor.³⁴ In 1819 Richard Smith was still holding part of the manor, for in that year Thomas Barrett and Jane his wife, and Richard Smith, conveyed the whole to Stephen Boyce.³⁵ Stephen Boyce died in, or previously to, the year 1826, leaving Tongham Manor to his wife Elizabeth, who on 7 and 8 August, 1826, conveyed it to her only son Charles Barron, son of her first marriage with Charles Barron, of Aldershot. Charles Barron the younger, who built Aldershot Place, died 25 September 1859, and left Tongham to his elder son Major Charles Stephen Barron. He died unmarried 6 March, 1881. His only brother, Colonel Fenwick Boyce Barron, 3rd Dragoon Guards, survived him, but died without issue. Charles Stephen Barron left Tongham to his second cousin once removed, Francis John Barron, who died 23 November, 1903, leaving a widow and family.³⁶

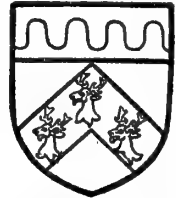
The manor house lies at the south end of the village; it is rebuilt or completely modernized.

TONGHAM GRANGE. The property called Tongham Grange had belonged to Waverley Abbey, and followed the rest of the property of the Abbey at the dissolution.³⁷ It passed by exchange to Sir John White in 1566,³⁸ and his son Robert acquiring Tongham Manor,³⁹ it henceforth passed with Tongham Manor, and was bought along with the manor by Mr. Barron. Grange Farm, southwest of the village, preserves the name. Manor Farm in the middle of the village is the original farm of Tongham Manor.

In 1866 Tongham was formed into an ecclesiastical district. The church of St. Paul, erected the same year by Mr. John Back, of Aldershot Park, stands in the middle of the village. It is built of chalk, and consists of a plain nave and chancel with an apse, the windows having pointed arches. Until 1899 it had a turret and spire with only one bell, but in that year a separate wooden turret with thirteen tubular bells was presented by Mr. H. M. Chester, of Poyle Park, in memory of his mother. The stone font was carved by the late Colonel Luard in his eighty-third year.

It seems as though the manor of *POYLE* (Puille xiii. cent.) may formerly have been parcel of the manor of Tongham. At least, if it was a separate 'manor,' it seems to have followed the same descent as Tongham in the family of Poyle from the thir-

teenth to the fifteenth century. The family of Poyle held lands both in Tongham and Guildford; a 'manor' called Poyle in Tongham, and another called Poyle in Guildford. It is difficult to distinguish the two, the only clue is that the former seems to have been held of the bishop, the latter of the king. What appears to have been Poyle in Tongham was conveyed in 1440 to John Gaynesford, who also held the manor of Tongham.⁴⁰ In 1502 by a fine and recovery Poyle in Tongham was sold to Ralph Vyne.⁴¹ In 1580 Stephen Vyne, probably a grandson of Ralph, conveyed it to Robert White, who also held Tongham.⁴² This was evidently only a mortgage, since the next year Stephen Vyne and Jane his wife conveyed the manor to Sir Nicholas Woodroffe,⁴³ Alderman of London, who had been Lord Mayor in 1579. In 1582 Robert White released his right to the said Sir Nicholas.⁴⁴ On the death of Sir Nicholas in 1598 the manor passed to his son Sir David, on whose death in 1604 it passed to his son Robert.⁴⁵ On the death of Robert in 1639 the estate passed to his son Thomas, who died without issue after 1658, leaving it to his brother George. The latter died in 1688, and was succeeded by his son George, who died in 1713. From him the manor passed to his nephew George, who on his death without children in 1779 left his great-nephew William Billingham, grandson of his sister Letitia and William Billingham, his heir. The latter, on taking possession, changed his name to Woodroffe. He was High Sheriff in 1792, and the estate was in chancery for some time owing to his expenditure in that office. The estate passed, on his death in 1824, to his brother George, Colonel in H.E.I.C.S. who adopted the name of Woodroffe, and died s.p.m. 13 January, 1854. Shortly after his accession to the property the Manor House and Park were let to Colonel Mangles, H.E.I.C.S., for a term of twenty-seven years. Colonel Mangles made considerable alterations to the house. On Colonel George Woodroffe's death Poyle passed under a settlement to his great-nephew Henry



WOODROFFE. *Gules a cheveron silver with three bars' beads raised gules thereon and a chief party wavy fesswise sable and silver.*



CHESTER. *Ermine a chief sable with a griffin passant silver.*

³¹ Feet of F. Div. Cos. Hil. 11 Anne.

³² Ibid. Surr. Trin. 6 Geo. I.

³³ Manning and Bray, quoting rolls now lost.

³⁴ Feet of F. Surr. Mich. 30 Geo. III.

³⁵ Ibid. East, 59 Geo. III.

³⁶ Information, E. J. Barron, Esq.,

F.S.A., and will of Charles Stephen Barron, proved 12 April 1881.

³⁷ See Waverley, p. 623.

³⁸ See Pitfold manor.

³⁹ Vide supra.

⁴⁰ Rental Harl. MS. 392, 97b.

⁴¹ De Banco R. Mich. 18 Hen. VII. 962, m. 415.

⁴² Recov. R. Mich. 22-23 Eliz.

⁴³ Feet of F. Surr. Trin. 23 Eliz.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Hil. 24 Eliz.

⁴⁵ By a Recov. Roll Mich. 19 Jas. I. Robert apparently mortgaged the manor when he came of age to Francis Clarke, his sister's husband, and George Duncombe.

FARNHAM HUNDRED

SEALE

Chester, the son of Henry Chester, son of Henry Chester and Hetty Billinghamurst, sister to William and George above. Henry Chester again settled the estate, devising it to his only children, Henry Chester and Frederick James Chester. Henry Chester the elder died 22 July 1854, the year of his succession. His son Henry Chester died by an accident in the Alps, married but without children, in 1869, and Frederick James became sole heir, his brother having settled his moiety of the estate upon him. Frederick James died 1883, and Henry Morris Chester, his only surviving son, succeeded, and is the present tenant for life under the settlement of his uncle and his father.⁴⁶

chancel with vestry on the north side, a central tower with north and south transepts, a nave of four bays with north aisle, and a south porch. The walls are of local sandstone and the roofs tiled. The interior work is chalk. The tower was originally comparatively low, and terminated in a pointed tiled roof, but in 1860-61 it was raised a storey and a spire added. It contains a clock and six bells.⁴⁸

The original church, which was built in the thirteenth century, consisted of the chancel, central tower, and nave,⁴⁹ and of this date are the lancet windows, one on each side of the chancel; the lower part of that on the north side has been



SEALE CHURCH.

Poyle is now the seat of Mr. Henry Morris Chester. The house is the original manor house dating from the sixteenth century, though it was extensively altered in the nineteenth century by Captain Mangles. It is finely situated on the north side of the Hog's Back range.

