

Essex JOURNAL

A REVIEW OF LOCAL HISTORY & ARCHAEOLOGY

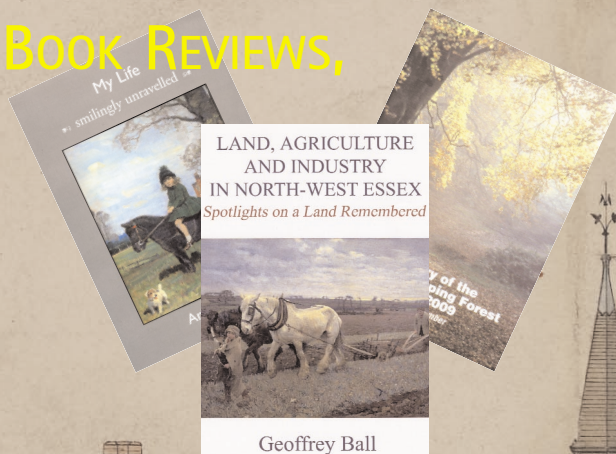
Spring 2010

JAMES BETTLEY DISCUSSES ATTITUDES TO NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURE

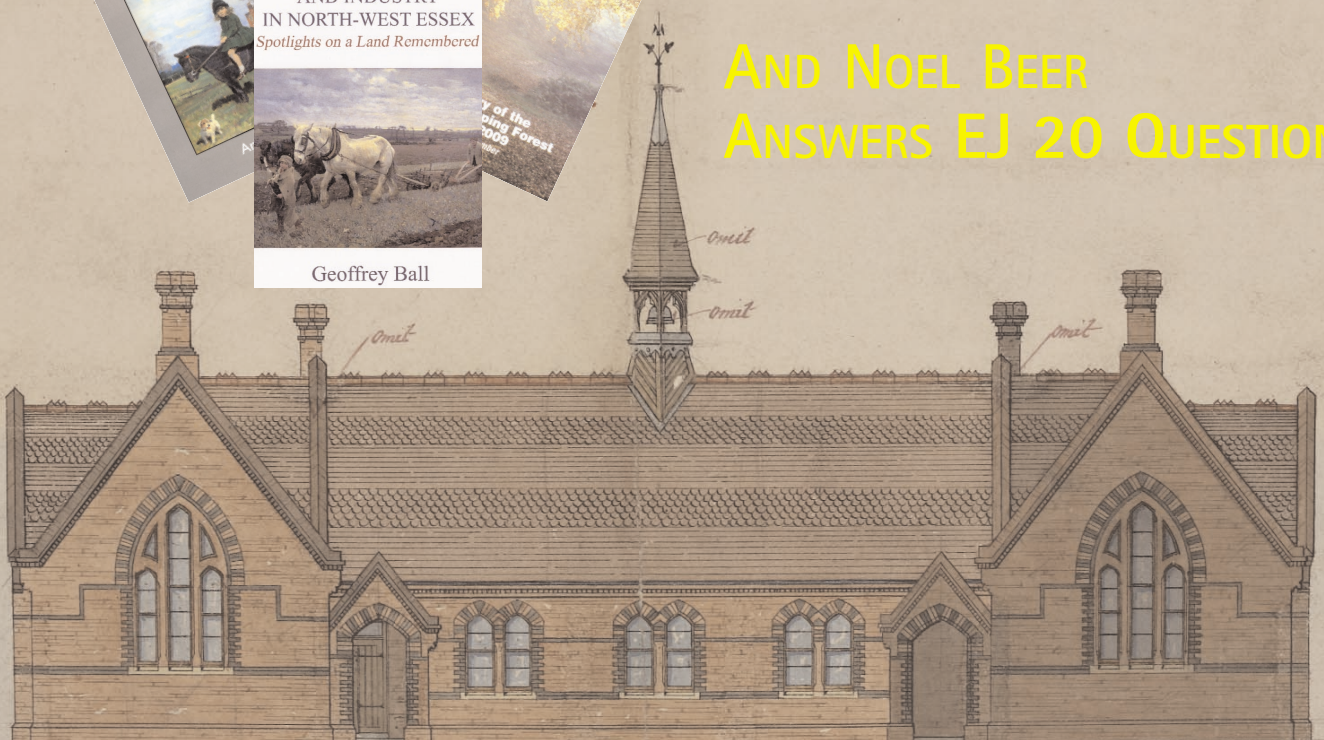


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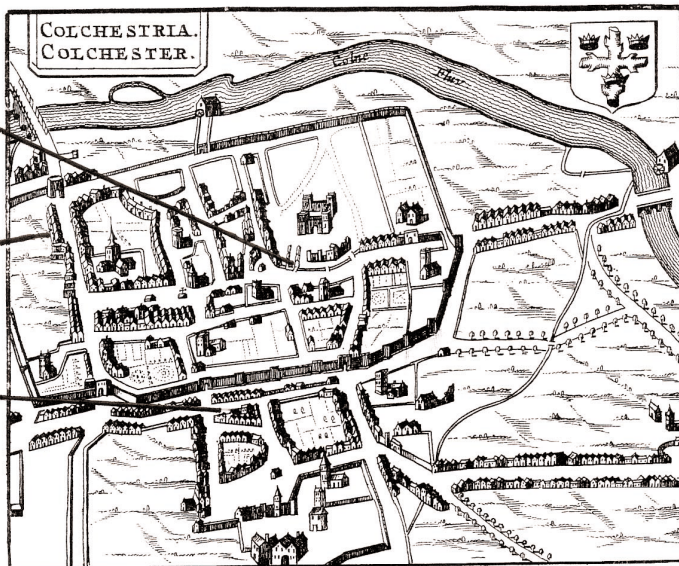
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What a winter we've been through and how nice it is to see the sun. It seems all the warmer this year after the coldest days that have come our way in the last 30 years or so. As I write, this lovely spell of sunshine is dictated by the weather front that is driving dry, clear conditions our way and keeping those damp and warm winds from the south-west at bay. However, this same weather front which is providing our lovely weather is also pushing the clouds of ash from the Eyjafjallajökull volcano towards us and causing thousands to be stranded overseas. The sight of all those desperate to get home, flocking by any means possible to the channel coast looking for a ship to whisk them to Dover, is incredible. It has touched many of those we know who have negotiated the journey and will be remembered for many years to come. Those of us who have viewed these events from the comfort of our own homes and contemplated them from our sunny gardens are fortunate indeed.

As if this wasn't enough to keep us entertained we also have the spectacle of the general election. I have been thoroughly mesmerised with the developments of the last few days as polls have changed rapidly following the debates by the three party leaders. I must admit that it feels as if we're on the brink of great change, not just of our political leadership, but of the cuts to spending that are to come. For those of us who are privileged to work in the public sector the economic crisis of the past 18 months or so has been just a story in the news. With none of the political parties appearing to want to commit their thoughts on what to cut and by how much, there is uncertainty as to what will face us all after May 6th.

It recently dawned on me that it will also be the 70th anniversary of Winston Churchill becoming Prime Minister, just four days after the conclusion of our election. It is strange to think of our predecessors basking in the warm spring sunshine whilst Neville Chamberlain was still in Number 10 Downing Street, with the Phoney War continuing and no inkling of what was to come. What momentous events followed with our armed forces facing the mighty German war machine as it was unleashed against western Europe. This new form of warfare, *Blitzkrieg*, soon caused tens of thousands of allied soldiers to stream back to the channel ports in the hope of a ship back to Britain.

What was that? Change in government (potentially as I write), significant events on the horizon, people streaming back to channel ports! Is it me or are there significant echoes of events 70 years ago reverberating around? Whilst we hope we are not facing a world war, we can look to past events to give us hope for our present. I have talked in previous editorials of how we can draw courage and hope from the events our predecessors worked through. Events 70 years ago in June 1940 must have seemed hopeless but with inspired leadership, grit and determination, the miracle of Dunkirk was, in turn, followed by our 'finest hour'. It is said that the darkest hour is just

before the dawn: we may not have reached that hour yet, for who knows what economic gloom is to come, but we can be assured that with grit and determination (and a nod to our predecessors) we can pull through in to 'broad, sunlit uplands' and let us hope that they will be bright and orange!

This issue of the *Essex Journal* is my sixth and I can't believe the last few years have gone by so fast. I hope that you are still enjoying the articles that are brought to you and we have a great selection in this issue. You'll see we also have a new secretary to replace the redoubtable Maureen Scollan, who will be a hard act to follow. I have no doubt, though, that Karen Lawrence is up to the task having worked with her for nearly a decade.

I studied for the MA in Local and Regional History with Tony Doe and know how passionate he is about early-modern history so it is a delight to read his article on the provenance of three paintings in the fabulous Plume Library. Following on from a news piece in the spring 2009 issue of the *Journal*, Christina Holloway updates us on the progress of the archaeological investigation at Copped Hall. What has been achieved here is very impressive and please support this and all the other work that goes on around our wonderful county.

Whilst we follow the political machinations of our current general election it is fascinating to read the account by Rita Sharp of Charles Round's attempt to be elected to Oxford in 1847. I came away from this feeling quite sad for the man and determined never to enter the political arena! Our last article, on nineteenth-century architecture, by James Bettley is, as ever from this author, a pleasure to read. One of the joys of working at the Essex Record Office is having the opportunity to meet so many wonderful and fascinating researchers and James is one of them.

Well, researched and written books on all aspects of Essex history continue to be published and we bring you a selection of reviews of them. Rounding off the issue we have the *EJ 20 Questions* answered by Noel Beer of Rayleigh. Noel has been a local history hero of mine for many years and he should be an inspiration to us all to research and write more, with all the Rayleigh focussed pamphlets he has produced over the last few years.

Where we shall be by the time the autumn issue is printed I hesitate to think, we just need to keep on, keeping on. Enjoy your summer,

Neil



New Secretary

In our Autumn 2009 issue we bade farewell to Maureen Scollan as Honorary Secretary. We are now pleased to introduce our new recruit to the post, Karen Lawrence. Karen will be familiar to many of you as she worked at the Essex Record Office for nine years, latterly as Senior Archive Assistant, before moving over to County Hall to work for Information Services in Information Security

Karen was born in Essex and has lived in Billericay for most of her life, recently moving to Chelmsford. She was educated at Chelmsford County High School for Girls before completing her first degree in history at Lampeter in Wales, specialising in World War Two and the home front with a dissertation on propaganda. An MA followed at Royal Holloway, University of London, in 'Modern History: Power, Culture, Society', giving some lectures while there to foreign language students as well as participating in the History Society. Karen's specialism was modern British culture and her dissertation was on evacuees and their education which she hopes to work up into a PhD when time allows.



When not studying history Karen enjoys gardening, reading, yoga and drinking real ale (in moderation of course!) Karen is looking forward to using her IT skills to help us to develop a website presence, something which is vital in this day and age. We are very pleased to welcome Karen aboard and hope she has an interesting and enjoyable time with us.

Adrian Corder-Birch
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News from the Essex Record Office

At the time of writing, Spring has finally, though tentatively, arrived – the year at the Record Office suffered no such slow start.

The first project using funds from the Mildred Newton Bequest has been completed. William Holman's manuscript history of Essex (T/P 195) has been re-catalogued and re-boxed to improve ease of access and long-term preservation. Each parish history is now stored in a separate acid-free folder and catalogued individually, aiding ease of ordering.

Our events programme is well underway, with workshops and talks all receiving an excellent response from the public. Former County Archivist, Vic Gray gave the Friends of Historic Essex Spring Lecture, taking Daisy, Countess of Warwick and her circle as his subject. Vic's talk was very well-received by the sell-out audience. This was followed by the equally excellent lecture in memory of Nancy Edwards, 'Building Georgian Essex', by Dr James Bettley, which took place on the Monday 26th April. The Essex History Group continues to meet on the first Tuesday of the month for a lecture, and speakers represent an eclectic mix, covering the history of underwear, Alice in Wonderland, and Essex Railways. It's free to attend, so why not come along for the next talk?

In February we welcomed a group from Saffron Walden to view their town's records which had recently been deposited at the ERO. The fascinating collection, dating from the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries, covers all aspects of the Borough and includes medieval deeds, records of the pre-Reformation Guild of Holy Trinity, charters, Quarter Sessions rolls,

school log books and parish records. The collection came to the ERO in October 2009. Some items were immediately treated for infestations of book lice and silverfish by freezing, and those that suffered from the effects of damp were carefully air dried. The collection is now available for research at Chelmsford, and we have a programme to digitise the records.

Early March saw the ERO celebrate ten years in its Wharf Road home and in that time 153,780 researchers have used our Searchroom. Jenny Butler, Principal Archivist, arranged a display in the foyer, which included the architect's scale model of the ERO's building. Jenny also gave a talk on the history of the ERO to invited guests.

The Essex Sound and Video Archive's popular CD, *How to Speak Essex*, has been re-issued due to overwhelming demand and is once again available from the Record Office and local bookshops. Sound Archivist, Martin Astell, is promoting the CD with a lecture tour throughout Essex.

We have introduced a monthly e-bulletin. This short digest highlights 'what's on' in the coming month and shares snippets of ERO news. It is free to receive, those interested need only send an e-mail requesting their inclusion to marilyn.hawkes@essex.gov.uk. Further information about events at the ERO can be found on our website, www.essex.gov.uk/ero or by calling 01245 244620.

