

SURREY HISTORY



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SURREY LOCAL HISTORY COMMITTEE

SURREY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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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 publication 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. Member societies may exhibit at the symposium and sell their publications there.

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Papers for publication in *Surrey History* are welcome and intended authors are invited to consult the editor for advice before proceeding. Enquires should be sent to the Hon. Editor, Surrey History, Surrey Archaeological Society, Hackhurst Lane, Abinger Hammer, RH5 6SE. Tel/fax: 01483 532454.

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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 of manor house of Effingham Manor by John Hassell, *Effingham West court house, property of Mrs Brockles, 1823*. (see page 24)

Back cover illustration: John Evelyn’s signature and personal seal on a family settlement, 1695 (see page 35)

About the Authors

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David Taylor is a local historian who has lived in Cobham all his life. He is Chairman of the Surrey History Trust; President of the Esher District Local History Society and a Trustee of Painshill Park Trust. He is also a member of the Surrey Archaeological Surrey Local History Committee and the Surrey Records Society. He is an advisor to the Cobham Conservation & Heritage Trust and has written many books and articles on the history of Cobham. He obtained his doctorate on Vernon Lushington, a 19th century Positivist who lived in Cobham and, for many years, he has been researching and lecturing on various aspects of the Lushington family and their circle. His recently completed biography of three generations of the Lushington family is awaiting publication.

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“It will be a charming place certainly!”
Charles Buxton, John Ruskin and the building of
Foxwarren Park, Cobham

David Taylor. MA, PhD., FSA



Fig 1. Fox Warren, Cobham, Surrey. *The Illustrated London News*,
June 30, 1860

“Big and violent, with crow-stepped gables and glowing diaper polychrome brickwork throughout.” This is how Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner described Foxwarren Park in the Surrey volume of *The Buildings of England*. The builder is given as Frederick Barnes of Ipswich “better known for his East Anglian Jacobean railway stations.” This brief description of the house is followed up in the Addenda to the volume with a reference to *Notes of Thought* by Charles Buxton, whose house it was, in which it describes how “having spent four summers in hired houses near Weybridge, he [Buxton] purchased a piece of land overlooking Wisley Common, upon which he determined to build a house of his own.” *Notes of Thought*, (1873) published after Buxton’s death, is a compilation of extracts from his diaries “Preceded by a biographical sketch” of Buxton written by the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies.

Throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, the address of Foxwarren (or Fox Warren as it was originally known) was given as Cobham, although it is actually in the parish of Wisley. The house was the inspiration for E.H. Shepard's illustrations of Toad Hall in Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows*.¹ It was later owned by Alfred Ezra, a breeder and keeper of birds, who built up a collection of rare birds that was considered the finest of its kind. In the 1950s, the grounds were used for filming the popular television series *Robin Hood*, starring Richard Green, and *The Adventures of Sir Lancelot*.

Charles Buxton (1822-1871) was the third son of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786-1845), a notable brewer, MP and social reformer. He was also a deeply committed evangelical Christian who had worked with William Wilberforce in the fight against slavery. Although a member of the Church of England, Sir Thomas had a strong attachment to the Quakers through his mother's family, the Hanburys, through whom he became associated with the Gurney family, especially Joseph Gurney, his sister, the prison reformer, Elizabeth Fry, and their sister Hannah, whom Thomas married in 1807.

Charles Buxton and his siblings were raised by their parents in the evangelical tradition but, as his diaries reveal, he, like many of his contemporaries, experienced a "crisis of faith". In addition to a record of his daily life, Buxton's diaries are also a record of the development of his spiritual journey in which he sets down his thoughts concerning himself, his relationship with God, and other matters such as his understanding of the Bible. In all of these he constantly examines himself, his beliefs, and his



Fig 2. Charles Buxton

motives. He gradually moved from the strict evangelicalism of his childhood to a broader churchmanship, confiding in his diary in 1854, “I think as I grow more mature, I lose the power of feeling about religion, & I tend too much to make it a matter of intellectual speculation – and my faith is at sea, tossed thither and thither.” A few months later he wrote, “I think the Wesleyans, Quakers, Presbyterians &c &c are like the pines, cedars, chestnuts &c in a wood – the same spirit so to speak in all – but each an individual life of its own.”

Buxton’s Christian faith was expressed through social action. He served as a Liberal MP from 1857 to 1871 and took a particular interest in the plight of the London poor living in the area around the family brewery in Spitalfields. He was also one of the founders of The London Working Men’s College where he rubbed shoulders with John Ruskin; the Christian Socialist F.D. Maurice, whose views on matters of theology and doctrine were an important influence on him;² and members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. The author of the Preface to *Notes of Thoughts*, the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, was also a founder member of the College. Other friends included the Trevelyan family; Arthur Stanley, the Broad Church Dean of Westminster noted for his liberal views; Elizabeth Gaskell, many of whose novels were commentary on the social conditions of the day and whose mother was related to Buxton’s wife; and Charles Darwin.³ The Buxtons were on close terms with the Lushingtons who came to live at nearby Ockham Park at the invitation of Lord Lovelace, Lady Byron’s son-in-law. Dr Stephen Lushington, was another abolitionist, and a close friend and parliamentary colleague of Sir Thomas Buxton.

It was my research on the Lushington family that led me to Charles Buxton’s diaries in the British Library.⁴ Although these provided me with some material on the Lushingtons, and the to-ings and fro-ings between Foxwarren and Ockham Park, they also reveal just how deeply involved Buxton was in the design of his new house and how he sought the advice and approval of his friend John Ruskin in the project. Frederick Barnes may have been the builder but the siting and design of the house was very much of Buxton’s doing.

The diaries run from 1840 to 1875 but, frustratingly, those covering the years 1863 to 1867 are missing. However, the crucial diaries concerning the planning and construction of Foxwarren are those for 1855 to 1857. As early as 1853, Buxton, then living a house called “Woodlawn” in Weybridge, wrote in his diary, “views from Weybridge beautiful. I found a good site for a house, if I can get the land.” It is not clear where this site was but Buxton’s diaries record his many visits to St George’s Hill and the surrounding area. It was at this time that the unproductive heathlands of Surrey suddenly became the ideal of the mid-Victorians, perhaps because of its convenient resemblance to the Scottish Highlands and the growing links to the capital by the coming of the railways.

In 1850 Charles Buxton married Emily Mary Holland, the eldest daughter of Henry Holland, physician to Queen Victoria. When the couple started a family,

they were keen to have a house of their own and began to look for a property in the Weybridge area. In August 1854, Buxton recorded that he took a three-hour ride, “by Esher common &c very pretty – by Eaton’s Farm, & found a field with a lovely view, which I talked of buying.” This was probably Eaton Farm on Cobham Fairmile. He returned a few days later and “looked at the land – delightful old farmhouse - & the panoramic views beautiful – but no rough common & heather.”



Fig. 3. This watercolour is believed to be of Mrs Charles Buxton at Foxwarren
[Mr & Mrs Ruddock]

After deciding against Eaton Farm, Buxton later rode to nearby Oxshott Heath which, although “very beautiful” was “but nothing equal to dear St George’s Hill, with its deep heather, rich ferns, trees, & lovely distance.” However, St George’s Hill had its setbacks such as a “want of trees too on the ground itself. Too far from a village is serious defect.” The following year Buxton and his wife returned to Cobham to look for a suitable site.

Emily & I drove in the open carriage to Cobham ... & visited the property we think of buying. The views from it were very beautiful & the situation desirable in many respects. I am a good deal attracted. It would be so pleasant to have a house of our own.

The couple later returned to Cobham “& looked at the Fairmile Estate – very pretty views, but I like the Cobham one better. We drove with Loring⁵ up to a knoll covered in bluebells, with lovely views.” The following week, after driving up to St George’s Hill he travelled on “to see our site at Cobham, but it will not quite do I think.” Buxton had also considered Oatlands House, Weybridge and wrote, “We went to see Oatlands House ... which excited my envy very much. I think we have made a great mistake in not getting it: except that it is far from S[t.] G[eorge’s] Hill.”

After failing to acquire Oatlands House, and deciding against Cobham, on 31st August 1854, Buxton wrote, “I rode over S[t.] G[eorge]’s Hill, to see the site we saw one day, of Locke King’s, & I was so charmed with the views, that I wrote to L K offering £100 an acre.” This was the area known as Fox Warren and this is where he set his heart to live. The following month he recorded:

News that Locke King will sell me the land – rather overwhelming at first – I hardly feel sure whether it will be for good – though very pleased in many respects. The chief objection I have is that the greater expense will lessen my charities, which I deeply regret – but on the other hand I think that at 32, & with such an immense income, it is perfectly right that I have a house of my own in the country, & so I shd. very much prefer to build it.

A second objection is, that it is so very far from the Brewery – but it is not so much further than Woodlawn that it need present my taking it – then I do feel this a decided evil.

A third objection is that should I go into Parliament, I should be very little able to be in the country till August, & then I shd prefer to come to Cromer. After all, in that case I could probably let it out at a loss, and in that case too, I shd want a house in the country to run down to.

Buxton concluded these deliberations with a summary of the estimated costs of the project.

The land will cost me	£2,500
house & laying out garden	6,500
furniture	<u>2,000</u>
	11,000

After careful consideration of the possible objections to, and the likely expenditure in, acquiring the Foxwarren estate, Buxton decided to proceed with the purchase. His enthusiasm for the project was encouraged by his many visits to the site. In October 1855, he wrote “To Weybridge & saw the ‘Fox Warren’, most beautiful views – picturesque dells & tops.” He soon set about putting down his ideas for the house on paper and, on the last day of 1855, he wrote, “I like my sketch of my house very much. It has got my idea of a manor house very successfully.” With the opening of a new year 1856 Buxton, reflected, “And then for the last two months I have given my mind to planning & sketching my house – which has required vigorous application, & will embody my mind & fancy as much as any book could.” Even before he found a suitable site, Buxton was gathering ideas for the design of a new house. He found inspiration in the old houses in his family’s native county of Norfolk, particular in the seventeenth-century Barningham Hall which he visited in February 1856 to sketch the gables and windows of “delightful old place”.



Fig. 4. Fox Warren, main entrance c.1880. [*Mr & Mrs Ruddock*]

In January 1856 Buxton decided to consult with the great art critic of the day,

John Ruskin, on his proposed plans for the new house.⁶

We went to see Ruskin, & shew him the architects sketches, but to my satisfaction he preferred mine which I decidedly do myself. I really think that I know a great deal more about picturesque manor houses than they do.

