Surrey History



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SURREY LOCAL HISTORY COMMITTEE SURREY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Chairman: Janet Balchin, Hullbrook Cottage, Cranleigh Road, Ewhurst, Surrey, GU6 7RN

The Surrey Local History Committee, which is a committee of the Surrey Archaeological Society, exists to foster an interest in the history of Surrey. It does this by encouraging local history societies within the county, by the organisation of meetings, by publication and also by co-operation with other bodies, to discover the past and to maintain the heritage of Surrey, in history, architecture, landscape and archaeology.

The meetings organised by the Committee include a one-day autumn Symposium on a local history theme, a half-day spring meeting on one specialised topic and a summer visit to a particular village or town in Surrey. The Committee produces *Surrey History* annually and other booklets from time to time. See below for contact details for publication enquiries.

Membership of the Surrey Archaeological Society, our parent body, by local history societies, will help the Committee to express with authority the importance of local history in the county. Individuals and groups belonging to member societies may attend the Symposium and other meetings at a reduced fee and obtain publications at a special rate from the Hon. Secretary. Member societies may also exhibit at the Symposium and sell their publications there.

Members of the Surrey Archaeological Society receive *Surrey History* free as part of their membership entitlement. Alternatively, copies may be purchased from the Surrey History Centre in Woking. Membership enquiries for Surrey Archaeological Society should be made to the Hon. Secretary, Castle Arch, Guildford, GU1 3SX.

Papers for publication in *Surrey History* are welcome and intending authors are invited to consult the editor for advice before proceeding. Enquiries should be sent to the Hon. Editor, *Surrey History*, Surrey Archaeological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford, GU1 3SX. Tel/fax: 01483 532454.

Surrey Local History Committee's close association with Phillimore over many years has ended with changes in their organisation and a new format has been adopted with a change of printer. Instead of 5 annual issues to a volume there will now be one volume per year, starting with Volume VIII 2009.

SURREY HISTORY VOLUME XI 2012

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Surrey Local History Committee desires it to be known that it does not necessarily concur with the statements or opinions expressed herein.

Front cover illustration: Portrait of Sir John Glynne and Family, reproduced courtesy of the Honourable Society of Lincolns Inn (see page 28).

Back cover illustration: Merrow looking east by E Hassell, 1820, reproduced courtesy of Surrey History Centre (see page 41).

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SIR FREDERICK EVELYN'S PROPOSED GUNPOWDER MILL AT ABINGER HAMMER

Alan Crocker

Introduction

A survey was carried out in 1988 of earthworks, which appeared at first to be the remains of a deserted medieval village, located to the south of the forge at Abinger Hammer in the Tillingbourne Valley. However, it was soon realised that the features were water-related, involving a former canalised water-course and two other leats. It was considered that several functions were represented including water meadows, increasing the supply of water to the hammer pond and providing water power for a proposed gunpowder mill. Documentary information for this mill was discovered in the form of a plan of the proposed site, Quarter Session reports of 1789 and a Surrey Order Book of 1790–93. The land on which the mill was to be established was the property of Sir Frederick Evelyn Bart. of Wotton, a descendant of George Evelyn who introduced major improvements in the production of gunpowder into England and held the monopoly of its manufacture in the late 16th and early 17th century.

At a lecture on the life and works of the eminent engineer John Rennie, given by Peter Cross-Rudkin in November 2011,⁴ it was reported that Rennie had carried out the survey and prepared the plan for the proposed gunpowder mill. This prompted further research on the project and the results are reported and discussed in the present paper.

The Evelyn Family

George Evelyn, together with Thomas Reve, was granted the Rectory of Ewell in 1560 and the Manor of Long Ditton was conveyed to him in 1567. With his sons he had gunpowder mills in Surrey on the Hogsmill at Tolworth, on the Gibbs Brook near Godstone and on the Tillingbourne near Wotton.⁵ The locations of the sites of these mills and of other places mentioned in the text are shown in figure 1. George's grandson, John Evelyn the diarist, in a letter prefixed to Aubrey's *History of Surrey*,⁶ states that on the watercourses near his brother's house at Wotton there were many powder mills. Indeed, the family held the monopoly for most of England for collecting material, mainly pigeon droppings, from which to produce saltpetre, the principal ingredient of gunpowder. However, by 1637 their involvement in the industry had ceased and Chilworth mill, established by the East India Company in 1626, had become the only gunpowder manufacturing site in the Tillingbourne valley.⁷

The Evelyn purchases of the Wotton estate took place from 1579 to 1629 and comprised the Manor of Wotton and thereafter five other manors, some in

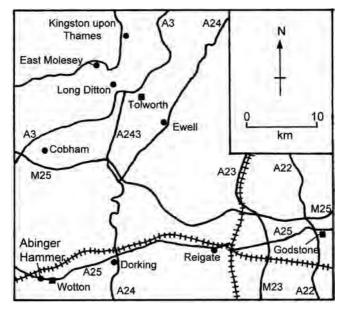


Figure 1 The sites of George Evelyn's gunpowder mills in Surrey (square symbols) and of other places mentioned in the text (circular symbols).

moieties, namely Abinger, Paddington Dean or Bray, Paddington Pembroke, Westcott and Westland. The Evelyn family continued to own these estates and after a further four generations, all named John, Frederick Evelyn, aged 33, inherited the property in 1767.89 Twenty-two years later it seems that he took the opportunity to try to reintroduce gunpowder manufacture on to the family estate. His portrait by an unknown artist is shown in figure 2.