CHURCH The church of Seale⁴⁷ stands on a knoll of the lower greensand in the middle of the hamlet. It consists of a

taken away by making a door into the vestry. The window in the south wall of the nave, east of the porch, is probably of the fifteenth century. During the eighteenth century a western gallery was added and a small dormer window inserted in the wall on the west side of the porch. In the following century the church was so much altered and enlarged that it is now difficult to follow the ancient plan. About 1811⁵⁰ a shallow north transept was added,

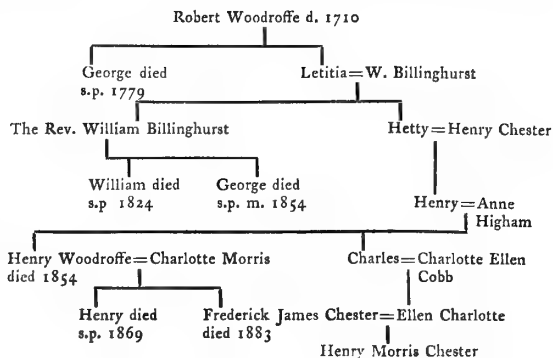
⁴⁶ Information from the pedigree lent to Mr. Manning by George Woodroffe, which is now in possession of Mr. H. M. Chester, and is supplemented from his information. See pedigree opposite.

⁴⁷ The invocation of the church is unknown.

⁴⁸ The bells were recast at Wokingham in 1606 at a cost of £5 11. 9d. for work, £13 6s. 6d. for metal, 10s. for carriage, and two payments of 9s. 6d. and 11s. for entertainment of those who carried them—Churchwardens' Accounts.

⁴⁹ The dimensions in feet of the original church were: chancel, 17 ft. by 18 ft.; nave and tower, 52 ft. by 17 ft.

⁵⁰ The work was carried out at the expense of Edward Beeston Long.



A HISTORY OF SURREY

and a pointed arch leading into it was inserted in the north wall of the tower. In 1860-61 the south wall of the tower was similarly pierced and a south transept added. At the same time the arches under the tower were all apparently rebuilt, and, as before mentioned, the tower raised one storey; a vestry was added on the north side of the chancel; a new east window was inserted; the north aisle was thrown out⁵¹ and separated from the nave by four pointed arches; the gallery and its dormer window were removed; the nave was lengthened about 10 feet,⁵² a new window being inserted on the west of the porch, and the church was re-roofed with tiles throughout.

The font, composed of a square block of chalk with four plain shafts at the angles resting upon a square block of sandstone, is possibly of the date of the original church. The inscription only of some brasses to the Woodroffe family taken off the chancel floor is fixed to the north chancel wall.

The communion plate consists of a silver chalice with the London hall-mark and date 1785, two silver patens with London hall-marks of 1769, a silver flagon with London hall-marks of 1772. The last is inscribed 'The gift of George Woodroffe, Esq., to the parish of Seal 1773.' This Mr. Woodroffe of Poyle was the last in the male line of his family. He died in 1779. This plate has been generally disused since 1875, when Mr. T. M. Kitchin, residing at Poyle, brother to Dr. Kitchin, the Dean of Durham (1903), late Dean of Winchester, gave a silver-gilt chalice and paten and two silver-mounted glass flagons all of date 1873.

At the churchyard gate there used to stand an ale-house kept by the parish clerk, where the congregation refreshed themselves before and after service. This was removed early in the nineteenth century. The old Vicarage house stood in the garden across the road opposite the churchyard gate. It was converted into cottages, and after a considerable interval when there was no vicarage, a new one was built about forty years ago (since 1860). The cottages are now pulled down, and the ground occupied as the vicarage kitchen garden.

The Registers date from 1539, but down to 1596 are copied out in one hand. In March 1724-25, Martin Gruchy, curate, who was also curate of Elsted, returned to the bishop that the population was 250; that the nomination of the curate was in the hands of William Bishop, Esq., of Frensham, lessee of the tithes of Frensham; that there was one resident gentleman, Captain Dutton, occupying the mansion of Mr. Woodroffe of Poyle; no school, no nonconformists, no papists, Smith's charity for the relief of poor persons not receiving parish relief. Smith's charity still exists.⁵³ There is a national school, built in 1850.

There are curious old churchwardens' accounts, dating from 1559, in the custody of Mr. Robert Mowbray Howard, of Broad Oak, Seale. They record the recasting of the bells mentioned above, and many payments for ringing the bells on all possible occasions. In 1619 the result of a renewal of a fear of war appears in 2s. to the constable, for 'bilding the beakon.' In 1636, 15s. 8d. was laid out for putting up the rails in the chancel, when the Communion Table was placed altarwise. In 1639 mats were bought 'for the railles in the chancell'; but mats had been bought in 1611, so that kneeling communion was not a new thing in 1639. In the same year 7s. was paid for seven foxes' heads. In 1688, 8s. was spent on beer to celebrate the birth of the prince, and, fickle people! 7s. 6d. in 1689 to celebrate the coronation of William and Mary. The bells were rung for both events. But the most curious entry is the detailed account of the expenses of the Whitsun Ales in 1592 and 1611. The festivities lasted for five days; lambs, calves, fowls, and beer in floods were consumed. There were 'musitions,' and a 'Vice or Foole'; faggots for bonfires and gunpowder for salutes. Half the population was probably drunk. It is significant that among the rare, sometimes three, sometimes six annual occasions when bread and wine are bought for the Holy Communion, Whitsuntide does not appear. That St. Bartholomew's Day appears among the rare occasions suggests that the lost invocation of the church may be to that Saint.

WAVERLEY

The extra-parochial liberty of Waverley contains 541 acres. It is entirely surrounded by the old parish of Farnham, and resembles it in soil and productions. Crooksbury Hill lies upon the west side of it, and there is a considerable amount of barren heath-land, now planted with conifers.

But the northern branch of the Wey intersects it from north to south, and along the river valley the Cistercians enjoyed the use of an extent of fairly fertile land, though some of it was, and is, liable to floods. The extra-parochial liberty appears to correspond to the original grant to the

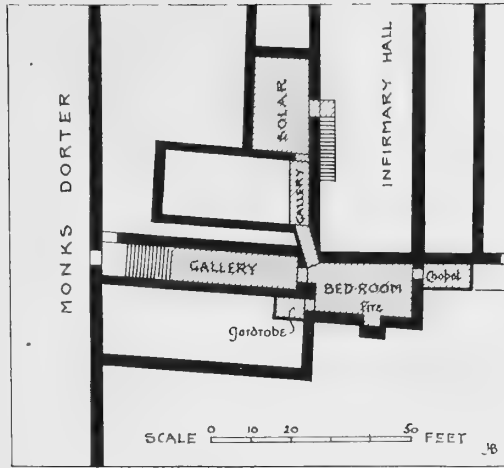
⁵¹ The aisle does not open into the north transept, but a narrow space intervened, which has now been roofed in.

⁵² In pulling down the wall here the remains of an old service book in MS. with red and blue initials, but very fragmentary, were found in a crack

among the stones. Preserved at Seale Rectory.