He talked much against symmetry & shewed us a number of most interesting drawings of his own at Venice & pictures in murals, to shew us how the artists of old despised it: but I thought they were symmetrical in outline, - in the architecture - though in the carving which was to be done by hand, they liked to see the free play of fancy -

He spoke again about curves, & shewed us how ugly a promontory would be, if round & that the natural line would be a flowing, moving one - & he pointed out that such a line would be the line of a bird's wing - & the centre line of a leaf.

He is very bright, very loving, very quiet - very polite - & altogether immensely engaging.

Six months later Buxton set out in his diary his response to Ruskin's advice.

I have adopted Ruskin's principles as far as I could.

- (1) in having moulded brick entirely.
- (2) abundance of gable ends. I shall have 17.
- (3) arched windows & doorways. I think I shall have about 40 pointed arches in the house.
- (4) irregularity - My outline is full of breaks & projections & no two sides are precisely the same. I have varied the bay windows - &c.
- (5) colour - so far as my having dark red bricks, instead of the pallid things usually supplied.



Fig.5.This mediaeval turret, illustrated in John Ruskin's *Lectures on Architecture and Painting* (1854), may have been the inspiration for a similar turret that can be seen in Fig. 4.

- (6) The chequer of black bricks will not be a pattern, but as a ground work, & running as it may chance up to the edges.
- (7) The high roof – made a visible & striking part of the building. Mine is 3/8th of the whole height.
- (8) Projecting eaves – adding to the feeling of “home sweet home”.
- (9) A high, gabled porch with benches inside – giving a sense of hospitality.
- (10) Inside, all the woodwork is to be merely stained & varnished, so as to show what it is, & how well it can be made to look, instead of hiding it up by paint, or graining.
- (11) No falsification – no stucco – no grainings – no gutta percha furniture.⁷ Everything openly tell who & what it is, but is made to look its best.
- (12) The house was planned inside first – with a simple view to comfort – the ornamental was subsequent, & nowhere allowed to interfere with the original intention of the house viz. to be a pleasant home to live in. All modern improvements, sash windows – windows opening to the ground – lots of light & air are obtained.

On the 29th February 1856 Buxton completed his purchase of the site from Peter John Locke King of Woburn Park, Chertsey for the sum of £3410.⁸

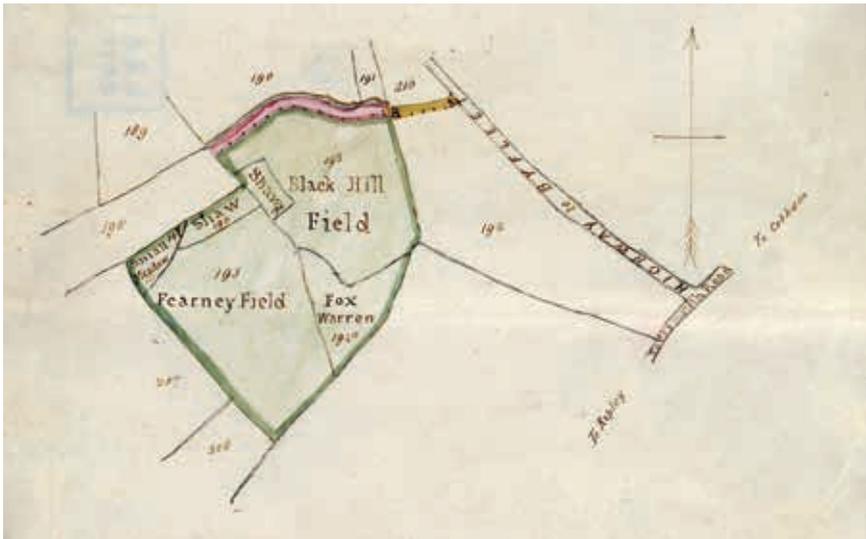


Fig. 6. Plan from Conveyance to Buxton dated 26 February 1856 [see ref. 8]

Buxton believed that was introducing something new to architecture in his plans for Foxwarren, especially in the use of moulded bricks. He mused, “I wonder whether our house will turn out as beautiful and picturesque as we intend. I think our plan of having brick mullions, mouldings, etc., which sounds common enough, is, in fact, very rare.” On 15th April 1856 he wrote:

Mr Bonham Carter much excited by the idea of our moulded brick ornamentation. The fact is that I find we are striking out a new line, & that the world does not even know what one means by moulded brick. I hope we shall stimulate that style of building - & also set an example of the use of the pointed arch in house building. I really think our house will be singularly pretty, & original. Ld Ellesmere told me house he thought our site "the most beautiful spot in England".

That same month, Buxton went to Weybridge with Frederick Barnes "& laid out the position of the house – beautiful gleaming a mild April afternoon – the trees coming out – the placed looked most beautiful." A few days later he returned to the site with his wife "in a storm of rain, with lovely gleams of sunshine & these shot further just when we were on the ground & the views were exquisite – two nightingales singing to my delight. I was much pleased: & the house progressing. The foundations were laid just when Peace was proclaimed." In between his visits to monitor progress on the building, Buxton and his wife made time to visit London to see his friend Holman Hunt's "The Scapegoat" which was on display at the Royal Academy and which Buxton pronounced as "splendid".

Visiting the site in May, Buxton, was "glad to find some good oaks in the lower hollow. I have named the different parts of the ground, Fox Warren, Black Hill, The Hollow, The Coke, The dell, Ferney Field, Queen Anns Hill, The Haugh – The Hanger." By 4th June he could report "the house has got just above ground now."

Buxton's enthusiasm for the position his proposed new house was sometimes overshadowed by pangs of doubts about the practicality of his plans. In November 1856, he wrote, "I fear that Fox Warren will be a great burden to me in this respect that I like best being in town all the winter: & all the autumn I like being at Cromer & now I like to be in London during part of the Season.



Buxton overcame his fears as he threw himself into the design of his new house. His diaries are filled with little pen sketches of the proposed house and its layout and, from these, it is clear that he had a major hand in its design.

Fig. 7. Charles Buxton's sketch for his new house [see ref. 4]

I give myself up to the drawing out with great care the plans of my house. It will be a pleasure to me through life to feel that my house is entirely picturesque and was wholly the production of my own mind. The charm of the scenery around will double the delight of living in a very beautiful house. I hardly however am able to release the idea of it being actually complete & my inhabiting it! Yet such things do happen!

He was especially pleased by his choice of moulded bricks. “I was alive to the fact that it is a new thing. I am extremely pleased by the effect of them, & feel like a poet who has had a poem just up out of his soul without knowing how!”

On 17th June 1856 Buxton and his friend Richard Hoare “drove to Fox Warren which he [Hoare] duly admired. We fixed the site of the lodge – an amusing evening.” By 29th July, Buxton could record in his diary, “The house rising very steady.” The following month he wrote, “I am every hour more & more fascinated by this delicious place – especially the common now glorying in purple heather. Oh, how very very very fortunate am I in all things. Only let me be a strong, earnest thinker. If I dawdle & idle I shall be wretched.” The views from the house towards the south and west were important and Buxton and his friends would make visits to the site to personally cut down trees. He writes of “forming peeps” over the distant landscape.



Fig. 8. Miss S Buxton outside Fox Warren c.1890 [*Mr & Mrs Ruddock*]

On Tuesday August 11th 1857 Buxton declared triumphantly, “We get into Fox Warren!” The house and its grounds became everything that Charles and Emily

had planned. It was a welcome retreat both from Westminster and the family brewery. Here they raised a family and entertained friends including William Holman Hunt and the Pre-Raphaelite sculptor Thomas Woolner.¹⁰ John Tyndall, the prominent Irish physicist was at Fox Warren in 1860 together with the twin brothers Vernon and William Lushington from nearby Ockham. Edward Lear visited Fox Warren on at least two occasions. On his first visit in 1862 he wrote in his diary, "Very beautiful the view thence! Cheerful & far away."¹¹ Lear found "the 2 Buxtons very kindly and pleasant." He was fascinated by the parrots that the Buxtons kept and how the whole family would rush out to scare off some hawks that threatened the birds. This latter event was particularly vexing to Lear who was trying to interest the Buxtons and their guest on some of his Palestine sketches. Two sketches of parrots at Foxwarren have survived in private collections. After dinner Lear entertained his hosts and other guests by singing. "Evening cheerful. I sang as well as could."¹² Lear returned to Foxwarren the following year, walking there from Ockham Park with William Lushington and others, "where were Cockatoos."¹³

Other friends and colleagues of Buxton included his Working Men's College colleague, and later his biographer, Frederick Furnivall whom he described as:

... a weak, shallow, rather poor creature, doing a good work in the world from sheer goodness of feeling. He has many friends among the working class, & really gives them his heart. His remark as to what rich people should do told upon me. They made me feel ashamed of my luxuries. Oh I am a poor creature – feeble, weak in will.

Buxton enrolled as a leader in the Metropolitan Volunteers in the 1860s but, when a corps was formed out of the men at his brewery, he declined to accept a higher appointment than of Lieutenant, but as his enthusiasm for the movement grew, he began to study tactics and to arrange small sham-fights at Hampstead, Cromer and Fox Warren. These events grew in size and became popular attractions. The last of these was held in 1870 when 3,000 Volunteers came together from London and different parts of Surrey to take part watched by several hundred invited guests on the lawn at Fox Warren.

Buxton's involvement in the design and building of Foxwarren led him to a deeper interest in architecture and, in 1856, he drew up designs for new Government Offices in London for a competition he was invited to enter. "I resolved formally to compete for the design of the new Government Office, of which I heard specifications on Wednesday. I feel a perfect confidence in my ability to make it a magnificent & original building." In December 1856 he made a rough sketch of his design for the building and wrote,

I think there should be a great main trunk as it were, and the building one great central mass from which the rest should issue as it were. At the one end I propose to adopt something like a French chevet – three pentagrams.
He came sixth in the competition and received a prize of £100.

Two years later, on 9th October 1858, after reading Rickman's *Gothic Architecture*", Buxton wrote, "I will make architecture a very thorough study." He arranged parties and expeditions to churches and old buildings both in London and in the country and became a strong advocate for using the Gothic style for new buildings. In 1865 Buxton commissioned the architect Samuel Sanders Teulon to design the Buxton Memorial Fountain to commemorate the role of his father and others in the abolition of slavery. Originally erected in Parliament Square, the fountain was later moved to its current position in Victoria Tower Gardens, between the Palace of Westminster and Lambeth Bridge.