Deborah Peers, Audience Development Officer
(Heritage Services)

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**THANK YOU AND WE LOOK FORWARD
TO HEARING FROM YOU.**

Exit Ussher, enter Brownrig:

the tale of a portrait in the Plume Library, Maldon¹

by
Tony Doe

Thomas Plume's Library is well known for the collection of books and pamphlets it contains. These were acquired by Plume (1630–1704) and bequeathed to the people of Maldon on his death. Perhaps it is surprising to learn that along with his volumes Plume also left thirteen paintings. One of these had for many years been described as being a likeness of James Ussher (1581–1656), Archbishop of Armagh. However, in October 2008, two members of staff from the Plume Library, Ian Kidman, and Tony King, saw a nearly exact likeness of this picture in Pembroke College, Cambridge, stating it to be of Ralph Brownrig (or Brownrigg)² (1592–1659), Bishop of Exeter (Plate 1). He was a scholar and subsequently a fellow of this college. This article will

consider the painting and how Plume might have come by it.

Verifying the identity of the painting was a very straightforward process. The Plume Librarian, Mrs Erica Wylie, took up the matter with the National Portrait Gallery and they confirmed that the Plume Library portrait is certainly that of Ralph Brownrig. We are left, therefore, with the questions, why did Plume own this portrait and is it possible to say from where it may have come?

Ralph Brownrig was, like Thomas Plume, a product of the mercantile class of coastal East Anglia. He was educated at Ipswich grammar school and Pembroke College, Cambridge. He became a fellow of his college and held various livings near to Cambridge and was clearly a man of great ability because he was

made prebend of Lichfield in 1629, archdeacon of Coventry in 1631 and prebend of Durham in 1641 before becoming bishop of Exeter in 1642. But why did a copy of his portrait end up in Plume's ownership? The most obvious connection appears to have been Plume's friendship with John Hacket³ (1592–1670). Hacket was a contemporary of Brownrig's at Cambridge, having been educated at Trinity College. He held various ecclesiastical posts, including that of archdeacon of Bedford in 1631 and was made bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in 1661.

Both Brownrig and Hacket were noted Calvinists⁴ and both were chaplains to Charles I. They had serious reservations about the influence of William Laud (1573–1645), archbishop of Canterbury, on the belief and practice of the church. In the convocation of 1637 they together criticized the altar-wise position of the holy table, a very important issue of the day and very dear to Laud's heart. As archdeacons, they were able to speak more freely than Calvinist bishops would have been able to and there was a great sympathy between them in matters of the church and religion. Furthermore, they were both devoted to the monarchy, in principle and in the person of Charles I.

Brownrig was consecrated bishop of Exeter in Westminster in 1642. He did not go to Exeter but remained at Cambridge where he was vice-chancellor. In 1645 he was arrested and imprisoned for preaching before the university on the anniversary of the king's coronation. He was eventually released upon payment of a fine of £5,000 and was deprived of his college and university posts. The next year he lost his income as bishop when Parliament abolished the post of bishop (and other ecclesiastical

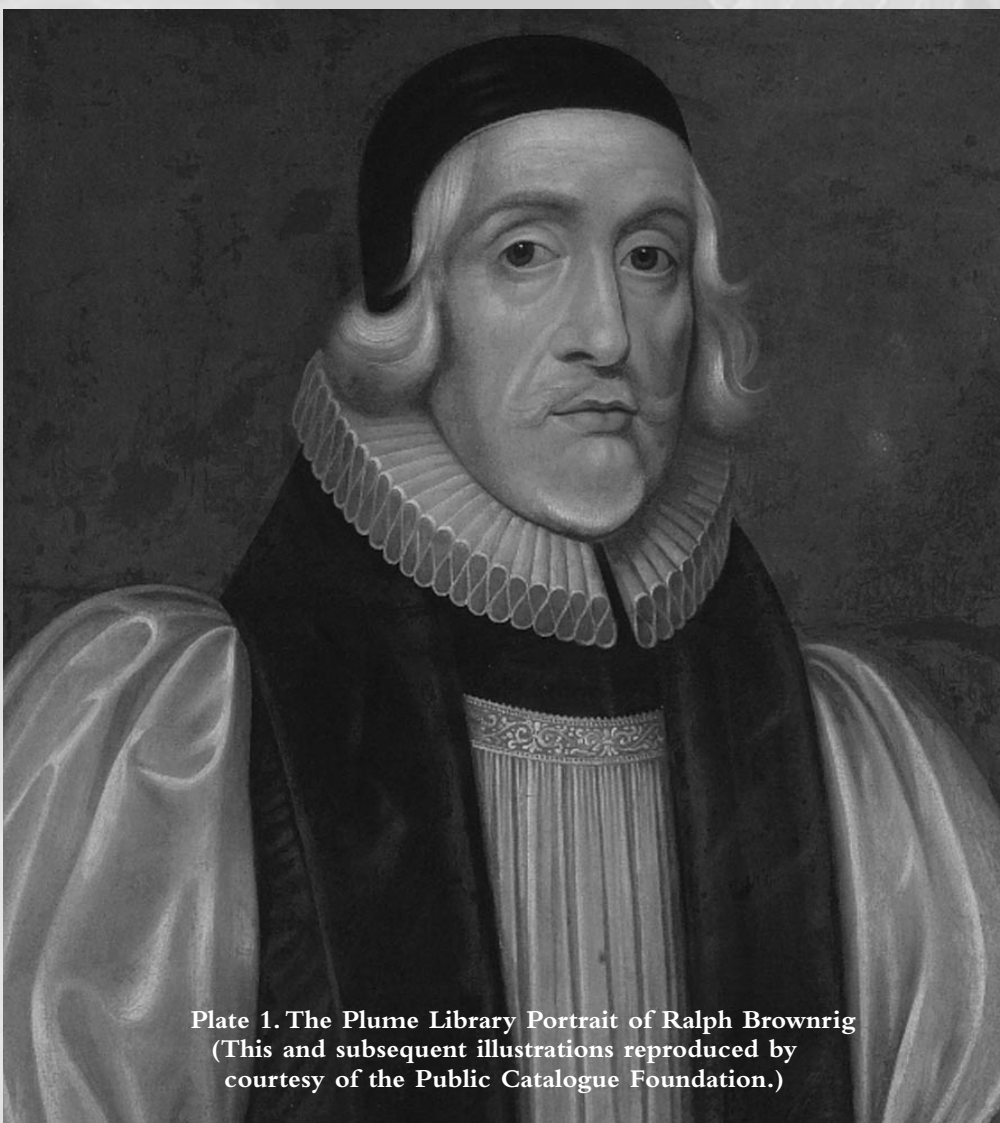


Plate 1. The Plume Library Portrait of Ralph Brownrig
(This and subsequent illustrations reproduced by
courtesy of the Public Catalogue Foundation.)

Exit Ussher, enter Brownrig

posts) in favour of Presbyterian church government.⁵ Brownrig continued to carry out his spiritual duties as far as possible, including ordinations, particularly that of Edward Stillingfleet, who later became bishop of Worcester. As he had lost most of his income, he stayed at the homes of various friends, (always contributing to his keep) often with Thomas Rich, a merchant, who had houses at Sonning in Berkshire and at Wimbledon. At this time Hacket, who had been deprived of his main benefice of St Andrew's, Holborn, was living quietly at his remaining living of Cheam, just five miles away from Wimbledon.

Plume graduated BA from Christ's College, Cambridge in 1649/50. On January 1st 1650/51 he began a new notebook⁶ and I have surmised elsewhere⁷ that as, towards the end of this notebook, he writes 'Finis Nonsuch September 20 1656',⁸ during some of those five years he was living within a mile of Hacket in Cheam. The notebook contains many anecdotes of Hacket and his circle plus Plume's notes on 20 books which portray a churchmanship very similar to that embraced by

**'Mr Plume
preached very
well...'**

Hacket. I have concluded, therefore, that for part of these five years, Plume followed an informal course of study under Hacket.⁹

Hacket was not only Plume's friend but also his mentor from the 1650's onwards. In 1667 he stated that he would award the next prebend of Lichfield to Plume 'if I live so long'.¹⁰ Plume records, in his notebook mentioned above, Hacket as having told him that Brownrig was a better preacher than he: 'Dr H[acket] ackn[owledged] he c[ould] nev[er] imit[ate] Mr Hawksw[orth] for poesy – my L[ord] St Albans for an Engl[ish] style nor B[ishop] Brownrig for p[re]aching'.¹¹

Hacket was not the only one to have a high opinion of Brownrig's preaching. William Martyn, who published Brownrig's *Fourty Sermons*, commented in his foreword 'the World may know that pious, Practical Preaching and Prelatical Dignity are not inconsistent'.¹²

Plume received episcopal ordination during or before 1658, when he was inducted into the living of Greenwich. I have speculated¹³ that he might have been ordained by Brian Duppa (1588–1662) (Plate 2), bishop of Salisbury, whose portrait is also in the Plume Library, as he was living at Richmond, only seven miles from Cheam at the time. This speculation was based on the knowledge that Duppa, like Brownrig, continued to exercise the bishop's function of ordination during the republic. There is, however, no known connection between Plume and Duppa, apart from the placing of his portrait in the Plume Library. However, as we have seen, there are strong connections between Hacket, Plume's mentor, and Brownrig which were highlighted when it became known that his portrait is also in the Plume Library. It must be concluded, however, that, whilst there is still no conclusive evidence that Brownrig ordained Plume, he is a better candidate for it than Duppa.

I now turn to the question of the provenance of the portrait, but this is, if anything, even more speculative than the question of ordination. Mrs Wylie's attention was drawn by the National Portrait Gallery to the previous existence of another copy of Brownrig's portrait than the ones in the Plume Library and Pembroke College.¹⁴ The diarist John Evelyn (1620–1706) recorded having seen Brownrig's portrait in Clarendon House when he wrote to Samuel Pepys (1633–1703) on 12th August 1689.¹⁵ Pepys had asked Evelyn's advice on setting up a library and, failing to find him at home, Evelyn wrote him a long letter, setting out his ideas in detail. He recorded seeing no less

than 71 portraits in Clarendon House plus those of other classes of people including judges, archbishops, bishops and other notables. As well as Brownrig, Evelyn mentions having seen there the portraits of Brian Duppa and William Laud (Plate 3), so there are three portraits mentioned by Evelyn as being in Clarendon House which are in the Plume Library. All three portraits are illustrated in the Public Catalogue Foundation catalogue for Essex.¹⁶

Evelyn was very close to the Earl of Clarendon (Edward Hyde, 1609–1674); he visited the building site with him and the Countess in 1664 and he visited again the next year when he praised the empty shell. Clarendon had been the King's first minister but he was dismissed in 1667 after the disgrace inflicted on the Navy by the Dutch in that year. Popular anger at this humiliation led to civil disturbances, and the mob attacked Clarendon House, smashing all the windows and destroying the garden.¹⁷ The house was demolished in 1683; it is not known when Evelyn saw the pictures.¹⁸

John Evelyn's home, Sayes Court in Deptford, was in the next parish to Greenwich and he recorded hearing Plume preach

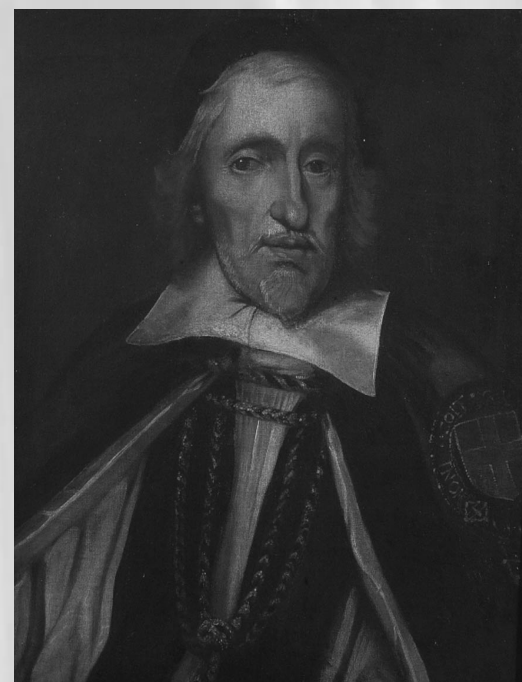


Plate 2. The Plume Library Portrait of Brian Duppa

Exit Ussher, enter Brownrig

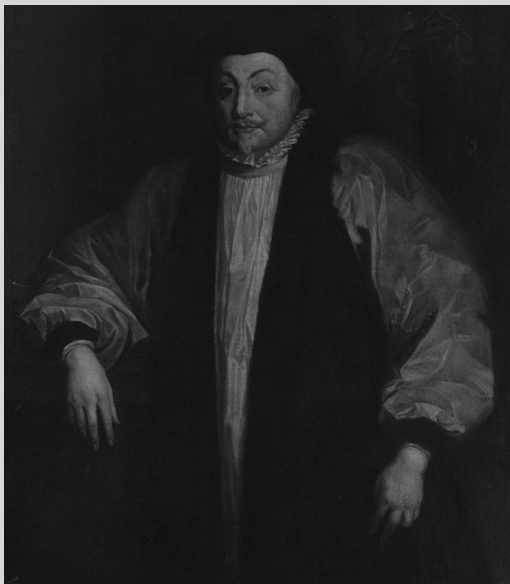


Plate 3. The Plume Library Portrait of William Laud

on more than one occasion. For example, on 16th September 1666, just after the Great Fire of London, he wrote, 'I went to Greenwich church where Mr Plume preached very well from this text: "seeing therefore all these things must be dissolved, etc.," taking occasion from ye late unparalleled conflagration to mind us how we ought to walke more holyly in all manner of conversation.'¹⁹

Brownrig's book, *Fourty Sermons*, and the four books by Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, which survive to this day in the Plume Library, have been examined for personal notes by Plume, but, as is so often the case with him, he made none in these books. Duppa's and Brownrig's portraits have been examined for any evidence of provenance but none has been found. At the time of writing, Laud's portrait has not been fully scrutinized but as nothing was noted when this picture was inspected at the National Portrait Gallery, it is not expected that anything will be found when the back can be examined.