Abinger Hammer

When an iron forge was established on the Tillingbourne in Paddington manor shortly before 1557 its noisy trip-hammer resulted in the place being called first Shere Hammer and then Abinger Hammer. This was the most northerly of all the Wealden iron industry sites and was a water-powered finery forge, used for converting brittle cast iron produced by blast furnaces into malleable wrought iron. This was done by striking the sows or pigs of cast iron up to about 150 times a minute to reduce their carbon content from about 4 per cent to 0.1 per cent. The forge had quite a large mill pond, the dam or bay being about 150m long and at least 2m high, and there were two or three waterwheels. During the 18th century, the charcoal fuelled smelting furnaces of the Weald went out of use because of the success of the coke fired furnaces elsewhere in the country and Abinger Hammer closed in 1787. The last owner was Edward Raby, a relative



Figure 2 Portrait of Sir Frederick Evelyn, Bart. by an unknown artist. From a private collection.

of Alexander Raby, the very successful ironmaster at Downside Mill, Cobham and Coxes Lock Mill, Addlestone.¹³ So, in 1787, Sir Frederick Evelyn had the opportunity to redevelop the site of the forge and decided to make use of it as a gunpowder mill, returning to his family's major business interest over 150 years earlier. The eminent Scottish engineer and millwright John Rennie was employed to survey the area and develop plans for the new mill. Incidentally, the manor name Paddington survives in the names of the farm and former corn mill just upstream from the hammer pond.¹⁴

John Rennie

Rennie was born in 1761 at Phantassie farmstead near East Linton about 37km east of Edinburgh Castle. He was the youngest son in a family of nine children and his father died in 1766. At the age of 6, John displayed a clear inclination for mechanical pursuits and he started to visit the nearby workshop of Andrew Meikle, an outstanding millwright. He attended the local school until he was 12 but then went to work with Meikle full-time for two years before entering Dunbar High School, on the coast 16km east of East Linton. He was tutored by Mr Gibson, the mathematics teacher, but when Rennie was 17 Gibson left to become the Rector of Perth High School. Rennie was so highly thought of that he was offered Gibson's position at Dunbar but he declined, as he wanted to pursue his chosen career as an engineer and millwright.

Back at home Rennie continued to study mathematics, mechanics and natural philosophy and to undertake work both for Meikle and on his own account. Then in 1780 he entered Edinburgh University to study Natural Philosophy

and Chemistry, supporting himself by undertaking millwrighting projects in the summer vacations. He graduated in 1783 and went on a tour of manufacturing districts of England and in particular visited Boulton and Watt's Soho foundry in Birmingham, greatly impressing and befriending James Watt. The Company had recently received an order to design and equip Albion Mills, an exceptionally large new steam-powered corn mill at the south end of Blackfriars Bridge in London and in 1784 Rennie was employed to supervise the project which took four years. It had 22 pairs of mill stones powered, together with a large amount of other machinery, by two 50hp steam engines and was regarded as one of the greatest mechanical wonders of the day. It is shown in the engraving of figure 3 and was, of course, in historic Surrey. However, in 1791 the mill was destroyed by fire, suspected arson, and not rebuilt. A portrait of John Rennie, painted in 1810 by Sir Henry Raeburn, is shown in figure 4.

Gunpowder Manufacture

In order to appreciate the strengths and possible weaknesses of Rennie's plan, a description of the buildings typically present on gunpowder manufacturing sites will now be given. Gunpowder is a mixture of saltpetre (potassium nitrate), charcoal and sulphur, usually in the proportions 75:15:10. Mills normally had separate buildings for preparing, refining and pulverising each of these ingredients and another for mixing them together. The mixture was then incorporated by mechanically grinding and crushing the ingredients together, with a small



Figure 3 Engraving of John Rennie's Albion Mills on the south bank of the Thames in Lambeth (see Note 15, p.138).

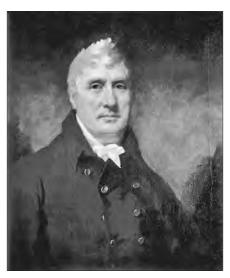


Figure 4 Portrait of John Rennie, painted in 1810 by Sir Henry Raeburn. *From Wikipedia file: John_Rennie_(Engineer).jpg*.

amount of water, into a damp cake. In the medieval period this was done by hand using a mortar and pestle but animal and water power were introduced in England in the 1540s, at first to operate stamps but in the 18th century edge runner mills were introduced. The cake was then broken up and pressed into hard slate-like sheets, granulated or 'corned' into grains of various sizes depending on its intended use, dusted because very fine powder is highly explosive, glazed using black lead to decrease the chance of the final product absorbing water, dried in a stove and finally stored in a magazine. Ideally each of these processes was carried out in well-separated buildings, in order to avoid an explosion being communicated from one to the next. Other buildings used were small magazines where partially made gunpowder could be stored between processes, watch-houses where workers could shelter while particularly dangerous processes were being carried out and blending-houses where different batches of gunpowder could be thoroughly mixed together to improve consistency.¹⁶

John Rennie's Plan

The title of Rennie's plan, written near its centre, is reproduced as figure 5. It explains that the ground belonged to Sir Frederick Evelyn Bart. of Wotton parish, that it shows the locations of buildings proposed to be erected and their relative distances from neighbouring dwellings, and that it was surveyed by John Rennie, Engineer FRSE. This indicates that he was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh which was established in 1773. The plan, which is drawn

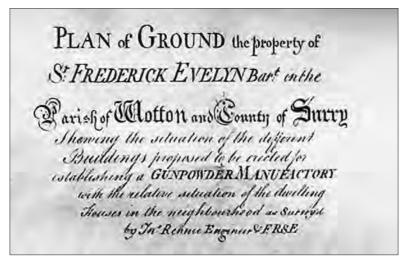


Figure 5 The title of John Rennie's plan for erecting a gunpowder manufactory at Abinger Hammer. *Copyright of Surrey History Centre*.

to a scale of 1 inch to 2 chains (44 yards), or 1:1584, measures 1.51×0.63 m ($59\frac{1}{2} \times 24\frac{3}{4}$ inches). The paper used is two sheets joined together, the larger one being $37\frac{1}{2} \times 24\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The plan has been conserved and strengthened with backing paper, which has obscured the watermarks that would have been present.

A much simplified version of the plan, redrawn for this article, is shown in figure 6. It is in the same orientation as the original with north approximately at the bottom. The area shown is 1.0km east—west and 2.2km north—south. The present day features that are probably most easily recognised are the main east-west road (A25) from Dorking to Guildford, near the top, and the Felday Road (B2126) leading to Sutton Abinger branching south from this near the top right corner. Notice also the Tillingbourne flowing east-west just above the A25 and passing through the pond of Paddington corn mill and the hammer pond of the forge. Paddington Farm is near the top centre and a few small buildings in Abinger Hammer village are shown near the A25 at the extreme right. Two larger building complexes lie north of this road. The one at the left is labelled Captain Pitts' House, the first Abinger Hall of 1783, and the one farther north on the right Captain Pitts' Farm. The Hall was rebuilt in 1872 but pulled down because of dry rot in 1959. The farm is now known as Hackhurst Farm and is the property of the National Trust.

