

# SURREY HISTORY



VOLUME XII

2013



# SURREY LOCAL HISTORY COMMITTEE SURREY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

*Chairman:* Gerry Moss, 10 Hurstleigh Drive, Redhill, Surrey, RH1 2AA

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 Symposium on a local history theme and a half-day meeting on a more specialised subject. The Committee produces *Surrey History* annually and other booklets from time to time. See below for publications enquires.

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.

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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 HISTORY VOLUME XII 2013

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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: Watercolour, probably by G F Prosser, of old church of St Giles, Camberwell, before 1841 (see page 38)

Back cover illustration: Monster soup (see page 2)

## About the Authors

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**Dennis Turner** was a past President and Secretary of Surrey Archaeological Society and a long standing member of the Society. Sadly he died after submitting this manuscript but before it had been published. He had a wide interest in the archaeology and local history of Surrey and further afield, with a particular interest in the medieval period and vernacular architecture.

# SEETHING WELLS, SURBITON

*Howard Bengé*

## **Introduction**

In 2011 a project was run to discover more about the redundant water filter beds at Seething Wells, Surbiton. The Community Brain<sup>1</sup> received a grant from the Heritage Lottery Fund with the aim of recruiting volunteers from the area to research the history and relevance of the water works. At the start the project team of about 20 volunteers, knew the following information about the water works:

- that they filtered water from the river Thames and sent it to London
- the works was built in the 19<sup>th</sup> century
- Dr John Snow somehow used the water from there to prove his theory on the communication of cholera.

Based on this, the research developed in three directions:

1. Why the water works were built and what was the demand for clean water in 19<sup>th</sup> century London
2. How it worked, the engineering and the people who worked there
3. The local area and the impact of the water works on Surbiton.

This article looks at the results of the research and tells the story of the beginnings of the water works at Seething Wells.

## **London and dirt**

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century London saw a dramatic increase in its population. People flocked to the city for the prospect of jobs and wealth. It also saw a dynamic shift in international trade with people from around the world, arriving, departing and settling in the city and its fringe areas. As the population grew, the city spread and became denser. There was growth, new business and everything that unregulated boom brings to a city.

When it came to water supply, sewage and refuse, the city's infrastructure was basic. There were a number of private water companies supplying their customers with water from the River Thames. There was one exception, the New River Company, which had been piping water from outside the city since the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. There were plenty of natural springs and wells on the fringe of the city, but by the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, these were becoming poisoned through industry and the increasing population. Rivers were full of refuse and

beginning to be covered up. There were a few sewers, but they were small and not capable of catering for a large population. The main way of disposing of refuse was through cesspits, the management of which was struggling under the increasing population.

Much of the refuse and sewage produced within the metropolis was eventually dumped in the River Thames. The intent was logical and once out of sight, refuse was no longer within the city, the Thames would transport it out to the North Sea. That happened eventually, but the Thames is tidal. What was dumped in the river, and washed downstream would soon return to join more refuse and sewage that was being discharged into the river.

## Drinking water

By the 1820s people were fully aware and concerned about the state of the Thames and the water being drawn from it by the water companies. In 1828 William Heath drew the cartoon *Monster Soup* (figure 1). It depicts a woman who has looked through a microscope at a sample of Thames Water. Looking straight at the viewer, she drops her cup of tea in shock and horror. It reads “Microcosm dedicated to the London Water Companies. Brought forth all monstrous, all prodigious things, hydras and organs, and chimeras dire.” Beneath the picture it goes on ‘Monster Soup commonly called Thames Water being a correct representation of that precious stuff doled out to us!’ This is a direct jibe



Figure 1 Monster soup – (London Metropolitan Archives)

at the water companies.<sup>2</sup> The Chelsea Water Company was under the spot light in 1827, when Sir Francis Burdett, MP reported to Parliament:

“The water taken from the river Thames at Chelsea, for the use of the inhabitants of the western part of the metropolis, being charged with the contents of the great common sewers, the drainings from dunghills and laystalls, the refuse of hospitals, slaughterhouses, colour, lead and soap works, drug mills and manufactories, and with all sorts of decomposed animal and vegetable substances, rendering the said water offensive and destructive to health, ought not to be taken up by any of the water companies from so foul a source.”<sup>3</sup>

## Disease

Dirty public drinking water, over-populated slum areas and poor sanitary conditions, led to disease. In 1832, the first epidemic of cholera arrived in Britain. It was followed by outbreaks in 1848 and 1854. During this time, there was much public outcry and fear of the epidemic. No-one knew what to do. The prevailing theory that miasma caused the spread of disease persisted. There were many attempts to protect oneself against cholera, including specially prepared clothing, masks and apparatus that would purify the air. Recipes were devised to cure cholera. One from the first outbreak in 1832 includes castor oil, brine, brandy and laudanum.<sup>4</sup>

This belief in miasma prevailed in the medical profession, to the neglect of sanitary arrangements and water cleanliness. Two decades after Burdett made his comments in Parliament Arthur Hassall produced a report *A Microscopic Examination of the Water Supplies to the Inhabitants of London*. He illustrated it with images of the water through a microscope (figure 2). All of the companies had poor quality water. He concluded:

“a portion of the inhabitants of the metropolis are made to consume, in some form or another, a portion of their own excrement, and moreover, to pay for the privilege.”<sup>5</sup>

Public pressure, albeit after 30 years, was beginning to work. The 1850s saw major reform in the sanitation of London, one of which was the building of the great sewers by Joseph Bazalgette from 1858. Of equal importance and earlier in the decade, the government passed the Metropolis Water Act of 1852, which required all water companies to draw their water from above the tidal Thames.

## James Simpson

In his presidential address to the Institute of Civil Engineers in 1850, William Cubitt said, “The engineers have always been the real sanitary reformers.”<sup>6</sup> As the medical profession was adhering to a theory based on the air born



**Figure 2** Hassell sample of Thames water taken by the Lambeth Water Company – (London Metropolitan Archives)

communication of disease, they were grasping in the dark for prevention and cures. In the meantime, engineers were developing new ways to clean up water supplies in response to public demand.

James Simpson was an engineer who specialised in water filtration. In 1827 at the age of 28, he travelled around the country looking at examples of water filtration in the North East England and Scotland. Two years later in 1829 he developed a slow sand filtration technique and built filtration beds for the Chelsea Water Company at Pimlico using this technique. The main objective of filtering the water was to remove any suspended material. It was successful, but the Thames water at Pimlico eventually became too polluted for the beds to cope with.



This was the first filtration process that was used for public supply on a large scale.<sup>7</sup> It attracted attention from the engineering profession in the *Civil Engineer* and *Architects Journal*<sup>8</sup> and Henry Witt, Assistant Chemist to Government School of Applied Science wrote *On a peculiar power possessed by porous media of removing matter from solution in water*.<sup>9</sup>

In the mid 1840s Simpson went to the Lambeth Water Company and proposed to construct filter beds for them. His water source would be taken from above the tidal range of the Thames, just above Teddington Lock. He was first employed to carry out a feasibility study to find the best location. Factors he considered were:

- an abundant and pure current and future supplies of clean water
- that existing head reservoirs and distribution mains and pipes remained in tact
- any new works would be restricted to improved supplies to existing reservoirs and extension of mains
- a favourable direct route for the clean water from source to reservoirs at Brixton, avoiding hilly land
- a source above highest range of tide at Teddington Lock, sufficiently remote from influence of disturbance.<sup>10</sup>

In Simpson's report to the Lambeth Board in 1848 he concluded Seething Wells was the ideal location:

“I feel confident that no other site or source can be found, which combines so many advantages, and from which so pure, constant, and abundant a supply can be obtained with so small an expenditure.”<sup>11</sup>

The site was on the Thames, there was land to build the beds on, and most importantly, there was a relatively existing straight route that the pipe could take along the new railway line. The Lambeth Water Company invested £120,000 and James Simpson was employed to construct the water works. They were the first company to do this, well ahead of the 1856 deadline imposed by Parliament.

### **Seething Wells before the Water Works**

Before James Simpson built the first filter beds for the Lambeth Water Company, the Seething Wells area was of small scale agriculture and industry. There were a few cottages, pubs, ozier beds, meadows and wharfs. The apt name of Seething Wells is a gradual phonetic corruption of the original 'Siden Wells' which appears on maps from the 18th century. It was the site of springs (reportedly warm springs), famous for their purity and healing properties.

John Aubrey wrote of Seething Wells in his *The Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey*:

‘About half a Mile from the Bowling-Green at the *West* End of the Town [Kingston], is a Spring that is cold in Summer, and warm in Winter; it bubbles up, and is called *Seething-Well*. The Inhabitants thereabout do use to wash their Eyes with it, and drink of it.’<sup>12</sup>

His book was largely written in the 1670s, although not published until 1718.<sup>13</sup>

The water by Hampton Court was believed to possess medicinal properties. In 1794 it was described as “efficacious in the gravel (for kidney stones), excellent for drinking and washing...” For many centuries the Hampton Court area had a reputation of good health, as it was reported that it escaped epidemics, of sweating sickness, plague, small pox and scarlet fever which raged in neighbouring areas. This was ascribed to the protection of the river.<sup>14</sup>

There are a number of reports of a spring at Seething Wells being used by the local population. Ayliffe claimed that from at least the 18<sup>th</sup> century the spring has become “enclosed within a very old ivy covered well-house containing a well and spring.”<sup>15</sup> Biden refers to “an abundant supply of water, whose hot waters were exploited medicinally, especially for ophthalmia.”<sup>16</sup> Hard evidence of a spring is difficult to come by, but during the winter of 2012, the beds froze over. The author saw in the settling bed (adjacent to Harts Boatyard at the northern end of the complex) a circular shape that had melted in the ice. This could possibly be a spring, with warmer water rising to the surface and melting the ice.

## **The Water Works and Filter Beds**

The first beds and works built were those for the Lambeth Water Company and were operational in 1852. These beds still exist and are used by Thames Water. They are found just opposite the Nuffield Health Centre on Portsmouth Road, which was the engine building that pumped the water to the reservoirs. The beds are basic in their function and by later standards quite small.

During the construction of Lambeth Water Company complex, James Simpson returned to the Chelsea Water Company to propose a similar venture. They agreed and he built a water works next to the Lambeth Water Company site. These beds were bigger, better and more sophisticated than the rudimentary beds he built for Lambeth. They consisted of the seven large filter and settling beds. They still exist on the riverside of the Kingston University site, which was where the Chelsea engine houses and coal stores were located. Figure 3 shows an aerial view of both water works, which was taken in the 1930s. Although 80 years later, this is what the overall complex would have looked like by the late 1860s.

## **How it worked**

The beds used the same slow sand filtration process that Simpson developed earlier for Chelsea. Water was let into the beds through sluice gates in the river wall. The first bed was a settling bed, where debris was allowed to sink to the bottom. The water was allowed into a filter bed and percolated down through undulating layers of:



**Figure 3** An aerial view of both water works, taken in the 1930s. – Kingston Museum and Heritage Service

1. fine sand
2. coarse sand
3. shells (from Harwich)
4. fine gravel
5. coarse gravel

The water could take up to 6 hours to pass through all the layers. At the bottom were large earthenware pipes that conducted the water to the pump houses on the other side of the Portsmouth Road. Figure 4 is of one of the filter beds drained in 2011. It shows the undulating surface of the beds, which is a result of the large ceramic pipes at the bottom.

This was a straightforward process that removed particles and dirt from the water, giving the population of London clear, bright water. Although it was not realised at the time, the process also had a biological action that killed bacteria. As the water to settled and percolated, sunlight encouraged the growth of algae which absorbed nutrients from the water, multiplied and produced oxygen. The chemical reactions with the impurities made them more easily absorbed by algae.



