

# **Carew Manor, Beddington**

**A report on historical and archaeological investigations of  
the house and moat, 1979-2014**

**Volume 1: the house and its owners**

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This is one of a series of reports on archaeological and historical investigations at Carew Manor Carew, Church Road, Beddington, Surrey SM6 7NH. The building is at TQ 296653.

The other reports are:

John Phillips and Nicholas Burnett

*The garden at Carew Manor, Beddington: an interim report on investigations, 1979-2005.*

John Phillips

*The orangery at Carew Manor, Beddington.*

John Phillips

*Beddington Park Cottages: Investigations before and during building work 1982-1987.*

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

## The origins of the Carew project

In 1979 a water main trench was dug across the across the lawn to the east of the former country house now known as Carew Manor, in Beddington, Surrey. The trench broke into a culvert which appeared to have been constructed in a filled moat. The initial find was recorded and reported by Clive Orton with the help of Nicholas Burnett and the late Doug Cluett. Over the next year or so Doug Cluett and Barry Weston continued the investigation of the culvert. John Phillips joined the project in the autumn of 1980 soon after Nicholas Burnett returned to the project and Beverly Shew became involved. Our investigation gradually expanded to encompass both the house and the garden.

In 1981 the Carew Manor Group was formally established at the instigation of the late Dennis Turner and was sponsored by the London Borough of Sutton and Surrey Archaeological Society. The investigation was carried out under the auspices of this group through the 1980s and in the early 1990s it was taken over by the Beddington, Carshalton and Wallington Archaeological Society (now the Carshalton & District History & Archaeology Society).

The work benefited enormously from Joan Richardson's massive research into the Carew family history of which the Beddington line formed a part. Her work had also been incorporated into *The Carews of Beddington* – a book written by Ron Michell – which provided a useful starting point for our investigation.

## The scope of this report

This report covers the owners and the structural history of the house and moat at Carew Manor including documentary research, observations and recording in the house, some during building work and some at other times, excavations in the moat, and a survey of the culverts and drains around and beneath the building, all in the years between 1979 and 2014. We have examined most of the documents that relate directly to the building prior to its conversion into an orphanage between 1864 and 1866. However, the research into the family, estate and financial history is much less thorough as many original sources remain to be explored. The report does not deal with the furnishings and interior decoration or discuss all the documentary evidence for the room layout which will, hopefully be published elsewhere. It also excludes our research on the garden.<sup>1</sup>

## Acknowledgements

We would like to thank all the people and organisations who have helped over the course of this long-running investigation. We are grateful to Carew Manor School for permission to excavate. Thanks are due to Mrs Mavis Peart the former Chairman of the Governors, the two head teachers Brian Wilson and Martin Midgley and the school caretaker Alan Hewett and his predecessors, especially John Hefernan. Joan Richardson's researches into the Carew family history have been invaluable to us. We would like to thank a small group of diggers who have been at the heart of the project through its ups and downs including Roger Brown, Jane Howard, Mike and Pat Bale, Val Coleman, Peter Stephenson and Derek Bradford as well as several who are no longer with us, Doug Cluett, who more than anyone started the project, Ron Green and Stan Coleman. Without them none of the archaeology would have happened. Barry Weston was a key figure in the start of the project. He was the first to explore the full length of the moat culvert and made many significant discoveries especially about the hall

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<sup>1</sup> The garden is published in Phillips and Burnett 2005; Phillips 2006b; Phillips and Burnett 2008.

roof. Steve Morris was involved in the 2007 excavation and has also done much work on the finds. Clive Orton has provided advice and has also proof read the report. Valary Murphy, Kathleen Shawcross, Bev Shew, Andrew Skelton, Chris Sumner, Mark Stephenson and the late Dennis Turner have helped in various ways. Thanks are also due to the Surrey History Centre, London Borough of Sutton Archives and the British Library and their staff.

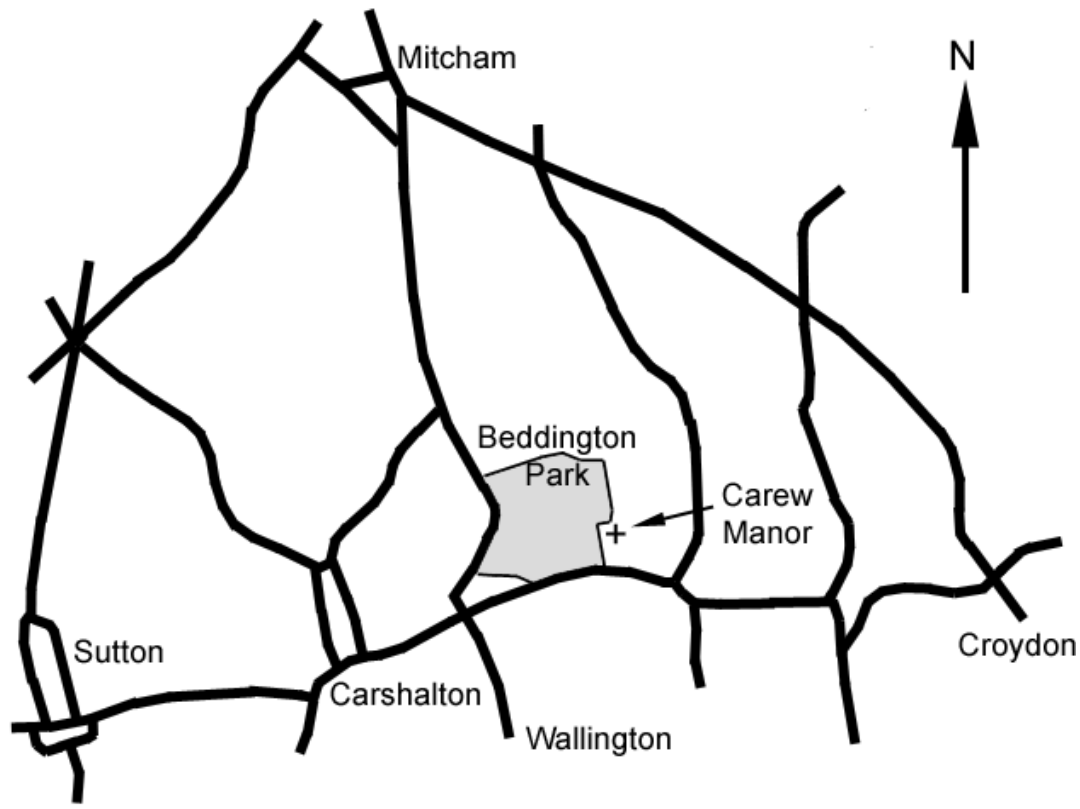


Figure 1. Location plan.

## 2 THE HISTORY OF CAREW MANOR

### 2.1 Before Domesday

Carew Manor is the modern name for a house which was in the past called Beddington Park House or Beddington Place. The house stands next to St Mary's, the ancient parish church of Beddington and Wallington, at the foot of the North Downs and adjacent to the River Wandle. The Upper Wandle Valley contains evidence of Late Bronze Age settlement and field systems including a hill fort on the Downs to the south of Carshalton. A Late Bronze Age settlement has been found 570m northeast of Carew Manor. This continued to be occupied – possibly intermittently – in the Iron Age and then developed into a Roman villa which was occupied until about 400.<sup>2</sup> There was also an early Saxon cemetery a little southeast of the villa site but the settlement associated with it has not been located.<sup>3</sup>

There is archaeological evidence for prehistoric, Roman and Saxon activity close to Carew Manor. Several excavations in the grounds of Carew Manor have produced some prehistoric, Roman and Saxon pottery but there were no Roman fine wares and nothing to suggest that the pre-Saxon site was especially important. Two Roman coffins have been found to the south of St Mary's Church. One was of lead, the other of oolitic limestone, so they must have been the tombs of people of some wealth. They may have lived in the Beddington Roman villa but there is no firm reason to associate them with that site.<sup>4</sup>

There are several Saxon documents relating to Beddington. The earliest of these purports to be a grant of 727 by which Frithwold subregulas (under king) of Surrey gave Beddington and many other properties to Chertsey Abbey.<sup>5</sup> This is, however, generally considered to be a medieval forgery as is another charter of 933 confirming Chertsey's possession of Beddington and other Surrey lands.<sup>6</sup>

Sometime between 900 and 909 Denewulf, Bishop of Winchester wrote a letter to King Edward which provides the earliest surviving description of Beddington.

I, Bishop Denewulf, inform my lord King Edward about the land at Beddington which you were desirous I should lease to you. I have then, my dear lord, now procured from the community in Winchester, both young and old, that they grant it to me with all goodwill, to give it by charter for your lifetime, whether to use yourself or to let on lease to whomsoever you please.

Then there is 70 hides of that land, and it is now completely stocked, and when my lord first let it to me it was quite without stock, and stripped bare by the heathen men. And I myself then acquired the stock for it which was afterwards available there. And now we very humbly grant it to you. Moreover, my dear lord, the community are now desirous that it be given back to the foundation after your death. Now, of the cattle which has survived this severe winter there are 9 full-grown oxen and 114 full-grown pigs and 50 wethers, besides the sheep and pigs which the herdsmen have a right to have, 20 of which are full grown; and there are 110 full-grown sheep, and 7 bondsmen and 20 fitches; and

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<sup>2</sup> Adkins and Adkins 1986; Adkins, Lesley, Adkins, Roy and Perry, Jeffrey G 1986; Howell 2005; Phillips 2006a.

<sup>3</sup> Perry 1980.

<sup>4</sup> The pottery came from trenches CE and CK which will appear in a forthcoming report: Phillips *Excavations in the Garden at Carew Manor, Beddington*; Adkins and Adkins 1984.

<sup>5</sup> Sawyer 1968 no. 1181.

<sup>6</sup> Sawyer 1968 no. 420.

there was no more corn there than was prepared for the Bishop's farm, and there [are] 90 sown acres.

Then the bishop and the community at Winchester beg that in charity for the love of God and for the holy church you desire no more land of that foundation, for it seems to them an unwelcome demand; so that God need blame neither you nor us for the diminishing in our days; for there is a very great injunction of God about that when men gave those lands to the foundation.<sup>7</sup>

This implies that the King had given Beddington to Winchester in the fairly recent past and also that the estate and farm stock had been ruined and plundered by the Vikings.

Winchester managed to recover the estate as King Edward confirmed their possession of it and outlying woodland at Chessington, Tandridge and Lake, in a charter issued between 963 and 975.<sup>8</sup> In 984 Aethelwold, Bishop of Winchester died at Beddington and it seems likely that the church still owned the estate. At some point between then and the Norman Conquest it passed out of their hands.<sup>9</sup>

Two of the outlying holdings were very long-lived as the published court rolls of the early sixteenth century show that Beddington manor included rights in Chessington and Lake and it still had rights in Chessington as late as 1620.<sup>10</sup> The holding at Tandridge seems to have become independent fairly soon after the charter as no subsequent reference to it is known.

It is clear that the Bishops of Winchester had a significant estate at Beddington. It must have provided a base at the eastern end of their diocese and also a convenient stopping place between Winchester and Canterbury. They are likely to have had a hall and associated buildings there and may also have founded the Beddington church although it is not mentioned in the Denewulf letter. If the Bishops did found the church it is likely to have been close to their hall and therefore on or near the Carew Manor site. The present house is on the edge of the river flood plain to the northeast of the church and if the Saxon hall is in the vicinity it is more likely to have been on the drier ground to the east, west or south of the church. A small amount of Saxon pottery was found in a trench to the east of the church but the ground had been heavily cultivated so there were no Saxon contexts.<sup>11</sup>

## 2.2 Domesday to the Carews

The Domesday Book lists two manors in Beddington. One, which included a church, was held by Robert de Watteville from Richard of Tonbridge who was the ancestor of the Clares. Azor had held it from King Edward. The other was held by William Son of Thorold from Miles Crispin. Before 1066 Wulf held it from King Edward. Miles Crispin was a major Berkshire landowner whose estates eventually became incorporated in the Honour of Wallingford. In the later Middle Ages two Beddington manors, generally known as Huscarls and Bandon, were held of the honour and can presumably be equated with Crispin's property.

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<sup>7</sup> Whitlock 1955 p. 501.

<sup>8</sup> Sawyer 1968 no. 815.

<sup>9</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2004 under Aethelwold.

<sup>10</sup> Berkshire Record Office D/ELI C1/105

<sup>11</sup> Trench CE will appear in a forthcoming report: Phillips *Excavations in the Garden at Carew Manor, Beddington*.



The other Domesday manor continued to be held by the de Wattervilles until the late twelfth century. It then passed through the female line to Ingelram de Funteneys and before 1204 it had come into the hands of William de Eyers.<sup>12</sup>

In 1245 the manor had belonged to Hugh de Eyers or Rys but had come into the king's hands. The king granted it to Reymund de Luka and his heirs who were to render a wooden crossbow yearly at Whitsuntide.<sup>13</sup> It appears that the manor was then held in chief and it is not clear how the overlordship passed from the Clares to the crown.<sup>14</sup> By 6 March 1251 Reymund de Luka had died and Mathew le Picard was given the wardship of the heir who was under age.<sup>15</sup> De Luka's wife, Elizabeth, outlived him and held a third of the manor as her dower.

After her death Sir John de Tudemersse held her tenement for three years after the battle of Lewes (fought in 1264) and then Geoffrey Gaselyn held it for eleven years. There was then a dispute about the ownership. Geoffrey had brought up a boy and used to say that he was the son of his wife Isabel – by whom is not clear – but a jury said they did not know if the child was hers. The judgment was that if Isabel had no child the property belonged to Arnold de Clarak, aged 30 the king's sergeant at arms who may have been acting as a trustee for the Gaselyns.<sup>16</sup>

We then lose track of the manor until 1302 when John Poges or Roges – who had owned it – had been killed at Tornebir. He had no heirs so the property fell to the king and Roges, cousin Thomas Corbet, the king's yeoman, petitioned for the grant of it.<sup>17</sup> This was successful and the manor was granted to Corbet in April 1302. The grant included an extent or description 'of two parts of the Manor of Beddyngton' which consisted of:

two parts of one Dovecote there are worth per Annum 3<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> then they say that there are these 80 acres of arable Land which are worth per Annum 40<sup>s</sup> at the price of 6<sup>d</sup> for every Acre, the sum appear[?] And that there are 4 Acres of Meadow which are worth per Annum 4<sup>s</sup> at the same price of 12<sup>d</sup> for every Acre, and not more because they lie fallow And there are 4 separate Acres of Pasture which are worth per Annum 2<sup>s</sup> Item that there are there 4 other Acres of Pasture separately which are worth per Annum 16<sup>d</sup> at the price of 4<sup>d</sup> an Acre, Item there are there in Rents of Assize & services of free tenants & Natives per Annum £6. <sup>s</sup>13. 4<sup>d</sup> to be paid at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, Easter, S<sup>t</sup> John the Baptist & S<sup>t</sup> Michael the Archangel by equal portions, and they say that the pleas & Prerequisites of Courts there are worth per Annum 12<sup>d</sup>. In witness whereof &c  
...  
Sum £10. <sup>s</sup>7 <sup>18</sup>

Thomas Corbet died in October 1321 owning the manor of Beddington, nine acres of other land in the parish and a shop in Croydon which all passed to his son – another Thomas Corbet aged 30.<sup>19</sup>

The only known structure which may date from the pre-Carew period is the base of a large privy which survives in the foundations of the kitchen block and can be accessed from a side drain (F1) which runs into a culvert laid in the former moat around the house (see section 6.4.2). The

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<sup>12</sup> VCH Surrey vol. 4, p. 169-70.

<sup>13</sup> Cal. Charter Rolls 1226-57, p. 287.

<sup>14</sup> This was before 1314 when Gilbert de Clare died and his inheritance passed to the crown.

<sup>15</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls 1247-1258 p. 89.

<sup>16</sup> Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward I vol. 11, item 191, p. 116-7; Cal. Close Rolls 1272-79 p.423.

<sup>17</sup> Cal. Inquisition Post Mortem, Edward I vol.4, item 85; Cal. Chancery Warrants 1244-1326 p. 163. Tornebir may be Turnberry, Ayrshire.

<sup>18</sup> BL Add. Ms. 29605 and Cal. Patent Rolls, Edward I 1301-7, p. 32.

<sup>19</sup> Cal. Inquisition Post Mortem vol. 6 Edward II item 291, p. 172.

lower part of the privy has Reigate stone walls and floor and the drain from it ran out through a neatly made round-headed arch. The chamber, which is roughly triangular in plan, has a length of 2.02m and a maximum width of 1.66m. The north end had been blocked off by a chalk rubble wall so the structure was originally longer. The structure clearly predates the moat island wall but it is not clear how much older it is. The round-headed exit arch could be pre-gothic, that is of the early thirteenth century or earlier date. However, round arches were sometimes used later so this cannot be conclusive. Large privies are generally associated with the residential end of medieval houses.

## 2.3 The First Carews of Beddington

In October 1344 Thomas son of Thomas Corbet of Beddington conveyed the manor to Richard de Wylughby, knight, the elder, and Elizabeth his wife. A master William de Careu, clerk was among the witnesses.<sup>20</sup> William de Carew had been appointed to the portion – a part of the rectory of Beddington – in 1333.<sup>21</sup> The Portion was in the gift of Thomas Huscarl who was the lord of the small sub-manor of Huscarl's in Beddington, and also of Purley on the Berkshire bank of the Thames upstream of Reading and part of Brightwell in Oxfordshire.

A few years later, in 1349, William de Carew, son of Sir Nicholas Carew and Nicholas Carew the elder son of Thomas de Carew bought some land in Mitcham.<sup>22</sup> In 1352 William and Nicholas Carew jointly bought a life interest in the manor of Home Beddington, from Sir Richard de Willoughby.<sup>23</sup> This began the Carews control of the manor which was to last for centuries.

The first Nicholas of Beddington's grandfather, who was also called Nicholas, was the owner of a substantial estate centred on Carew Castle in Pembrokeshire. When he died in 1311 the estate passed to John Carew (d.1324) who was the son of his first wife. Nicholas of Beddington's father, Thomas, was a son of the second wife, and his inheritance was limited to a capital messuage called Circourt and 57s worth of rents, at Charlton, near Wantage. He unsuccessfully tried to claim the main estate when John died. Thomas may have married a Malmaynes heiress from Stoke in Hoo in Kent. If so she was probably Nicholas of Beddington's mother.<sup>24</sup> In 1377, Nicholas founded a chantry for the family.<sup>25</sup> This was probably the source of the modest collection of Kent property recorded in his inquisition post mortem in 1390.

Nicholas of Beddington appears to have been of age by 1347-8. He was a Justice of the Peace for Surrey in 1355 and in the 1360s he served the crown on a long succession of judicial and administrative inquiries.<sup>26</sup> He was Keeper of the Privy Seal from 1371 until the death of Edward III in 1377. After this he appeared to be less active in Royal service but was involved a series of uses or trusts for various people, the most important of which was for Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, who died in 1382.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Cal. Close Rolls Edward II 1343-46, p. 477.

<sup>21</sup> Haines, *Register of John de Stratford Bishop of Winchester*, item 1435. For the portion see Pryer 1973.

<sup>22</sup> Cat. of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office vol. 3, A 4007.

<sup>23</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls 26 Edward III vol. 9 1350-54 p. 260.

<sup>24</sup> Joan Richardson personal comment.

<sup>25</sup> List entry for TNA SC 8/191/9517; Cal. Patent Rolls Edward III vol. 16, 1374-77, p. 290.

<sup>26</sup> For example Cal. Patent Rolls Edward III vol. 11, pages 517; 582, 586 and vol. 12, p. 294.

<sup>27</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls Edward III vol. 16, 1374-7, p. 33-4; Cal. Close Rolls Richard II vol. 1, 1377-1381, p. 365; Cal Inquisitions Post Mortem, vol. 15, 1-7 Richard II 1382 items 540, 542, 545, 556, 560 and 561.

He probably made a fair amount of money in the 1360s, but his peak income must have been in 1370s when he had the profits of the Keepership of the Privy Seal and a succession of wardships.<sup>28</sup>

Nicholas married Lucy Huscarl, in or before February 1357.<sup>29</sup> She was the daughter of Richard de Willoughby and his wife Elizabeth who possessed the manor of Home Beddington. She had previously been married to Thomas Huscarl. On his death in, or before, May 1354, she was left with a life interest in the manors of Beddington Huscarl, Purley and Brightwell with reversion to their son Thomas.<sup>30</sup> In June 1359 Nicholas bought the manor of Home Beddington from Richard de Willoughby who was now his father-in-law and, that year, he also bought the manor of Norbury.<sup>31</sup>

There is no evidence of any property acquisition in the 1360s but in the 1370s he made a whole series of purchases. In 1371 he agreed to surrender the manor of Brightwell in Oxfordshire to a Huscarl heir. This was presumably part of a wider settlement which was eventually to leave Nicholas in permanent possession of the manors of Beddington Huscarl and Purley Magna. The settlement continued the following year when Nicholas bought out John de Syndlesham's interest in the manor of Beddington Huscarl.<sup>32</sup> In the same year he bought John Whatman's interest in the manor of Carshalton which he appears to have already purchased from Richard and Joan Claypole who were to remain in occupation for life.<sup>33</sup>

In 1375 he acquired Cherleton and Tullewyke in Berkshire from Thomas de Seyntmanyfeu possibly as a result of some family settlement rather than purchase as the land had previously been held by a John de Carreu knight.<sup>34</sup> In the following year he bought all the lands, rents, services and rights which Thomas Rote had in Beddington, Carshalton and Mitcham, and in the same year he was granted the manor of Banstead for life.<sup>35</sup> In 1377 Nicholas son of Nicholas Carew bought lands in Croydon, Sanderstead, Coulsdon, Burstow, Horne, Beddington and Carshalton from Simon Oliver of Croydon. The properties had formerly belonged to the de Pirle family and were perhaps centred on Purley in Sanderstead.<sup>36</sup>

This brought the main part of Nicholas's property acquisitions to a close. There were some transactions to tidy up the Huscarl inheritance in 1379 and 1380, and in 1385 he acquired further land in Norbury in conjunction with his son.<sup>37</sup> He obtained the keeping of the king's leets in Beddington and Purley, Berkshire, for five years from 1379, which presumably gave him control of the Honour of Wallingford's manorial courts there.<sup>38</sup>

The first Nicholas held higher office than either his son or his grandson, and unlike them he had assembled his estate more or less from scratch and is likely to have needed a substantial new house at its centre.

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<sup>28</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls Edward III vol. 15 1370-74 p. 193 and p. 416; Cal. Fine Rolls Edward III vol. 8, 1369-77, p. 403; Cal. Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) vol. 4 1377-88 item 123, p. 74-6.

<sup>29</sup> VCH Berks, vol. 3, p. 418.

<sup>30</sup> Register of Edward the Black Prince, part IV, p. 111 and p. 115.

<sup>31</sup> Paget 1937 p. 19.

<sup>32</sup> Cal. of Close Rolls Edward III, vol. 13, 1369 – 74, p. 465.

<sup>33</sup> Cal. Close Rolls Edward III vol. 13 1369-74 p. 541.

<sup>34</sup> Cal. Close Rolls Edward III vol. 14 1374-7 p. 115.

<sup>35</sup> Cal. Close Rolls Edward III vol. 14, 1374-7 p. 339.

<sup>36</sup> Cal. Close Rolls Richard II vol. 1 1377-1381 p. 102.

<sup>37</sup> Paget 1937 p. 19.

<sup>38</sup> Cal. Fine Rolls Richard II vol. 9, 1377-83, p. 130; vol. 10, 1383-91 p. 32.

It seems likely that the moat island at Beddington was his work. The island was rectangular, about 56.4m from north to south by 65m from east to west. It was lined by a 1.94m thick perimeter wall, the lower parts of which consisted of flint and mortar faced on the outside with blocks of Reigate stone and Kentish rag stone. A small section of the inner face of this wall can be seen in cellar 8 at the southeast corner of the house. Here the lower part is flint and mortar while the upper part is flint bonded largely with earth. There are traces of a drawbridge abutment on the west side of the island, and of a small flow-through privy tower on the south side, but there are no traces of either gate towers or corner towers. The structure must have had an impressive mass but its defensive value is questionable. If the whole of the upper part of the perimeter wall was of flint and earth it would be very vulnerable to attack with stone-throwing machines, and the lack of corner towers would prevent the use of flanking fire to protect the base of the wall. The moat at Carew Manor should therefore be seen as the defence for a substantial fortified manor house rather than a castle.<sup>39</sup> A number of relatively insubstantial fortifications were built in the southeast in the second half of the fourteenth century apparently in response to the threat of French invasion. It was, however, also the period of the peasant's revolt which may have encouraged the wealthy to protect their houses.

We know very little about the house which must have stood on the moat island. It is possible that some of the walls and foundations go back to this period but nothing has so far been identified.

When Nicholas died in 1390 he left a considerable estate to his successors. In Surrey he held the manors of Beddington, Huscarls in Beddington, Norbury, Carshalton, Banstead (for life), Nutfield (including the right of presentation to the Church) together with lands in Woodmansterne, Warlingham and Chelsham. In Berkshire he had the manor of Great Purley which he had inherited from his father plus two smaller pieces of land in and near Wantage. He also had property in Kent consisting of the manors of Stoke in the Hundred of Hoo; Malemeyns manor which was worth, by the year, 6s 8d because Nicholas had charged it with the cost of two chaplains to sing masses for ever in the parish church of Stoke in Hoo, and the manor of Mayham which had been damaged by flooding.<sup>40</sup>

## 2.4 The Carews, 1390 – 1492

The first Nicholas Carew of Beddington left a son who was also called Nicholas. He was aged 28 years and more when he inherited and had already been involved in several property purchases. In the years following his father's death he consolidated the estate chiefly in northeast Surrey and also acquired some additional outlying property.<sup>41</sup> He was heavily involved in the administration of Surrey from about 1390 to 1420, where he served on numerous commissions, was sheriff on several occasions and MP five times. He was also active in the administration of Sussex.<sup>42</sup> However, he never held a major position at court and appears to have been a less substantial figure than his father. After his death in 1432 he was followed by his son, another Nicholas, who was an MP for Surrey 1439-40 and was sheriff on three occasions. He was pardoned with other Lancastrians in 1446 and 1455.<sup>43</sup> On his death in 1458, he was succeeded by another Nicholas aged 22. In 1461 Edward IV ordered his arrest presumably because he was a Lancastrian but he survived until he died of natural causes in 1466.<sup>44</sup> The heir, also Nicholas, inherited but died

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<sup>39</sup> See section 13.

<sup>40</sup> Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem vol. 16, 7-15 Richard II, items 976-8 p. 190-91.

<sup>41</sup> Cal. Close Rolls 1389-92 p. 293; Cat. Ancient Deeds vol. 5, item A10681; Cal. Close Rolls 1402-1405 p. 285.

<sup>42</sup> Roskell, Clark and Rawcliffe 1992 vol. 2, p. 482-5.

<sup>43</sup> Wedgwood, Josiah C with Holt, Anne D 1936 p. 156.

<sup>44</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls Edward IV, 1461-1467 p. 32.

without male heirs.<sup>45</sup> Nicholas who died in 1466 had three daughters Sanctia, Ann and Elizabeth the first of whom married Sir John Iwardby and they claimed the estate or part of it.<sup>46</sup> However, Beddington had been entailed on the male heirs and ended up in the hands of James Carew, the brother of Nicholas who died 1466, but the estate had been split between the claimants.<sup>47</sup> The inquisition post mortem on James's Surrey property lists only the manors of Beddington, Bandon (in Beddington parish) and Norbury in Croydon.<sup>48</sup>

James married Eleanor Hoo the daughter of Sir Thomas Hoo of Luton-Hoo in Bedfordshire. Thomas Hoo was a major figure. He was heavily involved in the wars in France in various capacities and was for some years the Chancellor of France and Normandy. He became a Knight of the Garter in 1445 and in the same year was granted the barony and honour of Hastings. In 1448 he was created Lord Hoo of Hoo in the county of Bedford and of Hastings in the county of Sussex. He married twice, the second wife being Eleanor, daughter and heiress of Lionel Lord Welles. When Thomas died in February 1454-5 his heirs were his brother of the half-blood Thomas Hoo and the daughters by his first wife, Anne aged 30, and by Eleanor his second wife another Anne aged 8, Eleanor aged 6 and Elizabeth aged 4. Eleanor, the daughter of Eleanor, eventually married twice, firstly to Thomas Etchingham and secondly in or before 1468 to James Carew. By this James had a claim on the Hoo inheritance but his share only amounted to 'the site of the manor of Wartling' on Pevensey Level which he acquired in 1475. In 1499 half of this was lost to other members of the family.<sup>49</sup> In the fullness of time James's marriage brought a larger windfall to the Carews. Eleanor, the mother of James's wife of the same name, was the daughter of Lionel Lord Wells.<sup>50</sup> A complex chain of events resulted in the Carews inheriting ninth and tenth parts of the manors of Bradley, Cumberworth, Conisholme, Grainsby, Manby, Skendleby, Sutton le Marsh, Trusthorpe, Wyberton and Withern in Lincolnshire, Faxton in Northamptonshire and Ellington in Northumberland. This would have improved the Carew's financial position but the property was not acquired until after James's death in 1492. It came to his son Richard sometime between 1507 and 1517.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Cal. Fine Rolls vol. XXII Henry VII 1485-1509 item 465.

<sup>46</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls 1485-1494 p. 79.

<sup>47</sup> See the family tree in Michell 1981 (appendix 3); Cal. Fine Rolls 1485-1509, item 465.

<sup>48</sup> Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem Henry VII. vol. 1, item 846.

<sup>49</sup> Complete Peerage vol. VI, p. 561-5 and Victoria County History Sussex vol. 9 p. 138.

<sup>50</sup> Complete Peerage vol. 6 p. 564-5.

<sup>51</sup> Lionel de Welles (1406-61) married firstly Joan Waterton and secondly Margaret Beauchamp. He was killed fighting for the Lancastrians at Towton and attainted for treason. His son Richard by his first wife was pardoned and inherited. He married twice but was executed by Edward IV in 1469-70. His son Robert by his first wife was executed a few months later. The Barony of Hoo then passed to Robert's sister Joan. When she died the Barony should have passed to John Welles who was the second son of Lionel by his second wife. The barony was however forfeited for treason and John Welles fled to Brittany and joined the future Henry VII who was in exile there. He returned with Henry, fought with him at Bosworth and as result his property was restored and he was created Viscount Welles. When he died he left his lands to his wife Cecily who remarried. If she died childless the property would revert to the four daughters of Lionel de Welles's first marriage and to their heirs. An Act of Parliament of 1503-4 – probably to confirm an agreed settlement – assigned the property to Cecily for life, then to the king for ten years after her death and then to heirs of the four sisters. James Carew's wife was the daughter of one of these sisters. Cecily died in 1507. James was by then dead so the property came to his Richard. Complete Peerage vol. 12 p. 443-450.

## 2.5 Richard and Nicholas KG 1492 – 1539

James was followed by his son Richard who married Malyn Oxenbridge of Brede, Sussex. In the 1490s, he was active in the administration of Surrey and occasionally Sussex.<sup>52</sup> He was a knight for the body – one of the king’s personal servants – by September 1503 when the king appointed him steward of the manor of Walton on the Hill.<sup>53</sup> His income was probably rising and in 1503-4 he acquired the lands of Thomas Ruknam of Coulsdon for £50.<sup>54</sup>

In 1505 he was among a long list of trustees acting for Cicely Marchioness of Dorset and her prospective husband Lord Henry Stafford, brother to Edward Duke of Buckingham.<sup>55</sup> The same year Richard and others stood surety for a debt to the crown owed by Lorenzo Bonvice merchant of Lucca.<sup>56</sup> He presumably received a fee from Bonvice for this service. In 1505 Richard and others were appointed to a commission to enquire ‘of concealed lands, wards, reliefs, escheats, treasure trove, goods of outlaws, felons and fugitives, forfeitures, and concealments of offices, alienations in mortmain and entries without licence in Surrey and Sussex.’ In short to look for anyone who had failed to make payments due to the crown. This was part of Henry VII’s wide-ranging and successful attempt to increase his income.<sup>57</sup> Richard continued to have roles in the royal administration in England – he was for example made steward of the castle and lordships of Starborough, Stonehurst and Chestede in the counties of Surrey, Sussex and Kent in 1507 – but his career gradually developed in a different direction.<sup>58</sup>

In 1502 he was one of a large group of men who stood surety for the good conduct of Sir Nicholas Vaux when he was appointed keeper of Guines Castle in the English territory around Calais.<sup>59</sup> Henry VII had the rather paranoid habit of asking for such bonds from his servants and office holders. In August 1504 Richard found sureties for himself to act as Master Porter of Calais although he does not appear to have been appointed until January 1507.<sup>60</sup> This made him responsible for the porters who controlled the city gates. He held the office briefly as he resigned the same year on being appointed keeper and lieutenant of the Castle of Calais.<sup>61</sup> This was followed in January 1507 by a grant of lands in the parishes of Bonynges, Ell and Pitham in the county of Guysnes in the Calais Pale to be held at the king’s pleasure.<sup>62</sup> Henry VII died in April 1509 but Richard continued to keep the castle for Henry VIII and in the next few years he appears in Calais dealing with an important prisoner and handling large sums of money for the king.<sup>63</sup>

On 19 May 1511 the royal wardrobe was ordered to supply ‘gown cloths of tawny cloth’ to Nicholas Carew, gentleman, William Gower, Charles Rochester and John Dyngley, grooms of the Privy Chamber.<sup>64</sup> This appears to mark the arrival of Richard’s son as a member of the

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<sup>52</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls Henry VII vol. 1, p. 502; vol. 2, pages 67, 161, 328 and 422.

<sup>53</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls Henry VII vol. 2, p. 331.

<sup>54</sup> Cal. Close Rolls Henry VII, vol. 2, item 237 and item 336.

<sup>55</sup> Cal. Close Rolls Henry VII vol. 2, item 435.

<sup>56</sup> Cal. Close Rolls Henry VII, part 2, item 494, p. 191.

<sup>57</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls Henry VII vol. 2 p. 420-1.

<sup>58</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls Henry VII vol. 2 p. 519.

<sup>59</sup> Cal. Close Rolls Henry VII vol. 2, 1500-1509, item 131 p44.

<sup>60</sup> Cal. Close Rolls Henry VII, vol. 2, item 459, p. 180; Cal. Patent Rolls Henry VII vol. 2, p. 518.

<sup>61</sup> Cal. Close Rolls Henry VII part 2, items 773 & 790; Cal. Patent Rolls vol. 2, p. 564.

<sup>62</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls Henry VII vol. 2, p. 518.

<sup>63</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 1, part 1, items 11 (12), 104 (1509), 257 (13), 449 (19), 414 (59) and 751 (2).

<sup>64</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 1, part 1, item 772.

privy chamber – a group of servants in close personal attendance on the king. Nicholas soon emerges a leading member of the king's 'minions' or young favourites. When, in 1539, he made his speech from the scaffold he said that 'I have ben brought vp under his maieste synse I was sixe yeres of age.' He had presumably first served as page or similar in the household of the young Henry. This was established soon after 1494 when Henry was made Duke of York at the age of three-and-a-half.<sup>65</sup> By 1515 Nicholas was a star performer in tournaments, good enough to be in the king's own team.<sup>66</sup> This was a tough physically demanding activity and Nicholas is unlikely to have been younger than his late teens, suggesting that he was about the same age as the king or a little older, perhaps born about 1490. In 1514 he married Elizabeth Bryan the sister of another of Henry's minions.<sup>67</sup>

In the next few years Nicholas took part in the tournaments to mark state occasions and he and his wife appeared in revels and court entertainments.<sup>68</sup> The rewards of favour soon followed. In April 1514 he received a grant of the reversion Plumpton, Barcombe, Fletching, Piddinghoe, Buskage and Birling Sussex, the advowson of Plumpton church all of which would come to him on the death of the current holder.<sup>69</sup> He became one of the king's ciphers or cup bearers in November 1515 and keeper of the manor of Pleasance in East Greenwich, of the great garden of the manor, and of the park and the tower there.<sup>70</sup> In May 1516 the King gave Nicholas and his wife lands in Wallington, Carshalton, Beddington, Woodmansterne, Woodcote and Mitcham to the annual value of 40 marks as a belated marriage portion.<sup>71</sup>

While this was going on his father Richard continued to serve in Calais. He became Master of the Ordnance and served in the King's campaign in France in 1513.<sup>72</sup> His son also seems to have been involved, probably as one of the King's retinue, as garments of green velvet and cloth of silver were made and provided for Nicholas Carew and others in the camp at the siege of Tournai.<sup>73</sup>

Nicholas was clearly in high favour with Henry but trouble followed. In March 1518 Richard Pace, writing to Wolsey, said that 'Mr Carew and his wife be re[turned] to the King's grace, too soon after mine op[inion]'<sup>74</sup> The return to favour did not last long. In September that year Nicholas, his brother in law Francis Bryan and several of Henry's other minions were expelled from court as part of a reformation of the privy chamber. In May 1519 Nicholas was sent into exile as the lieutenant of Rysbank Castle which guarded the harbour at Calais.<sup>75</sup> The expulsion may have had its roots in a fairly dissolute diplomatic mission to the French court in the autumn of 1518:

Duryng this tyme remaining in the Frenche courte Nicholas Carew, Fraunces Bryan, and divers other of the young gentleman of England and they with the Frenche kynge roade daily disguysed through Paris, throwyng Egges, stones and other foolishe trifles at the people, whiche light demeanoure of a kyng was mucche discommended and

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<sup>65</sup> Starkey 2008 p. 100-2.

<sup>66</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 2, part 2; Revel account no. 8 (iii) p. 1503.

<sup>67</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 1 part 2, item 3419.

<sup>68</sup> For example Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 2 part 2; Revel account no. 7 p. 1500-1; Revel account no. 8 p. 1503-5; Revel account no 9 p. 1507-8; Hall 1809 p. 584.

<sup>69</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 1, part 2, item 2863 (10).

<sup>70</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 2, part 1, item 1116 and vol. 2 part 2 item 3837.

<sup>71</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 2, part 1, item 1850.

<sup>72</sup> Letters and papers Henry VIII vol. 1, part 2, item 2025 and item 2053.

<sup>73</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 1, part 2, item 2562.

<sup>74</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 2, part 2, item 4034.

<sup>75</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 3, part 1, items 247, 259 and 265.

gested at. And when these young gentleme[n] came again into England, they were all Frenche, in eatyng, drynkyng and apparell, yea, and in Frenche vices and bragges, so that all the estates of Englande were by them laughed at: the ladies and gentlewomen were dispraised, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the Frenche turne, whiche after turned them to Displeasure...<sup>76</sup>

The more conservative members of the English Privy Council probably regarded French manners as evidence of immorality and, in addition, they seem to have thought that the minions were overly familiar with the king to his dishonour.<sup>77</sup>

Nicholas's disgrace did not last long. He was back at court by October and jousted at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in the summer of 1520.<sup>78</sup> He remained a lifelong Francophile. Other embassies to the French court followed and he was clearly well regarded by Francis I.

Richard remained active in the administration at Calais and, in 1520, was involved in the organisation of the Field of the Cloth of Gold.<sup>79</sup> However, he died in the early autumn sometime before 19 October.<sup>80</sup> Nicholas Carew then inherited Beddington and moved from an unidentified house in Wallington.<sup>81</sup>

In December he was sent on another diplomatic mission to France this time as the ambassador rather than a young courtier in tow. Francis I was hunting in the Foret de Boulogne southeast of Blois and Nicholas met him at a place called 'Mounfroo'.<sup>82</sup> He was in the area about a month and may perhaps have seen the Chateau at Blois with its great renaissance garden.<sup>83</sup>

Nicholas became Master of the Horse – an important and highly prestigious position – in July 1522.<sup>84</sup> He also began to accumulate a succession of other offices from which he no doubt drew an increasing income.

In October 1523 he, Francis Bryan and others were sent to the Scottish border to give aid and comfort to the Earl of Surrey who was leading a campaign against the Scots and complaining of exhaustion and ill health.<sup>85</sup> He and Bryan appear to have been in France in the French camp at Hesdin in May 1524.<sup>86</sup> In October and November 1527 he was a member of an embassy lead by Viscount Lisle to present the garter to Francis I in Paris.<sup>87</sup> Nicholas was in France again on a further diplomatic mission in October 1532 to facilitate a meeting between Henry VIII and Francis I.<sup>88</sup> He was clearly popular at the French court.<sup>89</sup> Francis I asked Henry to

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<sup>76</sup> Hall 1809 p. 597.

<sup>77</sup> Walker 1989.

<sup>78</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 3, part 1, item 491 and item 870 (p 313).

<sup>79</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 2 part 2 item 4637; vol. 3 part 1 items 492, (p. 172), 594 and item 704 (p 239, 241 and 243).

<sup>80</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 3, part 1, item 1027.

<sup>81</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 3 part 1, item 1081 (28).

<sup>82</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 3, part 1, item 1126.

<sup>83</sup> Cal. State Papers Venetian vol. 3, item 160, p. 103. The Francis 1st wing with its famous staircase was at the planning stage. Knecht 2008 p. 146-9.

<sup>84</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 3, part 2, item 2395.

<sup>85</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 3, part 2, items 3421, 3434 and 3508.

<sup>86</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 4, part 1, item 335.

<sup>87</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 4 part 2 item 3508.

<sup>88</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 5, item 1377.

<sup>89</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 4, part 3, item 6268.



make Nicholas into a Knight of the Garter in 1533 and 1535.<sup>90</sup> Nicholas was eventually elected to the order in 1536.<sup>91</sup>

Henry's quest for the annulment of his first marriage and the religious changes that he made to achieve it split his courtiers into conservative and reformist factions who fought a bitter war in a poisonous atmosphere of intrigue and back stabbing. Nicholas became one of the leaders of the conservative faction along with the Marquis of Exeter and others.

In autumn and winter of 1529-30 he led an embassy to Bologna in Italy to represent Henry at the crowning of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor and to try to persuade the Pope to annul Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon. The first task was accomplished successfully but the Pope was evasive.<sup>92</sup> Henry eventually broke with the Catholic Church and married Anne Boleyn in the summer of 1533. Nicholas Carew was distantly related to Anne Boleyn and he jousting in her coronation tournament but he was her enemy as he remained loyal to the former queen and her daughter Mary.<sup>93</sup> Henry soon tired of Anne Boleyn and probably developed an interest in Jane Seymour in 1535. Nicholas must have seen the opportunity to undermine Anne. He had been close to Henry for two decades and would have known his likes and dislikes in women. He seems to have guided Jane into the king's favour and on occasion housed her at Beddington.<sup>94</sup> Anne's position weakened when she miscarried a son on 29 January 1536. Henry seems to have thought that the miscarriage was divine punishment and the conservative courtiers led by the Marquis of Exeter and Nicholas Carew sought to poison his mind against Anne. Her fate was probably sealed when Cromwell joined them. She was executed on 19 May 1536.<sup>95</sup>

Nicholas seems to have remained in favour with Henry despite his support for Princess Mary. The king visited Beddington in September 1537 and in April 1538 and Nicholas received a major grant of property in November 1537.<sup>96</sup> Favour, however, ended abruptly. The conservative Catholic-leaning faction of which he was a leading member came under attack. The Marquis of Exeter was arrested and accused of treason. Nicholas was implicated. He was arrested on the last day of 1538 and, after the formality of a trial, was executed on 3 March 1539.<sup>97</sup>

Nicholas Carew became a very wealthy man. He inherited a large amount of property and made many additions during his lifetime. He had £40 a year as Master of the Horse, received annuities from the king and accumulated numerous manorial stewardships. These would have been farmed out to deputies but he would have retained part of the fees and some of the other income and perquisites. The posts would also have given him significant power of patronage. I have not attempted to estimate his cash income and it may not be possible from the surviving sources. However, the tables below give some indication of the scale of his wealth. The list of landholdings is probably fairly complete, the offices almost certainly less so.

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<sup>90</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 6 item, 707 and vol. 8, item 174.

<sup>91</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 10, item 715.

<sup>92</sup> Knecht 1959.

<sup>93</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 6, item, 584.

<sup>94</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 10, item 908.

<sup>95</sup> Ives 1972 p. 182-3; Ives 1986 p. 343, 346, 355 and following.

<sup>96</sup> Lisle Letters vol. 4 item 1011 and vol. 5, item 1138; Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 12, part 2, item 1150 (3).

<sup>97</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 14, part 1, items 37 and 290.

**Property inherited from Carew ancestors by his grandfather James**

Beddington, the manor, with land in Chessington and Horley.

Bandon in Beddington, the manor.

Norbury, the manor in Croydon.

Ravensbury in Mitcham, the manor.

Carshalton, land in.

Wallington in Beddington parish, at least one house and land.

**Property inherited by James in right of his wife**

Ninth or tenth parts of the manors of Bradley, Cumberworth, Conisholme, Grainsby, Manby, Skendleby, Sutton le Marsh, Trusthorpe, Wyberton, Withern in Lincolnshire.<sup>98</sup>

Faxton in Northamptonshire (probably a tenth of the manor).<sup>99</sup>

Ellington in Northumberland (probably a ninth of the manor).<sup>100</sup>

**Property acquired by Richard**

Land of Thomas Ruknam of Coulsdon, yeoman, in Coulsdon, Chipstead and Woodmansterne, Surrey, in 1503-4.<sup>101</sup>

Lands in the parishes of Bonynges, Ell and Pitham in the county of Guysnes granted in 1507 to be held at the king's pleasure.<sup>102</sup> It is not known if this reverted to the crown on Richard's death or was lost when the French took Calais in 1558.

**Property acquired by Nicholas**

Reversion, granted April 1514, of the manors of Plumpton, Barcombe, Fletching, Piddinghoe [in Plumpton], Buskage and Birling Sussex, the advowson of Plumpton church, which came to Henry VII on the death of William Viscount Beaumont, Lord Bardolf, by attainder of Francis Lord Lovell, and were subsequently granted to John late Earl of Oxford, deceased and Elizabeth his wife who was still living, widow of the said Lord Beaumont.<sup>103</sup>

Lease in 1516 of 10 messuages and gardens, a pigeon house, 1,290 acres of land, and 5s rent in Wallington, Carshalton, Beddington, Woodmansterne, Woodcote and Mitcham, Surrey.<sup>104</sup>

Bletchingley, Surrey, the manor and fair and also a messuage and 200 acres of land formerly Hexstelles both of which had belonged to the Duke of Buckingham until his attainder in 1522-3.<sup>105</sup>

Tyllyngdon, Surrey, the reversion in 1532 of the manor formerly Buckingham's and then Walter Chaldecote's one of the serjents-at-arms.<sup>106</sup>

Banstead and Walton, Surrey, the manors with all lands thereto belonging; the park, warren, villeins etc in Charlwood and Horley Surrey; with knight's fees, advowsons etc. Reversion on the death of Henry's first queen, Catherine. They had been leased to Nicholas for 99 years from 1533. Catherine died in January 1536.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> These were part of Nicholas's property restored to Francis in 1554 (Cal. Patent Rolls Philip and Mary vol. 1, 1553-4 p. 214-5). They appeared in the inquisition post mortem of Lionel Welles (Calendarium Inquisition Post Mortem Vol. IV Temporibus Regum Hen. V Hen VI Edw IV & Ric III. Printed by Command of His Majesty, 1828, p. 311). They were conveyed by Francis to Arthur Hall who sold the ninth parts. Cal Patent Rolls vol. 8 1578-80 items 58, 676, 991 and 1651.

<sup>99</sup> VCH Northants vol. 4, p. 169.

<sup>100</sup> Hodgson 1832 part 2, vol. 2, p. 195-6.

<sup>101</sup> Cal. Close Rolls Henry VII vol. 2, items 237 and 336.

<sup>102</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls Henry VII vol. 2, p. 518.

<sup>103</sup> Letters and papers Henry VIII vol. 1 part 2, item 2863 (10).

<sup>104</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 2, part 1, item 2161.

<sup>105</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 3, part 2, items 2397 and 3062.

<sup>106</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 5, item 1139 (6).

<sup>107</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 5, item 1207 (13).

Epsom, Coulsdon, Sutton and Horley manors and the rectories of Epsom and Horley with the advowsons of Epsom, Sutton, Coulsdon and Horley all in Surrey and all formerly the property of Chertsey Abbey. Granted November 1537.<sup>108</sup>

The advowson of Beddington church.

**The following was restored to his son Francis in 1554 but has not been previously traced:**

Land in Burstow and Horne in the Surrey Weald.

A good deal of scattered woodland in Croydon.

Property in Morden.

Property in Streatham.

Land in 'Whattingdon' (possibly part of the manor of Coulsdon).

### **Offices and annuities held by Nicholas Carew**

#### **1515, 6 November.**

Annuity of 50 marks, as one of the King's cypherers. Surrendered 1519-20.<sup>109</sup>

#### **1517, 18 December**

Keeper of the manor of Pleasance in East Greenwich, of the great garden of the manor, and of East Greenwich Park, and the tower there (at key position at one of Henry's favourite palaces).<sup>110</sup>

#### **1521, 12 June**

Constable of Wallingford Castle, and steward of the honour of Wallingford and St Valery, and the four and a half hundreds of Chiltern on vacation by Sir Thomas Lovell.<sup>111</sup>

#### **1522, 18 July**

Steward of the manor of Brasted, Kent with 40s a year and keeper of Brasted park, with 3d a day, and herbage and pannage.<sup>112</sup>

#### **1528, 29 January**

Annuity 50 marks.<sup>113</sup>

#### **1528, July**

Draft patent (possibly never implemented) appointing him constable of Warwick Castle and town, with a mansion called the Steward's Place there and 10l a year as constable, and 10 marks for the stewardship; also keeper of the manor of Goodrest with the garden and waters in Wedgnoek Park, Warwickshire with fees of 4d a day. Also to be parker of Weggenok Park, with 6d a day, and the appointment of inferior officers and master of the hunt in the said park.<sup>114</sup>

#### **1531, 4 January**

Seneschal of the manors of Bromsgrove, King's Norton, Oddingley, Clifton and Droitwich, Worcs.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 12, part 2, item 1150 (3).

<sup>109</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 2, part 1, item 1116 and vol. 3, part 1, item 1056.

<sup>110</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 2, part 2, item 3837.

<sup>111</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 3, part 1, item 1345.

<sup>112</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 3, part 2, item 2396.

<sup>113</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 4 part 2, item 3869 (29).

<sup>114</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 4, part 2, item 4583.

<sup>115</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 5, item 80 (26).

## Offices and annuities held by Nicholas Carew

### 1533, September

Reversion of the office of the King's otter-hunter, now held by Christopher Rochester; with 3½d a day for himself 4½d for keeping of six otter hounds, 1½d for wages of a page under him, and 9d a day for the keeping of 12 hounds.<sup>116</sup>

### 1534

Master of the forest and park of Fakenham and steward of the duchy of York in Worcestershire. 16l 3s 6½d.<sup>117</sup>

### 1536, 19 June

Steward, receiver and surveyor of the manors of Perching in Fulking, Preston, Poynings, Pangdean, *Ashcombe* [by Lewes?], Waldron, Duncton, Sutton and *Chyntnge* [Blatchington in Seaford?] Sussex and an annual rent of 6l 13s 4d.<sup>118</sup>

### 1537, 26 June

Reversion of the governorship of the isle of Guernsey and castle of Cornett and of Alderney, Sark, Herm and *Sothowe* [Jethou?], in the Channel Islands and all castles and fortresses in the said places.<sup>119</sup>

Nicholas Carew's wealth and high social position would call for a house of the grandest sort and indeed Fuller says that he 'built the fair House (or Palace rather) at Beddington ... which, by advantage of the Water is a Paradise of Pleasure'. 'Palace' implies something exceptional – more than a large country house.<sup>120</sup> Fuller died in 1661 so he would have known the house in the early and mid-seventeenth century. Nicholas was also a creature of fashion and once described himself as 'onthryfty'<sup>121</sup> He was also deeply Francophile and must have been familiar with the renaissance fashions then spreading from Italy into France.

The Tudor building campaign was started by his father Richard. The Surrey History Centre has a set of accounts 'Bedyngton Repatons there don upon the manor by John Watte by the comundement of S Ric Carewe Knyght'.<sup>122</sup> They record an extensive series of payments for brick making, plumbing, lime burning, wainscoting, tiling, carpentry, sawing and some demolition as well as the purchase of timber, stone, iron, cement and other materials. Unfortunately, the payments do not give much idea of what was being done or where in the building. Plumbers were paid for casting 'crockette' which may have been lead decoration for a roof ridge. Thomas Too and Richard Carre were paid for 'selyng of the Plor' which involved 'waynescote' and yards of small and base 'crest' presumably for decorative panelling. They also worked on the 'portall'. Carpenters and sawyers were paid from March to November. Stone was bought from Richard Aynescombe of Reigate and four hard stones of Kent were purchased for the 'trusse of the great Gabill wyndow'.<sup>123</sup> The accounts clearly

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<sup>116</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 6, item 1195 (25).

<sup>117</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 7, item 352.

<sup>118</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 10, item 1256 (37).

<sup>119</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 12, part 2, item 191 (46).

<sup>120</sup> Fuller 1811 vol. 2, p. 379.

<sup>121</sup> Lisle Letters vol. 2, item 405.

<sup>122</sup> SHC 281/2/4.

<sup>123</sup> The accounts for the construction of Nonsuch Palace show that Richard Aynscombe was a Reigate quarryman. See Dent 1981 p. 264. Hard stones of Kent were used for the window transoms of the Savoy Hospital in Westminster. See *HKW* vol. 3, part 1, p. 204.

relate to a major building campaign.<sup>124</sup> They do not have a date to the year but they do contain dates which are explicitly said to be Saturdays one of which is 18 March. In the time that Richard owned the house 18 March fell on a Saturday in only four years, 1497, 1503, 1508 and 1514.<sup>125</sup> John Watte accounted for rents in 1508 but he could have been in the Carew's service for some years. The other evidence to narrow the date of the work is the heraldry of the glass in the great chamber windows which must have been in the north wing. This recorded by D'Ewes and included the Oxenbridge arms from Richard's wife but not those of his son's wife Bryan suggesting that the glass predates Nicholas's marriage in November or December 1514.<sup>126</sup>

Sutton Museum collection includes three pencil drawings which were made by John Nash in the early nineteenth century (figures 2 to 4).<sup>127</sup> Two of the drawings and two additional drawings were printed in Pugin's *Gothic Ornaments*. They show carved panels from the house which are clearly transitional gothic-renaissance and therefore likely to date from the first half of the sixteenth century. Lysons's *Environs of London* says that 'a small room adjoining to the hall retains the ancient panels with mantled carving' which must have been the panels drawn by Nash.<sup>128</sup> Lysons goes on to mention the parlour at the north end of the hall suggesting that the room with the panels was at the south end, either in the service area or perhaps at the east end of the south wing. The service area seems an unlikely location for such elaborate panelling so it may have been moved. If so, it could have come from the parlour, and been Too and Carr's work from the early sixteenth century.

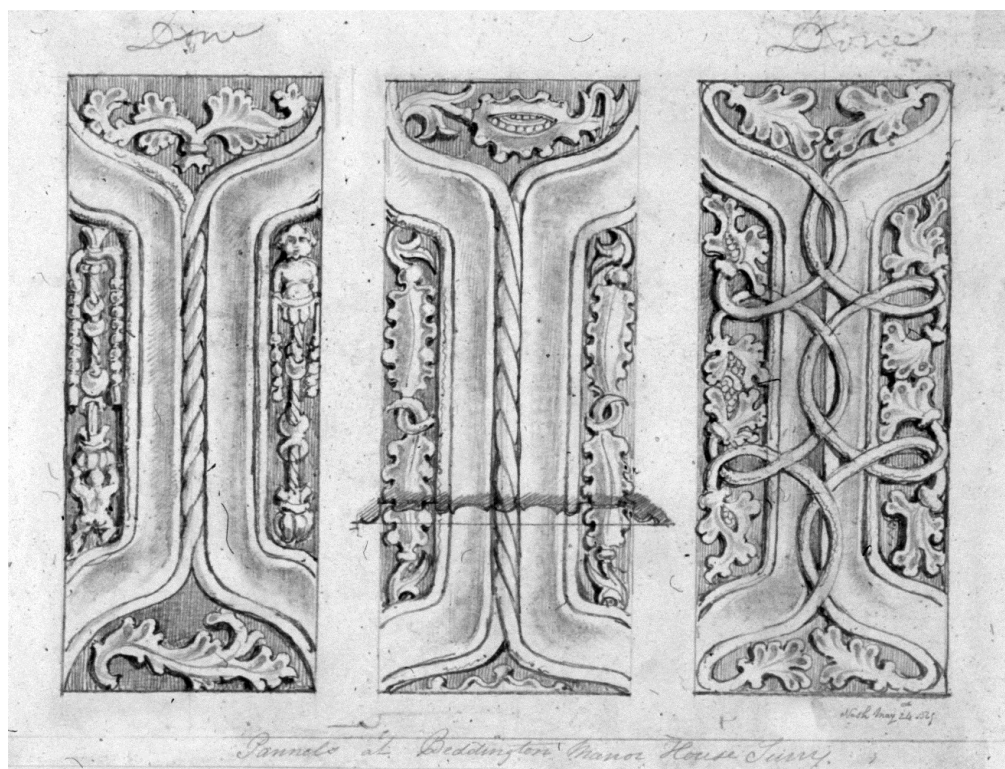


Figure 2. *Pannels at Beddington Manor House Surrey* signed 'Nash May 24 1829'. Sutton Museum Collection B.065.

<sup>124</sup> SHC 281/2/1.

<sup>125</sup> There are some inconsistencies in the dates but, taken as a group they clearly relate to a single year. The years were identified by the tables in Cheney 1945.

<sup>126</sup> BL Harley 380 number 48.

<sup>127</sup> Sutton Museum Collection B.065, B.066 and B.067.

<sup>128</sup> Lysons 1792 vol. 1, p. 54.

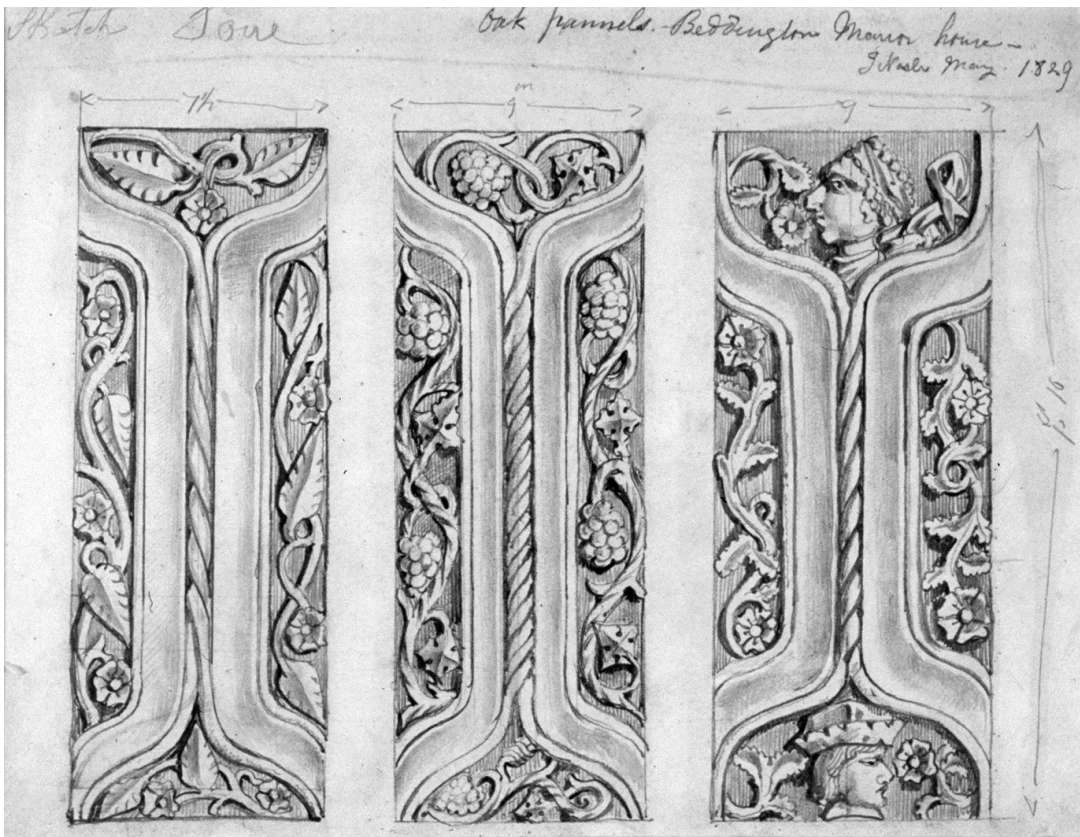


Figure 3. Oak panels Beddington Manor House signed 'J Nash May 1829'. Sutton Museum Collection B.066.