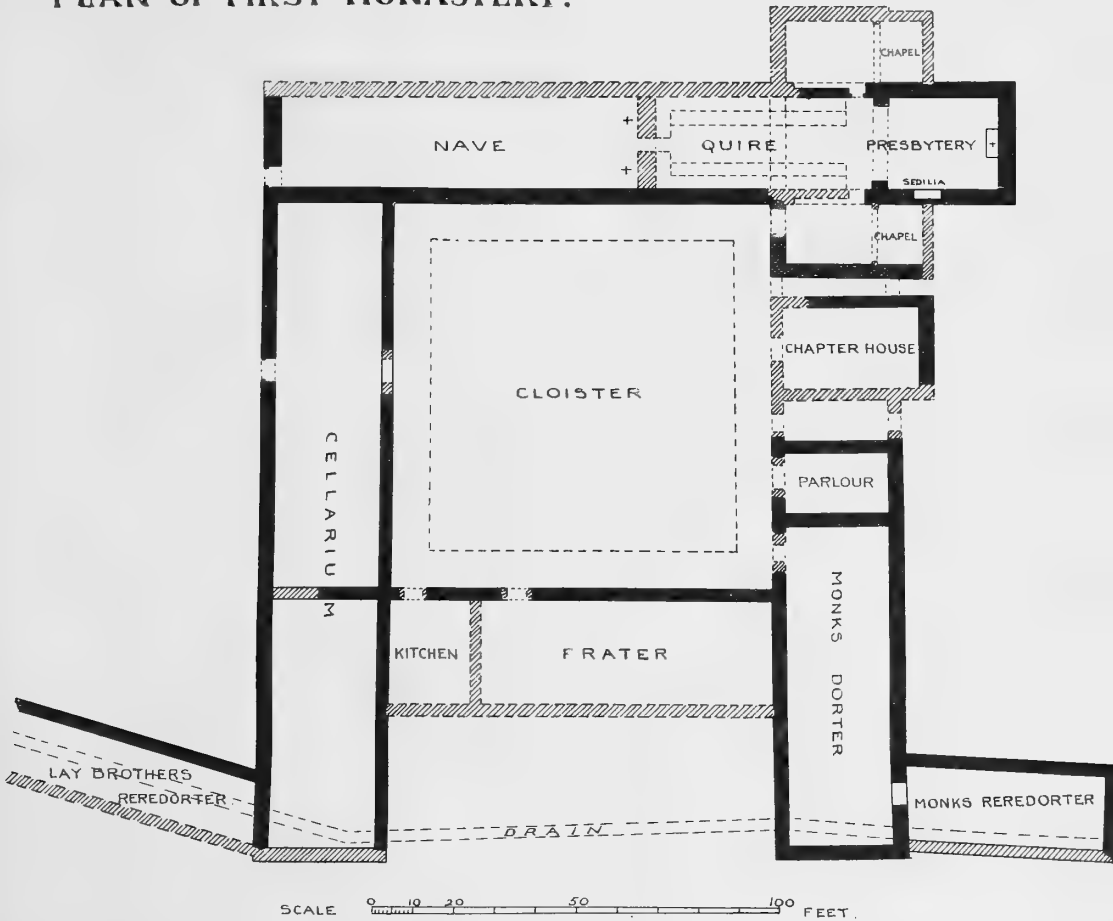
⁵³ There was (Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 179) a tombstone at the entrance to the chancel to Mr. William Minchen, who died 30 April, 1631, recording that he had bequeathed 40s. a year to the poor of Seale, to be

distributed quarterly, in the church porch, charged on his lands at Minning Hatch. All record of this charity and of the land seems to be lost. Mitchen Hall is in part of Godalming parish, which runs north of Peperharow, between Shackelford and Hampton Park, and may be the place.



SUPPOSED ARRANGEMENT OF ABBOT'S LODGING

PLAN OF FIRST MONASTERY.



Waverley Abbey.

Abbey at its foundation,¹ and does not extend across the southern branch of the Wey to the great oak, now, erroneously, called the King's Oak at Tilford.²

The ruins of the Abbey³ are picturesquely placed near the river, after the manner of Cistercian houses. They have suffered much from spoliation. The precinct of the abbey was situated towards the north-east side of the manor, and contained sixty acres, bounded on one side by the river, on the other by a strong wall ten feet high.⁴ In this wall were one or more gatehouses, and attached to the principal gate was a chapel of St. Mary.⁵ The chief buildings of the monastery were on the south side of the precinct near the river, a portion of which was deflected through a culvert passing under the buildings for drainage purposes.

The ruins now standing above ground are not extensive, and are of a scattered nature, but the site they covered when complete, to an extent of about eight acres, has been thoroughly excavated by the Surrey Archaeological Society under the direction of Mr. Harold Brakspear, who is responsible for the plans now published.

The original monastery has left sufficient indications to show most of the plan of the buildings surrounding the cloister, and was upon an unusually small scale. The cloister was 95 feet square, and on the north side was the church, consisting of a short presbytery, transepts with eastern chapels, and a long aisleless nave; on the east side the chapter house, parlour and dorter, with a reredorter; on the south side was the frater and the kitchen; on the west side was the range of building for the use of the lay brothers, with a reredorter. These buildings were of the simplest character; the walls were plastered inside and out, and the floors were considerably lower than the later level. Their small size must have been from the first very inconvenient for the number of monks who so quickly joined the new community. Within fifty years of the foundation an entire rearrangement of the buildings on a larger scale was commenced, and took about a century to complete, the result being the new monastery shown on the plan.

The new church was begun in 1203 by William of Broadwater.⁶ In 1214 the five altars at the east end were dedicated,⁷ followed in 1226 by the two altars in the north transept.⁸ In 1231 those in the south transept were hallowed,⁹ and later in the

same year the monks entered their new quire from the old with great devotion.¹⁰ After this the old church was pulled down, and the new one completed and consecrated in 1278.¹¹ It consisted of an aisled presbytery of five bays having five projecting chapels beyond its east end; ¹² transepts of four bays having three eastern chapels to each; an aisled nave of ten bays, and a central tower.¹³ The high altar was in line with the first pair of piers from the east end. The quire occupied part of the crossing and two bays of the nave, and had a wide stone screen forming the *pulpitum* at the west end with two flanking chapels in the nave. The main entrance was at the west end of the nave, and there was a doorway at the north end of the transept. Another doorway in the first bay of the south aisle of the nave led from the cloister and another in the ninth bay from outside the cloister, chiefly for the use of the monks and lay brothers respectively. The floors were paved with plain and encaustic tiles, of which some patches remain in position. Only three interments were found, one in the middle of the presbytery, opened some years ago, one in the last bay on the north side and one in the seventh bay on the north side of the nave. In digging amongst the ruins about 1720 a heart was found 'preserved in spirits,' which is supposed to have been that of Peter des Roches,¹⁴ Bishop of Winchester, whose body was buried in his cathedral church, and his heart and bowels at Waverley.¹⁵

The cloister, after 1231, was about 124 feet square, and surrounded by alleys having lean-to roofs supported on open arcades towards the court.

The chapter house (*capitulum*), finished about 1194,¹⁶ adjoined the south transept of the church, and was vaulted in one span into three bays. At 17 feet from the east end was found the base of the lectern. Only one interment was discovered inside the building, being that of William, abbot of Ford, who died at Waverley in 1262; ¹⁷ but six coffins were in the cloister alley outside, and all except one were of wood.

The next room to the south was the parlour (*auditorium juxta capitulum*), which still retains part of its barrel vault. Beneath the floor is a length of the lead pipes that conveyed the water to the lavatory. Southward is a small chamber entered from the dorter, which was possibly that of the prior, and above it and the parlour was the treasury.

¹ *V.C.H. Surr.* ii.

² See account of Tilford.

³ The excavations undertaken by the Surrey Archaeological Society from 1897 onwards, by the kind permission of Mrs. Anderson and Mr. Rupert Anderson, the owners, excavations only carried on so successfully by the zeal and care of the Rev. T. S. Cooper, formerly secretary to the society, with the advice of Mr. St. John Hope and Mr. Brakspear, have laid bare the whole scheme of the buildings, and have enabled Mr. Brakspear to construct a plan, with the approximate dates of the various portions shown. The final excavations, in 1904, have revealed the part of the ruins

occupied as a dwelling house after the dissolution.