Figure 6 also shows the locations selected for the proposed gunpowder buildings. In particular a pair of incorporating mills and a corning house, which needed waterpower, are shown on leats flowing from a small tributary of the Tillingbourne at the top right, a drying stove and dusting house near the centre

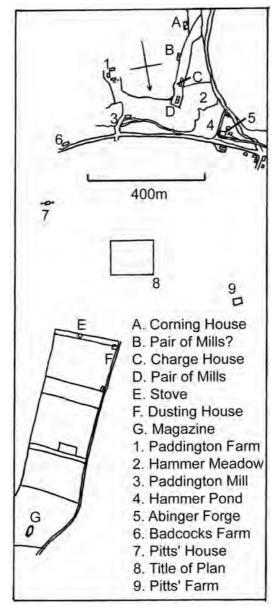


Figure 6 Much simplified version of the Rennie plan. Capital letters indicate proposed gunpowder buildings and numbers existing buildings or other features. In both cases they are listed from south (at the top) to north.

and a magazine at the bottom left. These buildings are coloured yellow on the original whereas buildings then in existence are pink. Two further buildings are uncoloured. One is a small square charge house and lies just south of the pair of mills. The other is a large rectangular unlabelled building about half-way between the mills and the corning house. It seems to have been added to the original plan and could represent a second pair of mills. A small pink L-shaped building a little north of the dusting house is on the site of the present New Barn Farm buildings. Details of the locations of all the proposed gunpowder buildings, listed from south to north, are given in Table 1.

Not shown in figure 6 is the text on the original giving distances between proposed buildings and existing dwellings, their relative altitudes and the effective height of hills between them. For example, Pitts' house is said to be 936 yards from the corning house and on a straight line between them there is a hill 260 yards from the corning house and 52 feet higher than it. Rennie was clearly indicating that an explosion in the corning house would be very unlikely to damage Pitts' house. The original also has shading suggesting land forms. For example the magazine is on the south-facing slope of the chalk downs and the stove and dusting house are at the foot of the north facing slope of the ridge formed by the Folkestone Beds, now known as 'The Roughs'. The eight-figure grid references given in Table 1 have been deduced from locations shown on the Rennie plan, and the distances between buildings and other features written on the plan.

A redrawn version of the Rennie Plan to the south of the A25 is presented in Figure 7. This shows the plans of the proposed mills, charge house and corning house, the buildings at the former forge and those at Paddington Farm in greater detail than was possible in figure 6. Note that on the north sign the only labelled point of the compass is east and that this is represented by an inverted capital 'E'. This suggests that the original intention was to have north at the top and not the bottom of the plan. It should also be noted that the Rennie plan shows the locations of only six or seven proposed gunpowder buildings: one or two pairs of mills, a charge house, a corning house, a stove, a dusting house and a magazine, whereas the above brief description of the processes of gunpowder manufacture require far more than this. A discussion of this point is provided later in this

Table 1. Locations of proposed gunpowder buildings

Corning house	Hammer Meadow	TQ 0974 4695
Second pair of mills?	Hammer Meadow	TQ 0981 4705
Charge house	Hammer Meadow	TQ 0980 4717
Pair of mills	Hammer Meadow	TQ 0982 4722
Stove	Pond Clays Shaw	TQ 1038 4804
Dusting house	Pond Clays Field	TQ 1021 4810
Magazine	Thirty Acres Field	TQ 1039 4887

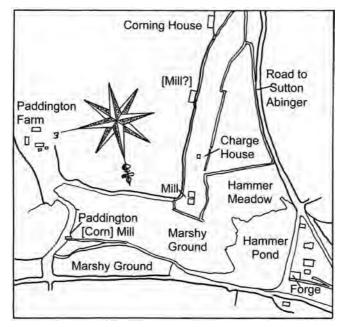


Figure 7 Redrawn detail of the southern section of the Rennie plan. The area shown is 585 yards (535m) across.

paper after reports of the relevant Quarter Session meetings and the later history of the site have been presented.

The Quarter Session Reports

In 1789 William Hitchenor, a farmer of Thames Ditton, and John Wheatley, a gunpowder maker of Epsom, together with John Hunter, a millwright of Kingston, complying with an Act of Parliament of 1772, notified parish officers of their plans to establish a gunpowder mill at Abinger. In 1790, their application for a licence was considered by the Midsummer Quarter Sessions in Guildford. Hitchenor and Wheatley may have had connections with the gunpowder mills at East Molesey, which had been demolished in 1780, and those at Ewell respectively. Hunter is not otherwise known. The application refers to three pairs of mills, a charge house, a corning house, a charcoal house at the forge, a dusting house in a field called 'Pond Clays', a stove in 'Pond Clays Shaw' and a magazine in a pit in a field called 'Thirty Acres'. These buildings are said to be on parts of Paddington Farm belonging to Sir Frederick Evelyn Bart. in the occupation of John Owen and to have been 'staked out'. Distances between these buildings and the 'Dorking to Shere' road are stated and are consistent with those

on the Rennie plan. However the plan has only one or perhaps two pairs of mills and not three and does not refer to a charcoal house.

The case was postponed but finally at the Epiphany Session held at Southwark on 11th January 1791 permission was refused. One of the reasons was that Hitchenor and Wheatley were said to have little knowledge of the gunpowder industry but as explained in the following section this does not seem to have been the case.

Gorebridge Gunpowder Mill

Having failed to obtain permission to erect a gunpowder mill at Abinger, two of the partners, William Hitchenor and John Hunter, together with John Merricks of Kingston upon Thames, were successful in obtaining a licence to establish a mill in Scotland. This was at Gorebridge, 13km south-east of Edinburgh Castle and 31km south-west of East Linton, John Rennie's birth-place. One wonders therefore whether Rennie influenced the new choice of site. The mill flourished and continued to work until the 1860s. However, Merricks left in 1803 and in 1805, with a new partner, established Roslin gunpowder mill, 8km west of Gorebridge, and this worked until 1954. It seems that the founders of the firm must have had some degree of competence.