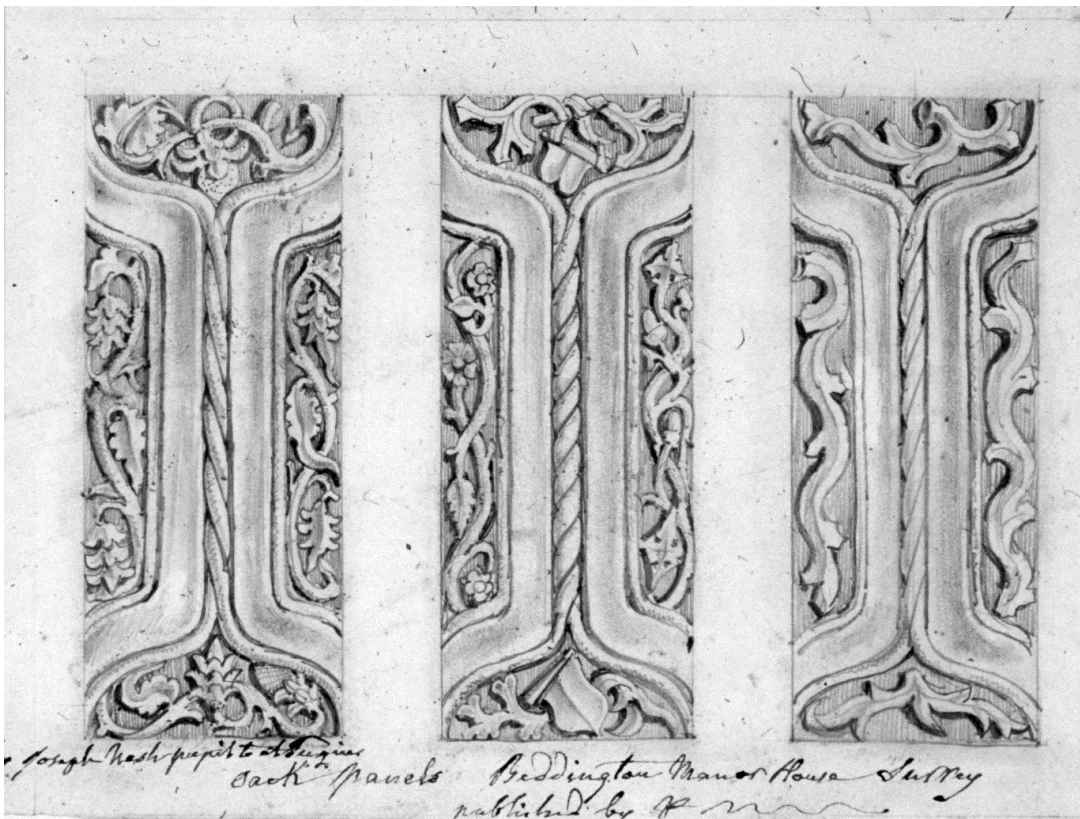


Figure 4. Oak panels Beddington Manor House Surrey 'by Joseph Nash pupil to A. Pugin'. Sutton Museum Collection B.067.

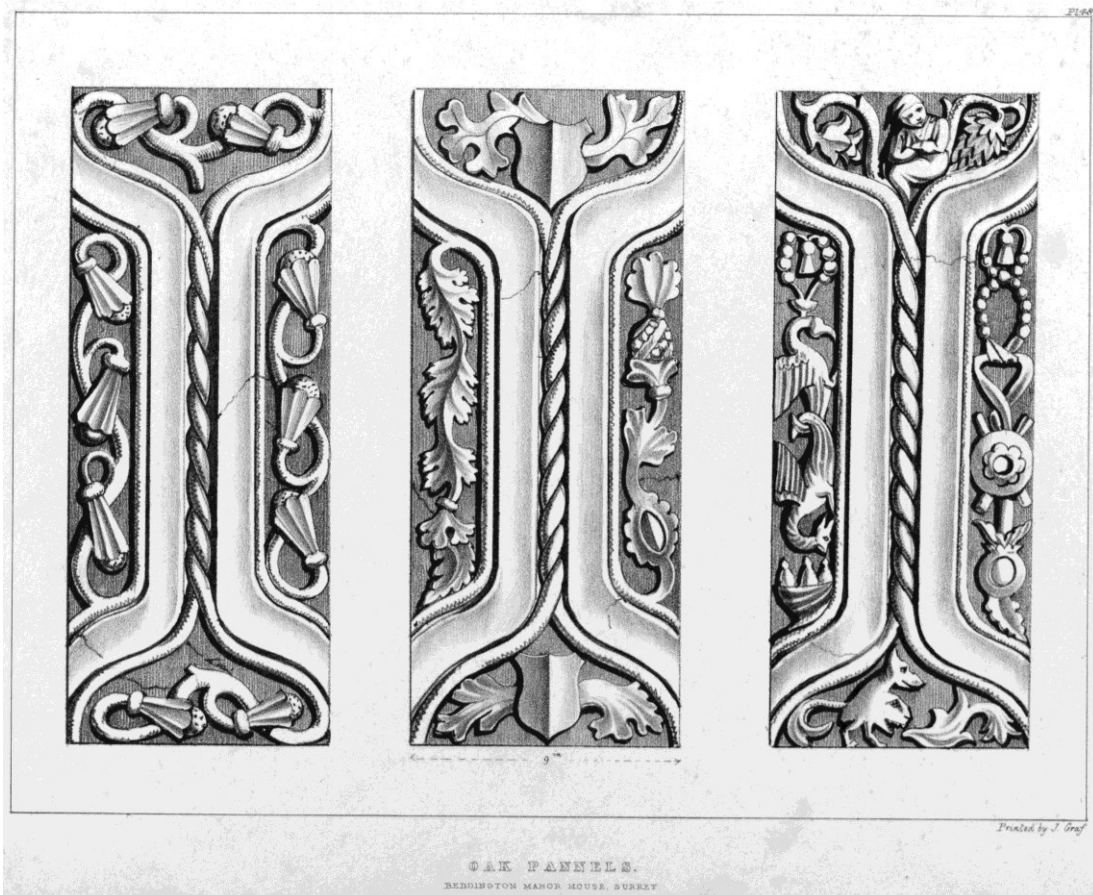


Figure 5. Print from Augustus Pugin *Gothic Ornaments selected from various ancient buildings in England and France*.

It seems likely that the hall and hall roof were part of Richard's building campaign as it lacks the renaissance detail that became fashionable in the 1520s. The kitchen block may be a little later as there was an elaborate carved brick chimney above the main fireplace, which is more likely to have belonged to the 1520s or 1530s. The kitchen initially appears to have been a free standing building with a gap of about 1m between it and the services.

The hall floor is above the present moat island ground level and this is likely to have been the case in the sixteenth century. The Campbell plan of 1717 shows that the floors of the hall, service block, kitchens and north and south wings were all on the same level as they are today. The north wing, service block and part of the kitchen block were over semi-basement cellars while the original arrangements below the hall floor are unclear. First-floor halls were unusual in late medieval England and most of the known examples were in ecclesiastical establishments. There are a few secular examples including Portchester, built for Richard II about 1396-9 and John of Gaunt's more or less contemporary hall at Kenilworth. Cardinal Wolsey built first-floor halls at Christ Church Oxford about 1525-9 and probably at Hampton Court. The latter was replaced by a much larger first-floor hall made for Henry VIII 1532-4.<sup>129</sup> In at least three of these – Portchester, Kenilworth and Hampton Court – the kitchen remained on the ground floor. The elevation of the hall was presumably intended to raise its status, and by implication the status of the owner, and also provide an impressive entrance up a flight of steps. Beddington is therefore unusual in that the hall and kitchen are raised to the same level. Richard served in Calais from 1504 until his death in 1520. His son Nicholas was

<sup>129</sup> Wood 1981 p. 28-31 and *HKW* vol. IV part 2 p. 127 and 133-4. Rigold 1965 p. 27.

there more briefly, he went on several embassies to the French court and was generally regarded as a Francophile. The French equivalent to the great hall is the grande salle which was usually at first-floor level and set over a base salle. The resemblance is however superficial. The English great hall was a space in which the household was brought together, at least on ceremonial occasions. The French grande salle was a room belonging to those of the highest status and was never used to entertain people below noble rank. This is quite unlike the arrangement at Beddington which is an English great hall with no base salle below.<sup>130</sup> There are Italian precedents for raising a house above a basement such as the late fifteenth century Medici villa of Poggio a Caiano but here the residential rooms are above the services not level with them. There was therefore a lack of clear precedents for the arrangement at Beddington and the reason for it is unknown.

It seems overwhelmingly likely that the north, south and west wings were built in the sixteenth century forming a courtyard house typical of the period. Both north and south wings have thin dark Tudor type brick behind at least parts of the existing facing. The south wing also contains reused structural timbers with late gothic mouldings which may well belong to the first half of the sixteenth century. The west wing is not unequivocally documented until after its demolition in the early eighteenth century. The drawbridge abutments seen in trench CEZ07 show that the entrance to the courtyard passed through the centre of the wing possibly by an impressive gate tower topped by the clock and turret repaired and rebuilt in 1650.<sup>131</sup>

The north and south wings appear to have been substantially modified before Colen Campbell's plan of the house published in 1717. It is therefore very difficult to relate the rooms in the Tudor inventories of 1547, 1562 and 1611 to the plan particularly as some spaces – such as lodgings – may have been unfurnished and therefore not inventoried.

As Master of the Horse Nicholas Carew had a social status not much below the aristocracy. Most of his peer group had sprawling multi-courtyard houses and it is unlikely that he would have been content with a compact single court structure. There is evidence for an outer court in the second half of the sixteenth century and it was probably there earlier. It was most likely to have been on the site of the lawn to the west of the present house.<sup>132</sup>

There is a gap of 20.44m between the east side of the hall and the east edge of the moat island so there would have been space for an inner high-status courtyard beyond the hall and there is also space for a range of buildings between the north wing and the north side of the moat island. There is, however, at present no documentary or archaeological evidence for Tudor buildings in these areas.

## **2.6 Royal and other owners 1539-1554**

When Nicholas Carew was executed his property was confiscated and his widow was left begging Cromwell 'to be a mediator to the King' for lands to support herself and her children.<sup>133</sup> She was granted a house and other property in Wallington and the lands in Sussex which must have been enough to keep her and her children in comfort.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Girouard 2000 p. 78-9.

<sup>131</sup> See section 9 and SHC 2152 p.11.

<sup>132</sup> See section 12.

<sup>133</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 14 part 1, item 498.

<sup>134</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 14 part 2 item 113 (5).



One of Henry's first acts seems to have been to change the locks. A lock-plate with the royal arms and late gothic tracery was recorded by Lysons in the late eighteenth century.<sup>135</sup> It is attributed Henry Romaines who was locksmith to Henry VIII and Edward VI.<sup>136</sup> In Lyson's time the lock was on the door to the great hall but it must have been moved when the house was remodelled in the early eighteenth century as the door was relocated. It had presumably been on the earlier hall door or elsewhere in the house. The lock remained in the house until December 1921 when it was sold to the Victoria and Albert Museum for £500.<sup>137</sup>

Henry visited his newly acquired house at the end of June and the beginning of July 1539 on route from Hampton Court towards Portsmouth.<sup>138</sup> The following year Beddington and the former Carew properties in Banstead, Walton on the Hill, Sutton, Epsom and Coulsdon were added to the honour of Hampton Court as part of the Manor of Nonsuch.<sup>139</sup> Nicholas Carew's deer park at Beddington and his downland manors which were full of heath and hunting ground were thus added to lands attached to Henry's palace of Nonsuch which was then under construction. Henry was accumulating a huge hunting ground probably to rival the French king Francis I who had the Forest of Fontainebleau outside Paris. Nonsuch had hardly been completed at the time of Henry's death and he probably did not make much use of Beddington although he was there twice in 1541 and Queen Catherine was there in October 1544.<sup>140</sup>

Henry died in January 1547 and his possessions were inventoried. The relevant section is headed 'Guarderobe of the Mann<sup>r</sup> of Beddington' which was in the charge of Sir Michael Stanhope, the keeper of the house. A long list of tapestries, hangings, carpets, chairs, cushions, bedsteads and other furnishing follows, many in poor condition. The house was a royal furniture store as the name 'guardrobe' implies and there is nothing to suggest that it was equipped to receive the king. Its importance may have declined with the completion, or near completion, of Nonsuch, but Henry may always have found Nicholas's hunting grounds more desirable than his house. They added to Henry's lands around Nonsuch, his last and most elaborate building project, but he had numerous other houses taken from his courtiers.

On 17 May 1548 King Edward gave the manors of Beddington, Bandon and Norbury to his sister Lady Mary.<sup>141</sup> At some point thereafter they seem to have come into the hands of Michael Stanhope who is described as of Kingston upon Hull and Beddington, Surrey in May 1550.<sup>142</sup> By July 1552 Stanhope had been convicted of a felony and his confiscated property including Beddington and much of the former Carew estates were granted to Thomas Darcy KG, Lord Darcy of Chiche, in exchange for lands in Essex.<sup>143</sup>

## 2.7 Francis Carew 1554 -1611

The accession of Queen Mary in July 1553 brought a change of policy as she was a devout Catholic. She had never accepted Henry's reformation and had suffered a great deal as a result. Nicholas Carew and his wife Elizabeth had been supporters through her troubles and this was probably a major reason for his execution. Mary had a debt to the Carews and she

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<sup>135</sup> Lysons vol. 1, p.53-4.

<sup>136</sup> Starkey 1991 p. 168 and Blair 1966.

<sup>137</sup> Sutton Archives D2/4 under 'lock'.

<sup>138</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 14 part 1, item 1182.

<sup>139</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 15, p. 498.

<sup>140</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol 16 item 324 and 1393; vol. 19, part 2 item 688.

<sup>141</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls Edward VI vol. 2 1548-9, p. 20-23.

<sup>142</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls Edward VI part 3 1549-51 p. 297.

<sup>143</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls 1550-53, 6 Edward VI, part ix, p. 458-9.

paid it – probably as speedily as the lawyers could manage: on 14 January 1554 she restored most of Nicholas's property to his son Francis.

Francis Carew had been born about 1530. We know very little about his early life. His father's execution for treason meant that his inheritance was forfeited to the king. Francis had the reversion of his mother's lands in Wallington and Sussex which were confirmed to him when she died, some time before 8 May 1546. There must have been a minority as he would not have been of age until about 1551. Francis may, like his brother-in-law Nicholas Throckmorton, have served in the household of Queen Catherine Parr.<sup>144</sup> The Throckmortons were kinsmen of the Parrs.<sup>145</sup> William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, supported Lady Jane Grey against Mary and when the plot failed he was condemned to be executed. He was pardoned in January 1554 but was soon arrested again on suspicion of complicity in Wyatt's rebellion. However, in August 1558, when Queen Mary was more or less on her death bed, Parr was granted a large part of his former estates in conjunction with Francis Carew of Beddington. The reversion was to the heirs of Parr so Francis Carew, then about 24, was acting as a trustee, suggesting a close link between the men.<sup>146</sup>

Francis's background might suggest that he had Catholic leanings. His mother Elizabeth was a Catholic.<sup>147</sup> In 1569 Francis's sister Isabel married William Saunder's son, Nicholas, who was also a Catholic and would later become a recusant.<sup>148</sup> The marriage took place in Beddington church, which suggests that it had Francis's approval. However, one of Francis's other sisters, Ann, married the Protestant Sir Nicholas Throckmorton although he came from a Catholic family. Francis's own beliefs are less clear. His will, made in 1610, is religiously rather ambiguous as it seeks salvation through Christ but refers to the Holy Ghost and to repentance.<sup>149</sup> However, he seems to have remained on good terms with both sides of the family and remembered the descendants of both in his will.

Whatever his religious convictions, Francis did not retain Mary's favour as he was committed to the Fleet prison on 15 November 1556. On his release about a month later, he had to enter into a recognisance to 'be of good bearing as well towards the king and queen's majesties as to all their liege people and subjects'. The cause of this incident is not known and the recognisance was cancelled on the 13 November 1558, a few days before Mary's death.<sup>150</sup>

Francis does not appear to have had any difficulty in accepting Elizabeth's accession. She made the first of many brief visits to Beddington in August 1559 on the first summer progress of the reign.<sup>151</sup> During her reign Francis was twice considered as a possible ambassador. On the first occasion in 1561 his brother-in-law, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was then ambassador in Paris was asked,

for his opinion touching the succeeding of Mr Carew in his [Throckmorton's] place, who answered that although there was in him some meet parts, yet there lacks in him a second and greater degree than to be a good courtier; that is, skill in negotiation of matters, not having been traded or given thereunto, but chiefly to pleasure; and though

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<sup>144</sup> Hasler 1981 vol. 1, p537-8.

<sup>145</sup> Rowse 1962 p. 19.

<sup>146</sup> Calendar of Patent Rolls Philip and Mary 1554-5 p. 28.

<sup>147</sup> Elizabeth Carew's will PCC probate 17 July 1546.

<sup>148</sup> Bindoff 1982 vol. 3, p. 273-4.

<sup>149</sup> PCC probate 21 May 1611.

<sup>150</sup> Acts of the Privy Council, New Series vol. 6, p. 17 & p. 30-31.

<sup>151</sup> Colthorp 1986.

he is glad of such honour shown to his brother, yet he thinks him not a meet man that could succeed him.<sup>152</sup>

These comments on Francis character may not have been wholly disinterested as Sir Nicholas was a strongly Protestant and may conceivably have felt that Francis's religious beliefs were suspect. It is also possible that he knew that his brother-in-law did not want the job. This was certainly so in 1572 when Elizabeth wanted to make Francis ambassador to Scotland. He 'made great labour to the contrary by way of the ladies of the privy chamber and others' and evaded the post.<sup>153</sup> The circumstances are perhaps revealing. An English army was besieging supporters of Mary Queen of Scots in Edinburgh Castle. The English Ambassador Henry Killigrew wanted to end the siege by force and was supported by most of Elizabeth's courtiers. Elizabeth herself wanted a negotiated settlement and presumably thought that Francis was the person to achieve this.<sup>154</sup> Francis never held national office although he was active in the administration of Surrey from the 1570s. This included being one of the four commanders of the Surrey militia during the Spanish Armada crisis.

Francis's major interest seems to have been his garden which was one of the most elaborate and sophisticated in Elizabethan England. It was visited many times by Queen Elizabeth and has been described elsewhere.<sup>155</sup>

Mary's restoration of the Carew estates made Francis a very wealthy man. His father Nicholas had built up the estates to their greatest extent and Francis seems to have recovered all or almost all of them. Thereafter a decline set in with substantial disposals in Francis's life time. These included part – possibly all – of the Sussex property which was done in a piecemeal way. Plumpton had been granted to Elizabeth Carew in 1539 with remainder to Francis. In the same year the manor house and demesne was leased to John Mascall for 21 years. In 1555 Francis converted the lease to a sale. He sold the rest of his Plumpton property including the manorial rights to Richard Leache in 1593 who acquired Piddinghoe at the same time.<sup>156</sup> Barcombe was sold to George Goring in 1572.<sup>157</sup> Property at Sugworth (or Southworth) was sold to a George Boord in 1574.<sup>158</sup> Standen in Pycombe was in Carew hands in 1575 but had gone by 1617.<sup>159</sup>

On 19 December 1573 Francis alienated all his northern properties in Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire and Northumberland to Arthur Hall of Grantham who was probably a relative by marriage.<sup>160</sup> In the first codicil to his will Francis Carew left £100 to 'the eldeste sonne of my sister Elizabethe Hall that shall be lyvyng at the year of my death'. However, Arthur Hall (1539-1605) married Mary daughter of Thomas Dewie a London goldsmith in 1566 at the age of about 27. It is possible that she was a second wife and that he had an earlier marriage to Elizabeth Carew who then died young but if so this has not been traced.<sup>161</sup> The land transfer was possibly a settlement of the Halls' share of the estate on the assumption that Sir Francis was going to die childless and his property split among his sisters. This seems

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<sup>152</sup> Cal. State Papers Foreign 1561-2 item 274.

<sup>153</sup> Hasler 1981 vol. 1, p. 537-8.

<sup>154</sup> Read 1960 p. 537-8.

<sup>155</sup> Strong 1990; Phillips and Burnett 2005; Phillips 2006b and Phillips and Burnett 2008.

<sup>156</sup> VCH Sussex vol. 7, p. 66-7 and 110-111.

<sup>157</sup> VCH Sussex vol. 7, p. 80-1. Cal. Patent Rolls 1575-78 item 1647.

<sup>158</sup> VCH Sussex vol. 7, p. 159.

<sup>159</sup> VCH Sussex vol. 7, p. 213.

<sup>160</sup> Cal. Patent Rolls 1580-82 p. 47

<sup>161</sup> If Elizabeth was Nicholas Carew's first child she could have been old enough to have been Arthur's mother but Hasler 1981 says that she was Ursula, daughter of Thomas Sharington.

premature as Francis was only 43 and it may have been intended to extricate Hall from financial trouble as he was imprisoned for debt around 1565 and was in trouble again from the late 1570s.<sup>162</sup>

On 18 February 1567-8 Francis leased the manor of Epsom to Nicholas and Isabella Saunder. He also leased them the parsonage and rectory of Epsom for 21 years from the end of the lease of Nicholas's father William. Isabella was Francis's sister who had married Nicholas at Beddington on 28 May 1560. The rent for the manor was £13 6s 8d and the rectory £11 6s 8d yearly. The advowson and timber was reserved to Francis.<sup>163</sup> In 1589 the reversion was granted to Edward Darcy and it went to him on Francis's death in 1611.<sup>164</sup> He was the son of Francis's sister Mary, who married Sir Arthur Darcy of the north. This transaction also seems to be part of a settlement of Francis's estate.

In 1596 Francis bought the manor of Wallington. He already owned a significant amount of land in the township and it is not clear that he acquired much more than the manorial rights.<sup>165</sup> Taken as whole Sir Francis disposed of a large amount of outlying property in Sussex, the Midlands and the north and made one act of consolidation near his home.<sup>166</sup>

In December 1594 Sir Francis was asking the Queen for the lease of some land in Hampshire belonging to Winchester Cathedral and was writing to Robert Cecil to press the suit.<sup>167</sup> The same month Cecil wrote to William Wickham, who was Bishop of Lincoln and prospective Bishop of Winchester pressing Francis's suit saying 'her Majesty is extrodinatly disposed in regard that it is the first suit that ever he made unto her'.<sup>168</sup> The matter was still not resolved in April 1596 when Francis wrote to Cecil saying that the Bishop had offered him £1000 and he

would think that reasonable if it came clear to his purse, but 100/ must go to his nephew Darcy and 300/ to Sackefelde, and he has spent at least 100/ in the hope of it since the Queen was at Nonesuch, The Queen will think 'that she hath bestowed a great suit upon me in passing the lease, and will therefore expect greater entertainment and gifts at my hand than by this means I shall be able to bestow'.<sup>169</sup>

In July 1597 Francis was eventually given an annuity worth £400 and a lease of unspecified value. Francis assigned the lease to Edward Cole and Anthony Dawley presumably for a cash payment. Cole was registrar of the Diocese of Winchester and a prominent citizen of the town.<sup>170</sup> This suggests that, towards the end of his life Sir Francis began to experience financial trouble but the reason for this is unclear.

In *The Environs of London* Daniel Lysons says that Francis Carew built the house, a statement which has often been repeated. This does not fit the structural evidence which suggests that a substantial part of the late eighteenth century house including at least the hall services and kitchens dated from the first half of the sixteenth century. Lysons's statement may be derived from a miss-reading of Gibson's 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia* where Beddington is described as 'a most neat and curious house, adorn'd with pleasant orchards and gardens, built

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<sup>162</sup> Hasler 1981 entry for Arthur Hall.

<sup>163</sup> SHC 2163/7/21 and 22.

<sup>164</sup> VCH Surrey vol. 3, p. 274.

<sup>165</sup> VCH Surrey vol. 4, p. 173.

<sup>166</sup> Francis was involved in several other land transactions at various points in his life but these appear to be trusts or uses for other people rather than additions to or sales from his own lands.

<sup>167</sup> HMC Salisbury Papers at Hatfield part 5, 1894, p. 31.

<sup>168</sup> HMC Salisbury Papers at Hatfield part 5, 1894, p. 41.

<sup>169</sup> HMC Salisbury Papers at Hatfield part 6, 1895, p. 139.

<sup>170</sup> HMC Salisbury Papers at Hatfield part 7, p. 292.

by Sir Francis Carew Knight'.<sup>171</sup> This is rather ambiguous and it is likely that Camden meant that Francis built the garden not the house and garden.

Francis, however, owned the house for more than half a century and it is likely that he made at least some changes. The household accounts include payments for many minor repairs including glazier's bills in 1570 and 1574.<sup>172</sup> These and other entries in the accounts name various parts of the house including new and old parlours, a great chamber, a great gallery, a new gallery, a matted gallery, a chamber in a gallery, a chamber over the moat with heraldic glass in the window, the masters chamber by a stair head, a buttery, kitchen, cellar, porter's lodge, a new lodging, a new middle lodging, a new upper lodging and a turret (see section 13.5.1). These give a sense of a house which has evolved over time as there are new and old parlours, new lodgings and several galleries. A feature can remain 'new' long after it was made especially if the appellation distinguished it from a surviving 'old' one so it is not clear how much if any of these changes were made in Francis's life time.

In 1574 a carpenter – probably called John Busses – was paid 'for two days worke for makinge of youre stayres' and an undated set of accounts record repairs and alterations in the hall.<sup>173</sup> Another carpenter, Robert Sherlock of Addington, was employed to build a new – perhaps replacement – staircase up to the dining chamber some time before 9 March 1609.<sup>174</sup>

Some of the decoration was very elaborate. In 1610 Duke Lewis Frederick of Wirtemberg visited Beddington and his secretary mentioned the house in his diary:

In the house is to be seen a handsome cabinet, the walls of which are of branched work of wood gilded, enriched with beautiful pieces of marble with the floor of the same: over the door of the cabinet is to be noticed a small wax figure, which I take to be the emblem of the house.<sup>175</sup>

The accounts show that there was a great court which contained the stables.<sup>176</sup> It was probably the same as the outer court as both had nettles mown in them and both were at least in part bounded by the park pale. It may have been the location of some of the numerous outbuildings which included an armoury, stable, lower loft by stable, forge, a dog house, hawk mew, great barn, corn barn, lyme barn, brew house, milk house, kitchen house, slaughter house, wash house, joiners house, mint house, pigeon house, wood house, coal house and hop yard (see section 13.5.2). The garden was both elaborate and innovative.<sup>177</sup>

## 2.8 The seventeenth century

Sir Francis never married and after his death in May 1611 the estate was split between the descendants of his sisters. Beddington went to Nicholas Throckmorton who changed his name to Carew but the lands he received were only a fraction of the property restored to Francis in 1558. The main components were the manors of Beddington, Bandon, Norbury, Ravensbury, Wallington and Banstead but there were also other minor holdings scattered across northeast

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<sup>171</sup> Camden 1695 p. 159.

<sup>172</sup> SHC 281/4/20r; 281/4/24 p. 11, 15 and 16.

<sup>173</sup> SHC 281/4/24 p. 17. Section 4.6.

<sup>174</sup> SHC 643/2/12.

<sup>175</sup> Rye 1865 p. 60.

<sup>176</sup> SHC 281/4/25 p7.

<sup>177</sup> Phillips and Burnett 2005.

Surrey. Francis left Walton on the Hill to his nephew Francis Darcy who sold it to Nicholas Throckmorton Carew in 1615 returning it to the Carew estate.<sup>178</sup>

Nicholas Throckmorton Carew's son Francis was a spendthrift who, about 1630, fled to Paris to avoid being sent to prison for debt. He was repeatedly bailed out by his father at a cost of several thousand pounds.<sup>179</sup>

Nicholas died in 1644 during the Civil War. Francis backed the Royalists so he ended up on the losing side. His estate was seized by Parliament and the Committee for Compounding assessed the fine he would have to pay for its return. In March 1644 he petitioned the Committee for Taking of the Covenant saying that although he had attended the King he had never served in the Royalist army and he then pleaded poverty:

His only maintenance was an annuity of 200*l* which by reason of the great charges on his late fathers estates, had been unpaid during the last year. Since his coming in [to the Parliamentary side] his father is dead, and an estate of 700*l* a year, charged with 4,000*l* debts, has descended to him. His father paid his full fifth and twentieth. His sequestration ruins himself, wife and children, and hinders his payment of his father's debts. [He] begs allowance of part of the estate charged with the said debts, and of a proportion of his 200*l* a year, being himself greatly in debt.

It appears that this was not believed as, in July 1644, the Committee for Compounding proposed a fine of £2,000 on the grounds that he had been in service against parliament and that he had an income of at least £1,000 a year. However, on 28 November the Committee decided that the sequestration could be discharged if he paid £1,000 in ten days. He must have been either unable or unwilling to pay as a large part of the fine was still outstanding when he died in the spring of 1649.<sup>180</sup> The sequestration and his debts appear to have left the estate more or less bankrupt. His son Nicholas had been born in 1635 so he was still a minor and it was left to a trustee, Carew Raleigh, to try to sort out the mess. Carew Raleigh was the youngest son of Sir Walter Raleigh and was related to the Beddington Carews by marriage.<sup>181</sup> The Civil War Parliamentarians regarded Sir Walter Raleigh as a hero which probably made his son an attractive trustee in a very difficult situation. In May 1649 Carew Raleigh was asking to be allowed to collect the rents on the Carew estates so he could use the arrears to clear the £1,500 outstanding on the fine. This was agreed but the money was not paid and, on 16 October, the estate was sequestered again. At least part of it was still outstanding at the beginning of 1652.<sup>182</sup> Carew Raleigh let the house, gardens and park to Robert Rich, second earl of Warwick (1587-1658) presumably to reduce costs and generate some income. Warwick carried out various repairs in the years 1649-53 and submitted an account asking that the cost be set against his rent. The work included repairs to barns, various garden structures and a few pieces of minor work on the house including a payment of £9 'For mending the clock and making a turret over it and painting it. There was a substantial amount of work on the moat. Between the 25 March and 27 May, between two and four men were paid for a total of 100½ days baling and scouring the moat at 15d per day. A pound was paid for a week's work bargaining for stone and 832ft of it was bought for £52. Lighterage cost £2 10s; 14

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<sup>178</sup> VCH Surrey vol. 3, p. 317.

<sup>179</sup> Nicholas Burnett *Notes on the private life of a Carew*. Word processed note based on BL Add Ms 29599 folios 36-39.

<sup>180</sup> He was buried on 9 April 1649. Cal. of the proceedings of the Committee for Compounding, 1643-1660. vol. 2 p. 841.

<sup>181</sup> Ann, a sister of Sir Francis Carew d. 1611, married Nicholas Throckmorton. Among their children was Nicholas who inherited Beddington in 1611 and Elizabeth (Bess) who married Sir Walter Raleigh.

<sup>182</sup> Cal. of Committee for Compounding, vol. 2, p. 841.

days work unloading cost £2 2s and the transport of 12 loads of stone from London cost £4 16s. Masons were paid £52 for cutting and squaring 804ft of stone, and a team of between three and five masons were paid £20 3s for a total of 142 man-days which were presumably spent laying it. Lime, sand and 7 bushels of tarris were bought, together with 96lb of iron to 'ould the stones in that houlde the draw bridge up'. Some parts of the moat wall appear to have been of brick, as two bricklayers were paid for 22 man-days and 1000 bricks were bought for them. They were assisted by three labourers who were paid for a total of 28 man-days. A carpenter was paid for 6½ days making a new drawbridge, and scaffolding for the masons.<sup>183</sup>

Nicholas Carew came of age in 1656 and in May that year he married Susan Isham of Lamport, Northamptonshire starting a connection between the Carews and the Midlands which was to last into the eighteenth century.<sup>184</sup> In 1659 Nicholas was accused of complicity in Booth's rebellion, a premature attempt to restore the monarchy, which turned into a fiasco. The Committee for Sequestrations started proceedings against him but they were soon irrelevant as Charles II was restored to the throne the following year.<sup>185</sup> Nicholas was elected MP for Gattton in 1664, 1679 and 1681 and was active in the Commons where he was a supporter of non-conformists and an opponent of Catholics, suggesting puritan leanings perhaps acquired from his guardian Carew Raleigh. He remained firmly independent and never held government office.<sup>186</sup>

Sir Nicholas Carew died on 9 January 1688. He left Wallington to his second son and his heirs so this passed out the estate and did not return.<sup>187</sup> His elder son Francis had married Ann Boteler of Biddenham near Bedford but they did not enjoy the estate long as they both died the following year. The heir was their son Nicholas. He had been born in 1687 so there was a long minority in which the estate was run by trustees. Nicholas appears to have been brought up at Biddenham and the house at Beddington was probably little used and certainly neglected. In 1691 an otherwise unknown J Gibson found the garden in disorder:

The heir of the family being but about five years of age, the trustees take care of the oranges, and this year they built a new house over them, but they look not well for want of trimming. The rest of the garden is all out of order, the orangery being the gardener's chief care.<sup>188</sup>

He also said that the house was in the hands of the Duke of Norfolk, presumably as a tenant, but there is no other source for this.

Things were no better in 1700 when John Evelyn visited:

I went to Beddington, the antient seate of the Carews formerly & in my remembrance, a noble old structure, capacious, & in forme of the buildings of the Age in Hen:8 & Q. Eliz: (time) & a proper for the old English hospitality, but now decaying with the house its selfe, heretofore adorned with ample Gardens, & the first Orange trees that ever were seene in England, planted in the open ground, & secured in Winter onely by a Tabernacle of boards, & stoves, removable in summer; thus standing 120 yeares large & goodly Trees & laden with fruite, but now in decay as well as the Grotts & other curiosities, Cabinets and fountaines in the house & abroad, thro the debauchery & negligence of the

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<sup>183</sup> SHC 2152/1.

<sup>184</sup> Ancestry.co.uk.

<sup>185</sup> Cal. of Committee for Compounding p. 3253.

<sup>186</sup> Henning 1983 vol. 2, p. 12-15.

<sup>187</sup> Nicholas Carew PCC will probate 19 March 1688.

<sup>188</sup> Gibson 1691.

Heires, it being now fallen to a child under age, & onely kept by a servant or two from utter delapidation. The Estate & Parke about it also in decay: the negligence of a few years, ruining the elegances of many.<sup>189</sup>

The British Library has Nicholas Carew's personal account book covering the period 27 February 1705 to 5 May 1708 – the last years of his minority and the first year of his majority which allows his movements to be traced.<sup>190</sup>

27 Feb. - 8 April 1705	Bedfordshire
8 April – 13 July 1705	London
13 July 1705 9 Nov. 1705	Bedfordshire
9 - 10 Nov. 1705	Cambridge (taking his leave of it)
10 Nov. 1705 – 10 Jan. 1706	Bedfordshire
8 January – ?	London
?-13 Feb 1706	Surrey
13 Feb – 10 April 1706	London
10-17 April 1706	Surrey
17-24 April 1706	London
24-26 April 1706	Hampton Court, Windsor and Richmond
26 April – 11 May 1706	London
11-24 May 1706	Hertfordshire
24 May – 1 July 1706	Bedfordshire
1-6 July 1706	Cambridgeshire
	Bedfordshire
19 August – 3 September 1706	Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire
	Bedfordshire
12-21 September 1706	Cambridgeshire
	Bedfordshire
2-5 October 1706	Cambridge and Newmarket
- 16 Dec 1706	Bedfordshire
17 Dec 1706 – 22 Feb 1707	To and in London
22 Feb – 4 March 1707	Surrey
4-7 March 1707	London
7-16 March 1707	On the road & in Bedfordshire
16 March – 23 April 1707	London
23 April to 5 May 1707	On the road & in Bedfordshire
5 May-26 June 1707	London
26 June 1707	Entered upon house keeping at Beddington

Although Nicholas travelled a great deal it appears that he was based in Bedfordshire and London which is consistent with the neglect of the house at Beddington.

## 2.9 The first Baronet 1707-1727

When Nicholas Carew took control of Beddington in the summer of 1707 he must have found the house and garden dilapidated and old-fashioned. His guardians appear to have kept spending down and had probably paid off the estate's debts. On 10 January 1704 his guardian William Farrer received £6,370 11s 7d from 'Madam Botler as Admix to Mr Boteler in full

<sup>189</sup> Diary 20 September 1700.

<sup>190</sup> BL Add Ms 30335.



for what was due to Mr Carew whilst he was guardian to him'. Farrar was able to lend much of this money out for five percent interest. He may also have received some property from the Boteler's as Farrar received rents from collieries totalling £228 16s 8d between 8 September 1703 and 4 October 1704.<sup>191</sup> In 1709 Nicholas married Elizabeth, the daughter of Nicholas Hacket of South Crawley in Buckinghamshire. The marriage settlement must have improved his financial position and he could expect to inherit her father's property.

Nicholas may have started work on Beddington around the time he inherited it as, in December 1707, the trustee's accounts include a payment of £10 to 'M<sup>r</sup> Jones Stone Cutter by M<sup>r</sup> Carews order' A significant piece of work appears to have been done in 1710. On 12 July of that year he made a contract with Henry Elkins and William Poplett to carry out refacing work:

Memorandum July 12<sup>th</sup> 1710

An Agreem<sup>t</sup> made and Concluded on by and between Nicho<sup>s</sup> Carew Esq<sup>r</sup> of Bedington in the County of Surrey of t<sup>e</sup> one p<sup>te</sup> and Henry Elkins Bricklay and Witt<sup>m</sup> [sic] Puplett of Bedington in Surrey Bricklayer of the other part; That the said Henry Elkens & Wm Puplett, dotyh for them Selves their Heires and Assignes doe promise and Agree to and with the said Nicholas Carew Esq his Heirs and Assignes, to doe and performe in good and workmanlikihe manner all the said Worke & Workes hereafter expressd, and according to the price & price [sic] & Agreem<sup>t</sup> hereafter set forth; That is to Say For Cutting downe the south side or old Building of y<sup>e</sup> Inward Court; and face the same with new Bricks, and Cut out such windows or Doors that shall be directed to be cut out; and done; as alsoe to face up and cute away the old worke, and to bring up the New facing that is to be done at the back part of the Great Hall from the foundation up to the topp between the Two Breaks and the returne of one Breacke to be fac=  
=ed as aforesaid; and its further agreed, That if there should be any Windows to be put into the Old Back front beyond the break south wardes in the back front, which said wall wall [sic] is to be carried up soo high as shall be directed by y<sup>e</sup> Survey<sup>r</sup> or Nich Carew Esq<sup>r</sup> for which said works to be done & pform'd as aforesaid; the said Nichos Carew Esq<sup>r</sup> his heirs or Assigns shall pay or cause to be paid unto Henry Elkins & John [sic] Puplett or their Assignes the sume of thirty six pounds and Two guinny<sup>e</sup> of Gould; in manner and forme following That is to say; The two guinnys to be paid at signing of their agreem<sup>t</sup> and the thirty six pounds to be paid at Three payments That is to say sume twelve pounds when one third of the said facing worke aforesaid is pformed; and Twelve pounds more as a further payment when two thirds are done; and a further sum of Twelve pounds when the whole is finished and surveyd, and to be in full for y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> worke aforseide

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<sup>191</sup> Minet Library VI 257 f11 recto and following.

It is Further agreed by the partyes aforsaid That for what [?] Tiling shall be done on the said house or houses in good and Workman like manner finding noe materialles but work men ship only for which they shall have and receive the sume of Three shillings the square one hundred foote to the square and to be paid as it goes on; and the whole of which it shal be measured to, and an account taken of it In Witness here unto the partyes have Interchangeally set their hand the Day & yeare before setforth.<sup>192</sup>

There was also a great deal of work inside the house including the remodelling of the great hall. New windows were inserted, the lower parts of the wall were lined with wooden panelling and the upper parts decorated with painted trophies of arms with two elaborate plaster panels in the centre of the north and south walls. The southern panel has the Carew arms with the Hacket arms in pretence showing that it post-dates Nicholas' marriage in 1709. A long account for upholstery and furnishing bought from John Hibbert and Company between 12 April 1711 and 17 October 1712 may mark the end of the refurbishment.<sup>193</sup>

The house was given the baroque facing shown in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century prints. It was also published in Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* of 1717. The book was supposed to be a representative collection of plates of contemporary British architecture but Campbell was an exponent of the Palladian style and the book was intended to both promote this and advertise his services. Beddington must have fitted uncomfortably into this scheme as the front elevation had a baroque flavour and, worst still, Campbell's published plans and Victorian photographs show that the house was not symmetrical and that the south wing and halls were crowned by a mass of Tudor chimneys which were both out of place and desperately old-fashioned. One wonders why the house was included at all but the answer probably lies in the accompanying text where Nicholas Carew is described as 'so generous a patron'.<sup>194</sup> Campbell certainly seems to have found the building's irregularities intolerable as some awkward details have been falsified on the elevations:

1. The kitchen block appears on the plan and the east elevation but is absent from the western one where it would have upset the symmetry.
2. The chimney at the south end of the hall (the right hand side on the west elevation) is placed symmetrical on both elevation which means that it appears on two different locations on the roof. Early photographs show that neither position is correct and that it stood above the south wall of the hall.
3. On both elevations the roof line is low and symmetrical. This state of affairs was impossible as the west elevation was shorter than the east one due to the omission of the kitchen block. The early photographs and Joseph Nash's lithograph of the east front of the house show that the roof line was irregular and that the roof of the great hall was much higher than the wings. The northern wing had an intermediate pitch while the southern one was very low. The kitchen block also had its own low pitched roof.
4. The elevations are devoid of chimneys except for a pair on the hall roof. This is at variance with the plan which shows many fireplaces in the wings and also with the

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<sup>192</sup> BL Add MS 29599, f. 104. Interlined additions and deletions incorporated in the ext.

<sup>193</sup> BRO D/ELI 26.

<sup>194</sup> Campbell's volumes contain other old fashioned houses.

Victorian photos which show the south wing and kitchen block crowded with a multitude of Tudor and later chimneys.

5. The plan shows that the eastern end of the north wing was wider than western end but this is omitted from the west elevation.
6. The capitals of the pilasters are much higher in the photographs and the area above had to follow a different design to take account of the more limited space.
7. The design of window frames differs from the mouldings found on site.

The mouldings around the windows consisted of a wide flat surface with rolls on each side (section 13.1.19). This design is uncommon on high-status buildings in the southeast. They are used on Maidwell Hall, Northamptonshire, and may possibly reflect Nicholas's Midland connections. Maidwell was, however, burnt out in the nineteenth century and heavily restored.<sup>195</sup> It seems likely that he employed some of professional help, either an architect or a surveyor. In December 1707 Farrer's accounts include a payment of £10 to 'M<sup>r</sup> Jones Stone Cutter by M<sup>r</sup> Carews order'.<sup>196</sup> Nicholas's pocket book records a payment of £4 6s to the 'Surveyer of my Gardens' in his London expenses for 1707 and another of £8 12s to 'M<sup>r</sup> Cleer Surveyer' in 1708.<sup>197</sup> However, these people have not been identified and the scope of their work is unknown.

Nicholas also carried out a large scale remodelling of the garden creating a baroque arrangement with axial east and west lakes and building a new orangery.<sup>198</sup>

If Campbell is to be believed the baroque clock tower in the centre of the west front had a niche with a statue of George I and the inscription 'GEORGIVS REX'. George I became king in August 1714 so this may be a later alteration. In any case it would have been a clear political statement. Nicholas was a supporter of the Hanoverian succession and was made a baronet in the first Georgian honours list. He was politically active in the Whig cause and was MP for Haslemere 1708-10 and 1714-22 and then for Surrey from 1722 to his death in 1727.<sup>199</sup>

The work on the house and the garden must have been expensive and this almost certainly applied to his election campaigns as lavish entertaining and outright bribery were common place. The Surrey estates consisted of manors and lands in Beddington, Norbury, Ravensbury, Walton-on-the-Hill and Banstead. His guardians' accounts show that in the three years 1702-3 to 1704-5 these yielded £2,755 5s 2d in rents and manorial profits including £262 1s 2d in recovered rent arrears. Land tax and expenses amounted to £787 6s 3d leaving about £1,968 clear profit or £656 a year.<sup>200</sup> It seems unlikely that the Surrey estates produced much more in Nicholas's majority. In addition to this he may have had some income from unidentified property in the Midlands and from his wife's marriage settlement and ultimately her inheritance.

He seems to have had an extravagant lifestyle. His personal account book which runs from February 1704/5 to 5 May 1708 shows that his spending in the country was reasonable but London was different. He was there from December 1706 to June 1707 – a little over six months in which he spent £428 6s 9d, much of it on taverns, play, chocolate and visits to

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<sup>195</sup> Andrew Skelton personal comment.

<sup>196</sup> Minet Library VI 257 f13r.

<sup>197</sup> BL Add MS 30335 f. 53r and f. 56v.

<sup>198</sup> Phillips and Burnett 2008; Phillips 2013.

<sup>199</sup> Sedgwick 1970 vol. 1, p. 527-8.

<sup>200</sup> Minet Library VI 257.

White's, an exclusive club then renowned for gambling. There is a sense of young man on a binge.<sup>201</sup> The next page is followed by 'An account of all I owe'. There are four crossed out items below this and the following four folios have cut out. It looks as if he was already living beyond his means.

On 18 September 1710 he sold 200 beech trees in the grounds of his manor at Walton on the Hill for £100 down with £100 to pay.<sup>202</sup> This appears to coincide with his work on the house and suggests that it was partly funded by the disposal what was more-or-less a capital asset. His financial position does appear to have improved with age. In February 1716 he mortgaged his wife's inheritance at South Crawley to Peter King for £4,000; a further property at Woodend was mortgaged for £3,000 in February 1719.<sup>203</sup> On the 18 February 1718 Nicholas Carew directed his bankers to pay £200 to Sir Peter.<sup>204</sup> This property was never recovered.<sup>205</sup> His father-in-law, Nicholas Hacket, was still alive and seems to have been thoroughly disgusted. In his will, dated 30 May 1720 he did everything he could to leave much of his remaining property in his daughter's control and added 'my will and meaning being that the said Sr Nicholas Carew shall not intermeddle with or have anything to do with my real or personal estate other than to receive and be paid the said legacy of fifty pounds'.<sup>206</sup>

Nicholas Carew appears to have been involved in speculation during the South Sea Bubble but it is not clear whether he made or lost money.<sup>207</sup> However, by the end of 1720 he owed £10,000 to the trustees of Sir William Scawen of Carshalton and had mortgaged most of his property other than that tied up in his marriage settlement as security for the debt.<sup>208</sup> In short he was virtually bankrupt and his early death, in 1727 at the age of about 41, may have saved the estate.

## **2.10 The minority and the Second Baronet, 1727-1762**

Nicholas Carew's son was about seven at the time of his father's death so a long minority followed. The first baronet's widow, Elizabeth, married William Chetwynd and they appear to have run the estate during the minority. Elizabeth died in February 1740 and William in 1744.<sup>209</sup> The latter left all his property to his wife and her son including an iron works at Principio in Maryland.<sup>210</sup>

The second baronet came of age about 1741 and was soon in financial trouble. On 3 March 1741 John Price (presumably his steward) wrote to him about the sale of 1,493 ounces of silver plate for which he had an offer of £418 7s which seems to have been less than they were hoping for.<sup>211</sup> In May 1742 he sold 1,039 oaks, beeches and ashes standing in woods called the Ruffets and Banstead Park, 202 oaks and beeches in Walton Park, 107 oaks and beeches now or lately standing in the wood called Little Hurst (parish not given) for a staged payment of £582 10s.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> BL Add MS 30335 f33 to f42v.

<sup>202</sup> Sutton Archives 25/1/8.

<sup>203</sup> Hertfordshire Record Office 29169.

<sup>204</sup> Sutton Archives 25/3/31.

<sup>205</sup> VCH Bucks vol. 4, p. 331 quoting Recov. R. Mich. 10 Geo I.

<sup>206</sup> PCC will probate 15 March 1721 under Niccolls Hacket.

<sup>207</sup> Berkshire Record Office D/EL1 C1/210, C1/217, C1/218.

<sup>208</sup> Derbyshire Record Office. List of Holden papers D 779B/T 592

<sup>209</sup> William Chetwynd's PCC will, probate 3 August 1744.

<sup>210</sup> William Chetwynd was involved in the Principio Company by 1733. Whitely 1887.

<sup>211</sup> BL Add MS 29599 f. 336.

<sup>212</sup> SHC 848/1/74.

A letter of 1743 was concerned with reducing the costs on the garden. Another letter from John Price dated 31 October 1749 is more explicit:

Inclosed I send you the quarterly account. I am sorry to inform you that all the 3500 last took up is paid away without paying any other tradesmen upon your last order [crossing out and illegible insertion] Mr Sells as I formerly acquainted you. I have proposed to pay and apply some money out of the ironworks to go towards that account but it is not yet settled – Mr Wade as you know has been very sanguine to our fl... [illegible] the grounds about the home farm which will be attended with Expense in bring up Workmen from remote places which I think should just at the present be avoided till we have satisfied by some means other engagements, which I have requested.

The plate I brought up from Beddington to sell pr yr order weighed 314 oz which I sold at 5s 5d pr oz and have paid it to the General account., it came to 85<sup>l</sup> 1<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>.<sup>213</sup>

Another undated letter paints a picture of debauchery and debt:

Dear Sir Nicolas

The Notion. I form to myself, of your Appearance, at this time, is that, of an Eastern prince placed under a canopy of State, ready to receive foreign ambassadors and the addresses of some of [interlined: his] Inferior Neighbours.

I think I see you, placed, with your gouty feet in an Elbow or easy chair, Wrapt up in Flannel, as big as my body, with My Lady, Miss Carew, Miss Sanders, and Mrs Robinson all about you, sitting, as grand, as an Emperor, and as peevish, as an old Woman, they afraid to move, or to speak, as you repenting, Your too liberal, and high living In the days of your youth; O Claret! Says Sir Nicholas, O Gravy Sauces! O high Season'd Victuals! But above all, O the pleasures of 12 o'clock at Night, and two, or three in the Morning! must I give you all up, or be tormented in this Manner?

I told you, when you was bandaging, your Ankle, at Rochester, that It was all useless, I knew, It was the prelude to what you now have.

I hope in a little time to have the honour, of bowing to your honour, under your canopy, and wishing you much joy, of this New Acquired, Sign of long health, and long life.

Thus I write to you, as Sir Nicholas Carew, a good honest Country Gentleman, laid up with the gout, what follow is as a Military Man, at the head of a Regiment.

I gave you Sir, above five weeks ago, the Bill for Shoes, the Bill for Breeches &c due to Mr Lewis, and a Bill of £15, or so, of a poor man, who furnished, Stockings to that value, for your Regiment, when I gave you these Bills in my room here, you would not be at the trouble to sign them to you, had nothing to do, but to put your name to them you took them with you, and Said you would return them Sign'd to Me, in a day, or two, yet I have never, seen them nor heard any thing about them.

Pray Sir Nicholas, have you no compassion, to the wants and necessitys of Others? consider, this poor man's credit depends upon the Money, and if he arrest me, I should not be surprised at it.

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<sup>213</sup> BRO D/EL1 C1/240 and C1/243.

Another Arrest, I am threaten'd with, for the Serjeants Sashes £21-0-0, I be spoke them by your Order, I know no fund to pay them, I am sure, Fritter, [?] won't pay them out of the clothing Money, And as Matters, are Managed, by you, and Glover, I am afraid, this is not the only sum, that at last, will fall heavy upon the Colonel, and Must be paid, out of the rents of Beddington, and out of his own private Finances; all these articles, you must charge to the honour of being Colonel of Militia.

I beg you may Send me, these Bills Signed to Morrow to answer to the demands of the poor man, and likewise your answer, what I am to do, with respect to the Serjeants, Sashes, If we are not more punctual, as Military Men, you will get no tradesmen to work to you, as Colonel Carew, whatever you may do as Sir Nicholas Carew.

My most respectful compliments to Lady Carew, Miss Carew Miss Sanders, and Mrs Robinson and I am

Dear Sir

Your Most Obliged  
Most Obedient Humble  
Servant  
Nicholas Dunbar

Kingston  
February<sup>214</sup>

The second baronet died in 1762 and his will shows the depth of his financial troubles – he had debts of over £16,000 a little over £5,200 of which had come from his mother. He was in negotiations to sell his property in Banstead for £15,000 and he also directed the sale of his share in an ironworks in North America.<sup>215</sup>

His probate inventory shows the north wing of the house was more or less an empty shell with several incomplete or sparsely furnished rooms. Lysons says that wing was gutted by fire soon after the early eighteenth century remodelling.<sup>216</sup> It appears to have been re-roofed but the inside was not properly rebuilt and it remained in that state until the house was sold in 1859.

## 2.11 From 1762 to 1859

The second Baronet's wife predeceased him so his natural heirs were his two daughters Katherine and Elizabeth. The former was entitled to £10,000 by a previous family settlement. He appointed William Pellat as a trustee to manage the estate. His daughter Katherine was allowed the use of the house and grounds for her life. The house and estate was then to go to the eldest son of his cousin the Rev John Fountain, Dean of York and his heirs male. In default of this it was left to the eldest son of Richard Gee of Orpington and his heirs male and then to the eldest son of his cousin William Farmer of Cold Brayfield, Buckinghamshire.<sup>217</sup>

Katherine died in 1769 and the Fountain heir died before he came age so the house and estate passed to Richard Gee of Orpington. He seems to have allowed his brother William to live at Beddington with his wife Anne Paston.

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<sup>214</sup> BL Add MS 29599 f443 and 444. The date 1760? Is pencilled on the letter but I do not know any justification for this.

<sup>215</sup> TNA PCC will probate 3 September 1762.

<sup>216</sup> Lysons 1792 v.1, p. 53

<sup>217</sup> By the terms of the 2nd Baronet's will PCC probate 3 September 1762.

Richard died in 1816 and Beddington passed to his brother's wife Anne Paston Gee who was probably responsible for some changes to the south wing.<sup>218</sup>

Anne Paston Gee died in March 1828 and left the house to a cousin, Benjamin Hallowell, a Canadian-born admiral who had served with Nelson. He took the name Carew and lived at Beddington until his death in 1834. He was followed by his son Charles Hallowell Carew who died in 1849. His son Charles Hallowell Hallowell Carew followed. He appears to have spent a great deal of money horse-racing and as a result he became bankrupt.<sup>219</sup> The estate was sold in 1859.

## 2.12 Conversion to an orphanage

In 1864 the house and garden were bought by the Lambeth Female Orphanage Asylum, They started to convert the house to an orphanage but, on 11 May 1865, the work was disrupted by a fire. The local paper says this started at the western end of the south wing and seems to have destroyed several rooms but it is not clear how far it spread. There was no obvious sign of fire damage when the ground floor room at the southwest corner was repaired.<sup>220</sup> It is possible that the fire was largely in the first-floor and roof. The conversion work was completed and the orphanage opened in June 1866. The architects were Messrs Coe and Peck and the builders were Messrs Downes of Union Street, Borough.<sup>221</sup>

The conversion involved massive alterations. The house was largely refaced using soft red bricks very similar to early eighteenth century ones. Almost all the windows were replaced using mock-Tudor designs in oolitic limestone. The surviving early chimneys were also demolished and replaced in mock-Tudor.

The eighteenth century windows in the great hall were replaced with gothic ones. The Georgian wooden panelling within was replaced with rather cheap looking 'gothic' substitute and all or most of the upper parts of the walls were replastered leaving only the trophies in the centre of the north and south walls.

A ground floor corridor was constructed along the west side of the hall and a tall brick 'gothic' clock tower was created above it. The base of this contains a mock Tudor door with a large perpendicular style window matching those in the hall walls. There is a stone string course above this, then tall narrow windows and a further string course with large gargoyles at the corners. A steep slate roof rises to a turret above this and there are four gables. A clock face is built into the gable on the west (front) elevation while the others have circular openings filled with gappy brick.<sup>222</sup>

The main walls and roof of the service block survived although the hip at the south end was removed and the roof extended over the former kitchen block.

The kitchen block appears to have been rebuilt from ground level as the present walls are too thin for a Tudor structure. The roof was also replaced. It is possible that the area was gutted in the 1865 fire but the thick Tudor internal walls may have made adaption difficult.

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<sup>218</sup> See section 7.7.

<sup>219</sup> New York Times database. *Fate of an estate – a turfman's career*. 13 October 1872.

<sup>220</sup> *Sutton Journal* 17 May 1865 front page and section 7.6.1.

<sup>221</sup> *Illustrated London News* 30 June 1866 p. 627. (Photocopy in Sutton Local Studies Collection).

<sup>222</sup> The stone gargoyles were replaced with fibre glass ones in the 1960s or 1970s.

The south wing was certainly damaged by fire. Some of the earlier external walls survived but the interior and roof were rebuilt. The north wing was a large empty shell so the interior must have been almost completely rebuilt.

A photograph taken before the orphanage remodelling shows the north wing covered with a plain roof of moderate pitch covered with peg tiles and lacking chimneys. The shape of the present roof is very different and it seems likely that it was entirely rebuilt during the Orphanage conversion. A very superficial examination of the underlying timber work suggests that it is Victorian although no detailed study has been made.

The orphanage also moved the iron screen connecting the western end of the wings and constructed a new single story west wing on the site. The screen was re-erected by Church Road.

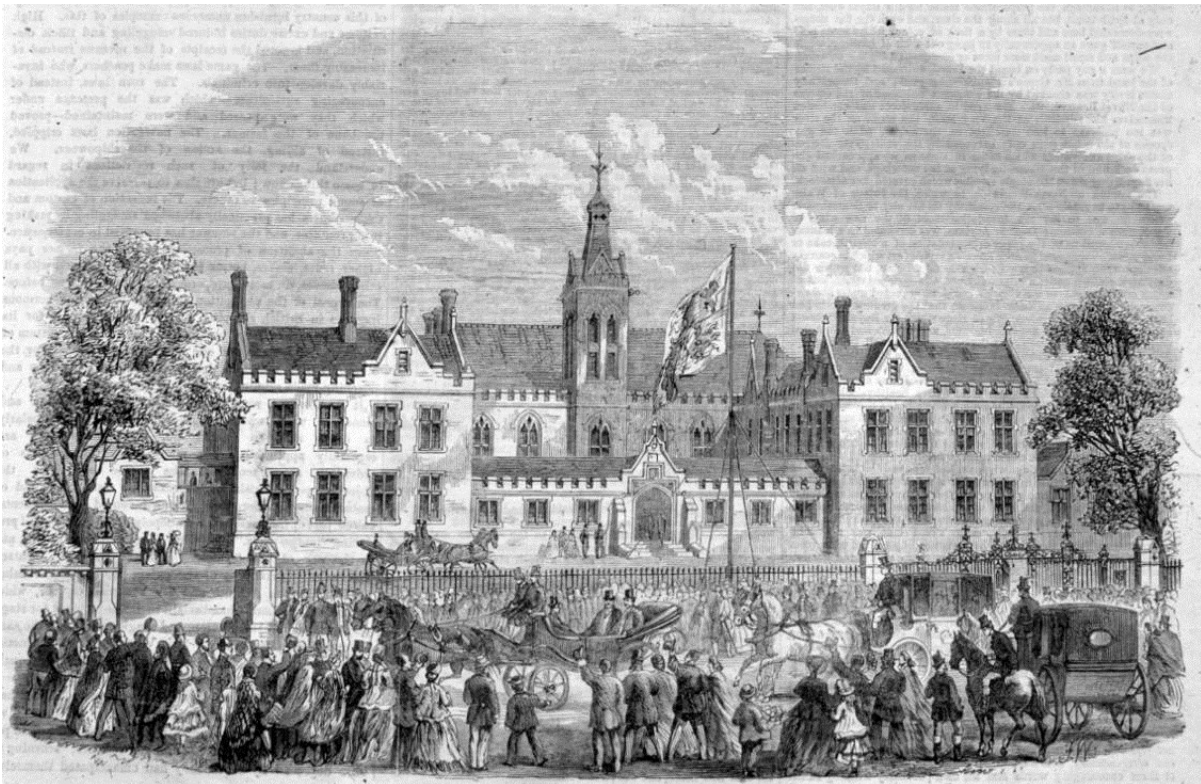


Figure 6. The opening of the orphanage in 1866 from the *Illustrated London News*.