⁴ John Aubrey, *Natural Hist. and Antiq. of Surr.* (London, 1718), iii. 360.

⁵ Register of Hy. Woodlock, Bishop of Winton, 138.

⁶ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 155.

⁷ *Ibid.* 282.

⁸ *Ibid.* 301.

⁹ *Ibid.* 309.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 310. A new great bell was procured, which suggests the completion of the central tower.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 390.

¹² The whole of the solid walls of the eastern parts were carried on con-

struction arches between the buttresses under the ground level.

¹³ A tower is mentioned, *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 340, in 1248, when a boy fell from its parapet (*tabulata lapidea*) and sustained no injury.

¹⁴ Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surr.* iii. 144, note 5.

¹⁵ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 319.

¹⁶ In this year William Maldut, Baron Hanslape, was buried 'ante ostium capituli,' *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 249, which is hardly likely to have occurred if the building was in course of construction, and its character precludes it being of later date.

¹⁷ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 353.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

The monks' dorter (*dormitorium*) extended from the south side of this chamber 204 feet and, incredible as it may seem owing to the site being subject to frequent floods, was only a few feet above the ground level. It was built at three times. The northern part, of the first work, was extended southward in the middle of the twelfth century, and had a wing to the west connected by a wide opening. It was again enlarged to the south in the thirteenth century, and this addition remains to its original height, having three lancet windows in the south end and two lancets in each side wall.

The reredorter (*dormitorii necessaria*) was part of the first work, and projected from the east side of the dorter. It was widened when the dorter was enlarged the second time, and then had a double rank of seats, back to back, over the drain that passed beneath. About 1340 the old north wall was pulled down and a new wall built on the north side of the drain, again reducing the accommodation to its original size, but further south.

The warming house (*calefactorium*) was on the south side of the cloister next the dorter, and had a wide fireplace in its south wall. The east end was cut off to form a passage from the cloister to a yard on the south. On the south side of this yard adjoining the west wing of the dorter was a chamber, apparently for fuel, connected by a pentice against the dorter wall with the passage through the warming house.

The frater (*refectorium*), one of the earliest rebuilt buildings of the monastery, was placed north and south, and had a dais for the high table at the south end, with seats for the convent along the side walls. On the west side was a projection for the pulpit for the use of the reader at table, and in the north-west corner was found the base of a washing-sink.

The kitchen (*coquina*), westward from the frater, was a small chamber having the fireplace in its east wall, which had been reduced in size at a late, if not post-suppression, date. It had to the south a serving lobby with a hatch to the frater, and a door at the west end into the *cellarium*. There was a yard to the south in which, against the pulpit projection, was a small added building.

The cellarer's building (*cellarium*) originally extended from the old church for at least 170 feet to the south, but the northern part was taken down after 1231 to enlarge the area of the cloister, at which time the southern part was rebuilt. This was of two stories in height, of which the lower was vaulted into nine bays, had marble columns down the middle, and each bay was lighted by a coupled lancet window. The upper floor was the dorter of the lay brothers and approached by a staircase on the west side. Of this building the four southern bays remain tolerably perfect. Projecting from the west wall was originally the reredorter of the lay brothers which was altered more than once, and after about 1150 was connected with the dorter by a bridge.

The monks' infirmary (*infirmatorium*) was a distinct group of buildings to the east of those surrounding the cloister and was connected therewith by a passage against the south side of the chapter house. It consisted of a great hall, placed north and south, having the misericord with two added rooms on the west, and a small cloister on the east. On the north side of the cloister was the chapel, on the east a distinct house, probably for the use of the visiting abbot or very distinguished guests, and on the south the kitchen with a passage to the hall. The infirmary hall consisted of a nave with an eastern aisle originally divided therefrom by wooden posts, but these in a short time were cased up in stone pillars carried up to the roof without arches. There was a room over the drain at the south end of the hall, that was at first intended for a reredorter, either in connection with the infirmary or as an enlargement of that of the monks but put to different uses in later years. After 1339 the northern end of the hall was divided off and three rooms with fireplaces put along the north wall. Each bay of the aisle was also divided into rooms, but at a later period.

The meat frater,¹⁸ or misericord (*misericordia*), built about 1340, was placed east and west and entered from the hall by a small doorway. After the aisle of the hall was made into rooms another doorway was formed in the south-east angle with a skew passage into the room at the end of the hall, which then became a serving passage from the kitchen, the food being taken before through a doorway at the end of the aisle and across the hall. Of the same date as the misericord are two chambers on the west side of the hall, the one has a seat against its east and north walls, and the other an inserted fireplace and tiled floor.

The infirmary cloister, entered from the hall by a doorway in the second bay from the north, was originally surrounded by alleys on all sides, but that on the west was quickly removed. Immediately outside the door from the hall was the base of a conduit, to which the water was taken before being dispersed to the various offices, probably erected in 1215 when the new water supply was brought to the abbey.¹⁹ Slightly to the south was a small room, with an oven, built against the hall wall. The infirmary chapel, entered directly from the hall as well as by a doorway from the cloister, was hallowed in 1201.²⁰ It became ruinous and unfit for burial in 1339,²¹ but was doubtless repaired shortly after, to which repairs may be ascribed most of the alterations of the infirmary. On the north side was a locker that had been made into a doorway to a small room, with a fireplace, on the north.

The visiting abbot's lodging was a distinct house of two stories on the west side of the cloister. It was much ruined but showed indications of later alterations. There was a small square room and an added wardrobe at the south end. Eastward was a large walled garden.