Later History of the Abinger Hammer Site

Following the failure of the proposal to establish a gunpowder works at Abinger Hammer the sites of the proposed buildings continued to be used by the farmer at Paddington Farm. Then in 1836 the farmer's son, William King, started a wheelwright's business on the forge site and this expanded to include black-smith's work, bricklaying and house repairs. Later they even built the famous Clock House at the centre of Abinger Hammer village. In 1849–50 watercress beds were created on parts of the Hammer Pond and Marshy Ground which are marked on Rennie's plan (figure 7). This activity was taken over in 1854 by the Coe family of Shere. Their descendants are still tenants of the property and since 1971 have operated a Farm Shop on the site selling fruit, vegetables, plants and, of course, watercress. 19,20

The proposed Dusting House was to be in the south-west corner of the field known as Pond Clays. This field is now crossed, in a cutting, by the Reading, Guildford & Reigate Railway, which was opened in 1849. Incidentally, use was made of this railway to transport watercress to London. New Barn Farm stands on the west side of Pond Clays just north of the railway track; the land is still farmed but by Wotton Estates and not by the tenants of the farmhouse (see figure 8). No physical evidence of 'staking out' the Dusting House or of actually making a start on erecting it has been found. A partially dilapidated stone building in the farmyard probably corresponds to the L-shaped building in figure 6. The proposed Stove, for drying moist gunpowder, was to be located in Pond Clays Shaw, a narrow strip of woodland along the southern edge of Pond Clays field. Indeed one of the traditional definitions of the word 'shaw'

is 'a strip of wood or underwood forming the border of a field'. Since 1950 this shaw has been protected by the National Trust together with a large area of land known as Abinger Roughs. Use of the stove would have involved bringing the gunpowder about 1.3km from the corning house. Again no physical evidence of it has been discovered but the level nature of the site would make it suitable.

Finally the Magazine was to be located in a chalk pit on the North Downs 786m north of the Stove in Thirty Acres Field (see figure 8). This site is now in a wood known as Old Simm's Copse jut behind a pair of benches close to the top of Blatchford Down. This is named in memory of Alan Blatchford of Guildford who died aged 44 in 1982. He had been the main organiser of Tanners Marathon, an annual 30 mile walk in the Surrey countryside, since its foundation in 1960. The walk uses a different route each year and always attracts many hundreds of entrants, the aim being to finish in 10 hours. Donations collected after Alan's death were given to the National Trust to clear and fence this area of downland for sheep grazing. ²² His wife Barbara, who now lives in Cumbria,



Figure 8 Photograph looking north from near the site, at the bottom right, of the proposed dusting house. The lane at the bottom left crosses a bridge over the Reading, Guildford and Reigate Railway and New Barn farmhouse is beyond the bridge on the right. The site of the proposed magazine was in a chalk pit, in Old Simm's Copse on the skyline at the top centre, above Blatchford Down. *Photograph by Glenys Crocker, April 2012*.

is an authority on long distance footpaths and was a well-known member of the Surrey Archaeological Society.

Discussion

It is assumed in this paper that Sir Frederick Evelyn was instrumental in the proposal to re-introduce the gunpowder industry on the Evelyn estates. Apart from the title of the Rennie plan (figure 3) there is no direct evidence for this assumption. However it seems unlikely that those involved formally in the application (William Hitchenor, John Wheatley and John Hunter) would have been in a position to approach John Rennie to prepare the plans. Also, as the landowner, Sir Frederick must clearly have been involved. Still, in practice, it is likely that he would have relied heavily on agents to do the work as it is known that he was devoted to sport. For example, in around 1759 he became a member of the Jockey Club,²³ a high society social club founded in 1750 which now owns 14 racecourses in Britain including Epsom, Kempton Park and Sandown Park in Surrey. However, following the failure at the Surrey Quarter Sessions to obtain permission to establish the mill at Abinger Hammer, it seems that Hitchenor and Hunter kept in touch with Rennie and that this led to them opening the very successful mill at Gorebridge in Scotland, near Rennie's birthplace.

The fact that several gunpowder buildings are missing on the Rennie plan is puzzling. In particular buildings for refining and mixing the raw materials, pressing the incorporated mill cake and glazing the corned powder are not shown. One possibility is that it was intended that these processes would be carried out in some of the buildings mentioned. For example pressing could have been done in the corning house, as it was at the Chilworth gunpowder mills in the late 18th century when the building concerned exploded causing widespread damage. Perhaps an attempt was being made to conceal the fact that there was a possibility of this happening at Abinger Hammer. Alternatively it might have been intended to re-use the existing buildings of the former forge which were in any case to be used for producing charcoal. Fagain however, as these were near the roads to Felday and Dorking, the applicants may not have wished to reveal such a plan.

Rennie was only in his late twenties when he prepared his Abinger Hammer plan. He was already well-established as an engineer and millwright, particularly because of his impressive Albion Mills, but he went on to many other outstanding projects. These included canals and waterways, bridges, including several across the Thames in London, docks and harbours, the Plymouth breakwater and, jointly with Robert Stevenson, the Bell Rock lighthouse. He never entered upon an undertaking without making himself fully acquainted with the local surroundings and the Abinger Hammer project was clearly a good example of this. ²⁶ Certainly the distances quoted on his plan are very accurate when compared with modern large scale maps. However, Badcocks Farm (6 on figure 6) appears to be an error. No farm is known to have existed on this site but Cocks Farm, now known as Eversheds, is on the opposite side of the road.

It is not clear from the documents consulted who the principal objectors were to the proposal to establish the mills. The only hint from the Rennie plan is that information is given of the height of hills between some dangerous buildings and Captain Pitts' house, later known as Abinger Hall, and his farm, now known as Hackhurst Farm. This suggests that it was anticipated that Pitts would be opposed to the development and as his army post was with the Engineers he would have had some knowledge of the dangers posed by gunpowder.

It is also interesting that in August 1790, J Massey, a lawyer acting for Mr Bray of Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, instructed A Palmer, a barrister-at-law at Guildford, to request the court to hold over the application to the next sessions at Kingston, because of the absence of material witnesses.²⁷ The Mr Bray referred to here was William Bray of Shere, co-author with Owen Manning of the outstanding *History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*.^{28,29} He was a solicitor, had an office in Great Russell Street and in 1761, through the patronage of John Evelyn, Sir Frederick's father, became a clerk of the Board of Green Cloth, which managed the affairs of the royal household. Perhaps therefore the material witnesses he wished to be present would have been supportive of the gunpowder mill proposal. Alternatively he may have felt that having Chilworth gunpowder mill only 3 miles from his family home at Shere was more than enough without having a new one within 2 miles.