The Orphanage also constructed extensions on the north and south sides of the main building (figures 6 and 7).

On the south side the main addition was the school room which is now used as a gymnasium. This appears to have been part of the original conversion as it is shown on the far right of the *Illustrated London News* view of the opening ceremony and is clearly marked on the first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1868. The walls contained a large amount of reused stone. Two corridors connected the ends of the school room to the house. The map also shows the flat-roofed block built into the angle between the former kitchen / bath block and the south wing.



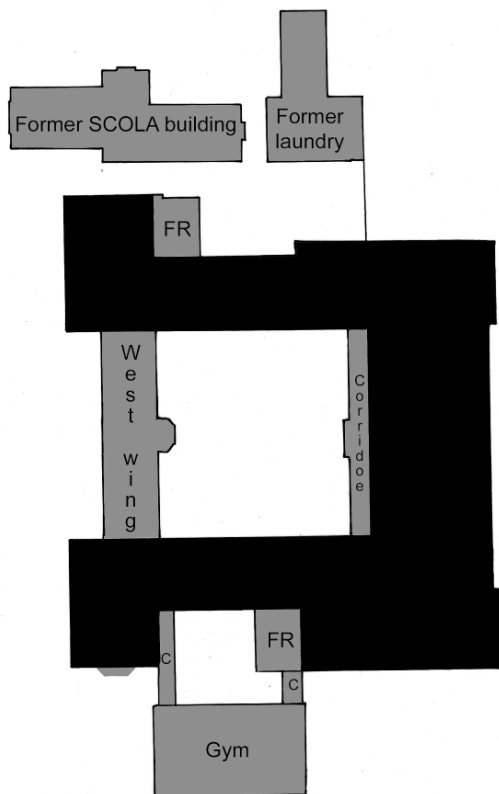


Figure 7. Sketch plan showing the Orphanage extensions shaded light grey.  
C = Corridor;  
FR = Block with flat roof.

The extensions on the north side of the house have a more complex history. Today there are two blocks the SCOLA building to the west and the old laundry to the east.<sup>223</sup>

The existing SCOLA building falls into two parts. The western end is of red brick with oolitic limestone dressings around the windows. It has an attractive irregular outline with several gables. There are two limestone string courses at first-floor level and a limestone capped plinth. The eastern end is lower and is more cheaply built. There are no stone window dressings and the walls are divided by shallow brick buttresses.

The *Illustrated London News* print shows that there was an extension on the site when the house was opened in 1866. It was, however, lower than the present structure and it seems to have been linked to the main house by a wooden passageway. The Orphanage minute book shows that a new infirmary was constructed on the north side of the house in 1871.<sup>224</sup> The builder was Mr Higgs and it cost of £2,254 19s. This is probably the western end of the present building. The eastern end which is lower and in a different plainer style may be part of the building shown in the 1866 print.

The old laundry was a T-shaped building with heated drying racks in the wider southern end.<sup>225</sup> It was constructed between the 1868 and 1897 Ordnance Survey maps. The section of the building which projects northwards was rebuilt from the foundations in 1983. At this time a board from the cladding around a water tank was found to have 'A C GOSLIN WEST STREET CARSHALTON AUGUST 1886' pencilled on it. It is likely that this marks the

<sup>223</sup> The SCOLA building was used by Sutton College of Liberal Arts for many years. It was converted to school use about 2007.

<sup>224</sup> Sutton Archives D2/2/1.

<sup>225</sup> The racks survived until 1983 when the northern end of the building was reconstructed from the foundations up.

construction of the building. The roof is of slate with wood and metal ventilators. A flat roofed block was also added to the north side of the wing between 1897 and 1913.<sup>226</sup>

The orphanage occupied the house until 1939 when they were evacuated to High Wycombe. The building was requisitioned by the Ministry of Works and Buildings on 17 December 1940 and was equipped as a shadow hospital for Queen Mary's Hospital for Children in Carshalton. It was later used as an outpost of Wallington County Grammar School for Boys and then as a school for children with special needs.<sup>227</sup> In 2013 the special needs school became the Carew Academy.



Figure 8. The former laundry in 1983. The north end of the building has been demolished. Note the ends of the drying racks with the massive cast iron fore grate between them. The wood at the top of roof enclosed a water tank.

### 3 OUTLINE DESCRIPTION OF THE HOUSE

The earliest known elevations and plans of the house appeared in 1717 in the second volume of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (figures 9 and 10). The plan, which is easily reconciled with the existing structure, shows a U-shaped building with the hall in the centre and long north and south wings. The plan shows a service area at the southern end of the hall with a kitchen beyond forming the southeast corner of the house. A west wing was demolished in the early eighteenth century. A new single-storey west wing was added in the mid-nineteenth century. The Tudor house had a moat around it which was filled in the eighteenth century.

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<sup>226</sup> Judging by the 25 inch Ordnance Survey maps.

<sup>227</sup> Sutton Archives D 2/4; Shew 2012 p. 249.

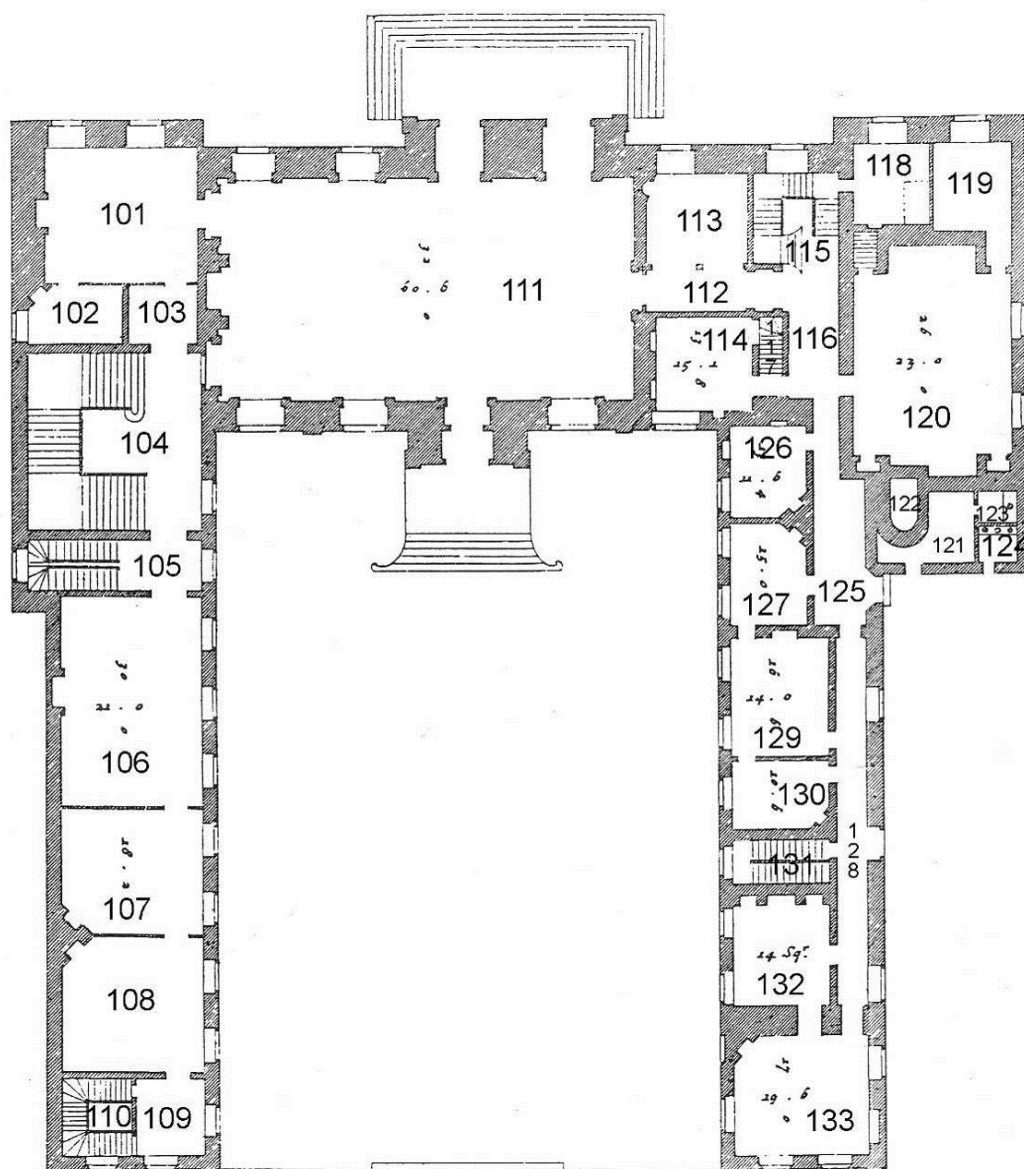
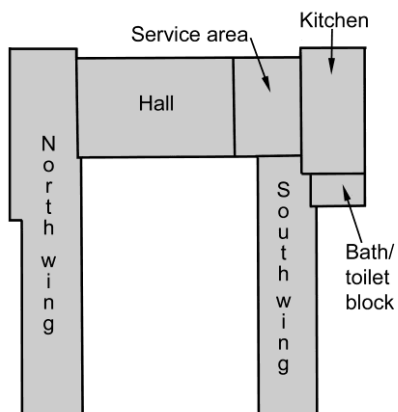


Figure 9. Above: the ground floor from Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* 1717 with added room numbers. Below: the main parts of the house. East at the top.



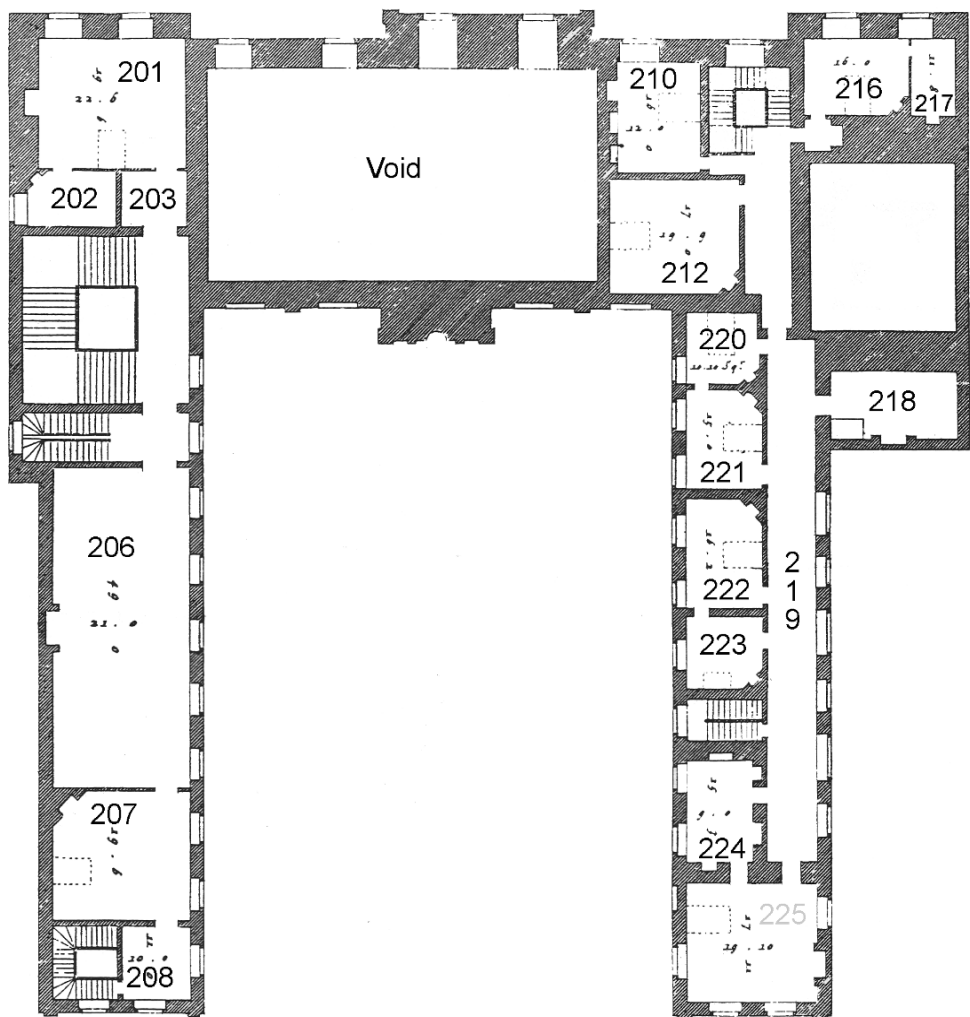


Figure 10. The first-floor from Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* 1717 with added room numbers. East at the top.

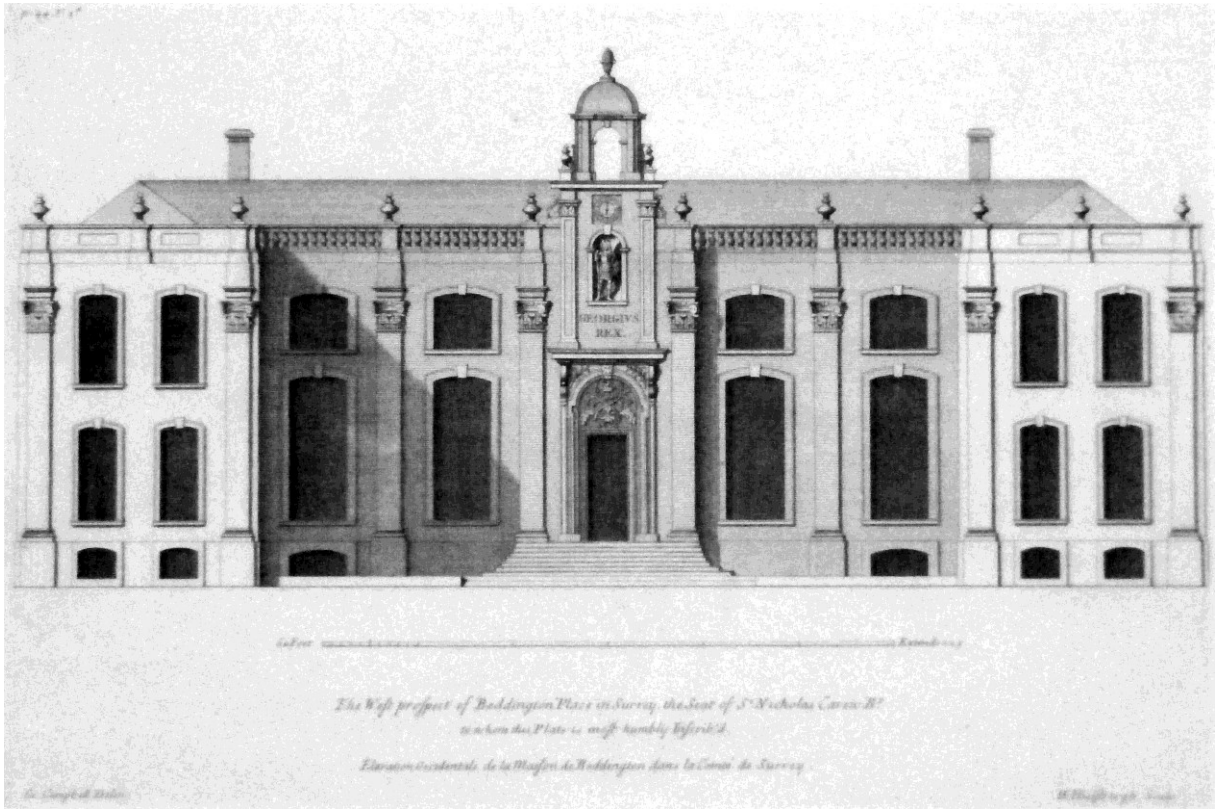


Figure 11. The west or front elevation from Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1717.

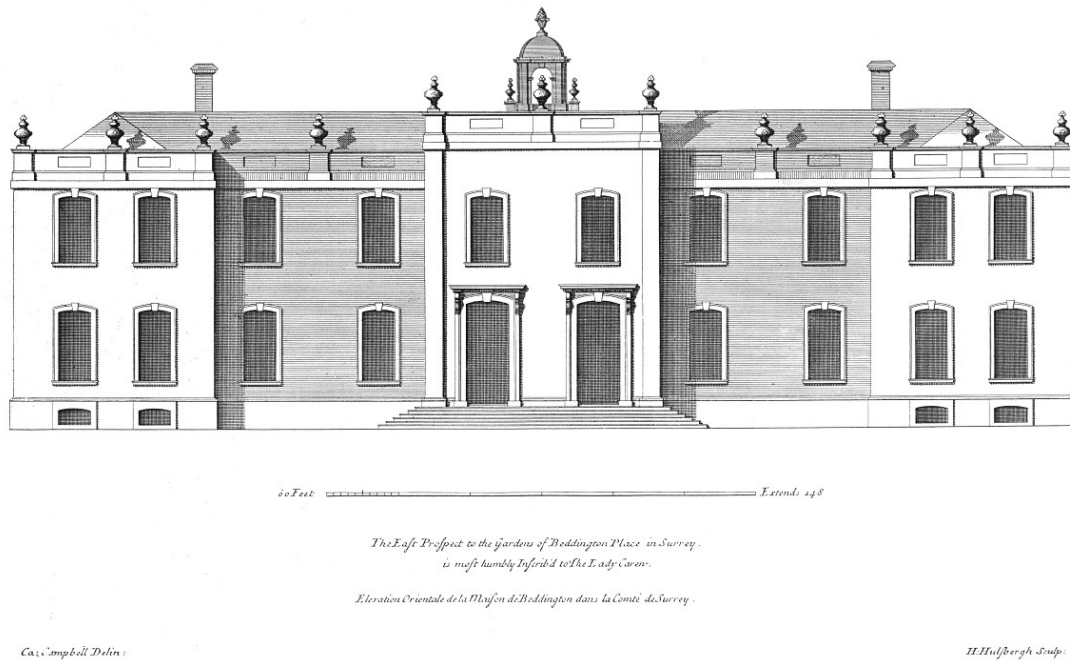


Figure 12. The east elevation from Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1717



Figure 13. The west front from a photograph taken shortly before the Victorian refacing (Sutton Local Studies Collection).

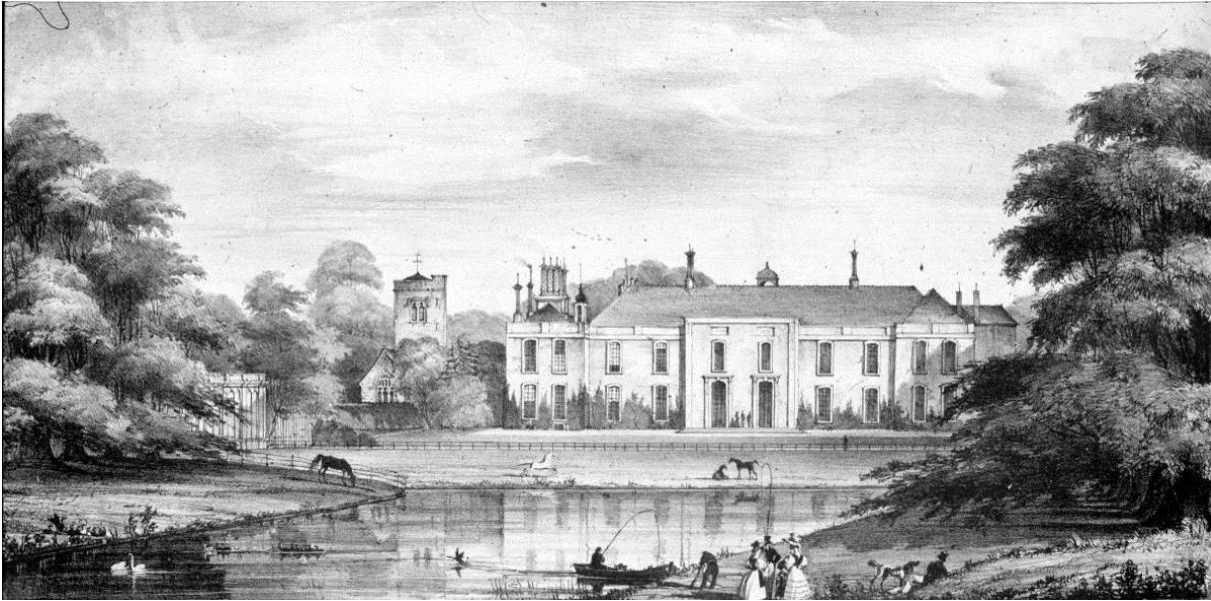


Figure 14. The east front of the house by John Nash in the 1830s.

## 4 THE GREAT HALL AND SERVICE BLOCK

### 4.1 The hall roof

#### 4.1.1 The structure

The roof is of the hammer-beam type with five trusses dividing it into four bays. Both trusses and bays have been numbered from the north end.



Figure 15. Looking north May 2004.

Each truss has a pair of hammer-beams and hammer-posts. Tie-beams cross the roof just above the junction of the hammer-post and the rafters. Arch-braces run from the centre of the tie-beams down through the hammer-post and hammer-beam to the corbels on the hall wall. There are curved braces from the arch-braces to the hammer-posts and from the bottom of the hammer-posts to the wall. The gaps between the hammer-posts and arch-braces and the arch-braces and principle rafters are filled with plaster panels. Each truss has a second tie beam fairly close to the apex of the roof. The area between this and the lower tie-beam is filled with tracery. There are side-purlins just below the tie-beams which have ogee-shaped braces below them. The bottom of the hammer-posts have pendants with are decorated with single roses.

The roof is not made of large solid timbers, there is instead an underlying frame to which the mouldings have been fixed, probably with nails. The outer sides of the end trusses are visible from the attics beyond the north and south ends of the hall. Here the structure is not decorated and the underlying frame is fully exposed (figures 19 and 20). The hammer-post (B in figure 19) consists of two pieces of timber. The arch-brace D passes between them and the three pieces of wood are joined by an iron bolt. The arch-brace does not run all the way down to the corbel. Instead it turns aside to join the underside of the principle rafter. A separate timber (E

in figure 19) continues the line of the brace down towards the corbel. This rather eccentric arrangement cannot be seen in the hall as the key area is hidden by the plaster panels on the outer side of the hammer-posts.

At the south end of the hall there are hammer-beams which are next to a massive timber resting on the top of the south wall. Towards each end this timber has scarf joints which are probably edge-halved with bridled abutments.<sup>228</sup>

At both ends of the hall the hammer-posts have a roll moulding on their inner edge which is visible in the attics adjoining the ends of the hall. Within the hall these mouldings are largely covered by other by other timbers and are only visible on the upper part of the posts. It is not clear whether this is the result if a change in design or is a quirk of construction.

In bay 2 the upper side-purlins support two timbers which run across the roof (figure 16). These are not found the other three bays and it seems likely that these originally supported a louver above an open hearth. The household accounts for 2-9 July 1570 record a payment to 'Ric wona for a daie making of a caffolde for ye loves on ye hale xij<sup>d</sup>' and the following account mentions 'bares glasse for y<sup>e</sup> Lover' which suggests that the structure was no longer a smoke outlet.<sup>229</sup>



Figure 16. The east side of bay 2.

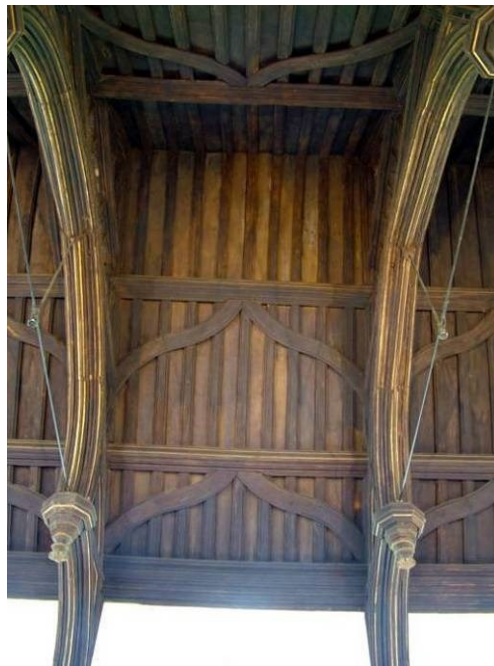


Figure 17. The east side of bay 3.

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<sup>228</sup> Hewett 1980 p. 267 figure 263.

<sup>229</sup> SHC 281/4/15r and 16r.



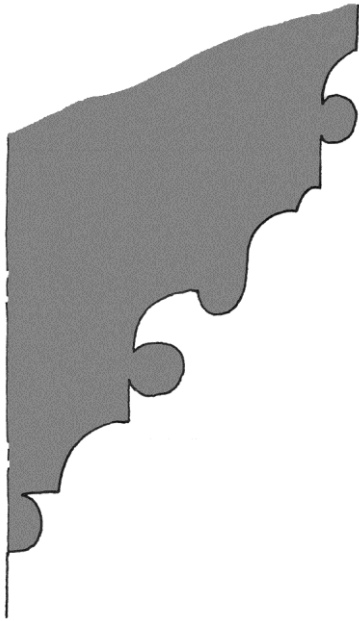


Figure 18. The moulding on the lower brace of truss 4. Freehand sketch drawn from a scaffolding tower.

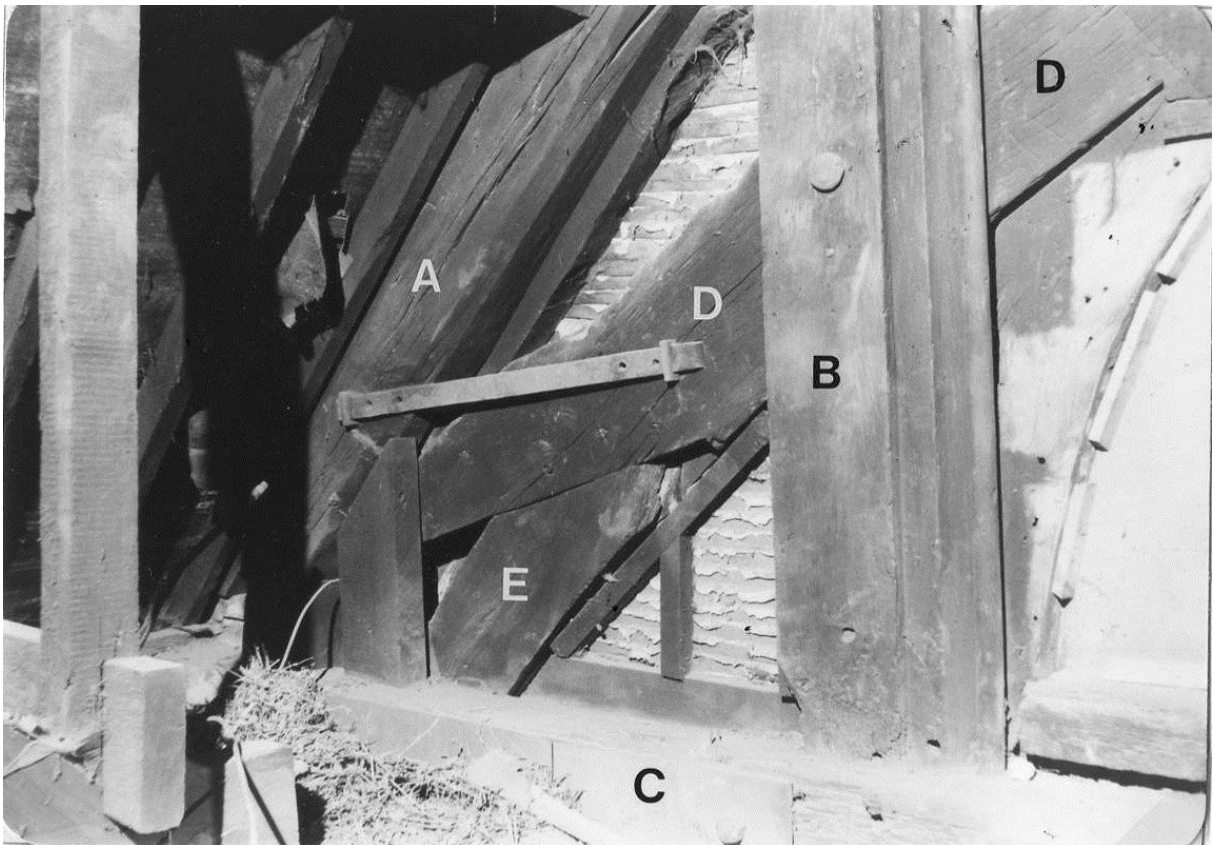


Figure 19. The east end of the north side of truss 1. A = rafter, B = hammer-post, C plate resting on the hall wall, D = the arch brace which turns aside to join the rafter, E = timber continuing the line of the arch brace.



Figure 20. Truss 1, the north side of the eastern hammer-post.

#### 4.1.2 The corbels

The roof rests on stone corbels at least visually although perhaps not structurally. The decoration on the corbel on the east side of truss 1 is fully finished but all the others are in varying states of incompleteness with parts of the decoration only in outline.



Figure 21. The corbel on the east side of truss 1.



Figure 22. The corbel on the east side of truss 2.

### 4.1.3 The decoration

Some of the mouldings on the roof have picked out in gold as have the roses on the pendants. This may once have been gold leaf but at least parts are now gold paint. The gilding does not appear to be the original design. In July and August 1982 there was an opportunity to examine several of the roses from a scaffolding tower. On the west side of truss 4 and the east side of truss 2 old chips and damage showed that the gold was laid on a white ground. This appeared to rest on a red substance – possibly paint. The same may also apply on the west side of truss 3 but this was not so closely examined. The gilding appeared to have been repaired with gold paint which has tended to turn black. The rose and pendant on the east side of truss 1 were also examined from a tower in January 2001. Traces of red paint were again visible and there were also signs of green paint on the pendants.

### 4.1.4 Later changes to the roof

In 1915 the roof was inspected by Mr Bouchier who appears to have been an architect. He thought it in poor condition and devised a system of steel reinforcement. This was installed in 1916 at a cost of £785 18s 4d including £177 2s 2d for metalwork supplied by the Croydon Steel Works. This is still in place, the most visible part being the ties which connect the hammer-post just above the hammer-beams.<sup>230</sup>

## 4.2 The Tudor window mouldings

Possible fragments of the sixteenth century windows were found in trench CM which was excavated in 1995 in the centre of the east lawn on the centre line of the house 75.98m from the east front.<sup>231</sup> The bottom of the trench consisted of silty gravel which appeared to have formed the bottom of a pond or watercourse. This was covered by several layers of rubble which appeared to have come from both the garden and the house' and then by the chalk foundations of a track or walk. The lowest rubble layer [CM15] consisted of broken mortar with much brick, tile, chalk, flint and Reigate stone. There was a pocket of broken stone towards the west side. This consisted of small pieces of Reigate and occasional oolitic limestone. Many pieces had fragments of Tudor mouldings. There were also a few fragments of the window mouldings used on the early eighteenth century house. The rubble included several fragments from a distinctive group of mouldings. The key items were:

<5> Reigate stone with a chamfer, ogee moulding, flat nib, angled flat surface and roll.

<85> Oolitic limestone point of a rib or mullion with ogee mouldings and chamfers.

<86> An oolitic limestone roll 61mm in diameter which is attached to two flat surfaces so that the roll is at the point of a V shaped rib.

<169> and <201> Two joining pieces of oolitic limestone with the chamfer, ogee, nib and angled surface moulding found on <5>.

<180> Oolitic limestone. Small nib similar to <5>.

Several other pieces of stone belong to the group but they do not add anything to the understanding of the mouldings. The group can be reconstructed as a four light window with a large central mullion and smaller mullions on either side as shown in figure 24.

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<sup>230</sup> Sutton Archives D 2/2/5 pages 210, 216-7, 242, 247 and 254.

<sup>231</sup> Phillips and Burnett 2008 p. 39-42.



Figure 23: Find <5> from trench CM. Part of a window moulding reconstructed in figure 24 below.

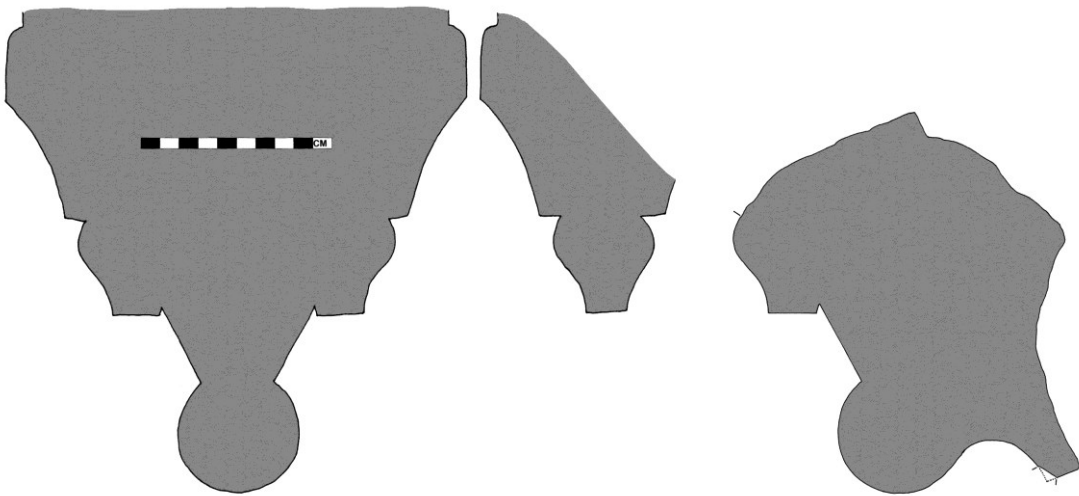


Figure 24. Reconstruction of the mouldings from trench CM. Central mullion moulding to the left, secondary mullion in the centre and the side of the window to the right.

A large window, probably with four lights, would not be found in many locations in an early Tudor house. The obvious possibilities are the great hall or a chapel. The mouldings came from rubble deposited in the early eighteenth century. There is no evidence for a chapel at this time but the windows of the hall were replaced.<sup>232</sup> It is therefore likely that the mouldings are the remains of the Tudor great hall windows.

This moulding are almost identical to those on the inside of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The choir of this was constructed between 1477 and 1484 under the direction of the master mason

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<sup>232</sup> See sections 10 and 4.6.

Henry Janyns. The foundations of the nave were also laid, but work was interrupted by the fall of Richard III and it was not completed until 1503-6. The choir was vaulted between 1506 and 1511 by the masons John Aylmer and William Vertue. The mouldings in the nave and chancel are more or less identical and it would appear that the campaign of 1503-6 remained faithful to the original detailing.<sup>233</sup>

A similar moulding is found on the nave aisle windows at Sherborn Abbey, Dorset although there is a curved hollow instead of a flat face next to the nib of the ogee. Harvey says that nave was built about 1486-93 and he attributes to William Smyth on style alone. Smyth was master mason at Wells before 1480.<sup>234</sup>

The mouldings can also be paralleled on the arcade of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster which was started in 1503. The angled windows at the east end are similar to the windows of Henry VII's tower at Windsor which was completed in 1502 by the master mason Robert Janyns who was probably the son of Henry Janyns. Robert Janyns was one of three 'king's master masons' asked to give an estimate for Henry VII's chapel at Westminster in 1506. The others were John Lebons and Robert Vertue who had previously worked with his brother William on the construction of Bath Abbey.<sup>235</sup> The mouldings at Bath have little in common with those at Westminster and Windsor so it seems possible that Janyns was the main influence on the design of the lower part of Henry VII's Chapel. Robert Janyns and Robert Vertue died in 1506 and it was William Vertue who was appointed King's master mason on the accession of Henry VIII in 1509 when the chapel was nearing completion.<sup>236</sup> From 1519 he shared the post of King's master mason with Henry Redman who was already involved in the Royal works and was also employed by Wolsey at Hampton Court. Redman and John Lebons erected Cardinal College, Oxford (now Christ Church) for Wolsey from 1525.<sup>237</sup> The mouldings on the inner side of the windows of the Great Hall there are very similar to the mouldings from Beddington.

The moulding is also present on the Audley Chantry in Hereford Cathedral. Edmund Audley was Bishop of Hereford from 1492 to 1502 when he was translated to Salisbury. He died as Bishop of Salisbury in 1524. A note on the chantry at Hereford says that it was built between 1516 and 1523. Audley also erected a chantry at Salisbury which must be about the same date but its mouldings are different.

Salisbury and Draper Chantries at Christchurch, Hampshire also have the moulding. The countess of Salisbury was executed in 1541 and the tomb presumably dates from around this time. Draper was the last prior of Christchurch and his tomb dates from 1529.

The mouldings have therefore got strong affinities with the work of the Royal / Westminster masons of late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth-centuries and it seems very likely that one of these craftsmen was responsible for the building campaign at Beddington.

### **4.3 The date of the hall roof**

The Beddington roof is strikingly similar to the hall roof at Eltham Palace in Kent which was created for Edward IV and under construction in 1479.<sup>238</sup> The overall arrangement of the main timbers is similar although the braces at Eltham are not jointed into the lower part of the

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<sup>233</sup> Harvey 1987 p. 159, 11 and 307.

<sup>234</sup> Harvey 1987 p. 277.

<sup>235</sup> Harvey 1987 p. 160, 172-3 and 306-7.

<sup>236</sup> Harvey 1987 p. 307-9.

<sup>237</sup> Harvey 1987 p. 172-3 and 247.

<sup>238</sup> HKW vol. II p. 936-7.

rafters. Both roofs have curving wind braces although they are arranged differently. The smaller decorative details such as the pendants and tracery also differ. The Eltham roof is attributed to Edmund Graveley who was the king's master carpenter at the time of construction. Margaret Wood and Dennis Turner argued that the Beddington roof was also Graveley's. Curiously Wood dated the Beddington roof to about 1500 although she thought it typologically earlier than Eltham presumably because of the latter's pendants.<sup>239</sup> Beddington lacks the Renaissance detail that became fashionable in the early-sixteenth century.

The window mouldings which probably came from the hall at Beddington are unlike those at Eltham and are mostly found in London and the Thames valley in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth century (see section 4.2 above).

The context of the Beddington roof should therefore be sought in the half century between 1480 and 1530. A number of major southeast English timber roofs have survived from this period or are known from records.

Richmond Palace must have been one of the key buildings of the period. Henry VII appears to have been remodelling it before December 1497 when it was severely damaged by fire. The hall appears to have been rebuilt by 1501 but it seems to have had an elaborate wooden ceiling rather than an open roof.<sup>240</sup> Henry VII's chapel at Westminster Abbey also has an elaborate vault although this is in stone rather than timber. This structure was probably more-or-less complete when Henry VII died in 1509.<sup>241</sup>

The young Henry VIII was not a prolific builder and carried out only five major house projects before 1530. These were at the Bridewell in London, Beaulieu in Essex, Eltham and Greenwich in Kent and the temporary palace at the field of Cloth of Gold. The latter contained a banqueting hall but little is known of its design. None of the other projects involved the construction of a great hall.<sup>242</sup> In 1526 Wolsey's Eltham Ordinances decreed that the hall was only to be kept in the king's greater houses: Greenwich, Eltham, Richmond, Beaulieu and Hampton Court. Great halls were subsequently removed from a number of lesser houses. This meant that, although the older Henry became a prolific builder, he constructed only one great hall which was at Hampton Court. This was built in 1532-4 and the roof was designed by James Needham. The roof has hammer-beams but is unlike Beddington in both structure and decoration. The main trusses are not arch-braced. There are three lines of major purlins with vertical arch-bracing below them spanning the gaps between the main trusses. The roof has a mass of renaissance decoration.

Several hammer-beam roofs were erected in the earlier part of Henry's reign. The first was the roof of the Savoy Hospital. This was founded by Henry VII but most of the building took place after his death and the angels for the corbels were paid for in 1515. The roof is only known from drawings but it appears to have been simple hammer-beam without an arch-brace.<sup>243</sup> The master carpenter was Humphrey Coke. He was responsible for hammer-beam roofs in three Oxford Colleges. One was over the hall of Corpus Christi which was built for John Fox, Bishop of Winchester. The roof dates from 1515-18. It has a fairly high pitch roof with ogee wind braces supporting the lower of two sets of purlins. The braces between the hammer-beam and hammer-post are also of ogee form. There are queen posts on the top of the tie-beam which are reinforced with ogee-braces. The hammer-posts have elaborate

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<sup>239</sup> Wood 1981 p. 318-9; Turner 1980.

<sup>240</sup> HKW vol. IV, part 2, p.227.

<sup>241</sup> HKW vol. III, part 1, p. 213.

<sup>242</sup> Thurley 1993 p. 39-48.

<sup>243</sup> HKW vol. III, p. 205.

pendants.<sup>244</sup> The second roof was made for St Mary's College but is now over the chapel at Brasenose. This is again a moderately high pitched roof with ogee-braces between the hammer-beams and hammer-posts. There are queen-posts above the tie-beam which are also supported by ogee-braces. There are three purlins, the upper and lower with curved braces, and the centre with ogee.<sup>245</sup> The timber work somewhat similar to the Corpus Christi roof although less ornamented. It is now largely concealed by a seventeenth century plaster 'fan' vault. The third was commissioned by Wolsey for Cardinal College – now Christ Church. This is a relatively low pitched roof without arch-braces in the main trusses. There are longitudinal arch-braces linking the hammer-posts below the lower of the two sets of purlins.<sup>246</sup> This is somewhat similar to the slightly later but much more elaborate roof at Hampton Court. Of these three roofs Corpus Christie and Brasenose are most similar to Beddington although the match is not as close as Eltham. This suggests that Beddington was built after Eltham and before the two Oxford roofs.

There were three owners of Beddington in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. The first was James Carew who died in 1492. His marriage to Eleanor Hoo eventually brought a considerable amount of property to the Carews but this did not take place until after his death. His Surrey and Sussex property was limited and it is unlikely that he could have afforded to build on a large scale (see section 2.4 above). His son Richard certainly carried out major building work as part of the accounts are preserved in the Surrey History Centre.<sup>247</sup> His son Nicholas was a man of wealth and high social position and must also be a candidate for building. He is also likely to have had a particular connection with Eltham. Henry VII used it as a royal nursery and the future Henry VIII spent much of his childhood there.<sup>248</sup> Henry continued to use the palace as king and remodelled the privy lodging, rebuilt the chapel and improved the layout of the gardens and outhouses between 1519 and 1522.<sup>249</sup> Nicholas Carew said that he was brought up 'vnder his maieste synse I was sixe yeres of age' so he probably spent much time at Eltham.<sup>250</sup> The connection with Henry, and Nicholas's skill as a horseman, meant that by 1511 he was one of the king's young minions: a companion in jousting, hunting and possibly debauchery. Nicholas's success at court was established while his father Richard was still alive and it is possible that his building work and enlargements to the park were intended to provide a suitable setting for his upwardly mobile son. It would seem appropriate for the design to reflect the roof at Eltham. Nicholas was a lifelong Francophile and we might expect his building to among the first to use renaissance decorative detail which began to appear in England in the decade 1510-20.<sup>251</sup> However, Nicholas's French tastes were a likely cause of his temporary expulsion from court in 1519 which would perhaps encourage more conservative design.

The incomplete corbels must be relevant to the circumstances in which the roof was erected. It seems unlikely that construction stopped for lack of money given Richard and Nicholas's rising position at court. It may have been necessary to stop work in a hurry perhaps for a royal visit. One took place in Beddington in February 1519 but there may have been other earlier ones.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England 1939 p. 51 and plate 110; Harvey 1987 p. 64.

<sup>245</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England 1939 p. 27-8 and plate 77.

<sup>246</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England 1939 p. 33-4 and plate 81.

<sup>247</sup> SHC 281/2/4.

<sup>248</sup> Starkey 2008 p. 68.

<sup>249</sup> Thurley 1993 p. 45-6.

<sup>250</sup> Corpus Christie College Cambridge MS 100 pp. 373-4 transcribed by Dr Suzanna Paul Parker.

<sup>251</sup> Gotch 1901 p. 10 and following; Howard 1987 p. 120-135.

<sup>252</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 3, part 1, item 152.



Figure 25. The hall roof at Beddington looking north



Figure 26. The Great hall roof at Eltham, Kent.





Figure 27. The east side of the Beddington roof looking north.



Figure 28. The Great hall roof at Eltham, Kent.

## 4.4 The hall floor and cellars

### 4.4.1 The height of the hall floor

The hall floor is at 34.06m OD. This is significantly above the terrace on the moat island to the east of the hall at 33.2m OD. Eighteenth century prints of the west front suggest that the area between the house wings was at about the same height as the tarmac drive in front of the west door: that is about 33m OD. The hall floor was therefore raised about 1m above the ground and must have been approached by a short flight of steps in the sixteenth century as it was in the eighteenth.<sup>253</sup>

### 4.4.2 The cellar passage below the hall

A passage runs below the west side of the hall connecting the cellars beneath the service block to those in the north wing (figure 29). The passage is vaulted and is 2.26m high and 1.59m wide. Both walls have been plastered but this has fallen off in many places exposing the underlying structure. The west side is the foundation of the western wall of the hall and is of chalk rubble with a few fragments of roof tile and, in one place, some brick. The other wall is mostly of eighteenth century-looking brick with some areas of rubble. There are a few blocks of chalk and Reigate stone. At the southern end there is an area covered with peg tiles which are 260mm by 155mm. There are four niches in the east wall. There is a hole in the back of one of these and the fill behind it appears to be loose grey sand which in this context cannot be natural.

There is a bonding break in the east wall 1.62m from the north end of the passage. It rises vertically from the floor to a height of 0.98m and then appears to be corbelled out in a southerly direction (see figure 30). This must mark the junction with the north wall of the hall.

The passage vault is of brick and there is, in places, a distinct ledge where it springs from the top of east wall.

The floor is covered with red earthenware tiles 248mm square.

The materials in the east wall show that the passage is not Tudor. It may have been constructed in the early eighteenth century as a link between the kitchen and the servant's dining hall in the north wing cellars. There are two obvious possibilities for the previous arrangement:

1. The Tudor hall had an undercroft or cellar which was blocked off by the construction of the passage.
2. The foundations of the hall were deep enough to allow the excavation of a trench along the west side. The cellar was then built, the trench filled and the floor re-laid.

In the 1980s a Mr Grant, the son of a former caretaker, said that a hole was made in the hall floor when it was being re-laid in the 1950s. He recalled entering a space below the hall which was not the passage. This favours an undercroft but if this was so the west side of the passage would probably have been fair-faced rather than rubble. At present the evidence is inconclusive.

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<sup>253</sup> See Colen Campbell's elevation of the west front (figure 11) and one of the early photos (figure 13).



Figure 29. The west wall of the passage below the hall looking south in May 2010.



Figure 30. The east wall at the north end of the passage below the hall. Note the bond-break between the brick and the rubble.

## 4.5 Early eighteenth century structural changes

Colen Campbell's elevations, late eighteenth and early nineteenth century prints and mid-nineteenth century photographs show that the hall windows and external fenestration were altered as part of the early eighteenth century remodelling of the house (figures 11 to 14). On the west side a new central door was created beneath a tower-like porch framed with giant pilasters and topped with a cupola. There was a niche above the door which, according to Colen Campbell, contained a statue of George I, who was identified by an inscription below. The statue is not shown on any of the early prints or photographs but the clock does appear. The Tudor windows were replaced by tall segmental-headed ones with prominent keystones in the English baroque manner. There was an upper row of smaller windows above, which were blind as they are not shown on the interior views of the hall. The windows were separated by giant pilasters and a balustrade was added to the top of the wall.

The east side of the hall was plainer. There were two rows of segmental-headed windows which were visible within the hall. The lower row are unlikely to have existed in the sixteenth century and were presumably created by the First Baronet. He must also have added the projecting block which had two doors on the ground floor and two windows above (figures 12 and 14). The two doors were necessary to reconcile the hall bays with a symmetrical external elevation. The outside wall was capped with a parapet rather than a balustrade.

## 4.6 The hall interior

Colen Campbell's plan of 1717 shows that kitchen and services lay to the south of the hall accessed by a door in the centre of the south wall. This door opening still exists behind the wooden panelling and was partly visible in when a panel was broken in August 1993. The door opening has a width of about 1.82m and is blocked with red brick on the south side. The low end of the hall was therefore to the south and it is likely that original external doors were in the east and west walls at that end with a screens passage between them in the usual late medieval manner. There may have been a minstrel's gallery over the passage but we have no evidence for this. There was presumably a dais at the north or high end of the hall. The roof includes timbers to support a louver over an open hearth in the second bay from the north end. There was also a large fireplace in the north wall. This is shown on Campbell's plans and on nineteenth century pictures of the hall. If it was not original it must have been an early addition as it was served by a massive chimney stack of thin Tudor bricks on the top of the north wall.

The 1547 inventory says that the 'walles of the haule cealed round aboute w<sup>t</sup> waynescottes being soore decaied'.<sup>254</sup>

The household accounts include some payments for work done in the hall in the second half of the sixteenth century. In July 1570 a Richard Wona was paid 12d for a day making a 'caffolde for ye loves on ye hale' – presumably a scaffold to access the louvers.<sup>255</sup> This was preparation for some sort of repair as, the following month a smith was paid 5s 'for xlj fote of y<sup>e</sup> bares for y<sup>e</sup> glasse for y<sup>e</sup> Lover. Penny nails were bought for the glass and also 4d nails for the same work.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> BL Harlian MS. 1419B f84r.

<sup>255</sup> SHC 281/4/15r.

<sup>256</sup> SHC 281/4/16r.

In August 1570 twenty long nails were bought for the 'syling' (paneling) in the hall.<sup>257</sup>

Another set of accounts record a series of payments for work in the hall in the April and May of an unspecified year:

It pd more to the sawers for ij dayes woorke to saw seelyng boorde for the hawle	iiij <sup>s</sup>
It pd to ij carpentars for iij days woorke at xij <sup>d</sup> the day a pece for laynge q <sup>r</sup> ters in the hawle wale	vj <sup>s</sup>
It pd to a mason for breakynge the hawle wale to ley in the qarte's et to stope it agayne xij <sup>d</sup> ye day for iij days worke	iiij <sup>s</sup>
It pd to his man in the same woorke for iij days at ix <sup>d</sup> ye day	ij <sup>s</sup>
It pd to a mason for makynge the brycke worke for the benche in the hawle for a day et a halfe at xij <sup>d</sup> the day	xviii <sup>d</sup>
It pd to his man in the same worke for a day et dd at ix <sup>d</sup> ye day	xiiij <sup>d</sup> dd
Itm pd to a carpentar for makynge the woode woorke for the benche in the hawle et for mendyng a post in the stable for one days worke	xij <sup>d</sup> 258

A week or so later a pound of red ochre was bought to colour the brickwork in the hall. This was followed by a payment of 20s 'for takyng downe settinge up of the selynge' and 12s for 7 days work making new ceiling.<sup>259</sup> The accounts contain other payments for woodwork but it is not clear whether they are for the hall or other projects in progress at the same time. The work seems to have ended in May when a man was paid for carrying rubbish out of the hall. There was a subsequent payment for a quarter of lime for the brickwork.<sup>260</sup> It appears that the lower part of the walls were panelled while the upper part was perhaps white-washed with blocks marked out with red ochre lines.

We do not have any further evidence for changes in the hall until the early eighteenth century. The high relief plaster panels on the north and south walls belong to this period as they refer to the marriage of Nicholas Carew, later 1st baronet, to Elizabeth Hacket in 1709. Nineteenth century prints and drawings by Coney, Nash and Allom show that these are surviving elements of a comprehensive decorative scheme (figures 31, 32 and 33). It was also described by John Evelyn, the grandson of the famous diarist, in a diary entry for 19 November 1721. He says the hall 'having new windows, & new wainscot, above which trophys & the like instruments are painted & ye floor paved with Portland Stone & black corners is a noble room'.<sup>261</sup>

Taken together these show that there was a single row of tall windows in the upper part of the west wall and a double row in the east one. The lower parts of the walls were covered with wooden panelling with classical pilasters. Above this the wall was divided into a number of panels. Nash and Allom show these filled with trophies of arms which must be the painted trophies referred to by Evelyn. Coney only shows trophies on the north wall but several parts of his drawing are blank and were obviously intended to be filled by extrapolation from other areas. The focal points of this scheme were two large panels in the centre of the north and

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<sup>257</sup> SHC 281/4/21v.

<sup>258</sup> SHC 281/4/25 p. 4.

<sup>259</sup> SHC 281/4/25 p. 5.

<sup>260</sup> SHC 281/4/25 p. 6 and 7.

<sup>261</sup> BL Add Ms 78,514 fol. 45 and opposite.

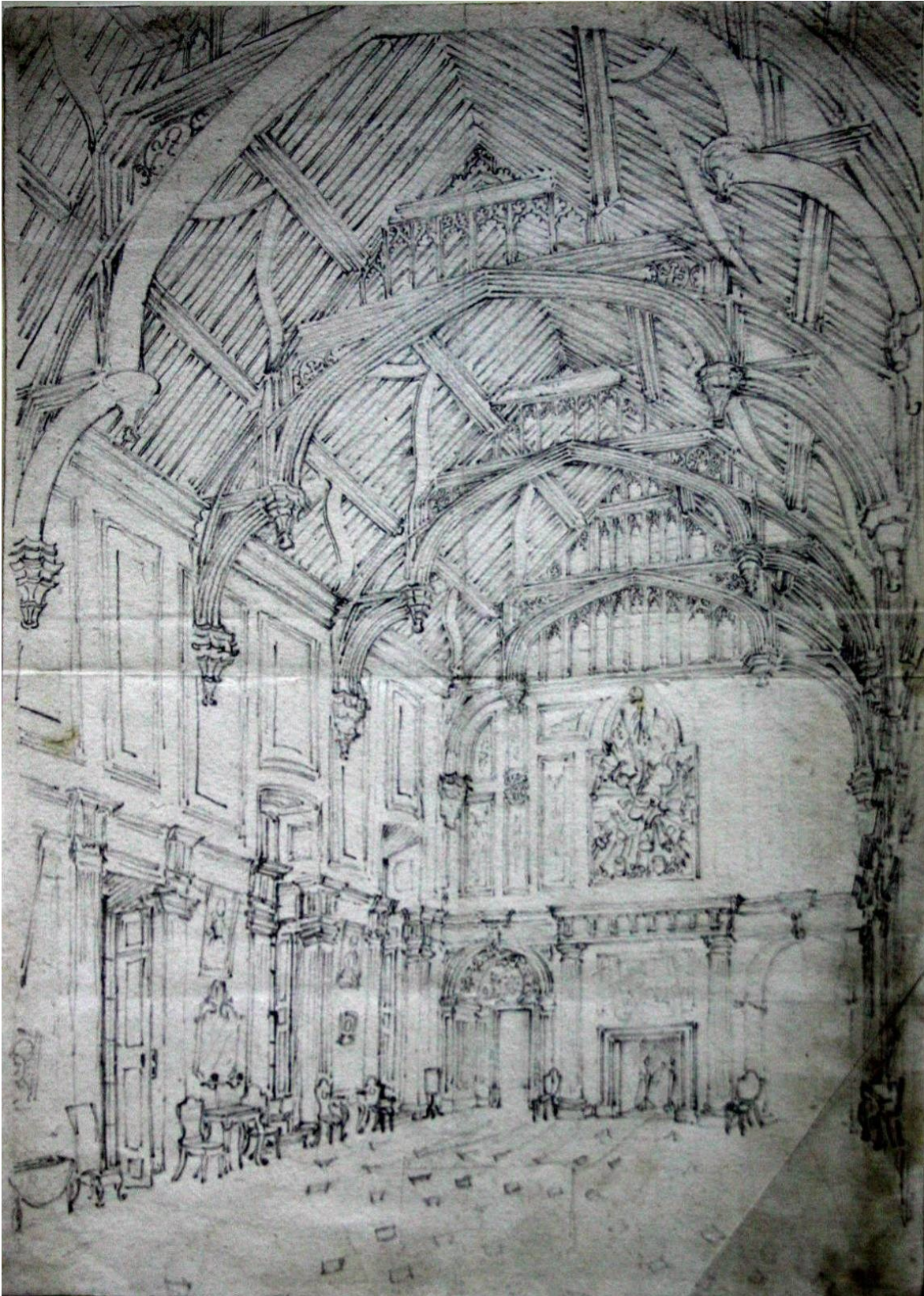


Figure 31. A pencil drawing of the hall north by John Coney dated 1807. (Sutton Museum Collection B.092).

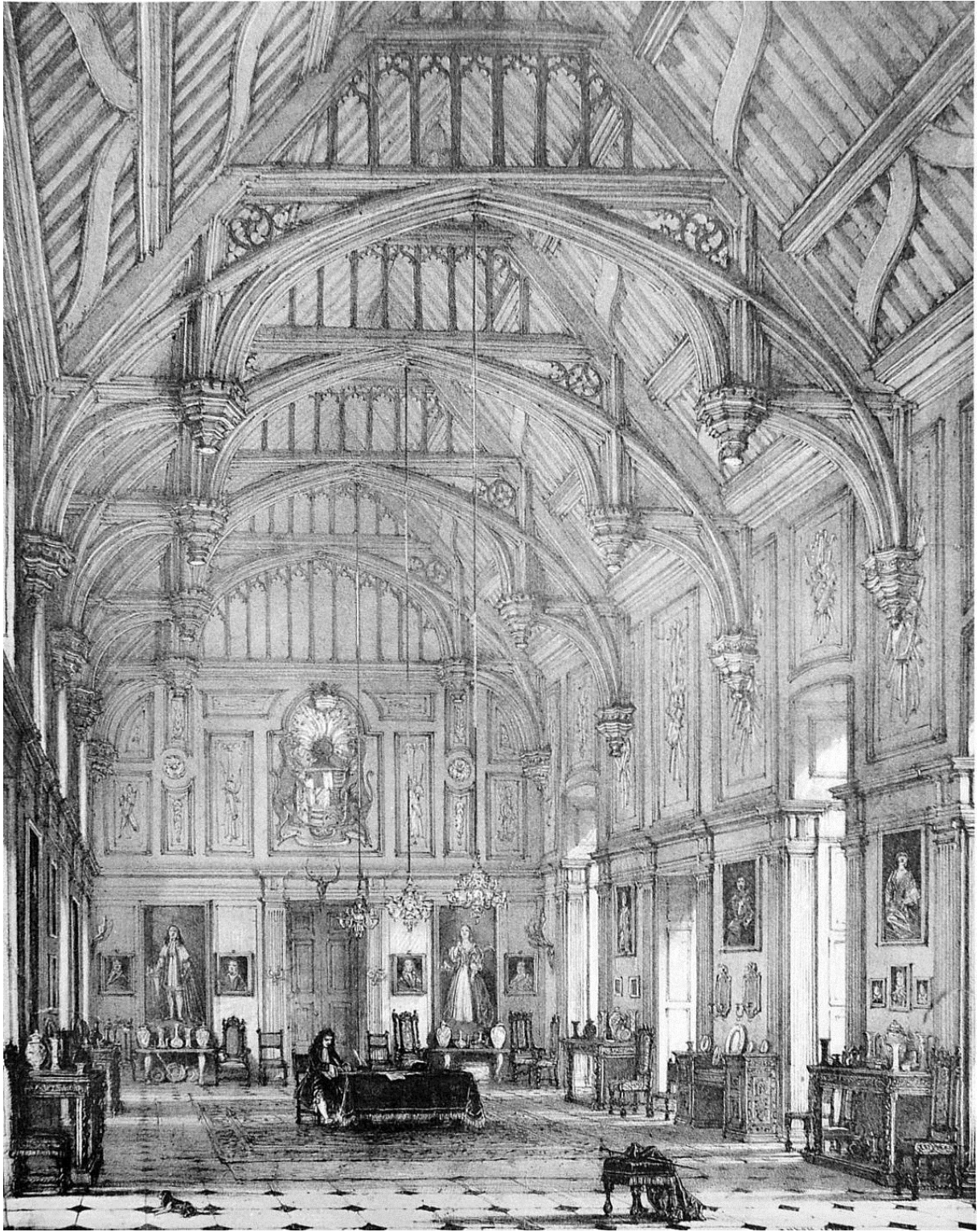


Figure 32. A print looking south by Joseph Nash from *The Mansions of England in Olden Time* originally published in four parts 1838-1849.