**Figure 4** One of the filter beds that was drained in 2011. It shows the undulating surface of the beds, which is a result of the large ceramic pipes at the bottom. – Howard Bengé

On the very top of the filter layer, i.e. the first layer of sand, there was highly active slimy organic layer called the *schmutzdecke*, or filter skin. This contained microorganisms and bacteria that broke down and digested organic matter in the water and consumed dead algae and living bacteria. As the water passed down through the sand there was further biological processes as a mass of microorganisms and bacteria that coated the sand grains fed on impurities. As the water descended there was little bacteria left, so finally the organisms fed off each other. When it emerged, the water was free from harmful organisms and dissolved nutrients that might encourage bacteria.<sup>17</sup> An understanding of bacteria was not developed until later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

James Simpson also built water works for companies around the UK using the same slow sand filtration process. In fact, filter beds that are recognisably descended from Simpson's are still used today.<sup>18</sup>

### **The construction of the water beds**

The construction of the filter beds started with the Lambeth Water Company in 1848. Those beds were operational in 1852. This was closely followed by the

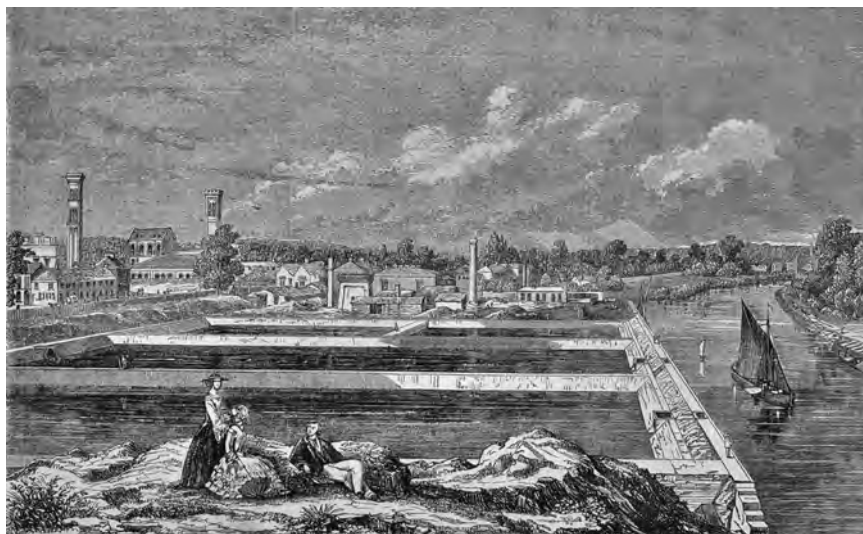
Chelsea Water Company, who started construction in 1854, the site opening in 1856. The impact of the site must have been significant, changing a quiet small industrial area with a few buildings to a major engineering site. Figure 5 shows an image of the filter beds from the area just to the north, from the *Illustrated Times* from 1858. A description of the site in 1854 is found in the *Surrey Comet*:

“... The banks of the river at Seething Wells, on a fine day are worth a visit, for the busy and animated scene there presented. It is impossible for anyone unacquainted with the plans of the undertaking to form any judgement of what will be the eventual condition which the spot is to assume, but at the pace now maintained order and effect will soon emerge from the present temporary chaos and confusion... Above 800 men are now engaged and over £1000 was disbursed last week for wages alone.”<sup>19</sup>

The 800 men that the *Surrey Comet* reports were working on the construction of the Chelsea Water Works. Although the first phase of construction was finished by 1856, the complex was continuously developed with more filter beds built up to Balaclava Road, coal sheds constructed and the engines replaced.

### The excavators

The construction of the Lambeth Water Works coincided with the 1851 census and the census returns gives us a glimpse of the people who worked at Seething



**Figure 5** An image of the filter beds from the area just to the north, from the *Illustrated Times* from 1858

Wells. Large, deep reservoirs were excavated and a river wall built. This was along with ancillary buildings, stores and large pump houses that contained the steam powered engines. Construction was by manual labour and carried out by migrant labourers. These men worked in gangs on projects of this kind, such as canals and railways. The workers are seen in the census material with occupation titles such as Excavator Water Works or Labourer, Well Borer, Turncock and Engine Driver.

These gangs worked and lived together, usually headed by the gang leader. For example, one household on Brighton Terrace, consisted of the head of household, Thomas Barrows, his wife, Sarah Barrows, two daughters, Sarah Ann (age 5) and Phoebe (age 3). Thomas Barrows was an “excavator at the waterworks”. In addition there were 10 lodgers, all men of the same profession. They lived near their place of work, so there were gangs living on Leatherhead Road (the continuation of Brighton Road), George Street (renamed Cottage Grove), and Seething Wells.

As migrant workers the majority of the excavators were born elsewhere, which again is seen in the census. They came from Dorset, Guildford, Hampshire, Berkshire, Stoke, Runcorn, Wiltshire and as far away as Anglesey.<sup>20</sup>

## Accidents

The work was labour intensive with little machinery. There were pressures to complete the work on time. Health and safety as known today did not exist. Accidents, even deaths happened. William Dobson, was killed when he fell off “a stone while it was being raised, to prevent it shaking the scaffolding.”<sup>21</sup> The *Surrey Comet* recorded a few accidents and near misses. For example, at Chelsea Water Works, Henry Stevens was hit by a falling scaffold pole and drowned in a well.<sup>22</sup>

## Behaviour

With an influx of such a great number of men in a small area, friction would be expected. Going through the *Surrey Comet*, no incidents or complaints were found, but rather the contrary. In 1854, the *Comet* reports on the excavators’ good behaviour:

“It is a matter for great Satisfaction that in the congregation of such a number of individuals engaged at the work, such a small cause for complaint has been given on the score of irregularity or disturbance. Indeed their conduct has hitherto generally been exemplary, a fact which is to be attributed mainly to the methods and order observed on the various departments of the works and to the punctual attention to the claims of this employed in the payment of wages.”<sup>23</sup>

## The operational water works

Once the water works were operational, the number of people working there decreased. Looking at the censuses and using the Kingston University Life-cycles

database, a generational pattern can be seen of men and their sons working there and living locally. We can pick up the same people and their families in 1861, 1871 and 1881 censuses.<sup>24</sup>

### **George Bedford**

One example is the George Bedford, who in 1861 was a Water Works Labourer, 34 years old, lived in Brighton Road with his wife Sarah (34), and his three sons William (12), Walter (4), Charles (4) and daughter Mary Ann (1). George, Sarah, William and Walter were born in Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire.

In the 1871 census, George and his family have moved to 8 St Mary's Road in Surbiton. His job remained the same, a Water Works Labourer and his oldest son now works at the Water Works as a Stoker. Mary Ann is now 11 years old and is a scholar, but is no longer the youngest child in the household, as Sarah (9), Annie (7), Emily (4) and George (3) appear. Walter does not appear in the household

In the 1881 census George is now 54 and the household consists of Walter and Emily. In the Chelsea Water Work's List of Company's Workmen and employed at Surbiton, he is recorded as having worked for the company for 27 years, is a Coal Weigher, &c, (implying other duties), was paid 27/6 per week and has a Garden Ground for an emolument. William is also mentioned, with 16 year's service, 34 years old, and engine worker, paid 30/ a week and has a company cottage and garden and about 3/- for cleaning flues. Charles is also in the document, with 5 years' service, 25 years old, assistant Stoker and cleaner paid 25/- a week.

In the 1891 census, George is still working at the water works, and now aged 64. He is down as a coal labourer. He is still in St Mary's Road with Sarah; their cottage is now called 8 Elm Cottages. George, their youngest son is still living with them, is 23 years old and is an assistant stoker, although the water works is not specified.<sup>25</sup>

George established himself in the water works in a job that had a good salary and benefits. His sons followed him in similar work and stayed and married in Surbiton. Stoking and Coal Weighing, although a manual job, is one not to be under-estimated. It was vital for the water companies to control the amount of water being pumped to their customers, which required the engines needing the right amounts of coal at the right times to ensure sufficient power without being un-economical.

### **Seething Wells, cholera and the Grand Experiment.**

Dr. John Snow is famous for working intensively in Soho, tracing the cases of cholera and locating it to the Broad Street water pump. After the epidemic had ceased, he continued his work in connecting the spread of cholera with an infected water source in his study *The Grand Experiment*. He chose Lambeth to carry out this study, as there were two water companies operating there. The Vauxhall and Southwark Water Company, who pumped their water straight from

the Thames at Battersea and the Lambeth Water Company who, by the 1854 cholera outbreak, were pumping and filtering their water at Seething Wells.

Snow plotted government statistics on which households were infected with cholera with water companies that supplied the households. He presented his findings in a report, *On the Mode of Communication of Cholera* in 1855 and to a Parliamentary committee the same year. Snow concluded that:

“The cholera was fourteen times more fatal... amongst the persons having the impure water of the Southwark and Vauxhall Company, as amongst those having the purer water from Thames Ditton.”<sup>26</sup>

Snow had used the filtered water from the Lambeth beds at Seething Wells to strengthen his theory that cholera is transmitted by water not air. This was not definitive proof for the medical profession, but it was a move in the direction that finally led to the acceptance of waterborne disease and the understanding of bacteria that was developed later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## **Conclusion**

The 1850s was a pivotal time for public health in Britain. Clean water and major sewage engineering schemes were introduced to London. There were further epidemics of cholera in Europe, including one in the 1890s that spread to Hamburg. London was waiting and holding its breath for the arrival of this epidemic as both cities were trading partners. Over 2000 people died of the disease in Hamburg. Only a handful of people died in London. The Seething Wells water works in Surbiton played a major part in the sanitation of London and the person responsible for implementing the water works was the engineer James Simpson.

## **Acknowledgements**

The author would like to thank the volunteers who worked on the Seething Wells Water project that took place in 2011. They helped carry out a large part of the research, which can now be seen on the website [www.seethingwellswater.org](http://www.seethingwellswater.org). They are Simon Tyrell, Michael Statham-Fletcher, Glenis Ward, Lauris Ashton, Carole Edmunds, Steve Hill, Mark Harrington, Anna Cunningham, Bob Phillips, Clare George, Tony Johansen, Tim Harrison and Tony Willis.

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# THE REEDS OF OATLANDS: A TUDOR MARRIAGE SETTLEMENT

*Elizabeth Norton*

An interesting document survives in the Somerset Record Office relating to the Reed family of Oatlands in Surrey in the early sixteenth century. The document, which is a marriage settlement dating to 15 May 1528 and made between William Reed of Shepperton and John Blount of Kinlet in Shropshire, relates to the marriage that had been arranged between Reed and Blount's daughter, Isabel.<sup>1</sup> The document is a rare survival and one which provides information on the arrangements that were made for marriages amongst the gentry in the Tudor period. In addition to this, both families enjoyed court connections and the marriage demonstrates the relationships that existed between the more traditional landed gentry (as represented by the Blounts) as opposed to families who had acquired their wealth and standing through trade (in the case of the Reeds). The marriage settlement itself and its significance will be considered below, alongside the backgrounds of both families and the arrangements which were made for the marriage itself. The Reeds were a prominent and important Surrey family in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century and certainly worthy of further notice.

## **The Reeds of Oatlands**

The Reed family's origins were in trade. In 1493 Bartholomew Reed, who was the uncle of William Reed, was listed as one of the liverymen of the prominent Goldsmiths' Company in London.<sup>2</sup> The year before he had been appointed as the joint master of the London mint.<sup>3</sup> He was elected as an Alderman in July 1498, remaining in office until his death and was also knighted.<sup>4</sup> He served as Lord Mayor of London in 1502. Bartholomew was childless and promoted the career of his nephew and heir, William Reed, who became one of his uncle's deputies at the London mint in 1503, a position that he held until his uncle's death in 1505.