In 1790 there were already nineteen gunpowder mills in the British Isles, including three well-established ones in Surrey, at Chilworth, Ewell and Tolworth. However the demand for gunpowder was high and the formation of Royal factories at the Faversham works in Kent in 1760 and at the Waltham Abbey works in Essex in 1787 had led to considerable improvements in the quality and consistency of the product. Also, the French Revolution had started in 1789 resulting in increased concerns about the need to have ample supplies of gunpowder available in case a war with France developed. No doubt therefore it was felt that a new gunpowder mill would be a good commercial investment. In practice France declared war on Britain in 1793 but the proposed Abinger Hammer gunpowder mill had not been established and played no part in the ensuing conflict.

Acknowledgements

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JOHN NORDEN'S SURVEY OF HENLEY PARK 1607

Pat Ashworth and John Squier

Introduction

John Norden's Survey of Henley Park is the 12th of 17 manuscript maps bound in a leather volume, which comprise Norden's *Description of the Honor of Windesor*. Two copies were produced – one dedicated to King James now in the British Library (Harley MS 3749) and the other dedicated to Henry Prince of Wales now in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (RCIN:1142252). The British Library also holds a photostat copy of the Royal Library copy at MAPS C.27.d.26.

Both versions of the survey are on paper and cover a double page spread in the bound volume with a fold down the middle of the page. The maps are set within a blue border and are beautifully hand drawn and coloured.

- The copy in the British Library is slightly larger. Its overall dimensions are 17×23 inches and the map within the border is $15\frac{3}{4} \times 21$ inches.
- The copy in the Royal Library, Windsor, measures overall 17×22 inches and the map itself contained within the border is $15 \times 20\%$ inches. It is reproduced as Figure 1.

There are several other differences in the two versions but none of them are significant. These include variations in the style of the lettering and some of the spellings, all of which are to be expected in work copied by hand and at a time when there was no standardised spelling. Indeed the spelling is not consistent within the same map. The most significant difference as far as we are concerned is the portrayal of the house or lodge, which will be commented upon later.

A summary of John Norden's background and his other works can be found in Alan Crocker's article on Norden's map of neighbouring Guildford Park. This article also contains information on some of the cartographic techniques and conventions of his time. From evidence relating to the remains of the manor house on the Guildford Park map, Crocker has concluded that it is possible that the Royal Library version of the Honor of Windsor dedicated to the Prince of Wales, was drawn later than the British Library version dedicated to the king.

On the recto of the first side of the map of Henley Park is a brief description with details of the name of the keeper, the number of deer, the acreage and length of circuit. Transcribed with modern spelling and punctuation, it reads as follows:

'In this table is comprised Henley Park, in Surrey. Sir Henry Browne is keeper thereof and hath about 120 deer: of antler about 70, of bucks

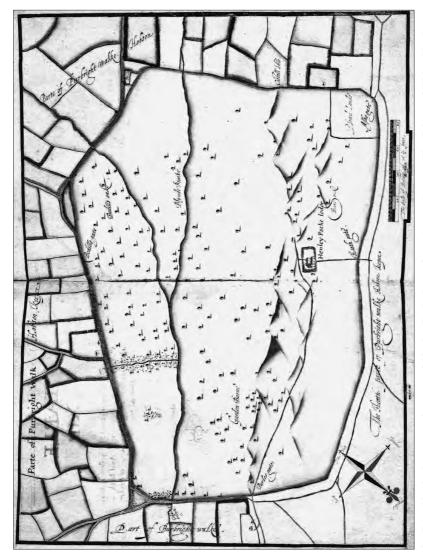


Figure 1 John Norden's manuscript map of Henley Park drawn from the north-west. The Prince of Wales Version (supplied by Royal Collection Trust © HM Queen Elizabeth II).

(as is informed) about 40, very many in respect of the general sum. The circuit of this Park is 3½ mile, and so much it paleth. The timber decays. It is in quantity about 420 acres, good ground.'

The scale of the survey is 20 perches to an inch which corresponds to 16 inches to the mile.

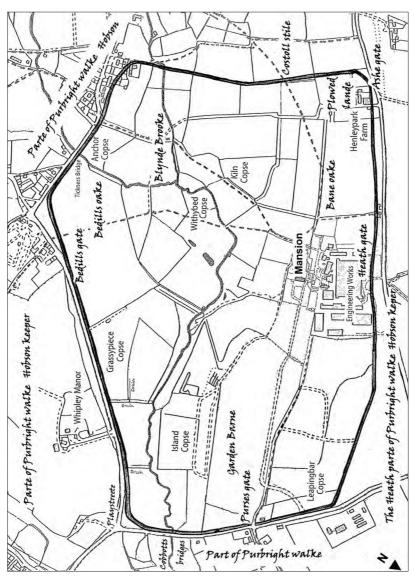
Historical context

The park lies to the north-west of Guildford in the county of Surrey and was once part of the Royal Forest of Windsor. It encompasses an upland ridge to the north and lower lying land to the south and was created out of the lands of the manor of Henley during the reign of Edward III in the 14th century. The enclosure took place in two stages. In 1337 Sir John de Molyns who then held the manor, obtained the king's licence to empark his woods of Westgrove and Goddards Grove and 300 acres of land, meadow, pasture and heath, even though these lands lay within the Royal Forest.² The names of Westgrove and Goddards Grove have not survived and are not named on Norden's survey, so we do not know the whereabouts of these woods. In 1351 the king took direct possession of the manor and completed the emparkment in 1355. In order to do this it was necessary to move a number of persons who inhabited the southern area of the proposed extension and provide them with alternative dwellings. Details of the various property exchanges which took place are recorded in official records.³ This extension to the park brought the total acreage to 420 acres as recorded in Norden's survey.