Figure 33. An engraving looking north by MJ Starling from a drawing by Thomas Allom published in Brayley's *Topographical History of Surrey* in the 1840s.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> Volume 4 facing p. 68.





Figure 34. The plaster panel on the south wall of the great hall (above) and the north wall (below).





Figure 35. The underside of the opening which formerly connected the northeast corner of the hall to the parlour.

south walls. These survive and are shown in figure 34. They are of plaster and are well moulded in high relief. The southern panel contains the Carew arms with the Hacket arms in pretence so the scheme must there postdate Nicholas Carew's marriage to Elizabeth Hacket on 2 February 1709 and predate her father's death in or before 1721.<sup>263</sup> The northern panel is a trophy of weapons and armour of various periods from classical to eighteenth century. There are banners carrying the Carew and Hacket arms and the couples intertwined initials appear on the pouch on the left hand side of the display.

There was a large fire place in the centre of the north wall which probably had a bolection moulded surround. There was another moulding above it and the whole was then enclosed by Doric columns and an entablature. There were round-headed openings in both ends of the north wall. The decorative plaster on the top of the eastern opening can still be seen in the hall (figure 35) while that on the west is known to survive behind a modern panel. There was also a door in the centre of the south wall, and external doors in the west wall in bay 3 and the east wall in bays 3 and 4. The hall floor was covered with white stone slabs with black squares set into the corners – evidently the stone described by Evelyn.

The decorative scheme seems to have remained essentially unaltered until the orphanage remodelled the house in the mid-nineteenth century. They replaced the classical hall windows with the existing mock-Tudor ones, stripped away the wood panelling and probably replastered the upper part of the wall, leaving only the plaster trophies on the end walls and the floor. The plasterwork on the underside of the openings in the north wall also survived although it was covered over and invisible. They erected the present wooden 'gothic' panelling. The eighteenth century stone floor survived until after the Second World War when the present wooden blocks were laid. The head of the eastern door in the north wall was exposed and covered with a Perspex panel by the Heritage Service about 1989.

## 5 THE SERVICE AREA

This was located at the south end of the hall. Colen Campbell's plan of 1717 (figure 36) shows a door in the centre of the south wall of the hall opening to a passage running towards the kitchen. Rooms 113 and 114 to the north and south of the passage were presumably originally the buttery and pantry in the usual late medieval manner although they seem to have been modified by 1717. Room 113 was open to the passage while room 114 had an

<sup>263</sup> Marriage at St Martin in the Fields, London. IGI. Sir 'Niccolls' Hacket's probate was granted 15 March 1721.

entrance into the corridor along the south wing. There was a large staircase running up to the first-floor between room 113 and the kitchen. This is the open type which came into use in the early-seventeenth century. There was also a small staircase between room 114 and the south wing corridor. This appears to have run down into the cellars and to have turned south as it descended. This is hard to reconcile with the structural evidence in the cellars (see 5.4 below). Upstairs there were two rooms (210 and 212) both containing beds.

The eighteenth and early nineteenth century prints and the earliest photos show a large chimney projecting from the roof ridge above the south wall of the great hall. This must have served the fireplace in room 210 and one which may possibly be shown in the northeast corner of room 113. There is now no obvious sign of the chimney on the top of the south wall of the hall.

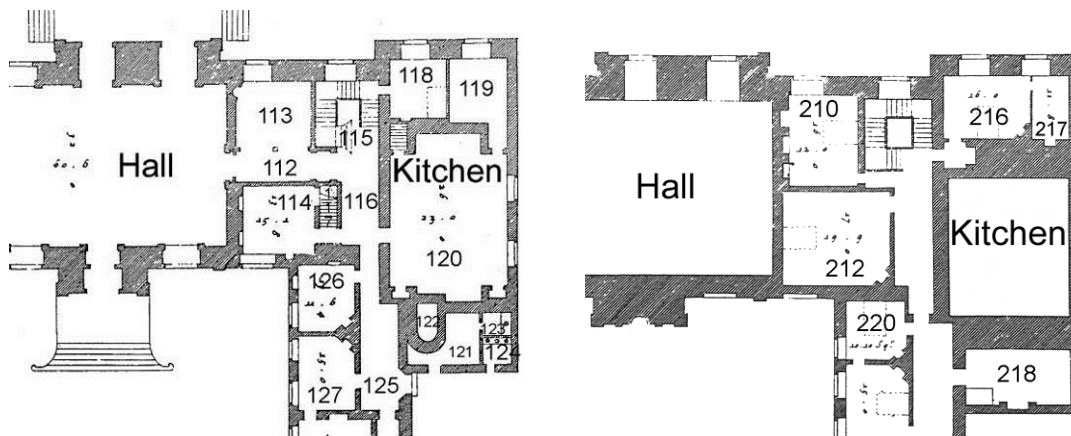


Figure 36. The service area from Colen Campbell's 1717 plan with added room numbers. Ground floor left: first-floor right. East at the top.

## 5.1 The roof

The service area roof has two early trusses and another which dates from the nineteenth century (figures 37 to 40). The trusses have been numbered continuing from the hall roof so the two early ones are 6 and 7 and the nineteenth century one is 8.

The trusses are difficult to access so the upper parts and some other areas have not been closely examined. The two early trusses consist of principle rafters, a tie-beam set well above the top of the wall and a pair of arch-braces. There is now a collar towards the apex of the roof but this may not be original and cannot be easily reached. An early purlin survives on the west side of the roof between trusses 6 and 7. There are surviving ogee braces between it and the rafters. The purlin is joined to the rafters by a pair of double diminished haunched tenons.

There are double diminished haunched tenons for purlins on both sides of trusses 6 and 7 (see figure 40). There are tenons for braces to the purlin between trusses 6 and 7 and also to the purlin running south from the east side of truss 7. However, there is no tenon for a brace on the opposite side of the roof. The purlins are simply slotted into the top of truss 5 which forms the south end of the hall roof. This suggests that the service roof is later than the hall roof although there is unlikely to be much difference in date. Hewett says that diminished haunched tenons were probably developed by Richard Russell, the carpenter responsible for

the roof over the vault of Kings College Chapel, Cambridge, erected 1510-12.<sup>264</sup> Joseph Nash's view of the east side of the house about 1830 (figure 14) shows that the south end of the service roof was hipped. When the house was converted to an orphanage the roof was extended southwards over the former kitchen block. Truss 8 must have been erected at that time.

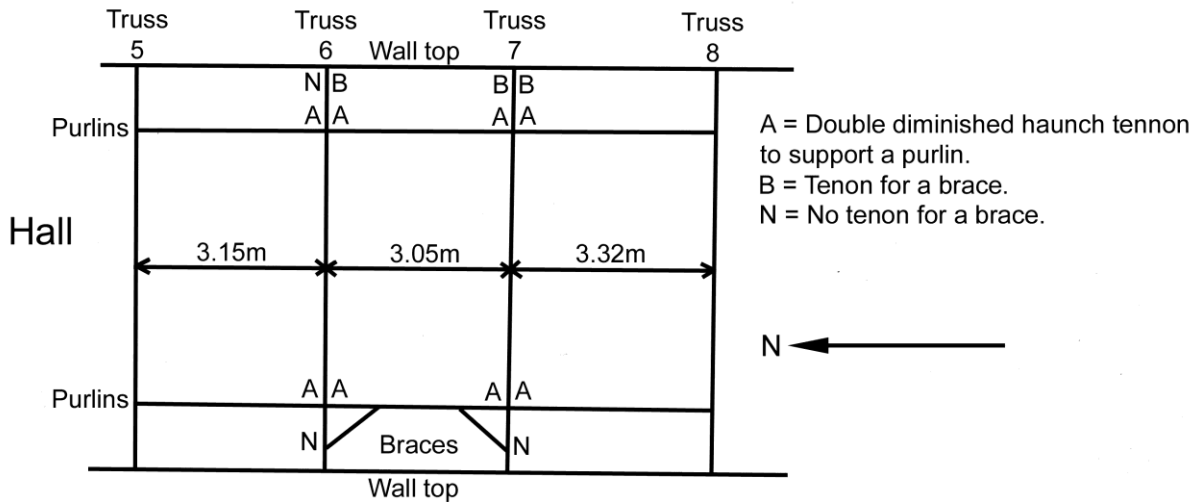


Figure 37. Diagram of the service block roof. East at the top.



Figure 38. The service area roof showing the south side of truss 7. February 1981.

<sup>264</sup> Hewett 1980 p. 282. Woodman 1986 p.221-2 says that the roof was constructed in two stages the east end dating from about 1480-4 and the west about 1510-11.



Figure 39. The surviving set of braces on the west side of the service area roof between trusses 6 and 7. February 1981.



Figure 40. The west side of the service area roof showing the junction between the purlin and the south side of truss 6. February 1981.

## 5.2 The Foster window

About half of a late gothic window survives in the east wall of the service block, at first-floor level and close to the southeast corner. The window surround is of Reigate stone and it has a rounded head and is recessed into a rectangular frame.

The window is shown in a photograph taken by someone called Ivor Foster in the 1940s or 1950s.<sup>265</sup> At that time the window was covered by a wooden door but by 1980 it was covered over with plasterboard. In 1981 it was relocated from the photograph. The school gave permission for it to be uncovered and it has since been known as the Foster window.

The window is in the east wall of the house between an existing window and the northern edge of the former kitchen block (figure 42). The wall to the north of the existing window must have been part of the former service block. It is significantly thicker than the wall around the Foster window suggesting that the latter is part of some alteration possibly filling a gap between the service block and the kitchen (see section 6.2 below).

The north side of the Foster window has been removed and replaced with rough brickwork using thin bricks of sixteenth or early to mid-seventeenth century date. This may be associated with the construction of the staircase shown on Colen Campbell's plan (115 on figure 36). We do not know when this staircase was constructed. If the window was still open in the early eighteenth century it would have been bricked over then as it does not fit with the classical re-facing of the east front.



Figure 41. The Foster window showing the surviving south side and the rough brickwork installed after the north side had been removed. The windows were blocked when the house was refaced in the eighteenth century.

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<sup>265</sup> In the Local Studies Collection in Sutton Central Library.

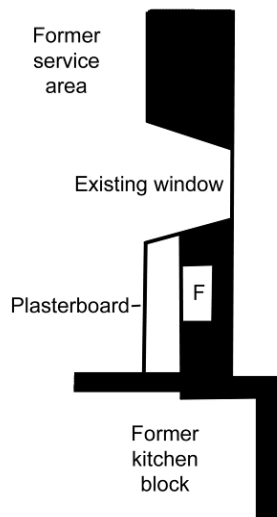


Figure 42. Sketch plan of the Foster window marked F. North at the top. The position is shown on figure 45.



Figure 43. The bottom of the window.

### 5.3 Investigation of a wall in the hall corridor [DH]

In May 2005 an area of plaster was removed from the wall on the north side of a door in the east wall of the southern end the corridor that runs along the side of the hall as shown in figure 45.

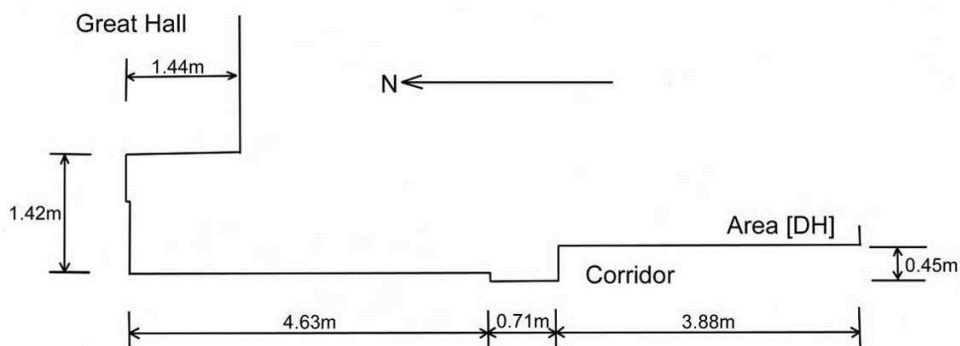


Figure 44. The location of area [DH] in relation to the southwest corner of the great hall.

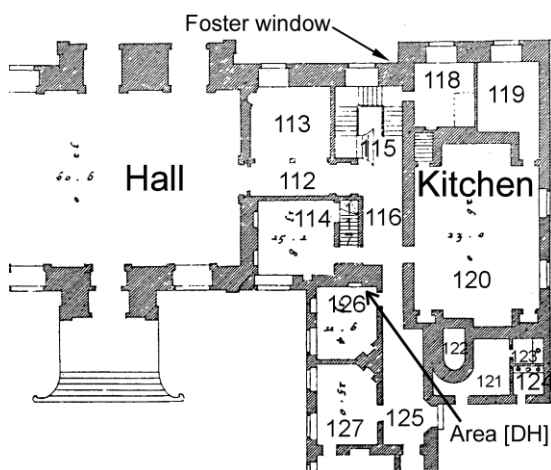


Figure 45. Area [DH] in relation to Colen Campbell's plan of the house. East at the top.

The exposed wall is shown in figures 46 and 47. There were eight contexts:

- [DH1] Reigate stone blocks forming the north side of a door opening. The blocks had been chipped to key plaster. The moulding on the opening was only exposed in a small area at the head of the arch. Here a plain, whitewashed chamfer extended inwards for at least 100mm at an angle of 136 degrees. The rest of the moulding was not exposed.
- [DH2] Tudor style bricks 40-55mm thick mostly around 50mm bonded with grey mortar spotted with chalk.
- [DH3] A rough vertical break left by the partial demolition of [DH2].
- [DH4] Brickwork of smooth finished soft red bricks around 60mm thick forming an arched opening. The bricks are bonded with grey mortar spotted with chalk. The underside of the arch is coated with whitewashed plaster. This can also be seen on the upper part of the sides in two places. The arch consists of two courses of uncut bricks laid on their sides so that the ends are visible in the wall. A crack between the underside of the arch and the fill of it allows a ruler to be inserted for 0.42m. The arch appears to be turning down to the north as it runs into the wall.
- [DH5] The arch side has been broken up presumably to key the brick arch fill [DH6].
- [DH6] Bricks of mixed size and thickness bonded by grey-brown mortar with less chalk than the mortar of [DH4]. The bricks vary in thickness from 55mm to 68mm. All had a soft red fabric. The thicker ones are smooth finished. Some of the thinner ones are rougher and may be Tudor. Some at least must have been reused.
- [DH7] Smooth finished bricks about 63-67mm thick. The colour of the bricks is difficult to see because of the plaster residues on the surface but they appear to be a mixture of reds and coarse reds,
- [DH8] Current wall plaster most likely dating from the orphanage remodelling of 1859-65.

The brickwork would originally have formed the western wall of the service block. The earliest feature appears to be the Reigate stone arch [DH1] and the thin Tudor type brickwork [DH2] to the north (left) of it. These probably date from the sixteenth century. The arch appears to be on the site of a door or opening shown on Colen Campbell's plan of the house published in 1717. The door probably survived until the house was converted into an orphanage in 1859-65 when the existing opening to the right of the section was made and the surviving part of the arch filled with the brickwork [DH7].

The north side of brickwork [DH2] ends in the rough demolition break [DH3]. Beyond this there is an area of soft red brick [DH4] forming the side and top of a door opening. The bricks are smooth finished and about 60mm thick. They are similar to the bricks used in the construction of Stone Court, Carshalton, which was started about 1700. Such bricks can also be found in parts of the exterior of Carew Manor. The building was extensively refaced in the mid-nineteenth century and has undergone many repairs so that it is hard to date particular areas of the fabric. However, the bricks used in the Dovecote, the Orangery wall and the garden walls generally have a thickness of 65mm or more. These thin bricks may therefore date from the Nicholas Carew, first Baronet's, refacing of the house about 1710-12. The door opening defined by brickwork [DH4] is not shown on Campbell's 1717 plan. This suggests that the door had a short life. It was perhaps created soon after 1707 when the Nicholas Carew came of age and took possession of the house and was blocked by 1717.



The blocking [DH7] consists of a mixture of bricks, some or all of which must have been reused. The mortar is different from that bonding the arch.

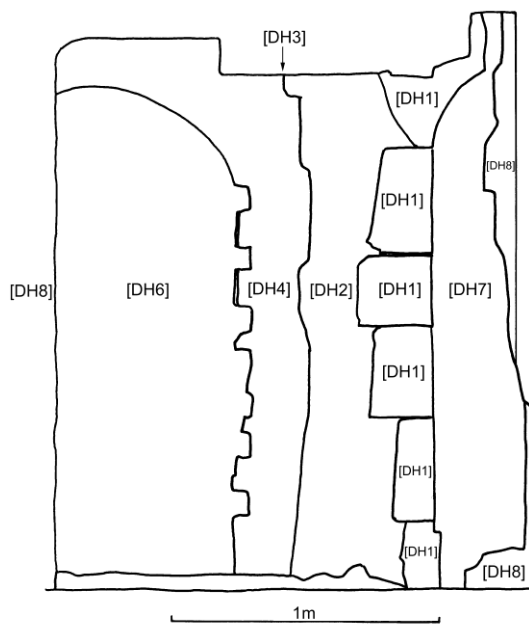


Figure 46. An area of brick work exposed in the hall corridor in the position shown in figures 44 and 45. Looking east.



Figure 47. Exposed brickwork in the hall corridor [DH].

## 5.4 The service area cellars

There are two cellars beneath the service block numbered 6 and 7, the former on the west side and the latter on the east (figure 59).

Cellar 6 is rectangular. Where the walls are visible they are largely of chalk blocks with some Reigate stone. The floor is paved with brick and the ceiling is flat and covered with modern board. On the west side of the north wall there is an opening to the passage below the hall. This is partly blocked off with modern brick on the west side.

The west wall has a barrel chute at the north end which runs down from the courtyard outside. There is a segmental 'window' head where the chute passes below the outer face of the original house wall. This is similar to the windows shown on the Campbell elevations and is presumably part of the early-eighteenth century re-facing. Beyond this the chute passes below a concrete slab and ends against a vertical blocking (figure 49). There is a recess in the west wall of the cellar to the south of the barrel chute which may perhaps be the site of a fireplace. The east wall has a niche in it and the south end has been broken through to create the passage through the kitchen foundations (figure 50 and section 6.2). An old plank door in the east wall opens to cellar 7.



Figure 48. The north wall of cellar 6 with the passage below the hall in May 1981.



Figure 49. The barrel chute on the west side of cellar 6 in August 2007.



Figure 50. The south wall of cellar 6 in May 2010. The door on the left opens to the passage cut through the foundations of the former kitchen.



Figure 51. The door between cellar 6 (right) and cellar 7 (left) in May 2010.

Cellar 7 has an east-west aligned vault of soft red brick which looks eighteenth century. The walls at the bottom of the vault close to the floor contain blocks of Reigate stone and chalk as well as brick. The door is more or less in the centre of the west wall. To the south of the door the upper part of the wall is of brick, but lower down there is also some chalk and stone. The wall on the north side of the door is totally covered with whitewash which appears to be over stone and chalk.

The vault butts up against the east wall of the cellar which is mostly of chalk although it also contains some Reigate stone. The line of the vault cuts across two blocked semi-basement windows which had brick top to the opening (figure 53). A small gap at the top of the vault allows a limited view into the southernmost window reveal and it is possible to see a Reigate stone surround with a diamond latticed leaded window still in situ (figure 54). The window appears to be sixteenth century and has been bricked over on the outside. In February 1574 a glazier was paid for repairing windows in the cellar.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> SHC 281/4/24 p. 11.

On the north side of the cellar there are wine bins consisting of Portland stone shelves supported by brick walls (figure 52). There are fragmentary remains of similar brick supports on the south side and marks on the floor suggest that there were once bins in the centre.

The floor beneath the bins on the north and south side of the cellar is of brick but the rest is covered with tiles. These have a red body and a few still have traces of yellow or green glaze over a white slip. They are 8 inches square (20.3cm) and 1½ inches (3.8cm) thick and have bevelled edges. A few preserve pin marks in the corner. The crazing of the glaze shows that it had been applied after a biscuit firing. This was the usual practice in the Netherlands and they were probably made there in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.<sup>267</sup> The tiles are now rather irregularly laid and are likely to have been reused.

A north-south aligned slot cuts across the vault. There are pieces of wood across the ends which extend into the brickwork suggesting that the feature is original and not a later alteration. Most of the opening has been bricked up leaving about a quarter of the original at the north end. This may, perhaps, have held a dumb waiter for lifting the bottles from the cellar to the ground floor.



Figure 52. Cellar 7 in August 2007. Looking east.

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<sup>267</sup> Elizabeth Eames personal comment August 1981.



Figure 53. The east wall of cellar 7 in August 2007.



Figure 54. A bricked up window in the east wall of cellar 7 seen through a small gap between the vault and wall in September 2009.



Figure 55. Plan of the floor of cellar 7 showing the bottom of the wine racks (dark grey) and the scars from the demolished ones (light grey). The blank areas around the edge of the cellar are brick-floored.

## 6 THE KITCHEN BLOCK

### 6.1 History

Colen Campbell's plan shows the kitchen as a distinct block of rooms separated from the adjoining service area and wing by a wall (figure 9, rooms 118 to 124 and figure 10 rooms 216 to 218). Nash's view of the east front of the house (figure 14) shows that the area had its own roof. On Campbell's plan the actual kitchen is in the centre and extends upwards through the whole height of the block. It had a massive fireplace at the east end, and possibly two subsidiary ones on the west wall. A flight of stairs ran down to the cellars by the side of the main fireplace. The east end of the block was occupied by four rooms, two at ground level, and two on the first-floor. Those on the first-floor probably formed a bedroom suit of moderate status as 216 had a bed in it and 217 beyond could have served as a private closet. Room 118 on the ground floor also contained a bed while room 119 to the south was entered from the kitchen. The latter was probably the 'upper larder' of the 1764 inventory. At the west end of the kitchen there was a block of rooms which could not be entered from it. They were probably a later addition as they were tucked in the angle between the kitchen and the south wing. On the ground floor the largest room (121) contained a D shaped plunge bath (122). A small room (123) with a single-seat privy in it opened off the bathroom. The remaining part of the ground floor was occupied by a three-seat privy which could only be entered from the outside. There was only one room on the first-floor which contained a bed.<sup>268</sup>

<sup>268</sup> The kitchen block is omitted from Colen Campbell's elevation of the west front of the house and on the east elevation the older parts of the structure are hidden behind the eighteenth-century refacing.

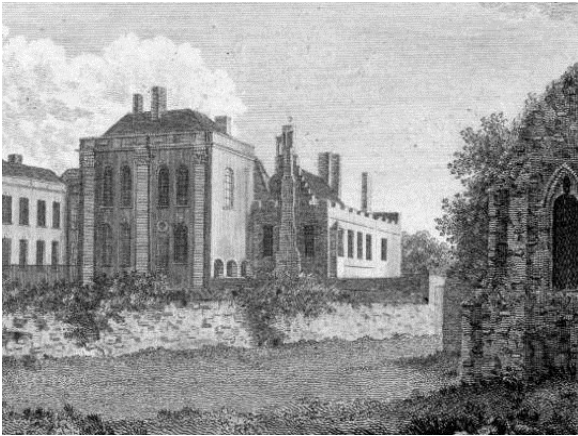


Figure 56. Detail of 'Beddington House near Croydon, by JP Malcolm dated 1797.



Figure 57. Detail from a watercolour of Beddington Church by Henry Petrie, 1798. St Mary's Church can be seen on the left.<sup>269</sup>



Figure 58. South East View of Beddington Park, Surrey; the Seat of Mrs Gee by John Buckler, 1827. (© The British Library Board, Add. 36388, f213).

<sup>269</sup> From photo in Sutton Local Studies Collection, copied from a photo in Croydon Reference Library which was taken for the Photographic Survey of Surrey in 1910.



The most useful views of the kitchen block are a print of Beddington House by JP Malcolm dated 1797 (figure 56), a watercolour by Henry Petrie dated 1798 (figure 57), and a drawing by John Buckler dated 1827 (figure 58). The latter appears to postdate late-eighteenth or early nineteenth century alterations to the south wing possibly for Anne Paston Gee. Although the three views differ it is possible to deduce a number of details. The Buckler drawing shows a large block of four carved chimneys and, nearby, a tall thin one with spiral decoration on its shaft. On stylistic grounds these probably dated from the first half of the sixteenth century. Buckler shows that the main kitchen block had crenellation along the top of the south wall and a crow-stepped gable at the west end. There is a drip-course below the crenellation. He also shows that the exterior of the south wall was divided into three areas. Those to the left and right have diagonal lines suggesting that the wall was decorated with dark headers, a design popular in the sixteenth century. The central part did not have decorated brickwork and Buckler shows six sash windows, three on the ground floor and three on the first-floor. In the Petrie watercolour these windows are hidden by a tree but those on the upper floor are shown in the Malcolm print. When the Campbell plans were made the area behind the windows was the main kitchen which passed through both floors. It seems likely that this kitchen was divided by a floor and the windows installed at some point between 1717 and 1797. Buckler shows one sash window on the first-floor at the east end of the south side. This was presumably also a Georgian addition.

All three views suggest that there was a block on the west side of the main kitchen which would fit with rooms 121-124 and 218 on the Campbell plan (figures 9 and 10). The roof was hidden behind a parapet which Malcolm and Petrie show with crenellation and Buckler shows without – a change possibly made between 1798 and 1827. There was a tall chimney shaped like a classical column in the centre of the west wall. This might date from the second half of the sixteenth century although it could be later. All three views show a small bay window on the south wall of the block. This does not appear on the Campbell plan but could have rested on the base of the privy seen on the moat culvert (features F2 and F3, volume 2 page 6). Campbell shows a single seat and three seat privy in the south end of the block (figure 9). The plan also shows a D-shaped feature at the north end which appears to have been a plunge-bath.

## 6.2 The kitchen cellars

The kitchen block has a cellar at the eastern end (8 on figures 59 and 60) which is linked to the service block cellars by passage 2. A door on the north side of cellar 8 opens into another small cellar (9 on figures 59 and 60).

Cellar 8 was originally accessed by a staircase which appears on the Campbell plan of 1717 on the north side of the main fireplace. The remains of the brick treads survive in the walls at the eastern end of passage 2 (figure 67).

The earliest part of cellar 8 is probably the south wall (figure 61). The greater part of the bottom of the wall is made of flint bonded with mortar although there is a section of chalk, flint and loose earth in the centre which is probably some sort of filled feature. The upper part of the east end is of flint and earth and it is possible that the eastern end is made of the same material although it is largely covered with plaster. There is a blocked window at the top towards the centre with an area of flint and hard mortar below. The wall has a thickness of about 1.52m and the outer face would have dropped directly into the moat.

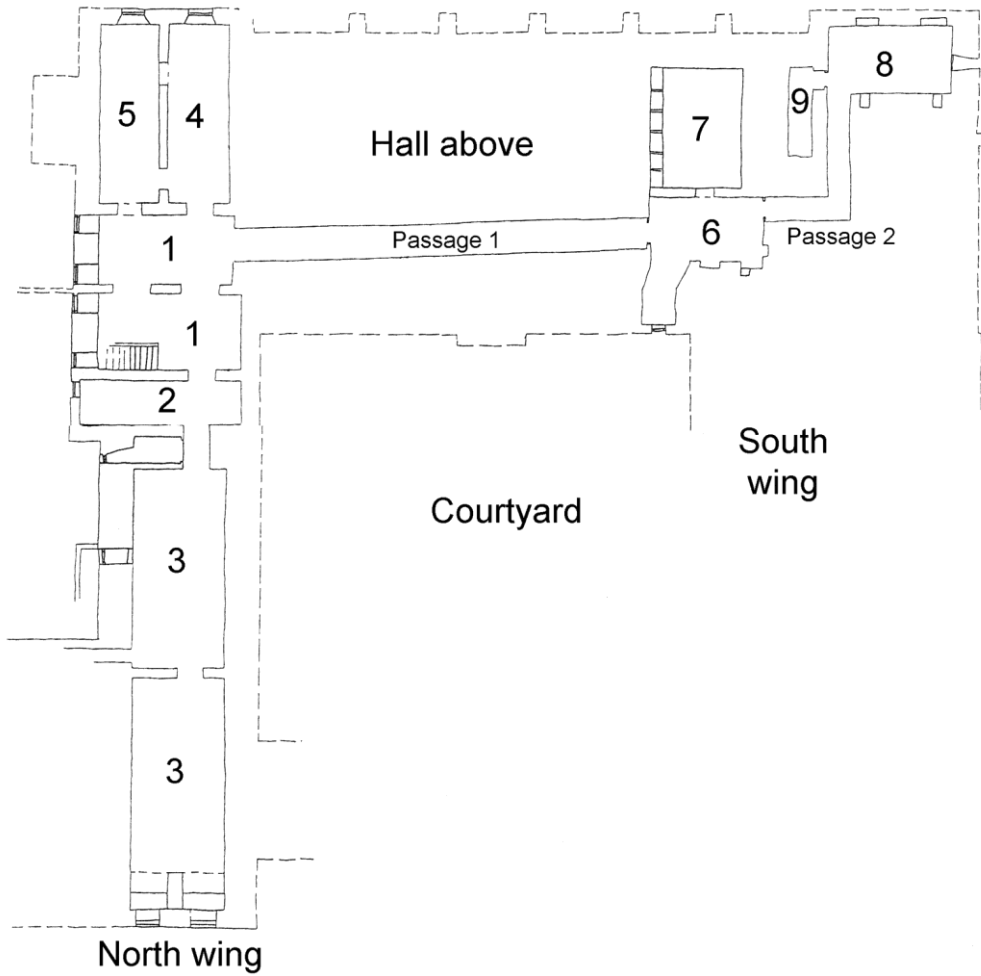


Figure 59. The cellars from an old survey probably made for the local authority. The cellar and passage numbers were allocated as part of the archaeological project and follow Michell 1980. (East at the top).

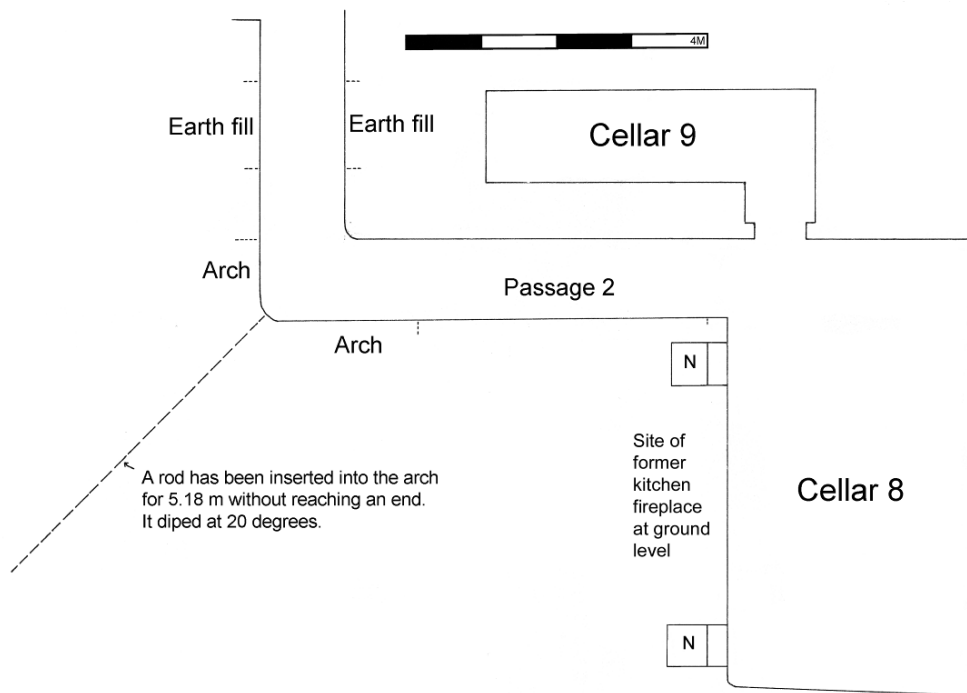


Figure 60. The kitchen cellars. (North at the top). Spelling – dipped N = niche

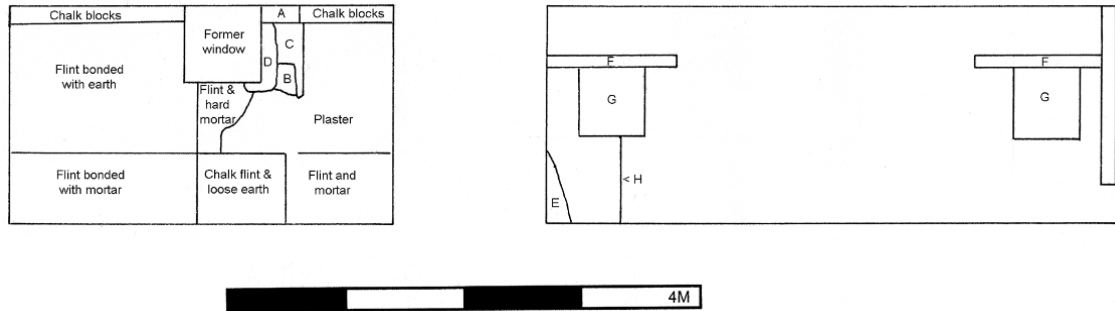


Figure 61. Diagram of the south and west walls of cellar 8.

A – gap where a stone block has been removed; B – flint and mortar; C – Earth and flint; D – brick and lump of chalk; E – flint and mortar where the south wall has been cut back; F – timber lintels; G – ‘cupboards’ built into the wall; H – butt joint in the brickwork.



Figure 62. The south wall of cellar 8.

The east wall of cellar 8 butts up against the south wall. It consists of chalk and occasional Reigate stone blocks apart from two brick-filled openings in the upper part which appear to correspond with the two semi-basement windows shown on Colen Campbell’s elevation of the east front (figure 12) and on later prints. In 1995 a door opening was cut through the wall to make a new fire exit (figures 63 and 64). The cellar wall was about 0.9m thick and consisted chalk rubble in a dark grey mortar containing scraps of chalk and flint. There was one block of Reigate stone in the face of the cellar wall. The brick facing on the outside of the house appeared to be nineteenth century and there was no trace of earlier facing. The upper part of the wall had been altered and rebuilt in the twentieth century.

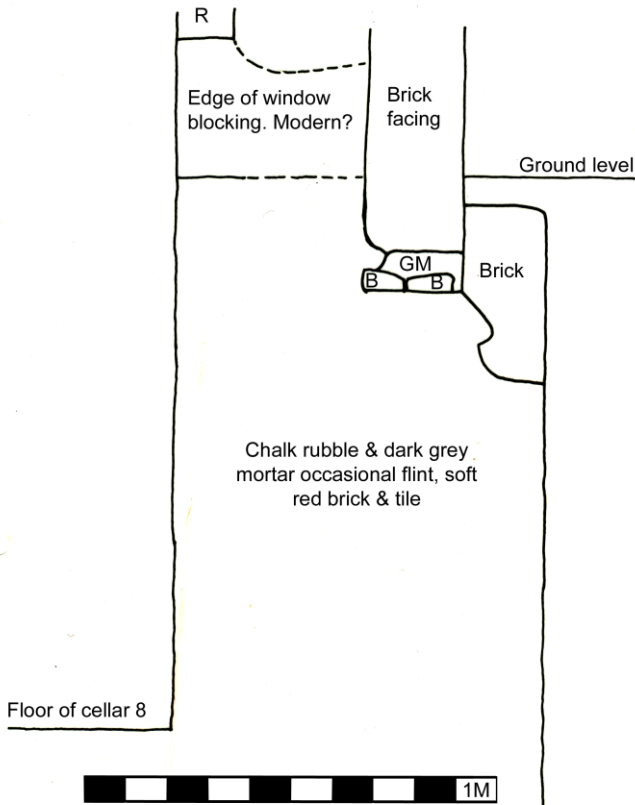


Figure 63. Cellar 8. Section cut through the east wall for a fire escape. Looking north. GM = dark grey mortar. B = brick. R= Reigate stone.

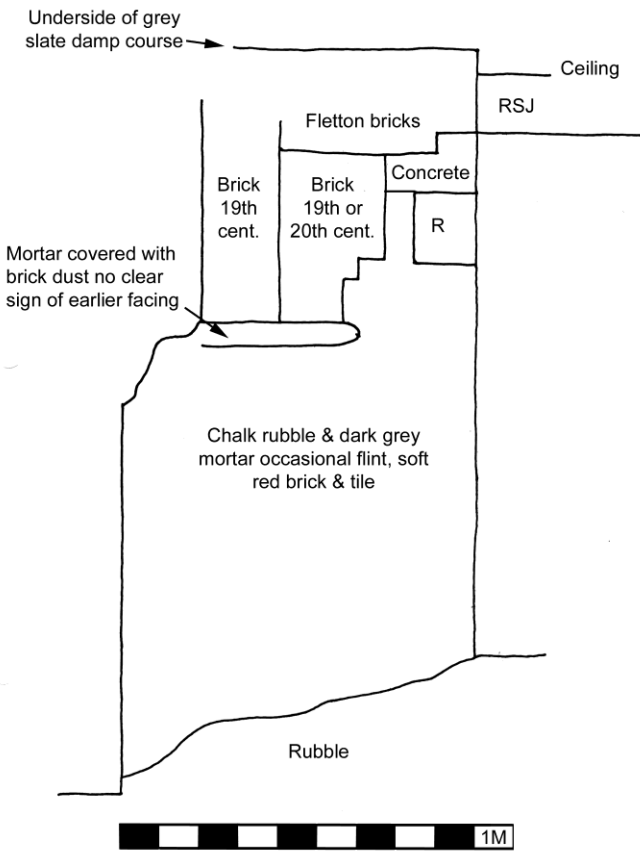


Figure 64. Cellar 8. Section cut through the east wall for a fire escape. Looking south. R = Reigate stone. RSJ – rolled steel joist.

The west wall of cellar 8 also butts up against the south wall. At the bottom the cellar has cut slightly into the south wall. The west wall is faced with soft red brick which probably dates from the eighteenth or nineteenth century. There are two niches built into the wall. The Campbell plan (figure 9) shows that these would have been below the main kitchen fireplace and therefore warm and dry and may have been intended to hold salt. There were 'salting cesters' in the lower larder when the 1764 inventory was made. Both cupboards have a bonding break about 0.28m from the front. This coincides with a bonding break in the wall at the eastern end of passage 2 (J on figure 67) which shows that the brick on the west wall of cellar 8 is a re-facing over an earlier wall.

The north wall consists of chalk blocks with some Reigate stone. There is a brick door opening to cellar 9 which has a four-centred head and is likely to date from the first half of the sixteenth century.

Cellar 9 (figures 65 and 66) is small and rectangular with chalk block walls and a rather roughly made vault of brick and chalk blocks which is probably an addition or replacement. The south and west walls of the cellar are much more neatly made than the north wall.

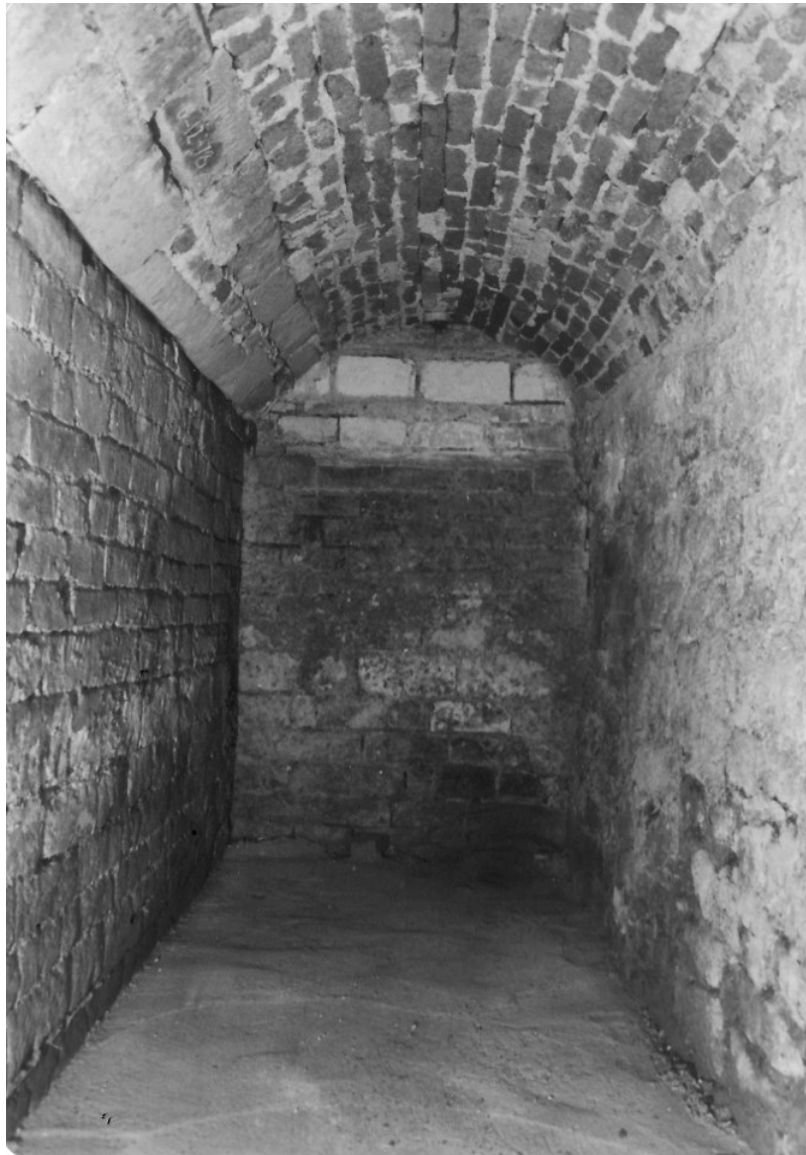


Figure 65. Cellar 9 looking west.

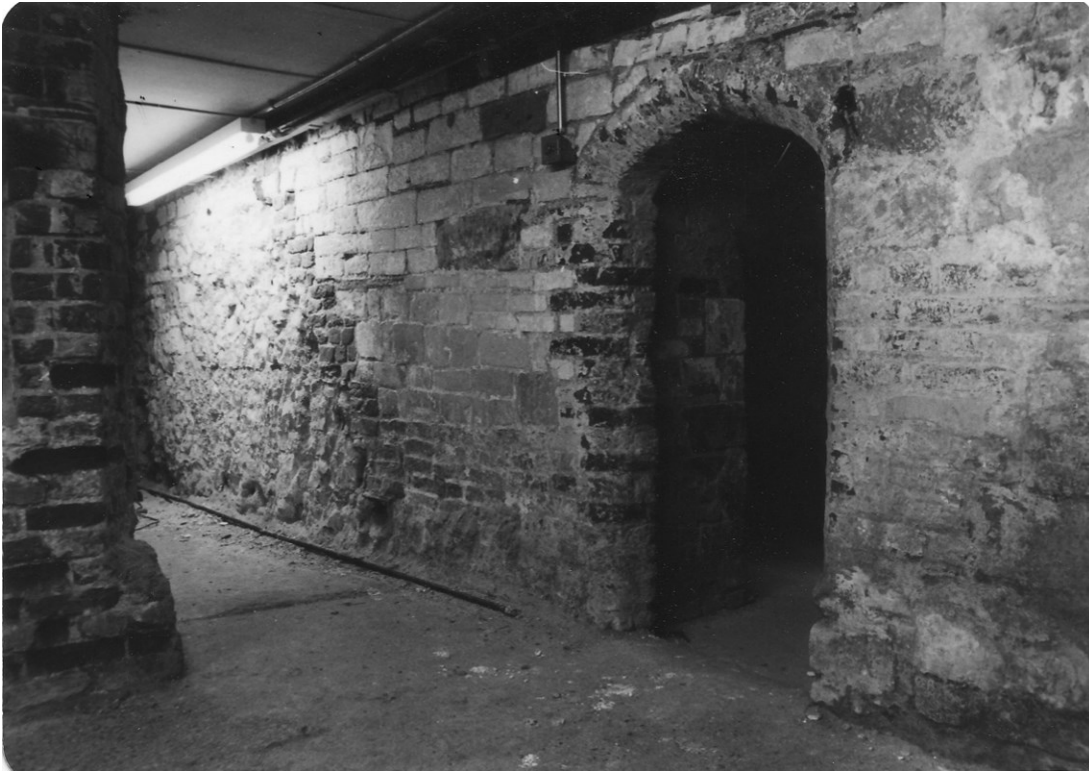


Figure 66. The north wall of cellar 8 with the door to cellar 9 on the right and passage 2 on the left. Note the remains of brick stair treads in the wall of passage 2.

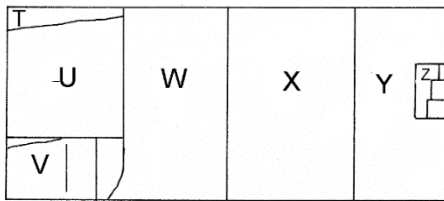
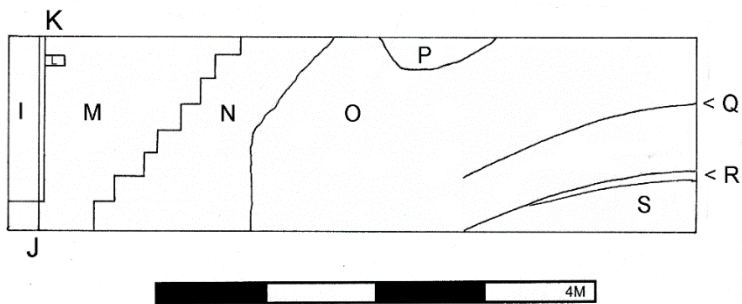


Figure 67. Diagram of the south and west walls of passage 2.

I – brickwork; J – vertical joint; K – gap; L – timber; M – brick and dressed stone; N – chalk rubble with white mortar; O – chalk rubble and mortar with orange sand; P – earth, rounded flints, chalk etc; Q – joint; R – void; S – loose earthy fill at the top with sand below; T – chalk, brick and mortar; U – chalk and mortar with orange sand; V – earthy fill with a layer of sand; W – chalk and white mortar; X – earth fill stratified with several distinct layers; Y – chalk and mortar; Z – niche.

Passage 2 runs west from cellar 8 and then turns north and enters cellar 6 below the former service area. The passage was made in October 1935 by Dawson and Sons who roughly hacked through the foundations of the former kitchen.<sup>270</sup> At the eastern end the passage cut through the stairs which ran down from the kitchen to cellar when the Campbell plan was made (figure 9). The remains of the brick treads survive on both sides of the passage (figures 65 and 67). The steps rested on a mass of chalk rubble bonded with white mortar (N on figure 67). This in turn butted up against and lapped over the eastern edge of a mass of chalk rubble bonded with mortar containing orange sand. At the western end the passage broke into the top of a large vault which had a crudely-made rubble arch bonded with the mortar with brown sand as in the main foundations (figures 68, 69 and O, Q and R on figure 67). The arch has a thickness of 0.45 to 0.6m. The vault is filled with loose earth and sand leaving a narrow void between the fill and the roof. A drainage rod was inserted into the void on the line shown in figure 60. It penetrated 5.18m dipping at an angle of 20 degrees suggesting that the vault is a considerable size. The arch appears to have been a water cistern (see section 6.3 below).



Figure 68. Passage 2 looking west showing the chalk rubble kitchen foundations, the vault and its earth fill.

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<sup>270</sup> Sutton Archives D2/4 entry under 'passage'.



Figure 69. Passage 2 looking south showing the vault and arch above it.

The arch is located where the passage turns through a right angle so it is cut by the south and west walls. In the west wall the arch ends at a bonding break which appears to be between the foundation of the north wall of the kitchen and the rubble above the arch (figures 67 and 68). The kitchen foundation has a width of about 0.95m although it is wider at floor level. It consists of chalk rubble bonded with white mortar unlike the orange sand mortar used for the arch. Beyond this wall the passage passes through an area of earth fill (X on figure 67) and it then goes through another chalk and mortar foundation (Y) before entering cellar 6. The foundation Y is clearly for the south wall of the service area. The earth fill suggests that the kitchen was originally a detached building with a gap between it and the service area.

### 6.3 The water supply

The 1764 inventory says that the kitchen contained:

a large wood Cestern lin'd with lead and a brass cock at the end of d<sup>o</sup>. A lead pipe from the said Cestern to the Avery in the Garden, a wood sink lin'd with lead, a shelf for coppers over the said Cestern and sink, a lead pump with its apparatus at the End of the Cestern with lead pipe down to the arch, one other lead pump with its apparatus at the end of the Kitchen with lead pipe down to the arch and one other lead pipe up to the Bathing Room ...<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> SHC 281/3/1 f7r.



The arch must be the large vault in the kitchen foundations which was cut by passage 2 (see above). Water appears to have pumped from this to fill a lead-lined holding tank from which the kitchen staff could draw water. A pipe also ran from this to the aviary at an unknown location in the garden. A second pump fed water to the bathing room. This was presumably for the D-shaped bath shown on the Campbell plan immediately west of the kitchen.

The laundry which was presumably nearby also had a 'leaden pump with its apparatus and a lead pipe down to the arch'.<sup>272</sup>

The arrangement seems odd as the house is almost on the edge of the chalk and therefore on the spring line so an ordinary well would probably provided a plentiful supply of water. It may be that the vault was part of an attempt to separate the house water supply from the moat which was used to dispose of the sewage. However, it is not clear how the vault could have been supplied with water other than from the ground. There are two possibilities. One would be a system to collect rain water from the roof; the other would be a pipeline bringing water down to the house from a high-level source. However, no high-level water supply is known although it might have been possible to construct some sort of horizontal well drawing water from the base of the Thanet beds somewhere above the house.<sup>273</sup> The first 25 inch Ordnance Survey map shows a tunnel running from Beddington Caves south along the west side of Plough Lane as far as the railway.<sup>274</sup> An article in the Wallington and Carshalton Times said that the Baldwin Latham, Croydon's drainage engineer, used sounding instruments to trace a passage from the Plough Land 'caves' to Carew Manor. There is currently no other evidence to support this.<sup>275</sup>

## 6.4 The drains beneath the kitchen block

Three features in the main south moat culvert are either below or by the south wall of the kitchen block (figure 70). These are:

- F51            A vertical shaft rising from the side of the culvert up the outer wall of the kitchen block.
- F1             A side drain from the culvert under the western end of the kitchen to a chamber.
- F2 and F3    The base of a flow-through privy tower.

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<sup>272</sup> SHC 281/3/1 f7v.

<sup>273</sup> Nonsuch Palace was supplied by a pipe running from a conduit on the edge of a patch of Thanet sand to the south. See Dent 1981 p. 289. The conduit head is shown on the first edition 25 inch Ordnance Survey map.

<sup>274</sup> TQ 300648 to TQ 300644. The caves were probably a sand mine of unknown date.

<sup>275</sup> *Wallington and Carshalton Times* 10 June 1937 p. 6.

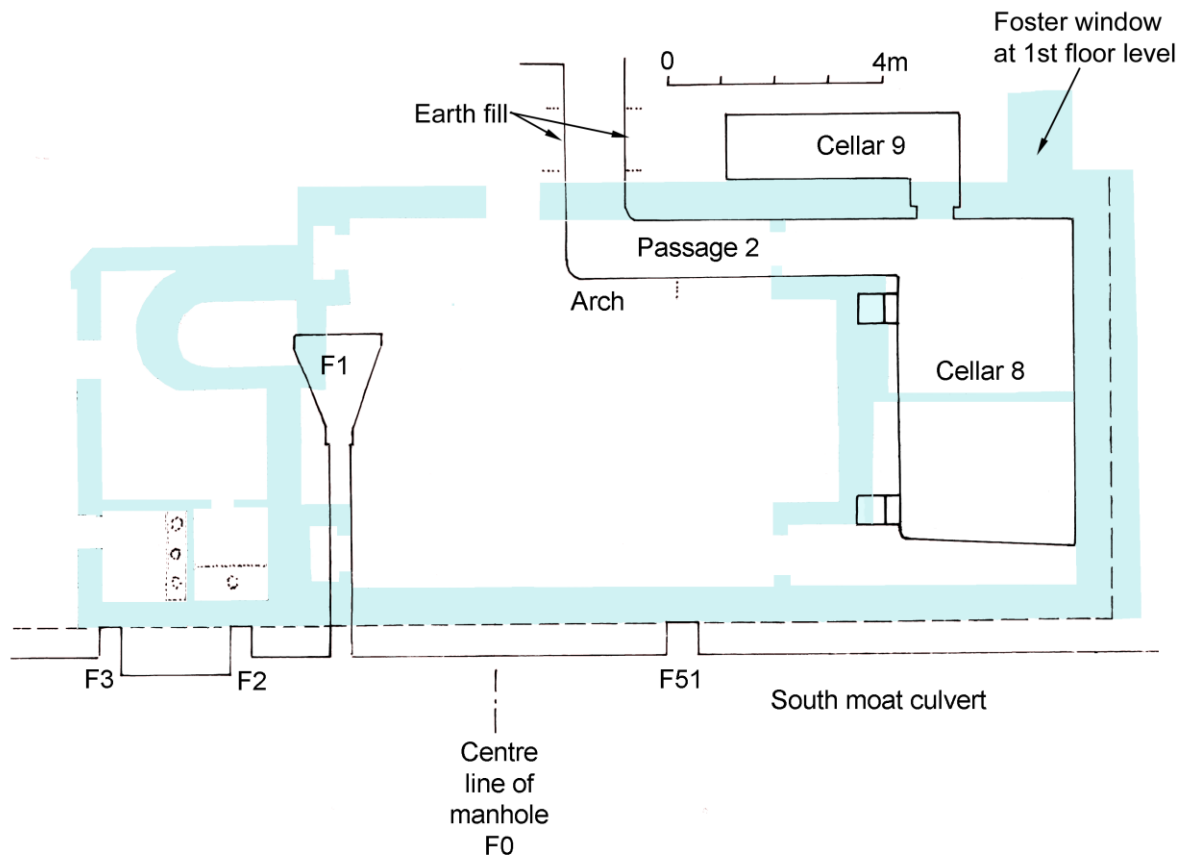


Figure 70. The cellars and features in the south culvert including side drain F1 with a best fit outline of Colen Campbell's plan of the kitchen block.

### 6.4.1 Shaft F51

This square shaft is set into the side of the main south moat culvert. The western edge was 3.2m east of the centre line of the entrance manhole F0. The north wall exactly underlies the wall of the house. It has a total height of 2.35m. The lowest 1.2m is made of neatly dressed blocks of hard stone (possibly Kentish rag stone). Above this there is a zone 0.71m high of roughly dressed blocks of Reigate stone and then there is a brick zone which rises for 0.44m to a flat stone slab which caps the shaft. A drain 0.15m wide by 0.2m high enters the culvert through the lower part of the wall. The stone blocks in the lowest layer have several masons' marks on them as shown in figure 71.

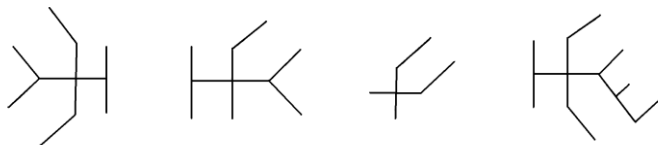


Figure 71. Masons' marks from the stone work on the lower section of the north wall of shaft F51.

### 6.4.2 Side drain and chamber F1

This side drain runs north from the culvert under the former kitchen block on the line shown in figure 70. Its centre line is 2.94m west of the centre line of culvert entrance manhole F0. The drain is initially 0.38m high by 0.4m wide. From the entrance it slopes up and runs into a small chamber which ends against a chalk rubble wall about 6.17m from the entrance (figure 72).

The floor of the chamber at the inner end is at about 30.78m OD. It is more or less triangular in plan (figure 73) with a length of 2.02m and a maximum width of 1.66m. The floor, the lower

part of the side walls and the entrance arch are made of fairly neatly cut Reigate stone blocks, with a few pieces of chalk and some tile packing in gaps between blocks (figures 76 and 77). Above the walls there is a vault. The lower part of the vault is made of red tile set on edge while the upper part is of chalk blocks. There are holes in the apex of the vault where three pipes entered.

The end or northern wall of the chamber is of mortared chalk rubble. This chalk rubble butts up against the Reigate stone which forms the lower part of the sides, while the tile and chalk of the vault butt up against the end wall so the chamber appears to have been made in the following stages:

1. The Reigate stone sides and entrance.
2. The end wall presumably blocking off part of the first structure.
3. The vault.

The end wall and vault are therefore an adaptation of the earlier Reigate stone structure.

The chamber is connected to the main moat culvert by a drain which can be divided into the following sections from the chamber to the culvert:

1. Chalk arched section.
2. Sloping section with Reigate slab roof.
3. A stone lintel.
4. A short brick section.

The first section has an arch and side walls of fairly rough chalk blocks bonded with mortar. The floor appears to be of crushed chalk. The section is 1.42m long and about 0.45m wide. It is 0.8m high at the chamber entrance and about 0.74m high at the beginning of the slab section. There is a butt joint between the chamber and the chalk vault which leaves a gap about 0.06m wide which runs up a short way to flint rubble. As the chamber door is 0.96m high the roof drops 0.16m as it enters the chalk section (figure 72).

The chalk blocks continue into the beginning slab roofed section as shown in figure 72. On the east side of the passage the chalk has partly collapsed at the junction between the two sections. The west side is intact but it is not absolutely clear whether there is a butt joint between the two sections. However, it seems most likely that there is not. If this is the case the slab roof section must be the same date as the chalk arched section.

The slab-roofed section is about 1.45m long. It has two large Reigate stone blocks on each side and the roof is made up of four flat slabs and one shorter piece of stone. Several of the blocks have a mason's mark on them. The floor of this section is of Reigate stone.

At the end of the slab-roofed section there is a stone lintel across the top of the drain. This is may be of Kentish rag. It is in line with, and presumably part of the moat wall facing. There is a narrow 'gap' in the roof between the Reigate slabs and the lintel which is filled with flint rubble. Beyond this there is a short brick section 0.73m long which carries the passage through the brick vault of the main moat culvert. A small drain drops vertically into this section.

### **6.4.3 Discussion of drain F1**

The earliest part of the structure appears to be the Reigate stone side walls and entrance door of the end chamber. The end wall and vault of the chamber appear to be a later alteration. The chalk arched section and the slab roof section appear to be inter-bonded and are presumably the same date. Beyond this the drain passed through the moat island wall and the brick arch of the main moat culvert.

It appears that the lower part of the chamber predates the construction of the moat island wall which is thought to be the work of the first Nicholas of Beddington who died in 1390 (section 2.4). The lower part of the chamber was obviously constructed after roof tile became common enough to use for packing between the blocks. This date is uncertain but no earlier than the thirteenth century. It may be only a few years earlier than the moat island wall as the first Nicholas could have remodelled the house in a piecemeal fashion.

The chamber must have been vaulted by the time that the Tudor kitchen block was constructed, perhaps about 1520-30 on the evidence of the chimney shown in nineteenth century drawings.