To conclude, whilst this article is highly speculative, this is the fate of anyone trying to reconstruct Plume's life from the scanty evidence he left behind. However, at least the sitter of one of the Plume paintings is now correctly

identified thanks to a chance visit to a Cambridge College. What can be suggested as to how they were acquired is slightly less certain. We do know Thomas Plume was noted for buying second-hand books so perhaps he was not, therefore, averse to acquiring second-hand pictures (It is known that pictures were sold at auction in this period; John Evelyn, the son of the diarist, was buying pictures in this way at this time²⁰). It is therefore just possible that with his connection to John Evelyn senior Plume might have purchased the three pictures of Brownrig, Duppa and Laud when Clarendon House was cleared prior to its demolition in 1683. For the moment this seems to be as much as can be said with certainty unless further research is carried out and new evidence uncovered. Until such a time we can only wish that the pictures could tell us their side of the tale!

References

1. This article is a revised version of a piece of research that was first published on the Thomas Plume's Library website: http://www.thomasplumeslibrary.co.uk/?page_id=287. I am indebted to Dr James Bettley for the title to this piece.
2. M. Wolffe, 'Brownrigg, Ralph (1592-1659)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3716>, (02/10/2008). Both Brownrigg and Brownrig can be used as a spelling of his surname but the latter will be used in this article as that is used in his book, R. Brownrig, *Fourty Sermons*, (London, 1661).
3. B. Quintrell, 'Hacket, John (1592-1670)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, September 2004; online edn Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11837>, (04/10/2008).
4. Followers of 'the Protestant theological system of John Calvin (1509-64) and his successors, centring on the doctrine of predestination', http://www.askoxford.com/concise_oed/calvinism?view=uk.
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8. PL, MS 7, fol. 82v.
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10. 'Plume, Thomas (1630-1704)' *DNB*, (Oxford 1921-22), XXII, Supplement, p.1146.
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14. R. MacGibbon, Assistant Curator, Nation Portrait Gallery by email 21/10/08.
15. *Diary of John Evelyn...with a life of the author by Henry Wheatley*, vol. III, (London, 1879), pp.443-444.
16. A. Ellis, S. Roe, J. Abel Smith & N. Moss, *The Public Catalogue Foundation, Oil Paintings in Public Ownership: Essex*, (London, 2006), pp. 215-217. Please note that the portrait of Ralph Brownrig is incorrectly labelled Dr James Ussher.
17. G. Darley, *John Evelyn: living for ingenuity*, (London, 2006), p.202.
18. *Ibid.*, p.264.
19. *Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. II, p.209.
20. Darley, p.290.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of Mrs Erica Wylie, Dr Plume's librarian in providing the original information on the changed attribution of Ralph Brownrig's portrait and giving me unlimited access in the Plume Library to the books and pictures cited.

The Author

Since retirement from Essex County Council Social Services department in 1995, Tony Doe has studied at Essex University, gaining the Certificate in Local and Regional History in 1997 and the MA in Local and Regional History in 2006. He has spent many happy hours researching in the Plume Library, which he assists by membership of the Friends of Thomas Plume's Library, of which he is currently chairman.

Excavations on the site of a Tudor mansion at Copped Hall

by
Christina Holloway

Driving west on the M25, between junctions 27 and 26, 2km west of Epping, it is possible to catch a brief but impressive glimpse of Copped Hall on a hill to the north. The standing mansion dates from around 1750 but, hidden from view a short distance to the north-west, the buried remains of its Tudor predecessor have since 2001 been the subject of investigation by the West Essex Archaeological Group (WEAG). Evidence has been uncovered of an intriguing sequence of building and rebuilding, landscaping and the creation of a fine garden as ownership of the site passed from Waltham Abbey to the Crown, and on to a succession of wealthy and titled families. The excavations and associated research have involved both amateur and professional archaeologists, and given many people their first taste of practical archaeology.

The mansion as seen today became largely derelict after a major fire in 1917, and the gardens increasingly overgrown. Threatened by development in the 1980s, the surrounding parkland was acquired by the Corporation of the City of London in 1992. The Copped Hall Trust, formed by local people anxious to save the site, purchased the mansion and gardens in 1995, and the walled garden, one of the largest in Essex, in 1999. With the aid of a dedicated team of volunteers and ceaseless fundraising, they are now being restored back to life, with the aim of creating a community, educational and cultural facility.

‘Old’ Copped Hall (Plate 1) was demolished in the mid-eighteenth century; the only remnants visible until recently were a brick and stone pillar and short section of wall, and what is now an ivy-covered retaining wall for a sunken

rock garden. These, along with a number of small trenches, were recorded in detail in 1984 by the Archaeology Unit of Essex County Council.² As part of its work in the gardens, the Copped Hall Trust wanted to find out if more survived, and in 2001 asked WEAG to investigate. An initial geophysical survey was followed in 2002 by the excavation of three ‘evaluation’ trenches during the first of what has become the annual excavation week for WEAG members. In 2003, it was supplemented in the late-summer by a training excavation, which has also been held each year since, and the Copped Hall Trust Archaeological Project (CHTAP) was born.

The starting point for the excavation was provided by a scale plan of the ground floor of the old Hall (Plate 2), made around 1740.³ This enabled us to identify areas of the gardens

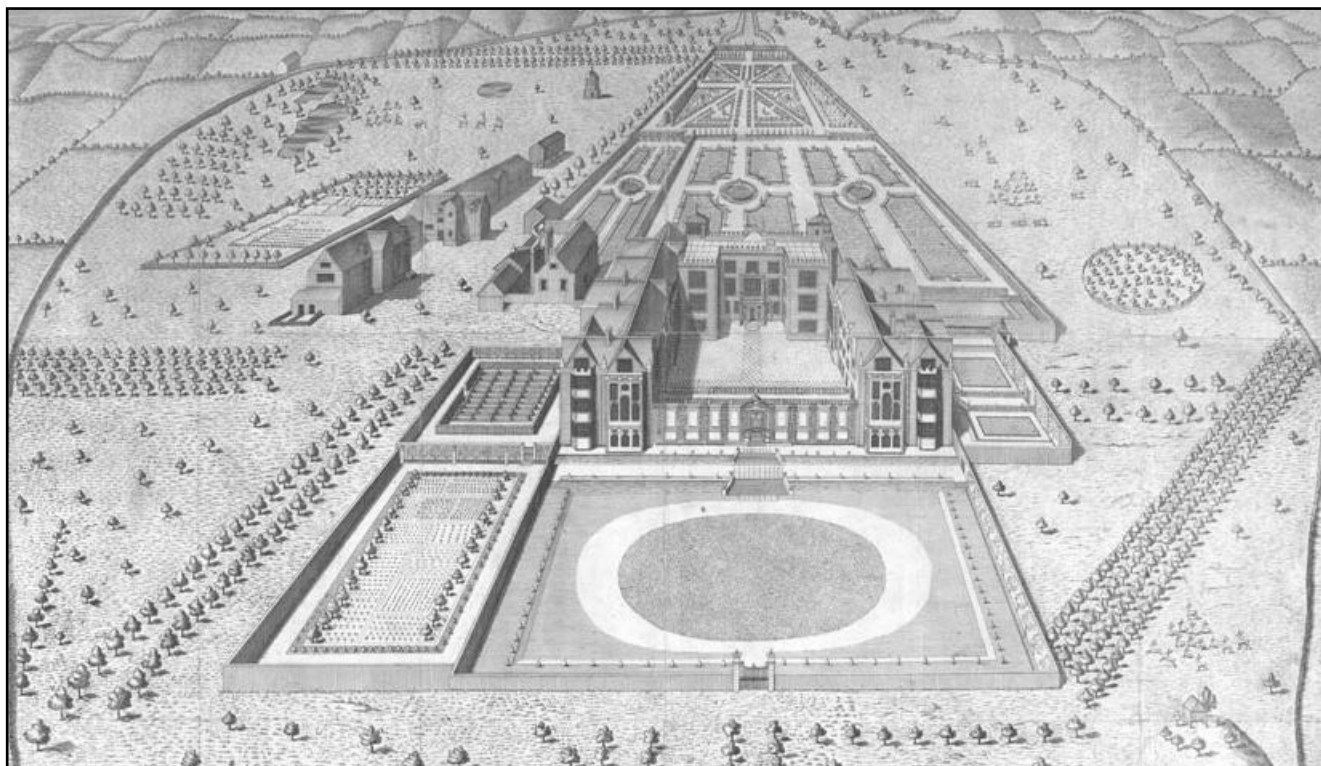


Plate 1. The view of Copped Hall which appeared in M J Farmer's *The history of the ancient Town and once famous Abbey of Waltham*, published in 1735. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, D/DW E27/1.)

‘a noble large house’

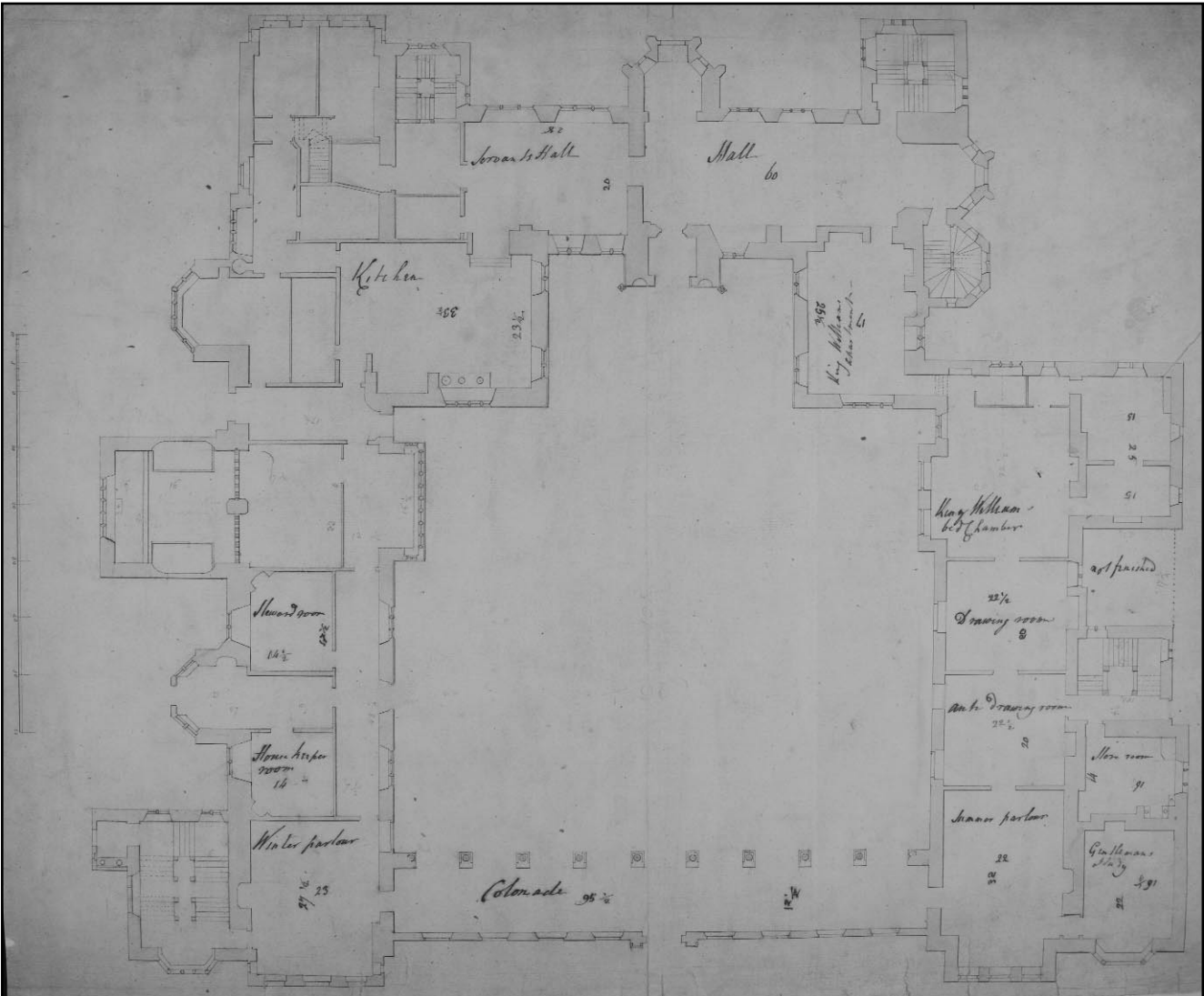


Plate 2: Plan of the ground floor of old Copped Hall, c.1740. The scale along the side is 70 feet (c.21.3 metres); south is at the top. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, D/DW E26/1.)