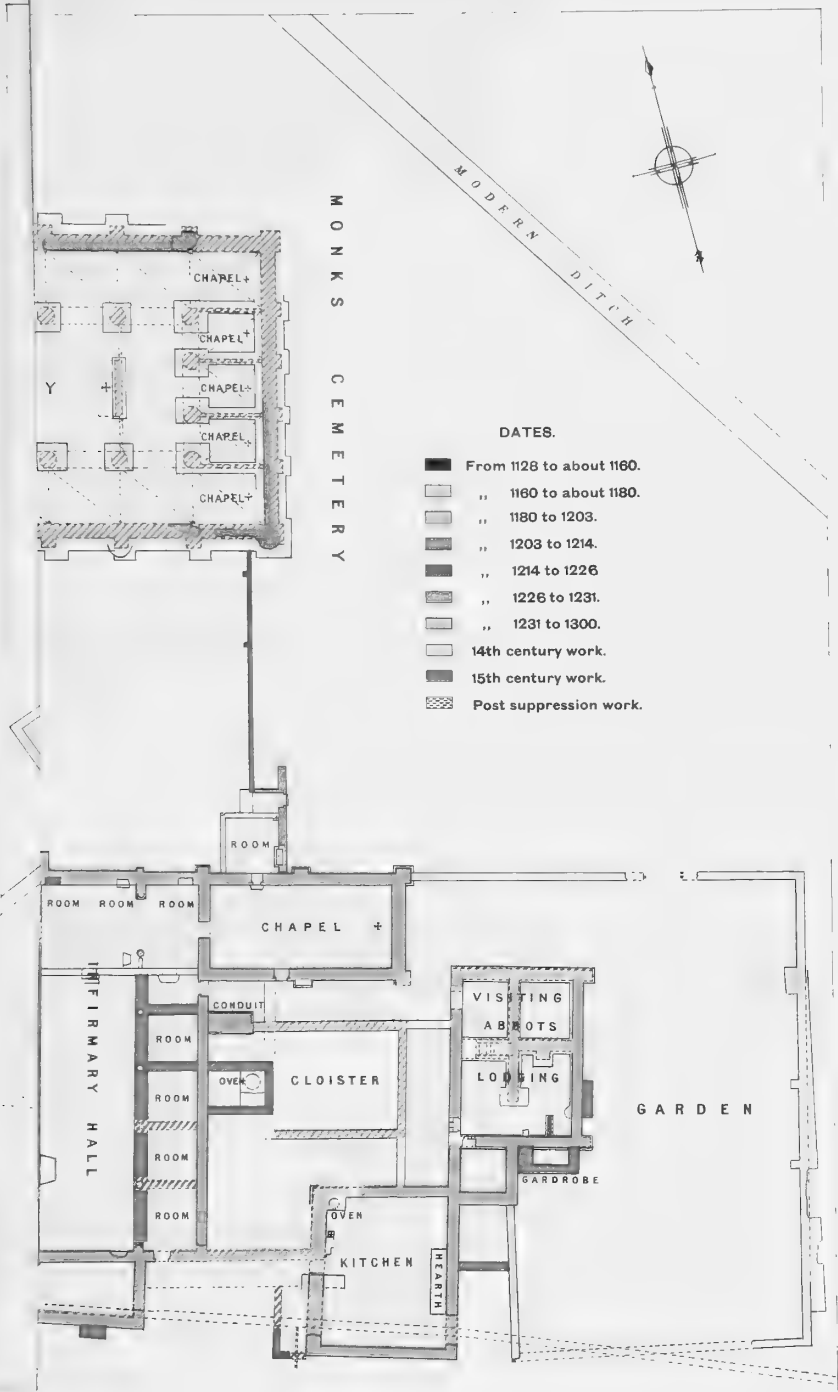
¹⁸ Called at Clairvaux '*la refectoir gras*,' for that the religious might eat

meat there on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays.

¹⁹ *Ann. Mon.* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 284.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 253.

²¹ Register of Adam de Orilton, Bishop of Winton, i. 71.



MONKS CEMETERY

DATES.

- From 1128 to about 1160.
- " 1160 to about 1180.
- " 1180 to 1203.
- " 1203 to 1214.
- " 1214 to 1226.
- " 1226 to 1231.
- " 1231 to 1300.
- 14th century work.
- 15th century work.
- Post suppression work.

MONKS INFIRMARY

The infirmary kitchen occupied half the south side of the cloister and extended over the drain. There was a large brick hearth against the east wall, and an oven in the north-west angle. A doorway in the middle of the west wall led by a passage to the infirmary hall.

The abbot's lodging was apparently arranged somewhat in the scattered manner as at Fountains. The misericord served as his hall, and outside the door of it was a block of masonry forming the base of a staircase that led to a room, over that to the north of the misericord, which would be the solar. There was a gallery across the east end of this misericord, of which the stone bases of the wooden supports were found, that connected the solar with a room over the chamber at the south end of the infirmary hall. This room would be the abbot's bedroom, and had an added fireplace on the south side, and probably a wardrobe over the pit of the reredorter on the west with a small oratory over the kitchen passage on the east. The site of the first reredorter was made into a passage to connect the lodging with the dorter.

The lay brothers' infirmary occupied a detached position to the west of the *cellarium*. It was at first a hall of five bays having aisles separated by arcades resting on circular columns. There was a staircase in the north-west corner leading to a gallery over the aisle, from which the reredorter that ran the full length of the hall was entered, and at its east end was a bridge connecting with the lay brothers' dorter.

About 1190 the west end was removed and the hall was lengthened three bays westward. Northward of this infirmary were a number of fragmentary foundations of uncertain nature up to a wall that formed the south side of a large court on the west side of the cloister. On the east side of the court against the cloister wall was a wide passage from the stairs of the lay brothers' dorter to a doorway into the church.

The superior guesthouse, dating from about 1190, projects at an angle from the west end of the later church, from which it was separated by an irregular-shaped chamber, and formed the north side of the court. It was of two storeys in height, the lower of which was vaulted in four bays supported on round columns in the middle, and entered by a wide doorway in the third bay on the south. There was a contemporary building at the west end in the south-west angle of which was a pit of a wardrobe from the floor above. On the south side was a passage in connection with that along the east side of the court. The west side of the court was enclosed by a late narrow building having a gateway in the centre, that may have been stabling for the guests' horses.

The brewhouse, a short distance to the west of the court, and partly of twelfth century date, consisted of a long hall, vaulted with three bays in the thirteenth century, a large steeping vat on the north-west side, and other chambers difficult to elucidate.

Northward of this block was another large group of buildings of thirteenth century date, which was perhaps the inferior guesthouse and secular infirmary, and consisted of a small hall placed east and west with a great hall to the north. To the west was a large building with aisles divided by wooden posts, which was subdivided in later times and a small oven was built on the north side. To the north of these buildings was a great barn or garner placed north and south, which had a wide entrance on the east. On the east side at the south end was a small building of twelfth century date having a fireplace on the east side and a doorway on the north. All these buildings, as well as the brewhouse, showed signs, by the extensive use of bricks and other evidence, of having been converted to different uses after the suppression. There were also remains of later work having brick quoins, to the north and west of the church, and the whole group may have formed part of a house before the present mansion was built.

From 1562 to 1568, when Sir William More was building his new house at Loseley near Guildford, the house now there, he brought many waggon-loads of material from Waverley, which then belonged to his friend Lord Montague.²² As a part of the abbey buildings was occupied as a dwelling house, this must have been brought from the church, and from those monastic buildings which were not suitable for domestic use. The fact is recorded in the accounts for the building, preserved at Loseley. It would be interesting to know what roads were good enough to bear the transport of building stone so far. The stones must almost certainly have been dragged to Farnham and up the Hog's Back, whence only Loseley was accessible, from the north, by what was supposed to be a carriage road up to 100 years ago. The direct route across country is not likely to have been possible. In defence of Lord Montague it may be urged that the total value of the Waverley lands at the dissolution, well under £200 a year, was scarcely sufficient to keep up the whole of the large buildings and to leave any profit to speak of. This was not the only spoliation of the remains; a great deal more has disappeared than can be so accounted for. The building of the later house, not the present one, in the eighteenth century, probably disposed of some more, and it was a convenient quarry for the whole neighbourhood. Aubrey, in his *Perambulation*, clearly saw more remains above ground than at present exist. He describes the walls of a fair church, a chapel, cloisters and a hall, as remaining in ruins, and rooms on the first floor with glass in the windows still, apparently habitable.

After the dissolution of *WAVERLEY MANOR* in 1536, Sir William Fitz William, subsequently Earl of Southampton, received on 20 July, 1537, a grant of the site of the lately dissolved abbey with the manor, the church and the churchyard, all messuages and lands and the rectory²³ and advowson of the same.²⁴

²² Inq. p.m. 3 Edw. VI. lxxxix. 143. Anthony, created Lord Montague in 1554 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 2 Mary,

p. 63) son and heir of Sir Anthony Browne.

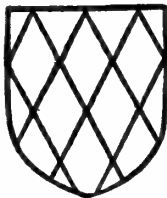
²³ 'Rectory' because Waverley was

extra-parochial and the abbey took the tithes from the estate.

²⁴ Pat. 23 Hen. VIII. pt. 2, MS. 9, 10.