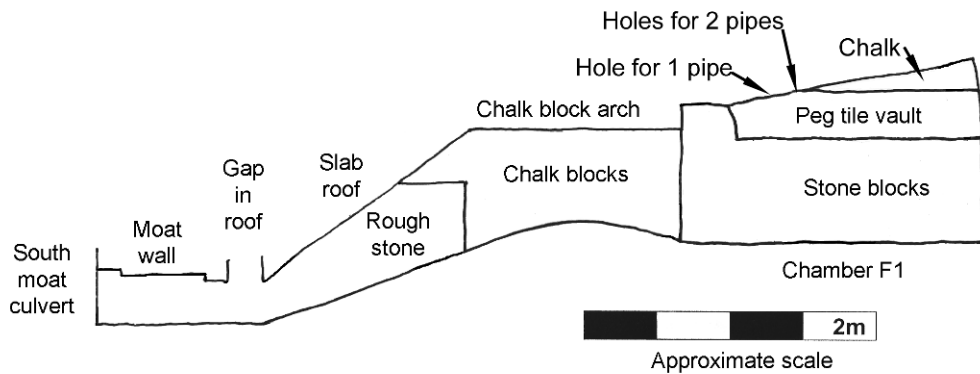


Figure 72. Section through side drain F1. The scale is approximate. The distances along the drain have been measured in difficult conditions. The height of the floor at the end has been measured as has its height relative to the floor of the main south moat culvert. The other heights are estimates.

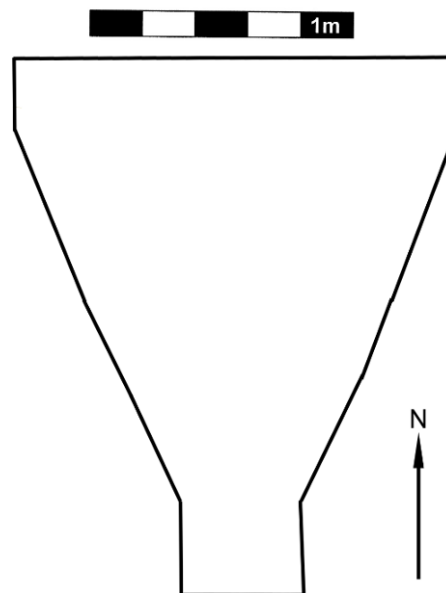


Figure 73. Plan of the chamber at the end of F1.

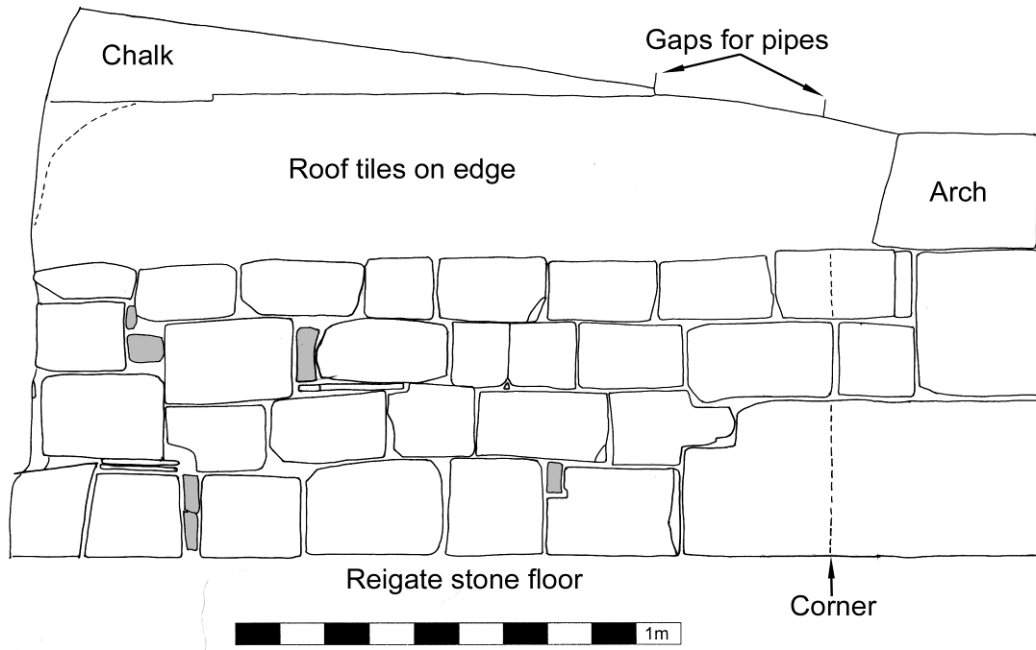


Figure 74. The east wall of chamber at the end of F1. The grey shaded blocks are chalk, the thin 'slabs' are peg tile. The rest of the blocks are Reigate stone.



Figure 75. The main moat culvert showing entrance to side drain F1,



Figure 76. Culvert side drain F1 looking from the end chamber south towards the main moat culvert.



Figure 77. The chamber at the end of F1 showing the vault and the exit towards the main culvert.



Figure 78. The end (north) wall of chamber F1.

#### **6.4.4 The privy tower base F2 and F3**

These are two niches in the north side of the culvert (figure 70). Their back wall is of Reigate stone which must have been the side of the moat island. The west side of F2 and the east side of F3 are partly made of Reigate stone and were clearly the sides of a projection from the moat island wall. This was about 2.06m long and projected out about 0.6m. The east side of the projection was 5m from the centre line of the culvert entrance F0. In F3 there was clearly an opening on the side of the projection: there may also have been one in F2. This, therefore, appears to be the base of a wash-through privy tower. The structure appears to have been built into the moat island wall and therefore contemporary with it. The tower base was probably directly below the projecting bay window shown on the various views of the south side of the house between 1797 and 1827. The tower base is close to the single- and three-seat privies shown on Campbell's plan at the western end of the kitchen block (figures 9 and 70). The projecting window is not shown but this may be one of the unclassical details which Campbell tidied up (see section 2.9 above).

### **6.5 Discussion of the kitchen block**

The Reigate stone base of the chamber at the end of drain F1 appears to predate the moat island and may be the earliest identified structure in the house. It was presumably the base of a large privy and, as such, most likely associated with a residential block at the high end of the house.

The massive chimney above the kitchen fireplace, the diapered brickwork in the outside walls and the moulding on the drip-course are all consistent with an early sixteenth century date suggesting that the Tudor kitchen was built by Richard or his son Nicholas.

Two pieces of evidence suggest that the kitchen was originally detached with a gap of about 1m between it and the hall/service block. The first is the area of earth fill in passage 2 which appears to separate the two buildings (figure 70). The second is the Foster window which is on the first-floor on the line of the gap between the two structures (section 5.2). The wall which contains the window is thinner than the main wall of the hall/service block immediately to the north. The window appears to have been part of a wall filling the gap between the two buildings. Its curved gothic head would have gone out of fashion in the mid-sixteenth century suggesting that the gap was filled around that time.

The door exposed in area DH (section 5.3 and [DH1] on figure 46) would also be built into the gap between the hall and kitchen. This appears to be gothic in form although too little was exposed to be absolutely certain. This door connected the south wing suggesting that the wing was added at the time of the blocking or later.

Cellar 9 looks as if it is built into the gap between the hall and the kitchen block although its walls do not exactly align with the area of soil in the sides of passage 2. The cellar looks like the residue of some earlier arrangement, which, judging by its the four-centred door-head, dated from the first half of the sixteenth century. It may have once connected to cellar 7 where the remains of the door would now be hidden by the eighteenth century brick vault.

The Campbell plan shows that the kitchen floor was at the same level as the hall floor and, apart from cellar 8, the height seems to have been made up with a great mass of chalk rubble and mortar which covered the cistern exposed in passage 2. This may be the same material as the chalk wall blocking the end of the chamber in drain F1.

The rubble over the cistern is bonded with brown mortar which is different from the mortar in the kitchen wall. This suggests that they are different dates. There are two possibilities: the kitchen could have been built over a pre-existing cistern or the cistern could have been built in a huge hole hacked in the kitchen foundations. If the former was the case the kitchen would have been built over a structure which already had a floor at the same level as the hall. This seems rather unlikely as the hall is unusual in being raised above the top of the moat island. The mortar of the kitchen block does lap over the cistern but probably not to the extent that it would be unstable. On balance it seems most likely that the cistern was inserted into the kitchen floor.

The cistern makes little sense unless it was fed by a pipe either from the roof or from a perched water table on the higher ground to the south of the house. The south wing roof seems to drain into F28 which emptied into the main culvert along the west side of the house (see volume 2 page 8). However, this drain does not appear to be Tudor. At present either option is possible although the pipeline from higher ground seems more likely.

The toilet and probably privy/bath block is built into a corner between the kitchen and the south wing. This suggests that it is later than both, but the wash-through privy in the culvert must have been part of this structure and is built into the moat island wall. This suggests that the privy/bath block was originally part of a free-standing tower built into the moat island wall with a small projection into the moat. Malcolm's print of the south side of the house dated 1797 shows a bay running up the south side of the bath block above the privy tower base. It also appears on the Petrie water colour of 1798 and on Buckler's drawing of 1827. It is not shown on Colen Campbell's plan, but a late medieval or Tudor date is more like than an eighteenth century one. Bay windows appear in the fourteenth century although surviving



examples are rare. They became common in the fifteenth century and were very popular in the sixteenth.<sup>276</sup>

The D-shaped bath on Campbell's plan could have been inserted in the sixteenth, seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The rather curious classical chimney on the roof is unlikely to have been early sixteenth century and may perhaps have been a piece of Elizabethan or Jacobean mannerism. The collection of late seventeenth or early eighteenth century blue and white tin-glazed tiles found in the culvert might possibly have come from the bathroom (section 13.3.2).

The Campbell plan shows that the Tudor kitchen originally extended upward through two storeys possibly to an open roof. By the late eighteenth century this area had been divided into two floors and sash windows had been inserted in the south wall.

## 7 THE SOUTH WING

### 7.1 Documentary evidence

Colen Campbell's plan shows a corridor along the south side of the south wing on both ground and first-floors (figure 79). On the ground floor there were five rooms along it and one in the wing end all without beds. The first-floor also had five rooms with another at the wing end although several of these were smaller as the corridor was wider. Most had beds in them. The corridor also provided access to room 218 on the first-floor of the west end of the kitchen block.

The Campbell plan shows that the western end of the wing was different from the east. The internal walls were thicker and the fireplaces were against the walls rather than the corners of the rooms. Mid-Victorian photos show that the chimney stacks were also different. This suggested that the two ends of the wing were not the same build or at least that the interior had been greatly reorganised.

Campbell's plan and elevations show that the west end of the wing was only one room deep whereas the present wing ends are double. When Defoe described the house in 1724 he criticised the narrowness of the wings:

yet architects say, that the two wings are too deep for the body of the house, that they should either have been wider asunder, or not so long.<sup>277</sup>

By 1792, when the west front was engraved by Ellis, the end of the wings had been doubled by building extensions on the outer ends (figure 80). It is not clear when this was done. The latter editions of Defoe were still repeating the criticism as late as 1778. This may have been the result of copying from one edition to another although other parts of the entry were revised.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>276</sup> Wood 1981 p. 102-3.

<sup>277</sup> Defoe 1724 vol. 1, p. 158.

<sup>278</sup> Defoe 1778 vol. 1, p. 217-8

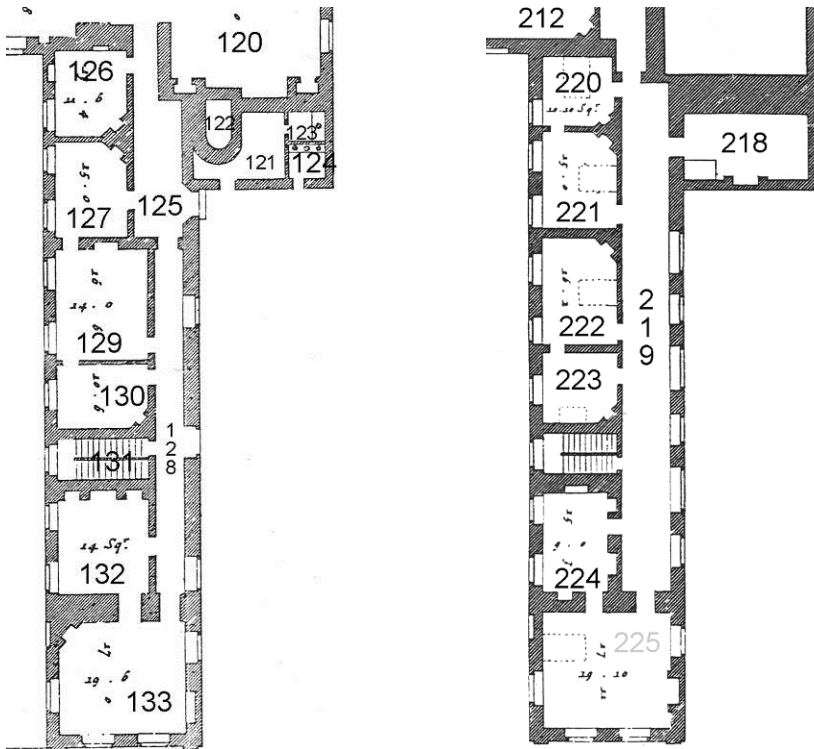


Figure 79. The first and second floor from Colen Campbell's plan published in 1717.



Figure 80. Ellis's engraving of 1792.<sup>279</sup>

<sup>279</sup> The plate is inscribed 'Beddington. Drawn and Engraved by W<sup>m</sup> Ellis. Published 1 Nov 1792, by W. Ellis Gwynne's Buildings Islington'. It is also marked 'plate 14<sup>th</sup>' top right.

The 1764 inventory lists the south wing rooms on three levels. On the 'upper gallery' there was the:

- Gardener's Room
- Next room to d[itt]o
- Next room (empty)
- Coachman's Room
- Aaron's Room (a footman)
- Powther Room [for powdering wigs]
- Lumber Room
- Butler's Room
- Keeper's Room
- Groom and Postillion's Room
- Spare room opposite number 10
- Housemaids room adjoining to the Hall
- Cook's Room

The prints show that the wing was two storeyed so these rooms must have been in the attics. They were presumably lit by the dormer windows which can be seen on the south side of the south wing and kitchen block on the Buckler drawing of 1827. There are no visible dormers on the prints and early photos showing the north side of the wing and the kitchen block although they could have been hidden behind the parapet. If the housemaids' room adjoined the hall the accommodation must have extended into the attic over the service area.

Below this – on the first-floor – there was a range of rooms along a 'Grand Long Gallery':

- Green Bedchamber
- Dressing room to d[itt]o
- Needlework Bedchamber and dressing room adjoining
- Chintee [?] bedchamber
- Butler's Room
- Wrought Room
- Miss Sander's Bedchamber & dressing room
- Late Lady Carew's Bed Chamber and dressing room and small passage
- Late Sir Nicholas Dressing Room and bathing room
- Library
- Store Room

The eleven main rooms listed here might correspond to the eleven rooms shown on Campbell's plan of the first-floor of the south wing, kitchen and service block (figure 79). However, the inventory lists several dressing rooms which don't appear to be shown on the Campbell plan. It is also likely that by 1764 the extension had been added to the south side of the wing end. It is therefore difficult to reconcile the inventory with the Campbell plan. However, the 'small passage, connected with the 'late Lady Carew's Bed Chamber and dressing room' would fit with rooms 216 and 217 at the southeast corner of the house as they were approached through a small lobby.

The ground floor consisted of:

- Wainscot Parlour
- Drawing Room
- Late Sir Nicholas's Study
- White Parlour
- Hunting Room

Breakfast Room  
Butler's Pantry  
Long Passage from the Wainscot Parlour to Grand Staircase

This compares with six rooms and the passage on the Campbell plan which does not include the extension on the end of the wing. Malcolm's print of 1797 suggests that the ground floor of the extension was an open loggia with three round-headed arches on the south side of room (figure 56). One of the arches is also visible on the Buckler drawing of 1827 but it has a pointed top and is clearly in gothic style (figure 58). The structural evidence supports Buckler and shows no sign of conversion from round the pointed heads (section 7.6.1).

Buckler's drawing shows that the south side of the south wing had several 'gothic' bay windows and crenellation along the top of the wall. These do not look Tudor and are not on the late eighteenth century prints. They are therefore likely to be alterations, perhaps made for Ann Paston Gee in the early nineteenth century.

The 1859 sales particulars say that:

The South Wing is approached by a flight of Stone Steps, leading through the Entrance Lobby to the Passage (in Oak-panelled Wainscot) communicating to all the rooms on the Ground Floor, and contains – A Morning Room, 22 ft 6 by 20, and 16 ft high; Ante Room, 14 ft by 8ft 9, and 16 ft high; Dining Room, 28 ft, by 15, and 12 ft 6 high; the Brown Room, 19 ft 6 by 17, and 12 ft 6 high; the Library, 14 ft by 14, and 12 ft 6 high, (these Rooms are all Oak Panelled, and fitted with handsome Marble Chimney Pieces); Housekeeper's Room, Butler's Pantry, Servants' Hall, Store Room, capital Kitchen, Scullery, Pastry Room, Butler's Bed Room, and Larder. – At the East end of the Hall is a Kitchen, Scullery, Pastry Room, Butler's Bed Room, and Larder. – At the East end of the Hall is a handsome Staircase, with carved Oak Balustrade, leading to a Corridor, 82 ft long by 8 ft wide, (forming a Picture Gallery, also in Oak panelled wainscot). On the First Floor, - A Ladies Sitting Room, (overlooking the Lawn) 17 ft 6 by 12, and 12 ft 6 high; a Ladies South-east Bed Room, 23 ft by 12, and 12 ft high; South Bed Room, 20 ft by 16, and 12 ft 6 high, Dressing Room, 16 ft by 9, and 12 ft 6 high; Bath Room; Morning Room, 21 ft by 15 and 12 ft 6 high; Drawing Room, 28 ft by 19, and 15 ft high, (Oak panelled, with elegant Mirrors cut in deep mouldings) and handsome Statuary Marble Chimney Piece; West Bed Room, 20 ft by 19, and 12 ft 6 high. Dressing Room to ditto, 15 ft 6 by 12, and 12 ft 6 high; another Bed Room 20 ft by 12, and 12 ft 6 high, Dressing Room to ditto, 15 ft by 12, and 12 ft 6 high; another Bed Room 20 ft by 12, and 12 ft 6 high, Dressing Room to ditto, 15 ft by 12 and 12 ft 6 high; and the Bachelor's Room, 12 ft by 11, and 12 ft 6 high. There is also a second staircase, communicating with the Ground Floor.

On the Second Floor are Day and Night Nurseries, and Ten Sleeping Apartments for Servants; also, an outlet leading to roof of House.

On 11 May 1865, while the house was being converted into an orphanage a fire started at the western end of the south wing. This seems to have destroyed several rooms but it is not clear how far it spread.<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> *Sutton Journal* 17 May 1865 front page.

## 7.2 The wing structure

In the middle part of the south wing, between the former kitchen block and the extension to the south side of west end, the upper floor has an internal width of 6.37m and the walls on the north side are much thicker than those on the south. On the ground floor the internal width is 6.11m and the south wall is more or less the same thickness as the north wall. This is at variance with Colen Campbell's plan which shows the ground floor south wall as thicker than the others.

## 7.3 The exterior brickwork

A bonding break runs up the south side of the west end of the wing (figure 81). The break starts thirty courses above the stone offset round the lower part of the wall. It then rises for seven courses, steps east just under a stretcher, rises for another seven courses, steps west, rises again and so on up the wall. The rises vary from 6 to eight and a half courses. The break then ends ten courses below the stone drip-course at the head of the wall. The bricks are very similar on both sides but the courses are often out of alignment. It seems likely that the break marks a boundary between the eighteenth century brickwork and the refacing carried out in the 1860s. The eighteenth century work is probably on the east side of the break.

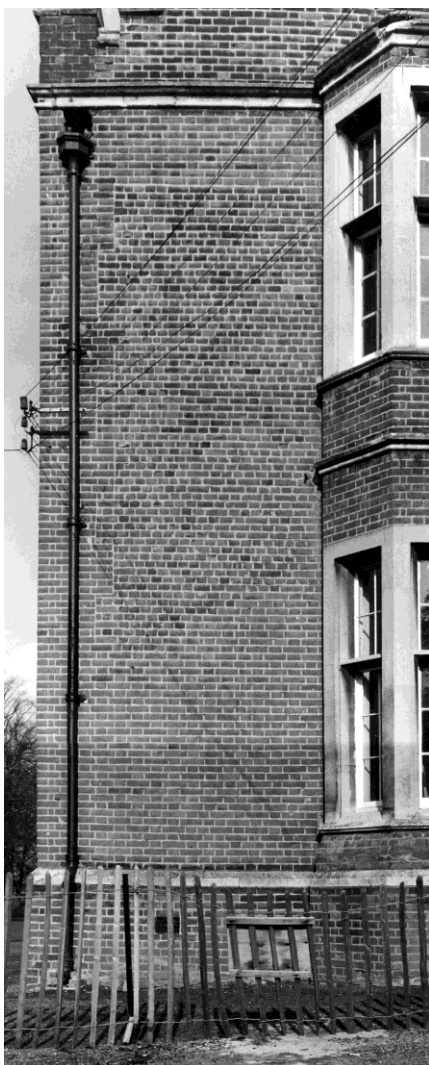


Figure 81. The bonding break in the west end of the south wing near the southwest corner, 1984. (Photo created by merging two pictures and straightening the result).

## 7.4 The chimneys

A mid-nineteenth century photo shows several chimney stacks on the south wing and kitchen block (figure 82). These can be partly reconciled with the chimneys shown on Buckler's drawing of 1827 and Nash's print of the west side of the house about 1830 (figures 83 and 84).

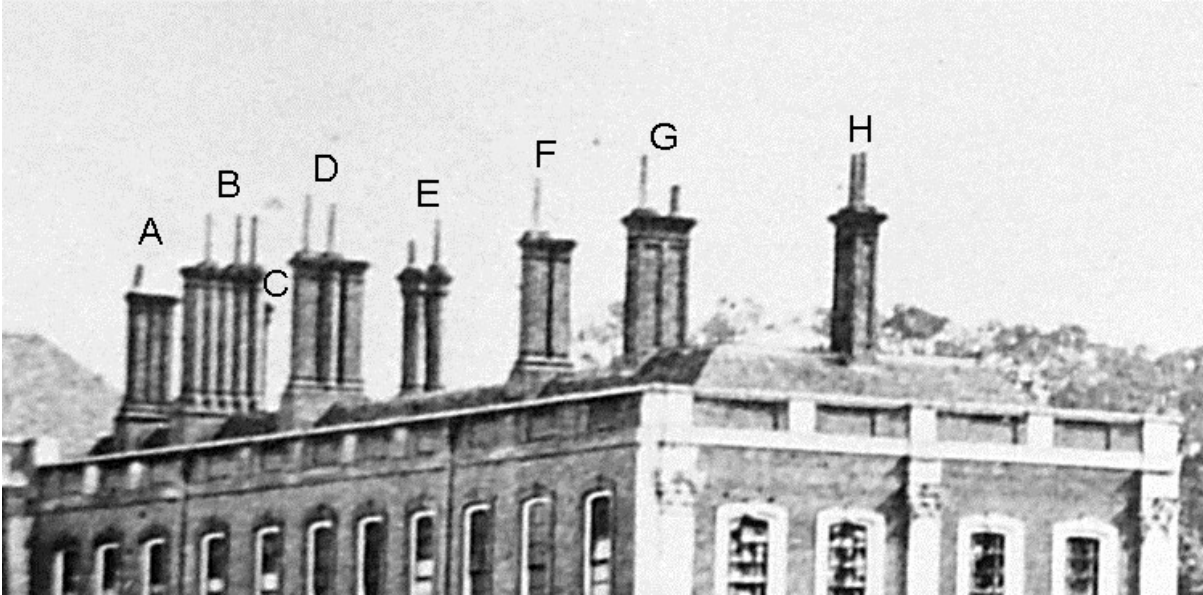


Figure 82. Detail of a mid-nineteenth century photo of Carew Manor showing the south wing chimney stacks identified by added letters.

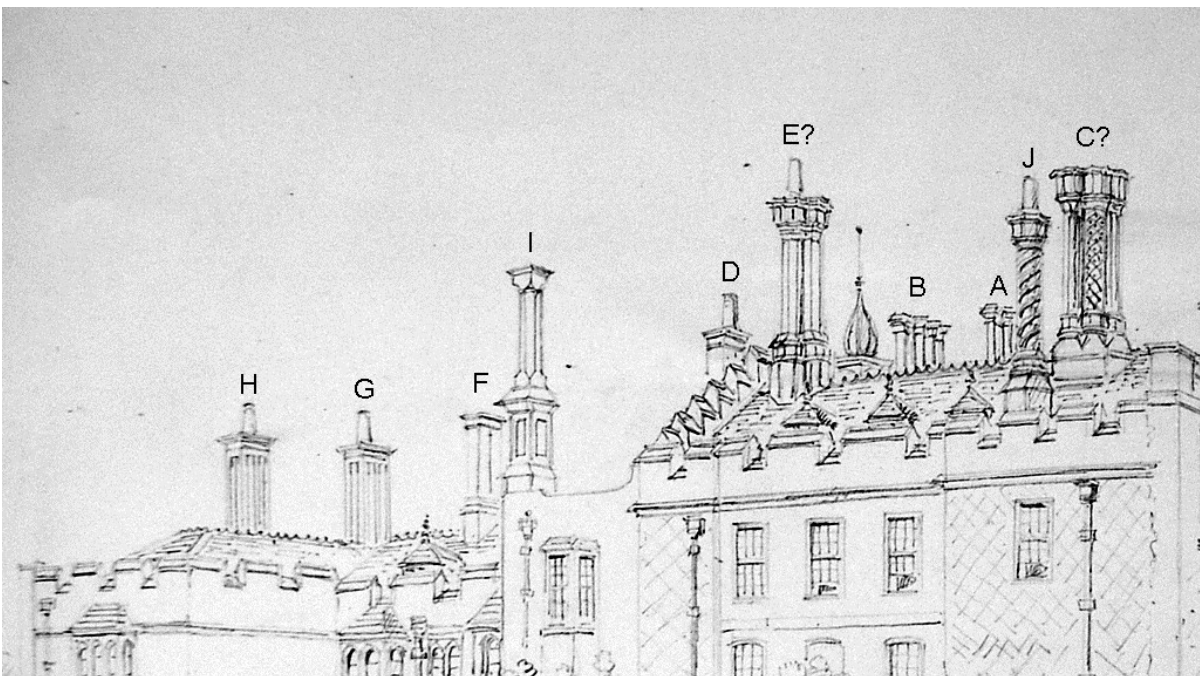


Figure 83. Detail of the south wing and kitchen block chimneys from Buckler's 1827 drawing. The letters attempt to reconcile the chimneys with those shown on the mid-nineteenth century photo above. (© The British Library Board, Add. 36388, f213).

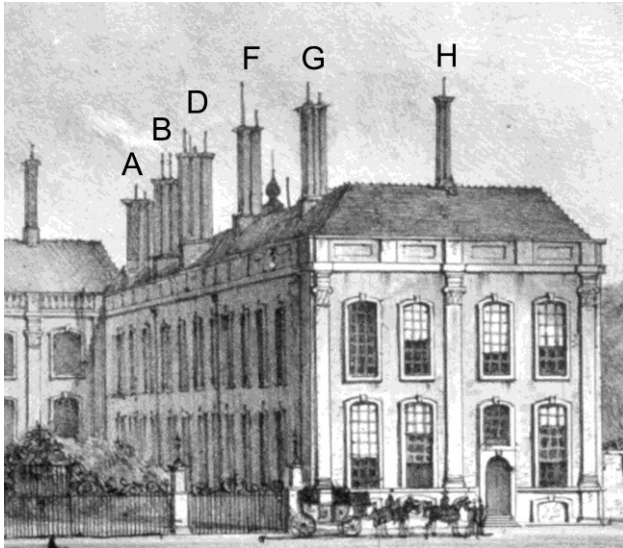


Figure 84. Detail of the west side of the house from a print by John Nash in Sutton Local Studies Collection. The title of the print refers to Benjamin Hallowell Carew who owned the house 1828-34. It is likely that the preparatory drawing was made at the same time as Nash's drawing of the panelling one of which is dated 1829 (figure 3).

These show ten chimney stacks on the south wing, service block and kitchen block. They appear to fall into several groups:

- With carved decoration. Stacks C and J on the eastern end of the kitchen block.
- Less elaborate chimneys of probable sixteenth century date. A, B on the east end of the south wing and E on the western end of the kitchen block.
- More classical looking chimneys D and F in the centre of the south wing.
- With recessed panels. G and H on the western end of the wing. The latter served the fireplace in the extension to the wing end which is later than 1717 suggesting both are eighteenth century.
- In the form of a classical column. Chimney I on the west end of the kitchen block of uncertain date.

The positions of the chimneys can be more-or-less reconciled with the positions of the fireplaces on the Campbell plan although there are anomalies (figure 85). Chimney F looks out of place and it is possible that the underlying building had been rearranged in the course of the eighteenth or early-nineteenth-centuries.

On the photograph – which must have been taken the late 1850s or early 1860s – the roof-ridge appears to drop at chimney G with the front or western end of the roof higher than the main part of the wing. This is not supported by Buckler's drawing and probably not by Nash's print which were both made about two decades earlier. On the photograph the wing chimneys appear to straddle the ridge although some are fairly long and extend close to the north wall. This is not supported by Nash's print which shows chimney D on the north slope.

Nash and Buckler show cresting on the front of the roof and some iron-glazed crest tiles have been found in excavations (volume 2 section 6.7.2). It is possible that the wing roof was altered in the early nineteenth century although the views are not clear enough to be certain. The Buckler and Nash views are generally accurate where they can be checked but there must be the possibility of mistakes. The photo is not very clear so the interpretation of it is not absolutely certain.

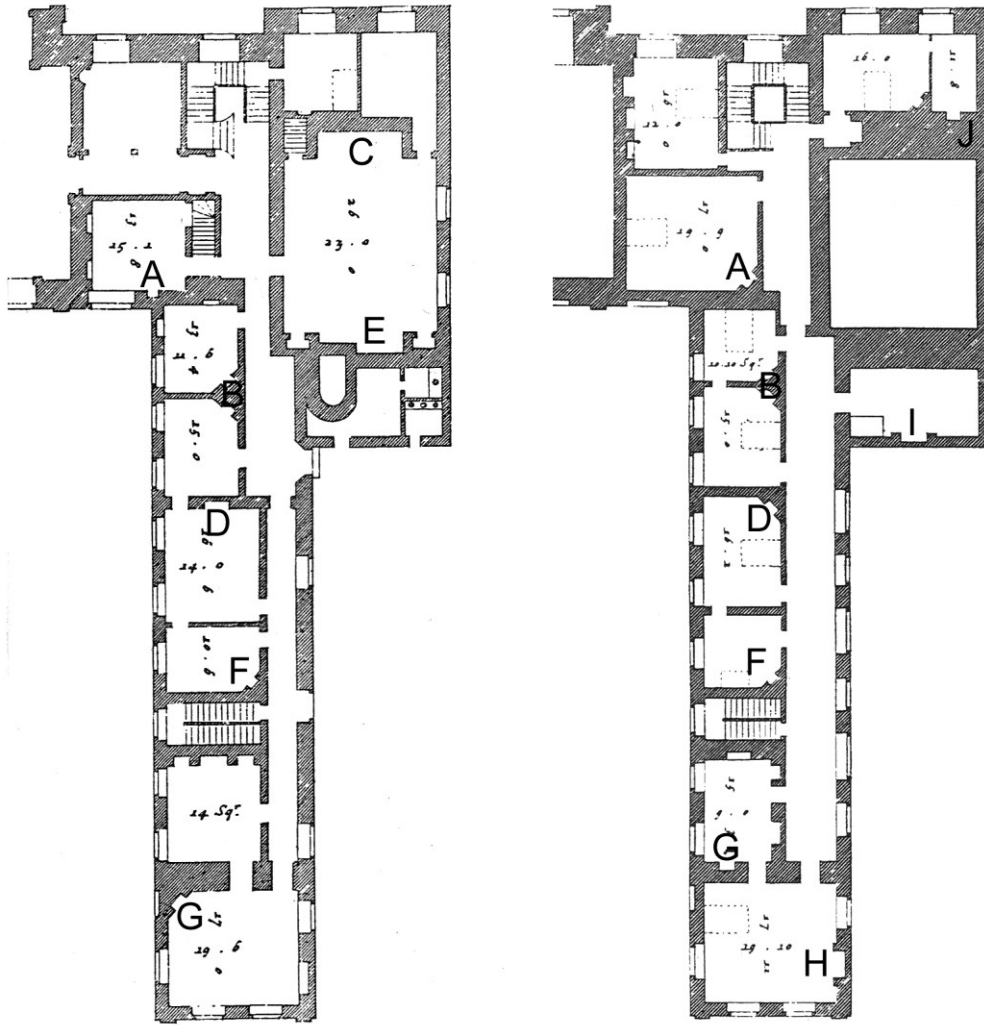


Figure 85. The Campbell plans of 1717, ground floor (left) and first-floor (right) with the lettering of the chimney stacks used in figures 82 to 85. Stack H also served the extension on the south side of the wing end added after the plan was made.

## 7.5 Timbers and stone found in the walls in 1984

In 1984 contractors overhauled the outside of the building cutting out and replacing several areas of defective brickwork.

### 7.5.1 Cut AE

Two areas of the brick facing were cut away at first-floor level on the north side of the south wing close to the west end (figure 86). These were identified as AE east and west.

There was a horizontal timber in the eastern cut buried behind the eighteenth or nineteenth century brick wall facing. The timber (figures 87 and 88) ended in a splayed scarf with six randomly distributed face pegs. The timber was slightly charred. The timber passed behind the brickwork and reappeared in the west cut. Here it was heavily charred and appears to have been burnt away. The surviving length was 2.6m. The timber was substantial but the scarf was weak as it was only held together by the face pegs. This suggests that the timber was originally firmly supported, most likely by resting on the top of a wall. There are no joints for



roof rafters which suggest that it was either a tie-beam or a cill from a timber structure resting on a wall. The joint was probably unsuitable for a tie which would be subjected to some tension so a cill beam is the most likely use.

Behind the facing the wall was of irregular 'Tudor' style bricks in white mortar. In the eastern cut there was a piece of stone embedded in the brickwork with the ends of two beams resting on it. They were separated by a vertical iron bar. The timbers were higher than they were wide and had shrunk leaving a gap between them and the mortar (figure 87). One had a mark on the end grain, possibly 'm8c' (figure 88).

In the western cut there were two pieces of whitish stone embedded in the wall core. Neither appeared to have any mouldings.



Figure 86. The two cuts AE near the northwest corner of the south wing, April 1984. The bottom of the west cut was 4.62 m above ground level.



Figure 87. Above and below. AE – timber exposed in the east cut, 1984.



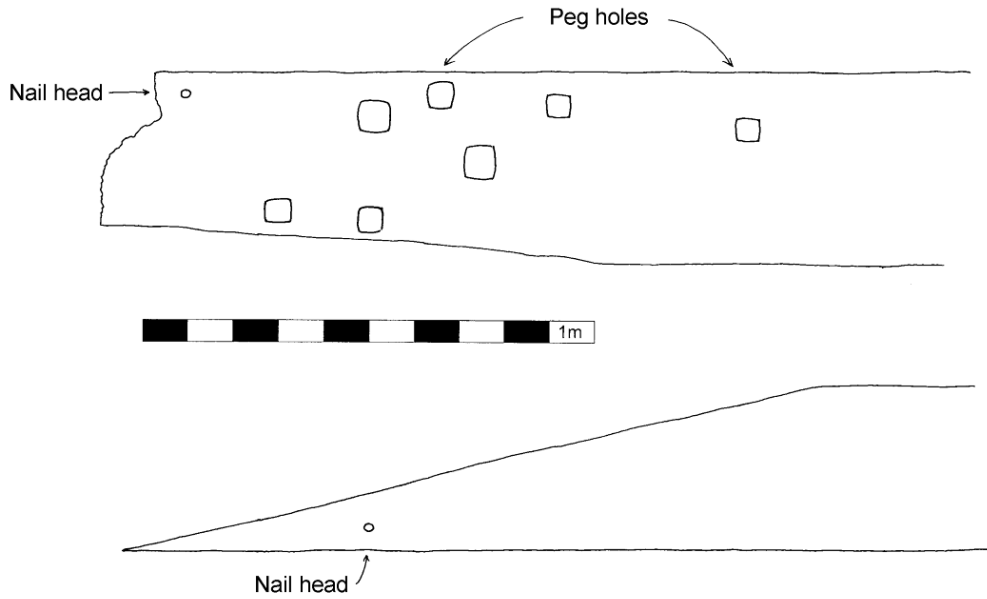


Figure 88. Elevation (above) and plan (below) of the east end of the timber in cut AE east side. (Drawing with missing peg-hole added from a photo).

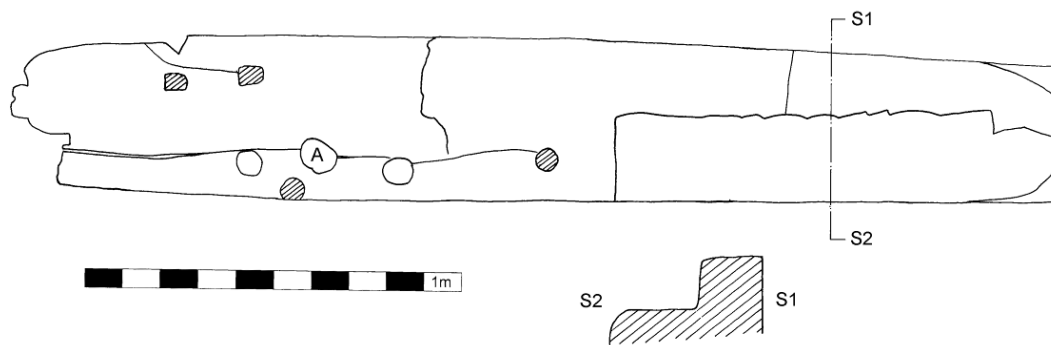


Figure 89. The south or inner side of the timber found in AE east cut drawn after it had been removed from the wall. The holes are faceted and appear to have been cut with a curved chisel rather than a drill. The shaded holes still had pegs in them. The hole marked A sloped upwards towards the top of the drawing.



Figure 90. Cut AE – the end of two timbers resting on a stone block all embedded in the north wall of the south wing (above and below).

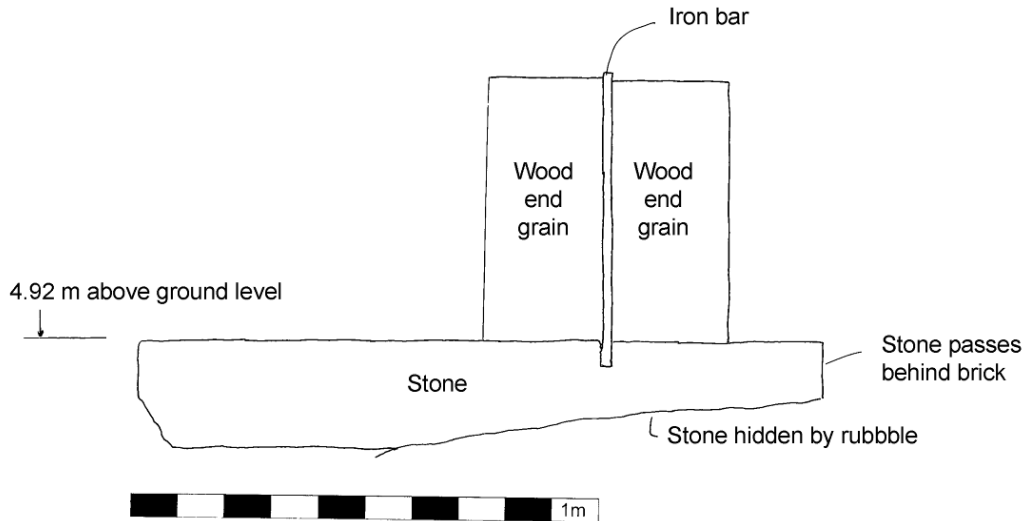


Figure 91. Cut AE – two timbers and a stone block embedded in the wall.



Figure 92. Detail of a mark – possibly ‘m8c’ – cut into the left hand timber in figure 90.

### 7.5.2 A timber from the south side of the wing

The timber shown in figure 93 was found by workmen in the upper part of the wall of the south wing. It had already been removed when it was found and the exact location was not established although it was probably towards the east end of the wing near the former bath block. One side of the timber was drawn and it was put aside for work to continue the following day but it was lost. The timber had a large tenon marked T in figure 93. The mortise had been held by wooden pegs which were at right angles to the pegs in the drawn face.

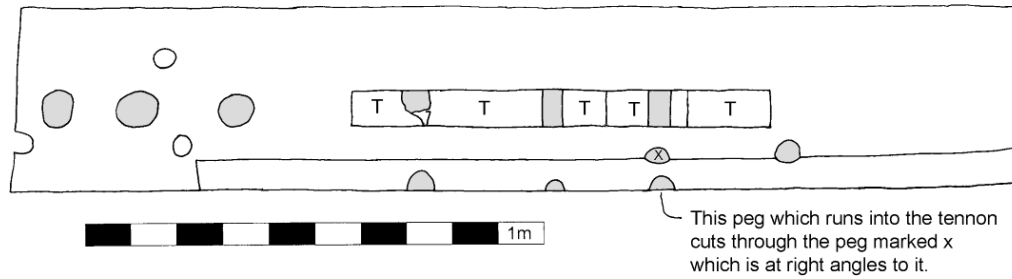


Figure 93. One side of a timber form the upper part of the south wall of the south wing probably near the former bath block. T marks one large tenon. The pegs were still in situ in the grey shaded holes.

## 7.6 Investigations at the west end of the wing

### 7.6.1 The structure of room 134

Room 134 on the ground floor at the southwest corner of the south wing has a bolection moulded fireplace in the centre of the north wall. This is of marble but is now covered with paint (figure 94).



Figure 94. Fireplace on the north wall of room 134 at the southwest corner of the south wing.

The ceiling of the room is divided into three sections by two north – south aligned joists which are decorated with mouldings as shown in figure 95.



Figure 95. The moulding on the ceiling of room 134.

In November 1981 several sections of floor the boards of room 134 were lifted to deal with a beetle infestation. This provided an opportunity to examine the underside of the floor and the space beneath.

There was the base of a pilaster-like projection in the centre of the east wall below floor level (figures 96 and 97). There was another similar base on the south wall near the southwest corner of the room. There was a rough slot about 55mm deep cut into the pilaster base on the east wall about 70mm above the top of the soil. There is a similar slot on the other pilaster but in that case the slot extended along the south wall.

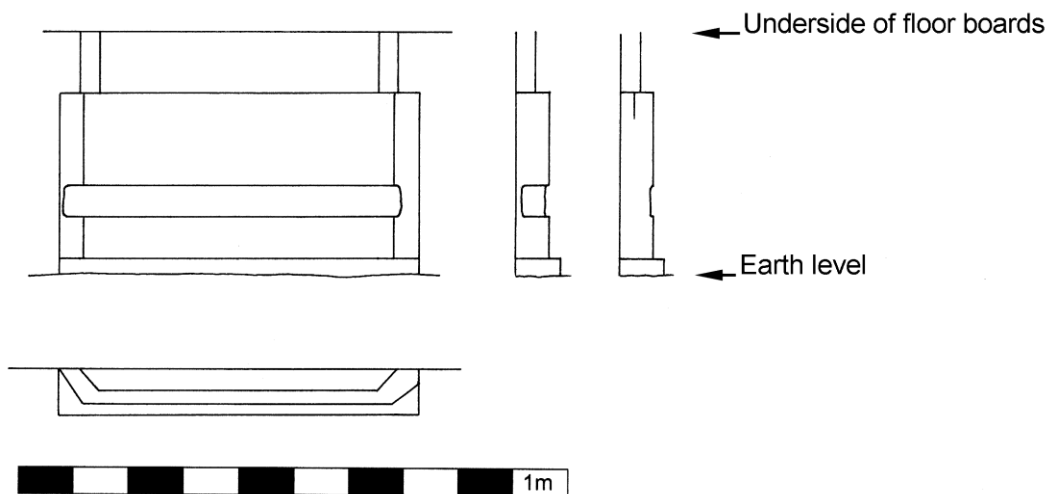


Figure 96. The pilaster-like case in room 134 in the centre of the east wall below the floor boards.

Further details of the room walls emerged in 1986 when the plaster was stripped off by builders. This exposed the outline of two blocked pointed arches in the east wall and part of another on the south wall (figures 97 to 101). The latter had been cut by a window. These appear to be the remains of the open loggia shown in the Buckler drawing of 1827. Part of the area beneath the floors was covered with thin fossiliferous stone slabs which presumably formed the floor when the building was open to the elements. Three samples were removed for examination.<sup>281</sup> They were between 16mm and 30mm thick. Two had a smoothed surface with rounded tool marks while the other was rough on both sides.

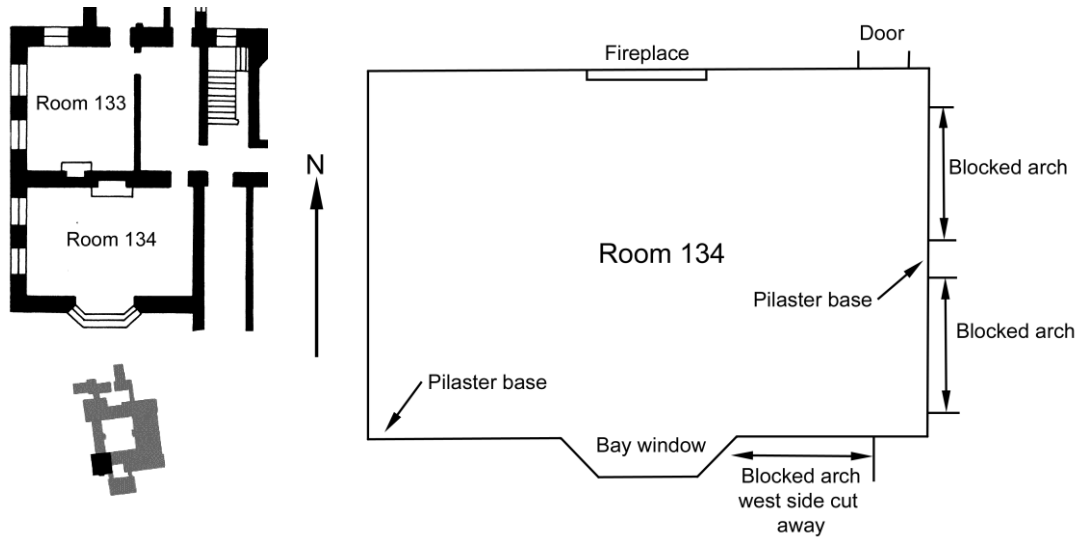


Figure 97. The western end of the south wing showing the positions of rooms 133 and 134 and a sketch plan of room 134 showing the location of the features.

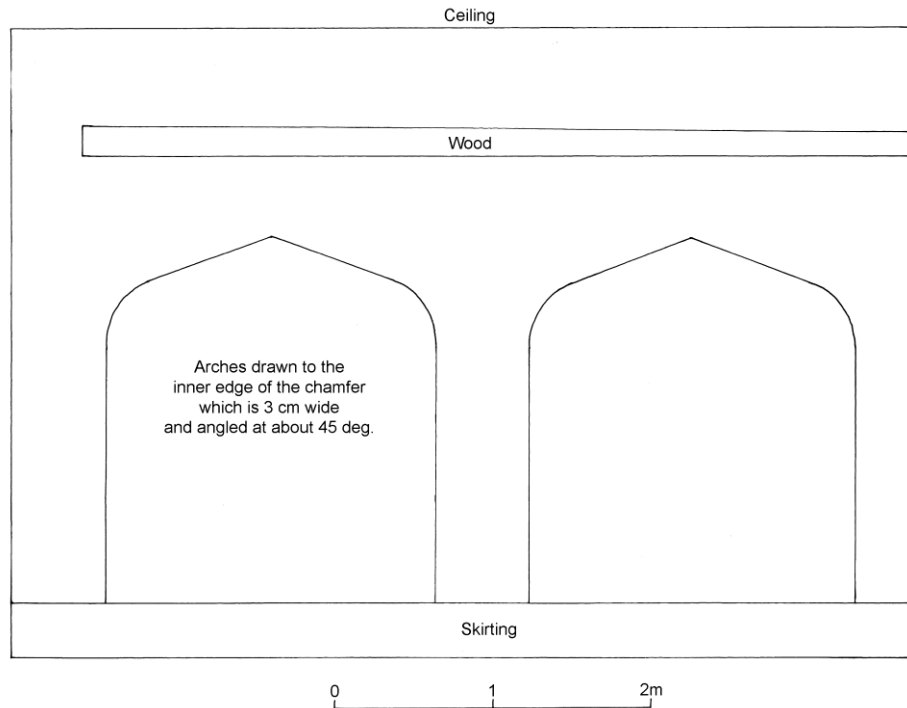


Figure 98. Blocked arches exposed in the east wall of room 134 on 1 September 1986.

<sup>281</sup> Stone numbers SB13, SB14 and SB15.



Figure 99. Blocked arches exposed in the east wall of room 134 on 1 September 1986.

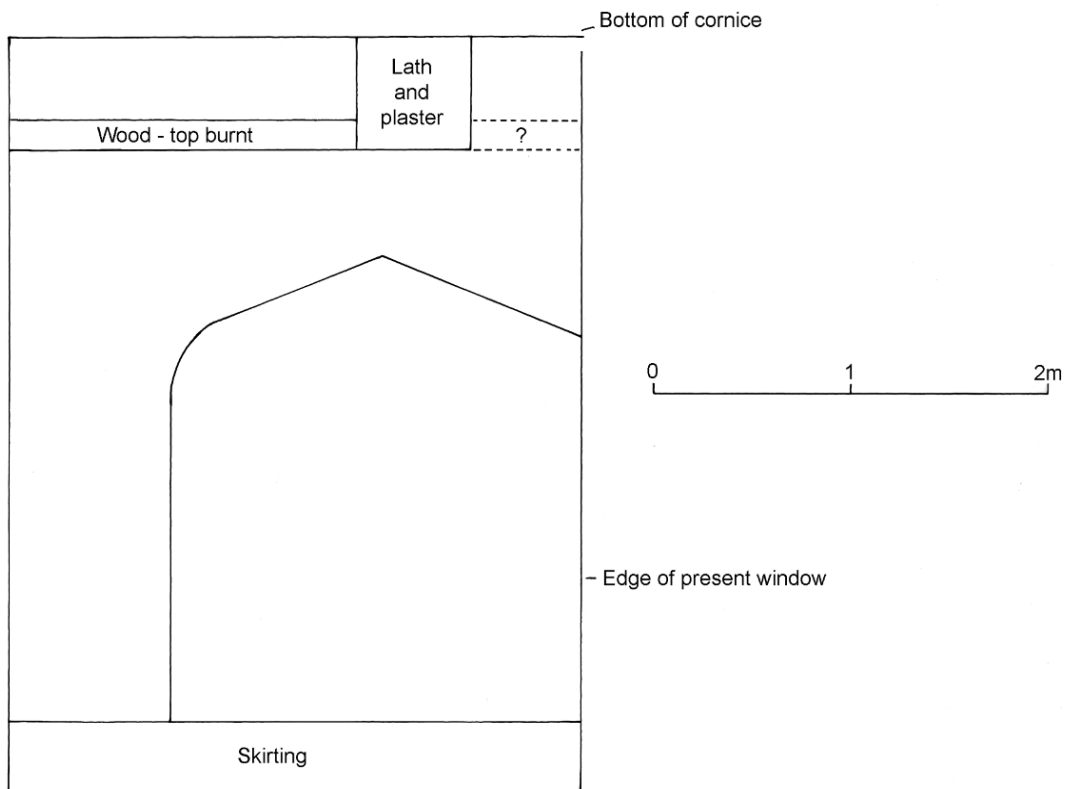


Figure 100. Part of a blocked arch in the south wall of room 134 on 1 September 1986.





Figure 101. Part of a blocked arch in the south wall of room 134 on 1 September 1986.

### 7.6.2 The timbers from the floor of room 134

The floor boards in room 134 were supported by reused timbers several of which had mouldings on them. The joists were in two layers at right angles to each other with the upper ones resting on the lower. They were identified by referring to them as upper and lower layer and by numbering the lower ones from south to north and the upper ones from west to east. The recording had to be done in a short time so the most interesting were selectively drawn and photographed. It is possible that some significant timbers were missed.

**Lower joist number 2** had a total length of 6.49m. It appears to have been part of a floor or ceiling bridging joist which spanned one room with a width of 3.63m, crossed a partition and then another room which had a width of over 2.04m (figure 102). There was a chamfer on one edge and the joints for the common floor joists on the opposite side. The chamfer moulding is unequivocally gothic (figures 103 and 104).

The underside of the common joists had been chamfered. The mortise for them was probably incomplete with the peg hole passing through a missing tenon (figure 105 and 106). It has some general similarity with the floor frames at Paycocke's House, Coggeshall, Essex which probably date from the end of the fifteenth century. A similar joint to that at Paycocke's was used on the school house at Felstead, Essex founded by Richard Lord Rich in 1564.<sup>282</sup> The

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<sup>282</sup> Hewett 1969 p. 134-5 and p. 197 and Hewett 1980 p. 211.

joint also has some affinity with the floor framing of The Boar's Head, Braintree, Essex which Hewett dates to about 1570.<sup>283</sup>

At the western end of the timber there was the remains of the tenon which had been partly cut away (figures 107). There is no close parallel for this joint in either Hewett 1969 or Hewett 1980.

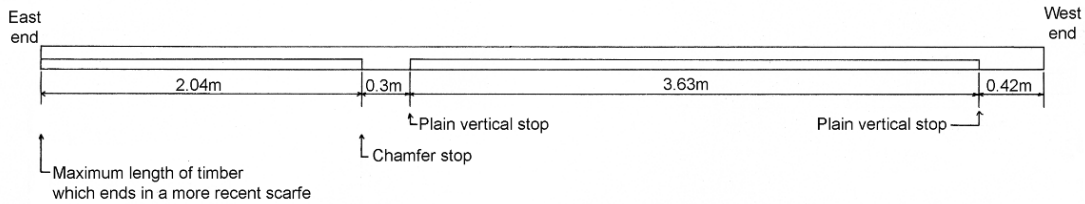


Figure 102. Sketch of lower joist 2 from the floor of room 134. Mortises are omitted.

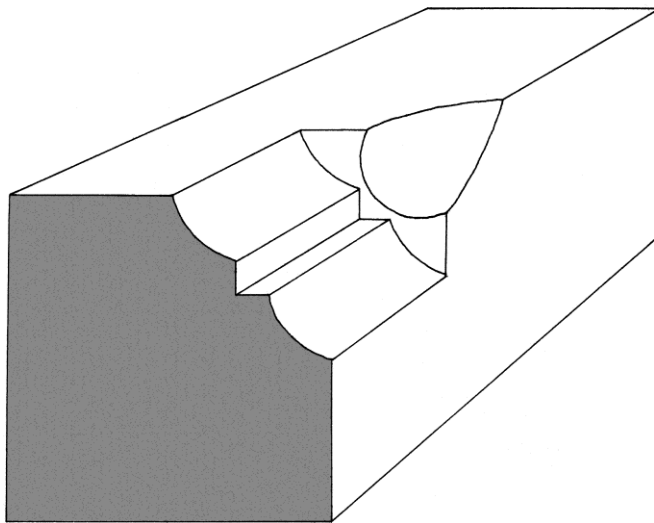


Figure 103. Moulding and chamfer stop on the eastern section of lower joist 2 from the floor of room 134. The timber would originally have had the moulding downwards.

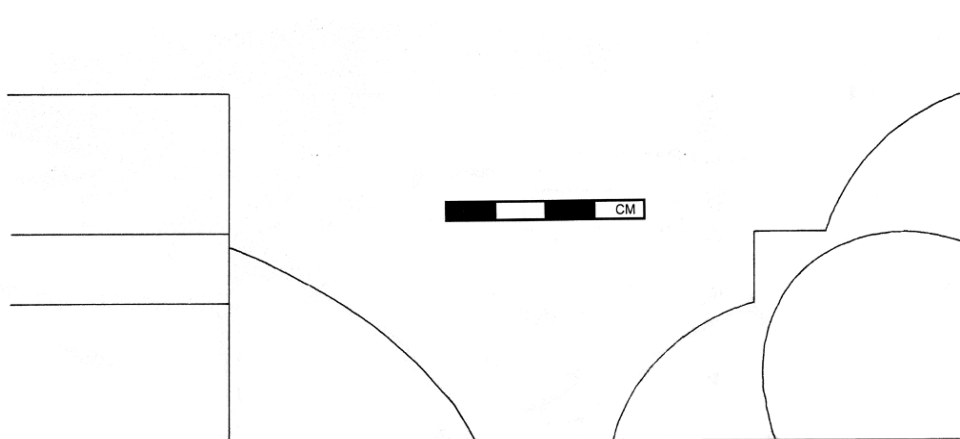


Figure 104. The chamfer stop on the eastern section of lower joist 2 from the floor of room 134.

<sup>283</sup> Hewett 1969 p. 199.

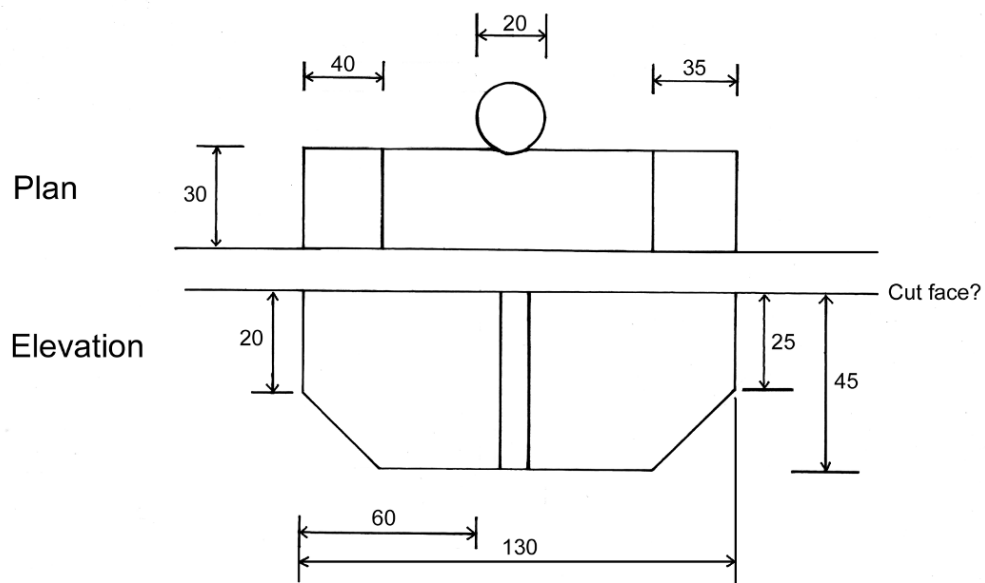


Figure 105. Sketch drawing of a mortise for a common floor rafter in lower joist 2 from the floor of room 134. Dimensions in millimetres.