which are accessible for excavation and where buried remains might survive: Fig. 1 shows the trenches excavated to date. What we have actually found (and, just as significantly, not found), has provided clues to the Hall's development over a period of at least 200 years, and to the reasons for its demise. The archaeology of the subsequent garden phases of the site is equally intriguing, and glimpses of its earlier history are also beginning to emerge. This is very much 'work in progress'.⁴

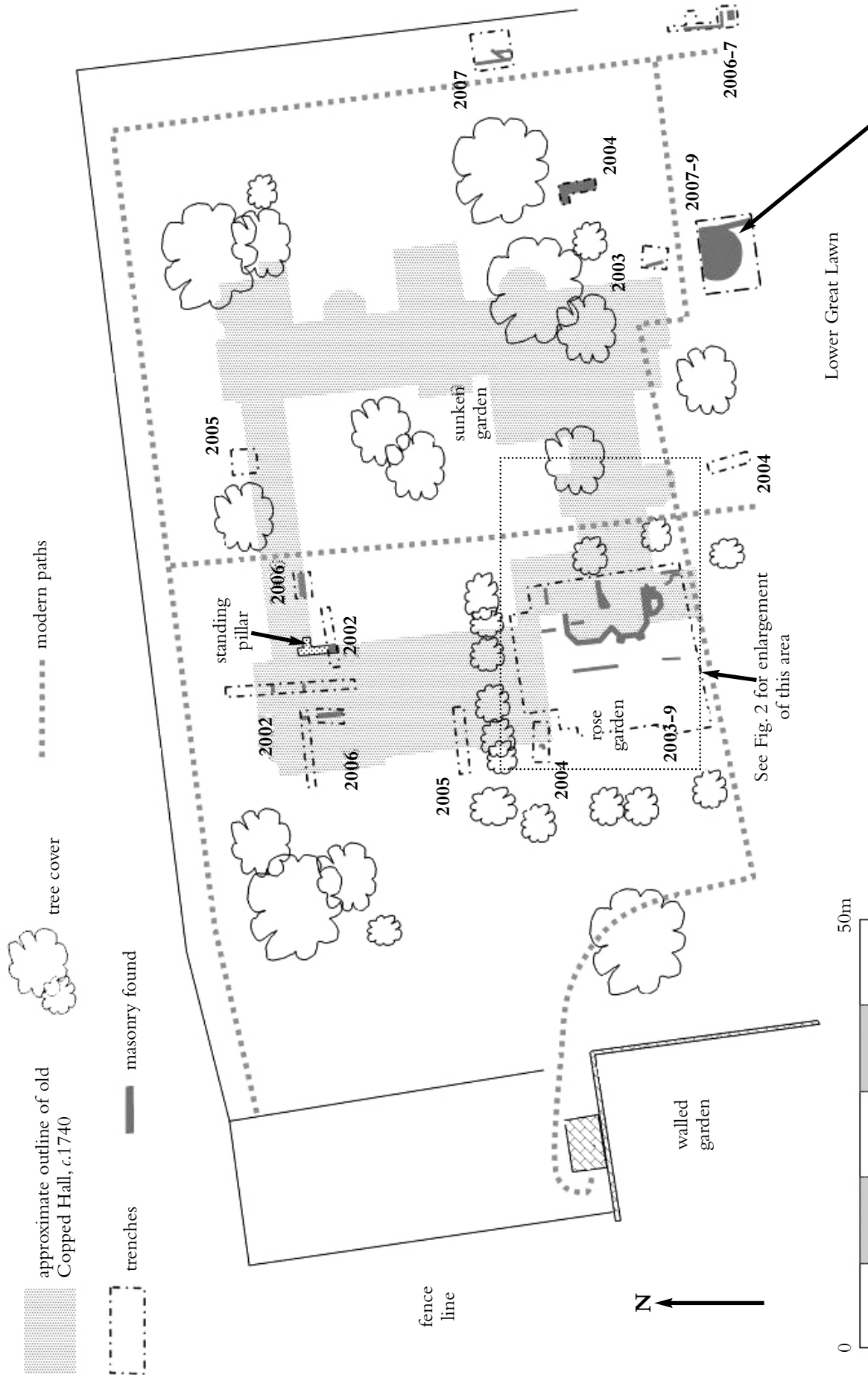
The site is located in a favourable position on a spur off the northern slopes of the Epping Forest Ridge. To the west is the Lea Valley, and to the north the ground drops down to Cobbin's Brook, a tributary of the Lea; the underlying geology is London Clay. The Iron Age hillforts of

Ambresbury Banks and Loughton Camp lie 1.5km to the south-east and 4km to the south respectively, and Roman activity is well known in the area. Although we have yet to find any very early features, a number of residual fragments of pottery from these periods have been recovered within later deposits. In our largest trench, we have also exposed what may be a pit, much truncated by the construction of the Hall and not yet fully excavated, but containing a few pottery sherds from the sixth to ninth centuries.

The name Copped Hall first appears in 1258.⁵ Norah Carlin has researched and transcribed the medieval documents recording its early history,⁶ which indicate that the land on which it stood had been held by the FitzAucher family from at least the mid-twelfth

century.⁷ As yet, the archaeological evidence for occupation of the site comprises residual pottery sherds from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. The exact location of this earliest house has not been determined, although there is a strong possibility that it stood on the same site as the Tudor building. It seems likely that 'Copped' refers to some architectural feature, perhaps an early version of the turreted roof seen in later drawings, and would have distinguished it from Shingled Hall which also belonged to the FitzAuchers, and stood 4km to the north-east. The Abbot of Waltham claimed overlordship of the estate, a claim supported by an Inquisition Post Mortem held after the death of Henry FitzAucher II in 1303.⁸ This suggests that Copped Hall was a typical medieval manor,

'a noble large house'



The 'round feature' See Plate 5.

Fig. 1. Coppod Hall Trust Archaeological Project: trenches excavated 2002-2009

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with a 60-acre park and a total 180 acres of other land, valued overall at £6.2s. The house itself was worth 2s per annum.⁹ In 1337 both Copped Hall and Shingled Hall were sold to the Shardelowe family, who in 1350 conveyed them to Waltham Abbey, which thus obtained direct possession of Copped Hall.¹⁰ Little is known about Copped Hall under the Abbey’s ownership, although the park was greatly extended, and may have been used for hunting or other recreation.¹¹

It might be expected that the Hall had a moat or pond. These were common features of later-medieval sites in East Anglia, with as many as 800 known in Essex, although only a small proportion exist today in anything like their original form.¹² Most are thought to date from c.1250–1350. There is a reference to a moat here in a document of 1563.¹³ The 1984 work to the south of the old Hall recorded a dark blue-grey deposit, characteristic of being laid down in water,¹⁴ and during building work in 1996–97, part of a moat-like feature was seen at the eastern edge of the garden.¹⁵ In 2004, a trench excavated c.8m to the south of the old Hall also revealed a dark grey layer, overlying natural clay; it contained fragments of pottery made no later than c.1500. Investigations with an auger suggested that it extends at least 18m east from the 2004 trench, and is around 6m wide; we are planning to carry out more work on this feature in 2010.

Henry VIII’s passion for hunting was presumably the reason why, in 1534, his minister Thomas Cromwell persuaded Abbot Fuller to exchange the ‘place or mansion house’ of Copped Hall and the surrounding park for other property of Henry’s, on the grounds that ‘the King’s highness hath a singular pleasure and affection to repair and resort’ there ‘for the great consolation and comfort of his most Royal person’.¹⁶ Copped Hall remained in royal hands until 1564, when it was granted by Queen Elizabeth to one of her



**Plate 3. Excavating the south range of old Copped Hall.
(Photograph Copped Hall Trust Archaeological Project.)**

favourite courtiers, Thomas Heneage, and his wife Anne. At this time, the buildings included a hall, great chamber, kitchen and service rooms and a courtyard with a double gate.¹⁷ Heneage appears to have made various alterations and additions to the house, possibly before receiving Elizabeth as a guest in July 1568¹⁸ or around the time of her second visit in 1578.¹⁹

We have no clear record of what Copped Hall looked like until a view of it was included in M.J. Farmer’s *History of Waltham Abbey*, published in 1735 (Plate 1).²⁰ This shows a grand three-storey house with three ranges around a courtyard, the north side closed by a single-storey loggia or covered colonnade. Stylistic clues from this, and the eighteenth century scale plan, have helped us to interpret the physical evidence and start to establish how the building developed into its final form as shown in the illustration. Our main area of work to date has been a large trench excavated over the western end of the south range (Plate 3). Here, when most of the house was demolished, remains of the lower part of the cellar walls were left *in situ*, back-filled and covered with clay. As this clay is removed we have been able to compare the below-ground

remains with the plan of what was above ground in the mid-eighteenth century (Fig. 2). The walls we have found which are not shown on the plan represent previous phases of building. All the walls are brick-built: the bricks themselves can only be generally dated to c.1450–1650, so we rely very much on relative dating, from details such as walls butting up against each other, the colours and fabrics of the bricks or mortar, and the regularity of coursing.

The earliest excavated part of the house seems to be the cellar beneath the late-medieval style hall, with a newel (spiral) stair (Plate 4) at its south-west corner (G310), and canted window bay (G52) at the west (high) end. The walls survive to a height of 1.2m above the floor level, and are built in orange or orange-red bricks with dark yellow mortar; traces of plaster can be seen on the inside face. Five steps of the newel stair rise above the floor. It is not shown on the scale plan, but would have connected the cellar with the great hall above, and probably originally continued to the upper floor or floors. Intriguingly, in 2009 we uncovered a wall footing (G341) running east-west under its base, so in 2010 will be trying to establish whether the stair was inserted in an earlier wall. Around

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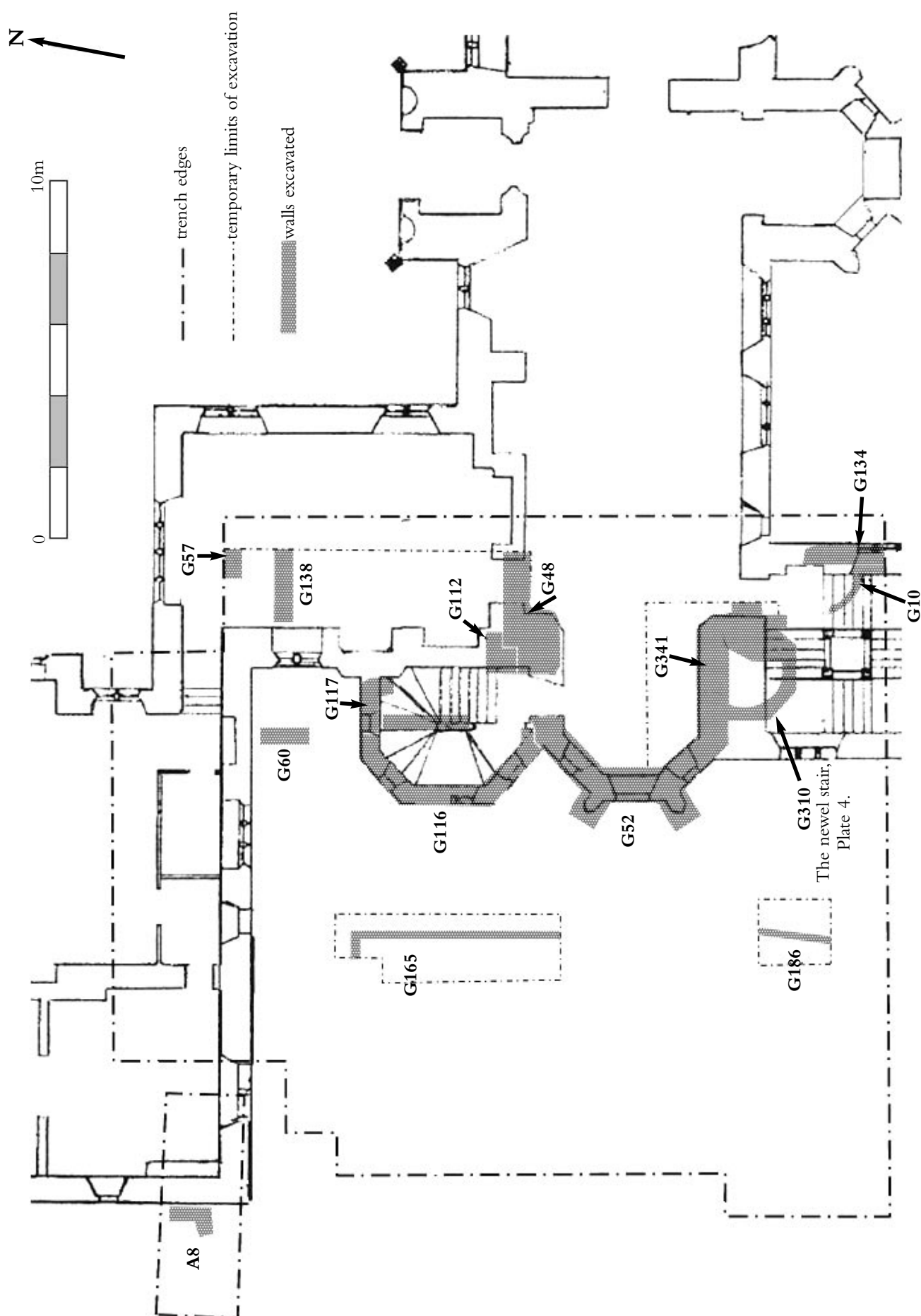


Fig. 2. Copped Hall Trust Archaeological Project:
Ground floor plan of the south range of old Copped Hall, c.1740, with cellar walls excavated to date.
(Floor plan reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, D/DW E26/1).