A HISTORY OF SURREY

In 1543 the earl died, leaving the estate to his half-brother Sir Anthony Browne,²⁵ who died in 1549, leaving it to his son Anthony,²⁶ created Viscount Montague in 1554.²⁷ During the tenure of the latter the great dilapidation of the building began, as narrated above, but the place was still habitable, and there is no evidence of any new house having been then built out of the ruins. Benedict Jay, the keeper of the Queen's woodyard, who held the manor of Frensham Beale from 1571 to 1583, lived, possibly from 1583 until his death in 1586, in 'an Abbey called Waverley.'



FITZWILLIAM. *Lozenge silver and gules; sometimes borne with a molet for difference.*

After his death Richard Harding dwelt in the said abbey, and after him William Pyke,²⁸ a suspected recusant and a person of bad repute who was accused in 1590 of having taken 'many and great carpes' out of Frensham Ponds.²⁹ In 1592 Lord Montague died, and was succeeded by his grandson Anthony, second Viscount Montague,³⁰ who in 1609 in conjunction with his brother John Browne and Sir Edward Bellingham conveyed the estate of Waverley to John Coldham.³¹ This was evidently the final step in the transaction.

The late Viscount had died seized of Waverley among various other estates in Hampshire, Sussex and Surrey.³² The greater part of his whole possessions passed to his grandson Anthony and his wife Jane. At the same time some of the manors went to his own wife Magdalen for her lifetime, others, probably including Waverley, though this is not definitely stated in the inquisition, passed to his son Anthony's widow Mary, mother of the new Viscount, for her lifetime, with remainders, not stated in the inquisition, according to the will of the late Viscount. The possibility is that either by some special clause in the will, or by some special concession of the heir, Waverley passed to Mary's second son John Browne, who evidently held it in 1606. For in that year John Browne conveyed the estate to Sir Edward Bellingham of New Timber, Sussex.³³ On 2 February, 1609, Sir Edward Bellingham conveyed the same to John Coldham in consideration of £2,800.³⁴ In the same year by a recovery John Coldham's title was assured against any right of John Browne.³⁵ Then in the same year, every one who had any pretension to a right in the estate, the Viscount, Edward Bellingham and John Browne, joined in conveying the same to John Coldham, whose title was thus doubly secured. In 1618 a further

transaction was made by which John Coldham obtained a rent of £25 out of the Manor of Waverley. This rent had evidently been retained by John Browne, and had passed to his son William.³⁶ In 1623 John Coldham held Waverley,³⁷ and the estate remained in the Coldham family for four generations. In 1638 Richard Coldham, son and successor of John, died seized of the site and capital messuage of the late abbey of Waverley, leaving his son Richard as his heir.³⁸ In 1691 George Coldham 'of Waverley' died and was buried at Frensham.³⁹



COLDHAM. *Anure a molet silver pierced gulet.*

On 13 September 1720 Mary, widow of George Coldham, and Peter her son, sold the estate for £10,000 to John Aislabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Aislabie was deeply implicated in the South Sea Bubble and resigned the Chancellorship in January 1721. On 8 March following he was expelled from the House of Commons and his name removed from the list of the Privy Council. An Act was passed on 25 July confiscating his property (except that acquired before 1 October 1718) for the benefit of the sufferers by the South Sea failure. By some means Waverley did not fall within the terms of this Act; possibly Aislabie saw difficulties ahead; however, he appears to have claimed that as this deed of sale had not been enrolled in Chancery, it was void. By a second deed dated 1 April 1725, reciting the former one, the estate was again conveyed to him and his heirs⁴⁰ for the before mentioned price. Peter Coldham appears from Bishop Willis' Visitation Articles to have been resident in the parish in March 1725, so that it is possible that Aislabie did not enter upon possession till the date of the second conveyance after his difficulties with regard to the South Sea Bubble were over.

Bishop Pococke, writing in 1754,⁴¹ says of Waverley, 'The estate was Mr. Aislabie's, who built the house, and made the plantations and other improvements; it was then Mr. Child's and now belongs to Mr. Hunter. . . . Mr. Hunter has added wings to the house. The house is a fine piece of architecture of Campbell's, on one of Palladio's designs.' As Campbell died in 1729, Mr. Aislabie must have begun rebuilding immediately after the completion or confirmation of his title in 1725. Manning and Bray erroneously attributed the building of the house to Mr. Hunter.⁴²

Either Aislabie or his executors sold the estate to a Mr. Child,⁴³ whose son or nephew Charles sold it to Thomas Orby Hunter in 1747.⁴⁴ Mr. Orby

²⁵ Inq. p.m. 36 Hen. VIII. C. vol. lxx. No. 29.

²⁶ Ibid. 3 Edw. VI. lxxxix. 143.

²⁷ *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 2 Mary, p. 63.

²⁸ Loseley MS. 7 March 1591.

²⁹ Ibid. 9 March 1590.

³⁰ Inq. p.m. 35 Eliz. ccxxv. 110.

³¹ Feet of F. Surr. Hil. 6 Jas. I.

³² Inq. p.m. 35 Eliz. ccxxv. 110.

³³ Com. Pleas. Recov. R. Hil. 6 Jas.

I. m. 17d. Indenture made on 12 Feb.

3 Jas. I. quoted.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid. m. 99.

³⁶ Feet of F. Surr. Mich. 16 Jas. I.

Com. Pleas. Deeds Enr. Mich. 16 Jas. I.

³⁷ *Surr. Visit.* 1623 (Harl. Soc.).

³⁸ Inq. p.m. 14 Chas. I. ccclxxxviii.

151.

³⁹ Aubrey, iii. 363, quoting the inscription on his tomb.

⁴⁰ Close, No. 5294.

⁴¹ *Travels in Engl.* ii. 163. Camden

Soc. 1889.