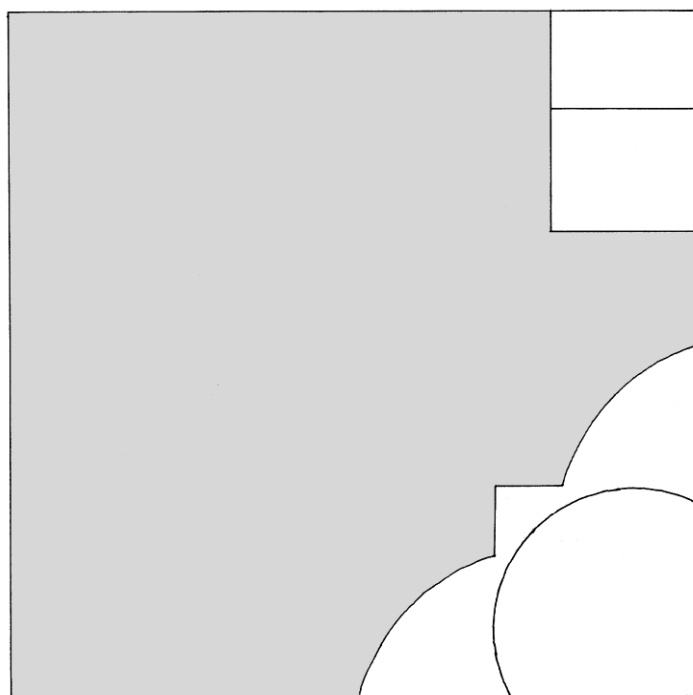


Figure 106. Section through the joist showing the moulding and mortise for a floor joist.

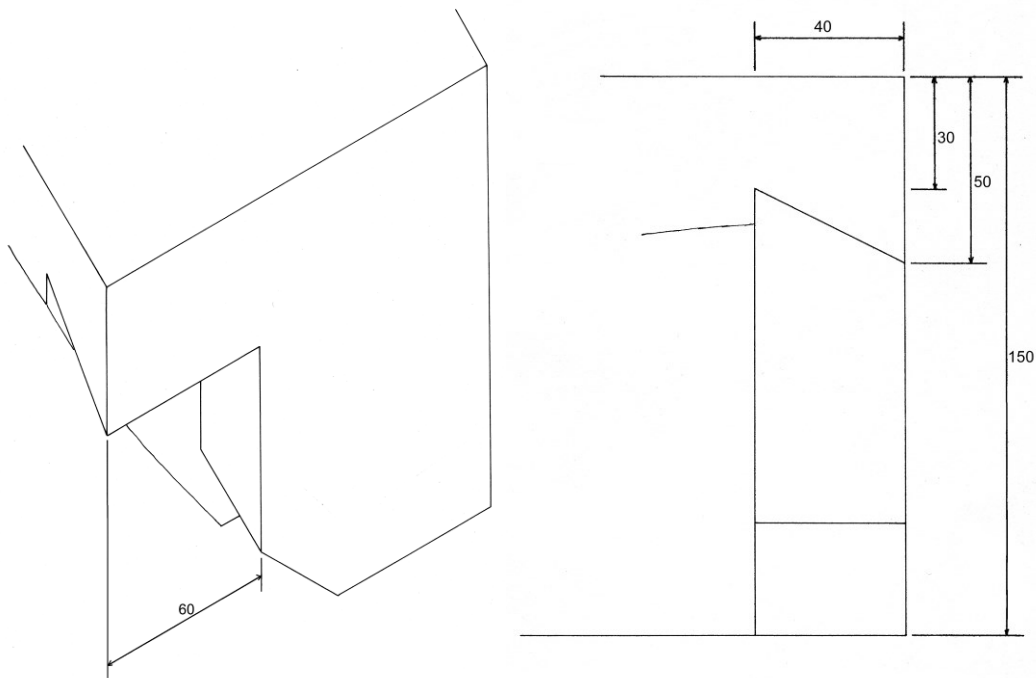


Figure 107. Isometric and side elevation of the remains of the tenon at the west end of lower joist 2 from the floor of room 134. Dimensions in millimetres. This joint appears to relate to the reuse of the timber.

**Upper floor joist number 5** included a section of timber about 1.8m long which stretched between lower joists 2 and 3. The timber was 140mm high and had a maximum width of 117mm and had the mouldings shown in figure 108. There was a carpenter's mark on the underside as shown in figure 109. The original function of this timber is uncertain although it appears to be part of larger moulding.

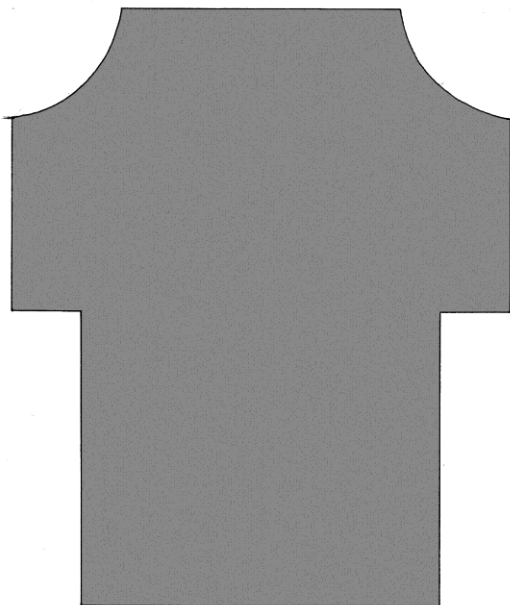


Figure 108. Cross section of upper floor joist number 5. The height was 140 mm and the maximum width 117 mm.

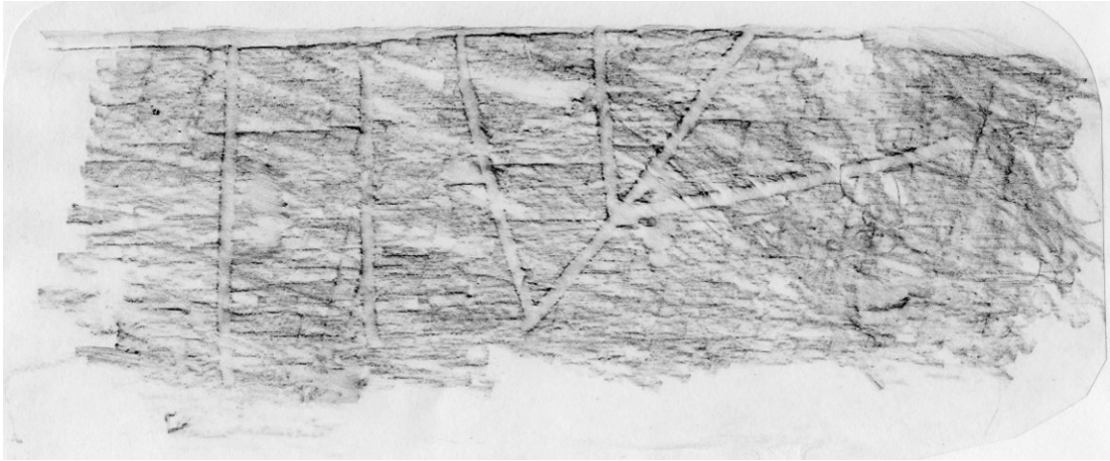


Figure 109. A carpenter's mark on the underside of upper floor joist 5.



Figure 110. Upper floor joist 5 with lower joist 3. Looking west.



Figure 111. Upper floor joist 5 with lower floor joist 3 looking south.

**Upper floor joist 6**



Figure 112. Upper floor joist 6 and lower floor joist 2. The upper view looks east, the lower south.



### Upper joist 9

This contained a piece of timber about 1.8 m long with the moulding shown of figure 113. One end rested on lower joist 2, the other on lower joist 3. The timber had a height of 135 mm and a maximum width of 150 mm.

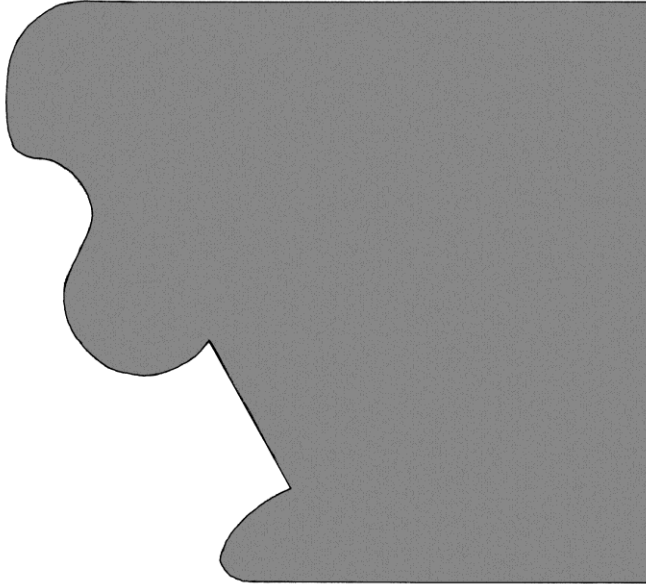


Figure 113. Cross section of upper floor joist 9. Height of 135mm, maximum width 150mm. The moulding has some affinity with the stonework which probably came from the hall windows (section 4.2).



Figure 114. Upper joist 9 with lower joist 2 on the right. Looking east.

## Upper joist 12

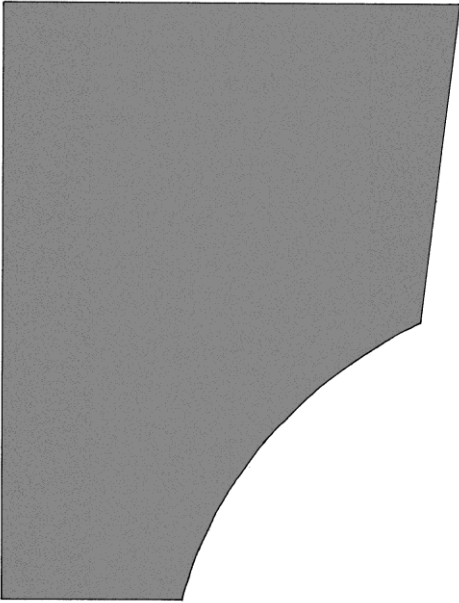


Figure 115. Cross section of upper floor joist 12 between lower joists 1 and 2. Height 130mm, maximum width 100mm.

## Upper joist 15



Figure 116. Upper joist 15 with lower joist 2 on the right. Looking east. Note the charring on the underside of the timber which is about 1.8m long.





Figure 117. Upper joist 15 with lower joist 3. Looking north.

### Upper joist 17

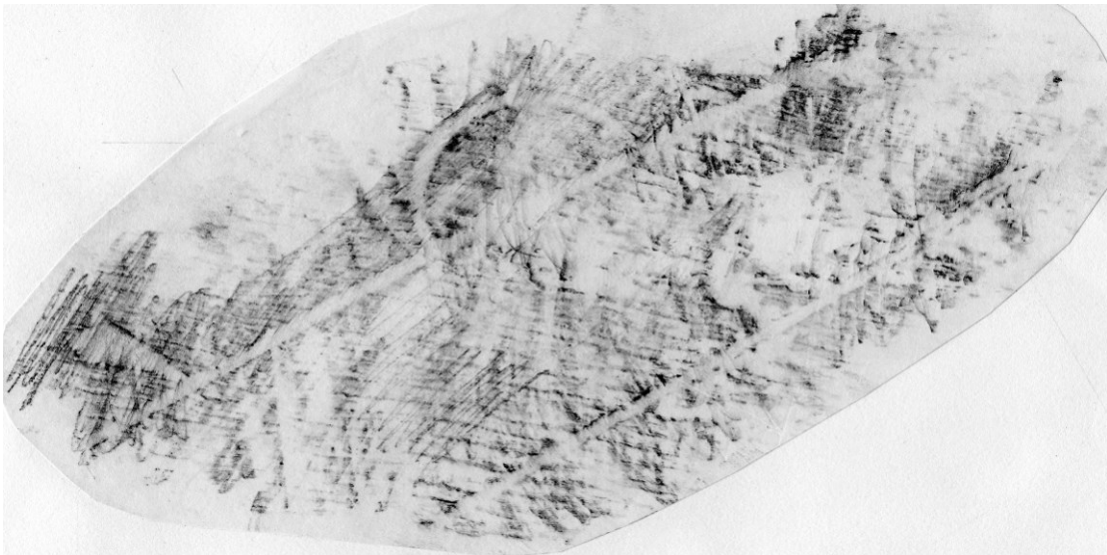


Figure 118. A carpenter's mark on the west side of upper joist 17 between lower joists 2 and 3.

### 7.6.3 Room 133

This is located at the northwest corner of the south wing within the wing shown on the Campbell plan of 1717.

The area under the floor boards was briefly examined by Barry Weston in November 1981 by crawling through a narrow gap from below the floor of room 134 (figure 97).

He found that the floor of room 133 was supported by old timbers some with mouldings. The present exterior wall was narrower than the foundations which were of thin Tudor type brick.

## 7.7 Discussion of the south wing

The south wing appears to be later than the hall kitchen blocks (see section 6.5 above). The level of the ground floor respects these areas leaving a big gap below the floorboards with no evidence of cellars.

The south wing has a corridor along the south side on both the ground and first-floor. If this is Tudor it is unusual although it can be paralleled in the lodgings in the outer court at Hampton Court attributed to Wolsey and dated to 1515-29.<sup>284</sup> The multi-seat privy shown on the Campbell plan is reminiscent of the much larger 'house of office' attached to the lodgings at Hampton Court.<sup>285</sup>

The wing may have originated as Tudor lodgings but the variations in the chimneys and the differing wall thicknesses on Campbell plan of 1717 suggest that the wing has had a complex structural history with more than one building episode.

In the mid-nineteenth century there were six chimney stacks on the wing. The two at the west end appear to be eighteenth century while the others are of varying design and perhaps of sixteenth or seventeenth century date. Two of these early chimneys served fireplaces set in the corners of the rooms. If these date from the sixteenth century they were very unusual. The earliest corner fireplaces that I have traced were installed in the Queen's House at Greenwich which was designed by Inigo Jones, started in 1616, but not completed until 1630-35.<sup>286</sup> They were also used in Ragley Hall Warwickshire, designed by Robert Hook for Lord Conway about 1678 and had become common by the early eighteenth century.<sup>287</sup>

The early chimneys do not suit the Baroque facing so they are likely to predate the First Baronet's building work and they hint that the wing was altered more than once in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries.

The idea of a complex building history is supported by the reused timbers found under the floor of room 134. Buckler's drawing (figure 58) shows that this was an open loggia in 1827 which accords with the archaeological evidence. It was probably in this state when the orphanage acquired the house so the timbers were most likely put in place during the conversion. They were probably reused from elsewhere in the house, almost certainly from the service area, kitchen or south wing as the north wing seems to have been thoroughly gutted in the eighteenth century. The mouldings on lower floor joist 2 (figure 102) show that one end of it originally spanned a room which had a length or width of 3.63m – just under 12 feet. Campell's plan shows one position which would fit this. Ground floor rooms 126 and 127 had a width of 11 feet 6 inches so the timber would more less fit if it was aligned north –

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<sup>284</sup> HKW vol. IV, part 2, p. 130-1.

<sup>285</sup> Thurley 1993 p. 175.

<sup>286</sup> Summerson 2000 p. 35 and 37.

<sup>287</sup> For Ragley see Girouard 1980 p. 135.

south across the width of the wing. The moulding on this timber is clearly gothic as are the deep hollow chamfers on upper joist 6 and on upper joist 5 although the latter may be only one component from a larger moulding. The elaborate moulding on upper joist 9 appears to be late gothic although it is unusual and no exact parallel has been found.

The simple chamfer and stop on upper joist 15 could be late gothic or early modern. It is used for example on the timber supporting the attic floor in Whitehall, Cheam which are thought to have been inserted into the building around 1600.

The timber found in the brickwork on the south side of the wing appears to have been braced (figure 89). This must have come from a timber-framed structure rather than a framing in a brick building as, in the latter case, the walls would have provided stiffening, making braces unnecessary. This hints that at least part of the south wing – perhaps the first-floor – was originally timber-framed and later cased in brick. This is not inconsistent with the status of the house. Many of early seventeenth century additions to Knole, which were made for Thomas Sackville, first earl of Dorset, are timber-framed.

Campbell's plan and elevations and Defoe's criticisms show that in the early eighteenth century the wing end was only one room wide. A second room had been added to the south side by 1792 when it is shown in a print by William Ellis. Malcolm's print of the west front dated 1797 shows that the ground floor room of the extension room had three round-headed arches facing south into the garden. The Buckler drawing of 1827 shows part of a pointed gothic arch in the same position. The latter is consistent with the blocked arches found in the south and east walls of room 134. The curious brick pilaster bases and stone slabbed floor must also have been part of the arrangement. It is clear that there was an open loggia here by 1797. The arches were probably always pointed. The structure showed no sign of a change in shape and Malcolm's print is fairly crude. He shows round heads on the west front windows while all the other evidence suggests that they were segmental.

Howard Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects* says that Daniel Asher Alexander and his son – also Daniel – made alterations to the south wing and library of Beddington House for Mrs AP Gee.<sup>288</sup> He cites the Architectural Publications Society's *Dictionary of Architecture*. This says that Alexander made additions to 'Beddington House' and that in 1818 his son Daniel designed and executed 'the little church of Walton-on-the-Hill near Epsom, and the library of Beddington House near Croydon'.<sup>289</sup> Ann Paston Gee is not mentioned, making the identification of the house less certain. The 1859 sales particulars say that the library was only 14 feet square making it an unlikely subject for a significant architectural project. It is also difficult to see how the house was extended at this time. The doubling of the wing ends was the only addition to the footprint of the house between Campbell's and 1859 sales particulars. Prints show that this was done before the Ellis print published in 1792. A comparison of the rooms listed in the 1764 inventory and 1859 sales particulars suggests that the uses of the spaces had changed and that there may have been some internal reorganisation. There was an increase in the number of first-floor rooms which may be explained by an insertion of a first-floor in the kitchen. Buckler's drawing of 1827 shows that the new area was lit by sash windows which could easily be eighteenth century (figure 58). The Buckler drawing also shows projecting oriel windows on the south side of the south wing. One of them is on the south side of the wing end and was not there in 1797 when Malcolm's print was made. The windows are therefore early nineteenth century 'gothic' additions. They may have been created for Anne Paston Gee who owned the house 1816-

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<sup>288</sup> Colvin 1995 p. 72.

<sup>289</sup> Vol. 1, p. 38.

1828. She owned the advowson of Walton-on-the-Hill so she is likely to have known the younger Daniel Alexander.<sup>290</sup> However, it is not clear that the windows should be attributed to either him or his father. The work mentioned in the *Dictionary of Architecture* may have been on Beddington House which stood on the east side of what is now Bridges Lane.

## 8 THE NORTH WING

### 8.1 Documentary history

The Surrey History Centre has a set of accounts which relate to a major building campaign in the house during Richard Carew's ownership between 1492 and 1520. Most of the items cannot be connected with specific parts of the building but there are a series of payments to Thomas Too and Richard Carre for the 'selyng of the P[ar]lor':

Itm paid to Thomas Too et Richard Carre for making lxiiij yards	
In the sayd plor for the yard v <sup>d</sup> dd	xxix <sup>s</sup> iii <sup>d</sup>
Itm paid to them for xvj yarde of smale crest for the yards ij <sup>d</sup>	ij <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Itm paid to them for xvj yarde of basse crest for the yard iiiij <sup>d</sup>	v <sup>s</sup> iiiij <sup>d</sup>
Itm payd to ford for sawing of lix depe kernes of waynscote for the kerf j <sup>d</sup>	iiiij <sup>s</sup> xi <sup>d</sup>
Itm payd to hyn for xij smale kernes for the kerf dd	vj <sup>d</sup>
Itm payd for ij <sup>c</sup> selyng nayll bought at Croydon	iiiij <sup>d</sup>
Itm for a m <sup>l</sup> bought at London	xv <sup>d</sup>
Itm paid to the Smyth of Kersalton for a C vj <sup>d</sup> great brode	ix <sup>d</sup>
Itm payd to hym for ij <sup>c</sup> smaller brode	viiij <sup>d</sup> 291

This was clearly wall panelling. This room must have been the high end of the hall and therefore somewhere in the north wing. Too does not sound like an English name and he may have been Flemish or north French.

When Sir Simonds d'Ewes (1602-1650) visited the house he recorded the glass in the Great Parlour windows. On the south side of the room there was a four-light window with heraldic shields in 'upper most' and 'middle' rows. There was a two-light window in the north wall with heraldry in 'upper' and 'lower rows' The four-light window must have looked onto the north side of courtyard. The heraldic glass included the Oxenbridge arms from Richard's wife but not those of his son's wife Bryan. This suggests that the glass predates Nicholas's marriage in November or December 1514.<sup>292</sup> This suggests that construction of the Parlour including probably Too and Carr's work predated 1514. This means that the most likely of the four possible years for the accounts is 1508.<sup>293</sup>

The 1547 inventory mentions 'Caeling rounde aboute the parler of waynscott Carved' There are references to ceiling in a camber at the stair head which is likely to have been in the north wing and in other rooms of less certain location.<sup>294</sup>

<sup>290</sup> VCH Surrey vol. 3, p. 319. The work on the church is there dated to 1817.

<sup>291</sup> SHC 281/2/4.

<sup>292</sup> BL Harley 380 number 48.

<sup>293</sup> The accounts do not have a date to the year but they do contain dates which are explicitly said to be Saturdays one of which is 18 March. In the time that Richard owned the house 18 March fell on a Saturday in only four years, 1497, 1503, 1508 and 1514.

<sup>294</sup> BL Harley 1419B f84v.

The 1562 inventory includes a parlour with a room above it and another next to it. There is no mention of a second parlour. In 1574 the household accounts refer to a new and old parlour which suggests a reorganisation of space presumably in the north wing.<sup>295</sup> This could however reflect a change of room use rather than a change in the structure. A ‘greate parler’ and an ‘olde parler’ appear in the 1611 inventory, the former following the hall. This is probably the room seen by d’Ewes.

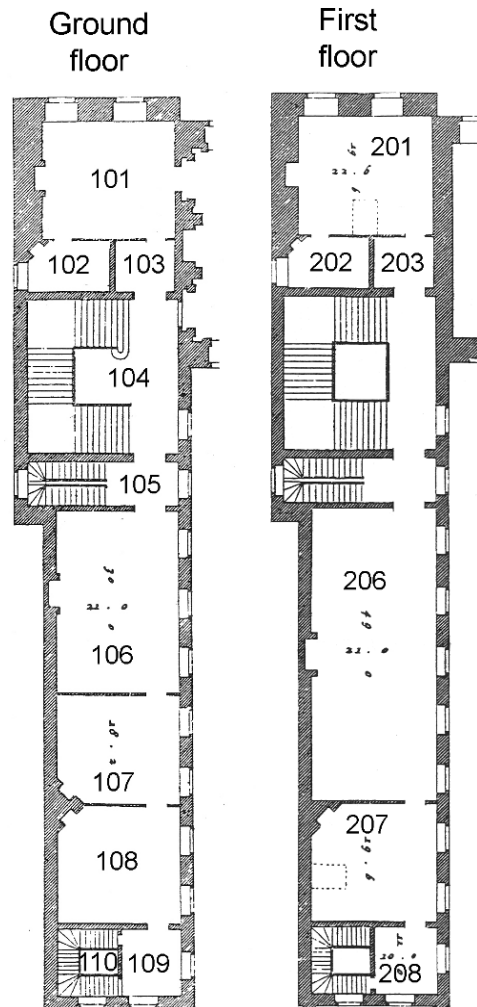


Figure 119. The north wing from Colen Campbell’s plan of 1717.

Colen Campbell’s plan of the north wing suggests that the structure was in three parts. The thickest and perhaps the oldest walls were at the east end (rooms 101 and 201 on figure 119). The area around the main staircase (104) and service staircase had thinner walls. The wing to the west of this narrows suggesting that it was an addition.

The ground floor room at the east end of the wing had an impressive door connecting it to the hall (see 4.6 above). It appears to be the ‘Great Drawing Room at the further end of the Great Hall’ in the 1764 inventory. It was then lavishly furnished and contained a collection of family pictures.<sup>296</sup> An adjacent room was described as a ‘Water Closet’. It contained a leather

<sup>295</sup> SHC 281/4/24 p. 11 and 16.

<sup>296</sup> SHC 281/3/1 p. 14-15.

screen, four walnut chairs, a window curtain and a painting of a Roman warrior on horseback.<sup>297</sup>

The plan shows two staircases to the east of this: a large state one running up from the door in the northwest corner of the hall and a narrower dog-legged one, presumably for the servants, which may have run from the cellars. There were three rooms to the east of this with their doors aligned on the south or window side in the usual English baroque manner. The end of the wing was occupied by a small closet and a set of back stairs. No beds are shown. On the first-floor rooms 201-203 to the east of the main staircase formed a bedroom suite with a dressing room. To the west of the staircase there was a large room, followed by a bedroom with a closet and back stairs at the end of the wing. There were numerous windows in the south wall but very few in the north, presumably to keep out the north winds to which the house is rather exposed.

Lysons, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says ‘the north wing is a mere shell, the inside having been destroyed by fire, soon after the house was rebuilt in its present form, about the year 1709’.<sup>298</sup> The exact date of the fire is not currently known but it had clearly happened before the 1764 inventory. At that time the eastern end of the wing was occupied by the Great Drawing Room and water closet already referred to. The rest of the wing contained, from west to east, a ‘New Room at the further End looking into the Front Park which was cheaply furnished with a tables and chairs; a ‘Middle Room ... intended for a Tennis court’ and the ‘Nither Room’ the last two containing a collection of miscellaneous odds and ends. There was a servant’s hall and dairy underground and also small beer cellars, an ale cellar and a wine cellar. The last two were probably below the service block. There is no sign of work in progress and no mention of first-floor.<sup>299</sup>

One of the mid-nineteenth century photos shows the south and west sides of the wing with the early eighteenth century fenestration still in place. There are no chimneys on this side of the roof although the top of one is visible on the north side of the ridge and Prosser view of 1828 shows two others.

When the house was sold in 1859 the sales particulars said:

At the North end of the Hall is a Morning Room, 22 ft 6 by 20, and 16 ft high; and adjoining it is an Ante Room, 14 ft by 8 ft 9, also 16 ft high ...

The North Wing contains Billiards Room, 31 ft by 21, and 15 ft high, with entrance at the west end from the Park, and at the east end is a large unfinished room used as a Laundry.

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<sup>297</sup> Aubrey’s *History of Surrey* published in 1718 mentions ‘a pretty Machine to cleanse a House of Office, viz. by a small Stream, no bigger than one’s Finger, which run into an Engine, made like a Bit of a Fire-Shovel, which hung upon its Centre of Gravity; so that when it was full, a considerable Quantity of Water fell down with some Force, and washed away the Filth’ (vol. 2 p. 160) Aubrey collected material for a history of Surrey and his notes are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. (Aubrey 4 p. 202) The reference to the machine is included but it is prefaced with ‘I remember D<sup>r</sup> Harvey told me [interlined 1654], that here – (I think)’. ‘In Carshalton’ has been interlined above suggesting that Aubrey had second thoughts. Aubrey’s notes were edited and published by Richard Rawlinson who collected a significant amount of additional material including all the other information on Beddington. He is known to have visited the village for this purpose and includes information on the garden which is not found in any earlier source. (Enright 1956 p. 129). He was therefore in a position to make enquiries and may have known that the machine was or had been at Beddington. The 1989 edition of the Oxford English Dictionary gives the first example of ‘water closet’ with the modern meaning in 1755.

<sup>298</sup> Lysons 1792 p. 53.

<sup>299</sup> SHC 281/3/1 p. 15 and 16.

On the Basement is a large cool Dairy, and very extensive vaults and Cellars.<sup>300</sup>

The wing must have been largely rebuilt when the house was converted into an orphanage.

## 8.2 Cracks in the north wall of the hall

In August 2005 the building surveyor had two areas of plaster removed to investigate cracks which had appeared in the outer (northern) side of the north wall of the Great Hall. Both cracks extended upwards from the top of the first-floor skirting. There was not enough time to make a scale drawings and the cracks were in the side of a narrow corridor so they were recorded by a series of overlapping digital photos which were joined using Photoshop SE (figure 120).

The two areas have been labelled DJ and DK.

DJ was a more or less vertical crack or bonding break which was located 8.5m west of the inner side of the east wall of the house.

DK was 9.7m west of the inner side of the east wall of the house. A diagonal crack rose from the skirting to a height of 0.58m. It then rose vertically and the curved westwards. The bricks did not line up across crack the and there was a line of bricks set on edge towards the top of the curved section. This suggests that the crack followed the line of a blocked window opening. The bricks on both sides of both cracks appeared to be Tudor.

## 8.3 The cellars

There are five cellars below the north wing as shown on figure 59. At the east end of the wing there is a pair of cellars covered by east-west aligned brick vaults. Cellar 5 is to the north and cellar 4 to the south. The entrance is by a door at the western end of cellar 4. The two cellars are linked by a door towards the eastern end and there is an opening well above floor level at the west end and also through the end wall of cellar 5. The last two were presumably for ventilation.

The east end of the vaults butt-up against the foundations of the east wall of the house. These are made of a mixture of materials including thin Tudor-style brick and some Reigate stone. There are two semi-basement windows, both now blocked.

There is a small iron door in the north wall of cellar 5 possibly linking to an ash pit for a fire in the room above.

These may be the 'small beer cellars' listed in the 1764 inventory.<sup>301</sup> They contained a 'leaden pump with its apparatus' suggesting that there was a well in them. If so it is likely to have been cellar 5 where part of the floor is earth fill and there seems to be some sort of underlying structure.

Cellar 1 to west of these is a more or less square area which would have been below the main staircase on the Campbell plan. It has a floor of large red tiles and is not vaulted. The present cellar entrance is on the west side. The cellar now houses the school boilers.

Cellar 2 lies to the west of cellar 1. It is a narrow rectangular area on the western side of the wide part of the wing and on the site of the servant's stair shown on the Campbell plan. The

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<sup>300</sup> Carew sales particulars, 1859.

<sup>301</sup> SHC 281/3/1 p. 16.

cellar has a north-south aligned brick vault and the western wall is of chalk blocks. There is a stone bench, stone slabs on the floor and no sign of the former staircase.

Cellar 3 is east of cellar 2 and underlies the whole of the narrow part of the wing. It is covered by an east-west aligned brick vault and divided into two by a wall part way along the length. There are two blocked semi-basement windows which are now largely concealed by electrical equipment. There is an outside door in the north side of cellar 3. This must have been the 'Servants Hall and Dairy underground' in the 1764 inventory.

There are no cellars below the extension on the north side of the west end of the wing.



Figure 120. Photo mosaic of crack DJ (left) and crack DK (right) at first-floor level on the north side of the north wall of the hall. August 2005





Figure 121. Cellar 4 looking east in the 1980s. Note the contrast between the eighteenth century bricks in the vault and the Tudor ones in the end wall which is the eastern outer wall of the north wing. The door to cellar 5 is on the left.

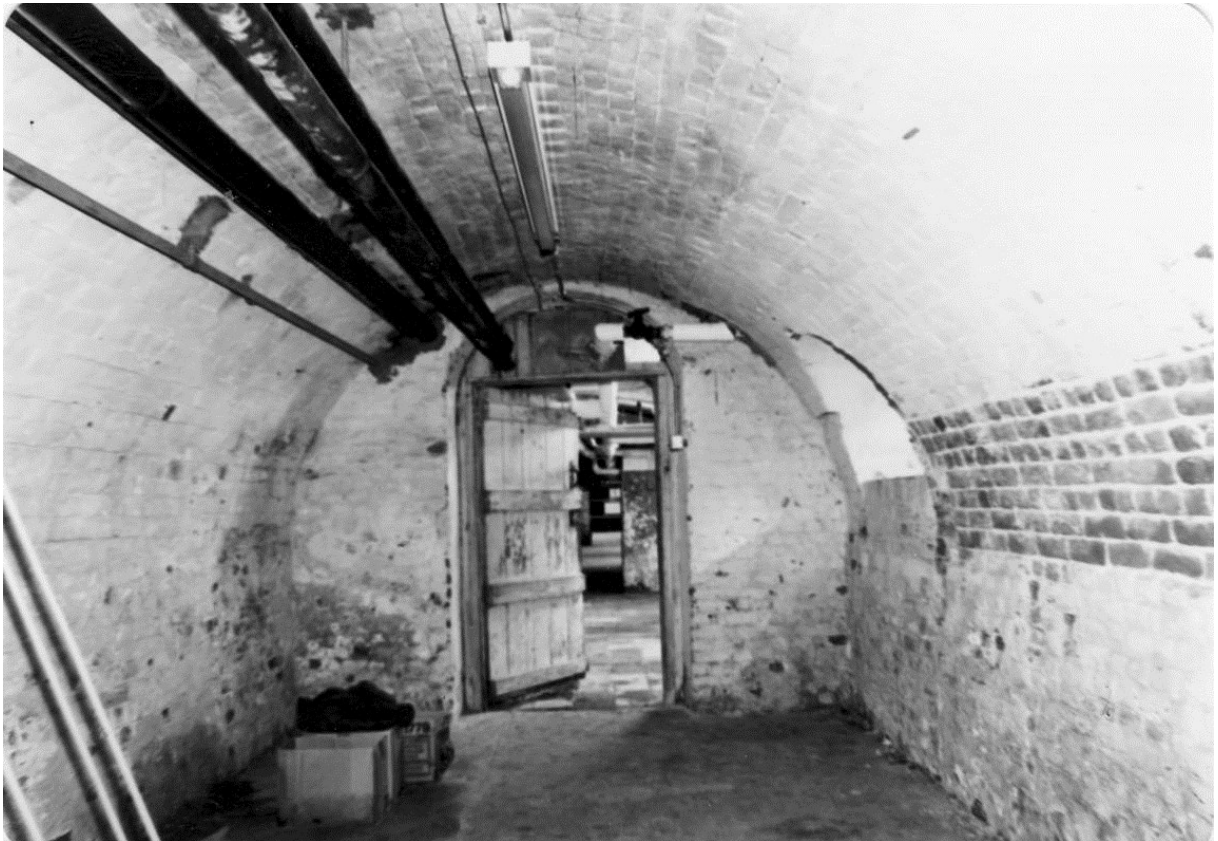


Figure 122. Cellar 4 looking eastwards towards cellar 3.



Figure 123 Cellar 5 looking east in the 1980s.

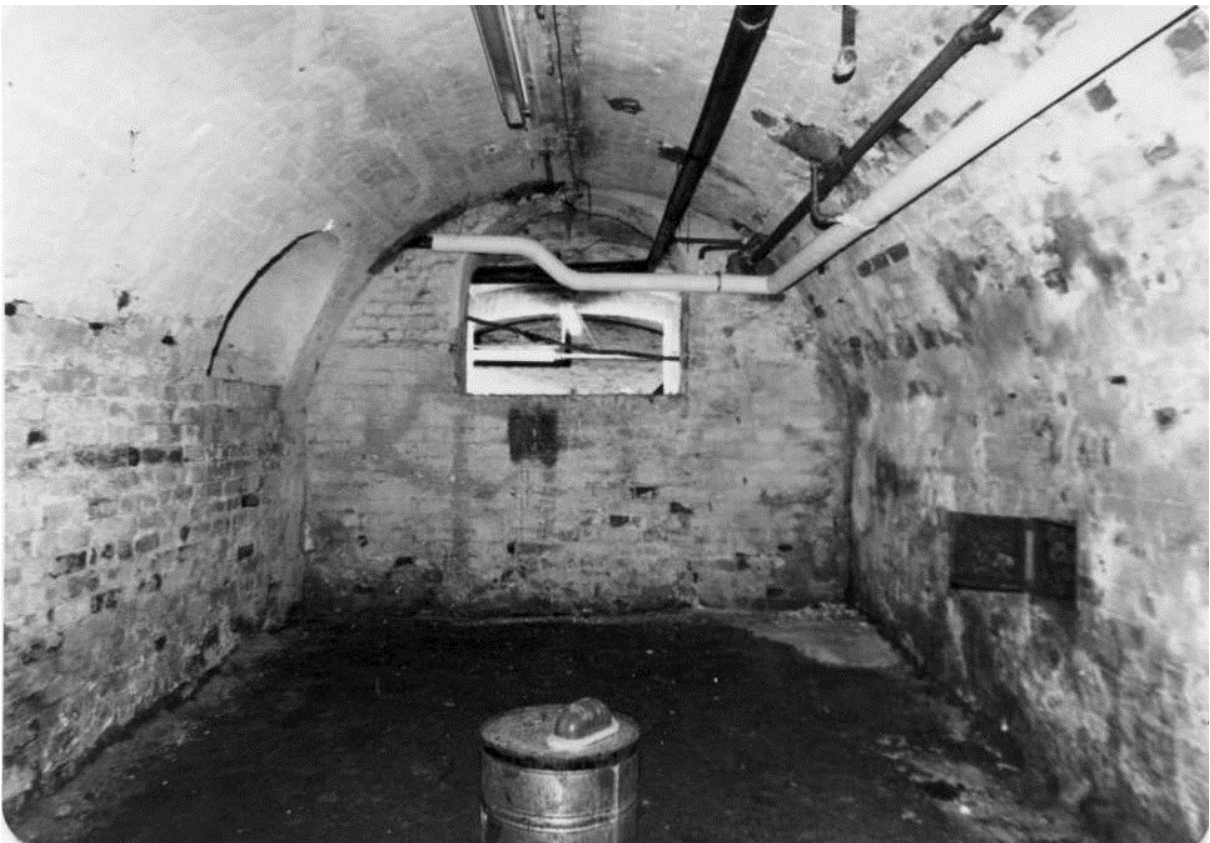


Figure 124. Cellar 5 looking west in the 1980s.



Figure 125. Stone blocks in the wall at the north east corner of cellar 5.



Figure 126. Stone underlying the brickwork at the bottom of the south wall of cellar 5.  
The door to cellar 4 is on the left.



Figure 127. The western side of cellar 2 in May 2010.

## 8.4 The external walls

### 8.4.1 The north side of the wing.

There is a bonding break where the north wall of the wing steps out. This is probably a boundary between eighteenth century and Victorian facing (see figure 128).

There are seven segmental-headed windows of varying size and shape in the north wall of the wing. Three of these are in the wider part of the wing, two at ground floor level and one on the first-floor, and four in the narrow part all on the ground floor. There are also two segmental-headed windows on the east side of the extension added to the end of the wing. One of these is on the first-floor and one on the second. These are unlike the nineteenth century stone windows used when the house was converted into an orphanage. Two of these – on the ground floor and first-floor at the western end of the wider part of the wing may coincide with the windows lighting the service staircase on the Campbell plan. The others are not shown there and they do not seem to fit the room layout and uses described in the 1764 inventory and the sales particulars of 1859 (see section 8.1 above). Their origin is therefore unclear.



Figure 128. A bonding break on the offset of the north side of the north wing. Looking east. 10 May 1981. Note the segmental headed windows.

#### 8.4.2 Repairs to the facing, 1994

In February 1994 two small areas of brick facing were cut away at ground level in the centre of the west end of the wing exposing the material in the core (figures 129 and 130). The south cut was in the earlier part of the wing which existed by 1717 while the north cut was in the extension added to the wing between 1717 and 1792. In the south cut the wall core was of dark irregular Tudor type bricks bonded with white mortar while the north cut exposed bright red, thick, smooth-finished eighteenth century brick bonded with darker mortar. The wall facing around both cuts was uniform and almost certainly dated from the 1860s as it lacked the dark headers common in the eighteenth century brickwork on other parts of the house.



Figure 129. The west end of the north wing showing the cuts made in the repair work at the boundary between the earlier wing and the eighteenth century extension. 12 February 1984.



Figure 130. The west end of the north wing showing the cuts made in the repair work at the boundary between the earlier wing and the eighteenth century extension. 12 February 1984.

## 8.5 The fireplace on the north wall of the hall

There is the base of a large chimney stack of thin Tudor-type brick on the north wall of the hall with a fireplace facing into the attic of the north wing (figures 131 and 132). The chimney itself has been removed but is shown on the photographs of about 1860 and on earlier prints. The stack contains three flues. The central one served the attic fireplace. One of the others must have gone down to the fireplace in the centre of the north wall of the hall while the other is likely to have served a fireplace on the first-floor of the north wing.

In the attic the lower part of the north face of the stack is plastered and white-washed apart from the western edge where there is a well-defined area of bare brick with a shallow vertical slot on its eastern edge (figure 131). This appears to be the scar left by a wall or partition butting up against the stack.

The bottom of the north side of the stack is also un-plastered and the bottom of the fireplace is 0.74 m above the top of the hall wall. The brickwork of the stack laps over an old and battered timber which runs along the north edge of the top of the hall wall and supports the present attic floor joists. The timber appears to be earlier than the stack which suggests that when the fireplace was made the attic floor was little above the top of the hall wall. If this was so the bottom of the fireplace was about 0.7m above floor – an unusual and inexplicable arrangement.

By 1980 the fireplace had been blocked with soft red bricks of eighteenth or nineteenth century date. These were removed in 1981 and were replaced with breeze blocks. This provided a brief opportunity to record the fireplace and a quick sketch was made by Doug Cluett under time pressure (figure 133). The fireplace had a width of 1.56m. The lower part of the back had been built out 11.5cm leaving a U-shaped slot 0.61m wide and 0.72m high with a further narrow slot at the bottom. The hearth in front of the slot was flat with small steps on either side. The lower part of the fireplace was mostly plastered and was not much sooted. This odd arrangement must have served a specific purpose. The U-shaped slot looks like the seating for a boiler or perhaps a metal stove. Could it be the remains of an early hot water supply? The date is unclear but could be as early as the sixteenth century.

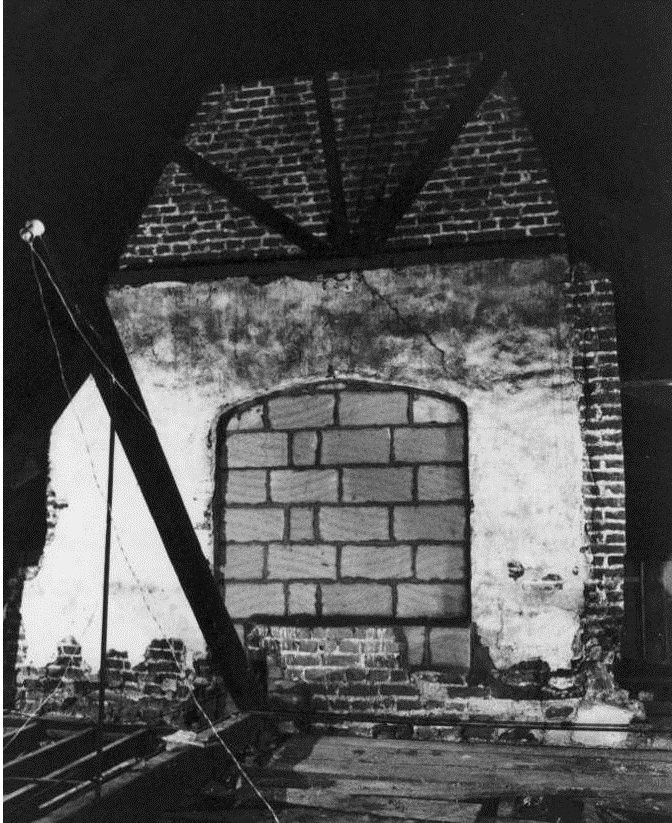
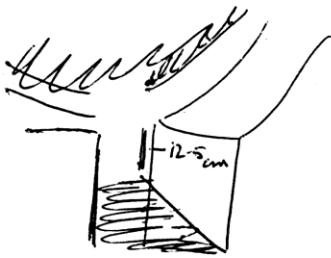


Figure 131. The north or wing side of the chimney stack on the north wall of the hall on 25 April 1982 after it had walled off with breeze blocks.



Figure 132. The fireplace in the chimney stack on the north wall of the hall in 1981 after the brick blocking had partially collapsed. Note the U-shaped ledge at the back of the fireplace.



Brickwork at back of fireplace is mixed bond, with fine textured pointing  
 Bricks about 22 cm x 5 cm x 11 cm

42 cm = depth of cavity at back below brick upon level

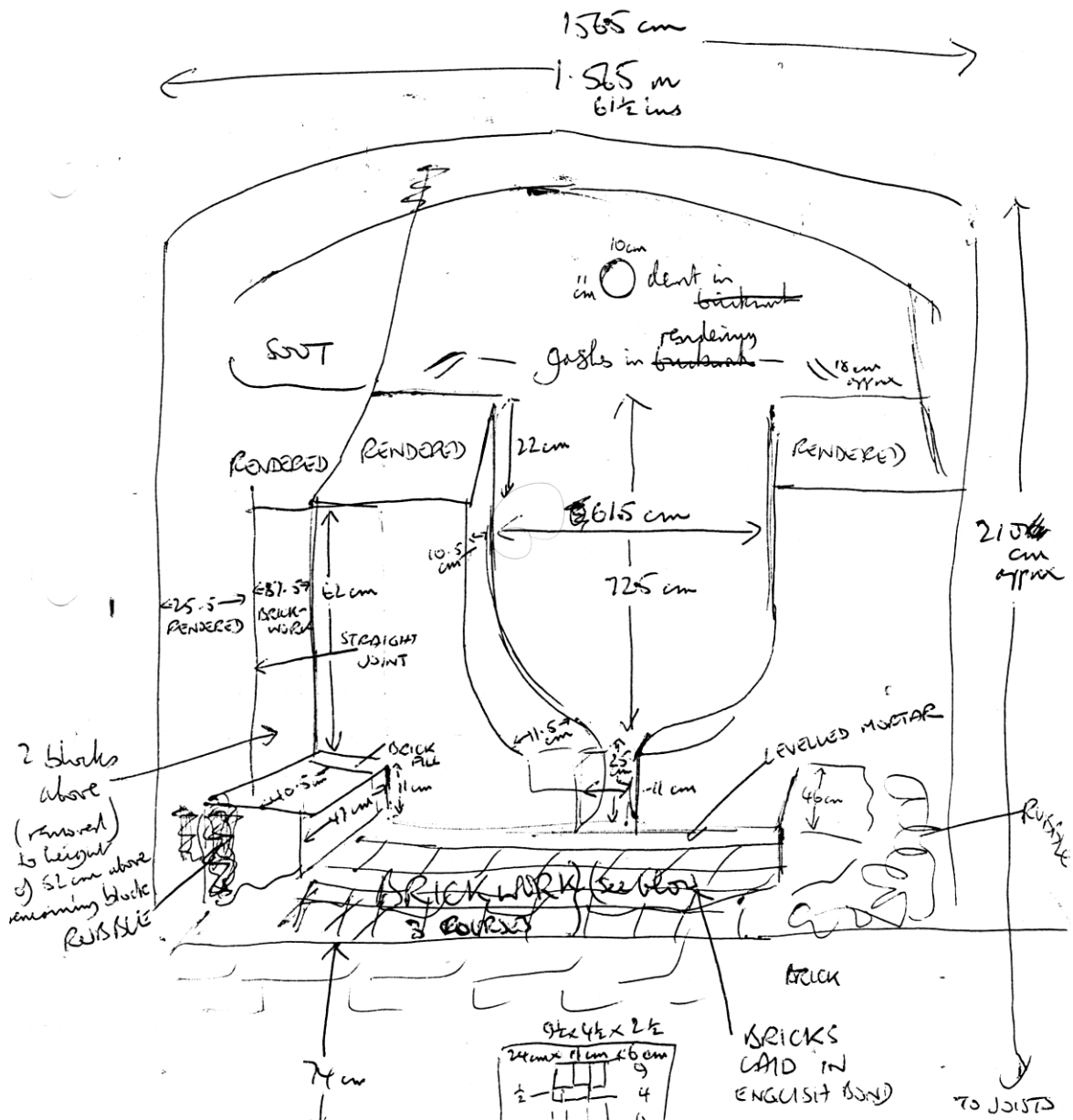


Figure 133. Sketch of the fireplace on the north wall of the hall made by Doug Cluett in 1981.



## 8.6 A timber from the north wing attic

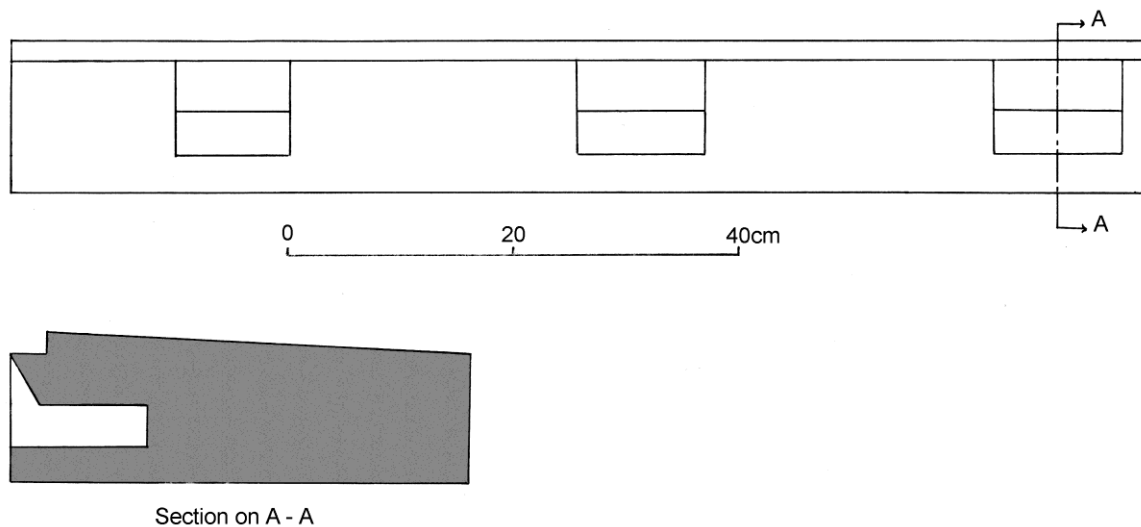


Figure 134. A timber found in the attic of the north wing near the end of the hall. It has a line of mortises on both sides – not just the one shown in the drawing.

## 8.7 Discussion of the north wing

The north wing is a problematic structure. It is tempting to see the wider eastern section as a residential block at the north end of the hall with the narrower part of the wing a later addition. This could be consistent with the thick walls shown on the Campbell plan at the east of the wing. However, if the cracks on the north side of the north wall of the hall (section 8.2) relate to former windows the hall and residential blocks must be different dates unless the windows were internal which seems unlikely. If the hall was older it would have been built without a residential block and there would have to be a gable at the north end of the roof. This does not exist and the north truss of the hall roof is not weather proof. If the residential block is older the hall would have to be much smaller or in a different position. This is problematic. In the late Middle Ages the hall was usually attached to the longest side of the residential block. At Beddington this would mean that it was either to the south on the site of the present hall or to the north where there was a gap of about 11.75m between the block and the edge of the moat – probably too little for both hall and services.

The foundations of the residential block are exposed in the east walls of cellars 4 and 5 which contain a substantial amount of brick. In Surrey this is unlikely to be earlier than the second half of the fifteenth century.

The northward-facing fireplace on the north wall of the hall suggests that the wing originally had a third floor. This is supported by the lack of weatherproof face on the north gable of the hall. Nash's view of the east front about 1829 (figure 14) shows that the hall roof continued beyond the chimney and ended in a hip which may have gone down to the ridge of the north wing. This would leave the fireplace in a large attic room which seems suited to a practical purpose rather than living space. This accords with the strange shape of the hearth with what appears to be the setting for a boiler. The arrangement may be Tudor but, on the presently available evidence, we cannot be certain. A sixteenth century third floor gallery cannot be ruled out.

The room layout on Campbell's plan looks late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth century. This is suggested by the arrangement of the rooms with a straight line of doors leading to a small closet linked to back stairs. The main staircase (104 on figure 119) is of the open-well type which came into use in the early seventeenth century as did fireplaces set in the corner of rooms. Separate servant's stairs became common after 1660.<sup>302</sup> The interior of the wing could have been modernised during Nicholas Carew's remodelling of the house. The exterior appears to have been altered at that time but there is one hint that the wing had already been modernised: a building contract of 1710 refers to the 'south side or old Building of y<sup>e</sup> Inward Court' implying that the north side was newer.<sup>303</sup>

Lysons says that wing was gutted by fire soon after the house was rebuilt but he does not give a specific date.<sup>304</sup> It evidently happened some time before the 1764 inventory was compiled. It appears that restoration had started and then stopped as there is no sign of work in progress.

The wing remained a shell until the 1859 sale and it must have been largely rebuilt during the orphanage conversion although Tudor brick clearly survives behind the later re-facings.

## 9 THE WEST WING

John Evelyn, the grandson of the famous diaryist, visited Beddington on 19 November 1721 and noted that 'the house was quadrangular with a court in ye midle resembling a college, but the present Possessor has taken away one side'. So the Tudor house was built around a courtyard with a west wing. It would have had a gatehouse in the centre connected to the bridge over the moat (see volume 2 section 9). The 1650 reparations accounts include a payment of £9 'For Mending the Clock, and making a Turret over it, and painting it'. The clock and its turret were very likely over the gate in the west wing.<sup>305</sup>

The west wing was evidently demolished by Nicholas Carew 1st Baronet to open the house out and give it a U-shaped plan. The present single story west wing was created for the Orphanage in the 1860s.

In 2007 Jeffrey Perry of Sutton Archaeological Services carried out a watching brief on the foundation trench for a small extension on the east side of the centre of the present west wing (figures 135 to 137).<sup>306</sup> The stratigraphy was recorded on the north side of a rough and irregular trench. Ignoring a pipe and cable trench the stratigraphy consisted of

- [003] Turf and top soil about 0.23 to 0.33m deep.
- [004] Mid-yellowish-brown silty sand containing about 50% nineteenth century ceramic building material, fragments of crushed mortar, slate, chalk and Reigate stone.
- [008] Dark brown silty sand containing about 5% small flint pebbles and occasional oyster shells, brick fragments and charcoal flecks and lumps. This occupied the eastern part of the north section.
- [009] A dump of building materials which cut into context [008]. It contained about 40% crushed mortar, about 40% small fragments of crushed brick and tile with occasional fragments of Reigate and other stone. This context extended across the western section of the trench.

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<sup>302</sup> Girouard 1980 p 93 and 138 and section 7.7 above.

<sup>303</sup> BL Add MS 29599 f.104.

<sup>304</sup> Lysons 1792 vol. 1, p. 53.

<sup>305</sup> SHC 2152 p.11.

<sup>306</sup> Perry 2007. Site code CMV07.

[010] Dark silty brown sand with about 30% fine to small flint pebbles and occasional small brick fragments. This cut into [009] and was below [008].

[011] Greensand. The upper part of this contained small fragments of brick, probably derived from [008] as several hard trowellings left a clean sandy surface. The top of the deposit was at 31.56m OD.

The greensand is probably the makeup of the moat island but the significance of the overlying deposits is unclear.



Figure 135. The trench looking west with the centre of the wing in the background. Note the brick structure below the steps.



Figure 136. Detail of the structure shown above.



Figure 137. The deposits at the northwest corner of the trench.

## 10 WAS THERE A CHAPEL?

A chapel was a normal attribute of a late medieval or Tudor great house and might be expected at Beddington.<sup>307</sup> They were often substantial structures as at Cowdray House, Sussex or the Vyne, Hampshire. Nicholas Carew KG (d. 1539) employed a chaplain but there is no mention of a chapel in the inventories of 1547, 1562, 1611 or 1764.<sup>308</sup> The 1547 inventory gives a very incomplete view of the rooms in the house and the 1611 inventory is damaged and physically incomplete. The 1562 inventory lists the house contents in the 'custody of howborn'. It includes many rooms (section 13.4.2) but may be incomplete either because rooms were empty or were not Howborn's responsibility. It seems unlikely that a chapel was left entirely unfurnished although the fittings may have been the responsibility of the chaplain rather than Howborn and accounted for elsewhere. There is no reference to a chapel or chaplain in any of the household accounts surviving from the second half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth-centuries.

Household chapels were often placed close to the hall on the boundary between the high and low parts of the house so that they could be easily accessed by both family and servants. An east-west orientation was also desirable. The space at Beddington fairly restricted because of the size of the moat island and the position and orientation of the house. There are two obvious sites. One is the area between the north wing and the north edge of the moat island but this is isolated from the hall and the low end of the house. The other is on the terrace on the east side of the house where there was a gap of 20.44m between the outer side of the east

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<sup>307</sup> Mertes 1988 p. 140-1.

<sup>308</sup> Letters and Papers Henry VIII vol. 8, item 596.

wall of the hall and the edge of the moat island. This could accommodate a substantial chapel projecting from the house as at Cowdray in Sussex.

In the Carew papers in the Surrey History Centre there is a bill relating to a ‘new chapel’:

halely / bryans byll

In p <sup>r</sup> mis layd out for hewyng of tymbr xj tone	xj <sup>s</sup>
It <sup>a</sup> m for carryge of the tymbr to the pyt	iiij <sup>s</sup> iiiij <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>a</sup> m for ij lode of lathe makyng	ix <sup>s</sup> iiiij <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>a</sup> m for sawyng of xxxvij .c. et a halfe att xv <sup>d</sup> the .c.	xlviij <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup> dd
It <sup>a</sup> m for carryng of vij lode of borde to new chapell att ij <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> a lode	xv <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup>
It <sup>a</sup> m for caryge of ij lode of lathe to new chapell at ij <sup>s</sup> ij <sup>d</sup> a lode	iiiij <sup>s</sup> iiiij <sup>d</sup>
S <sup>a</sup> m to <sup>lis</sup> iiiij <sup>li</sup> x <sup>s</sup> dd <sup>309</sup>	

This is undated but probably belong to the second half of the sixteenth century. However, there is no indication of the location: it could have been at Beddington or elsewhere on the Carew estates. There is no other evidence ‘new’ sixteenth century chapel.

## 11 THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SCREEN BETWEEN THE WINGS

In the mid-nineteenth century an iron screen or railings connected the outer ends of the two wings. The pre-orphanage photos of the house show that there were gates next to the wings. These were supported by stone pillars with some sort of ornament on the top, perhaps metal structures supporting urns. The area between the gates was filled by an iron screen with a higher and more elaborate centre topped by the Carew arms.

When the Female Orphan Asylum took over the house in the mid-nineteenth century the screen was moved to the Church Road boundary wall. In October 1878 when the screen was being repaired the Carew coat of arms were removed along with a plate on the south gate in the back garden and both were placed in the inner court. They were never replaced and lay there rotting away in the courtyard until 1896 when the fragments, along with a stone Coat of Arms, were given to Sir Reginald Pole-Carew, of Anthony in Cornwall. By 1912 the screen itself was in poor condition and, in 1913, it was sold to Mr. Starkie Gardner of Kennington on condition that he replaced them with a ‘screen’ of the same design. The originals are now at the Huntingdon Library and Art Gallery at San Marino in California.<sup>310</sup>

The screen is not shown between the wings on Colen Campbell’s elevation of the west front published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* in 1717. The Carew arms on the top of the modern copy have the Hacket shield in pretence which should date them between Nicholas Carew’s marriage in 1709 and the death of his father-in-law in or before 1721. However, the original shield had gone more than a decade before Starkie Gardner made the copy so the design may have been derived from the heraldry in the great hall. The heraldry cannot, therefore, be safely used to date the screen although it seems likely that it was created for the Nicholas Carew, 1st baronet.

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<sup>309</sup> SHC 281/4/26.

<sup>310</sup> Sutton archives D2/2/5 pages 65, 72, 74, 90, 99, 110, 114-5, 123 and 125-6.



Figure 138. The west gates in January 2006.

## 12 AN OUTER COURT?

Sixteenth century elite houses were often built around a series of courtyards as at Knole or Hampton Court. The Vyne was originally a sprawling multi-courtyard house but was reduced to its present form in the course of the seventeenth century. Similar reductions took place elsewhere.<sup>311</sup>

Nicholas Carew KG was a man of considerable wealth and as Master of the Horse and a Knight of the Garter had a social standing little below the aristocracy. It seems unlikely that he would have been content with a compact single-courtyard house so the mid-Tudor structure was probably more extensive than the present building.

If there were additional courts their location is problematic. The existing house is not in the centre of the moat island and there would be room for additional ranges and narrow courtyards to the north and east of present structure. The 1562 inventory refers to ‘the great chamber next the mote in y<sup>e</sup> north west’ which would be consistent with arrange of buildings along the northern edge of the island although it could refer to the end of the present north wing.<sup>312</sup>

The Elizabethan household accounts contain several references to a Court, an Outer Court and a Great Court:

It pd for mendyng the pale by the heth [?] et the pale  
 about the court et makynge the rackes for the kyne  
 behynde the barne to ij men for ij days at viij<sup>d</sup> the  
 day ye pece ij viij<sup>d</sup><sup>313</sup>

<sup>311</sup> Howard and Wilson 2003 p. 99-101.