Bartholomew was originally from Cromer in Norfolk.<sup>5</sup> However, his position in London trade made him wealthy, necessitating a base closer to London. He purchased land in Weybridge and Walton at some point after 1478 which can probably be identified with the Oatlands estate.<sup>6</sup> He extended his landed interests in the 1490s, becoming a prominent landowner in the county. Bartholomew's London residence was the most lavish merchant's house in the capital and it has been suggested that Oatlands itself 'can have hardly been less splendid'.<sup>7</sup> This is also suggested by the fact that, when the king made renovations to the



**Figure 1** Isabel Blount from her parents' tomb

property after 1537 in order to turn it from a private residence into a palace, he spent only a fraction of what he had when he took control of Hampton Court and Whitehall earlier in the reign, suggesting that the property already existed to a high standard. Clearly, the Reeds enjoyed a high standard of living at Oatlands, above that which would usually be expected of a gentry status family. Excavations to the site indicate this with the earliest structure, an early fifteenth century timber framed building being replaced later in the century by a larger brick house. The house continued to be improved over the fifty years of Reed family ownership, with a gatehouse and a moat being added, for example. Sir Bartholomew Reed was a substantial figure. In his Will his widow, Elizabeth, received the cash sum of £1000 and many of her husband's chattels, as well as a life interest in his estates. William Reed was the ultimate beneficiary of most of his uncle's property, including Oatlands. At the time of his marriage to Isabel Blount, his aunt was still living, which accounts for his residence then at Shepperton. Following Lady Reed's death the family moved to Oatlands.

William Reed followed his uncle into the Goldsmiths' Company but was expelled in 1511 for contumacious conduct when he refused to pay a fine of forty shillings for disobedience.<sup>8</sup> It is probably significant that, by the time that he made his Will in 1534 William Reed referred to himself as 'William Reed of Weybridge in the county of Surrey, Esquire' rather than by his earlier profession – his uncle had called himself a goldsmith in his own Will.<sup>9</sup>

William Reed referred to himself as a 'gentleman' in the marriage agreement. This can be contrasted with Reed's prospective father-in-law, John Blount, who was described as an 'esquire'. Although knights and esquires were members of the gentry in Tudor England, this category was heavily stratified and a man who could lay claim to the title of 'Esquire' was above the rank of a mere gentleman, albeit below that of knight.<sup>10</sup> The marriage settlement therefore highlights an inequality in the status of the two parties to the marriage. This inequality continued well after the marriage: whilst William Reed described himself as an esquire in his Will of 1534, John Blount had secured a knighthood before his death in 1531.

### **The Blounts of Kinlet**

Although not as wealthy as the Reeds, the Blounts had been established at Kinlet, their principal seat, for nearly a century by 1529. The family could trace their descent back to the Norman Conquest, as well as being descended from Edmund de Cornwall, a thirteenth century lord of Kinlet whose father was the illegitimate grandson of King John.<sup>11</sup> The family were closely related to Lord Mountjoy, as well as other members of the court, with Isabel's father, John Blount securing a court appointment as one of the king's Spears early in Henry VIII's reign. John's wife, the Staffordshire heiress Katherine Pershall was also well connected, with her mother being a member of the prominent Stanley family. Isabel's eldest sister, Elizabeth Blount, was appointed as one of the queen's maids of honour in 1512 and, within a few years had become Henry VIII's mistress, bearing

his only acknowledged illegitimate child, Henry Fitzroy, in 1519. Fitzroy was created Duke of Richmond and Somerset by his father in 1525 and given his own household, which included two of his mother's three brothers. Elizabeth Blount married Gilbert, Lord Tailboys in 1522. This match was arranged by Cardinal Wolsey and was far above any marriage which could have been arranged for her by her family: the second sister, Anne, married a Shropshire neighbour, Richard Lacon Esquire of Willey. Until Henry Fitzroy's early death in 1536 there was a great deal of speculation that the king intended to name him his heir, with the Earl of Sussex stating in front of the king at a council meeting following the end of Henry VIII's second marriage that 'considering the Princess [Henry's daughter, Mary] was a bastard, as well as the duke of Richmond, it would be advisable to prefer the male to the female for the succession to the Crown'.<sup>12</sup> In 1528 it was therefore entirely possible that Isabel Blount would be the aunt of a king of England. Regardless of the uncertainty of Fitzroy's royal ambitions, she was already the aunt of the premier English duke.

The tomb of John and Katherine Blount in Kinlet church is decorated with the images of their eleven children: five sons and six daughters. The names of three of these sons and five daughters survive, suggesting that the remaining



**Figure 2** John and Katherine Blount in Kinlet Church

three children died young. Elizabeth Blount was the eldest daughter, with her birth probably being followed by the two sons that died young.<sup>13</sup> Anne is named on the tomb as the second daughter. Her youngest child was born in around 1552 and her first marriage occurred before 1526.<sup>14</sup> Based on this and the fact that a court document confirms that her parents had completed their large family by 1518, Anne must have been born in around 1504 at the earliest.<sup>15</sup> The eldest surviving son, George, was born in 1513 whilst the youngest surviving daughter, Alhora (who was named as the fifth daughter on the tomb) was still an infant at the time of her maternal grandmother's death in 1519. Since two younger sons and Alhora were born between 1514 and 1518, the remaining two sisters, Rose and Isabel, must have been born between 1504 and 1512. Rose married first and was probably the elder of the two. Isabel can therefore be identified as the fourth daughter, born in c.1508–12. She was in her late teens at the time of her marriage.

### **Arranging the Match**

The question must be asked how the marriage between the couple came to be arranged. A prominent goldsmith, Robert Amadas, who was first mentioned in the records of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1494 is one connection.<sup>16</sup> In his Will, Sir Bartholomew Reed left a bequest to his godson, Hugh Brice, as well as jewellery to Hugh's sister, Elizabeth, the wife of Robert Amadas who also received a bequest.<sup>17</sup> At some point before 1528, Elizabeth became Henry VIII's mistress, later reporting that 'the king had often sent her offerings and gifts, and that Mr Daunsy had come the bawd between the King and her to have had her to Mr Compton's house in Thames Street'.<sup>18</sup> Both Elizabeth Amadas and her husband were well known at court, with the evidence of Elizabeth's relationship with the king making it clear that she must have been a frequent visitor. As one of the women who supplanted Elizabeth Blount as royal mistress, she was known to her and, as one of the most vocal opponents of Henry VIII's marriage to Anne Boleyn, may also have found herself in the same party as Elizabeth Blount and her allies when there were hopes that the king would choose the mother of his illegitimate son as his bride instead.<sup>19</sup> The Amadas connection demonstrates that the Blounts and the Reeds moved in similar circles and are likely to have come upon each other socially.

More immediately, Isabel Blount's aunt, Katherine Blount was married to a Robert Smythe of Thames Ditton, who enjoyed court connections.<sup>20</sup> He was known to William Reed and evidently close to his niece after she settled at Oatlands, with Isabel commenting after her husband's death that her uncle would have obtained a lease of a farm in Weybridge if it had not previously been granted to her husband.<sup>21</sup> It is therefore not impossible that either Katherine or Robert Smythe identified Reed as a potential husband for Isabel, in a similar way to the fact that Elizabeth Blount was likely behind the marriage of another sister, Rose, to her neighbour.

Alternatively, it is possible that Isabel's parents arranged the marriage themselves. The Blounts associated with London merchants and were connected

to trade through marriage. Isabel's maternal grandmother had taken a London merchant, John Russhe, as her second husband towards the end of the fifteenth century, for example.<sup>22</sup> Russhe, who was prominent and wealthy was not a match for his wife socially and she continued to be known as Dame Isabel Pershall, due to her previous marriage to Sir Hugh Pershall, during her second marriage.<sup>23</sup> Russhe and his wife retained close links to the Blounts, with the couple taking legal action on Katherine Blount's behalf. A closer link to the merchant classes was provided by the marriage of Isabel Blount's elder sister, Rose, who married a William Grisling of Lincolnshire. The Grisling family were based at Asgarby, close to the marital home of Rose and Isabel's eldest sister, Elizabeth Blount, and it seems likely that she was involved in arranging the match. Grisling had family connections with Saltash in Cornwall which strongly implies that he was involved in trade. In October 1534 he was in London when he was referred to in a letter written by Henry Fitzroy. It is likely that he was the merchant named William Grisling who was active at the time in London and appears in the king's own accounts relating to a sale of crimson satin.<sup>24</sup> Merchants, whilst not from established families could use their wealth to acquire respectability, with Isabel Stanley referring in court to her second husband both as a 'gentleman' and a man of 'good substance and trust'.<sup>25</sup>

Although wealthy, William Reed was not a particularly brilliant match for the aunt of the king's only surviving son. He was already an adult by 1503 when he was appointed to assist his uncle in the London mint, and so must have been of a similar age to his father-in-law, who was born in 1484. Reed was approaching fifty at the time of his marriage and would not have been expected to survive the match by many years. By the time of the marriage, he had already been widowed at least once and possibly twice, with his uncle's Will referring to a young kinswoman, Julianna Eliot, in relation to William 'whom I have appointed with God's grace to be married'.<sup>26</sup> Whether this marriage occurred is unclear, with the sixteenth and seventeenth century heraldic visitations to Surrey recording that the mother of his heir was a lady surnamed Stede.<sup>27</sup> Following his first marriage or marriages, Reed had a surviving son, John, as well as probably also a daughter named Elizabeth who appears to have been married at the time of his death in 1534, ensuring that she cannot have been Isabel's child.<sup>28</sup> The wording of a grant made to John Reed in 1538 also suggests that a second son, Henry, was his full brother.<sup>29</sup> Any child of Reed's marriage to Isabel had limited prospects of inheriting substantial property. In his Will Reed left cash bequests to his daughters, as well as personal property and a life interest in some of his estates to Isabel, subject to her paying a yearly rent to his eldest son for her occupation. In addition to this, a son named Anthony, as well as 'the child that she [Isabel] now goeth with all being a son' were to receive a remainder interest in Reed's lands and tenements in Long Ditton and the City of London, whilst a further son, Henry, received his father's lands and tenements in Oxfordshire. These properties were minor compared to Reed's estates in Surrey and it is clear that he had only limited ability (or inclination) to bequeath lands away from his eldest son.

In spite of their connection to Henry Fitzroy, the Blount sisters were not in high demand, perhaps largely due to the fact that, with three surviving brothers they had no prospect of inheriting their parents' estates. Whilst Elizabeth Blount married a peer, this was her reward for becoming the king's mistress. The second sister, Anne, married a neighbour who had long been associated with her father. No husband was found for the fifth sister, Albora, in spite of the careful provision made for her marriage in her mother's Will, while the two remaining sisters both married merchants, with Rose's match secured by her sister rather than her parents. William Reed, in spite of his disadvantages may simply have been the best offer that Isabel received, particularly given the fact that her younger sister remained a spinster. William Reed was probably largely motivated by Isabel's relationship with Henry Fitzroy, as well as seeking a young bride.

### **The Marriage Settlement**

The marriage settlement, which was signed on 15 May 1528, is a relatively short document, made between John Blount and William Reed. Under its terms, Reed covenanted to marry Isabel by 10 June at the latest. In addition to this, he agreed to pay for wedding clothes for both himself and his bride, as well as paying for 'all such meat and drink as shall be necessary for the day of the same marriage'. Once arrangements for the wedding itself had been agreed, the parties turned to financial matters, with Reed agreeing to settle certain lands in Middlesex, Surrey and Kent on a number of trustees for the benefit of Isabel and for the heirs of their bodies, with the lands passing back to Reed and his own heirs on Isabel's death in the event that she was not survived by living issue. Given the existence of Reed's elder children, this was an important agreement for Isabel and one which ensured that her own children would take some of their father's estates, as well as ensuring that she was guaranteed an income after her husband's death. The estates were to provide a yearly return of £30 6s 8d, with it being made clear that this was to be the net figure, after expenses, to be received by Isabel. In addition to this, Reed covenanted that, after the death of his aunt, Dame Elizabeth Reed, who was the widow of Sir Bartholomew, he would cause £40 worth of lands to be transferred to trustees for Isabel's benefit, a provision that was common where estates were already encumbered by existing dower rights. These lands were to be made available to Reed and Isabel during their lives, with the lands then passing to William's heirs. Also after Dame Elizabeth's death Reed covenanted to pay Isabel a sum in money, plate or jewels. In return, John Blount agreed to pay to Reed four hundred marks in 'lawful money' in instalments as Isabel's dowry. A mark was worth two-thirds of a pound and this was therefore a substantial sum, demonstrating the Blount family's eagerness for the match. By way of comparison, William Reed left his unmarried daughters one hundred marks each towards their marriage in his Will. Isabel's jointure was a generous one and her father may well have calculated that, after only a few years of widowhood she would have recouped the value of her dowry in the annual rents that she received.