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the middle of the sixteenth century the newel stair was replaced by a larger square stair-tower: the newel stair was probably still used between the cellar and ground floor. The evidence of the scale plan, together with fragmentary remains of the wall of the square tower which have been found, suggest that its construction involved simply butting a new wall (G134) up against an old one (G10). The existing south face of the Hall may have been similarly thickened for the new tower, as the cellar wall footing (G341), as exposed during excavation, is only half the width of the wall as planned at ground floor level.

Old Copped Hall should be considered against a background of a boom in domestic building during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This was encouraged by the political stability which followed the end of the Wars of the Roses, and the affluence of those individuals who rose to administer the new Tudor state. In addition, the dissolution of the monasteries provided a new supply of potential building sites with which the Crown could reward its loyal servants.

Landowners were now deriving income from rents rather than directly farming their country estates, and were therefore able to build houses on sites selected for convenience or beauty, and with easy access to the Court.²¹ A number of great houses were established, around a day's journey from central London, often with a similar history to Copped Hall. Elsyng Palace, just over 9km to the west, is believed to have had medieval origins, and was a courtier's residence by the early sixteenth century. It was acquired by Henry VIII in 1539, and became a home for the royal children, but later fell into disrepair and was demolished some time after 1656.²² Hill Hall, another Tudor mansion 6km to the east, was also preceded by a medieval house, rebuilt twice by Sir Thomas Smith in the 20 years before his death in 1577. Smith was influenced by buildings he



**Plate 4. Newel stair on the south side of the old Hall.
(Photograph Copped Hall Trust Archaeological Project.)**

saw while ambassador to France, and would presumably have shared his ideas with his neighbour Thomas Heneage at Copped Hall.²³ Among the upper ranks of society, architecture was, by the later sixteenth century, a common subject for discussion, and considered an important part of a gentleman's education.²⁴

The results of this enthusiasm were in many cases quickly-built on inadequate foundations. Another stair bay (G116), butted on to the north side of the hall, is shown on the eighteenth century scale plan connecting the hall to the family apartments on the first floor. The base of the excavated wall has bricks which are blue-red and buff-white mortar; the wall is fair-faced but the core is very roughly built. This is thought to be the latest section of masonry in the main trench.²⁵ It seems to be built on made-ground rather than natural clay, resulting in movement and cracking of the fabric. Beneath the demolition backfill inside this bay, the remains of an *in situ* brick floor were found at the end of the 2009 season, overlying yet another wall, possibly from an intermediate smaller wing which pre-dated the large west wing in its final form. Paul Drury who excavated at Hill Hall, has suggested that the large

east and west wings at Copped Hall could date from the 1570s: although fragments have been found in smaller trenches further north, they are so far missing from the archaeology of the main trench (Fig. 2). They may have been more comprehensively robbed-out here, unlike the remains of intermediate phases and lesser modifications which we have also exposed, but which were already buried below ground at the time of demolition.²⁶

In 1742, the estate passed to John Conyers. He commissioned the scale plans, two paintings of the Hall and surrounding park, and detailed drawings of the exterior elevations and a number of the internal features, and he may initially have intended to refurbish the Hall. One of the drawings, however, shows timber shoring supporting the north wall of the east wing, which would seem to confirm that there were major structural problems. Conyers probably decided that repairs would be too expensive, possibly influenced by the opportunity to build a new more fashionable house. In August 1748, demolition began,²⁷ with salvaged materials used in the construction of its replacement.²⁸ The site was landscaped as part of the gardens; the clay used to cover the remains of

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the old Hall may be the spoil from the foundation trenches for the new Hall.

The archaeology of the gardens is just as complex as that of the mansion. Questions of how they were redesigned after the Hall's demolition, and when the natural slope of the ground was terraced, have proved difficult to answer. So far, no buried soils have been identified in our main trench which might give clues about the Tudor gardens. To the south of the building footprint, however, beneath what is now known as the Lower Great Lawn, we have found a succession of pebble paths, landscaping layers, and garden walls. A ground penetrating radar survey of this area by the University of East London in 2007 revealed the presence of a large round feature, c.7m outside the south-east corner of the old Hall. Excavation uncovered a circular brick platform, c.6m in diameter, very carefully set out, with substantial foundations (Plate 5). The surface as we see it now is probably much later (eighteenth century?) than the foundations (sixteenth century?). The ‘foundations’ may even have originally been standing walls, buried when the gardens were landscaped. We don't know what the structure was; dovecote, banqueting house, cistern or icehouse have all been

suggested, and it could have had a number of functions over time. It was overlain by garden paths and walls, with post-holes suggesting decorative plant supports or similar structures. One of the post-holes contained a large quantity of moulded bricks from a window mullion, identical to mid-sixteenth century examples recorded at Hill Hall. In 2010 we aim to extend the trench further to investigate the relationship of the round structure with the south side of old Copped Hall, and possibly find more evidence of the moat.

Some time after the mid-nineteenth century a system of ceramic land drains was installed in the gardens; the labourers had to cut trenches through the buried walls as well as the clay backfill in order to lay the drains. Around the end of the nineteenth century a rose garden was created in the area of our main trench. The flowerbeds were also cut into the clay, and in some places truncated the underlying walls. A formal design of intersecting circles was repeated in four quadrants around a central flat concrete mound; a contemporary photograph shows that the mound supported an octagonal stone plinth with a sundial mounted on a pedestal. During the construction of the rose garden, a second system of land

drains was laid, running across the bases of the flowerbeds.

Our finds, many of which are on display in the standing mansion, reflect the long history of occupation on the site, and some give us unexpected glimpses of the lives of past occupants. They include the bowl of a late-nineteenth century clay tobacco pipe commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the participation of the Enniskillen Regiment in the Egyptian campaign of 1798, perhaps once owned by one of the gardeners. A small fragment of glass, dated to the late fifteenth to seventeenth century, came from a vessel known as a matula. These were often used for the inspection of urine as a guide to health and well-being. We have recovered a wide range of pottery sherds, most of which are inevitably associated with the standing mansion, discarded fragments from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but many are contemporary with old Copped Hall. They remind us of how life at the Hall was part of a wider network of commerce and industry: our sixteenth and seventeenth century pottery includes fragments from France and the Rhineland, as well as the major whiteware pottery industry around the Surrey/Hampshire Border. Local wares dating to the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries are well-represented, including the Mill Green industry based around Ingatestone in Essex, and the potteries at Harlow producing Metropolitan slipware. We have also found floor tiles dated to the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries; a two-colour inlaid floor tile may date to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, and could have been made especially for Copped Hall, or have been reused from Waltham Abbey.

The 2010 programme will include the usual dig for WEAG members at the beginning of June. During July, three ‘taster’ weekends will be held for beginners to try their hand at archaeology, and in August there will be two week-long Field Schools for

**Plate 5. The ‘round feature’ beneath the Lower Great Lawn.
(Photograph Copped Hall Trust Archaeological Project.)**



'a noble large house'

those who already have some experience and want to develop their skills in excavation and recording. For details see www.weag.org.uk. The grounds of Copped Hall are strictly private, but regular open days and other events are held: www.coppedhalltrust.org.uk: the archaeological remains will be on display for the open day on the 29th August.

References

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2. D. Andrews, 'Old Copped Hall: The Site of the Tudor Mansion', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 17, (1986), pp.96–106.
3. Essex Record Office (ERO), D/DW E26/1, plan of Old Copped Hall ground floor, c.1740.
4. Detailed reports on the excavations up to the end of 2005 have been produced by the author in association with WEAG. These are available through the WEAG website (www.weag.org.uk), where a summary of more recent work can also be found
5. Apportionment of Copped Hall lands to Sybil, widow of Richard FitzAucher, May 1258. British Library Harleian MSS No 391, f.70 in R. Ransford, ed, *The Early Charters of the Augustinian Canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1062–1230*, (Woodbridge, 1989), pp.189–191.
6. ERO, T2380, Transcripts of documents relating to Copped Hall in The National Archives (TNA) and the British Library, 2006, [Norah Carlin].
7. *Ibid.* pp.2–17.
8. *Calendar of Inquisition Post Mortem*, vol. IV., (London, 1913), p.112.
9. Copped Hall was not the largest of the FitzAuchers' houses in the area. Their manor house at High Laver was worth £2 p.a. and was their main residence. TNA, C133/110/9; ERO, T2380, pp.85–86.
10. The Shardelowses conveyed Copped Hall to the Abbey in what was formally an exchange transaction, not a sale (though it also included a large sum of money); the transaction is discussed fully in ERO, T2380, pp.128–130.
11. A full account of extensions to the Copped Hall Park under the FitzAuchers and Waltham Abbey is included in Norah Carlin's volume of transcripts, ERO T2380, pp. 91–126.
12. Essex is rich in moated sites, with around 800 references on the County's Historic Environment Record, <http://unlockingessex.essexcc.gov.uk>.
13. Towards the end of Mary's reign, Copped Hall and its park were leased to one of her councillors, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, who being a Catholic fell from favour under her successor Elizabeth. A royal commission sent to establish whether Cornwallis had 'wasted' the property visited Copped Hall in January 1563 and reported to the Council of the Duchy of Lancaster. The report shows that although Cornwallis was guilty of 'waste' in a technical sense, having felled and even sold wood from the park which he was not entitled to, he had also used 40 loads of oak to improve the house and its furniture. Outside the house, he had constructed two separate 'sinks' and a channel with three bridges in the park 'to convey water over the moat out of the said manor house'. TNA, DL 44/82; ERO, T2380, pp.213–218.
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23. Paul Drury, pers. comm. Paul Drury excavated at Hill Hall, the home of Sir Thomas Smith, from 1982 to 1985. *Hill Hall: a singular house devised by a Tudor intellectual* by Paul Drury & Richard Simpson, was published by the Society Of Antiquaries Of London in June 2009.
24. Airs, pp.2, 15; M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics, 1490–1550*, (London, 1987), p.19.
25. Pat Ryan, pers. comm. Pat Ryan has made a special study of Essex bricks and brick buildings, and published *Brick in Essex, from the Roman Conquest to the Reformation*, in 1996
26. Paul Drury, pers. comm.
27. An account book of a Mr Haward includes an entry for 13th August 1748 'Paid George Ghorn for work at Copt Hall to this day'. The cost was £1 5s 8d, and in the margin is the note 'begun to take down' (ERO, D/DW A3).
28. 'Proposal for New Copped Hall 1751' includes the entry 'The old bricks that are useful and which came from the old house and offices to be worked up amongst the new ones as far as they will go' (ERO, D/DW E31/6).

Acknowledgements

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The 1847 Oxford Election:

C.G. Round versus W.E. Gladstone by Rita Sharp

**‘It chooses a candidate with the stature of a pigmy,
and then brings all opponents down to his level’¹**

The 1847 parliamentary election has been described as ‘one of the most lack lustre of the century’, but this impressionistic judgement disguises the human drama of many an electoral contest.² Glimpses can sometimes be caught straddling the pages of contemporary newspapers, but it is in the privacy of diaries and letters that the most compelling accounts can sometimes be found. Amongst the personal archive left by Charles Gray Round (Plate 1) are revelations of one such drama. He not only kept a diary throughout his campaign but also many letters and documents. For this historian, who stumbled upon them quite by accident, a riveting tale began to unfold as the scrawled writing and fading ink disclosed the ordeal of a man buffeted by innuendo, character assassination and public ridicule. His opponent was none other than William Ewart Gladstone (Plate 2). Drawing on Round’s private papers and contemporary journals the following article traces his electoral odyssey through to its final and destructive end.

**‘I am a very
humble and
obscure
individual’**

In 1847 Round had been an M.P. for ten years having twice being returned unopposed for the mainly agricultural seat of North Essex, he was also chairman of Essex Quarter Sessions, and Recorder of Colchester.³ At 50 he was living the serene and settled

existence befitting the status of a wealthy country gentleman. That is until a letter arrived from Oxford dated May 10th and marked ‘PRIVATE’ – it contained a startling proposition:

‘My dear Round, I address you in the strictest confidence and beg you to regard my communication as that of a private friend with another. The Vice Chancellor has today announced...the intention of Mr Estcourt to retire from the representation of the University on the occasion of the approaching dissolution of Parliament. Now I myself am deliberately and strongly of opinion that you are a proper person to fill the place which will thus become vacant’⁴

It was signed by Charles Ogilvie, Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology at Oxford University and was an astonishing proposal on two counts. Firstly, the political importance of the seat conferred by its status as the cradle for incumbents of the Anglican Church. In this it typified the primacy of religious issues in public consciousness and intellectual life. Secondly, as a corollary of this it demanded a candidate of considerable political acumen. *The Times* was in no doubt of the qualities required of its M.P:

‘to elect a man member for Oxford [University] is to make him as far as politics are concerned the channel of the church’s communication with the nation. He it is who is to colour and direct her policy with regard to the state... It need hardly be

pointed out how much of talent, experience, integrity and political weight may be usefully employed in these duties, nor how significant is the act by which the University designates the man who is to exercise them’⁵

And herein lies the astonishment – Round was a political lightweight, who had been handicapped throughout his parliamentary career by an unassuming nature and retiring disposition. These characteristics ensured that any talents he may have had were obscured by a total inability to participate in the rigours of the debating chamber. His response to Ogilvie was one of striking candour:

‘I am a very humble and obscure individual and utterly deficient in every qualification which ought to distinguish anyone recommended to the notice of the University... You will not do well if you suffer the wisdom of your preference to be called in question by promoting my name. I say this with perfect truth and sincerity’⁶

This act of self laceration was further deepened when *The Times* scornfully observed, ‘we don’t remember that he has spoken in the House, though no doubt he must have done so on some occasion’.⁷ But in spite of all this Ogilvie refused to acknowledge the inherent deficiencies of his proposed candidate, ‘your letter of the 11th inst. was not such as to hinder me from mentioning your name as that of a possible candidate for the representation

The 1847 Oxford Election

of the University...Most certainly the terms in which you express yourself did not lessen my opinion...of so mentioning your name'.⁸ This begs the question as to why the Regis Professor of Pastoral Theology was so insistent? Part of the answer lies embedded in the religious battles initiated by the Oxford Movement.