<sup>312</sup> BL Add MS 29605 17r.

<sup>313</sup> SHC 281/4/1 p. 1 Nov – Dec 1560.

It pd to woodstocke et martyn for setting of new yals in the  
greate Courte for viij Rodds at iiiij d y<sup>e</sup> Rodde et othe<sup>r</sup> placesij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> 314  
It pd to the smyrthe for ij hyngs for y<sup>e</sup> Courte dore viij<sup>d</sup> 315

It pd to hym more for ij neue hynge for ye Courte dore xij<sup>d</sup>  
It pd to hym more for mendyng of a paire of Loks for ye same gate j<sup>d</sup> 316

It pd to wodestocke et martyn for setting of pale in the great Courte  
At iiiij<sup>d</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Rodde xiiij Rodd iiiij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
It pd to y<sup>e</sup> smyrthe for iij Barrs of Iron weying vj<sup>li</sup> et a halfe xiiij<sup>d</sup>  
It pd to hym more for A grate for y<sup>e</sup> synke in y<sup>e</sup> cou<sup>t</sup>e weyingvj<sup>li</sup> xiiij<sup>d</sup> 317

It pd to meddois for moing et making of y<sup>e</sup> grasse in y<sup>e</sup> Courte xvj<sup>d</sup> 318

It pd more to hym for caryng et cutyng downe of  
netyls in the outter cowrt ij<sup>d</sup> 319

It pd for mowyng the nettels in the great cowrt next the stable vj<sup>d</sup> 320

It is not clear whether the outer court is different from the great court or another name for same place. Both needed to have nettles cut and even if they were different the overall impression is of fairly informal areas surrounded by ancillary buildings such as the stables. The presence of rails suggest that it or they adjoined the park pale.

Beddington Park Cottages to the north of the house contain the remains of a well-made single-storey building with a crown-post roof suggesting that it was constructed before about 1550 almost certainly originally as an ancillary building. In the early nineteenth century the cottages formed the east side of a rather informal service court which included the eighteenth century dovecote, a large building parallel to the river and some smaller structures. This would fit with the informal nature of the court implied in the Elizabethan accounts and the area is also adjacent to the park. However, there is evidence that the cottages have been moved. When they were surveyed in the 1980s, prior to their conversion into modern houses, it was found that the carpenters' marks on the roof rafters were jumbled suggesting that that the roof had been taken apart and reassembled.<sup>321</sup>

The site of the present west lawn is a logical location for an outer court. This would allow the visitor to pass through an outer gate, across the courtyard and moat and then through a further gate to the inner court with the main hall door in the usual position on the opposite side. The abutments for the bridge over the moat are known from excavations and observations in the moat culvert (volume 2 section 9). The east side of the lawn is considerably above natural ground level and it slopes down westward to Church Road. The lawn appears to have been made in the

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<sup>314</sup> SHC 281/4/9, May 1570.

<sup>315</sup> SHC 281/4/10, May – June 1570.

<sup>316</sup> SHC 281/4/13, June 1570.

<sup>317</sup> SHC 281/4/19 30 July - 6 August 1570.

<sup>318</sup> SHC 281/4/20r August 1570.

<sup>319</sup> SHC 281/4/25 p. 6, May unknown year.

<sup>320</sup> SHC 281/4/25 p. 7, May unknown year.

<sup>321</sup> Phillips 2015 p. 81.

seventeenth or very early eighteenth century.<sup>322</sup> If it does cover the remains of an outer court they must be well buried as they have not been detected on resistivity surveys or on aerial photos taken in dry weather. In 1994 a contractor's trench was dug through the north edge of the lawn to lay the services for an extension to St Mary's Church. This cut through remarkably uniform dark brown soil without finding any structures apart from the earth bank forming the western edge of the moat (volume 2 section 6.6.1).



Figure 139. The house and its immediate surroundings from the Beddington and Bandon enclosure map of 1820. Beddington Park Cottages are the range of buildings running north from the house. The long building to the north and west of them may have been the stable.

It is possible to envisage an outer court on the north, east or south side of the moat island but all three options raise significant problems. No evidence of a courtyard has been found during the excavations and resistivity surveys of the east lawn and an entrance from the east side would lead directly to the hall so it seems an unlikely location.<sup>323</sup> The area to the south of the moat and west of the church has not been explored archaeologically. Nothing was found when some trees blew over in the area in the great gale of 1987. There is no sign of a bridge abutment in the south moat

<sup>322</sup> Phillips and Burnett 2008 p. 125-6.

<sup>323</sup> Phillips and Burnett 2008 p. 23-42.



culvert. There are water courses to the north of the house which could be interpreted as the relics of a second moat island but this is entirely speculative as the few archaeological investigations in the area are of little help.<sup>324</sup> Campbell's plan and the design of the hall roof both suggest that the high table was at the north end of the hall.<sup>325</sup> This would mean that any gate in the north wing would be immediately adjacent to highest status rooms, an unusual and unlikely arrangement. The Campbell plan of 1717 gives no hint of a gatehouse in either the north or south wings. An approach from either direction would mean that the hall was to one side as a visitor entered rather than opposite the gate. Such an arrangement would be unusual but not entirely without precedent – Hampton Court is an obvious example. If a formal outer court existed it is more likely to have been on the west side of the house than anywhere else.

If an outer court existed on the west lawn it must have been removed in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The mid-seventeenth century reparations accounts refer to a dairy house, laundry and barns but there is no explicit mention of a great court or outer court.<sup>326</sup>

John Evelyn described Beddington as a 'scambling house' in his diary entry for September 1658. This means rambling or irregular which suggests multiple courtyards but is not conclusive. The 1710 building contract refers to the 'inward court' implying that there was still an outer one. It may have been swept away in the 1st Baronet's remodelling but this remains uncertain.<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> Phillips and Burnet 2008 p. 113-123.

<sup>325</sup> The Campbell plan clearly shows the kitchen and service arrangement as the south end. The second roof bay from the north end of the hall has two timbers which are likely to have supported a louver. This would mean that the hearth was off centre towards the north end. The fire was generally near high table.

<sup>326</sup> SHC 2152 p. 1 and 13.

<sup>327</sup> BL Add MS 29599 f. 104.

## 13 APPENDICIES

### 13.1 Stone with mouldings

This is a catalogue of the stone fragments which have been found during the various excavations and investigations around the site. It does not include every piece of moulded stone found but it does attempt to include the best examples of all the pre-nineteenth century mouldings.

The worked stones found during the early investigations in the house were given numbers prefixed SB. The stone from excavations from 1988 onwards was given special find numbers. These numbers have been retained in this report to make it easy to refer back to the original documentation. The stonework came from the following sources:

#### **The North Attic fireplace**

A small group blocks found reused as rubble around the fireplace on the top of the north wall of the hall (see section 8.5).

**The Gymnasium.** In 1985 part of the gymnasium had to be rebuilt and a large amount of reused stone was found within the walls. A record of the most important blocks was made under considerable time pressure. Most of the stone was subsequently lost due to the lack of storage space. The recorded blocks were numbered SB 101 to SB 134. The gymnasium was originally built as the Orphanage school room. It is probably shown on the print of the front of the house made to illustrate the report of the opening in June 1866 and is clearly shown on the first edition 25 inch Ordnance Survey map of 1868. It is therefore overwhelmingly likely that the stone was salvaged from the house when it was converted into the orphanage between 1864 and 1866.

#### **Trenches CG, CH and CI**

These were found in trenches excavated into the fill of the southwest corner of the moat in 1992 (see volume 2 section 6). The finds were given special numbers.

#### **Trenches CM and CN**

These two trenches were excavated on the east lawn on the centreline of the house. They cut through a chalk drive which appears to have been part of the early eighteenth century garden and then passed into soil and rubble which had been dumped in a former watercourse or pond. The finds suggested that this dated from early eighteenth century and included mason's waste from reworking the gothic stonework into eighteenth century forms. The finds were given special numbers.<sup>328</sup>

In the drawings sections are shaded dark grey while the fractures are lighter.

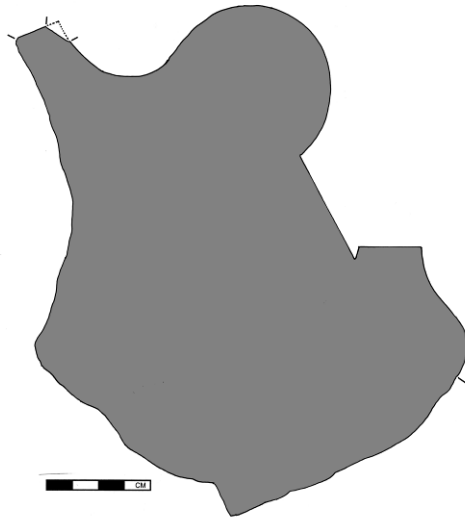
#### **13.1.1 Large four-light gothic window**

These appear to come from very large four-light windows. The design is reconstructed in section 4.2.

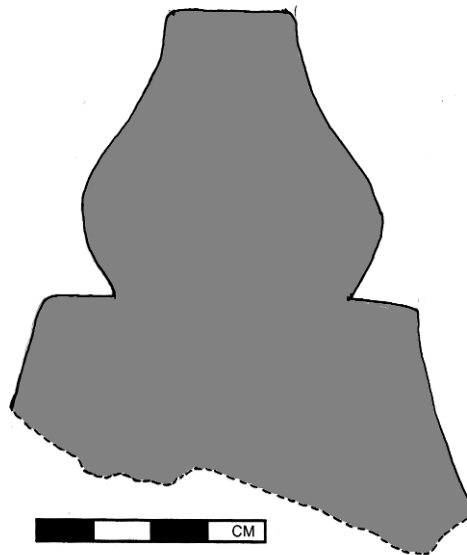
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<sup>328</sup> Phillips, John and Burnett, Nicholas 2008 p.39-42.

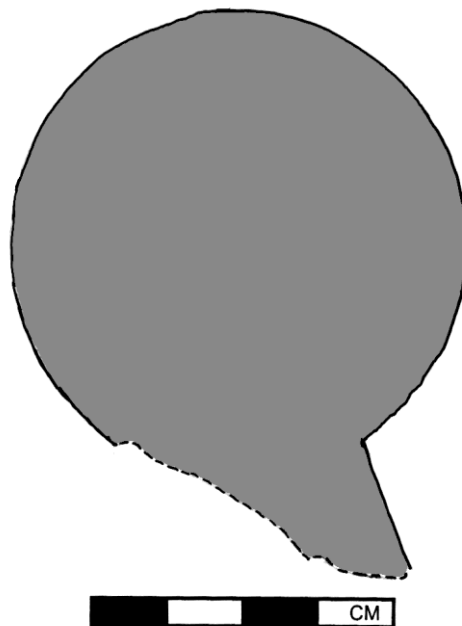
Find <5> from [CM15]. Reigate stone with traces of whitewash on the moulding.



Find <85> from [CM15]. Oolitic limestone. Surviving length of moulding 35mm.



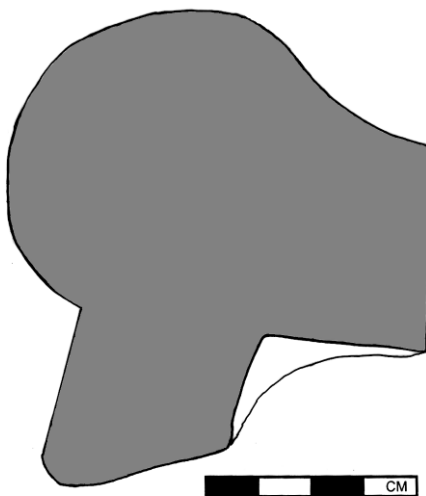
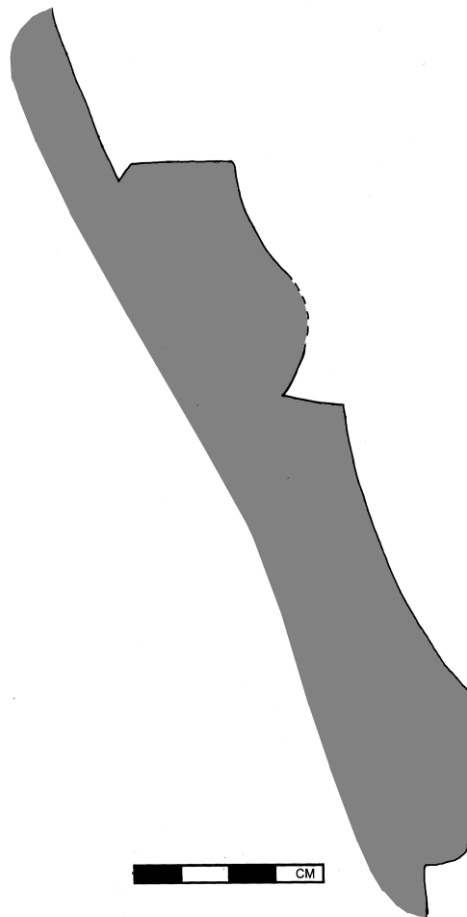
Find <86> from [CM15]. Oolitic limestone. Surviving length of mouldings 185mm.



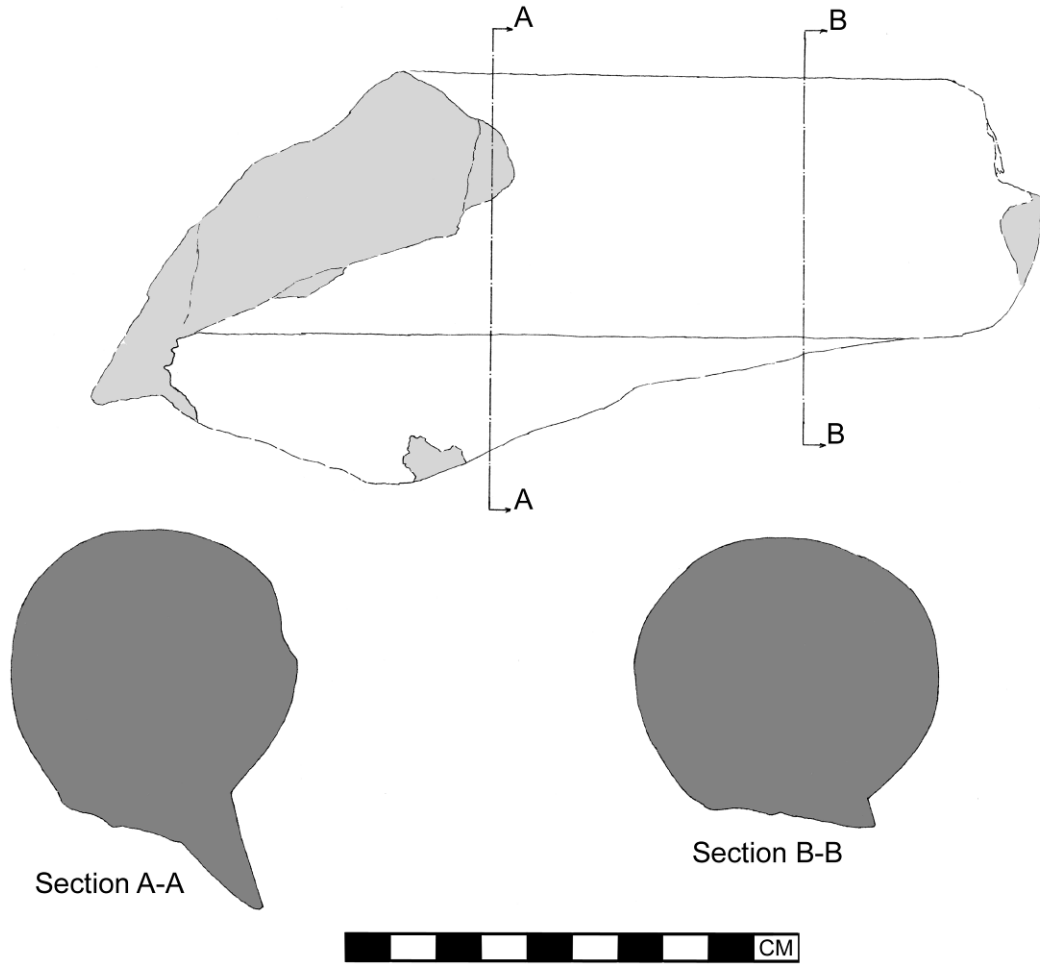
The moulding on find <180> from [CM15].



Right: the moulding on finds <169> and <201> from [CM15]. Two joining pieces of white oolitic limestone slab 26mm thick.

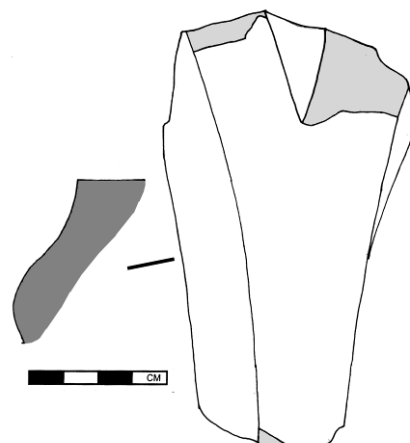


Above: find <12> from [CN14]. Oolitic limestone. Edge of a block with curve into a roll which joins an angled flat face similar to CM <5>. Diameter 63mm. Surviving length 140mm. A slot cut in the back is not square with the moulding.

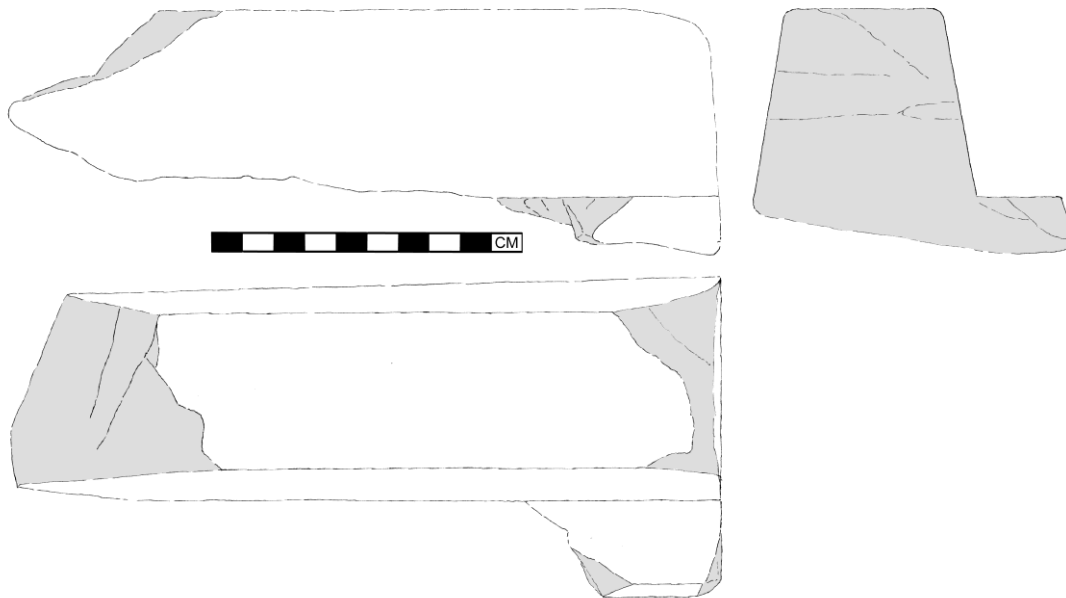


Stone block SB 7 from the fireplace on the north wall of the hall.

Find <14> from [CN14]. Oolitic limestone. Forking tracery with ogee moulding. Width of the 'point' 24mm.



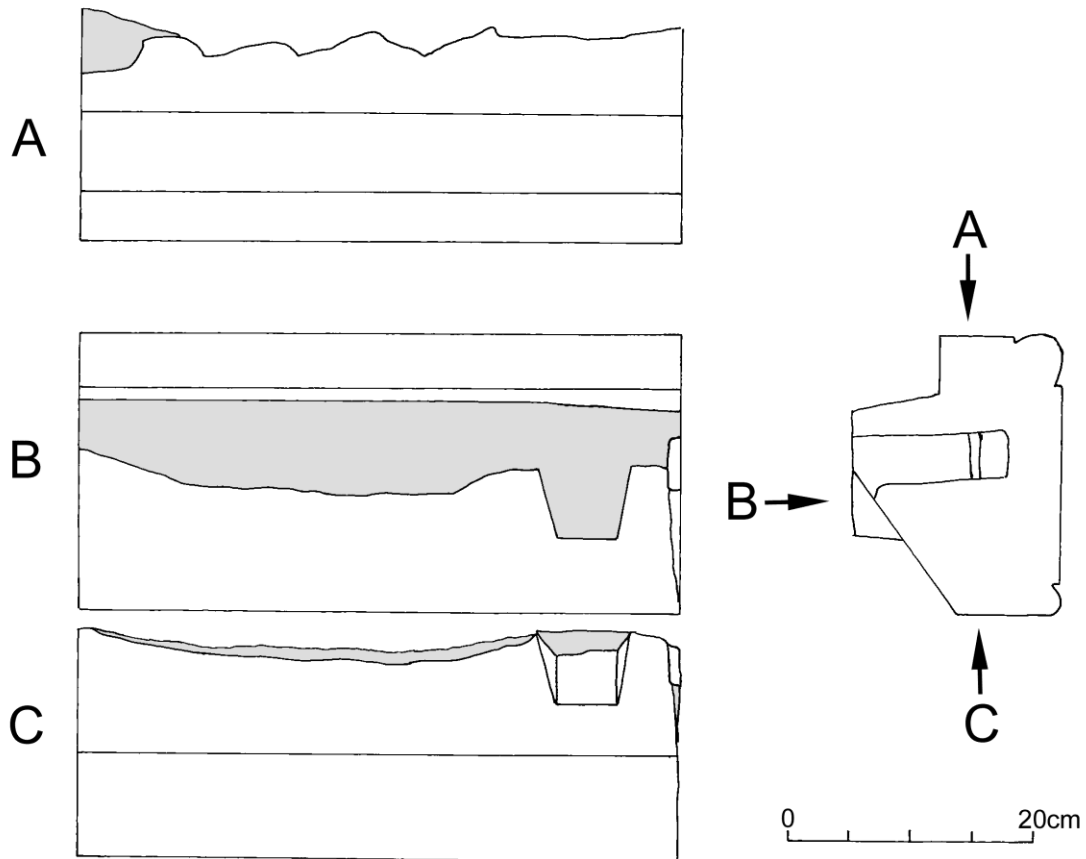
### 13.1.2 Gothic tracery with rectilinear mouldings



Stone block SB 3. Oolitic limestone reused in the fireplace on the north wall of the hall.

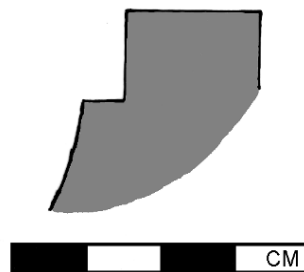


Stone block SB 3. Scale 8cm.



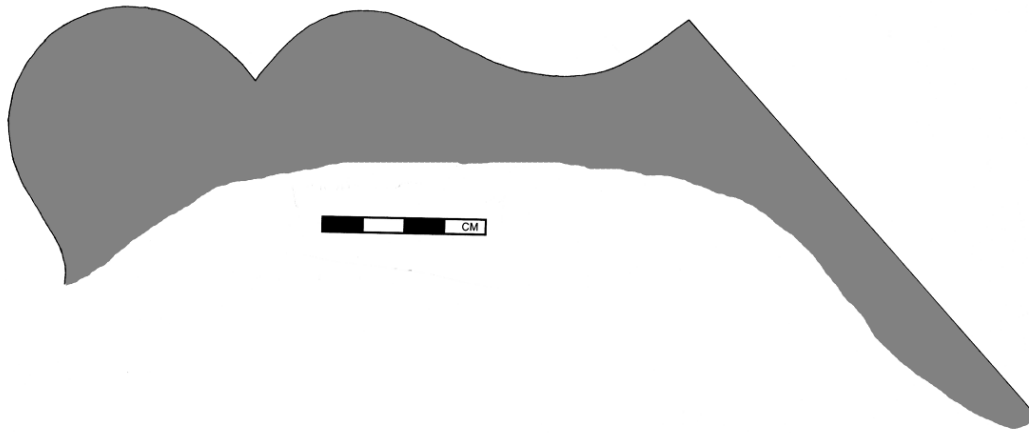
Reigate stone block SB 102 from the south wall of the gymnasium. This block has clearly been reused. One side has edges with roll mouldings and appears to have been part of the early eighteenth century window fenestration (see section 13.1.19 below). The window moulding on the other side could be from the early nineteenth century 'gothic' windows seen on the Buckler's drawing of the south side of the south wing dated 1827. However, the bottom of the moulding is too thick to fit the design shown by Buckler. It is therefore likely that this is a medieval moulding and that the block was reused in the early eighteenth century. The size and shape of the mullion is very similar to the tip of SB3 above.

Find <18> from [CG11]. Fine, hard oolitic limestone with few inclusions.

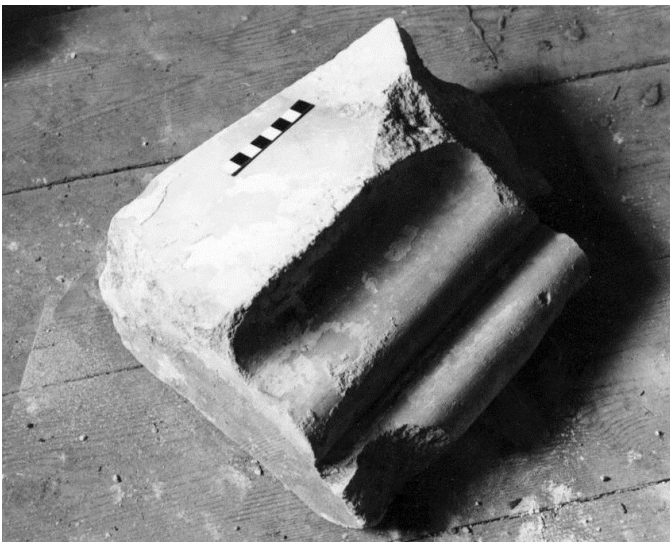


Stone block SB 3 appears to be a central or principle mullion from a very large multi-light window. SB 102 may be part of the cill and secondary mullion from the same window. The moulding is a very plain perpendicular gothic, more likely sixteenth century than earlier.

### 13.1.3 Gothic chamfer, roll and ogee



Stone block SB 1. Reigate stone with traces of whitewash on the moulding. From the fireplace on the north wall of the hall.

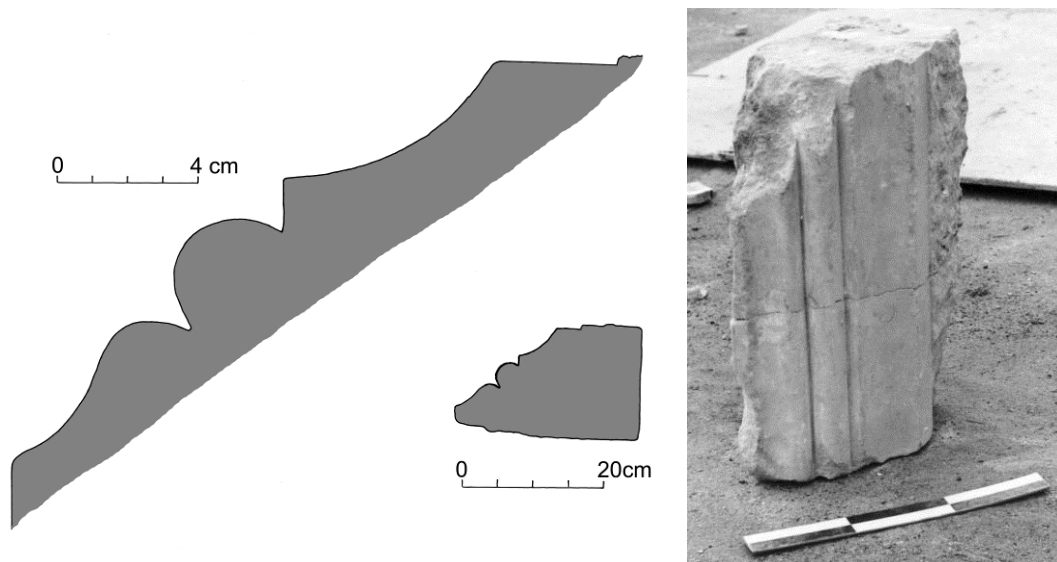


Stone block SB 1.



Stone block SB 1 as found. At the base of the northwest corner of the chimneystack on the north wall of the hall. Looking south.

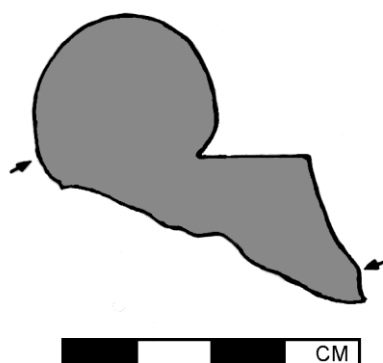




Stone blocks SB 120 and SB 121. Reigate stone. Section of with detail of the moulding to the left. Length at right angles to the drawings 42cm. Squared at both ends.

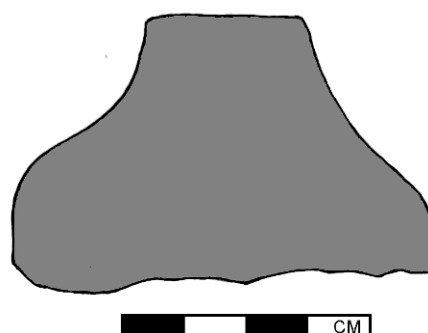
### 13.1.4 Tracery tipped with small roll

Find <7> from [CI6]. Oolitic limestone. Maximum surviving length 64mm. No traces of whitewash. The arrows mark the edges of the worked surfaces.



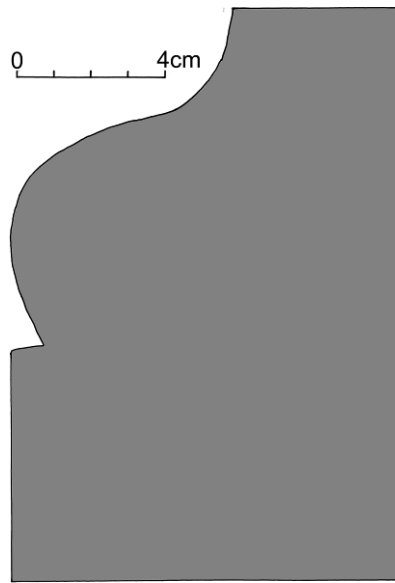
### 13.1.5 Tracery tipped with ogee

Find <38> from [CI6]. Oolitic limestone with traces of whitewash. Surviving length 80mm.

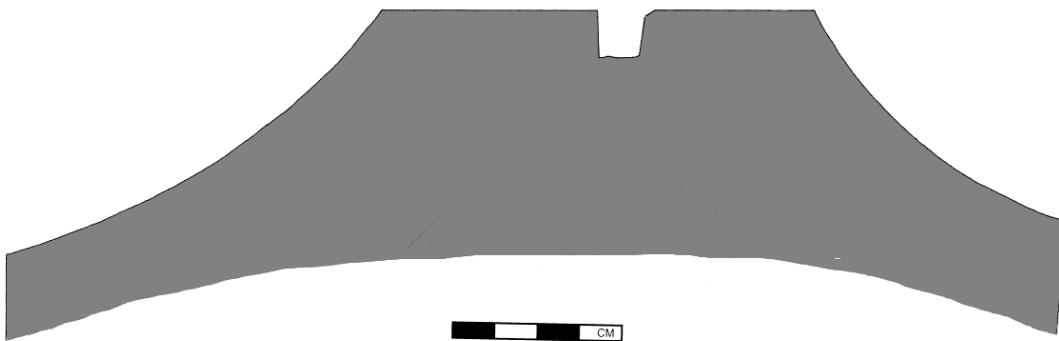


### 13.1.6 Ogee moulding

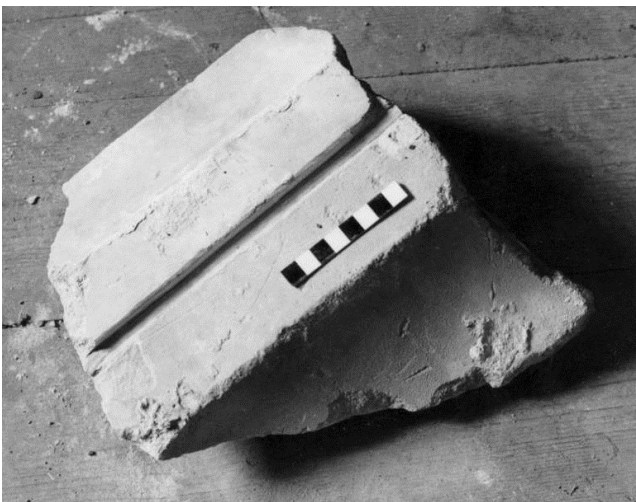
Stone block SB 129 from the south wall of the gym. Light brown sandstone or limestone. Length at right angles to the drawing 43.9cm.



### 13.1.7 Gothic window glazing lines

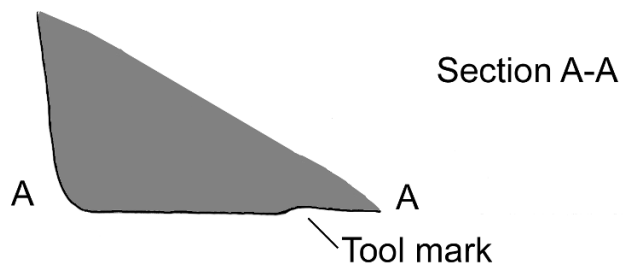
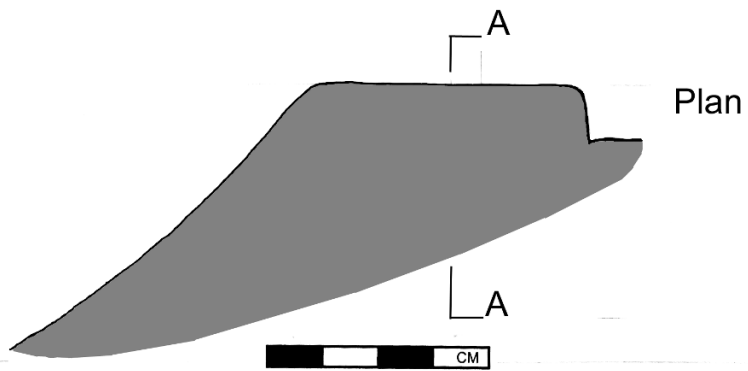
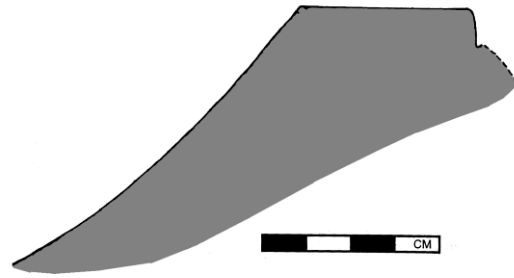


Stone block SB 4 from the fireplace on the north wall of the hall. Reigate stone with traces of whitewash.

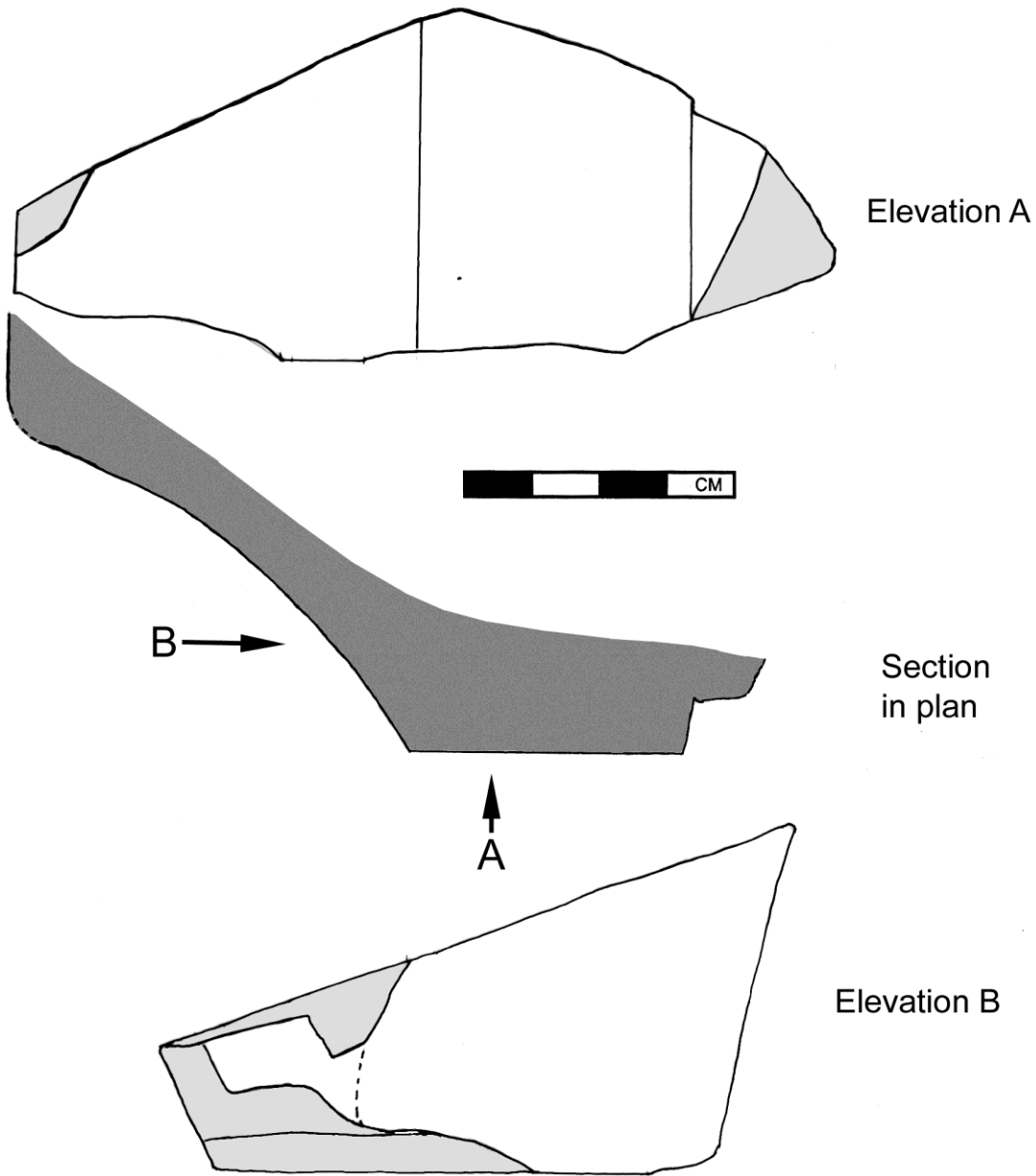


Stone block SB 4. Scale in cm.

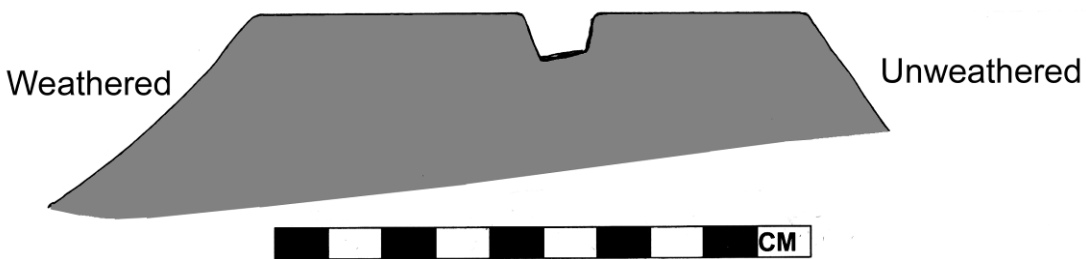
Find <115> from [CM15]. Reigate stone.  
Surviving length 110mm.



Find <117> from [CM15]. Reigate stone. Moulding from the head of a window with part of a glazing slot. Marks on the bottom from a chisel 10mm wide.



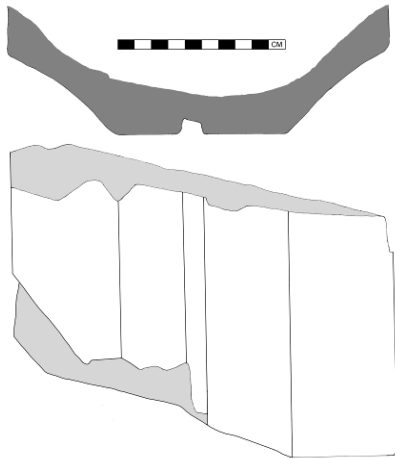
Find <177> from [CM15]. Reigate stone. Part of the bottom of a window head. With glazing slot. Estimated window width 240mm.



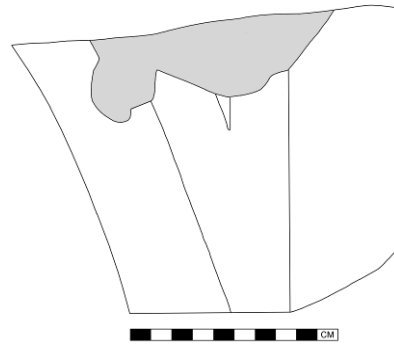
Find <154> from [CM15]. Reigate stone. Side of a window with a glazing slot. One straight face and one hollow chamfer. Side with the hollow chamfer slightly weathered. Horizontal cut by the glazing slot where the stone has been reworked. Surviving length 80mm.

### 13.1.8 Late gothic window head

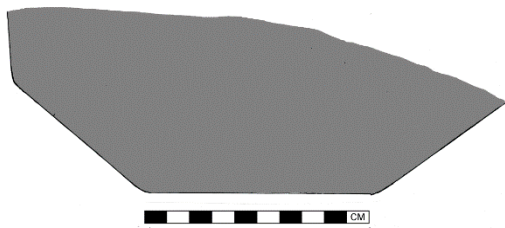
Find <40> from [CG4]. Part of a Reigate stone window mullion. One side has the lower part of a curved window head with a glazing slot and hollow chamfers on either side of it. The other side is straight with straight chamfers and no glazing slot. There is mortar on the surfaces and a little on the fractures. The glazing slot is not fully cut. There is lime wash on one of the hollow chamfers.



The window opening with glazing slot

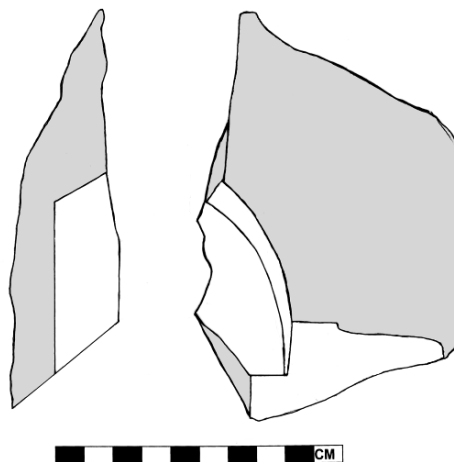


The right hand side.



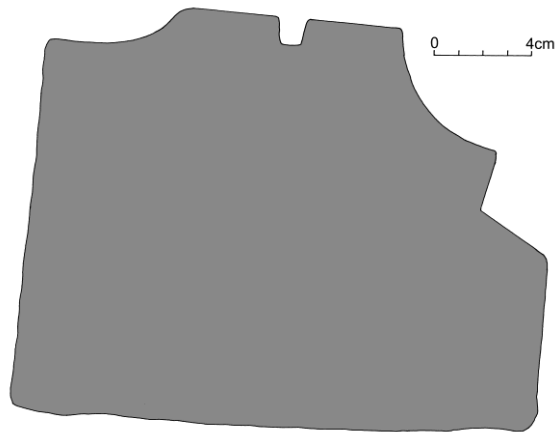
The back side opposite the glazing slot.

Find <39> from [CN14]. Reigate stone.

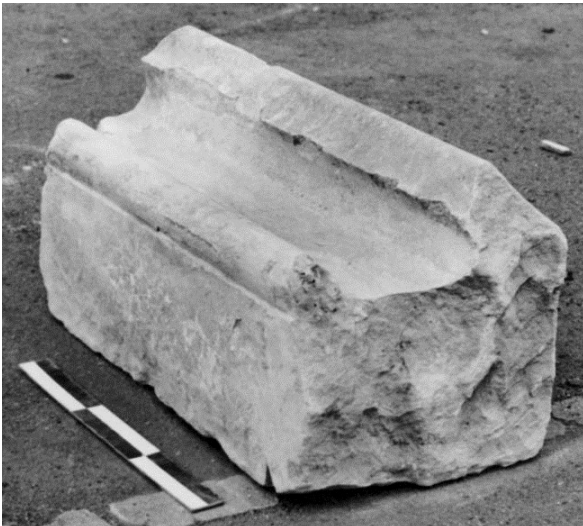


### 13.1.9 Side of window

Reigate stone block SB 123 from the south wall of the gymnasium. Reigate stone. Length 26cm at right angles to the drawing. One end broken, the other squared. Traces of paint or whitewash on the moulding.



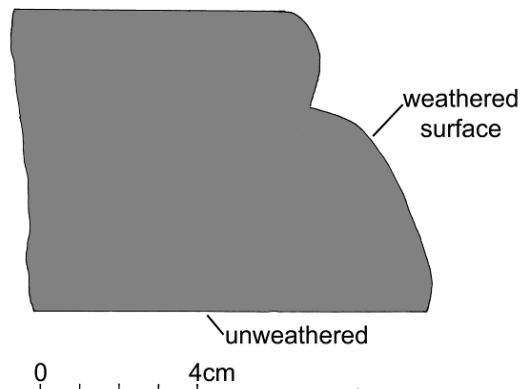
### 13.1.10 Gothic drip-course



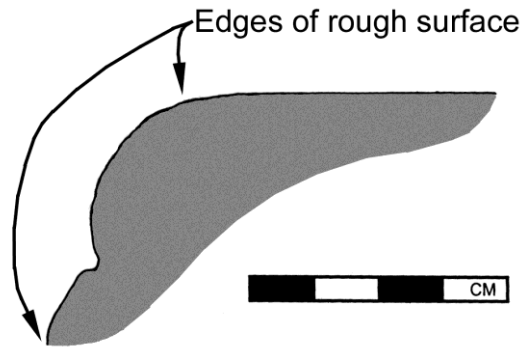
Reigate stone block SB 119. The moulding is very similar to the drip-course shown on the upper part of the kitchen walls in Buckler's drawing of 1827. Similar drip-course can be seen in the Tudor parts of Hampton Court including the great hall, the base court, the clock court and tennis court.

### 13.1.11 Doubtful drip-courses

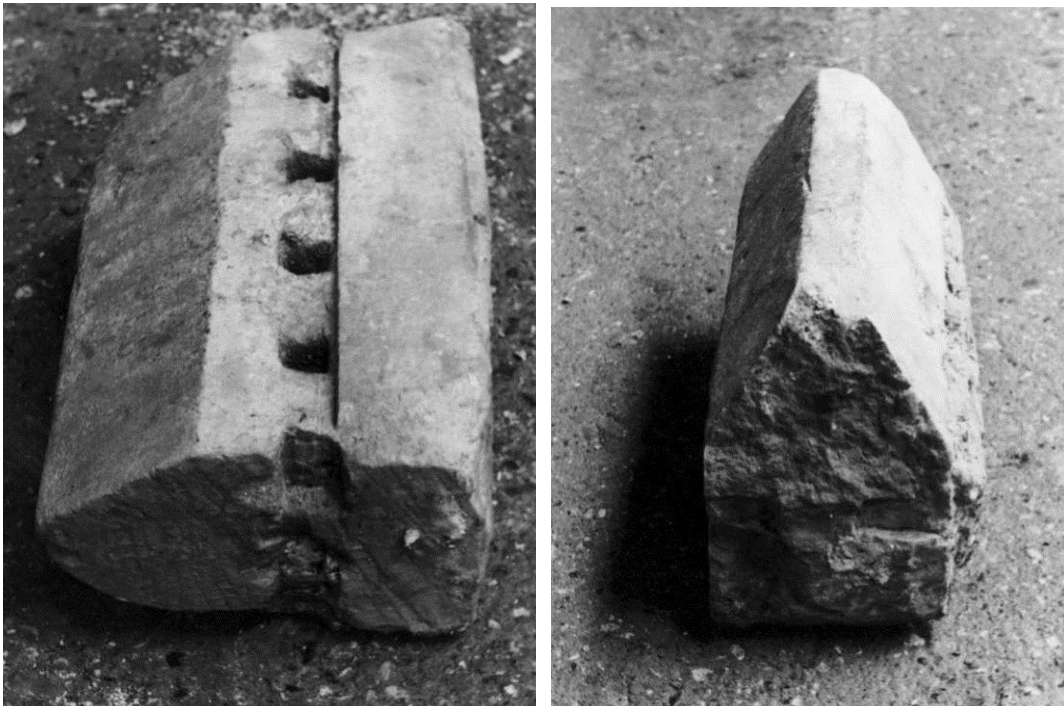
Block SB 116 from the south wall of the gym. White to light brown limestone with many small fossils. Surviving length of moulding 24cm; surviving length of block 29cm.



Find <50> from [CN14]. Reigate stone. Smooth surface joining rough circular curve through 90 degrees. Curve ends in a saw cut.

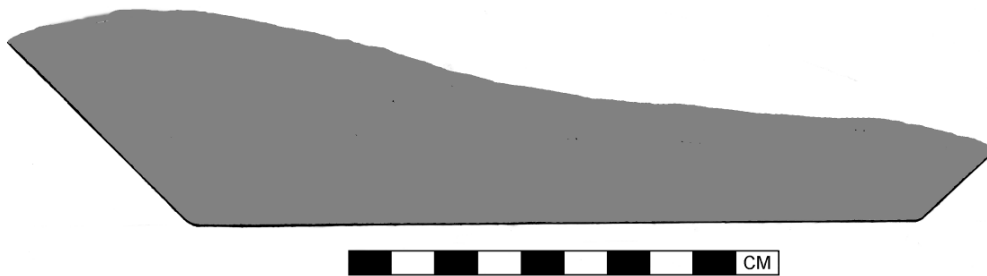


### 13.1.12 Late gothic barred window mullion



Reigate stone block SB 8. This was embedded in the south wall of cellar 8 immediately below the ceiling just west of the area blocked window (see 6.2). It may have been placed there fairly recently to fill the gap between the top of the wall and the fireproof panels on the ceiling.

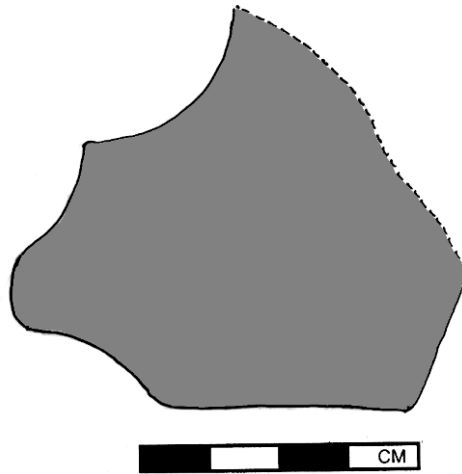
### 13.1.13 Small octagonal pillar



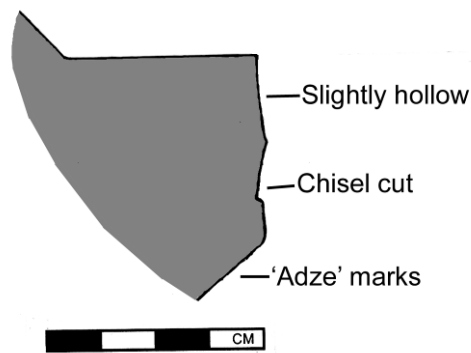
Finds <1> and <2> from [CI6]. Two joining pieces of oolitic limestone forming part of three faces of an octagonal moulding or pillar which if regular would have been about 0.4m across. Maximum surviving length 50mm.

### 13.1.14 Multi-angle mouldings

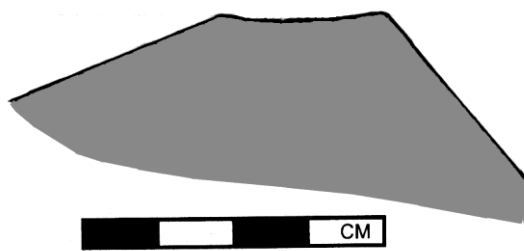
Find <173> from [CM15]. Reigate stone. Flat face with three adjacent hollow mouldings which collectively turn through 90 degrees. Length 110mm.



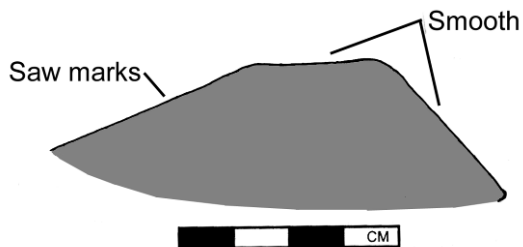
Find <183> from [CM15]. Reigate stone with angled moulding. One face has been cut with a chisel to reuse the stone.



Find <119> from [CM15]. Reigate stone. Flat face meeting a hollow chamfer at about 129 degrees. A third sawn face meeting the hollow chamfer at 159 degrees. Surviving length 56mm.

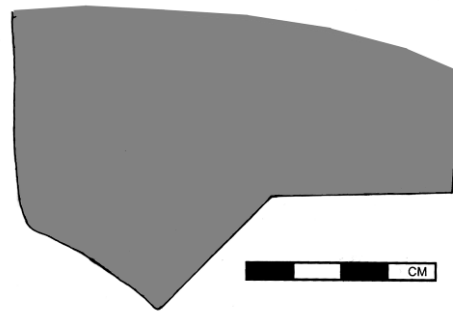


Find <122> from [CM15]. Reigate stone. Flat face meeting a hollow chamfer at about 129 degrees. A third sawn face meeting the hollow chamfer at 160 degrees. Surviving length 120mm.

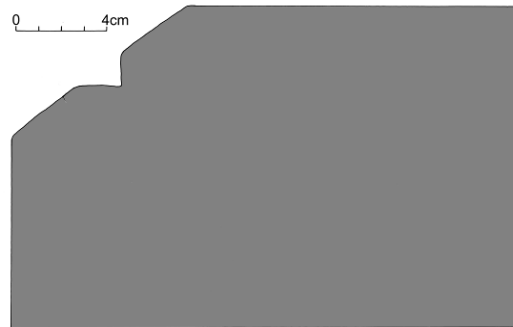




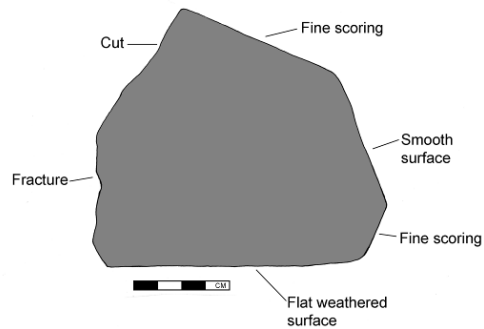
Find <144> from [CM15]. Reigate stone. Five faces meeting at angles of 95, 226, 102 and 123 degrees. One face a hollow chamfer the others straight. Surviving length 94mm.



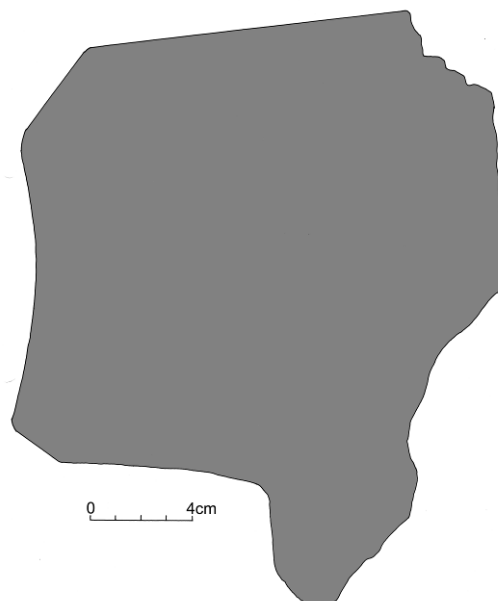
Reigate stone block SB 126 from the south wall of the gym. Surviving length of moulding 45cm. One end squared, one broken.



Find <32> from [CH3]. Reigate stone. Small block with top bottom and 6 other faces. Maximum length at right angles to the figure 85mm. Probably part of a window. Some areas grey from burning.

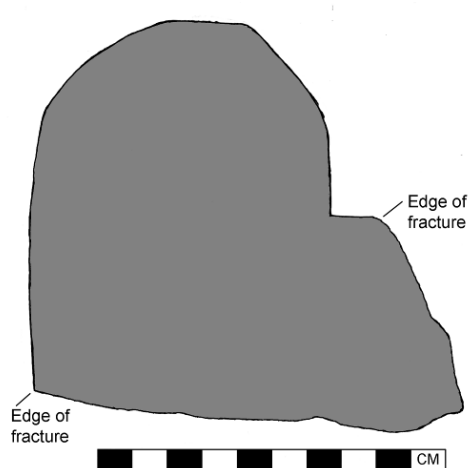


Reigate stone block SB 125 from the south wall of the gymnasium. Surviving length of moulding 11cm.

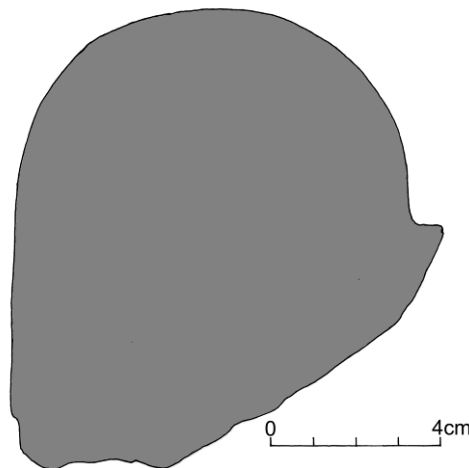


### 13.1.15 Large roll moulding

Find <39> from [CG4]. Surviving length 140mm. One side of the roll burnt grey. This could be the result of flames touching the underside of a horizontal string course.



Stone block SB 20 found lying in the garden in the courtyard in 1985. Reigate stone?



### 13.1.16 Surfaces with large radius curves

Find <156> from [CM15]. Reigate stone. Part of a large curved moulding which is not perfectly circular but has a diameter of about 394mm. Surviving length 90mm. Comb chisel marks on the surface.

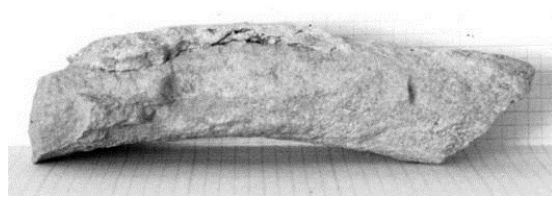
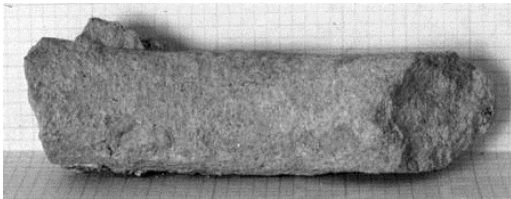
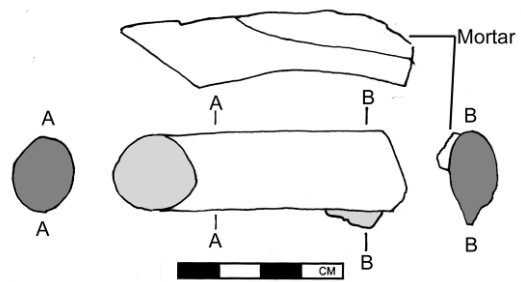


Find <357> from [CM15]. Reigate stone. Curved surface with light comb chisel marks. A face at right angles dressed with bold marks from a straight chisel. There is a saw cut in this face possibly from reworking.