Although a relatively rare survival, the document is in fact not the only surviving marriage settlement for the Blount family as the settlement entered into by Isabel's mother, Katherine Blount, with Sir John and Lady Talbot on the occasion of a marriage between Isabel's brother, George and Constance Talbot survives.<sup>30</sup> This document provides a useful comparison for the terms agreed in the Reed marriage. In order to obtain the marriage, Katherine agreed to settle a portion of her own inheritance on her son and his wife, as well as agreeing to pass Blount family property to the couple after the life interests of first her mother-in-law and then herself, an arrangement that parallels the agreement in the Reed settlement that Isabel would receive further lands after Lady Reed's death. Katherine covenanted in the settlement that she would only bequeath lands worth £40 per year from her own inheritance to her younger sons. She drove a hard bargain, securing payment of a cash sum from the Talbots as dowry, as well as negotiating that, in default of male issue born to the couple, her property and that of the Blounts would pass first to her own younger sons before being inherited by any daughters of George and Constance. Constance's jointure was also agreed which was to be provided from the rents and profits from a number of estates.

The terms of the settlement provided for George Blount are comparable to those for his sister. Isabel was well provided for in the usual manner of granting her a jointure made up of life interests in land. In addition to this, her dowry, whilst large, was small relative to the amount she could hope to receive in rents during what would have been predicted to have been a long widowhood. As with George Blount's settlement, care was taken to provide for the family's younger sons which, in Isabel's case, would have been her own future children given the existence of Reed's elder sons. The sum of lands worth just over £30 annually that was allotted to them was not a great sum, but evidently one that was acceptable to the Blounts as can be seen by the provision made for Katherine Blount's younger sons in George Blount's settlement which was for a similar sum.

### **The Marriage of William Reed and Isabel Blount**

The marriage proved to be brief, with Reed dying in 1534. It was apparently happy with William Reed attempting to provide generously for his wife in his Will, in addition to the provision made for her in the settlement. A grant to Isabel's stepson, John Reed in 1538 implies that two sons of William Reed, Anthony and Thomas were full brothers, whilst not necessarily full brothers to John and Henry Reed.<sup>31</sup> Since Thomas, the youngest son, was not referred to in his father's Will he was evidently the posthumous child for whom careful provision was made, indicating that both sons were Isabel's. Two daughters can also be identified as Isabel's: Anne and Joan, meaning that she produced four children in only six years, indicating that the couple were frequently together and soon established a close relationship.<sup>32</sup>

Unfortunately, Isabel was unable to establish a warm relationship with her stepson, John. John, who was still a minor, was not at Oatlands at the time of his father's death, with Isabel sending an appeal, and a horse to facilitate John's

journey, to London in October 1534 to request the boy's attendance at his father's funeral.<sup>33</sup> Isabel had an ulterior motive in requesting her stepson's presence as Thomas Stydolf, an agent of the king's chief minister, Thomas Cromwell, who had obtained the boy's guardianship, wrote to his master at the same time to ask that the minister stay any request by Isabel to have 'the place at Weybridge' until his own return to London. Isabel had good reason to seek the house at Oatlands, which was her marital home. In his Will, her husband had requested that she be allowed to occupy the property for the remainder of her life in return for a yearly rent. However, where a gentleman died leaving a minor heir, the heir's wardship passed to the crown, something which allowed the king to bestow the heir's lands during their minority. Thomas Cromwell only officially received the grant of John Reed's wardship from the king on 6 October 1536.<sup>34</sup> However, he had been exercising control over the boy's affairs since the death of William Reed two years earlier. Within a few weeks of William Reed's death requests had begun to be made for his property, with one Richard Poole, a servant of the Bishop of Winchester, also seeking a tenancy of the house at Oatlands.<sup>35</sup> In addition to this, a government official, Sir Anthony Browne, sought a tenancy of a Reed farm at Weybridge directly from the king in late 1534.<sup>36</sup> There was some uncertainty over whether this tenancy was even in the king's power to grant, with the documents available to Cromwell's agent making it unclear whether William Reed had enjoyed an interest in the farm for a term of years or simply for life. It was left to Isabel to decide the matter, with Thomas Stydolf recording in a letter to his master that:

'John Carlton has made secret enquiries, and was yesterday with Mrs Reed and craftily handled her to have perfect knowledge thereof; but she handled him right wisely, saying that you [Cromwell] should have it and must of right, as having custody of the child, and that her husband took it to him and his heirs for years'.<sup>37</sup>

Isabel evidently hoped to please with her answer, further requesting via Stydolf that Cromwell 'be a good master' to her and asking that she be allowed to enjoy the property herself, providing, of course, 'a good yearly rent' to the minister. Isabel may well also have hoped to obtain his support in relation to Oatlands which, although promised to her in her husband's Will, soon passed into other more powerful hands. In January 1538 John Reed, who was then still a minor, received the grant of the property of the suppressed monastery at Tandridge with an annual value in excess of £69.<sup>38</sup> This was no gift and was, instead, an exchange of property resulting in the king taking possession of Oatlands. Henry VIII occupied Oatlands by at least December 1537 and he soon turned the building into a palace, marrying his fifth wife there in 1540.

Legally, Isabel only had a right to the jointure contained in her marriage settlement. She made strenuous efforts on her own behalf to improve her financial position, however, visiting London in January 1535 in order to plead her

case personally to Cromwell.<sup>39</sup> She engaged lawyers to assist her, as well as enlisting the support of her brother, George Blount, although her efforts were met with little success leading to her taking out her anger on Thomas Stydolf, who wrote to his master to complain that ‘she takes me for a great enemy, and has complained of me to honourable men, by herself or her eldest brother’.<sup>40</sup> Isabel also wrote to Cromwell, with a letter surviving from 1535 in which she requested confirmation that she could continue as the minister’s tenant in some of her deceased husband’s lands during John Reed’s minority, declaring that the loss of this property would be to her ‘great undoing’, particularly as she had recently suffered a great loss of her cattle.<sup>41</sup> The Blount family were known to Cromwell, who corresponded with both Isabel’s parents and employed her brother, Henry, in his household.<sup>42</sup> However, she did not achieve much success with him. Isabel appears to have died young as she was not mentioned in her mother’s Will written in early 1540 which named all of Katherine Blount’s living children.<sup>43</sup>

### **The Reed Family of Surrey**

For approximately fifty years the Reed family was one of the most prominent in Surrey. The marriage of William Reed to Isabel Blount provided him with further court connections and a tenuous, but potentially very important, link to royalty. For Isabel, the match, although slightly beneath her socially, was intended to provide her with financial security and was probably the best match that she was able to make given her few prospects of inheritance. The terms of the marriage settlement reflect the considerations of both parties, with Reed agreeing to generous terms to secure the match and, presumably, to also allay the fears of Isabel’s family concerning his age and existing children. As a rare survival, the marriage settlement provides an interesting insight into the gentry class in Tudor England. The document, as well as Reed’s connection with the Blounts also sheds further light on this prominent Surrey family and their ambitions and associations during the period.

### **NOTES**

- 1 Somerset Record Office DD\WHb/2986
- 2 Prideaux, W.S., ed., *Memorials of the Goldsmiths’ Company*, vol I (London) p31
- 3 Craig, J., *The Mint: A History of the London Mint from AD 287 to 1948* (Cambridge, 2011:98)
- 4 Poulton, R. (ed.), *Excavations at Oatlands Palace 1968–73 and 1983–4* (Woking, 2010:8)
- 5 *A General History of the County of Norfolk, Intended to Convey all the Information of a Norfolk Tour*, vol I (Norwich, 1829:150–151)
- 6 Poulton 2010:7
- 7 Poulton 2010:8
- 8 *Memorials of the Goldsmiths’ Company* p38
- 9 William Reed’s Will (TNA PROB 11/25)
- 10 Maddern, P., ‘Gentility’ in Radulescu, R. and Truelove, A. (eds.), *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England* (Manchester, 2005:19–20)
- 11 Norton, E., *Bessie Blount* (Stroud, 2011) details the Blount family origins.
- 12 *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, vol V pt II, Gayangos, P., de, ed. (London, 1888:61)

- 13 Norton, E., *Elizabeth Blount of Kinlet: An Image of Henry VIII's Mistress Identified* (Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society 84, 2009:21–26)
- 14 *The Register of Sir Thomas Botelar, Vicar of Much Wenlock* (Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society 6, 1882:110) for Anne's youngest child. The date of her first marriage is calculated based on the number of children she produced during her first marriage. 1526 would necessitate a child being born to her every year, suggesting an earlier marriage date (Norton 2011:213).
- 15 TNA C1/385/10
- 16 *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company* p11
- 17 TNA PROB 11/14
- 18 *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, vols I–XXI*, Brewer, J.S. and Gairdner, J., and Brodie, R.H., eds. (1862–1932) (L&P VI 923)
- 19 Norton 2011:232–239
- 20 *The Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry the Eighth from November 1529 to December 1532*, Nicolas, N.H., ed. (London, 1827:22)
- 21 L&P VII 1247
- 22 Norton 2011:49–53
- 23 TNA C1/352/11, for example.
- 24 *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII* p117 for references to Grisling in the royal accounts. Fitzroy's letter is from Nichols, J.G., ed., *Inventories of the Wardrobe, Plate, Chapel Stuff, etc. of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, and of the Wardrobe Stuff at Baynard's Castle of Katharine, Princess Dowager* (London, 1855:xcvii). William Grisling 'citizen and mercer of London' had Lincolnshire connections, further supporting the merchant's identification as the husband of Rose Blount (TNA C1/610/2 and C1/633/31)
- 25 TNA C1/203/14
- 26 Sir Bartholomew Reed's Will TNA PROB 11/14
- 27 Bannerman, W.B. (ed.), *The Visitations of the County of Surrey Taken in the Years 1530 by Thomas Benolte, Clarenceux King of Arms; 1572 by Robert Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms; and 1623 by Samuel Thompson Windsor Herald and Augustin Vincent Rouge Croix* (London, 1899:67)
- 28 Elizabeth, who is referred to as Reed's eldest daughter in his Will received a bequest of £20. The other daughters all received the sum of 100 marks to be paid towards their marriages, strongly suggesting that Elizabeth had already married (TNA PROB 11/25).
- 29 L&P XIII(I) 190(2)
- 30 British Library Additional MS 46457, f.56–62
- 31 L&P XIII(I) 190(2)
- 32 TNA C1/1262/8 is a legal case in which Anne and Joan Reed took action against Isabel Reed's brother-in-law, William Grisling, for his failure to pay bequests due to them after Isabel's death. This connection suggests that they were Isabel's natural daughters rather than her stepdaughters.
- 33 L&P VII 1246
- 34 L&P XI 943(5)
- 35 L&P VII 1246
- 36 L&P VII 1247
- 37 L&P VII 1247
- 38 L&P XIII(I) 190(2)
- 39 L&P VIII 106
- 40 L&P VIII 106
- 41 L&P IX 1151
- 42 TNA SP1/68 f.116 is a letter from John Blount to Cromwell. Katherine Blount's correspondence is printed in Parshall, H.F., *The Parshall Family AD 870–1913* (London, 1915). Henry Blount's position with Cromwell is contained in a list of his servants from L&P XIII pt II 1184
- 43 Katherine Blount's Will TNA PROB 11/28