It had all begun in the early part of the century when some members of the old High Church tradition from within the University challenged the existing liturgical and theological consensus of the Church of England.⁹ Known as the Oxford Movement or Tractarians after a series of publications entitled *Tracts for the Times* they had unleashed a storm of controversy by stressing the catholic nature of the Established Church.¹⁰ But the nuances surrounding the word 'catholic' exposed them to charges of 'Romanism' and slogans of 'No Popery' especially from the Evangelical/Low church faction who emphasized the essentially Protestant ethos of the Church of England.¹¹ The controversy deepened when attempts to implement the outward and visible forms of this new thinking – intoned services, lighted altar candles, robed choirs and other enhancements were seen as giving substance to claims that it was nothing more or less than a subversive sub text for Roman Catholicism. With the Evangelicals assuming the mantle of beleaguered defenders of the existing order an increasingly bitter conflict for the heart and soul of the established church had ensued. It was against this backdrop that Estcourt's resignation not only offered the beguiling prospect of a safe Tory seat but also the provision of an influential platform from which to disseminate Tractarian or Evangelical beliefs.

But the calculations which prompted Ogilvie to place Charles Round in the forefront of Evangelical endeavours remain elusive.¹² He had probably attracted attention by his voting record in

Parliament. This had shown him 'uncontaminated' by any charge of leniency towards Roman Catholicism above all he had kept clear of Tractarian innovations. He had also voted against the repeal of the Corn Laws, his protectionist stance fitting well with the sitting member, the impregnable Sir Harry Inglis a popular but reactionary old Tory.¹³ But perhaps it was simply the fact that even 'if he had achieved no sort of distinction, Mr Round had at least given no offence'.¹⁴ Little enough it seems to be selected as candidate for such an important seat. But whatever the reason in the following weeks and despite his grave reservations Round was persuaded 'that it was his duty' to allow his name to go forward. Consequently on May 19th 1847 *The Times* carried the news that Charles Gray Round had been chosen to represent the University of Oxford in Parliament as the colleague of Sir H. Inglis, Bart., and that a committee had been formed to secure his return.¹⁵

The High Church/Tractarian party had, unlike the Evangelicals secured the services of one of the most promising politicians of his generation, William Ewart Gladstone.¹⁶ For the little known Round, with the scales already tilted against him, they were tilted still further by the choice of a man already being seen as a future Prime Minister.¹⁷ However with no canvassing allowed within ten miles of the University and candidates forbidden to approach within that distance Gladstone was unable to deploy his considerable personal skills. In fact both candidates remained aloof from all active electioneering relying on committees in Oxford and London to campaign on their behalf.¹⁸

From the outset it was obvious religious issues would dictate the course of events. Gladstone viewed with concern the domination of the election not by the cut and thrust of politics but by a power struggle between Evangelical and Tractarian, 'this business at Oxford is an anxiety...



Plate 1. Charles Gray Round of Birch Hall.

(With kind permission of Colchester & Ipswich Museum Service, COLEM 143A.)

I am above all things decided not to be the instrument or symbol of a religious war'.¹⁹ Unfortunately for him that was just what he became. The tone was set by the *Essex Standard*, who extolled the virtues of the 'anti-Tractarian' Round as the champion of the Protestant faith while Gladstone's candidature was portrayed as a 'proposed outrage upon common decency',

'The "Battle of the Constitution" is to be fought at the coming election. The struggle between the opposed principles of Protestant truth and Popish error will be a severe and it may be a decisive one. The constitutional party of Oxford leads the van; and they have solicited one of Oxford's worthiest sons to be the champion of those Protestant principles which constitute the glory and guarantee the

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integrity of our national Church. We can no longer regret the decision of Mr Round to accede to the wishes of the Protestants of Oxford... The Battle of Protestantism is to be fought at the coming election, the terms Whig and Tory are obsolete...there are no parties in the country now, but the friends on the one hand and the betrayers on the other of our Protestant institutions²⁰

With this the war of words began in earnest. A rumour began circulating that Round 'was a frequenter when in London of a chapel which...must be considered a dissenting congregation [and] that he is not in the habit of even in the country of attending his own parish church'.²¹ This was a direct attack on what appeared to be Round's strongest asset – his unflinching loyalty to the Protestant church. There could hardly be anything more damaging to his credibility. Major Beresford, a leading member of Round's committee, tried to steady nerves by denouncing it as a trick of the Gladstonian Party.²² Ogilvie wrote from Oxford in some agitation 'have the goodness to furnish me with the materials for a positive contradiction of a rumour which is operating here to the disadvantage of your cause'.²³ And then a blow of seismic proportions, the allegations found their way into the public prints. *The Times* after noting 'the little précis' of Round's career circulated by his friends added:

'But the really odd thing about him, if true, is that he is said to sit under a Dissenting minister. There is really such a rumour abroad. Can it be that his Oxford supporters are cognizant of it?... Surely, surely they should ascertain the truth of this report and secure at the very least that if Mr Round did attend the ministrations of Mr. Harrington Evans

[the dissenting minister] he did not go with any religious object'.²⁴

Harassed and assailed on all sides Round turned to his Lord and Saviour 'Support me in all difficulties and trials, if it is thy pleasure that I should be troubled let me not be perplexed. If I am distressed suffer me not to fall into despair. Bless all those who are kind to me...Amen. Amen'.²⁵



Plate 2. The Young Gladstone.
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Gladstone_1830s_WH_Mote_II.jpg.
The image is in the public domain.)

His scribbled draft reply to Ogilvie is littered with crossings out and half formed sentences. And no wonder, for although specifically denying absenting himself from his parish church at Birch he was forced to admit that once in 1845 and three times in 1846 he had indeed attended a Dissenting chapel in London. This shocking disclosure was absorbed into a printed explanation by his committee who sought to explain such a lapse by the fact that Round had simply been confirming his attachment to the Church of England *The Times* exposed it for what it was:

'On Mr Round's Oxford Committee had devolved the difficulty...on answering the great charge of attending what must be virtually called – we use the coy expression of

Dr. Ogilvie "a dissenting place of worship"... The Oxford committee meet the charge by denouncing it as a gross and injurious calumny admitting however – which is not unimportant – that it is true. Poor Mr Round it seems has been catechised and in generalities his answers are perfect. It "excites his warm indignation that any one should have suggested a doubt", not only of his reasonable and dutiful submission only, but "of his affectionate and reverential attachment to the Church of England its services and formularies". In fact the only object of Mr Round's occasional pilgrimage to the shrines of Dissent was, as it would appear, "to confirm him in his attachment" to his mother church...just as people ...go abroad for a while in order to whet their appetites and return with greater zest to their native shores"²⁶

The *Essex Standard* in an effort to limit the damage informed its readers that *The Times* was 'now said to be under the direction of an influential member' of the Tractarians adding that it was 'another choice specimen of their unscrupulous conduct'.²⁷ This public mauling left Round in a highly sensitive state and a fortnight later on meeting his cousin John Round at the Carlton Club he 'thought him cold and hard as if there was something which he disapproved'.²⁸ This impression would receive confirmation some months later.

As Round twisted and turned on the pin of damaging publicity, Gladstone had also faced a tranche of political criticism laced with taunts and insults, one Evangelical describing him as a 'mystified, slippery, uncertain, politico-churchman, a non-Romanist Jesuit'.²⁹ But then something far more sinister erupted. The *Morning Herald* featured an

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allegation that he had materially influenced his sister, Helen, to convert to Roman Catholicism.³⁰ Such a charge with its taint of Popery posed an immediate threat to Gladstone's campaign. Action was needed – and fast – to stem any possible repercussions. His diary reveals he held meetings with 'Northcote, the Dean of Windsor and T.G' (his brother). Letters were dispatched without delay to the 'Morning Herald about poor H(elen's) case'.³¹ In them he robustly denied the charge, and demanded the name of the person who without any proof had 'stated what is wholly untrue'. At the same time he maximised publicity for his defence by sending a copy of this rebuttal to *The Times*.³² Defamation and smears were now the hallmark of the campaign, little wonder, then, that concern began to emerge of the 'bigoted spirit this election was warming into life'.³³

But there was to be no let up as Round faced yet another highly damaging allegation this time against members of his own household. Two of his servants were accused of attending a dissenting chapel with the added coup de grâce 'that Mrs Round was cognisant of the fact'.³⁴ For over a week letters winged to and fro between Birch Hall and Oxford containing charge and counter charge, but it was a letter from James Bliss, a member of Round's own Oxford committee which caused 'unease'. 'Considering your present position as candidate for the representation of the University of Oxford I am sure you will be very glad, *if possible*, [my italics] to give a contradiction'.³⁵ It soon becomes clear why Round felt 'unease' at the receipt of this letter since he was unable to give such an assurance. Instead he was forced to admit that:

'I have heard of a female servant having attended a service there once [a Meeting House] and I think I heard of the same thing being done

by her and another female servant upon one other occasion. Directions have been given that this should not occur again'.³⁶

He neither confirmed nor denied his wife's role in the affair. This steady barrage against the once seemingly impregnable walls of Round's Protestantism was alarming and debilitating, he felt 'unhinged, uncertain...listless and unable to do anything'.³⁷ For Gladstone, also, the constant harassment was beginning to take its toll, 'I have felt this spring to be a time of pressure & distraction more than ordinary. Of course not least since Oxford came into the field'.³⁸

With the fidelity of both men's commitment to the Church of England under continuous scrutiny the focus suddenly changed to one of a truly political dimension. It was noticed that Round had been absent from a division on the Manchester Bishopric Bill, a contentious piece of legislation concerning the number of Bishops in the House of Lords:

'where was that 'staunch and uncompromising churchman' Mr Charles Gray Round in the division on the Manchester Bishopric Bill. Alas! I can not find his truly Protestant name in the list'.³⁹

Whether it was because of this publicity or merely that his vote was needed, he was ordered to attend Parliament for the next debate on the Bill:

'Summons from Major Beresford On Manchester Bill etc. whereat sorry enough but under all circumstances proper to go up to London by 2'o' clock train. Down to House by half past 5- The Manchester Bill – amused to be told of the question "where is that staunch churchman" etc. Three divisions'.⁴⁰

But this solitary appearance did nothing to silence his critics:

'Are the division lists of the House of Commons incorrectly printed? Or can it be true that though there have been nine divisions on the bill for the bishopric of Manchester since the 15th of July, that champion of the Church of England, Charles Gray Round, Esq. who is a candidate for the University of Oxford has only voted on three on the 19th? Nor have we heard his voice once raised in defence of that important measure. Let Oxford look to herself if she chooses such a champion I remain Sir, ONE WHO LIKES PEOPLE TO FIGHT UNDER THEIR TRUE COLOURS'.⁴¹

Then just before the polls began another unwelcome reminder of Round's nod towards dissent. A letter signed only by the initials W.D opened old wounds by citing as a fact that it

'Nor have we heard his voice once raised in defence'

was, 'open and notorious in the neighbourhood that Mr Round constantly, not be it noted 'four times in the season' but as a usual practice sends his servants to a meeting house in preference to the parish church.

'To a neighbouring clergyman, Mrs Round, some time since avowed her intention of sending them further than the parish church and she does so. Whether Mr Round is master of his own household is of no interest to your readers, but certainly the

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man who frequents the Baptist chapel and sends his servants to a meeting house is not the fit and proper person to represent the University of Oxford'⁴²

Against this backdrop of continuous public censure of Round what of Ogilvie the master mind of his candidature? He had largely maintained his positive stance, throughout all the mayhem, his letters mainly energising and hopeful, 'I returned to this place [Oxford] yesterday to be ready for the approaching contest. I find a party of our zealous friends full of energy and spirits by no means destitute of good and reasonable hopes of ultimate success'. But then a slight shadow invades his optimism, 'to us it belongs to care that our cause be just and righteous. Apparent and immediate success may be withheld from us for reasons which I cannot hope for the present to understand or even learn'.⁴³

'I acted upon principle and a sense of duty in all that I have done'

As the poll began Round was optimistic his hopes buoyed by 'a few figures in pencil'. showing a lead 'which I thought not unfavourable!'⁴⁴ However, this fleeting moment of anticipation and hope was soon replaced by 'letters from Major Beresford and Mr Harrison. The latter better to prepare me for defeat...Our friend H. with newspaper accounts all very unfavourable'.⁴⁵ For Gladstone however, it was a time of mounting expectation and excitement, 'The post brought me today's poll....I had kept myself down with a hard book (Nitzsch) till it arrived but I was much excited by the news'.⁴⁶ Within days his victory was

confirmed by a margin of 173 votes.