Edward III, like his father Edward II, often resided at Henley where he hunted, entertained and conducted the business of the realm, as evidenced by the many letters patent and other royal decrees issued from Henley. He continued to make improvements and additions to the manor house creating a complex of buildings of some considerable size worthy of a royal residence which are described in the *History of the King's Works.*⁴ However after his death in 1377, its royal popularity waned and Richard II was probably the last king to stay at Henley with his entourage. In the absence of the king, the office of Royal Park Keeper assumed a new importance and from the end of the 15th century to the beginning of the 17th century, it appears to have been a much sought after sinecure and a reward for services rendered to the monarch. It was not a hereditary office but in the 16th century it was granted in succession to several members of the Browne family, a leading Catholic family who nevertheless in the reign of Elizabeth I retained the queen's favour. Sir Henry Browne, a younger son of Sir Anthony Browne, 1st Viscount Montague, became keeper on the death of his father in 1592.⁵

The boundary of the park and its gates

The boundary of Henley Park is marked on Norden's map with a timber pale or fence coloured brown and edged with a yellow tint which may represent a bank



Features of Norden's survey superimposed on a modern map with orientation re-aligned to match that of Norden's map (Pat Ashworth). Figure 2

or ditch. It forms an elongated pentagon consistent with its shape today. The longest sides are on the north-west and south-east. The north-east and south-west sides are shorter and the shortest side is in the south. There are four gateways: Ashe gate, Heath gate, Purses gate and Bedills gate, the names of which are written in red ink. The map has been drawn in an unusual orientation from the north-west. There could have been two reasons for this, the first being the need to fit its shape into the rectangular page and the second being the importance of the lodge situated close to the Heath gate on the northern boundary. Apart from one small section in the south-west corner of the park which was sold in 1926, it is still possible to follow the boundary along its entire length of 31/8 miles and this and other features of the survey have been marked on a modern map reproduced as Figure 2. In the description and commentary which follow, the spelling on the copy in the Royal Library, Windsor, has been used when citing place names.

If we start at Ashe gate at the north-west corner which is now occupied by the house and grounds of Henley Park Farm⁶ and travel in a clockwise direction, the first section of the boundary on Norden's map runs parallel with the Ash to Pirbright road (coloured brown) as far as Heath gate which is sited approximately halfway along. This section of the road, which still follows the same route today, appears as a narrow track on Norden's map and the paling is set back from the road. This, or rather the bank or ditch, can still be seen from the road where it runs east from the entrance to the barn and houses at Henley Park Farm and forms the northern boundary of the adjacent field until it reaches the electricity substation. After this it can be seen in places until its incorporation into the gardens of the houses which lie just behind the boundary inside the park.⁷ There are no traces today of the Heath gate or the drive which led from it to the house or lodge. It is not easy to determine its exact position but it is most likely to have been opposite an old track across the heath, now known as Badger Walk. The drive was obliterated when Vokes Ltd established their 'new' factory in the 1950s and the gate and boundary embankment were probably gradually eroded over the following 30 years. Then in about 1980 a gate lodge, which had been built here in Victorian times, was demolished and the area was landscaped.

After Heath gate the boundary continues to run parallel with the track or road on Norden's map until it reaches the north-east corner of the park but the road to Pirbright today diverges to the north just past Vokes. However, the line of the boundary or former paling can be seen in the plantation where there is a clearly defined embankment and ditch, up to the corner where it reaches another narrow track (now Cobbett Hill Road). Here the boundary turns to run in a south-east direction, parallel to the track or road, until it reaches Purses gate approximately halfway along. A small gate to the south of the modern house called Deyrolles, probably stands on the site of the gate and gives access to a footpath inside the park.

Beyond Purses gate the track on Norden's map becomes a wide road and the boundary of the park directly abuts it as it still does today. This road is now worn deep between high banks on both sides which suggests that for a long time it was a much-used road. It passes over a stream at Cobbotts bridges (now Clasford Bridge) where the stones of an old ford are still visible. It then reaches a triangular junction with another road, the present Guildford to Aldershot road, at the east corner. This junction has the name Playstreete. Its shape survives to this day but not the place name.

At Playstreete the boundary turns south-west to run directly alongside the road to the south-east corner of the park (at present day Willey Green). This route also survives and traces of the bank can still be seen. Just before it reaches the corner there is Bedills gate of which nothing now survives and indeed, no drive from it is shown on Norden's map which may mean that it had already fallen out of use by the 17th century.

The boundary cuts across the south-east corner of the road and a row of trees in the field marks its line today. The land at this corner has been the subject of several transfers and was re-incorporated into the park in the 18th century. Regaining the road which has turned west, the boundary again runs alongside another short stretch of this road and over a stream (at Tickner's Bridge) but when the road diverges slightly to the south-west the boundary continues straight on behind a small estate of houses built on the site of the old Anchor public house in the 1990s. It continues a short distance beyond this to its south-west corner before turning north-west. This corner of the park was sold in 1926¹⁰ and private houses now stand here, some of which and their gardens intrude into the park obliterating all trace of the boundary.

Where the boundary turns north-west on Norden's map there is a lane today which runs for a short distance alongside the houses before becoming a footpath. The footpath very soon diverges to the left but the line of the former boundary continues straight ahead. There is also no lane or track on Norden's map and field boundaries mark the entire length of the western boundary. A stream crosses it and further on a line of trees today marks the line of another section before it reaches the Ashe gate and the Ash to Pirbright road at its north-west corner. This is the only section of the boundary which does not follow the line of a road. The embankment was clearly visible along this section in the 1970s but now much of it has been obliterated by ploughing since the fields on either side were merged and only the northern part in the trees is discernable.

Two-thirds of the way along the western boundary a feature called Costoll Stile is marked. This is approximately where the present day footpath exits the former park and, as its name suggests, it may have led to Costalls, a freehold tenement in Ash, the name of which appears several times in the manor of Cleygate records ¹¹ but has not survived. Although no footpaths are shown on the survey, the presence of the stile implies that there was access into the park at this point by foot. The site of Ashe gate, like those of Heath gate and Bedills gate, no longer exists nor does any drive which must have once led from it. On Norden's map the gate leads into 'Plowed lande' and then strangely goes no further.

Outside the park

The various features shown outside the boundaries are described next because some of these, especially the small buildings or cottages which are shown in bird's-eye view, provide us with a means of assessing the accuracy or otherwise of the map as a whole.

The park is surrounded by a patchwork of fields to the east, south and west with boundaries in brown, some of which are edged with different coloured tints. It is not possible to ascertain how accurately these boundaries have been represented. These and the land to the north (mostly bare of features) are all described as 'Parte of Purbright walke' of which Hobson was the keeper. A walk was a division of a forest (in this instance the Royal Forest of Windsor) which was regularly perambulated by a forester, ranger or keeper. Crocker in his article on Guildford Park has identified Hobson as being either Thomas Hobson or his descendant Christopher Hobson.