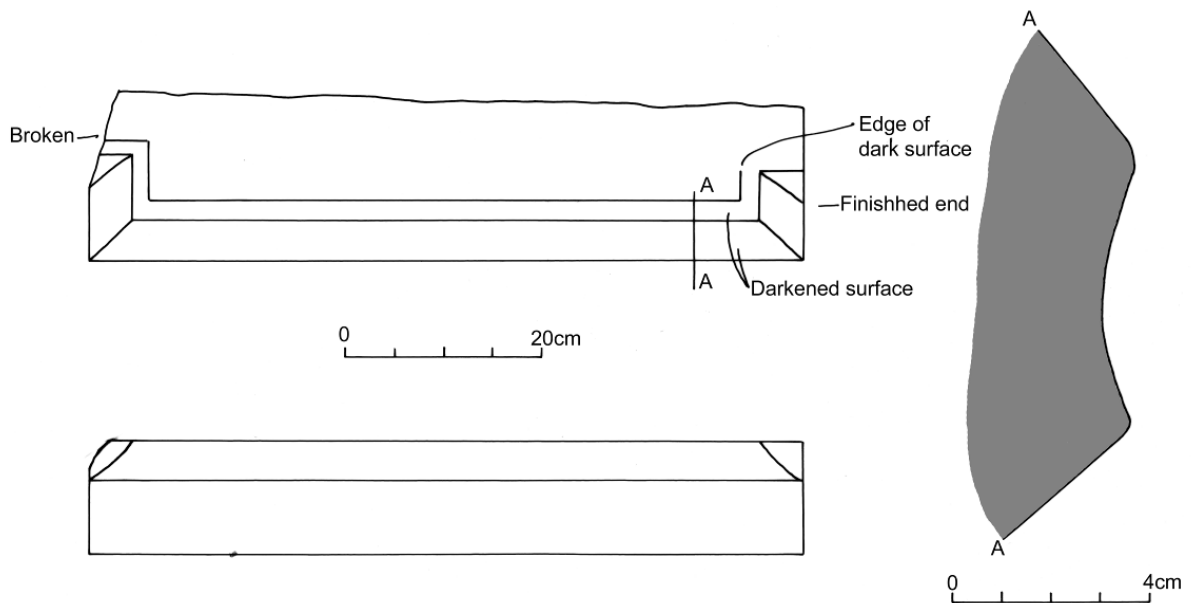


### 13.1.17 Carved rod?

Find <205> from [CM11]. Reigate stone with oval cross section about 20 by 12. Size 72. Curves along its length giving a handle-like appearance. One side has a small fillet of stone suggesting that it is part of a high-relief carving. Surface heavily weathered. Could have come from either the house or the garden. May be part of a fossil.



### 13.1.18 Late gothic oriel window moulding?

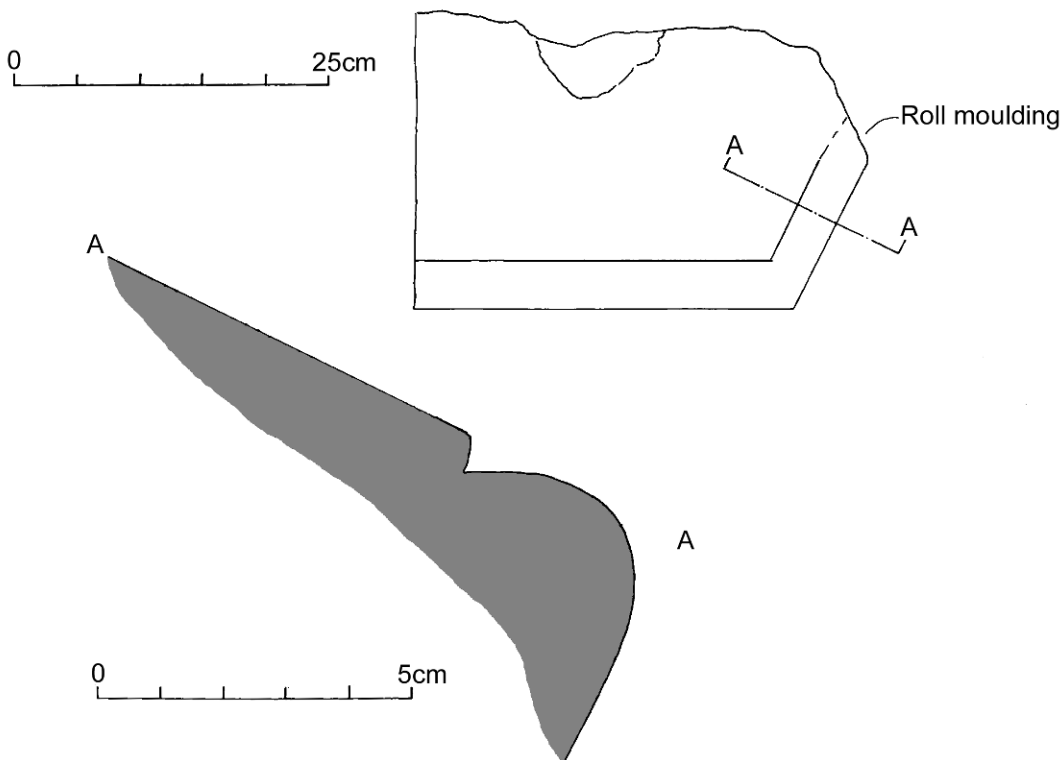


Reigate stone block SB 122 with detail of the moulding. From the south wall of the gymnasium. This may be part of an oriel window. The vertical section is too thick for a classical pilaster.

### 13.1.19 Classical window mouldings with rolls on both edges

This group consist of flat surrounds for segmental-headed windows. There were four complete widths all between 22 and 23cm pieces. The roll mouldings varied in size from 2 to 5cm. Block SB 102 had a 2.5cm roll on one edge and a 4cm one on the other.

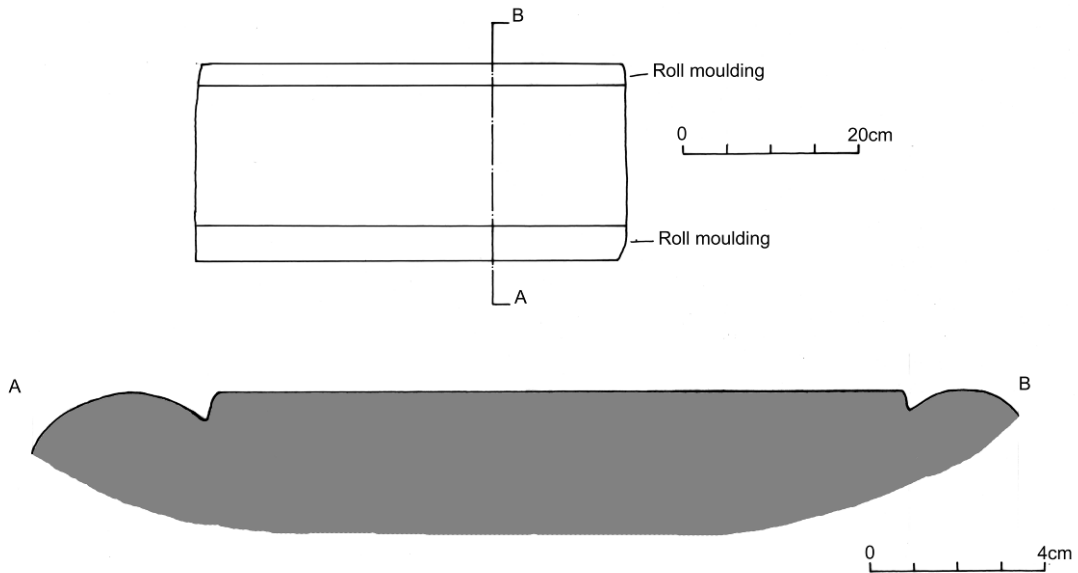
	Width (cm)	Roll moulding diameters (cm)	Stone
SB 101		3.5	Oolitic
SB 102	22.5	2.5 & 4	Reigate
SB 103		2.5	Reigate
SB 104		3.5	Oolitic
SB 108		2.7	Not recorded
SB 109		3.4	Oolitic
SB 112	23	Damaged	Not recorded
SB 113	23	2	Reigate
SB 114		2.7	Reigate
SB 118		2.5	Reigate
SB 131	22	2.5	Reigate



Reigate stone block SB 101 with detail of the moulding. From the south wall of the gymnasium.



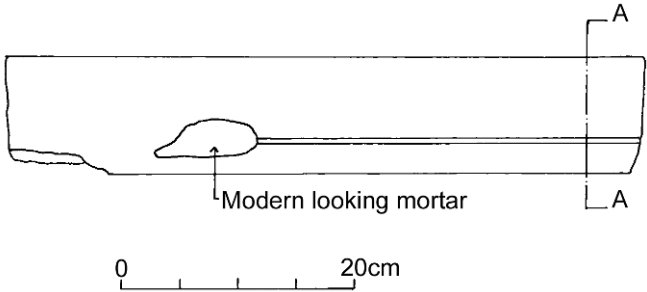
Stone block SB 101 in situ in the gymnasium wall.



Block SB 102 with detail of the mouldings. From the south wall of the gymnasium. The other side of the stone had a late gothic moulding. See section 13.1.2 above.

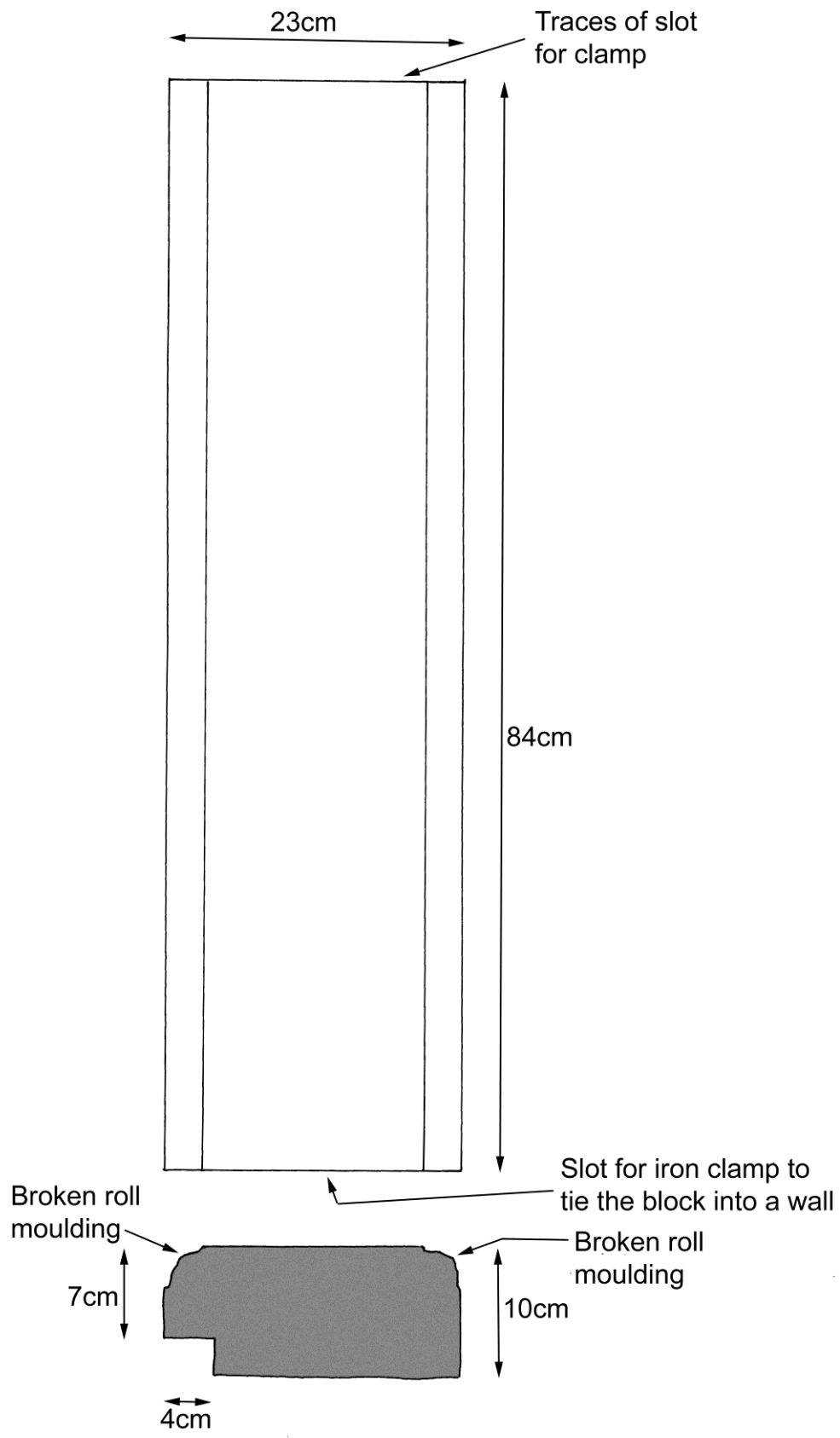


SB 102 in situ in the gymnasium wall.



0 4cm

Reigate stone block SB 103 from the south wall of the gymnasium



Sketch drawing of Reigate stone block SB 113 from the south wall of the gymnasium.

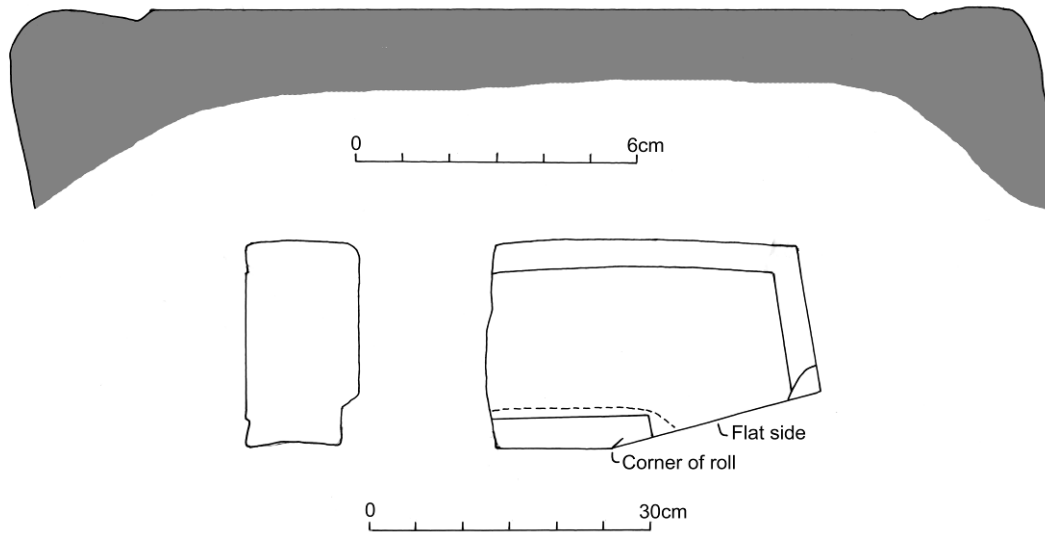


Cramp holes in the end of SB 113.



The edge and back of SB 113.





Reigate stone block SB 131 with detail of the moulding. From the south wall of the gymnasium.

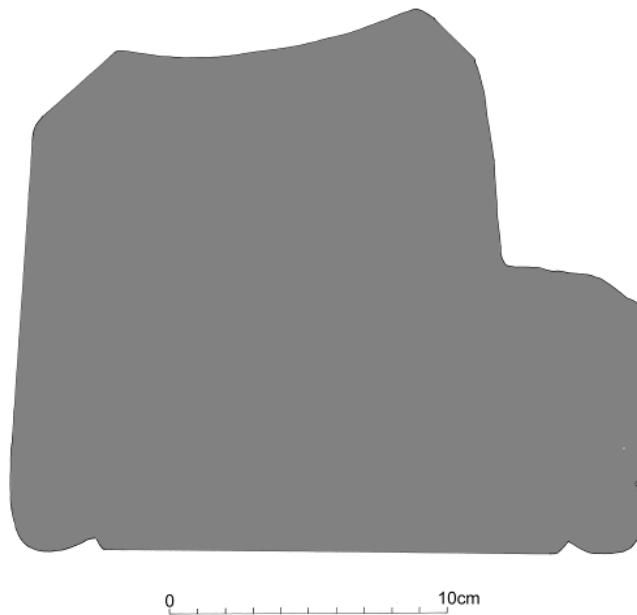


The front of block SB 131.



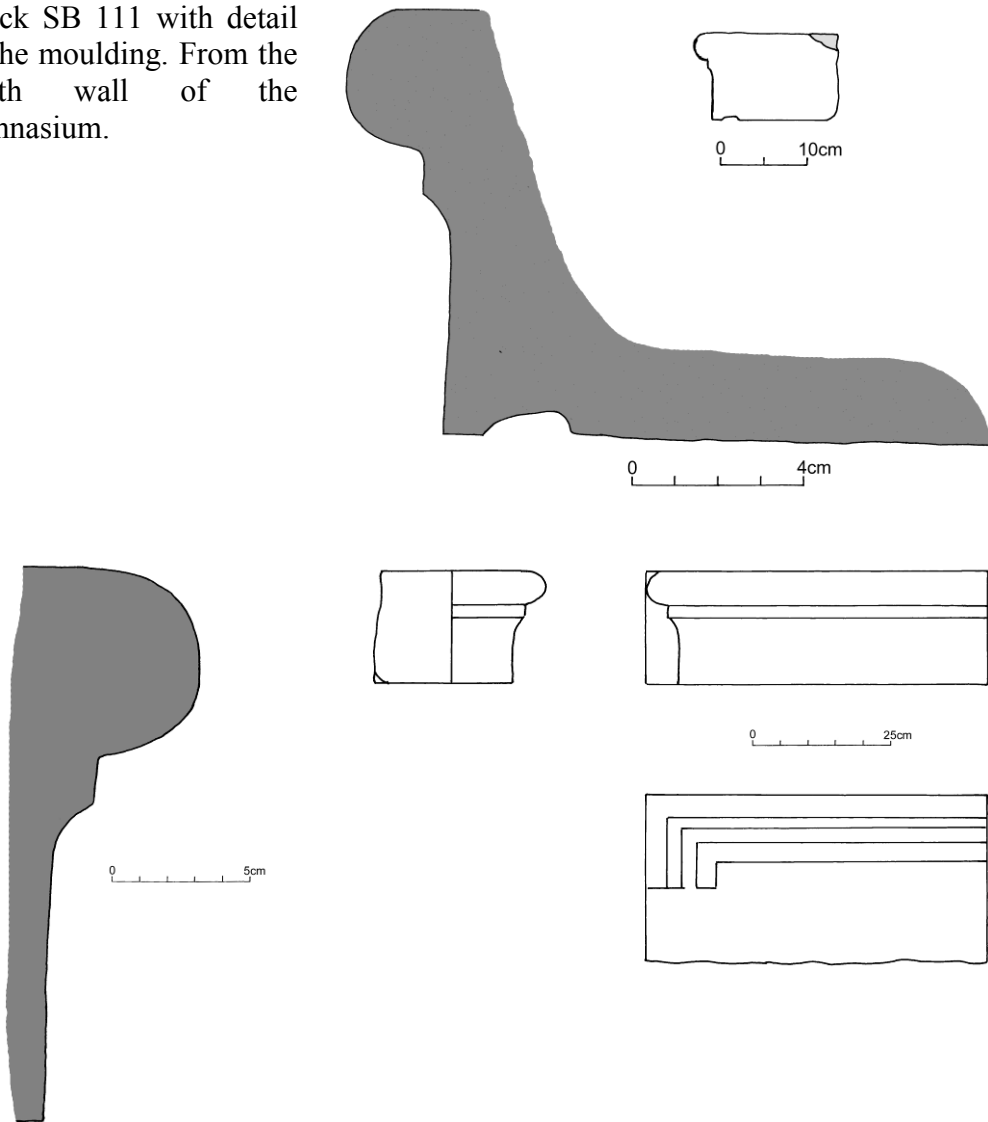
The back of block SB 131.

Reigate stone block SB 133 from the south wall of the gymnasium. Greatest length at right angles to the section 12.5cm. This is a gothic moulding reworked to make one of the early eighteenth century windows.



### 13.1.20 Classical window cills

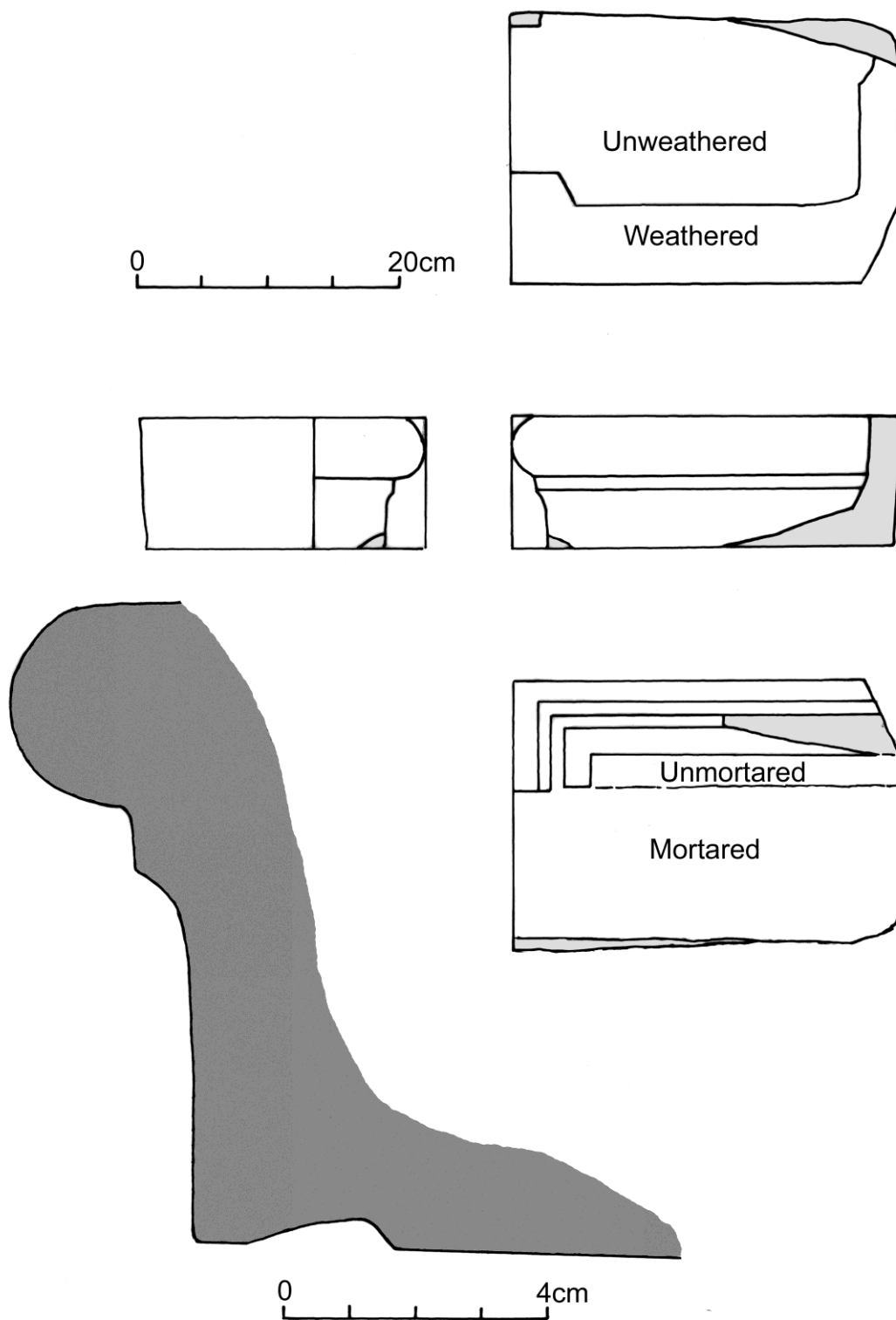
Block SB 111 with detail of the moulding. From the south wall of the gymnasium.



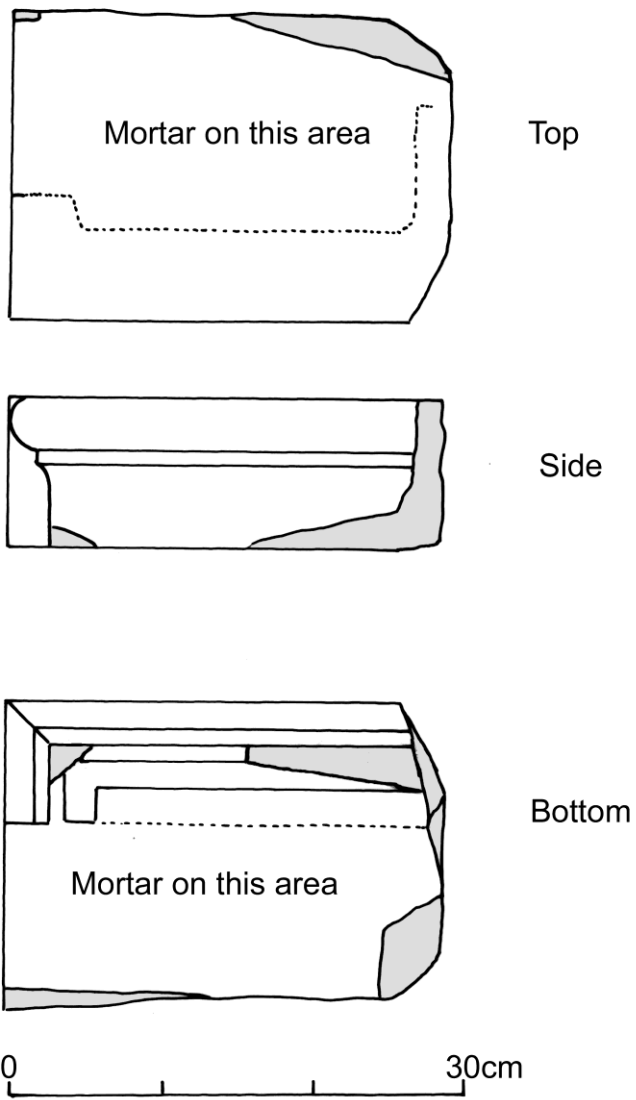
Light brown limestone or sandstone block SB 115 with a detail of the moulding. From the south wall of the gymnasium.



The underside of SB 115.



Stone block SB 128 with detail of the moulding. Light grey sandstone or limestone. From the south wall of the gymnasium.



Stone block SB 134. White-light brown sandstone or limestone. From the south wall of the gymnasium.

### 13.1.21 Classical cornice

This block appears to have been reused. One face had foliate decoration probably from a medieval or classical capital. The block had then been reshaped to for part of a small cornice.

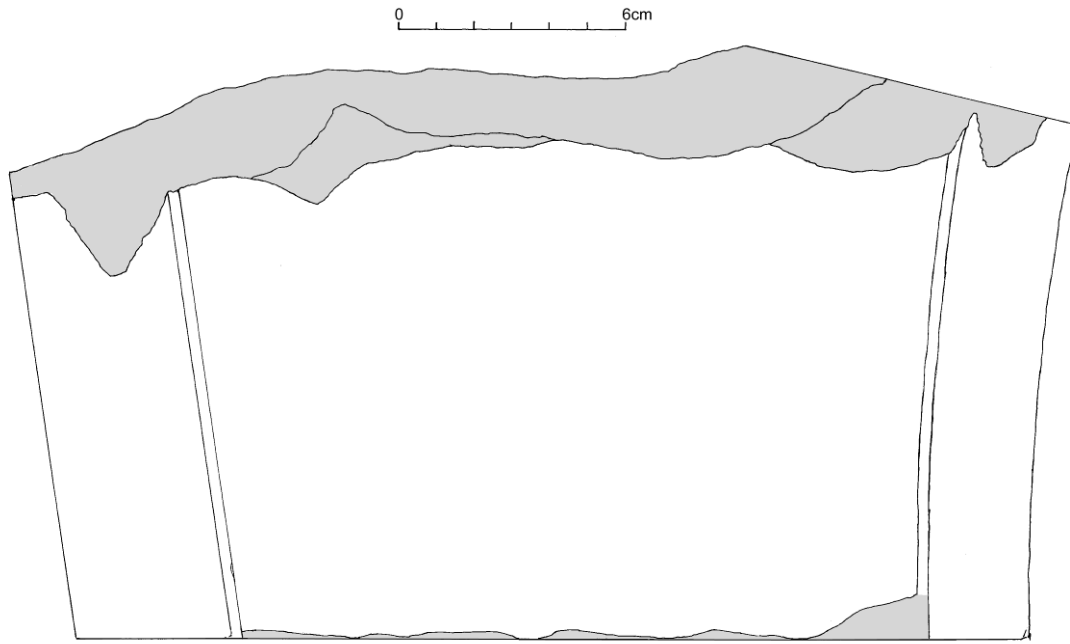


Stone block SB 132 from the south wall of the gymnasium. The foliate decoration is just visible on the far left edge.

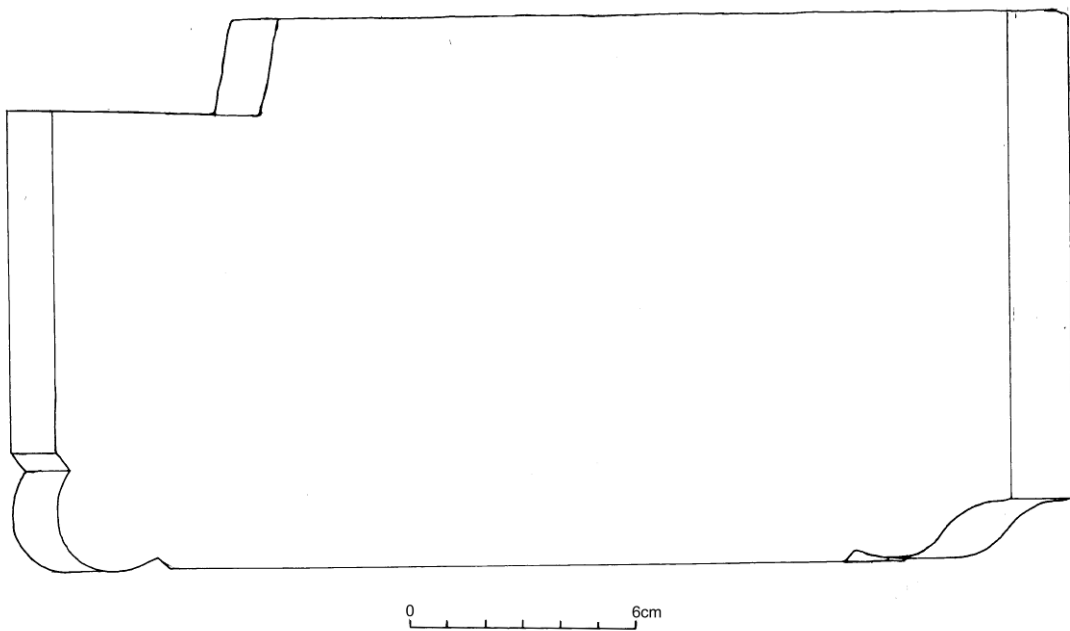


Stone block SB 132. Partly cut away foliate decoration on one edge.

**13.1.22 Classical arch**



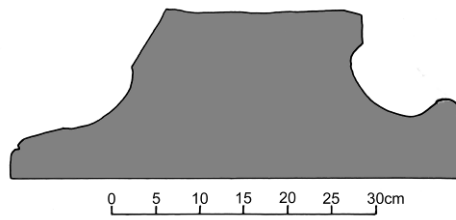
Stone block SB 127 from the south wall of the gymnasium. Light brown sandstone or limestone.



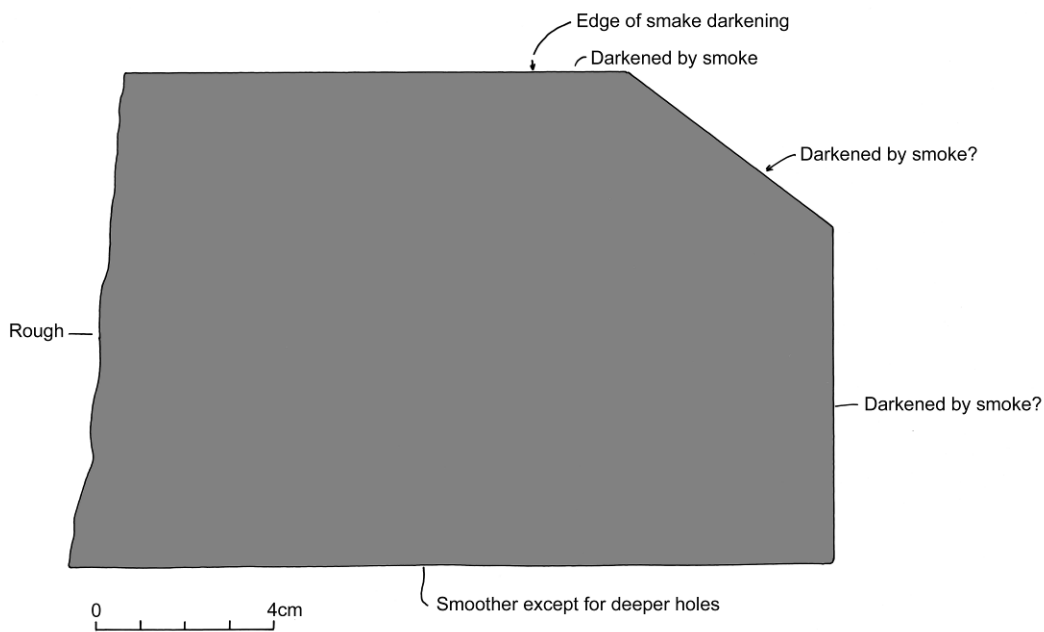
Stone block SB 127 from the south wall of the gymnasium.

### 13.1.23 Gothic window or door

Stone block SB 130 from the south wall of the gymnasium. Light brown sandstone or limestone with patches and streaks of iron stain.



### 13.1.24 From an oven?



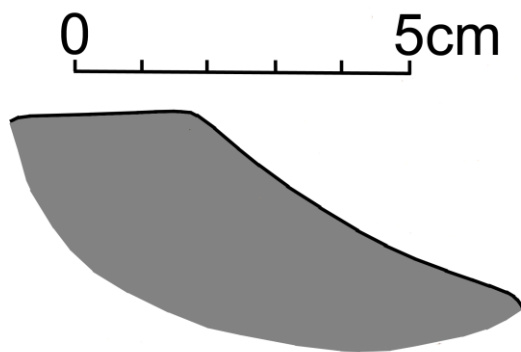
Reigate stone block SB 124 from the south wall of the gymnasium. Length 49cm.



## 13.2 Terracotta

A piece of yellow terracotta was found in trench CE in the garden to the southeast of the house.<sup>329</sup> Pale yellow ceramic with black flecks. Moulding probably from a window on the edge of a panel. 2 joining pieces, 294g. Probably 16th century but was found as rubble reused in a late context.

Similar terracotta has been found on the site of Suffolk Place in Southwark and is known from several other high status houses in southeast England. It was fashionable for a relatively short period from about 1515 to 1540.<sup>330</sup> It was, therefore, probably made for Nicholas Carew d.1539 and is perhaps more likely to have been part of the house than a garden building.



Section through the moulding.



The surface.



The fracture.

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<sup>329</sup> Find <6> from [CE8]. For trench CE see Phillips and Burnett 2008 p. 74-5.

<sup>330</sup> Smith et al 2014.

## 13.3 Tiles

Many small fragments of tin-glazed tile have been found in the moat and in excavation in the garden. This section looks at two particularly significant finds: the other material will appear in the individual excavation reports.

### 13.3.1 A hexagonal tin-glazed tile

Hexagonal tile with blue and white tin-glaze from the gravels in the south arm of the moat culvert.<sup>331</sup> Width 90mm. Thickness 17mm. Mortar on the edge and base.



Gaimster and Hughes 1999 illustrate a very similar tile from the Broad Arrow Tower in the Tower of London. It was one of three hexagonal and two square tin-glazed tiles found in a context dated to the first half of the sixteenth century. Neutron activation analysis by the British Museum suggests that the tile was made in Antwerp.

A number of similar tiles were used in a pavement at the Abbey of Herkenrode in Belgium and are now preserved in the Royal Museum of Art and History at Brussels. A document of 1532 shows that the tiles were ordered from Peter Frans van Venedigen of Antwerp for delivery of Easter Day 1533. The pavement was for the Abbey choir and consisted of square tiles surrounded by hexagonal ones.<sup>332</sup> Herkenrode-type floor tiles have been found on at least 10 sites in southeast England.<sup>333</sup> They are usually single finds although there are about 400 tiles relaid in the chapel of the Wyne in Hampshire. These may have been brought to the site by Sir William Sandys who was treasurer of Calais from 1517. Sir Richard Carew must have known him well and would have been in a position to acquire tiles during his service in Calais. The Flemish glass in the chapel at the Wyne was made between 1522 and 1524.

### 13.3.2 Eighteenth century tin-glazed tiles from the culvert

This set of tin-glazed tiles decorated with landscapes and flower head corners were mostly found in the gravel of the south arm of the main moat culvert. One was found in trench CJ which was dug into the fill of the southeast corner of the moat. Betts and Weinstein illustrate several similar tiles which they date from about 1730 to 1800.<sup>334</sup> It is possible that they originally decorated the bath at the western end of the kitchen block. One piece from the same set was found in trench CJ and is also included.

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<sup>331</sup> Find <DA2001>.

<sup>332</sup> Dumortier 1999 p. 108.

<sup>333</sup> Hurst 1999.

<sup>334</sup> Betts and Weinstein p. 144-5.

Top half. Dimple on corner. Width 126mm. Undercut edges. Found 1979.



Top half. Width 125mm, thickness 6mm. Undercut edges. Found in 1980.<sup>335</sup>



<50> Top right hand corner. Top edge slightly bevelled with some glaze on it. Edge bevelled at about 45 degrees. Surviving length of top edge 73mm, and side 65mm. Thickness 8 mm.



<51> and <52> Bottom in two pieces. Full width 125mm. Maximum surviving height 54mm. Bottom and left edge bevelled in two facets. The right edge bevelled at less than 45 degrees. Thickness 5mm.



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<sup>335</sup> Original reference CMP 80 CU MC sh56.

<53> and <54> Two joining pieces from the top. The left hand edge bevelled with two facets, the right bevelled at an angle of about 45 degrees. Full width 126mm, surviving height 73mm. Thickness 7 mm.



<55>, <56> and <57> tile in three joining pieces. 124mm wide, 125mm wide, 7.5mm thick. Under cut edges. Dimples on top corners. Two layer of mortar on the back.



<58> Corner. Maximum surviving width 74mm, surviving height 105mm. Both edges bevelled with two facets.



<59> Corner with fine white mortar on part of the back up to 11mm thick. The mortar is of two types, the main mass is fairly fine very light grey. The mortar on the edge of the tile and an adjacent surface presumably where there was another tile is very fine and white. Surviving height 43mm, surviving width 48mm. Thickness 6mm. Edges square.



<60> Edge near a corner. Surviving glazed edge 41mm, thickness 7mm. One edge slightly bevelled, the other cut at an angle of about 45 degrees.



<61> Fragment size 52mm. No edges. 6mm thick.



<62> Corner. Edges slightly bevelled. Surviving width 33mm, surviving height 34mm, thickness 7.5mm.



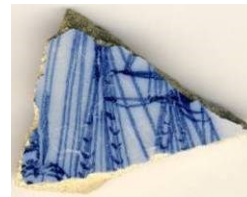
<63> Fragment size 64mm. Edge cut from back part way through and then broken Length 16mm. Thickness 7mm.



<64> Fragment from near a corner. 5mm of surviving edge. Thickness 7mm.



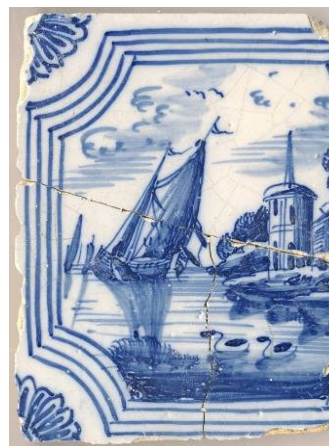
<65> Fragment partly cut through from the back and then broken. Surviving length of cut 32mm. Thickness 7.5 mm.



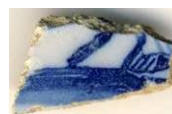
<66> Scrap with a short section of surviving edge which is bevelled with two facets. Maximum surviving dimension 35mm. Thickness 7.5mm.



<67>, <68> and <69> Left side of a tile which has been cut from top to bottom 91mm from the left edge. Height 123mm. Top bevelled with two facets. Left side bevelled at about 45 degrees. Bottom has simple bevel at less than 45 degrees. Two pieces, <67> and <68> have white mortar on the back with some chalk spots. Thickness 7 to 7.5mm.



<70> A scrap. Size 20mm, 7mm thick.



<71> A scrap size 35mm, thickness 8mm.



DA <2002> Corner of tile. 7mm thick.  
Rounded undercut edges.



Find <39> from [CJ9]. Corner dimple.  
7.5mm thick. Undercut edges. Saw mark  
on the back.



## 13.4 The inventories and sales particulars

### 13.4.1 The 1547 inventory

When Henry VIII died the Carew's former house was among his many properties and was included in an inventory of his possessions.<sup>336</sup> The house was being used as a wardrobe or furniture store and the inventory was largely concerned with the material stored there, much of which was in poor condition. The inventory only mentions a few of the rooms:

HARL 1419B f84r

[93] Itm the walles of the haule cealed round aboute  
w<sup>t</sup> waynescottes being soore decaied

HARL 1419B f84v

Itm the Caeling rounde aboute the parler of  
waynescott Carved

Itm oone large Selle of waynescot Carved  
and Joned

Itm a chambre at the staire hedde Cieled with  
waynescoote

Itm a portall w<sup>t</sup> two doores of waynescott

---

<sup>336</sup> BL Harl 1419B f76r to f85v. The reference to the rooms are on f84v

HARL 1419B f85r

Itm parte of another Chambre Ceiled with waynescote

Itm a portalle of waynescot w<sup>t</sup> ij doores

Itm a portalle of waynescott w<sup>t</sup> ij dores in the iiij Chambre above

Itm a Chamber ceiled w<sup>t</sup> waynescot and a portall to the same in the Corner of the gallery ende

Itm in the Closet a presse made w<sup>t</sup> drawing Tilles full of Evidence Courtrowles w<sup>t</sup> other writings as well concernyng Sir Nichas Carewe his lands as other mens landes

Itm a Joyned bourde to write uppon in the Closset having a Sklatte under hit ti write uppon

Itm a furnesse w<sup>t</sup> a grete cooper panne in the Brewhouse

### 13.4.2 The 1562 inventory

This is in the British Library and is ‘An inventory takyn the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> of novebr ano 1562, of all the howshould stuffe as ys at bedyngton in the custody of howborn’.<sup>337</sup>

The following rooms are listed:

The great chamber next the mote in y<sup>e</sup> north west which contains a bed

The second chamber also with a bed

The third chamber also with a bed

The fourth chamber which is over the parlour also with a bed

The second chamber next the parlour with a bed

The next chamber to the parlour with a palet

My maters chamber

The chamber next the end of the gallery

The stewards chamber

The next chamber

The child’s chamber

The chamber over the gott<sup>f</sup>

The other two chambers

The chamber at the stair head going in to your chamber

The chamber at the same stair fall

The next chamber

At the stair in the middle of the court

The chamber at ye same stair head

Porters lodge

The chamber against the porters lodge

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<sup>337</sup> BL Add MS 29605.

The horskep chamber  
The pantry  
The buttery  
Parlowr  
The new chamber  
The hall  
Kitchen  
The vesell  
The armoury  
The slaughter house  
The pack house  
The brew house  
The stable  
The garden  
Stilitorys

### **13.4.3 An Elizabethan inventory said to be of Carew Manor**

A number of the Carew papers came into the hands of the Rev. Thomas Bentham who was Assistant Curate at St. Mary's, Beddington from 1890-1904.<sup>338</sup> These include the inventory of a house which was published in *Surrey Archaeological Collections* volume 32, 1919 (p. 158-161) and is now in the London Borough of Sutton's archives.<sup>339</sup>

The following rooms are listed:

The halle  
The parler  
The great chamber  
The littell chamber  
The further chamber  
The kitchen chamber  
The middell chamber  
The maydes chamber  
The servants chamber  
The entry before the parler  
The house of office

The absence of a kitchen suggests that the inventory is incomplete but the house was clearly much smaller than Carew Manor and is presumably one of the family's other properties.

### **13.4.4 The 1611 inventory**

The probate inventory made when Sir Francis died in 1611 survives in the Surrey History Centre at Woking although it was badly damaged by mice before it came into their hands.<sup>340</sup>  
The rooms listed are:

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<sup>338</sup> He wrote a History of Beddington published in 1923 and died in 1937. Shew 2012 p. p96.

<sup>339</sup> Sutton Archives accession 72/2.

<sup>340</sup> SHC 2163/7/3.



The Hall  
The greate Parler  
The grate Chamber  
The Chamb[e]r ou[er] the Parler  
The Chamb[e]r next the great ov[er] the Par...  
The Ian[er cham]ber to the same  
The upp[er] Co\_\_ chamb<sup>r</sup> next the moate  
The Chamber over the gate  
The Inn[er] Chamb[e]r to the same  
The Lower Chamb[e]r next the moate  
The Inn[er] Chamb[e]r to the same  
The Chamb[e]r next the olde Parler  
The Inn[er] Chamb[er] to the same  
The olde Parler  
The Cabanatt  
The gollary belnext[?] the stare hed et the Cab\_ne\_  
The newe gallerye

[End of roll]

The little chambe[r] betwe\_ the Cabanett et the stere[?]  
The blewe Chamber  
The Chamb[e]r ov[e]r the pantry  
The Chamb[e]r ov[er] the larder  
The Chamb[e]r ov[er] it  
The olde gallery  
The newe mount house  
The Butlers Chamber  
The Stewards Chamb[e]r  
The Falcon[er]s Chamber  
The Cooks Chamb[e]r  
[The ch]amb[e]r ou[er] the falkne[r]s chamb[e]r  
The Milkhouse

From this point large parts of the document are missing or unreadable. However there are the following rooms, possibly with gaps:

.... standmens Chamb[e]r  
The horsekeepers Chamb[e]r  
The Porters Lodge

There is a detached section which is largely illegible or missing includes at least the following:

The Armory  
The Wardroabe

### **13.4.5 The 1764 inventory**

This is an 'Inventory of the Household Goods Plate Linen Pictures Paintings [Books] and Furniture belonging to the Estate of Sir Nicholas Hacket Carew late of Beddington in the County of Surrey Baronet deceased which by his last Will and Testament bearing date the

first day of July 1762 are directed to go along with and be Annexed to his Mansion House at Beddington as Heir Looms'.<sup>341</sup> The production of it seems to have been delayed as Sir Nicholas died in 1762 but the inventory is dated 25 Feb 1764.

The following rooms are listed with numbering following the original:

- South Wing
- Upper Gallery
- 1 Gardener's Room
- 2 Next Room to do.
- 3 Next Room
- 4 Coachman's Room
- 5 Aaron's Room (Footman to the late Sir Nich<sup>s</sup>).
- 6 Powther Room
- 7 Lumber Room
- 8 Butler's Room
- 9 Keeper's Room
- 10 Groom and Postillion's Room.
- 11 Spare Room opposite N<sup>o</sup>, 10
- 12 Housemaid Room adjoining to N<sup>o</sup> 11.
- 13 Cooks Room
- Grand Long Gallery
- 14 Green Bed Chamber
- 15 Dressing Room to d<sup>o</sup>.
- 16 Needlework Bed Chamber and Dressing Room adjoining
- 17 Chintz Bed Chamber
- 18 Butler's Room
- 19 Wrought Room
- 20 Miss Sander's Bed Chamber and Dressing Room
- 21 Late Lady Carew's Bed Chamber and Dressing Room and small passage
- 22 Late Sir Nicholas's Dressing Room and Bathing Room
- 23 Library
- 24 Store Room
- 25 Grand Gallery and Landing Place of the Grand Stairs
- Ground Floor
- 26 Wainscot Parlour
- 27 Drawing Room
- 28 Late Sir Nicholas's Study
- 29 White Parlour
- 30 Hunting Room
- 31 Breakfast Room
- 32 Butler's Pantry
- 33 Long Passage from the Wainscot Parlour to Grand Staircase
- 34 Kitchen and Two Larders
- Upper Larder
- Lower Larder
- 35 Laundry
- 36 Dairy

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<sup>341</sup> SHC 281/3/1.

- 37 Little Hall
- 38 Great Hall the Centre of the House
- 39 Great Drawing Room at the further End of the Great Hall
- 40 Water Closet to d<sup>o</sup>  
North Wing
- 41 New Room at the further End looking into the Front Park.
- 42 Middle Room in d<sup>o</sup> Wing intended for the Tennis Court
- 43 Nither Room in the d<sup>o</sup> Wing next the Great Hall
- 44 Servants Hall and Dairy underground
- 45 Wine and Beer Cellars  
In the small Beer Cellars  
Ale Cellar  
Wine Cellar  
Made Wine Cellar
- 46 Brewhouse
- 47 Summer house and the Room at the end of te Green house in the Garden

### **13.4.6 The 1859 sales particulars**

The agent's particulars for the 1859 sale gives the following details of the rooms:

The Great Hall

At the North end of the Hall

- Morning Room, 22 ft 6 by 20, and 16 ft high
- Ante Room, 14 ft by 8 ft 9, also 16 ft high

The North Wing contains Billiards Room, 31 ft by 21, and 15 ft high, with entrance at the west end from the Park, and at the east end is a large unfinished room used as a Laundry.

On the Basement is a large cool dairy, and very extensive vaults and cellars

South Wing

- Passage communicating to all the rooms on the Ground Floor
- Morning Room, 22 ft 6 by 20 and 16 ft high
- Ante Room, 14 ft by 8ft 9, and 16 ft high
- Dining Room, 28 ft, by 15, and 12 ft 6 high
- Brown Room, 19 ft 6 by 17, and 12 ft 6 high
- Library, 14 ft by 14, and 12 ft 6 high
- Housekeeper's Room
- Butler's Pantry
- Servants' Hall
- Store Room

At the East end (sic) of the Hall:

- Scullery
- Pastry Room
- Butler's Bed Room
- Larder.

At the East end of the Hall (sic) is a handsome staircase, leading to a Corridor, 82 ft long by 8 ft wide, (forming a Picture Gallery).

South wing first-floor:

Ladies Sitting Room, (overlooking the Lawn) 17 ft 6 by 12, and 12 ft 6 high  
 Ladies South-east Bed Room, 23 ft by 12, and 12 ft high  
 South Bed Room, 20 ft by 16, and 12 ft 6 high  
 Dressing Room, 16 ft by 9, and 12 ft 6 high  
 Bath Room  
 Morning Room, 21 ft by 15 and 12 ft 6 high  
 Drawing Room, 28 ft by 19, and 15 ft high  
 West Bed Room, 20 ft by 19, and 12 ft 6 high  
 Dressing Room to ditto, 15 ft 6 by 12, and 12 ft 6 high  
 Bed Room 20 ft by 12, and 12 ft 6 high  
 Dressing Room to ditto, 15 ft by 12, and 12 ft 6 high  
 Bed Room 20 ft by 12, and 12 ft 6 high  
 Dressing Room to ditto, 15 ft by 12 and 12 ft 6 high  
 Bachelor's Room, 12 ft by 11, and 12 ft 6 high.

There was also a second staircase, communicating with the Ground Floor.

South wing second floor:

Day and Night Nurseries  
 Ten Sleeping Apartments for Servants  
 an outlet leading to roof of House.

North wing

Billiards Room, 31 ft by 21, and 15 ft high, with entrance at the west end from the Park  
 At the east end is a large unfinished room used as a Laundry.

## 13.5 The Elizabethan accounts

The Elizabethan household accounts contain many references to expenditure on the house and outbuildings of which are summarised in the tables below.

### 13.5.1 References to the house

Arms, mending, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p11	February 1574
Buttery, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p16	March 1574
Cellar door	SHC 281/4/20r	August 1570
Cellar, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p11	February 1574
Chamber over moat, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p16	March 1574
Chamber over moat, lower, arms in, glazier	SHC 281/4/20v	August 1570
Gallery windows, iron work for	SHC 281/4/24 p15	March 1574
Gallery, chamber in	SHC 281/4/23 p26	July 1573
Gallery, glass in cleaned & mended	SHC 281/4/24 p16	March 1574
Gallery, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p11	February 1574
Gallery, glazing	SHC 281/4/17v	July 1570
Gallery, Great	SHC 281/4/23 p26	July 1573
Gallery, New, door	SHC 281/4/23 p4	April 1573
Galley, matted	SHC 281/4/23 p26	July 1573
Great Chamber chimney, plasterer for	SHC 281/4/25 p1	January unknown year

Great Chamber, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p11	February 1574
Kitchen, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p16	March 1574
Lodging, New	SHC 281/4/23 p26	July 1573
Lodging, New	SHC 281/4/23 p26	July 1573
Lodging, new middle	SHC 281/4/23 p26	July 1573
Lodging, new upper	SHC 281/4/23 p26	July 1573
Lodging, new upper	SHC 281/4/23 p26	July 1573
Lodging, new, casements mended	SHC 281/4/24 p13	February - Mar 1574
Lodging, new, cleaning	SHC 281/4/24 p19	March 1573
Lodging, new, glazier	SHC 281/4/20v	August 1570
Masters chamber door, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p11	February 1574
Parlour, New, mending glass	SHC 281/4/24 p11	February 1574
Parlour, Old, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p16	March 1574
Parlour, table altered	SHC 281/4/25 p5	April unknown year
Porter's lodge, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p11	February 1574
Scales, Mr chamber	SHC 281/4/23 p26	July 1573
Scalis, Harry, chamber, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p11	February 1574
Stair foot, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p11	February 1574
Stair head by Master's chamber, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p11	February 1574
Stair head, glazier	SHC 281/4/20v	August 1570
Stairs, making	SHC 281/4/24 p17	March 1574
Stairs, nails for	SHC 281/4/20r	August 1570
Turrit, glazing	SHC 281/4/17v	July 1570

### 13.5.2 References to the outbuildings

Armory	SHC 281/4/23 p18	June 1573
Barn	SHC 281/4/10	May - June 1570
Barn	SHC 281/4/23 p40	August 1573
Barn door, nails for	SHC 281/4/24 p2	December 1573
Barn wall, mending	SHC 281/4/22 f1r	November 1572
Barn, corn, cleaning	SHC 281/4/25 p7	May unknown year.
Barn, great	SHC 281/4/22 f5r	Dec – Jan 1572-3
Barn, great, door	SHC 281/4/24 p1	December 1573
Barn, great, paling between it and forge	SHC 281/4/22 f7r	Jan – Feb 1573
Barn, Lyme, cleaning	SHC 281/4/25 p7	May unknown year
Barn, nails for lathing	SHC 281/4/25 p1	January unknown year
Barn, old timber from	SHC 281/4/25 p3	March unknown year
Barn, racks for kyne behind	SHC 281/4/1 p1	Nov - Dec 1560
Brew house, sluice by brew house pen	SHC 281/4/23 p18	June 1573
Bridge	SHC 281/4/20r	August 1570
Bridge at Milk House	SHC 281/4/23 p14	May 1573
Bridge at the east gate (eith gate)	SHC 281/4/5	April 1570
Bridge, battlements of	SHC 281/4/21r	August 1570
Bridge, privy, grate for fish beneath	SHC 281/4/9	May 1570
Bridge, privy, pinning planks of	SHC 281/4/23 p27	July 1573
Coal House, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p11	February 1574
Court door	SHC 281/4/10	May – June 1570
Court door	SHC 281/4/13	June 1570
Court gate	SHC 281/4/23 p1	March 1573
Court gate, key for	SHC 281/4/22 f3v	December 1572
Court, grate for sink in court	SHC 281/4/19	July - August 1570
Court, great, nettles in next Stable	SHC 281/4/25 p7	May unknown year
Court, great, pale in	SHC 281/4/19	July - August 1570

Court, great, rails in	SHC 281/4/9	May 1570
Court, mowing grass in	SHC 281/4/20r	August 1570
Court, mowing in	SHC 281/4/23 p19	June 1573
Court, outer, nettles cut	SHC 281/4/25 p6	May unknown year
Court, pale about Court	SHC 281/4/1 p1	Nov – Dec 1560
Dog house door	SHC 281/4/22 f3v	December 1572
Drawbridge, repairs or building	SHC 281/4/21	August 1570
East gate, bridge (eith gate)	SHC 281/4/5	April 1570
Ellis, Richard house, saw pit made	SHC 281/4/24 p18	March 1574
Ellis, Richard's house, pale by	SHC 281/4/22 f7r	Jan – Feb 1573
Forge, Paling between it and Great Barn	SHC 281/4/22 f7r	Jan – Feb 1573
Gate, buttress of	SHC 281/4/23 p19	June 1573
Gate, Great	SHC 281/4/23 p16	May - June 1573
Gate, Great	SHC 281/4/23 p28	July 1573
Gate, hanging	SHC 281/4/23 p14	May 1573
Gate, wicket	SHC 281/4/23 p16	May - June 1573
Hawk mew	SHC 281/4/24 p15	March 1574
Hawk mew	SHC 281/4/24 p17	March 1574
Hop yard	SHC 281/4/22 f6r	January 1573
Joiners house	SHC 281/4/25 p3	March unknown year
Joiners house	SHC 281/4/8	May 1570
Joiners house door	SHC 281/4/10	May – June 1570
Kitchen house, pale which water bore against	SHC 281/4/25 p7	May unknown year
Lower loft by stable	SHC 281/4/9	May 1570
Milk House	SHC 281/4/23 p14	May 1573
Milk House	SHC 281/4/23 p15	May 1573
Milk house chimney	SHC 281/4/22 f2r	Nov - Dec 1572
Milk house, candles for	SHC 281/4/22 f4r	December 1572
Milk house, nails for	SHC 281/4/24 p4	Dec – Jan 1573
Mint house	SHC 281/4/23 p24	July 1573
Pigeon House	SHC 281/4/23 p14	May 1573
Pigeon House, glazing	SHC 281/4/22 f6r	January 1573
Pigeon House, ladder and plat for door	SHC 281/4/24 p1	December 1573
Slaughter house door	SHC 281/4/23 p21	June 1573
Slaughter House door	SHC 281/4/24 p12	February 1574
Sluices to moat	SHC 281/4/1 p1	Nov - Dec 1560
Stable	SHC 281/4/23 p19	June 1573
Stable end, paling by	SHC 281/4/8	May 1570
Stable post in, mended	SHC 281/4/25 p4	April unknown year
Stable, glazier	SHC 281/4/24 p11	February 1574
Stable, glazing	SHC 281/4/17v	July 1570
Stable, lower loft by	SHC 281/4/9	May 1570
Stable, nettles in Great Court next	SHC 281/4/25 p7	May unknown year
Stable, new	SHC 281/4/23 p7	May 1573
Stable, pale of, mending	SHC 281/4/24 p7	January 1573
Stable, sluice by	SHC 281/4/1 p6	Nov - Dec 1560
Tomsons house	SHC 281/4/1 p6	Nov - Dec 1560
Tomsons House, meding wall were oven was	SHC 281/4/25 p6	May unknown year
Wash house door bridge and paling at	SHC 281/4/11	June 1570
Washing Block	SHC 281/4/24 p6	January 1573
Washing house, rails over river at	SHC 281/4/25 p7	May unknown year
Wood House	SHC 281/4/23 p14	May 1573
Wood House	SHC 281/4/23 p15	May 1573

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BRO	Berkshire Record Office
HKW	History of the King's Works. See bibliography under HKW.
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills in The National Archives
SHC	Surrey History Centre
TNA	The National Archives
VCH	Victoria County History

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