In June 1860 the *Illustrated London News* published a wood-cut of Fox Warren which it described as "remarkable for its rich ornamentation, with moulded-brick and red terra-cotta." The article referred to concerns over "the decay of the best kinds of stone" and the better use of the moulded bricks which are "imperishable by the action of weather, and which, moreover, improves in colour and picturesque effect by age."¹⁴

In 1867 Buxton was thrown from his horse in the hunting-field, and suffered concussion of the brain. During his illness he studied the subject of anaesthetics, and offered a prize of £2,000 for the discovery of an anaesthetic agent which should satisfy certain conditions. He recovered but nearly lost his life three years later when a young man he employed as his secretary attempted to shoot him. Buxton was not hit and it gave his humane feeling a real satisfaction when sufficient evidence was produced to prove that the young man was not in his right mind.

Buxton's health began to fail rapidly towards the close of 1870 and he died on 10th August 1871 during a restorative journey to Scotland. He was buried in the little church at Hatchford which had been built by his friend and neighbour Lord Ellesmere in 1865. Buxton's grave remains although the church was demolished in 1968 due to disrepair.

I am very grateful to Mr & Mrs Ben Ruddock for allowing me access to their home and for loaning the old photographs of Foxwarren which are reproduced in this article.

1 Surrey History Centre 9676/1. Post card from E. H Shepard to David Taylor.

2 On 2nd December 1853, Buxton wrote, "I do so feel indebted to Maurice for impressing more deeply than ever on my mind the great truth, that Eternal Life consists in faith & love, begun here, as its underground root – branching out hereafter into light air...and that Eternal Death is Darkness-to be out of sight of God – left to self & sin. Oh that I might have [?] to act upon these beliefs!" After attending a dinner party on 31st March 1854, at which Maurice was a fellow guest, Buxton wrote, "Maurice's face & head very striking: the most holy, & thoughtful, I ever saw I think & such tenderness & humility in his eyes."

3 On 12th February 1855 Buxton recorded that he had dined with Darwin and his family when another

guest was the anthropologist T.H. Huxley - later became known as Darwin's "bulldog" because of his advocacy of the theory of evolution.

4 Buxton's Diaries together with some family correspondence and other papers are at the British Library under Add MS 8687-87366. For more on the Lushington family see David Taylor '*The Remarkable Lushington Family, Reformers, Pre-Raphaelites and the Bloomsbury Group*,' Lexington Books (2020). See also page 39.

5 Rev Edward Henry Loring, MA, was the Vicar of Cobham from 1853 to 1867). The Buxtons and the Lorings were on close terms often visiting each other. Charles Buxton took an interest in the church at Cobham which was being restored at that time. "a pleasant ride to Cobham, & looked at the chantry which I shall repair." On 3rd June 1859, Buxton attended St Andrew's Church, Cobham and wrote in his diary "I to Cobham. I was fiercely angry at Loring's making the afternoon service last altogether 1¾ hours. I have forgotten how painful bitter anger is." One of Loring's sons, born shortly after the death of Buxton, was named Charles Buxton Loring.

6 On the 16th November 1854 Buxton and his wife visited Ruskin to see his collection of paintings by J.M.W. Turner. Buxton wrote his diary, "Ruskin charming: full of thought: ready to outpour it: voice genteel yet sprightly manners: a very intellectual refined brow & front face, but bad profile with too forward nose & mouth: pleasant smile& charming manners to his father ... Ruskin's main point was that colour must be in harmony – rather than it must be accurately true."

7 *Gutta-percha* was a tough plastic substance from the latex of several Malaysian trees of the Sapodilla family that resembles rubber but contains more resin. In the mid-19th century, gutta-percha was used to make furniture, notably by the Gutta-Percha Company, established in 1847. Several of these ornate, revival-style pieces were shown at the 1851 Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, London. The use of this material would have been an anathema to Ruskin

8 The Conveyance and counterpart, dated 29th February 1856, are in the Surrey History Centre (6225/3/3-4).

9 The Treaty of Paris, signed on the 30th March 1856, marked the end of the Crimean War.

10 After a visit to Fox Warren for Christmas 1861, Buxton described Hunt's face as "a very striking one – It is somewhat square, with a reddish beard & hair: & not handsome at all: except that his grey eyes have so much light & depth in them. He has a peculiar tone of voice, & his tongue clips the sounds of his words, & he throws a singular emphasis on all person pronouns." Woolner was described as "a very bright & intelligent looking man, with rich hair & beard, but a rather ill bred voice."

11 Diary of Edward Lear. 14th August 1862. Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Eng. 797.3.

12 Ibid.

13 Diary of Edward Lear. 18th October 1864.

14 *The Illustrated London News*, 30th June 1860 p. 640.

Lord William, First Baron Howard Of Effingham And His Surrey Lands

Vivien White

This article arose from a document at the Surrey History Centre¹ which details the lands granted by Edward VI in 1550 to Lord William Howard, the father of Lord Charles Howard of Effingham who was Lord High Admiral at the time of The Armada. Lord William Howard, a member of the powerful Howard family, had a remarkable career as a courtier and statesman and unusually served four Tudor monarchs with different religious persuasions: Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth I. He died still in the service of Elizabeth I. The Surrey History Centre document was used in *The History of Effingham*² to claim it shows the manor of Effingham had been a Chertsey Abbey manor. As other research has indicated that this was unlikely, I began transcribing the grant with help from staff at the Surrey History Centre. The complete transcription confirmed that the manor of Effingham had not been a Chertsey Abbey manor when acquired by Henry VIII. It also revealed interesting information about the lands Lord William was granted. This article is about these lands, the reasons they were granted and what happened to them.

The Howard Family and Its Links to Surrey

The Howard family of which Lord William was a member originated in Norfolk



and can be traced back to his namesake and great-great grandfather, William Howard. All that is known of him is that he was born around 1340 in Wiggenhall in Norfolk. After a successful legal career he was appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and knighted. As the family name was also rendered as Hereward, the family claimed Hereward the Wake as an early ancestor. The Howard family became one of the most distinguished in the country with a number of sub-branches, of which Lord William's was one, and were granted a large number of hereditary titles probably unequalled by any other English family.

Fig. 1. William Howard, 1st Baron Howard of Effingham by John Ogborne, line engraving, published 1774 [NPG D25131 © National Portrait Gallery, London]

On the death of Richard's grandson, Thomas Fitzalan 12th Earl of Arundel and 10th Earl of Surrey, in 1415 without male heirs, the Earldom of Arundel passed to his cousin John. The lands of the Earldom of Surrey were held by his widow in dower, but on her death in 1439 were shared between the heirs of his three sisters who were his co-heiresses. In 1384 the eldest of Thomas' sisters, Elizabeth, had married as her second husband, Thomas Mowbray, 1st Duke of Norfolk, and her grandson, John Mowbray, the 3rd Duke of Norfolk, received the manor of Reigate as part of his share. He also received Norfolk House and twelve acres of land in Old Paradise Street in Lambeth (then in Surrey), which became the London home of the Dukes of Norfolk.

John Howard followed his father into the Mowbray's service, serving his cousin John Mowbray, 2nd Duke of Norfolk and, like him, supporting the House of York against the House of Lancaster in the ongoing War of the Roses. John Mowbray was neither an influential courtier nor a successful soldier and it was John Howard who led his cousin's forces to save Edward IV at the bloody Battle of Towton in 1461. John Howard was rewarded with a knighthood and royal appointments, including membership of the King's Council. As a result, he was able to acquire lands in Norfolk and amassed great wealth. John de Mowbray, 4th Duke of Norfolk, died without a male heir in 1461 and his only daughter Anne succeeded as heiress to her father's lands. At the age of five she was married to the four year old Richard, Duke of York, the younger son of Edward IV. After his father's death in 1483 he and his older brother were imprisoned in the Tower by his uncle who then had himself crowned as Richard III. Anne died in 1481. In 1483 when Anne's husband, Richard, Duke of York, was thought to have died in The Tower a settlement was agreed to by Anne's co-heirs of the Mowbray lands: her third cousins, John Howard and William, Lord Berkeley, and the additional two co-heirs to the De Warenne lands, Thomas, Lord Stanley, and Sir John Wingfield. Lord Berkeley received lands in the Midlands and the earldom of Nottingham. John Howard received the East Anglian estates and lands in Surrey and Sussex, including a half-share of the manor of Reigate, with Lord Stanley receiving the other half share. John Howard also became the first Howard to hold the title of Duke of Norfolk.

The granting of the dukedom of Norfolk to John Howard was probably due more to his support of Richard III's usurpation of the throne than his remote family claim to it. It is possible that he was involved in the death of Richard's nephews, the princes in the Tower. John Howard was also appointed Lord Admiral of England in 1483, an office that his grandson and great grandson would also fill. Prior to the appointment, he had amassed ten to twelve ships, many of which were used not only for foreign trade but also to serve the King. He seems to have had a lifelong involvement with sea trade and from early in his career was involved in naval matters.

John Howard was killed at the Battle of Bosworth in 1485, supporting the House of York to the end. He was attainted, along with his son and heir, Thomas Howard,

Earl of Surrey by Henry VII's first parliament. After a spell of imprisonment in The Tower, Thomas Howard was restored as Earl of Surrey in 1489 with a small part of the lands of his father. The settlement of 1483 was put aside in 1504 with the important Reigate manor divided between all four parties but as Thomas Howard and Thomas Stanley bought out the other two parties, they again became co-owners of the manor. Thomas Howard would have to prove his worth to Henry VII and later Henry VIII as a soldier and lead armies which defeated two Scottish invasions before he was made 2nd Duke of Norfolk in 1514. He then regained some of the lands held by his father, including most of those in Surrey and was granted new ones.

Life and Career of Lord William Howard, from 1554 Baron of Effingham

Thomas Howard, 2nd Duke of Norfolk married twice and had eleven children. Lord William, born in about 1510, was his fourth son and the eldest son of the duke by his second wife, Agnes Tilney. Being a younger son and by a second marriage with little chance of inheriting his father's title, Lord William's only path to achieving wealth and status was through royal service and favour. After attending Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Lord William's father took him to court where he quickly found favour and was chosen as part of an embassy to Scotland in 1531. He then accompanied the King to France in 1532. Henry VIII came to regard him as a trusted servant whom he habitually used as an envoy. In late 1541 Lord William's career almost came to a premature end when he and other members of the Howard family were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in The Tower of London following the conviction for adultery of the queen, Catherine Howard, his half-niece. Catherine Howard had spent much of her childhood and teenage years at Norfolk House in the nominal charge of Lord William's mother, the Dowager Duchess Agnes, (who held it in dower) who, it was said knew of her teenage sexual relationships. As Lord William also used the house as his London home, it was thought he too was aware of them and the offense of which he was convicted was of not informing the King of his half niece's immorality before his marriage to her.³

Lord William was pardoned by the King on 28th August 1542 when his former abode was said to be Lambeth, Surrey.⁴ His current one was The Tower of London. He soon returned to the King's service and was appointed part of the retinue of his half-brother, the Duke of Norfolk (who had managed to avoid blame for Queen Catherine's behaviour by denouncing other members of his family). He was also advanced £100 as he had no income as his lands had been confiscated. In 1544 he took part in both the siege of Edinburgh and that of Boulogne for the king.