# THE SUPPRESSION OF THE CHANTRY COLLEGE OF ST PETER, LINGFIELD

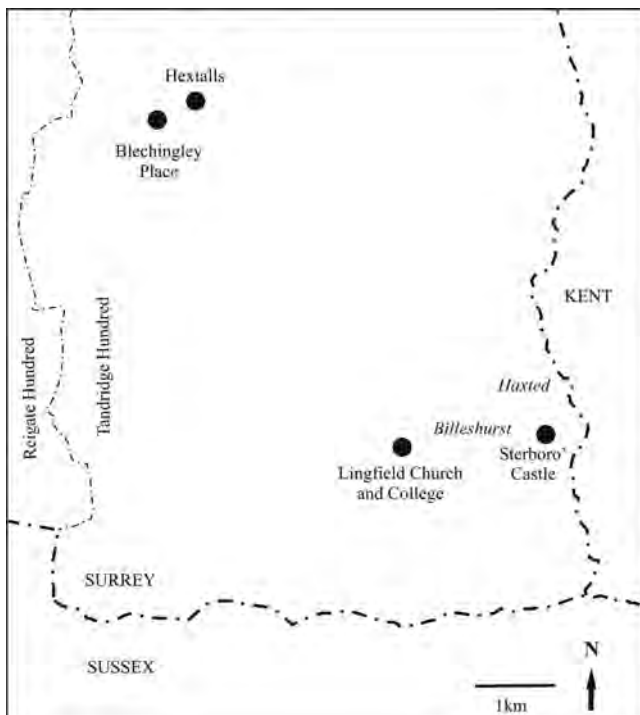
*Dennis Turner*

It was the frequent practice in the later Middle Ages for those who could afford to do so to set money aside during life or by bequest to support the saying of intercessory masses. In establishing such ‘chantries’, founders provided endowments to pay for a priest, or priests, to sing prayers and offer the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass at an altar for their own well-being and good estate while they lived, for their souls after death, for other named individuals, and for all the faithful departed, in the belief that the intercessions would speed their souls through purgatory where their sins would be expiated.<sup>1,2</sup> The doctrines of purgatory and intercession were among the major objects of Martin Luther’s ire and Lindley<sup>3</sup> provides an accessible summary description of the progress of the doctrinal criticism in Britain.

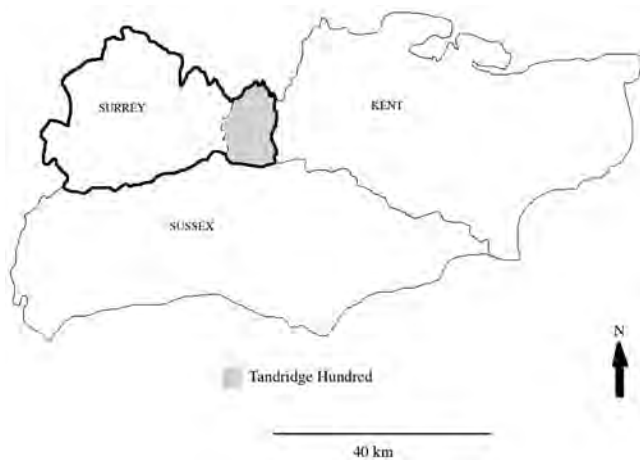
Good works – such as the distribution of alms or provision of accommodation for the poor, or the free education of children – were also thought to benefit the soul in purgatory and many intercessory institutions combined prayers for the benefactors with such charitable activities. In the better-endowed cases, specific altars or even chapels (chantry chapels) were endowed for the purpose and, at the summit, colleges of secular priests were provided for their maintenance.<sup>4</sup> A college was ‘a collection of individuals, regularly incorporated or, at least virtually corporate but without such a formal constitution, under a common head’.<sup>5</sup> The college of St Peter founded at Lingfield in 1431 by the Cobhams of Sterborough was one such: it was planned to support, in addition to a provost or master, five other priests or chaplains, four clerks and thirteen ‘poor persons’.<sup>6</sup> Its clergy were required to minister to the parish.

While a considerable variety of institution was to be suppressed in the 1540s, the dissolution of the monasteries left the chantries relatively untouched until the passage of the Chantry Act in 1545 during Henry’s last parliament<sup>7</sup> the latter Act was hardly implemented and the suppression of the chantries in the decade 1535–45 has been largely neglected by scholars apart from Alan Kreider.<sup>8</sup> It seems widely agreed that the abolition of the chantries under Edward VI in 1547 was more important for the laity ‘in terms both of the assault on medieval belief systems and of the destruction of the material culture of the past’<sup>9</sup> but this is not the whole story.

Kreider’s monograph concentrated on four counties – Essex, Warwickshire, Wiltshire and Yorkshire – and illuminated problems elsewhere in England largely by inference. We also know that some collegiate chantries, such as the Chantry College of St Elizabeth in Winchester, were dissolved among the



**Figure 1** Map of south east Surrey showing places mentioned in text



**Figure 2** Location map for Tandridge Hundred

smaller monastic houses in 1536, and we might fear that the Chantry College of St Peter at Lingfield, otherwise known as Lingfield College, had been dissolved in a similar way. But we find that Lingfield was not surrendered until 1544: itself a date that may seem curious and in need of explanation.

The documents published by Theodore Craib<sup>10</sup> are of particular interest in this respect. Firstly, Craib published what appears to be a schedule of active chantries in Surrey, thought to have been drawn up under the Chantries Act of 1545. Secondly, Craib publishes a grant dated May 1544 of the properties of Lingfield College to Thomas Cawarden. In this respect Craib repeats and expands information in Leveson-Gower<sup>11</sup> and *VCH*<sup>12</sup> and is in turn overlapped by Lambert<sup>13</sup> and Hayward and Hazell<sup>14</sup>. We shall return to these documents in due course and attempt to explain their chronology.

G H Cook paid scant attention to the final dissolution of chantries in his monograph on chantries and chantry chapels, deeming the two Acts against chantries 'inevitable'.<sup>15</sup> Sir Geoffrey Elton,<sup>16</sup> in his broader sweep saw their dissolution as one aspect of the movement that massively transferred ecclesiastical property back into the hands of the laity. The monastic dissolution of the 1530s had seen the start of this transference, and had had a number of immediate, practical effects on the chantries along with the rest of the question of intercession – a matter discussed in detail by Kreider<sup>17</sup> c.f. Lindley.<sup>18</sup> First, there had been the loss of the suffrages of the monks and friars themselves (c.f. Wood-Legh<sup>19</sup>). Secondly, where chantries had been established in churches which were now entirely destroyed, these too disappeared. Thirdly, most of the numerous chantries founded to support secular priests within monastic churches were now lost. Fourthly, the dissolution of the monasteries also threatened the existence of chantries in non-monastic churches and chapels if landed endowments had been given to monasteries conditional on the monks' paying of fixed stipends to cantarists.

Furthermore, the weapon of 'voluntary' surrender, used from time to time against monastic communities, appears to have been employed against other intercessory institutions without further Acts of Parliament. The 1539 Act for the Dissolution of the Monasteries had indeed given to the king all colleges and hospitals which had already been 'voluntarily granted' or 'which hereafter shall happen to be dissolved, suppressed, renounced...'.<sup>20</sup>

A little-discussed Act of 1542<sup>21</sup> paved the way for the further 'voluntary' surrender of a number of chantry colleges.<sup>22</sup> Lindley<sup>23</sup> counts that, in the space of five years, the Crown took surrender of twenty-five colleges, ten hospitals, six free chapels, and nineteen chantries or confraternities.

The dissolution of the monasteries was accompanied by theological attacks intended to undermine the monks' *raison d'être*. Late in 1534, a clerk in Cromwell's office suggested that Parliament should deal with the doctrine of purgatory, and offered a kind of graduated criticism:<sup>24</sup>

That it cannot be proved by scripture that the bishops of Rome may deliver souls out of purgatory, nor that there is any purgatory. That if

there be purgatory, that there is neither pain of fire nor heat, nor sight of devils. That it is a more necessary and more charitable prayer to pray for them that be alive, than for them that be dead.

In June 1536, Bishop Hugh Latimer preached that purgatory was a 'pleasant fiction' introduced by the bishop of Rome (see further, Lindley<sup>25</sup>). In late February 1537, the king convened an assembly of prelates and theologians to formulate a new doctrinal statement. The consequent *Institution of a Christian Man*, or *Bishops' Book*, maintained a position on purgatory essentially the same as that of the *Ten Articles*, although Kreider's study<sup>26</sup> of the king's own manuscript emendations to the book showed that Henry had adopted Latimer's argument that biblical writers had never heard of purgatory. In the early months of 1539, Henry submitted six questions to convocation, one of which was 'whether private masses may stand with the word of God or not?' The king amended their simple response 'that private masses be agreeable to the law of God' to something more positive: 'that it is meet and necessary that private masses be continued and admitted in this our English church and congregation'.<sup>27</sup>

Specialists in the subject consider it unlikely that, at this point, Henry intended to dissolve all chantries. However, many theological uncertainties had surfaced before and after the passing of the *Six Articles* in June 1539 (the Articles became law on 12<sup>th</sup> July).<sup>28</sup> On 12<sup>th</sup> April 1540, Thomas Cromwell brought to Parliament a plan to resolve the religious uncertainties. The king, he reported, was determined to 'set forth true doctrine' and to 'separate pious from impious ceremonies, and [to] teach the true use of them'.<sup>29</sup> Cromwell therefore decided to establish a further commission of bishops and theologians to determine these matters, meeting in two groups: one to consider doctrine, the other to determine the 'rationale of ceremonies'. In June 1540, of course, Cromwell fell from power and influence for quite distinct reasons but the work of his commission continued.

The best-known outcome of Cromwell's commission, duly enshrined in an Act of Parliament (c.f. Mackie<sup>30</sup>), was the so-called *King's Book – a Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, which was issued in May 1543,<sup>31</sup> a generally conservative reworking and rewriting of the *Bishops' Book*.

The question of prayer for the dead was one of many subjects causing controversy and in the matter of purgatory, the *King's Book* was markedly more radical than the *Bishops' Book*. While still permitting prayers on behalf of the dead, the *King's Book* was far more emphatic in its denial of any knowledge of the state of the departed, of the value of prayers and Masses for individual departed souls as opposed to the 'universal congregation of Christian people'.<sup>32</sup> The *King's Book* denounced in much stronger terms than before the abuses of the doctrine of purgatory and the practices it had fathered. Masses were now to be sung for 'the universal congregation of Christian people' and not for specific individuals.

The 1545 Chantry Act<sup>7</sup> placed at the king's disposal all 'colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds and stipendiary



priests having perpetuity for ever', transferring the properties of the foundations to the royal exchequer for 'good and godly purposes'. The text of the various suppression Acts makes it clear that the proclaimed 'good and godly purposes' were in fact the traditional ones of waging war against Scotland and France! Commissioners were appointed.

In 1912, Craib<sup>10</sup> published transcripts of a number of documents from among the Loseley MSS. One of these was thought by Craib to be the 1545 Commissioners' schedule of Surrey chantries. The list includes the *capella* of St Mary Magdalen; Kingston (valued at £23 19s 6d: c.f. Saul<sup>33</sup>); the hospital of St Thomas at Southwark; and a number of *cantaria* (Croydon (two), *Stoke d'Alborne*, Farnham, Guildford, Shere and Lambeth). Oddly, a *capella* of Horne is also included, but there is no mention of either *capella* or *cantaria* at Farnham or Reigate castles where previously-reported chantries had been limited or had possibly lapsed. The list was headed by Lingfield College (valued at £75) – but we have evidence that Lingfield had been surrendered in 1544.