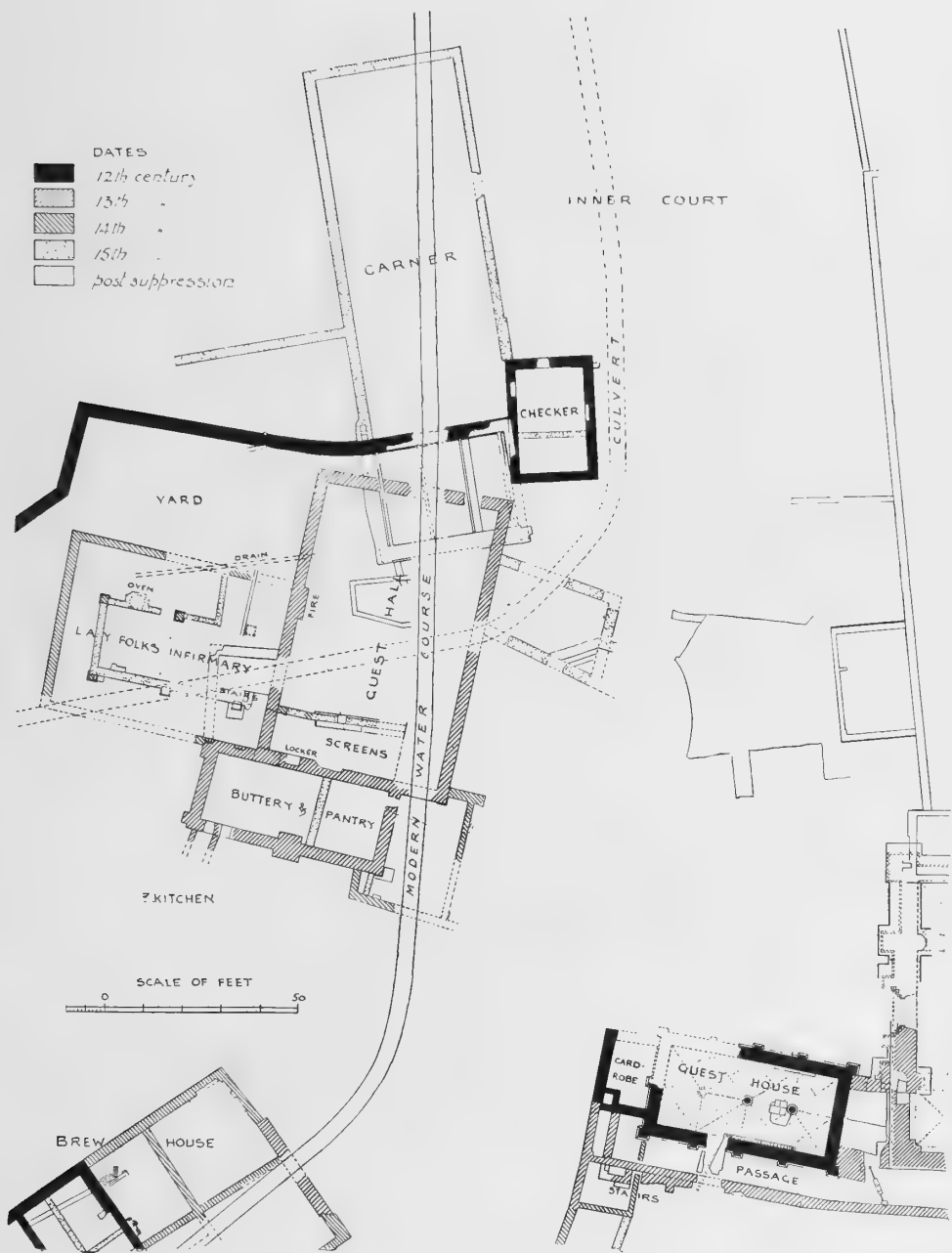
⁴² Manning and Bray, iii. 152.

⁴³ Ibid. Mr. Child was the son of

John Child, three times mayor of Guild-

ford, 1676-81-91.

⁴⁴ Ibid.



WAVERLEY ABBEY : PLAN OF GUEST HOUSES.



Hunter, who built a house on the present site, died in 1770, and in 1771 his son Charles sold the estate to the trustees of Sir Robert Rich, bart., deceased.⁴⁶ His son, Sir Robert Rich, died in 1786. It was during his lifetime that Cobbett worked on the place as a boy, and has recorded how he ate his strawberries when supposed to be gathering them for his master. Sir Robert added wings to the house, using the ruins of the abbey. He was succeeded by his daughter Mary Frances, wife of the Rev. Charles Bostock, who changed his name to Rich and was created a baronet in 1792.⁴⁶ In 1796 they sold the estate to John Thomson, who sold it to George Thomas Nicholson in 1832.⁴⁷ Sir Walter Scott made the acquaintance of the Nicholsons, but subsequently to the publication of *Waverley*, the name of which was suggested by the *Annals*, not by the place itself, which Mr. Nicholson bought but a few months before Sir Walter's death. In 1833 Mr. Nicholson nearly rebuilt the house, which had been damaged by a fire. The estate passed, again by purchase, in 1870, to the Anderson family.⁴⁸ Mr. Rupert Anderson is the present owner.



RICH. *Gules a chevron between three crosslets gold.*

As the charities refer to the ancient parish of Farnham it is more convenient to group them together here.

In 1619, Andrew Windsor, of Bentley, Hants, built the houses of the Holy Trinity for the accommodation of eight poor, honest, old, impotent persons, and endowed the inmates with one shilling and eightpence a week each, paid out of the land belonging to him at Burwascot in Berkshire, often called Buscott, near Lechlade. This was the foundation of the Windsor almshouses. During his lifetime the money was paid, but after his death, on 4 October, 1621, his brother Peter disputed the gift and withheld the money. A commission for charitable uses was sued out, and an inquisition was held on 8 September, 1624, when the gift was decreed to be good. Peter Windsor still held out for a time, but was overruled, and the Charity placed in the hands of trustees. As these died and the Civil War troubles intervened, the Charity seems to have lapsed, but was reorganized in 1673, in pursuance of a decree made by the Commissioners for Charitable Uses,⁴⁹ and the trust has since been duly discharged.

In 1771 Dr. Butler, Archdeacon of Surrey, gave £8 a year out of his farm of Westcourt, Binsted, Hants, towards the same almshouses.

In 1789 Mrs. Mary Gere gave 30s. a year to the inmates of the almshouses to be paid on 1 March, from money in the funds.

In 1792 Mrs. Mary Smither, in pursuance of the wishes of her late husband, Mr. Stephen Smither, gave £500 to the almshouses.

In 1806 Samuel Turner, and in 1819 Daniel Bristow made small benefactions to the same almshouses.

The inmates now receive seven shillings a week, and £2 at Christmas for coals. The almshouses are in Castle Street.

In 1623 John Byworth left 10s. to the officiating clergyman for a sermon on All Saints' Day, 10s. to the poor who listened to the said sermon, 6s. 8d. to the schoolmaster for a sermon to be delivered a month after All Saints, 3s. 4d. to the parish clerk to wash his tombstone, 10s. to the repairs of the church and school, 13s. 4d. to the poor in the almshouses near the parish church. These almshouses were formerly the parish workhouse, now replaced by the Union workhouse in Aldershot Road.

In 1650 Henry Smith gave £1,000, which was laid out in 1653 in land at Faringdon in Hampshire and Ash in Surrey, to the poor of good character, for the relief of aged and infirm persons, the support of large families, the marriage of poor girls and the apprenticeship of boys. This was a gift in his lifetime, and is not therefore administered by the Smith Trustees who manage the benefactions made under his will to nearly all the parishes in Surrey. It was apparently however administered by trustees till about 1689, when it was made over to the town.⁵⁰

In 1656 Henry Vernon gave 20s. a year to the poor to be distributed in bread on St. Thomas' Day, charged on the houses occupied by the schoolmaster.

In 1659 Abraham Thornton and Margaret his wife gave land worth 40s. a year, called Body Acre at Runwick, to the poor of the old almshouses.

In 1660 Mrs. Hayes gave 20s. a year to the poor in bread distributed on St. Matthew's Day, charged upon the Bush Inn.

In 1670 Richard Fox gave 20s. to the poor in bread distributed on Candlemas Day, charged on his house at Farnham.

In 1688 and 1697 James and Robert Mason gave 40s. to the poor in bread distributed on St. Matthias' Day, charged upon a house in Farnham.

In 1722 Mrs. Mary Lintott gave 20s. to the poor in bread distributed on 1 June, 20s. to the Vicar for a sermon on St. Matthew's Day, and 20s. to the poor in bread for listening to the said sermon, charged upon her land at Weyborne.

In 1722 John Stanton gave 20s. to the poor near his late dwelling-place to be distributed in bread on Christmas Eve.

In 1731 George Hall left the interest of £300 to be applied to the apprenticing of poor boys; but if a charity school were erected the said sum was to be diverted entirely to that object.