Following his father's appointment as Lord Admiral, the office became linked to the Howard family as was not unusual in those times. Two of Lord William's half-brothers, Sir Edward Howard (1476/7 to 1513) and Lord Thomas Howard were both appointed Lord Admiral. Lord William himself followed the family's involvement in overseas trade as in 1533 he was given a licence to import 600 tonnes of Gascony wine and Toulouse woad in French, Spanish and Flemish

ships.⁵ In 1545 he was appointed Vice-Admiral to John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, (later Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland) the Lord Admiral, who was responsible for the reorganisation of Henry VIII's navy. The two men forged a strong bond which would be of great value to Lord William. Lord William's career almost ended again in 1547 when his half-nephew, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey and heir to the Duke of Norfolk, was convicted of usurpation of the royal arms and conspiracy against the crown and executed. Lord William's half-brother, Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk, father of the Earl of Surrey, was attainted and imprisoned in the Tower with his lands reverting to the King. The Duke only avoided execution because Henry VIII died before the sentence could be carried out but, even so, he remained in the Tower during the reign of Edward VI. Whilst the fall of the Earl of Surrey and the Duke of Norfolk appears to have been partly due to the arrogance of the Earl of Surrey, it also reflected the struggle for power between the old nobility serving Henry VIII and the "new men." The Howards were part of the old nobility, who mainly adhered to the catholic faith, whilst the "new men" or reformers, including John Dudley, were strongly protestant.

Although the family's disgrace prevented Lord William succeeding John Dudley as Lord Admiral at that time, Lord William's relationship with him meant that his exclusion from public service was temporary. He was involved in John Dudley's coup against the Somerset administration of Edward VI and made lord deputy and governor of Calais, an appointment which proved important to his future in 1553 when Edward VI died and John Dudley fell from power. Lord William shrewdly held Calais for Mary Tudor against Lady Jane Grey and was rewarded with a place at her court and appointment as a Privy Councillor in January 1554. Although he had been associated with the protestant John Dudley, his Howard Catholic background endeared him to Mary. His loyalty was proved in February 1554 by his conduct during the Wyatt rebellion helping to raise the City of London's militia against the rebellion and leading troops which prevented Wyatt and his forces entering the city. As a reward, he was made Baron Howard of Effingham in March 1554, followed by his appointment as Lord Admiral. His first duty was to defend the Spanish imperial fleet from the French in the Channel as Philip II was sailed to England to marry Mary Tudor. This was ironic as his son would later lead the English fleet against the Armada sent by Philip II to invade England. However, Lord William was not a member of the trusted court group advising Mary and he continued to support the claim of his half great-niece, Elizabeth to the succession. The consistent theme in his actions was his loyalty to Henry VIII and his ordering of the succession. Lord William lost his position as Lord Admiral in February 1558, although he was compensated with an annuity (never actually paid) and the promise to succeed the Lord Chamberlain. Perhaps surprisingly he was not very well rewarded by Elizabeth, when she came to the throne, although she valued his loyalty. He received no higher honour than his barony under Elizabeth and no large grant of lands. He was appointed to her Privy Council and made Lord Chamberlain. Dogged by ill health, in 1572 he was given the post of Lord Privy Seal instead, a post he held until his death in 1573.

The Surrey Lands Granted to Lord William Howard

During his life Lord William was gifted land by his father in Surrey and elsewhere and then received several royal grants of land. All his lands were confiscated when he was attainted in 1541 but most were eventually restored to him after he was pardoned in 1542. He then received further grants of land from the Crown enabling him to build up a modest Surrey estate. These grants were relatively small scale by the standards of the time. The dissolution of the monasteries between 1536 and 1541 had released large amounts of land, which the Crown either sold or granted to nobles to buy their support for the dissolution and the break with the Roman Catholic Church. Lord William was unable to amass a large fortune as his expenses as a courtier were high and he had nine surviving children to establish. His most lucrative appointment was as Lord Admiral. This post normally allowed incumbents to establish their fortune, as demonstrated by Lord William's son Lord Charles, but Lord William was unable to do this in his short tenure of four years. In later life he encountered financial difficulties and had to dispose of some of his lands, although he was able to retain his Surrey estate.

The first land Lord William owned in Surrey was the manor of Little Bookham or Bookham Parva⁶ as it was then called in official documents. This was settled on him by his father, probably in the early 1530s on his coming of age, along with a small number of properties, manors (including the manor of Bidlington in Sussex) and financial interest in lands.⁷ They were only granted to Lord William for the term of his life and probably formed part of Thomas Howard's marriage settlement with his second wife, Lord William's mother. The manors of Little Bookham and Bidlington had been part of the Braose family's lands, which Lord William's father had inherited as a joint-heir with his cousin, Sir Maurice Berkeley, following the death of the last heir Sir Thomas Cokesey (né Greville) in 1498.⁸

The manor of Little Bookham would not have provided Lord William with a large income. The parish was only some four miles in length and a fifth to a half of a mile wide and covered only about 950 acres. Straddling the North Downs on its dip slope, it was part of the half-hundred of Effingham (established in the Anglo Saxon period and the only half-hundred in Surrey) and was closely linked with the neighbouring parish of Effingham. Unusually, about 180 acres of Little Bookham manor were in the neighbouring parish of Effingham adjoining the Little Bookham manor lands. In the mid nineteenth century the lord of the manor of Little Bookham held in demesne an unusually high proportion of his own manor at around 60 per cent in addition to the land in Effingham. In 1838 some 70 per cent of the parish was cultivated with 48 per cent arable and 22 per cent meadow and pasture. Woodland covered 14 per cent and the waste was 13 per cent with houses, orchards and gardens only accounting for 3 per cent. In the sixteenth century the percentages would have been little different. Like all Surrey dip slope parishes Little Bookham originally had common fields located near the spring line with later field names indicating their location. They seem to have

been enclosed at an early date and it is unclear whether they still survived at this time. The manor had been a small sub manor of the Braose family which was either let out by them or managed by a steward. The manor house at that time, which would have been occupied by the steward, would have been very modest, possibly the original core of two rooms either side of an entrance now bricked up of the current Manor Farm, a mainly eighteenth century building. Lord William probably always let the manor out, as in 1566 when it was noted that it was “lette into for certaine rent-corne provisions of my house” and worth £21 per annum.⁹

In March 1538, at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, Lord William’s service for the King was recognised with a modest grant of lands to himself and his wife, Margaret. They obtained the house, site and lands of St Mary Magdalene Abbey in Barnstaple which included a number of other manors in the area and the advowson of several churches with pensions attached to them. They were also granted the rectory, advowson, and vicarage of the parish church of Tottenham in Middlesex, which had belonged to the late Priory of Holy Trinity in London and all the messuages, houses etc which had belonged to that priory in Tottenham. The annual value of the Tottenham property was given as £155 4s 6d, a substantial sum at that time.¹⁰ However, it appears that the Dean and Chapter of St Paul’s Cathedral lobbied Henry VIII for the Tottenham property and in June 1541 Lord William and his wife were granted Reigate Priory and the land it had held in exchange. This grant was especially appropriate as the Howard family held a moiety of the manor of Reigate and Lord William is thought to have spent much of his childhood at Reigate Castle. At the time of the grant to Lord William the Reigate Manor moiety was held by his mother, Agnes, Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, in dower after which it would revert to Lord William’s half-brother, the Duke of Norfolk. The Reigate Priory grant included the manors of Southwick and Eastbrook in Sussex and the advowsons of the vicarages of Dorking and Capell and the rectory of Mickleham, all in Surrey. The former priory had also owned land and property in Surrey and Sussex which was included in the grant. The Surrey villages and towns where the priory held property were listed as Reigate, Dorking, Horley, Betchworth, Gatton, Capel, Westhumble, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Nutfield, Lingfield, Buckland, Leigh, Burstow, Headley, Ashted, Walton-on-the-Hill and Horne. It also owned land in Southwick, Eastbrook, and Bolney in Sussex.

Lord William did not hold these lands for long as in the autumn of 1541 Queen Catherine was accused of adultery and executed in February 1542. Lord William was recalled from France, attainted and imprisoned in The Tower with all his lands confiscated. Lord William’s lands were restored to him by grant of the King on 17th March 1544 after he had performed valuable military service for the King since his pardon in August 1542. The lands given to him by his father, including the manor of Little Bookham and the Barnstaple Priory grant from the King, were again only granted for life but the Reigate Priory grant was confirmed as a full grant with remainder to Lord William’s heirs.



Fig. 3. A late 18th/early 19th century copper plate engraving of Reigate Priory as it was in around 1577 viewed from the south.

Lord William converted The Priory into his main residence, demolishing the Priory Church at that time. The house with two wings built of Reigate stone was pictured in a print showing it as it would have been in 1577. Although the house was substantially remodelled in the late eighteenth century, some parts of Lord William's house remain and are still visible in the exterior of the now Grade 1 listed building exterior and internally in the grand stone fireplace with the Howard arms.

In March 1550 Lord William received a further grant of lands. He had avoided being involved in the disgrace and execution of his half-nephew, Henry Howard, in 1547 and the attainder and imprisonment of his half-brother Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk. Whilst his half-brother remained imprisoned in The Tower during the reign of Edward VI, Lord William played a full role at Court supporting John Dudley's successful coup against the Somerset administration and being rewarded with a grant of land. These are the lands described in the document at the Surrey History Centre. The grant itself is described in the Patent Rolls as:

Grant to William lord Howard of the manor of Bokeham, Surr., late of Chartesey monastery, the manor of Effyngham, Surr., and the lands in the several tenures of Laurence ate Woode, William Parre, William Fyndon and William Coke in the parish of Effyngham, late of John Leighe, Esquire, and the moiety of the manor of Rygate, Surr., and of the land called "the manor

of Holeight” or Holeigh Lande in Rygate, and all the lands in Rygate in tenure of John Skynner, esquire, late of Thomas duke of Norfolk.

Yearly value £82. 10s. 7½d.

To hold to the said William lord Howard, his heirs and assigns, of the king in chief by the service of the fortieth part of a knight’s fee.