In 1544 Thomas Cawarden, steward and keeper of Blechingley Place, had been awarded a knighthood and appointed Master of the Tents and Revels,<sup>34</sup> a senior household post. Lambert<sup>35</sup> recapitulates various details of Cawarden's activities in this role. He was, at the same time, granted the 'manor' of Hextalles or Hextalles, formerly belonging to Sir Nicholas Carew, attainted. Hextalles was physically within North Park, Blechingley.<sup>36</sup> Cawarden received a further grant in fee for his services – the 'rectory and advowson' of the 'late collegiate church of *Lyngfield*' together with a string of properties formerly belonging to the college, including the manors of *Heksted* (Haxted) and *Byllesherst* (Bilshurst) in Surrey<sup>37</sup> The 1544 grant was dated 25<sup>th</sup> May. It did not, as will be explained, extinguish the chantry.

In order that the Lingfield College properties could be granted to Cawarden, they had to be in the king's hands. They had, in fact, been surrendered by Edward Culpeper, doctor of laws, the last master or provost of the college, to the king's commissioners on 26<sup>th</sup> April 1544, a bare month before their grant to Cawarden. Copies of the lengthy 1544 deed of surrender survive, and the Lingfield historians, Hayward and Hazell<sup>38</sup> carefully published a transcript of the copy in the national archives (PRO E.322/130). However, despite its length, this document fails to list the assets of the college in more than general terms. It is Craib's calendar of the grant to Cawarden that provides us with by far the best readily accessible list of the college's possessions. In view of the tight chronology, we can deduce that the surrender was achieved 'voluntarily', specifically to provide additional reward to Cawarden without additional cost to the King.

Lambert<sup>39</sup> reports that, at Christmas 1546 (38 Hen VIII) there was a surrender and regrant of the Hextalles and the Lingfield properties. The grant again enumerates the lands of Lingfield College as surrendered by Edward Culpeper in April 1544, but the 1546 enumeration of lands would seem to be less complete than that in the 1544 grant calendared by Craib.<sup>34</sup> The estates of the College were

valued at £75 per annum when they were surrendered, the value that appears on the undated list discovered by Craib.<sup>10</sup>

We are told by Duffy that the intentions of the 1545 Act<sup>7</sup> were not systematically carried out (especially in respect of chantries) before Henry died, and, technically, the Act may have lapsed at Henry's death. In December 1547 a further measure was passed by Edward's first parliament to ensure the final suppression.<sup>40</sup> This time the façade of sequestration for 'good and godly purposes' was dropped and the preamble stated baldly that what was wrong with the chantries was not any maladministration, but their whole end and purpose, 'phantasising vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory, to be done for them which be departed'.<sup>41</sup>

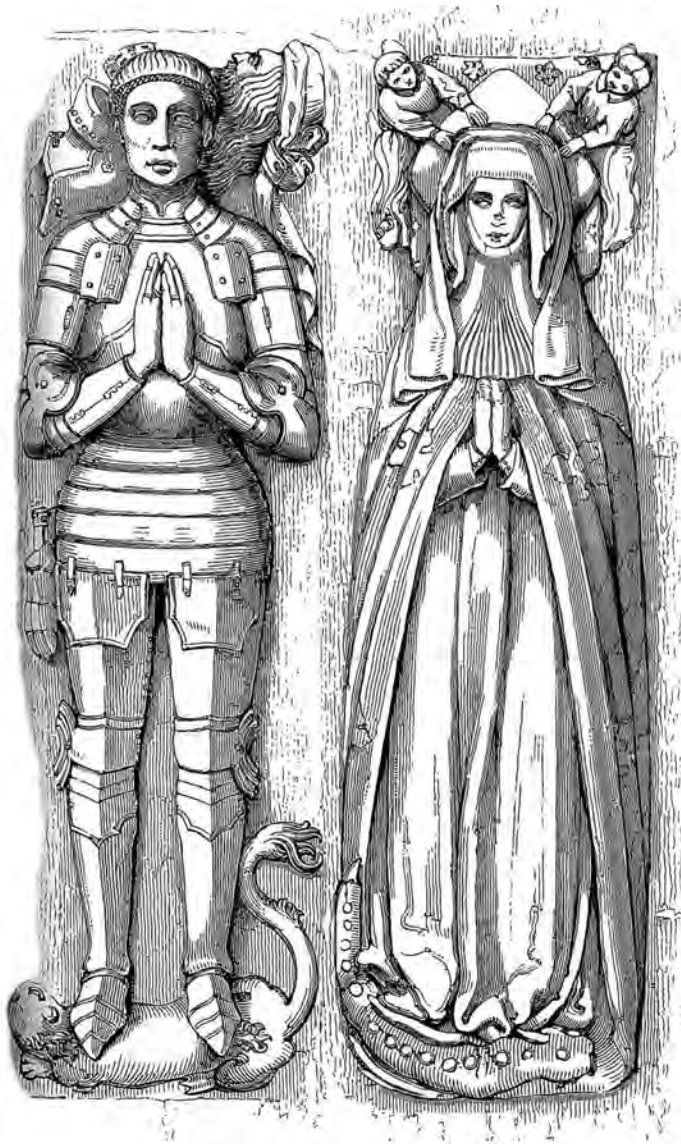
The grant of the college at Lingfield and its possessions to Cawarden in 1544, before the passage of the 1545 Act,<sup>7</sup> seems to show that the surrender took place as one of the 'Anticipatory Dissolutions' under the provisions of the 1542 Act.<sup>21</sup> These are rarely mentioned in the 'standard' histories but have been discussed by Kreider.<sup>42</sup>

If Lingfield was surrendered in 1544, Craib's undated list<sup>10</sup> can only have been drawn up by the commissioners of the 1545 Act<sup>7</sup> if they were either unaware of the 1544 surrender, or unsure of its validity. There would seem to be little alternative context to offer for the list, and the latter explanation is, perhaps, the more likely of the two. Furthermore, if there were some uncertainty about the 1544 surrender by the college and grant to Cawarden, the legal formula followed in December 1546 may have been undertaken to affirm Cawarden's title to the properties.

If we may judge from Rawlinson's published version of John Aubrey's description,<sup>43</sup> the college buildings survived largely intact and relatively unaltered for at least a century and a half, Hayward and Hazell<sup>44</sup> reasonably suggest that it was probably occupied permanently or intermittently by its successive new owners or their tenants. While Thomas Cawarden would hardly have needed it for his personal occupation, it may have been suitable for a relative or, in view of its cellular form, even more useful as lodgings for some of his small army of retainers and it is possible that Cawarden actually sought the property for this reason. Cawarden was allowed to keep a company of forty armed and liveried retainers, as well as a large number of domestic and official servants: good evidence of his status at Court<sup>45</sup> quotes an undated letter of licence (from 'among the Loseley papers') regarding the size of Cawarden's household.

In 1560, William Cawarden, nephew and heir of Sir Thomas, received licence to sell the college and estates, including the manor of Billeshurst, to William, Lord Howard of Effingham. They remained in the Howard family until 1776, when the trustees of Ann Bristow, wife and widow of the 7<sup>th</sup> lord, sold them after her decease.

Although the college had been suppressed or surrendered in 1544, the chantry itself appears to have survived into Edward's reign, which may have led to some local difficulty and confusion. Of the £75 value of the chantry college



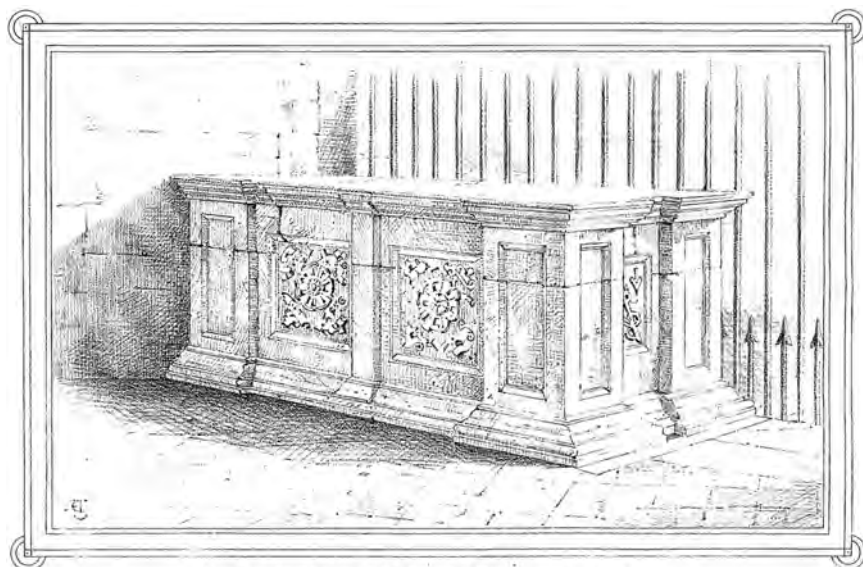
THE EFFIGIES OF SIR REGINALD COBHAM AND ANNE (BARDOLF), his second Wife.  
Founders of Lingfield College.

**Figure 3** Sir Reginald Cobham and Anne his second wife in Lingfield Church  
(*Surrey Arch. Coll.* 1864, 2, 150)

and its estates, a mere 4s seems to have been left for this continued sustenance. As already noted, one of the first Acts of the new Parliament of Edward VI was to direct that all colleges and chantries should be vested in the King. New commissioners were appointed to take particulars and values of all such and one *Jacobus Skynner* was appointed commissioner for Tandridge hundred. Skinner reported under Lingfield (Loseley MS transcribed by Hayward and Hazell<sup>46</sup>):

Obytes used and maynteyned with the parysche Church of Lingefelde with yerely revenues gyvenned to that use for ever which are worth in rent by yere 111js whereof to the pore xxd and so remaineth 1js 111jd.

Kreider focused on placing dissolutions in their mid-16<sup>th</sup>-century context and explicitly omitted any consideration of the shorter- or longer-term historical consequences of the suppressions, or of their effects on the country's arts and architecture. His monograph ends, rather abruptly, after the second Chantries Act but an analysis of the immediate religious impact of Edwardian dissolution has been supplied by Duffy.<sup>47</sup> He described the suppressions as 'in many places ... a disaster for lay religious life', and argued that the abolition of religious guilds and the stripping of the intercessory functions from the craft guilds effectively



TOMB OF SIR THOMAS CAWARDEN, BLECHINGLEY CHURCH.

**Figure 4** Tomb of Sir Thomas Cawarden in Blechingley Church. (*Surrey Arch. Coll.* 1871, 5, 234)

destroyed ‘the main form of organized lay religious activity’. The short- and longer-term effects of the suppression of rural collegiate chantries that also ministered to their parishes, such as St Peter’s, Lingfield, would seem to await study (c.f. David Parsons<sup>48</sup>).

Thus the Lingfield chantry college survived for only a little over a century before being dissolved. The college buildings lasted more than twice as long before being dissolved but the parish church and its fine tombs<sup>49</sup> have proved firmer memorials to Sir Reginald and Lady Cobham.

## Acknowledgements

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# ACCESSIONS OF RECORDS IN SURREY HISTORY CENTRE, 2012

*edited by Michael Page*

During the course of 2012 we took in 294 accessions of records from external depositors and donors and County Council departments. Some accessions comprised no more than a single document or photograph, others had to be measured in crates; sadly space does not permit more than a handful to be mentioned.

## **Parchment to Pixels**

Records taken in for permanent preservation spanned nearly 600 years.