In 1734 John Lampard left £5 to be distributed in bread and beef to the poor of Badshot on 19

⁴⁶ Manning and Bray, iii. 152.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Information, Mr. Rupert Anderson of Waverley.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Charity Com. Rep. xii. 589.

⁵⁰ See the *Smith Charities* by W. Bray, p. 28 (London, 1800).

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January, and £4 for putting poor children to school, charged on his house at Badshot.

In 1760 John Baker left the interest of £575 in the funds to provide 20s. to the Minister for a sermon, 10s. to the clerk, 5s. to the sexton, £6 for teaching six poor boys to read and write, and the remainder, if any, in bread to the poor.

In 1762 Sir Charles Vernon left 20s. a year to provide sixty wheaten loaves for the poor to be distributed at the north porch of the church on St. Andrew's Day, the recipients to be parishioners not receiving parish relief, charged upon a house in Farnham.

In 1799 Thomas Baker left £200 to be distributed in annual instalments of £20, divided equally among four reduced tradesmen of Farnham, the distribution to be first made on 27 February, 1800, and continued for the nine following years.

These benefactions, together with some to the school mentioned in their place, and to Windsor's almshouses, and £50 given in 1783 by Mrs. Catherine Eyre to buy a communion cloth and ornaments for the church, are recorded by the churchwardens in three lists, made in 1729, and after 1783 and after 1799 respectively, and preserved in the church. The various charities now produce about £160 a year for the parish.

Sampson's almshouses were founded by Robert Sampson of Farnham, who by indenture dated 9 August, 1854 (enrolled in Chancery 6 September, 1854), granted to trustees a piece of land containing 8 perches near Mead Lane, Farnham, part of a meadow called Pickard's Mead, in trust, for the land and the five messuages thereon to be used as an almshouse for poor and deserving members of the Church of England, the Vicar of Farnham for the time being to be always one of the trustees. He further gave £53 16s. 8d. consols in trust, the income to be applied to repairs and charges in respect of the said messuages.

Mr. George Trimmer by his will, proved 5 January, 1893, gave £15,000 to trustees for a cottage hospital, but not to provide a site. A site on the main road from Farnham to Aldershot was given and conveyed by deed dated 22 June, 1893. The trusts of the land were settled and provision made for the management of the hospital by deed dated 21 December 1893.⁵¹

In West Street are eight almshouses known as Trimmer's almshouses, erected under the will of Mr. Trimmer. The scheme for their administration has not yet come before the Charity Commissioners.

⁵¹ Information from C. A. Cook, Esq., Charity Commissioner.

THE NORTH-WEST VIEW OF WAVERLEY-ABBY, IN THE COUNTY OF SURRY.



Charles Child & Co.
 Prospect sketched by the said *Child*
 and engraven by *W. Baskett*
 at the *Printers*



THIS great Cathedral Abbey in England was founded in the year 1083 by King William the First, who gave it to the monks of the Order of St. Benedict. The church was finished in the year 1120, and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was the largest church in England at that time, and was the seat of the Bishop of Winchester. The ruins of this abbey are now a great curiosity to the public, and are well worth a visit. The church was destroyed by fire in the year 1534, and the ruins were left to decay. The present view was taken in the year 1737, and is a true and accurate representation of the state of the ruins at that time.

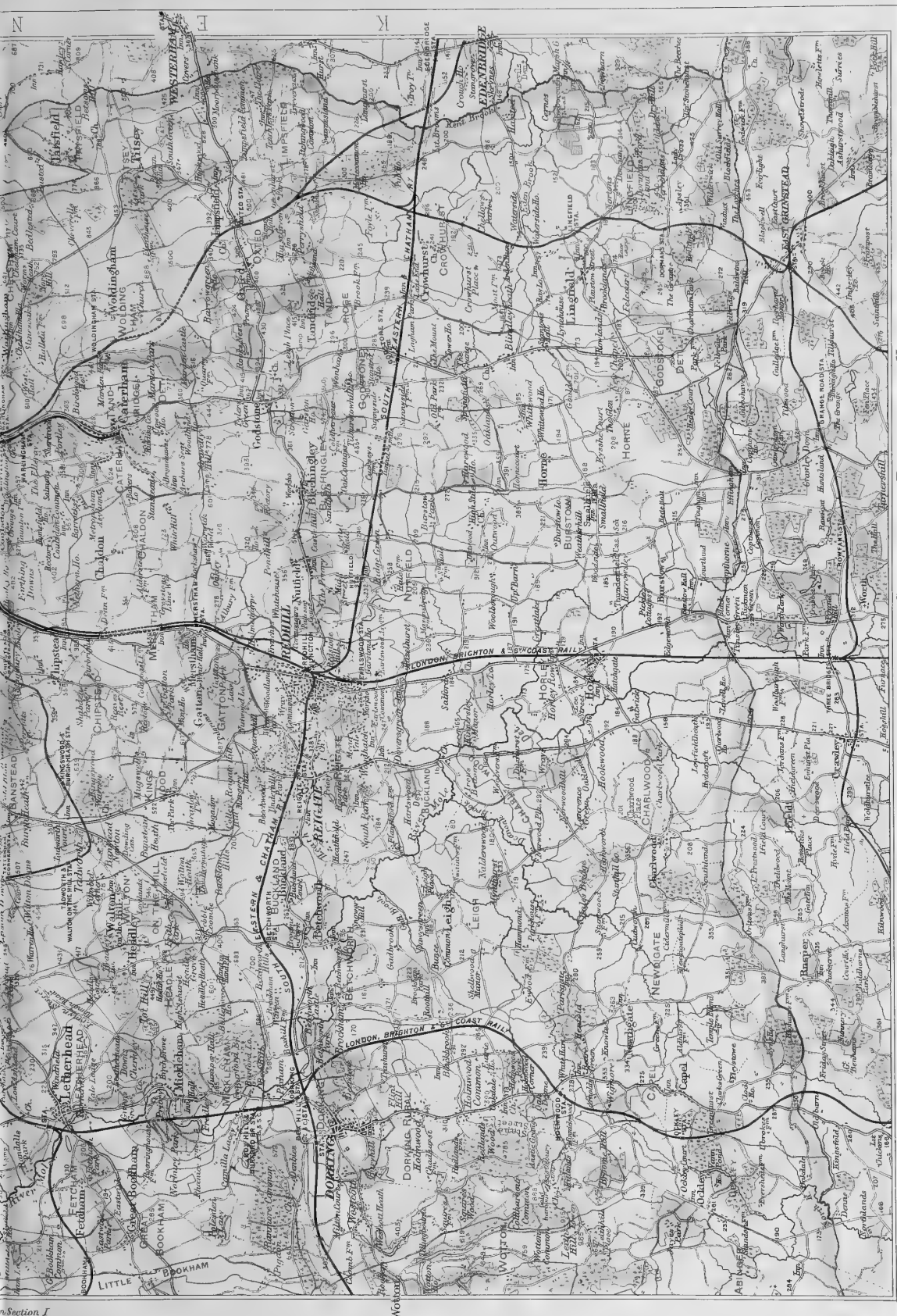
WAVERLEY ABBEY: VIEW OF THE RUINS IN 1737.



WAVERLEY ABBEY: SUB-VAULT OF CELLARIUM.







THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND
 Names and Boundaries of Parishes are printed in Red
 Scale 2 Miles to an Inch
 Main Driving Roads
 Section I
 The following geographical features