Issues since Michelmas last.

By K. [II. 916.]¹¹

Lord William is likely to have lobbied for this particular grant of lands as, added to his existing Surrey lands, it gave him a viable Surrey estate in two blocks, ten miles apart. He received the Howard family lands in Reigate that had been confiscated from his half-brother, the Duke of Norfolk, on his conviction for treason including the moiety of Reigate manor and the “manor of Holeight” in Reigate, or Hooley, a sub manor in the east of the parish. These, when added to his existing grant of Reigate Priory, formed a modest estate. He was able to add lands from the grant of the manor, which surrounded the Priory to create a park. In a survey of Reigate manor in 1623¹² the park is described of being just over 200 acres and to be “well stored with tymber trees and replenished with deere having also in the same faire pond well stored with fishe and a small breede of herons.” A local squire John Skynner, had secured the Duke of Norfolk’s Reigate property on his arrest for the King, and evidently as a reward, as revealed in the Surrey History Centre document, was granted a lease of their woods and underwoods on 29th March 1547 which was to run until 29th September 1581 at an undisclosed annual rent. Perhaps Skynner has expected more as on 7th December 1552 he was granted the rectory and advowson of the vicarage of Reigate.¹³ Reigate Castle, the Surrey country seat of the Norfolk family since 1483 and the traditional home of the Earl of Surrey, was included in the grant and it was there that the Earl of Surrey’s sister, the Duchess of Richmond, brought up her executed brother’s children and placed them under the tutelage of the protestant John Foxe, author of the “*Book of Martyrs*.” Lord William’s son, Charles, later the second Baron of Effingham and Lord High Admiral at the time of The Armada, was said to have been tutored there with them. Whilst Lord Charles kept to the Protestant faith, his half-cousin, Thomas, later 4th Duke of Norfolk, would return to the Roman Catholic faith as subsequent members of the senior branch of the Howard family have ever since.

The Surrey History Centre document gives annual rental values for the three parts of the grant – Reigate, Great Bookham and Effingham. All three were of similar value, with the Reigate manor moiety (covering about half of the 5,871 acres of the parish of Reigate) being worth £29 11d a year. The other two parts of the grant were the manors of Great Bookham and Effingham lying respectively to the east and west of his manor of Little Bookham and were worth £29 4s 10d and £24 4s 5½d respectively per annum.

Great Bookham manor had been held by the Abbey of Chertsey. The Abbey had been finally dissolved in 1538 but Great Bookham had been retained by the Crown. The parish of Great Bookham covered 3,249 acres and the manor of Great Bookham was by far the largest of the three constituent manors. The two other reputed small manors in Great Bookham – Eastwick and Slyfield may have once belonged to the Abbey of Chertsey but did not appear to do so by this time. Little Bookham manor also held a virgate, roughly 30 acres, in the parish. The Surrey History Centre document reveals a manor with 80 per cent of the income a year coming from the rent paid by freeholders and copyholders in lieu of service and only 15 per cent from the farming of the demesne. In comparison, only 14 per cent of the income from the Effingham manor derived from copyhold, freehold and “at will” tenants with 84 per cent deriving from tenants renting the demesne.

The annual income of Effingham manor was only slightly lower than that for Great Bookham although the acreage of Effingham manor was much smaller. It was not even the most important of the three Effingham manors. The most important was Effingham East Court manor which alone held the right to hold a court leet. Effingham manor probably covered only one third of the 3,148 acres in the parish of Effingham, but had a much larger demesne than the Great Bookham manor at this time. Five farms let out on over 228 acres on the demesne of Effingham manor are listed in the Surrey History Centre document, whereas the demesne of the Great Bookham manor was only 156 acres in 1614. The demesnes of both manors had extensive acreages in the open fields. The profitability of Effingham manor at the time was largely due to its larger demesne. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was a time of rising prices. Whilst manor owners were able to let out their demesnes at a profitable market rent, income from copyhold tenants in Surrey manors was low. In Surrey, copyhold land was passed on by inheritance and it was difficult to raise copyhold tenants’ rents and fines as the level of rents and fines was usually set by custom of the manor courts.

The Surrey History Centre document and the main grant in the Patent Rolls confirm that the Effingham manor was late of John Leigh/Legh esquire and had not been held by the manor of Chertsey at the time of the dissolution of the abbey.¹⁵ John Leigh (later knighted) had bought the manor from John Down and his wife Joanna in 1491.¹⁶ Effingham manor actually comprised two medieval manors – the manor of Effingham La Place and Effingham La Leigh. It appears from the fine that Leigh had bought both manors from John and Joanna Down. Although John Leigh’s surname was the same as one of the manors, this was coincidental as John Leighs family was actually a junior branch of the Leigh/Legh family of West Hall of High Legh, a parish in Cheshire. His heir, believed to have been his nephew, also called John, had sold the unified manor of Effingham to Henry VIII on 13th July 1543.¹⁷

As Edward VI gave Lord William the reversion of the lands he had originally been given for life by his father, the Duke of Norfolk on 19 March 1553 he was now able to pass them on to his heirs. They included Little Bookham, as well as



Fig. 4. Watercolour of manor house of Effingham Manor by John Hassell titled *Effingham West court house, property of Mrs Brockles, 1823*. It is believed to have been built from an earlier hall house between 1550 and 1600 either by Lord William or his son Lord Charles. (SHC ref 4348/2/103/4)

other lands in Suffolk and Sussex. They had been confiscated when he was attainted in 1541 and had then been given to him by the gift of Henry VIII in 1544. The reversion to the lands had been held by the Duke of Norfolk but after his lands had been confiscated the reversion was held by the King. The value of the lands was given as £98 5s 6d and they were to be held at a fortieth part on one knight's fee.¹⁸ Lord William thus held manors in all the three neighbouring parishes of Effingham, Little Bookham and Great Bookham. Whilst Mary I gave him lands in Devonshire and Somerset, which he sold, the only further lands in Surrey he was granted was the small manor of Kingston Liberty in Ewell by Elizabeth I.¹⁹ In 1560 he purchased the manors of Bletchingley and Billeshurst in Lingfield from William Cawarden.²⁰ During Lord William's lifetime Bletchingley appears to have been mainly used by his son Lord Charles, whose heir, also called Charles, was born there.²¹

In addition to his court career Lord William was deeply involved in Surrey during his lifetime. In 1547, for instance, he was appointed a Commissioner of the Peace for Surrey.²² On 1st May 1559 he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Surrey and the Borough of Southwark and Custos Rotulorum of Surrey on February 11th 1561.²³ It may appear surprising that Lord William was ennobled as Baron of Effingham in 1554 instead of Reigate. However, Lord William only held a moiety of the manor of Reigate and that moiety had belonged to the senior branch of the family. Mary may have been advised that it was better to create a new barony for him from one of his other possessions. The choice of Effingham for the Barony

was probably considered appropriate as the half-hundred of Effingham covered his manors of Effingham, Great Bookham and Little Bookham.

What happened to Lord William's Estate in Surrey?

Lord William had financial difficulties in later life, as life as a courtier was very expensive and he had at least nine surviving of his possible sixteen children to provide for. In 1566 he sought help from his great half nephew, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, to sort out his affairs. Thomas was wealthy as Mary had pardoned Thomas' father and granted him financial recompense for the lands that had been confiscated and then granted to other courtiers. Lord William asked his half nephew to find an estate for his wife to hold in dower after his death out of his manor of Little Bookham and his moiety of Reigate.²⁴

Lord William died at Hampton Court in 1573 whilst still in the Crown's service and was buried at his own request in the chancel of St Mary Magdalene in Reigate. The only land mentioned in his will was the manor of Esher which he left to his eldest son and heir, Charles, second Baron of Effingham, later Earl of Nottingham and Lord Admiral at the time of the Armada. However, it appears that Lord William had only been promised a lease of the manor by the Bishop of Winchester which his son was later able to obtain.²⁵ Other sources show that Lord William gave his second son, Sir William, the manor of Great Bookham and the land at Billeshurst in Lingfield. His heir, Lord Charles was bequeathed his remaining lands which were worth about £300 a year²⁶ although Lord William's second wife, Margaret, mother of Charles, held the moiety of Reigate in dower until she died in 1581 when it passed to Lord Charles. Lord Charles seemingly preferred to live elsewhere, as in 1592 he obtained a 21 year lease of the manor of Haling in Croydon from Elizabeth I and made this his main country residence. The manor had been confiscated by the Crown from the Gage family for their involvement in the Babington's plot. In 1611 Lord Charles obtained a further 21 year lease on the manor when he was appointed Earl of Nottingham and it was at Haling House he died on 14th December 1624.

Reigate Priory and the moiety of the Reigate manor stayed in the family until 1641.²⁷ After his death Lord William's son, Lord Charles, Earl of Nottingham settled it on his second wife, Margaret, for her life with remainder to their son, Sir Charles, his third son. Margaret remarried and Sir Charles agreed that after her death it should be in trust for her husband until his death when it would revert to Sir Charles. Two years after his mother's death Sir Charles sold the reversionary interest and thus ended the Howard connection with Reigate. Little Bookham stayed in the family until around 1637. It was bequeathed by Lord William to his eldest son and heir Charles, later Earl of Nottingham. His widow, Margaret held it in dower, as she did Reigate, and after her death it was to pass to Lord Charles, 2nd Earl of Nottingham. It appears to have been purchased by Benjamin Maddox around 1637.²⁸ The manor of Effingham stayed in the family until 1647.²⁹ Like Little Bookham it was bequeathed by Lord William to his heir Charles, later Earl of Nottingham who left it on his death to his eldest surviving son Charles, 2nd

Earl of Nottingham. As he had no surviving children, his half-brother Charles, succeeded as the third Earl of Nottingham and he sold it and the Reigate lands. The manor of Kingwood Liberty passed through Charles, 1st Earl of Nottingham to Charles, the second Earl, who settled it on his second wife, Mary. After her death in 1651 it was sold by her heirs in 1656.³⁰ The Lingfield land stayed in the Howard family until 1776 when it was sold by the then Dowager of Effingham.³¹ Bletchingley was settled by Lord William's grandson of the same name on his daughter Elizabeth, later Countess of Peterborough, and it passed through that family until sold in 1677.³² The Great Bookham lands and manor remained longest in the family. They passed through the heirs of Lord William Howard's second son, Sir William until Richard Howard, the then Earl of Effingham sold them in 1801 thereby ending the connection of Lord William Howard's descendants with Surrey.