The oldest was a deed of 1419 relating to Michen Hall, Shackleford, Godalming (now the site of a Grade II listed late 17th century building). It is a lease, often the most informative of deeds, and in this case a kind of sharing arrangement laid out in great detail, by which Richard and Joan Weston leased to John Drane 'all the rooms in the west part of the hall in a tenement called Michenale', together with associated farm buildings, lands and shared use of the stables (SHC ref 8979). While it is not explicit, we can fairly assume that the Westons were making provision for an elderly relative, perhaps Joan's father, who was living not without means (he was to pay the Westons 25 shillings per annum and presumably had livestock to house) but needed the assurance of a well-stocked hearth in winter, bread from the bakehouse and some rabbits for the pot. We know that a John Drane was a landowner in Shackleford nearly 40 years earlier: perhaps he was the former owner of Michen Hall, and had prior to this lease gifted it to his child, 'in consideration of his natural love and affection'. The Westons undertook to pay all taxes and liabilities on Drane's behalf, including provision of bread for the sacrament (which was presumably due from all owners of bread ovens in the parish). Probably we will never know more about the parties to this deed, and their relationship; but one small piece of parchment has survived through the centuries to reach us now, so maybe another could.

The most up to date records accessioned, perhaps, were the websites of Painshill Park, Hambledon Village and Surrey Wildlife Trust: we worked with the National Archives and the Internet Memory Foundation to preserve in digital format 'snapshots' of these selected websites, in a pilot project which taught us much about the challenges involved in saving modern electronic records which are so much less durable than traditional paper and parchment. During 2012 we have also taken in 15 accessions that included records created in digital format. This added a further 17.5Gb of data to our growing digital archive.



**Figure 1** Lease of Michen Hall, Shackleford, Godalming, 1419 (SHC ref 8979/1)

## The Changing Face of Surrey

Early hand-drawn maps do not become available very often and we were very pleased to be able to purchase at auction a fine map of Flanchford Park, belonging to Thomas Lord Windsor, in the parishes of Reigate and Buckland, dating from 1678 (SRC ref 9005). Windsor was a Royalist cavalry commander who suffered under the Commonwealth but was ennobled in 1660 when he received the revived barony of Windsor. He was the son and heir of Dixie Hickman of Kew whose wife, Elizabeth, was the eldest sister and coheir of Thomas Windsor, sixth Baron (d.1641). He went on to serve Charles II as governor at various times of Jamaica, Portsmouth and Hull, and was elevated to the earldom of Plymouth in 1682. He purchased the Flanchford Park estate in 1676 from Sir Cyril Wyche and his son sold it to Sir William Scawen in 1720.

The parchment map was surveyed by William Gent at a scale of 10 perches to one inch. The estate covered 223 acres and shows the house arranged around two courtyards and the associated Park divided into two by a fence and with a row of four ponds, including a mill pond, running across the northern portion, near the house. Windsor's fine coat of arms occupy the top right corner and a table of reference lists the individual plots and their acreages. We had in our holdings a photograph of the map when it was still in private hands and it is marvellous that the original now sits in our strongroom.





**Figure 2** Section of map of Flanchford Park estate, 1678, belonging to Thomas Lord Windsor (SHC ref 9005/1)

An 18<sup>th</sup> century speculative venture to develop a small corner of the county adjoining Epsom Downs, already a popular venue for horseracing and deemed ‘one of the most healthy [places] in England’, is recorded in an advertisement offering 200 acres of building land in Headley and Walton on the Hill of c.1720 (SHC ref 9011). It appears that the land, which commanded ‘noble views and prospects every way’, was to be used for a large terrace of grand houses, as an engraving of a proposed building, ‘The Elevation or West Prospect of part of a design of buildings already begun to be erected on ye Lawne at Headley designed by John Price architect in 1720’, can be found in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, Oxford (reproduced in the Proceedings of the Leatherhead and District Local History Society, Vol 4, no.7). Nathaniel Salmon in ‘Antiquities of Surrey’ (1736) claims the scheme was the brainchild of Arthur Moore of

Fetcham Park and that by 1736 two of the houses at the end of the terrace had been built. Manning and Bray, however, suggest the building would have been completely out of place ‘..the front...would have been of an immoderate extent’ and there is no evidence today of such a development actually having been built. As well as its proximity to London, the land is proclaimed to enjoy access to a good water supply and suitable building materials and ‘The Higglers come every Day to the Doors with Fish, Fowl, Fruit, Garden Stuff, and other Provisions’.

Mention should also be made of two beautiful albums of watercolours and drawings of churches and chapels across the whole of the ancient county of Surrey, mostly produced in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century before restorers changed the character of many of the buildings depicted (SHC ref 9043).

They came to us from Guildford Museum where they were deposited by Guildford Diocese back in 1957, but their date and coverage suggest that perhaps they were compiled for the Archdeacon of Surrey or Bishop of Winchester at a time when the whole of Surrey lay within the Diocese of Winchester. Accordingly, the albums also include churches, such as Camberwell, Lambeth and Southwark, which are now in Inner London Boroughs. For those parishes in



**Figure 3** Watercolour, probably by G F Prosser, of old church of St Giles, Camberwell, before 1841 (SHC ref 9043/1/21/3)

the current administrative county of Surrey, large towns and small villages are afforded equal coverage.

The two volumes are arranged in (approximate) alphabetical order and contain a selection of illustrations (watercolours and other media, varying in size and quality), floor plans and some photographs of parish churches and related buildings. Many of the illustrations date from the 1830s, but there are later additions, including the photographs. Some entries are signed and dated (there are several by Henry Prosser), others simply initialled, but a sizeable number are anonymous, undated, and often uncaptioned. This has presented a real cataloguing challenge, but with the help of Pevsner and Cracklow, Southwark and Lambeth Local Studies, and the expertise of colleagues, we have succeeded in identifying all but three of the buildings! The illustrations have now all been scanned and thumbnail images added to the catalogue descriptions on our online catalogue.

### **Chronicles of daily life: Surrey Diaries**

We also had the opportunity to copy the splendid diaries of Elizabeth Davis (1765–1825), while she was living as housekeeper to her widowed brother-in-law, John Sparkes (1753–1804), and her 6 nieces and nephews, at Gosden House, Shalford, between 1793 and 1800 (SHC ref Z/588). The diaries are packed with detail of meals consumed, clothes bought, games played and illnesses endured. In June 1794, a typically mouth-watering entry, Elizabeth records in loving detail that at Mr R Sparkes' dinner party were served 'a fine turbot, turtle soup ... 3 chicken, a ham & a stand of sillabubs, ... pigeon pie, etc, etc, a fine couple of duck & peas, quarters of lamb, rice pudding, tarts & custards of all sorts, strawberries & almonds & raisins as a desert ... I had a bad headache all the afternoon'. There are charming vignettes of local society, for example, this on 5 July 1796: 'By dint of chance in the afternoon Mr. Smith & Captain Buckle came here. I was upstairs. They kept crying "Don't change your gown, don't change your gown but come down, I say, I beg come down". I never knew the Captain in such spirits. He kept saying, if he was but well, oh if he was but well, what spirits he should be in.' Elizabeth also enjoyed dabbling with non-conformity, on 7 July 1799 recording 'just after [tea] Grace, George & self went to a Quakers' meeting in Mr. Porter's barn. We had a large meeting & stayed there about 2 hours & ½. Four Quakers came there from Esher but the spirit moved but one of them to speak'. Momentous events in the wider world (or at least rumours) occasionally intrude. On 14 February 1794, Elizabeth 'went with Fanny up where the soldiers were drawing stone. A message came for them to quit their work immediately for that 100 thousand Frenchmen were landed in the west & that they were to march the next morning.' On 2 March 1794, '36 smugglers went through Bramley all loaded.'

Another prolific diarist was Ada Randolph Heath, the second daughter of Admiral Sir Leopold Heath and Lady Mary Emma Heath of Anstie Grange, Holmwood, near Dorking. She was born at Oure Cottage, Southampton Water,

on 29 July 1860. The Heaths lived at Anstie Grange from 1871. On 26 August 1886 Ada married Henry John Tschudi Broadwood, who was the tenth child, and second son, of Henry Fowler and Juliana Broadwood, and a partner in the firm of John Broadwood and Sons, piano manufacturers. They lived at 52 St George's Square, London, and then at Pleystowe Farm, Capel. In 1893 they bought a house at Bone Hill, St Albans. They had 4 children: Marion, Stewart, Leopold and Janet. After Henry J T Broadwood died in 1911, Ada continued to live at Bone Hill until it was requisitioned during World War I. After the war Bone Hill became the home of Ada's eldest son Stewart and Ada herself went to live as a tenant of her nephew Captain E H T Broadwood at Taylor's Farm, Capel, where she died in 1957.

Her diaries and other papers (SHC ref 9078) record the activities of her long life beginning as a Victorian lady of leisure in London:

'29 April 1887. I stopped in all the morning, writing, gardening etc. H [husband Henry] to his work. In the afternoon I went in a "bus" to Park Street to see Mrs Birch Reynardson who was at home. I walked home. Lucy and Charlie Macpherson came to tea and Gerard [her brother] came. Harry made a beautiful arrangement with lead piping by which he conducts the water from the bath room tap through the roof of the conservatory, so we fill our cans for the flowers without going through the house. Gerard and I played violin and piano all the evening'.

By the time of the Second World War she was living at Taylor's Farm, Capel, and the effects of the war were beginning to reach even rural Surrey:

'13 August 1940. I went to Kitlands [at Holmwood, a Heath family property] and saw Flo in bed. She says her 4 evacuee children are very troublesome and take up all the maids time'.

'Friday 30 August 1940. A very hot day. A long air raid over Pleystowe and Taylors. 3 Germans down in their parachutes – one in Pleystowe field badly wounded. Mrs Carter bandaged him up'.

'Thursday 5 September 1940. I sat and sewed in the summer house and took the dogs out in the evening. We were just going to bed when aeroplanes came over and dropped bombs with awful noise and shaking of the house. We all got up, arranged cushions on the chairs and sat up all night'.

## **Surrey Politics**

Nineteenth century political shenanigans under the unreformed parliamentary system are revealed by a verbatim transcript of proceedings at Guildford Election



**Figure 4** Ada Heath under the 'Family Tree' in Rome Wood, Lyne, Capel, 1886, the year she married Henry Broadwood (SHC ref 9078/2/2)

Committee, enquiring into the result of the Borough Parliamentary election of 1806, among records of the Gill family of Eashing House (SHC ref 8910). At the election of 4 November 1806 Thomas Cranley Onslow and George Holme Sumner of Hatchlands were elected for the Borough of Guildford, Sumner beating the third candidate, General the Hon Chapple Norton of Wonersh, by 3 votes. 'The History of Parliament: the House of Commons, 1790–1820', edited by R Thorne, 1986, states: 'The contest was a hard one, embittered by a disagreement over the appointment of a poll assessor and the qualification threshold of freemen. The electors' petition against Sumner's return alleged bribery, treating, intimidation and the rejection of good votes by the returning officer'. The committee sat between 6 and 14 March 1807, interrogating witness after witness with mind-numbing thoroughness, the record of which covers 439 pages. It finally overturned Sumner's election in favour of Norton. The contest was

repeated at the general election on 8 May 1807 when Norton retained his seat by 3 votes. Sumner, however, went on to secure one of the county seats, representing Surrey between 1807 and 1826, before sitting for Guildford between 1830 and 1831. His political and social views were magnificently unprogressive: he opposed the abolition of the slave trade, Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform and it was said of him by an ally that he was 'hated by all parties in the county except his immediate friends' and also that 'his temper and his manners are considered as offensive and overbearing'. It was particularly gratifying to receive the Committee report as we already held a copy of the election poll book among the Guildford Borough records.

A new political age, after the passing of the Great Reform Act, is represented by a sheet listing promises of help 'independent of money subscriptions' for the election of John Leech as MP for West Surrey in December 1832, which includes the names (such as Sir Henry Austen) of those who will bring the voters to the poll from each parish and those who have provided horses and carts for that purpose (SHC ref 9082): for example 'Baron de Teissier and Mr Goss will bring the voters of Epsom to the poll early on the first day of polling'. At the election, John Leech (died 1847) was returned as MP for West Surrey, in the Whig interest. He served from 1833 to 1835 with William Denison.