Ogilvie sent Round his committee's 'deep regret that the University has not secured his valuable aid in Parliament' and 'warm acknowledgements' for the readiness with which he had allowed his name to be brought forward'.⁴⁷ He also sent the first of several personal and contrite letters:

'I feel at this moment my large share of responsibility for having tempted you to abandon your seat for Essex and to expose yourself and your family to the wanton assault of misrepresentation and calumny'⁴⁸

Although Round sent him reassuring answers his diary reveals the turbulence of his emotions. He found it 'painful' to appear in public. His wife too had suffered much, 'at breakfast my E[mma] very ill and melancholy'.⁴⁹ He tried to find answers to all that he had endured finally assigning the architect of his failure to ill considered arrogance, 'reconciled to my defeat as a just rebuke to my excessive vanity'.⁵⁰ Letters of commiseration and support helped to bolster Round's battered self image the exception being one from his cousin, John Round, confirming an earlier impression of his disapproval.⁵¹ It contained a series of uncomfortable and deeply wounding comments, only partially assuaged by the usual courtesies. John Round conceded that he had indeed faced a 'very formidable opponent' but repeated the already well publicised criticisms of Round. Chief amongst them being the fact that he had never spoken in Parliament, when what was required 'by many, not unreasonably [was] an able and energetic advocate...prompt in action and ready in reply'. His non-attendance at the Manchester Bill debates was another, 'Your silence gave your opponents great advantage' attributing it to 'incapacity'. He noted that 'to Mr Speaker...

you are largely indebted for the expression of his good wishes. He has throughout your parliamentary career been anxious you should play a more prominent part. In committees you have exhibited useful and valuable talents... He and I wished them exhibited on a larger scale'. At the end of a long letter he ended 'with assurances of my best regards to you both'.⁵² There is no comment about this letter in his diary only a terse 'wrote to John Round'.⁵³ It was simply another cross to bear.

At the end of August he attended a dinner celebrating Tory election victories. In a speech he gave congratulating the successful candidates he used the opportunity to deliver a poignant justification of his decision to fight for the Oxford University seat:

'I trust that you all fully believe that from first to last I acted upon principle and a sense of duty in all that I have done and as I am the only sufferer and the only loser, I may retire into private life rewarded by the assurances that I have at least endeavoured to act up to my duty'⁵⁴

He never stood for parliament again.

References

1. Rev. F.D. Maurice, 'Thoughts on the Duty of a Protestant in the present Oxford Election, A Letter to a London Clergyman', *The Times*, 29/07/1847, p.6.
2. R. Stewart, *The Politics of Protection*, (Cambridge, 1971), p.106.
3. After gaining an M.A. from Balliol College, Oxford, he had entered the legal profession before becoming an M.P. Married with no children he lived at Birch Hall some 5 miles south west of Colchester.
4. Essex Record Office (ERO), D/DRb O6/1, correspondence (general) addressed to C.G.Round. Chas. A. Ogilvie, 10/05/1847.
5. *The Times*, 24/07/1847, p.4.
6. ERO, D/DRb O6/1, Round's draft reply.

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7. *The Times*, 22/05/1847.
8. ERO, D/DRb O6/1, Chas. A. Ogilvie letter, 13/05/1847.
9. Largely confined to the intellectual elite of the University they had become increasingly disturbed by what they perceived as the precipitous decline in the spirituality and devotional practises of clergy and laity.
10. The term 'Tractarianism' has often been used for the early stages of the Oxford Movement or, indeed, as a synonym for the movement itself.
11. There were a number of reasons for the extreme hostility towards Roman Catholicism at this time, not least being the conviction that Catholicism and loyalty to the English constitution were incompatible.
12. Ogilvie's adoption of the Evangelical cause shows a road to Damascus lurch from some 20 years before when he was looked upon as a leader of the high-church party in Oxford, though he gave little active support to the Oxford Movement. Later he saw himself as 'an attached and zealous member of the Church of England'. See G.C. Boase, 'Ogilvie, Charles Atmore (1793–1873)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20584>.
13. His geniality was such that it endeared him to the House of Commons and had made him virtually electorally 'impregnable'. R. Jenkins, *Gladstone*, (London, 1995), p.87. The fight, therefore, was for the second seat. When the Conservative Party split in 1846 on the issue of Free Trade, the protectionist wing of the party rejected the term Conservative and preferred to be known as Protectionists or even revive the older term of 'Tory' as an official name.
14. J. Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, vol. I, (London, 1908), p.243. According to Beresford, the Protectionist party whip, it was difficult finding candidates in the first place as 'supineness' seemed to be the order of the day'. And even after finding them 'the luke-warmness and shiftiness of those I have to deal with is most disheartening'. Stewart, p.107.
15. At this stage there was a third candidate, Mr Cardwell 'who thought it wise at a pretty early hour to withdraw from a triangular fight'. Morley, p.243.
16. He had been appointed Junior Lord of the Treasury, 1834, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1843 and appointed President of the Board of Trade before resigning from the Government in 1845. As far as his religious views 'it would seem fair to describe him as a Tractarian while bearing in mind his own reservations and that the label 'Tractarian' especially by the 1840s covers quite a wide spectrum of opinion'. H.C.G. Matthew, *Gladstone, 1809–1874*, (Oxford, 1988), p.72.
17. Amongst the reasons cited as to why Round lost the election the *Essex Standard* (ES), 06/08/1847, acknowledged the superior parliamentary skills of his opponent stating 'it is anticipated that Mr Gladstone will be some day Premier'.
18. Oxford University was first granted two M.Ps in seventeenth century. The vote was given to proctors and all masters of arts of the university wherever they lived.
19. M.R.D. Foot & H.C.G. Matthew *The Gladstone Diaries*, vol. III, (Oxford, 1974), 12/05/1847.
20. ES, 21/05/1847.
21. ERO, D/DRb O6/1. The letter containing this rumour is closeted with Ogilvie's request for a denial and Round's response.
22. ERO, D/DRb O6/1. Major William Beresford M.P. for Harwich 1841, North Essex 1847. His guiding principles were Protestantism and Protectionism. He presided as chief whip of the Protectionist party from early in 1846. N. Gash, 'Beresford, William Marcus Joseph (1797/8–1883)', rev., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37184>.
23. ERO, D/DRb O6/1, Ogilvie 21/05/1847.
24. *The Times*, 22/05/1847, p.5.
25. ERO, D/DR F67, diary of Charles Gray Round, 23/05/1847.
26. *The Times*, 28/05/1847, p.4.
27. ES, 28/05/1847.
28. ERO, D/DR F67, 05/06/1847.
29. Jenkins, p.89.
30. *The Morning Herald*, 24/05/1847, quoted in Foot & Matthew, p.623.
31. *Ibid.* 28/05/1847.
32. The essence of his defence appeared in letters published in *The Times*, 02/06/1847, p.6. Helen's conversion to Roman Catholicism had alienated her from her brother.
33. Morley, p.245.
34. ERO, D/DRb O6/1. Letters relating to these incidents included those from H.O.Cox (06/07), John H. Dewhurst (07/07), CGR's brother, Rev James Round (07/07), Lewis Owen (10/07), Godfrey Bird (10/07), William Harrison (undated).
35. ERO, D/DRb O6/1, James Bliss, Oriel College, 12/07/1847.
36. *Ibid.* Scribbled draft reply on the back of Bliss's letter.
37. ERO, D/DR F67, 15/07/1847.
38. Foot & Matthew, 31/05/1847.
39. *The Times*, Letters to the Editor, 17/07/1847, p.7.
40. ERO, D/DR F67, 19/07/1847.
41. *The Times*, 'Letters to the Editor', 23/07/1847, p.8.
42. *Ibid.*, 'Letters to the Editor', 27/07/1847, p.5.
43. ERO, D/DRb O6/1, Chas. A. Ogilvie, 23/07/1847.
44. ERO, D/DR F67, 30/07/1847.
45. *Ibid.* 31/07/1847.
46. Foot, 01/08/1847.
47. ERO, D/DRb O6/1, hand written Committee minutes, 03/08/1847.
48. *Ibid.*, letter, 03/08/1847.
49. ERO, D/DR F67, 03/08/1847, written across entry.
50. *Ibid.* Written vertically across the entry.
51. See the Carlton Club incident quotation from Round's diary 5/06/1847 attached to f/note 28.
52. ERO, D/DRb O6/1, 13/08/1847.
53. ERO, D/DR F67, 14/08/1847.
54. ES, 03/09/1847.

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Attitudes to Nineteenth-Century

Architecture in Essex¹

by
James Bettley

Essex is not the first county to which one would direct the student of nineteenth-century architecture. The best examples of buildings of that century are in the cities that sprang up at that time, which are mostly in the Midlands and North of England. Growth did of course occur in Essex in the nineteenth century, and is most evident along or at the end of the railway lines that spread across the county from the 1830s onwards: notably at Southend, Clacton, and Walton. The other great nineteenth-century buildings, as of every age until our own, were the country houses, but for some reason few were built in Essex and none on the really grand scale of Shrubland Park or Somerleyton Hall in Suffolk. However, Essex was by no means immune from the building boom that gripped

the country in the nineteenth century, and this article looks at some of the results of that boom, and at what has happened to those buildings since then.

Chelmsford's Corn Exchange is a good place to start (Plate 1). It was opened just over 150 years ago, in June 1857, and there would no doubt have been great celebrations in 2007 if it had not been demolished in 1969. It is a good place to start for two reasons. First, it was designed by a local architect, Fred Chancellor, who first achieved prominence in 1854 when he won the design for new school buildings at Felsted; but he was a local man who, thanks largely to the spread of the railway network, was able to run an office in London as well as Chelmsford and be more than just a local architect, something

that had been impossible for all but a very few architects until then. Secondly, it is a corn exchange, a building type that flourished for a relatively short period of time. The need for corn exchanges arose as a consequence of the Corn Laws and the stimulus they gave to the wheat trade in England. London built a new corn exchange in 1828, and many provincial examples followed; they were built as private enterprises by consortia of local businessmen, to ensure that business stayed in their own towns rather than going elsewhere. The buying and selling of grain had hitherto taken place in the open air – hence the many towns with streets called Cornhill or Cornmarket – or in general market buildings; in Chelmsford, the corn market took place in the entrance hall of the Shire Hall, a dark and awkward space that was inadequate for the purpose. Chancellor's new Corn Exchange, designed in a style that was presumably meant to evoke the palazzo of a wealthy Florentine merchant or banker, consisted of a main hall, 100 ft by 45 ft, auction and committee rooms, and gallery, and seems to have been an instant success, with markets held there every Friday; it was also later licensed for theatrical performances.²

Six other corn exchanges were built in Essex in the nineteenth century; in addition, Romford adapted an existing bank building in 1845. Chelmsford's was quite a latecomer. The earliest, and most distinguished from the architectural point of view, was Colchester's, built in 1820 to designs by David Laing. It was superseded in 1845 by J. R. Brandon's building next door, costing £2,400. This has had a varied and interesting history. It closed in 1884, became the Albert School of Art and Science, and was enlarged in

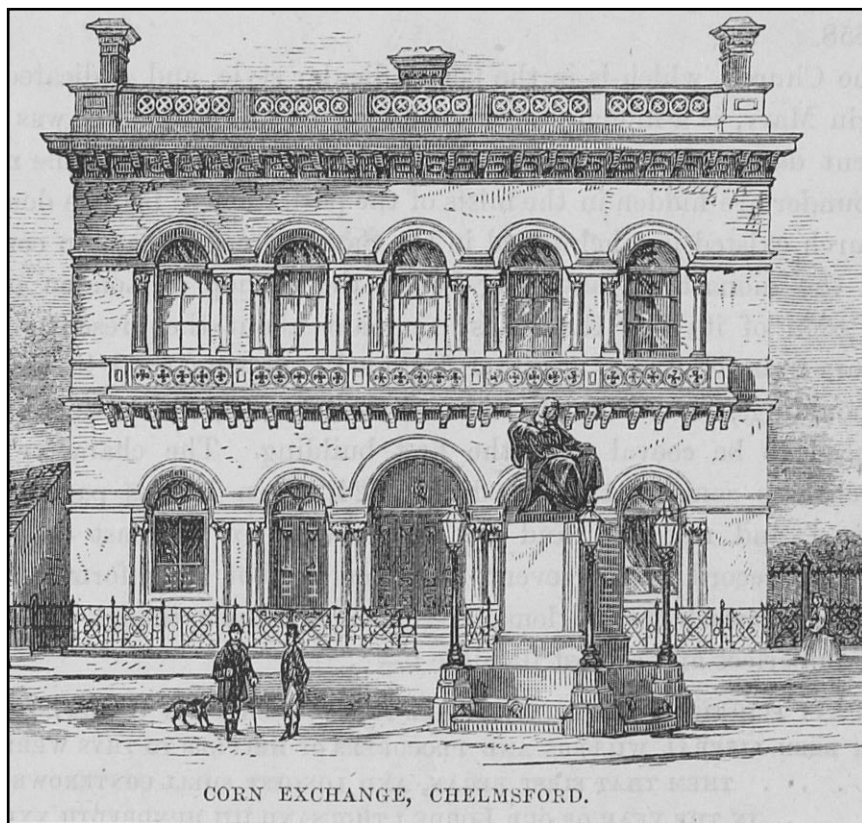


Plate 1. Corn Exchange, Chelmsford.

(Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, I/Mb 74/1/49.)