None of the cottages have been named but it has been possible to identify some of them from early records. These are:

- The two cottages on the east side opposite Purses gate. This property appears as Cobbett Hill Cottages in the Manor of Cleygate records and was owned by the Purse family from 1546 to 1649 so the gate must have been named after this family. These buildings no longer exist and the land is now incorporated into a golf course.
- The cottage on the site of the former Anchor pub. This property was also associated with the Purse family in the 16th century.¹³
- The two cottages halfway along the stretch of road from Playstreete to Bedills gate, one of which has two end gables. These were probably buildings of Whipley Farm, the earliest records of which date back to the 1540s.¹⁴

The only property shown outside the park which we have not been able to identify is the cottage close to the boundary between Costoll stile and the Ash gate. There seems to be no trace of it in the Manor of Cleygate records and there is no building here today.

On the other hand, two properties which stand today are not shown although they each have a history dating back before Norden's time. These are Chapel Farm opposite the site of Bedills gate which at the time of the emparkment was known as Heathers. It was one of the properties involved in the exchanges which took place in 1355 when occupiers of property within the park were displaced and granted plots outside the boundaries of the newly formed park. In the 16th century it was held by members of the Bedill family to which the gate and the nearby Bedills oake on the map, must owe their name. The second property not shown is the Old Homestead alongside Chapel Farm although it too has a history dating back to Norden's time. In the second property has a history dating back to Norden's time.

We therefore conclude that the map most probably represents the locations of buildings accurately but it may not include everything. All the buildings are shown in bird's-eye view but their portrayal is stylised. Their size in relation to the scale of the map precludes any authentic portrayal. This knowledge helps us to evaluate what is shown on Norden's map inside the park.

Inside the park

The most noticeable feature within the park is the building called 'Henley Parke lodge' which is situated on an upland ridge near to the northern boundary. Whereas all the little houses are shown in a uniform style, the lodge is a larger building and has been drawn in more detail. It comprises a central section with wings at each end which project to the west to form an open-ended court accessed through an archway in the north wing. Norden however has confused the perspective and, as can be seen more clearly in Figure 3, an end gable on the east façade of the north wing is also visible. The building has a pitched roof (coloured red) and is at least two storeys high but there are variations in detail between the two versions of the map. There are more windows on the Royal Library copy which also shows chimneys which are absent on the British Library copy. Although drawn differently, both show the lodge surrounded on the east, south and west by a paling coloured brown, similar to that marking the boundaries of the park but edged on the inside with a green tint as opposed to a yellow tint. There is a clear area between the house and this fence on the east and south sides and an even larger clear area to the west. There is no fence on the north side where the archway which appears to be the main entrance, is approached from Heath gate situated directly north-west. There is another approach by a longer drive leading from Purses gate in the east. This skirts round to the south of the lodge where there is a T-junction. The right branch crosses the fence to approach the south façade of the south wing. The left branch continues a short distance to a small

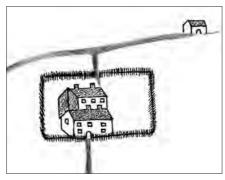


Figure 3 Sketch of *Henley Parke lodge* and surrounds as they appear on John Norden's map (Pat Ashworth)

house or cottage to the south-west. This no longer stands and we have found no record of it.

Although it was a cartographic convention of this period to represent certain features as bird's-eye views, it was not intended that they should form a strictly accurate representation in every detail. No great significance therefore should be attached to the differences in the appearance of Henley Parke lodge in the two versions of the survey which we have already mentioned. The building depicted is essentially the same and we can be reasonably sure of the

accuracy of its location and that it was a half-H-shaped house with a pitched roof and gables and that it was surrounded by a paling and maybe a ditch or bank.

The map shows the approximate location of what could have been another building in the park, that of the Garden Barne. This is indicated by name to the south-east on the lower ground amongst trees but there is no pictorial representation of a building. This could mean that it was no longer in use or even standing by the time of Norden's survey. We can only speculate as to what might have been its original use.

The last record of repairs to the royal buildings at Henley Park which we have been able to trace is an account for repairs carried out in 1515 and these relate to a 'logge' and 'grette barne' which must be the same buildings as the lodge and barn above.¹⁷

Most of the obvious natural features within the park correspond with the land-scape today. The ridge of high land which runs approximately east to west along the northern part of the park on which the lodge stands, is drawn in profile as a series of hummocks outlined in brown with light brown and yellow shading. Two streams coloured blue and edged with brown and yellow tints (representing embankments?) are shown flowing through the park on the low-lying ground. One enters from the south (now Tickner's bridge) and exits in the east at Cobbotts bridges (now Clasford bridge). Another, entering from the west further to the north and named Blynde Brooke, joins the first. These are undoubtedly the same main streams which flow through the park today but on Norden's survey they merge midway across the park whereas their confluence today is further to the west. The course of the Tickner's stream has been diverted on more than one occasion in the past.

Two specific areas of marshy ground are shown on the map, one near the corner at Playstreete and another further west on either side of a short stretch of water. This low-lying ground of the former park remains marshy in parts to this day and drains have been constructed. There are also several other watercourses in the park today which are not shown on the map and we do not know whether or not they existed in Norden's day.

Although Norden's brief introductory description states that 'the timber decays' a large part of the park appears wooded. Trees, drawn stylistically in elevation, are scattered on the lower land and some on the ridge. Two areas of woodland are named, Bedills oake in the south-east corner and Bane oake on the higher land to the north-west, but it is also possible that these were names of two great oak trees. Neither name has survived and today most of the low-lying land in the south is arable and pasture while there is a pine plantation on the higher ground to the east which was probably established in the late 18th or early 19th century by Henry Halsey, the then owner, when he established a plantation in Standing Hill to the north of the park.¹⁸ The western side of the park is relatively clear of trees and today this land is arable. At the top of the incline in the northwest corner some 'Plowed lande' is shown next to the Ashe gate which would appear to be fenced. Today this is occupied by Henley Park farmhouse, the fields of which also extend eastwards along the higher ground.

The buildings of the royal medieval manor, as already mentioned, were extensive and by all accounts impressive but all trace of them seems to have vanished by the time Norden produced his survey. There are only two buildings shown in the park in 1607 – the so called Henley Parke lodge and the small house or cottage to its south-west. Nothing remains of the latter but by reproducing Norden's map as far as possible to the same scale as that of a modern Ordnance Survey map and overlaying the first on the second, it can be seen that the mansion house in Henley Park today which was restored and converted into luxury apartments in the late 1990s, occupies exactly the same site as the lodge on Norden's map.