### **Tackling Crime in Surrey**

A burning issue in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the reform of the criminal law and the promotion of the rehabilitation of convicts and we were delighted to receive an annual report of the Surrey Society for the Employment and Reformation of Discharged Prisoners, 1855 (SHC ref 8993). The Society was established in 1824 and revived in 1839 with the aim of 'aiding such prisoners, as, at the expiration of their sentence, manifest a desire to reform, by affording to them an available refuge from the temptation of their old associates, or some means of retrieving their character and recovering their lost positions'. The Society sponsored a missionary to work alongside released prisoners and also provided money to fund places in reformatories, assisted with the expenses of emigration, bought tools or handed out bibles, prayer books and religious tracts. In all 568 were helped in some way during the course of 1854; of the 126 sent to institutions, 24 had been helped to go straight but the remainder were either still in their institutions, had reoffended or had dropped off the Society's radar.

Retired Superintendent, Robert Bartlett, is a keen collector of Surrey Constabulary memorabilia and a regular depositor of material to Surrey History Centre. As chairman of the Surrey Constabulary Old Comrades' Association, Mr Bartlett has become the custodian of a wealth of material donated by retired police officers or their families. In May 2012, we were fortunate to receive a fascinating deposit of papers and photographs spanning nearly 100 years (SHC ref 8999) which includes material relating to the old borough forces of Guildford and Reigate.

Of particular interest for anyone researching police ancestors, the collection includes many individual and group photographs, biographies and reminiscences. There is also a copy of the 'Home Security Operations Bulletin and Reports of Air Raid Incidents: Reigate Borough, 1941–1942', a useful supplement to the 1940 edition which was part of an earlier deposit (SHC ref CC98/22/24). One of the more intriguing items is the 1940 conviction record card of aristocratic confidence trickster, Richard Vyvyan Dudley Beaumont, son of the Dame of Sark! Surrey History Centre also holds Mr Bartlett's histories of the Surrey Constabulary and copies of the Old Comrades' Association's 'Old and Bold' newsletter, all of which are also available online at <http://blog.old-and-bold.info> and <http://www.surrey-constabulary.com>.

The lighter side of life in the Surrey Constabulary in the 1950s is depicted in cartoons published in 'Police Review' by PC 143 Alan Bayton of Horley in the 1950s (SHC ref 9109), collected into scrapbooks by a colleague at Horley Police Station. Some of the cartoons offer a take on the issues of the day – notably the increase in rest days (eg an image of a hefty wife overseeing her husband labouring over housework with the caption, 'Bit of luck for Police wives this extra rest day – just in time for spring cleaning'), anthrax and myxomatosis outbreaks and women police officers. Other topics include police on the beat,



**Figure 5** Guildford Borough police life saving team, c.1934 (SHC ref 8999/2/8)

dogs (both police dogs and nuisance dogs), drunkards, the discomfort of police uniform and, of course, police pay.

### **Surrey on the Move**

The state of Surrey's roads and communications, a burning issue today, were a matter of equal concern nearly 500 years ago as is shown by a survey of the condition of 64 bridges in the county by William Barnes (SHC ref 9028). The survey was made in 1533 and was based on 'a true copy of presentments found by the inquest [at] the general quarter sessions holden at Croydon for the county of Surrey of all the bridges and causeways belonging to the same bridges lying within the Hundred of Tandridge and Reigate and some others'. However, the copy we have is clearly 17<sup>th</sup> century (by which time, it must be hoped, that the bridges had been repaired). Each entry records the location, physical condition of and responsibility for the bridge in question. Two examples give a flavour: 'Rissbridge – leading from Reigate towards Gadbrook is in decay of timber work ... and the ways at either end of the Bridge by the space of 30 feet is not sufficiently repaired to a common noysance and that Cassy and Richard Evlyng ought to new make the same bridge and way and that the said bridge do ly on the west part of Reigate ought to be presented in the lawday of Reigate'; and 'Bechworth Bridge – leading from Leigh to Bechworth is in decay of planking and the way at either end of the same Bridge is not sufficiently repaired to a common noysance and that the Borough of Bechworth ought to new make and repair the same Bridge and ways and ought to be presented in the Lordships of Bechworth holden of the Lord of Burgavenny and the Lord to find timber for the making of the same Bridge'.

A collection relating to the estates of the Webb family of Milford House (SHC ref 1799), long languishing in our backlog but finally catalogued in 2012, gives us among other things an insight into the early years of the railway in the county, in its documentation of a legal battle in which the priorities – and indeed the chutzpah – of the landowner triumphed. Philip Barker Webb (d.1854), owner of Milford House (built by his great great grandfather Thomas Smith), probably strong-willed, obsessive and somewhat eccentric, was initially opposed to the Direct London and Portsmouth Railway Bill of 1842, which proposed a route through his extensive lands. Webb was a botanist, a traveller (he co-authored a multi-volume work on the flora of the Canary Islands) and latterly a resident of Paris, where he tended an extensive and notable herbarium. He was persuaded into an agreement with the Railway Company of a generosity unlikely to be equalled by the negotiations for the HS2 route today. In return for dropping his opposition to the Bill, Webb was to have legal costs against the Company thus far paid and £4500. Further stipulations in Webb's favour included: provision of a bridge wide enough for the passing of carriages and wagons; a deviation of the intended route to protect a meadow and plantation; purchase of land between Webb's property and the railway and sale to Webb at nominal price; an ornamental archway under the railway to continue the shrubby walk; a crossing over the



railway; plantings on the embankment; no fence or telegraph to be visible above cuttings; and no station building to be visible from Webb's mansion. Difficulties with the financing of the route meant that no construction requiring Webb's land had taken place by the end of the statutory period of compulsory purchase in 1849, when Webb began legal action for his costs and the £4500. The Company, eventually defeated by 5 years' rumbling of a Chancery case and appeal, settled out of court for £1000, while still denying Webb's right to compensation for detriment which had never occurred. Webb died soon after, and is commemorated in Milford churchyard by a mausoleum, according to his own stipulation, a pyramid, 'lofty in proportion'.

We also took in the records of STOAT (Save The Old A Three), the (failed) campaign to retain the old A3 as a functioning road, following the opening of the Hindhead Tunnel in 2011 (SHC ref 9057). The STOAT committee was formed in December 2002 and by 2004 it had over 3000 supporters. While remaining broadly supportive of the Hindhead bypass and a bored tunnel under the Devil's Punchbowl, STOAT's main objective was to ensure that the old A3 road remained open once the Hindhead bypass project was completed. The campaign's objections to the road closure were based on the health, welfare and environmental impact that such a closure would have on the local area and its people and it proposed instead to retain the old A3 by linking the road with the new bypass, either with a junction at the northern end of the new road or at the Thursley interchange which was under construction in 2004. The records include a transcript of the public enquiry held in September 2004; reports and rebuttals of cases for and against closure of the old A3 and newsletters, leaflets, newspaper cuttings and correspondence relating to the campaign.

## **The Surreys at War**

We regularly take in letters, papers and photographs of men who served with the Surrey regiments and two accessions were of particular interest. John Edward Harryman Pryce (1818–1866) of the 2nd Queen's Royal Regiment took part in the regiment's punitive expedition from Poonah to put down disturbances in the Indian principality of Kolapore, Southern Mahratta, in 1844. He appears to have taken with him for relaxation 'The Works of Lord Byron' (London, 1837) as he scribbled in pencil inside the volume an account of the march during the monsoon season, '...the men tired and worn out by the fatigues of a long & distressing march – without shelter – without grog – without food or even a dry stitch of clothing...'. Fort Punella was stormed and captured on 1 December, Pryce recording that they 'Took 2500 prisoners – the slaughter inside the fort was very great'. His account was lost to view, until discovered in a second-hand bookshop in Cheltenham (SHC ref QRWS/30/PRYC).

A much greater conflict is reflected in a set of fourteen watercolour caricatures of officers of the 9<sup>th</sup> Battalion, The East Surrey Regiment, painted by a member of the battalion, Private Edward Cole (SHC ref ESR). The paintings are very fine, the Flanders mud coating the boots of the officers, and their

significance is all the greater as the men portrayed served in the battalion alongside the diffident, nervous, indeed frankly terrified 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant Robert Cedric Sherriff (not painted, alas). Sherriff turned his experiences on the Western Front into the greatest play to emerge from the trenches, 'Journey's End', and much ink has been spilled in the attempt to identify the men who inspired the play's vivid characters such as Stanhope, Osborne and Raleigh. Of the fourteen, three were killed, one died of pneumonia and another lost his leg during the war. At least two were invited by Sherriff to one of the first performances of 'Journey's End' in 1930. This watercolour depicts Second Lieutenant Ewan Walter Davies who joined the 9<sup>th</sup> Battalion in August 1916, and was the officer in charge of the



**Figure 6** 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant Ewan Walter Davies, 9<sup>th</sup> Battalion, East Surrey Regiment, depicted by Private Edward Cole (SHC ref ESR)

successful January 1917 raid by the battalion, on which Sherriff modelled the raid which has a key role in the action of 'Journey's End'. Davies was described by his commanding officer 'Nobby' Clark (also included in the caricatures) as a 'good steady fellow unemotional and reliable. One felt at ease in his presence.'

### **Rescued at Auction**

Almost everything we take in we receive as a donation or on indefinite loan. However occasionally records do come up for sale which we feel belong at Surrey History Centre, and, although our purchase budget is small, we will bid for such items, sometimes with support from grant awarding bodies or individual benefactors. The National Archives provide a sale catalogue monitoring service which alerts us to some potential purchases and friends of the office often let us know of material coming up on ebay. The Flanchford map described earlier was our most significant purchase of 2012, but we also managed to acquire some other items which complemented existing collections. The oldest was a 1729 court roll of the obscure manors of Monkenhook and Markwick in Alfold, which also included scattered plots in Bramley, Dunsfold, Ewhurst, Hascombe and Wonersh (SHC ref 8962). We also purchased a record of entertainments at Surrey County Mental Asylum, Brookwood, Woking, between 1924 and 1928 (SHC ref



**Figure 7** Members of the Lushington family outside the garden front of Ockham Park (SHC ref 8865/2)

8959), which continues a series deposited with the other records of the hospital. The volume includes printed programmes of the entertainments, provided every 3 to 4 days, and also records the number of attendants and patients per ward attending, with a list of names of the hospital officers present.

A fine, if fragmentary, photograph album purchased in April depicts the Lushington family of Ockham Park (SHC ref 8865), whose private correspondence, diaries and other papers were already in our care. The Rt Hon Stephen Lushington, QC (1782–1873), an eminent lawyer, who made his reputation as counsel to Queen Caroline and to Lady Byron in their divorces, rented Ockham Park and the photographs in the album include images of the house and grounds, village and church, some also featuring members of the Lushington family.

Finally we also managed to acquire a log book of Dorking Church of England Boys, later Mixed School covering the years 1938 to 1971, which had become detached from the main run of records (SHC ref 9112). The log book covers the years of the Second World War and records the construction of air raid shelter trenches and the frequency of raids, especially in 1940: in one week in October air raid warnings were sounded on nine occasions, sometimes lasting for an hour and a half.

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# PUBLICATIONS

The former Surrey Local History Council produced *Surrey History* for many years and the majority of the back numbers are still available. In addition the following extra publications are in print:

*Views of Surrey Churches*

by C.T. Cracklow  
(reprint of 1826 views)  
1979 £7.50 (hardback)

*Pastors, Parishes and People in Surrey*

by David Robinson  
1989 £2.95

*Old Surrey Receipts and Food for Thought*

compiled by Daphne Grimm  
1991 £3.95

*The Sheriffs of Surrey*

by David Burns  
1992 £4.95

(Published jointly with the Under Sheriff of Surrey)

*Two Hundred Years of Aeronautics & Aviation in Surrey 1785–1985*

by Sir Peter Masefield  
1993 £3.95

*The Churches of Surrey*

by Mervyn Blatch  
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