The line of Lord William's son, Charles, Earl of Effingham failed in 1681 with the death of Charles Howard, 3rd Earl of Nottingham and 5th Baron Howard of Effingham. Although the Howard Earldom of Nottingham became extinct, Sir Francis Howard, who was descended through Lord William's second son, Sir William then succeeded as 6th Baron Howard of Effingham. His younger son, Francis Howard, became 8th Baron Howard of Effingham in 1725 on the death of his elder brother and he was then created Earl of Effingham in 1731. The earldom became extinct on the death of the 4th earl in 1816 but was revived again in 1837 for the third cousin who had succeeded him as eleventh Baron. The current incumbent, who lives in Essex, is the 7th Earl and 18th Baron.

1 SHC K63/1/1. Particulars for grant of crown lands to William Lord Howard: manor of Bookham, parcel of lands and possessions of late monastery of Chertsey; manor of Effingham, parcel of lands and possessions of John Leigh; farm of moiety of manor of Reigate, parcels of lands of Thomas, late Duke of Norfolk. 15 March 1550. Document of unknown provenance purchased from Myers antiquarian booksellers. Written in a mixture of court Latin and English it appears to be an extract from a larger document valuing Crown estates. See Appendix. See page 40 for image

2 Monica O'Connor, *The History of Effingham in Surrey*. Published by the Effingham Women's Institute 1973 pp. 13-14.

3 L. and P. Hen. VIII Foreign and Domestic Volume 17, 1542 10 May.

4 L. and P. Hen. VIII, Foreign and Domestic, Volume 17, 1542. August.

5 L. and P. Hen. VIII, Foreign and Domestic, Volume 6, 1533 Grants in October.

6 VCH Surrey Vol. III 1911 Little Bookham p 336 ref 41 L. and P. Hen. VIII, ix (1), 278 (51).

7 L. and P. Hen. VIII Foreign and Domestic Volume 18 Part 1 January- July 1543 Volume 198 Part 1 January – July 1544 March 1544, 29-31 5.1.

8 W. Cooper, The Families of Braose of Chesworth, and Hoo, *Sussex Arch. Col.*, Volume VII p 100.

9 VCH Surrey. Volume III 1911. Little Bookham p 336 ref. Lansd. MSS. ix, 49

10 L. and P. Hen. VIII, Foreign and Domestic, Volume L. and P. Hen. Part 1, March 1538

11 Cal. patent rolls v. 4 Edward VI —Part IX. p 3, 19 March 1550

12 SHC 3537/1/21

- 13 Cal. patent rolls v. 6 Edward VI —Part V, p 319, 7 December 1552
- 14 A Survey of Great Bookham in 1614 by Thomas Clay. SHC K34/3/1
- 15 Monica O'Connor, *The History of Effingham in Surrey*, 1973, incorrectly claimed that the Surrey History Centre document K63/1/1 (see 1), showed that the manor of Effingham was held of the Abbey of Chertsey as the details of it were included in a Bookham Rental. Unfortunately, the Women's Institute had had only a part of the document transcribed and as a result had not understood that in the document, which appears to be a valuation of Crown estates, the three parcels of lands – the lands of the Abbey of Chertsey, those late of John Leigh and those late of the Duke of Norfolk in Reigate were entirely separate, giving a different former ownership for each parcel. The entire transcribed document attached as an appendix clearly shows this.
- 16 Feet of Fines Surrey Trinity 6 Henry VII
- 17 L. and P. Hen. VIII, Foreign and Domestic, Volume 19, Part 1 January 1544
- 18 Cal. patent rolls. v.5 1547-1553. 7 Edward VI. –Part IX page 195 19 March 1553
- 19 VCH Surrey. Volume III p278-284. Pat. 6 Eliz. pt. iv, m. 3
- 20 VCH Surrey. Volume IV 1912 ref Pat. 2 Eliz. pt. ix, m. 3; Feet of F. Surr. Mich. 2 & 3 Eliz.
- 21 St Mary's the Virgin Church, Bletchingley, Parish Register 24th September 1579
- 22 Cal. patent rolls Edward VI Volume I Part III 1547- 1548
- 23 Granville Leveson-Gower, The Howards of Effingham, *Surrey Arch. Coll.* Vol. 9 p. 308
- 24 VCH Surrey. Volume III 1911. Little Bookham p 336 ref. Lansd. MSS. ix, 49
- 25 VCH Surrey. Volume III pp 447-451
- 26 Will of Lord William 16th June 1653 PROB11/55/278 and ODNB online Howard, William, first Baron Howard of Effingham by James McDermott
- 27 Wilfred Hooper, *Reigate Its Story through the Ages*, 1979, pp 29-30. This corrects the VCH Surrey, Volume III p 235 inference that the Reigate property was passed to Lord William's second son, also called Charles and Earl of Nottingham.
- 28 VCH Surrey, Vol. III 1911 Little Bookham p 336
- 29 VCH Surrey, Vol. III 1911 Effingham pp 321-326
- 30 VCH Surrey, Vol. III pp 278-284
- 31 VCH Surrey, Vol. IV 1912 Lingfield pp 302-311 ref Egerton MS. 1967, fol. 14; Close, 16 Geo. III, pt. xvii, no. 4.
- 32 VCH Surrey, Vol. IV 1912 Bletchingley pp 253-265

Appendix: Transcription of Particular for grant of crown lands to William Lord Howard: manor of Bookham, parcel of lands and possessions of late monastery of Chertsey; manor of Effingham, parcel of lands and possessions of John Leigh; farm of moiety of manor of Reigate,

parcels of lands of Thomas, late Duke of Norfolk (Surrey History Centre ref: K63/1/1)

County of Surrey

Parcell of lands and possessions late of the Monastery of Chertsey in the aforesaid County as follows:

Manor of Bookham in the county aforesaid

Value in

Rent of assize of free and customary tenants there per annum as in previous accounts as shown

£26 15d

Received rent of 12 hens there per annum

3s

Farm of the demesne there per annum as in previous accounts as shown	106s	8d
Common fine of tenants there per annum as in previous accounts as shown	2s	
Pleas and perquisites of the court there in normal years	20s	
	£32	12s 11d
Deductions in		
Fees collected there per annum as in before	41s	8d
Default rent there per annum as in before	26s	5d
	68s	1d
And values clear per year	£29	4s 10d

Parcell of lands and possessions perquisites of John Leigh Esq (armiger) in the County aforesaid as follows:

Manor of Effingham in the county aforesaid

Value in

Rents of assize of the free tenants of our Lord the King in Effingham per year with 18d of free rent for a close called Great Frith as shown in previous accounts	19s.	3½d
Rents of copyhold tenants in Effingham aforesaid by year	20s	4d
Rents of tenants at will in Effingham aforesaid by year	35s	8d
Farm of 94 acres of land lying in the Westefeild one close of pasture called Shepfele lying at hammonde hedge with a close called Buckhurst containing by estimation 60 acres 4 bays in a barn in the Manor there one close of pasture there called the Netherfeilde with the land containing by estimation 60 acres one meadow there called the launde mead containing by estimation three acres of pasture a wood called little Lychewood one acre of land lately in the tenure of William Sawyer two acres and a half of land at Calkham all of which premises lie and are in the parish of Effingham aforesaid and likewise in the tenure of Lawrence Atwood by Indenture and rent per year	£10	22d
Farm of a tenement called Crochers with an orchard and garden adjacent 16 acres of land in Westfelde there and 2 acres of land in Estefeilde 24s 6d a close called Estonfeild containing by estimation 4 acres 6s 8d A close called little Roydons 6s. 8d. and a close called Tragle Close 4d which premises lie and are in Effingham aforesaid and are likewise in the tenure of Lawrence Atwood and returning in total by year	38s	2d
Farm of 20 acres of land in Westefeilde a close called Overlingfeilde containing by estimation 38 acres a croft called Oldelands containing by estimation 4 acres a prat (meadow) called Roydons Meade a prat (meadow) called Lambesmeade containing by estimation 10 acres one acre of land at heymond hedge A pasture with bosc (wood) and underwood and 14 acres of prat (meadow) called Morrells Park containing by estimation 69 acres a close called Netherwebbfeilde containing by estimation 16 acres and pasture boss (wood) called greate hochwood all together in Effingham aforesaid and in the tenure of William Parre by indenture and returning per year	£6	5s 4d
Farm of a close in Effingham called upper webbfield containing by estimation 16 acres and a half a close called Upper Roydon containing by estimation 8 acres in the tenure of Wm. Fendon and returning by year.	26s	8d
Farm of a croft called Asheholte Rydon in Effingham aforesaid in the tenure of Wm. Cooke and returning per year	2s	4d
Farm of a messuage called Hanfordes in Effingham aforesaid and 3 Closes adjacent to the same messuage and a Croft, called Birdes crofte containing by estimation 3 acres, 14 acres in Castlefeilde, 3 acres lying in Borne Cote Hedge and 3 acres of meadow and 2 acres of wood upon longe hedge, all lying in Effingham and in the tenure of William Fendon by Indenture and returning per year	40s	
Pleas or perquisites of Court there in normal years	8s	2d
	£25	17s 9½d

Deductions in			
Fee of the Bailiff there per year		26s	8d
Fee of the steward there per year		6s	8d
And values clear per year	£24	4s	5½d

Parcel of land and possessions Thomas late Duke of Norfolk in the County aforesaid as follows
Moiety of the farm of the Manor of Rygate in the county aforesaid

Farm of the whole moiety of the manor of Rygate aforesaid with all its rights members and all appurtenances which long belonged and appertained to Thomas Duke of Norfolk attained for high treason and which in the manor of the lord King now exists by reason of the same attainder Also Moiety of all lands, tenements, meadows and pastures called the Mannor of Holeighe or Holeighe Lande in Rigate aforesaid long pertaining to the said late Duke with all lands tenements rents reversion and services also fishings profits of court view of frankpledge and all other hereditaments there except woods and underwoods there growing or thereafter growing as leased to John Skynner as by indenture given 29 March in the first year of the reign of King Edward VI to be held from the feast of St Michael the Archangel next to come until the end and term of 30 years and rent per annum £29 11d

Sum total clear per year of all possessions aforesaid beyond deductions Four score and 2 pounds 10s 7½d

Examine by Thomas Edwards Auditor

4th March in the 4th year of the reign of Edward VI

The King's Majesty's pleasure by the advice of his Council is that the Lord William Howard shall have these premises of his Majesty gift to his heirs and therefore makes a grant to him accordingly (sgd) Ry Sakevile

Memo. that I William lord howard require to have of the King's Majesty by way of a gift the Manor landes tenements and hereditaments contained in the particulars hereunto annexed being of such clear yearly value on the same particulars expressed

In witnes whereof I have sealed and subscribed this bill by my owne hand the 15th day of March in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord Edward VI by the Grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, of the Church of England and also of Ireland the Supreme Head (sgd) W. Howard

Examined by William Minterne

Note and Acknowledgement:

It has been attempted to translate and transcribe the document exactly as written. Thus there are some seeming inconsistencies including in the Effingham grant the "Farm of a message called Hanfordes" which appears to be that later called Hansardes. Similarly, the values in the document calculate to £82 10s 2½d whereas the total given is Four score and 2 pounds 10s 7½d or £82 10s 7½d which correlates with the yearly value given in the Patent Rolls entry (see endnote 11).