The lodge

The first record of what might have been a new building standing apart from the main complex appears in 1368 when Richard Bledlaw, who was the master carpenter, built by contract a new house 'next to the gate' but we have no means of identifying which gate this was. Apart from this house, little beyond maintenance was undertaken for the remainder of Edward III's reign (he died in 1377). At the end of the century in Richard II's reign, some work was again carried out at the manor and in addition there are several references to a 'lodge', the first time this term is used. However in 1459 the manor is recorded as being in decay and although the keeper Richard Ludlowe was granted money for its repair and rebuilding, there is no record of any expenditure and this work may have never been carried out. The last known official record is an account for repairs carried out in 1515 but as previously mentioned, this refers only to the lodge and great barn.

It seems that the lodge on Norden's survey may have been built, possibly towards the end of the 14th century or early 15th century, to provide additional accommodation. Its survival into the 17th century leads us to believe that after the manor ceased to be a royal residence, the large complex of main buildings could have quickly fallen into disuse and disrepair and may have even been deliberately pulled down so that nothing remained of them by 1607. During this time though, it is possible that the park keeper or his deputies responsible for the upkeep of the park, took up residence with various other retainers in the smaller and relatively newer lodge so ensuring its survival. We know from many references in the Loseley manuscripts that during the keepership of the 1st Viscount Montague in the second half of the 16th century, his younger brother Francis Browne resided here when it gained the unfavourable reputation of being a refuge for recusants.¹⁹ It would appear that Sir Henry Browne who succeeded his father the 1st Viscount Montague, also resided at Henley Park in the early years of his keepership because two of his children were baptised at Ash in 1608 and 1609. There is also evidence that maintenance of some sort or another continued to be carried out at Henley Park in the 17th century while it was still owned by the Crown because there is a letter dated July 1609, also in the Loseley collection, in which an estimate was approved for timber and money needed for repair but we do not know whether or not this applied to the fabric of the building.²⁰

The central section of Henley Park mansion as it existed before restoration, was Georgian in appearance. The description of the mansion in *British Listed Buildings* 1967²¹ begins as follows:

'Country house. 1751 rebuilding of older house for Mr Solomon Dayrolles, extended in 1784 for Henry Halsey and south wing added in mid-19th century. Red brick with plain tiled roofs partly obscured by stone coped parapets. Half-H plan, symmetrical front with projecting, gabled, end wings. Two storeys with attics in gables and central pediment. ...'

The date 1751 was inscribed on a former rainwater head but in the absence of records, the origin of the 'older' house remained unknown although it was generally assumed that it had been built in the 17th century. From 1941 to 1982 the mansion was owned by Vokes Ltd but in the uncertain years which followed when it became the subject of a succession of different planning applications, it fell into disrepair and by the 1990s it was little more than an empty shell. In 1986 however, while it was still reasonably intact, the architects of F M Modern Design of Godalming, employed by one of the developers who bought the house, carried out a comprehensive survey with photographs. They stated that the original 'pre-Georgian' structure had eaves not a parapet and when they stripped out the guttering in the roof gully at the front of the mansion they found sprockets which were part of the structure.²² This appears to date it as far back as the 16th century or even earlier. Therefore the house which was remodelled for Dayrolle in the mid-18th century was Henley Park lodge, the house on the same site on Norden's map.



Figure 4 East facade of Henley Park Mansion after restoration in 1999 (Pat Ashworth)

Conclusion

The mansion house in Henley Park today which retains its former Georgian appearance (Figure 4) not only stands on the site of the lodge depicted on Norden's map but may even still have parts of it incorporated within its structure. The lodge was associated with the medieval royal manor, so the site of the medieval manor cannot be far away. Following the discovery of a painting depicting the buildings at Henley Park in the mid-17th century, this painting and the location of the medieval manor is the subject of the next article.

Since this article was written the complex that formed the Vokes' factory and its ancillary buildings has been demolished and it is planned to replace the buildings with modern industrial units.

Acknowledgements

The late Sir Howard Colvin; Professor Alan Crocker; Wendy Easterling; Robin Parr of F M Modern Design Group of Godalming; Rob Poulton of Surrey County Archaeological Unit; Richard Prior of The British Deer Society; Dennis Turner; Normandy Historians; The late Mark Ashworth.

NOTES

- Crocker, Alan. Norden's 1607 Map of Guildford Park, in Surrey History, Vol 6(1), 1999, pp 26–39.
- 2. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1334-38, p 548.
- 3. Calendar of Close Rolls, 1354-60, pp 218-220, and others.
- 4. Colvin, H.M. History of the King's Works (HKW), Vol 2. HMSO, 1963, pp 960-962.
- He was granted the office in reversion by Letters Patent dated 10 Feb 1590. Reference to this
 in Surrey History Centre (SHC) ref: 212/4/10 (Browne to Montgomery).
- According to the Domestic Buildings Research Group (Report number 3942) the house was probably built c1650 and the nearby barn is probably 17th century.
- 7. Orchard House and Orchard Cottage built in the 1930s.
- Built about 1963 and named after Solomon Dayrolle a former owner of Henley Park, alternative spellings of whose name were Dayrolles and Devrolles.
- 9. By Solomon Dayrolle in the 1740s.
- 10. It formed Lot 6 of the Henley Park estate sale, SHC refs: SP/368 and CC99/8/1.
- 11. The National Archives (TNA) ref: TS19. The manor of Cleygate came into existence in the 14th century after the emparkment and comprised the residual lands surrounding the park, formerly in the manor of Henley.
- 12. Ibid passim.
- 13. *Ibid*.
- 14. British Library, Harley roll C12.
- 15. Calendar of Close Rolls, 8 May 1355.
- 16. TNA ref: TS19 passim.
- 17. Repairs to buildings in Henley Park, August to December, 1515. TNA ref: E36/262, ff 76-83.
- 18. Manor of Cleygate records. TNA ref: TS19/37.
- 19. Loseley MSS at SHC. passim.
- 20. Ibid. SHC ref: 6729/11/42.
- 21. Reproduced in www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk.
- 22. Robin Parr of F M Modern Design in conversation with John Squier, August 2005.