This translation and transcription could not have been completed without the professional assistance and expertise of Isabel Sullivan, Archivist at the Surrey History Centre to whom the author expresses her thanks.

‘What I gathered would astonish you’: Wotton House and the Evelyn archive

Isabel Sullivan

This article was originally part of a talk on the often surprising variety and richness of family and estate archives at Surrey History Centre, and the vicissitudes of their survival, entitled ‘Aladdin’s Cave’.

The earliest surviving parish register of St John the Baptist’s, Wotton, carries a unique distinction. The memorandum inside the cover tells the story: ‘This register of the parish of Wotton in the County of Surrey begun Anno Domini 1596 and miserably torn and abused (by those who ought to have preserved and continued it) is now repaired and new bound by John Evelyn esq Anno Domini 1697’. The virtuoso and diarist John Evelyn (1620-1706), then in his 70s, had recently returned to live at his family’s Surrey estate in Wotton, when he effectively adopted the then current parish register into his library, by giving it his own monogrammed fine binding. (see page 38) Wotton House had been the family home since the 1590s, when the diarist’s grandfather bought the manor of Wotton; Evelyn was born there in 1620. Evelyn, somewhat unexpectedly as the second son, would



Fig. 1. John Evelyn by Godfrey Kneller, holding his most famous work ‘Sylva’, 1689
(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Evelyn)

come into the house and its estate in 1699, and he earnestly assumed his new responsibility for the family inheritance and Evelyn name in his latest years. The family, already long established as the major landowner in the area, would continue to occupy Wotton until the 20th century.

Such continuity of ownership provided an ideal setting for the accumulation and survival of an archive of an important family and their locality. And so, subject to some troubles, it would prove.

Evelyn’s grandfather George Evelyn (1530-1603) and father Richard

Evelyn (c.1580-1640) had vastly amassed deeds, manorial records and associated records in the course of acquiring the manor and manor house of Wotton and six neighbouring manors, embracing most of the parishes of Wotton and Abinger and Milton in west Dorking, by 1629. This large accumulation of estate records and family papers was added to very substantially on the diarist's arrival in 1696, to live with his brother George (1617-1699) as his heir, after George's son had died in 1691. Evelyn brought with him a wealth of material inherited from the Browne family of his wife Mary, along with his own important library (he had catalogued 5000 books in 1687), his literary manuscripts and extensive personal papers. Evelyn's father in law Sir Richard Browne was a major figure in the exiled Royalist court in Paris during the English Civil War. Remarkably, his large correspondence including with Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state, had survived two crossings of the unpredictable English Channel, as well as the 'infinite tossings to and fro' of Browne's life and career (Diary 16 Feb 1685). In addition, many records of Browne's forebears were among family heirlooms removed from Sayes Court, Deptford, to go to Wotton, including records of his grandfather Sir Richard, who as steward to Queen Elizabeth's favourite Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, retained many records of Leicester's activities, and records of the Elizabethan navy accumulated by his Gonson relatives.



With a self-conscious eye to the been well aware of his archival to his friend Samuel Pepys he thought Pepys might find of in the breadth of the collection friend William Wotton in would astonish you, did you in my *chartaphylacia* here, among multitudes of papers, (quoted, 'John Evelyn in the *Book Collector* special edition,



historical, Evelyn seems to have riches. He had already given away some Gonson naval papers which interest, but otherwise he revealed he possessed. He wrote to his 1703 that 'what I gathered ... see the bundle and packets promiscuously ranged letters and other matters' British Library', *The Vol 44 No. 2, 1995*).

Fig. 2. Grant of arms to Sir Richard Browne, father in law of John Evelyn, with signature (sign manual) of King Charles II in exile, 1650 SHC 6330/7/4/17

Many significant estate archives have attracted such ‘disinterested interest’ of their owners at some stage, often for their antiquarian curiosity. As a man of enormously wide-ranging pursuits, Evelyn reflects an emerging awareness among his intellectual milieu, which would develop during the 18th century.

Evelyn had of course, collected and preserved his own papers as well. His diary is a phenomenon, recording contemporary events and people over a period of 80 years in an age of ‘extraordinary events and revolutions’, the lasting significance of which he was well aware. Evelyn describes his childhood motivation in diary keeping to be ‘recording punctually’ in imitation of his father; certainly he does record the routines and duties over the decades, but he also remarks, in his own way, on the remarkable. Political events, networks of family and friends, the parish communities of Deptford and Wotton, intellectual society in London and in Surrey, Evelyn’s beloved landscapes and gardens, important houses, technical and scientific discoveries: a multiplicity of detail. The devout Evelyn’s relentlessly ‘punctual’ recording of the subjects of sermons tends to grate on the modern reader, but on occasion a fuller comment can be revealing: Evelyn despaired of his brother’s choice of the Rev Offley, a relative of his widow, being appointed to the livings of Wotton and Abinger, and complained of Offley’s lengthy theological discourse, ‘without any need of insisting on a nicety among the country people here’ (Diary, 25 Aug 1695). Evelyn, a founder member of the Royal Society, relished partaking of an extraordinary era of technological, scientific and intellectual advance in which an individual could strive to gain a panorama of human knowledge. It is as a scientist and technophile that he carefully describes the processes in making a coarse white paper at Byfleet paper mills in the form of an aide-memoire: ‘note that they put somm gum in the water in which they macerate the rags into a pap; note that the marks we find in sheets is formed in the wires’. Evelyn’s best prose is called upon to describe the apocalyptic scene of the Great Fire of London of 1666, in which ‘the stones of Pauls flew like grenades, the lead melting down the streets in a stream and the very pavements of them glowing with fiery redness’. He also memorialises other prodigies, symbols as they were of the times in which he lived. In November 1703 a hurricane and tempest ‘through all the nation’ caused demolition, death and at Wotton ‘the subversion of woods and timber both left for ornament, and valuable material through my whole estate and about my house, the woods crowning the garden mount, and growing along the park meadow, the damage to my own dwelling and tenants farm and outhouses most tragical, not to be paralleled with anything hapning in our age or in any history almost’.

Until his death Evelyn was in the process of refining and adding later comments to his diary entries to create a ‘De Vita Propria’ (‘About my own Life’), probably as an instructive work for the benefit of his family (not his only contribution to this unpopular genre). Much we might wish to know is omitted from the diary, which is often dry on detail. However, Evelyn had also accumulated a great abundance of correspondence which enriches and interrelates to furnish a substantial picture of the man and his times. As well as letters to Evelyn from his wide network of

friends, relatives, fellow servants of state and colleagues of the intellect such as Pepys and Sir Christopher Wren, he made autograph copies of more than 800 of his outgoing letters, 1640s-1698, which he recorded 'for my own satisfaction and to look now and then back upon what is past in my private concern and conversation'.

Evelyn's driving instinct to collect and record is invaluable. Frustrated in his efforts to complete his work on gardening, the 'Elysium Britannicum' (it remained unfinished), he admitted to 'that which abortives the perfection of the most glorious and useful undertakings; the unsatiable coveting to exhaust all that could or should be said upon every head' (preface to *Acetaria: a Discourse on Sallets*, 1699). His motto 'Omnia Explorate, Meliora Retinete' ('seek out all, keep the better') is indicative, but it is perhaps fortunate that he busily pursued so many endeavours, and so was unable to embark on too much editing and selection of his correspondence. 'Memoires for my Grandson' (1704), written to advise his heir John, later Sir John Evelyn, is a carefully enumerated account of Evelyn's perceptions of the duties and right conduct of a landed gentleman, including some very specific advice relating to the archives. Evelyn anxiously supplies a remarkably detailed inventory of the Wotton House he anticipated the young man inheriting, down to the mundanest of details and recommendations. Gardener's tools, stable equipment, the armoury, materials for building maintenance, and even a drum necessary for alerting neighbours to an emergency; for the library, bookbinding tools, paint box and a cabinet of curiosities for the interest of virtuoso ladies are recommended, and beyond this, estate records and a place set aside for anything else, lumber. Reaching his own archive, Evelyn tells John, 'amongst my copies of letters are here and there some that may be kept; the rest take out. And several more in loose papers which I intended to transcribe, but they grew too fast upon me'. On his death it appears that Evelyn's multitudinous manuscripts were in disarray, although one may assume that some material had already been bound, in some order - or perhaps disorder.

Sir John Evelyn 1st Bart (1682-1763), heir to Wotton, appears to have shared the diarist's habits. He retained a vast series of correspondence from such notables as the Newcastles, Marlboroughs and Godolphins (the latter his in-laws), as well as William Rose, rector of Wotton; he also kept a diary intermittently over a twenty year period, which covers such events as the death of Queen Anne, and his own involvement in the South Sea Bubble as well as his travels. In managing the

Wotton estate, he commissioned many maps of individual farms – a tradition which his heirs would follow, leaving unusually full topographical detail of the pre 19th century landscape. Evelyn the diarist had remarked to his son Jack that he would need to 're-edify' Wotton at some stage: Jack's son the first Baronet did make additions, including a new library. Wotton's grand new library contained 3854 books in 1741, the core being his grandfather's collection. Clearly conscious of the Browne archives in his care, in 1749 Sir John acquired by gift or purchase further papers of Sir Edward Nicholas, which inter-relate with the correspondence of his great grandfather Richard Browne with the statesman.



Fig. 3. John Evelyn's drawing of Wotton House, 1640 SHC PX/165/11/1

In the 1760s, Sir John's son, Sir John Evelyn 2nd Baronet, began employing the young William Bray of Shere as his agent and solicitor. This Sir John Evelyn was probably Bray's most important patron, and Bray's association with Wotton would last until his death 70 years later. With increasing business from the major families of Surrey, including Onslow, Middleton and More Molyneux, Bray rummaged deeper in their archives over the years, with their approval and support: he records removing from Loseley papers about an inquiry into a dispute concerning gunpowder contracts between George Evelyn and Richard Hill of Shere, and presenting them with Mr Molyneux's permission, to the Wotton library (G52/8/9). Mysteriously, when writing the *History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, he records receiving 'a parcel' of correspondence of the diarist's brother George Evelyn with his daughters Elizabeth and Mary from 'a gentleman to whom I was a stranger', which he quotes in his history of the Evelyn family, incomplete at the time of his death (G52/7/2/1). These letters were repatriated to the Wotton archive. Other records may have wandered into Bray's possession. The Nicholas archive at West Horsley Place seems to have suffered dispersal on the death of William Nicholas in 1749. The papers mentioned earlier, acquired by Sir John Evelyn to complement the Nicholas Civil War letters to his great grandfather, were not the complete archive. Some papers are now among the Egerton MSS in the British Library, while a not inconsiderable series is here at Surrey History Centre, among the Bray family and estate archive (G52/2/19/- and G85/5/-), the provenance of which is an unsolved puzzle.



Fig. 4. John Evelyn's signature and personal seal on a family settlement, 1695 SHC 6330/1/4/9

In the early 19th century, Mary Evelyn, the widow of Sir Frederick Evelyn, 3rd Baronet, asked William Bray to edit and publish what Bray later referred to as 'a very curious MSS' (G52/1/6), John Evelyn's collected diaries, which he did with great success in 1818. The diary, which prompted the first edition of Evelyn's friend Samuel Pepys's diary in 1825, went through several editions, the third including a selection of the correspondence of Evelyn and Sir Richard Browne. In 1813 Bray introduced William Upcott of the London Institution to the household, to recatalogue the library. Bray later indignantly dismissed Upcott's claim that the ladies of Wotton had been using the 'old letters' for dress patterns and kindling, and insisted that the Evelyns had always understood the importance of the documents they preserved. Unfortunately, Mary Evelyn supposedly assured Upcott 'that I was welcome to lay aside any that I cared for to add to my own collection', and she was zealously exploited by Upcott, who removed large quantities of highly significant material from an 'ebony cabinet', including letters of Samuel Pepys, letters from the Stuart Royal family and three books of accounts of the Elizabethan Earl of Leicester. Much of this material, bound into albums by Upcott along with many other historic papers, was later recovered expensively at auction by William John Evelyn ('John Evelyn in the British Library', op. cit.).

The archives, along with the diarist's extensive and important library of annotated published works, remained at Wotton House until the 20th century. Some scholars were allowed access, including Esmond de Beer, the much praised editor of Evelyn's complete diaries. A trust was created in 1923 in an attempt to protect the heirlooms within the family. In 1949 Jack Evelyn, one of the beneficiaries, deposited the archive and library at Christ Church, Oxford. Here the material was sifted through, but both the John Evelyn archive and the huge Wotton estate archive remained inaccessible as they were unmanageably large, and apparently few scholars were permitted to use them, although the librarian WG Hiscock drew on Evelyn's correspondence himself, to publish rapidly two unflattering accounts, *John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin* (1951) and *John Evelyn and his Family Circle* (1955). While at Christ Church, bound volumes of family correspondence, accounts and other documents were briefly described in a 'shelf list', while large 'tin trunks' remained mostly unsorted, but were found to include not only paper and parchments but also samples of gunpowder, the source of the Evelyn's family's fortune back in the 16th century. A sample 'Gunpowder 1605'

bore the diarist's note, 'powder with which that villain Faux would have blowed up the Parliament' (notes by G Moss, 1982).

After Jack Evelyn's death, his heirs and co-beneficiaries were advised to sell the library piecemeal, to avoid Capital Gains Tax, and at this stage a campaign for funds by the British Library enabled them to buy some but by no means all of Evelyn's library of books at auction in 1977-1978. The manuscript archive, the core of the written family archive and clearly including the files of which Evelyn wrote, remained at Christ Church until 1995, when the British Library negotiated the purchase of the diary, family correspondence and other volumes with the assistance of the National Heritage Memorial Fund. The archive was at this time roughly divided between the British Library, which bought the volumes, and Surrey History Centre, which received on loan from the Evelyn family the majority of the loose material, primarily although not exclusively forming the Evelyn estate archive. The division was indeed rough.

The Wotton House records now at Surrey History Centre comprise an extensive archive of the Wotton estate and its seven associated neighbouring manors, as well as a sample of the many curiosities hailing from the multitudinous groups in Evelyn's 'chartaphylacia'. Oddities include letters patent of Queen Elizabeth I issued to Edward Fenton esq, authorising him to 'press, levy and take up' ships, mariners, soldiers, gunners, shipwrights, smiths, carpenters, etc for a voyage 'to the southeastwards' for the 'discovery' of Cathay and China 1582 (6330/7/2/1); a contemporary copy of a petition to the Earl of Leicester to obtain clemency for men condemned for piracy, who claim to have served 'under our captains whose commissions we took for good' (6330/7/3/2/7); provision accounts of Richmond Palace, October 1590 (6330/7/3/13); and an Inspecimus relating to an inquisition into the Surrey estates of Oliver Cromwell and other Commonwealth leaders held in 1661, soon after the Restoration of the Monarchy (6330/7/4/25).

Much that we would value best for its local relevance did not come to the History Centre, including bound volumes of Wotton domestic and estate accounts from 1698 to the late 18th century, records of the diarist's father Richard Evelyn compiled in the course of his duties as a justice of the peace and sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, and a volume entitled 'Abinger and Wotton Poor', 1734-1749. As volumes, all these were purchased by the British Library and so must remain there (British Library Add MSS 78274-78281, records of Richard Evelyn; Add MSS 78585-78610, Estate Papers: Surrey).

The archive in the form in which it has come to us is, in the main, a fairly typical estate collection, although it is notable for its enormous size and variety (6330). Several accessions including a fine series of estate maps had already been received between 1951 and 1970 directly from the Wotton Estate Office (192, 329), which continues to manage land in the area. The total, with the addition of an enormous series of title deeds from the Wotton House archive, and many additional manorial rolls, rentals and accounts, now represents substantial documentation of the Surrey estate, with unusually full survival from the early medieval period

onwards, to the mid 19th century.

The completeness of the interlocking titles across the parishes of Abinger, Wotton and Dorking enables a long-reaching genealogy of landholding and the inter-related networks of neighbours and families, as far back as the 13th century. We may find close detail of farming, buildings or animal husbandry. A lease of the manor house of Abinger of 1574 reserves to the owner Edward Elrington the goshawks and linnets breeding there (6330/3/3/4/1). Leases are particularly useful evidence, in the inclusion of clauses relating to controls on long-lasting practices on the land. A lease of Abinger Hawe of 1640, during George Evelyn's early ownership of the estate, includes stipulations relating to grafts of crab stock or perry stock to renew the fruit trees (6330/143/17 temp ref). Another lease of 1645 bears a clause forbidding the sub-letting of a cottage in Oaken Wood, Abinger, to anyone who is not a parishioner unless they have been approved by Evelyn or the churchwardens or overseers (an apparent attempt to limit the creation of further settlements on the parish under Poor Law regulation, 6330/143/18 temp ref). Inventories, agreements and leases give detailed information on the operation of mills on the Tillingbourne. Some records survive of the family's role in local affairs and government, including late 16th century assessment of liability for the enclosure of Abinger churchyard, with lengths of fencing rated to named tenants (6330/130f temp ref), Surrey gaol deliveries of 1634 predating the surviving records of the court of quarter sessions (6330/8/1/3/5-6), and Guildford subdivision Militia rolls of 1793 and 1797-1800 (6330/8/8/6, 8).

All these documents had been unbundled from their original order and arranged into chronological groupings, probably at Christ Church. At the History Centre it has been the work of many years to gain an understanding of the collection and to reunite related documents, even in one case, an agreement of 1666 for the supply of gunpowder including Evelyn the diarist as Clerk for Ordnance, upper and lower halves of the same document numbered and stored separately (now 6330/8/4/1). Work is ongoing (September 2020) to make the collection more fully accessible, with 1320 catalogue descriptions currently available on-line, and hundreds more awaiting inclusion. Traces of Evelyn the diarist's own use and study of the archives still remain. A coloured map (6330/6/4/76) of the manor of Preston Beckhelwin otherwise Beddingham, near Lewes, 'possession of the Earl of Dorset', dated 1622, arrived at Surrey History Centre uncatalogued and unidentified, but was found on the back to have marked in the diarist's hand 'the plot of Preston'. This Sussex estate can be associated with diarist's inheritance from his mother's Stansfield family, which he records visiting in October 1648 and attending its manorial court in his diary: he probably had this map rolled into his saddlebag.

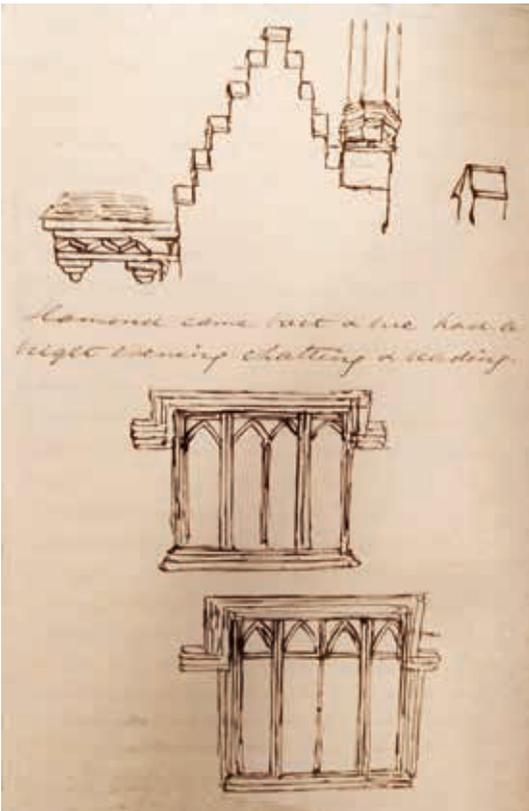
It is fascinating, following in the footsteps of Evelyn and his enthusiastic historian and editor William Bray, to range through the archive today, to appreciate the multiplicities of history it records, and the complicated history of its own survival.



John Evelyn's monogrammed binding of the Wotton parish register (back cover) with griffin crest and motto 'omnia explorare meliora retinete' 1697 SHC WOT/1/1



Postcard of Foxwarren, c. 1900.



A page from Buxton's diary showing various architectural elements that he was considering.

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(reprint of 1826 volume)
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by David Robinson
1989 £2.95

Old Surrey Receipts and Food for Thought
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The Sheriffs of Surrey
by David Burns
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Two Hundred Years of Aeronautical & Aviation in Surrey 1785-1985
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