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1896 by the Colchester Borough Surveyor, H. R. Goodyear. In 1925–26 it was reconstructed internally by Duncan W. Clark as the Albert Hall and Art Gallery, but is now the Co-operative Bank. Figures representing ancient and modern agriculture that once crowned its façade can be found nestling incongruously amongst the planting that attempts to soften the impact of the multi-storey car park on Balkerne Hill. Braintree's Corn Exchange was built in 1839 at a cost of £3,000

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celebrations
in 2007...

and enlarged in 1859–70 (by Beadel Son & Chancellor) and 1877 (by Fred Chancellor); it has been demolished. Saffron Walden's was built in 1847–48, 'an elegant pile of an Italian character' according to the *Illustrated London News*, and designed by Richard Tress, a London architect who also designed the corn exchange at Bishops Stortford. Like so many corn exchanges, it was a multi-purpose public building, and housed a savings bank, post office, and news room. The central part of the building was originally open to the sky, with seventeen corn offices, little more than cubicles, surrounding it. The central space was roofed over after the building was purchased by the Borough Council in 1882, but trading continued, albeit on a much reduced level, until the 1960s. Its future then looked uncertain until it was decided to convert it to a public library and arts centre, which opened in 1975; this work was designed by the county architect Ralph Crowe. Various internal alterations and refurbishment were completed in 2007.

After Chelmsford, there were three built in the 1860s, including

one at Rochford designed by Chancellor and built in 1866 at a cost of £1,000; it is now used by the Women's Institute as a hall. Halstead's little Corn Exchange was built in 1865, a well-detailed building of polychromatic brick-work whose designer seems to be unknown. In 1902, *Kelly's Directory* tells us, it was used as a drill hall; by 1933 it was being let to the County Council for 'technical instruction', and it now houses the public library. The architect for Manningtree's Corn Exchange is also unknown. Built in 1865 at a cost of £1,600, by 1902 it was being used for 'public meetings and entertainments' and by 1933 as a furniture saleroom. In 1966–67 it was converted by Raymond Erith to a Roman Catholic church, but since 1980 it too has been a public library.

These buildings demonstrate a number of points: the nineteenth century's tendency to construct buildings for a specific purpose that was, in this case, quite short-lived; the nineteenth century's ability to build in a wide variety of styles: Renaissance at Chelmsford, Classical at Manningtree, Gothic at Rochford and Halstead, 'Italianate' at Saffron Walden; and the various ways in which these buildings, once they became redundant, have mostly been reused, and quite successfully. They have been treated, reasonably enough, as boxes into which new structures can be fitted, all the effort of preservation going on the exteriors. When Saffron Walden's corn exchange was threatened with demolition a vigorous campaign was mounted, with support from Sir Hugh Casson and the Royal Fine Art Commission, with the result that the façade remains an important component in the Market Place, which is one of the best assemblages of nineteenth-century buildings in Essex.

The other characteristic building types of the nineteenth century fall into two obvious categories: those which result from technological advances,

and those which respond to social and cultural needs. Into the first category one would place, for example, railway stations, the need for which simply did not exist before the nineteenth century: Essex has some good examples at Audley End and Ingatestone. Audley End, which opened in 1845 and is in fact at Wendens Ambo, was a joint production of Sancton Wood and Francis Thompson, both of whom were regular railway architects. Its entrance is sheltered by a grand porte cochère, a feature specially added, no doubt, for the benefit of those travelling to and from Audley End itself. Ingatestone, built the following year, is much more homely, and it is not fanciful to think that the style adopted is a homage to nearby Ingatestone Hall. Also in the technological category one might place maltings, because although they had existed for centuries they developed considerably in the nineteenth century, thanks to innovations made by people such as Robert Free at Mistley. Very few are still in use, but they convert readily to flats, with the bonus that they are invariably located next to railways or waterways, sometimes both.

...if it had
not been
demolished
in 1969

The category of social buildings is especially characteristic, and has left a large and diverse heritage to be dealt with in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Most of these buildings resulted from an urgent need, arising from the growth and shift of population, to reform institutions that had had to be created in the wake of the Reformation and the dissolution of the religious bodies that had hitherto provided social

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services: hospitals, almshouses, schools. If one had to choose a single building type to evoke the nineteenth century, it would have to be the workhouse, or rather the workhouse as defined by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. Workhouses had existed since Tudor times, and a number of old-style workhouse buildings can still be found: in Bocking, for example, and Witham. Caring for those who were unable to look after themselves, through old age or infirmity, was the responsibility of individual parishes, but operating in this way became increasingly impractical. In the eighteenth century, Suffolk and Norfolk led the way with rural incorporations, groups of parishes that combined together and built a single large workhouse to be shared between them. The results were often very splendid to look at, more like country houses than workhouses. The Poor Law Amendment Act more or less extended this principle to the whole country, with parishes grouped together in Unions, and model designs for workhouses were produced by the Poor Law commissioners for local unions to follow.³ Even so, there was considerable variety in what was built, ranging from the Elizabethan country-house look, as at Great Dunmow or Billericay, to the grimmest prison look, as at Tendring. All of these were designed by the same architect, George Gilbert Scott, then in partnership with W.B. Moffatt and not yet famous as a builder and restorer of churches. Given their very poor press, as places to be avoided at all costs, workhouses have been surprisingly durable, most of them surviving long enough to be taken over by the NHS and converted to old people's homes or hospitals. Of fifteen built in Essex after 1834, ten are still substantially intact, two as hospitals (Chelmsford, Maldon), one a factory (Stanford Rivers), and five converted to housing (Billericay, Bocking, Great Dunmow, Saffron Walden, and Witham).

Actual purpose-built hospitals can be dealt with much more quickly. For many years the only hospital in Essex was the County Hospital at Colchester, founded in 1818, the original building by M.G. Thompson with wings added by Thomas Hopper in 1839. Chelmsford did not get a proper hospital until 1883: the Essex and Chelmsford Infirmary and Dispensary, designed by Chancellor with his former assistant, Charles Pertwee. Thanks to the patronage of the Quaker brewing and banking family, the Gibsons, Saffron Walden's hospital was built in 1864-66, designed by William Beck. It was very successfully converted and extended by Darbourne & Partners in 1988-90 as offices for Uttlesford District Council. Later in the nineteenth century, the idea of cottage hospitals was introduced, such as the one at Halstead by George Sherrin (another of Chancellor's former assistants), and, at the seaside, convalescent homes, a number of which were built at Clacton. Most have now been demolished, but one built for London's Middlesex Hospital in 1895-96, to designs by Keith Young, has been converted to flats.

Schools, on the other hand, proliferated, and developed in a number of different directions. For much of the nineteenth century, the provision of education was left to the churches, with two main bodies competing for voluntary donations and such government funding as there was to build new schools. These were the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church (i.e. the Church of England), founded in 1811, and the British and Foreign Schools Society, founded (as The Society for Promoting the Lancastrian System for the Education of the Poor, commemorating Joseph Lancaster)

in 1808. The latter, which was non-denominational, built what were known as British Schools, the former what were known as National Schools. National Schools, being Church of England, were usually built at the instigation of a new incumbent, with the same architect often building or restoring the church, and building a new rectory or vicarage. Greenstead Green, with church, vicarage and school all designed by Scott in 1844-45, is just one

Plate 2. Watercolour by Maude E.F. Howlett Sears of Brentwood Grammar School.

example of many such groups in Essex. The style of the school buildings generally echoed that of the church, i.e. Gothic. British Schools, on the other hand, tended (like Nonconformist chapels) to be much simpler and plainer. Great Leighs possesses both sorts (both now houses) and it is obvious which was which.

The Education Act of 1870 introduced for the first time properly funded state schools administered by local elected

Nineteenth-Century Architecture

boards. The School Board for London was particularly influential in creating a distinctive architectural style. The 1870s was a time when architects were shaking off the constraints of the Gothic Revival, and rediscovering English Domestic architecture; what was known as the Queen Anne style, associated with high ceilings and large windows – literal as well as figurative enlightenment – was seen as

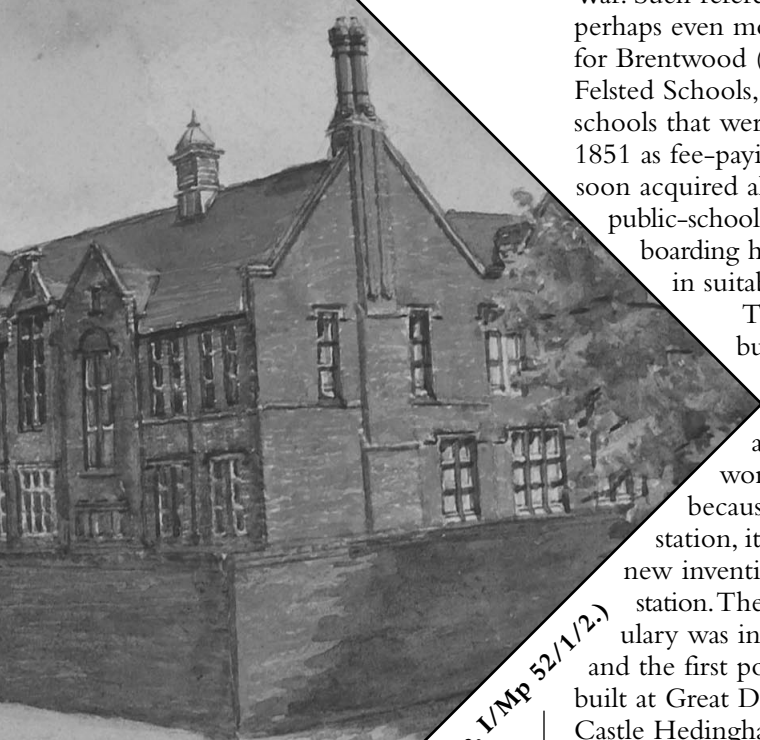
was a relatively new idea; so a modern style of architecture was entirely appropriate. Boys' grammar schools, however, were quite another matter. New buildings might be needed, but they had to reflect the schools' much longer history: Colchester and Chelmsford were rebuilt in Tudor style, or something approximating to it, Colchester in 1852–53 by a local architect, H.W. Hayward, Chelmsford in 1891–92 by H.A. Cheers. Neo-Tudor continued to be used for additions to both schools up to the Second World War. Such references were perhaps even more important for Brentwood (Plate 2) and Felsted Schools, both grammar schools that were refounded in 1851 as fee-paying schools and soon acquired all the necessary public-school trappings of boarding houses, chapel, etc, in suitably antique style.

There are other building types that provide interesting examples, and one more is worth looking at because, like the railway station, it was a completely new invention: the police station. The county constabulary was introduced in 1840, and the first police stations were built at Great Dunmow and Castle Hedingham in 1842–43. Both were probably designed by Thomas Hopper, in his capacity as county surveyor, and the style is quite nondescript, essentially domestic. This was intentional: if the experiment of a public police force proved unsuccessful, the buildings could easily be adapted for other purposes.⁴ Some have been: Brentwood's, for example, was for many years the town's public library, and is now a private nursery school. Once the police force had become established, however, Hopper introduced a more distinctive style: Halstead, 1851, seems to have been the prototype, followed by Thorpe-le-Soken, 1853, and a number of others since demolished.⁵

Most of the buildings mentioned so far, examples of characteristic nineteenth-century building types, have survived into the twenty-first century, although many of them are no longer serving the purpose for which they were originally built. Given the attitude towards nineteenth-century buildings that prevailed for much of the twentieth century, this is perhaps surprising. Nineteenth-century architecture, and art and design in general, were simply not taken seriously by most people. The Essex Record Office booklet *Victorian Essex*, published in 1964, includes a photo of the statue of Queen Victoria (Plate 3) at Southend taken after it had been moved to its present position from the top of Pier Hill: the caption states 'those who know the resort will remember the unintentional humour of its former siting', and goes on to say that it 'has little artistic merit; it is, however, an excellent symbol of the dignity, sometimes impressive and sometimes ridiculous, of the Victorian era.'

Such were the views that were generally held for the first half of the twentieth century, when attention was still being focussed on rehabilitating the Georgians (generally regarded as dissolute by the Victorians) and their architecture. That Georgian architecture needed championing now seems hard to believe, but when the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments embarked upon its inventory of Essex buildings just before the First World War, its remit was to select buildings 'from the earliest times to the year 1700', extended a few years later only as far as 1714, the year of the death of Queen Anne. Anything built after that was considered 'modern', a word still to be found in many a church guidebook to dismiss the work of distinguished nineteenth-century architects and craftsmen.

Nikolaus Pevsner was a great champion of Victorian architecture, and was for many years chairman



(Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, 1/Mp 52/1/2.)

particularly appropriate for school buildings. Colchester's board schools, although they have individual quirky features, are clearly in this tradition, and were built between 1893 and 1903 by a firm of local architects, Goodey & Cressall.

Also in the Queen Anne tradition is the Girls' County High School in Broomfield Road, Chelmsford, designed by Chancellor & Son in 1906–7. This was a new foundation, and the secondary education of girls

Nineteenth-Century Architecture



Plate 3. The statue of Queen Victoria in Southend, of 'little artistic merit'. (Private collection.)

of the Victorian Society; he was among the first scholars to treat the nineteenth century as a serious subject for academic research, according it the same respect as the Italian Renaissance or the German Baroque. Even so, his coverage of Victorian architecture in the Essex volume of his

'a specially revolting brick and stone building'

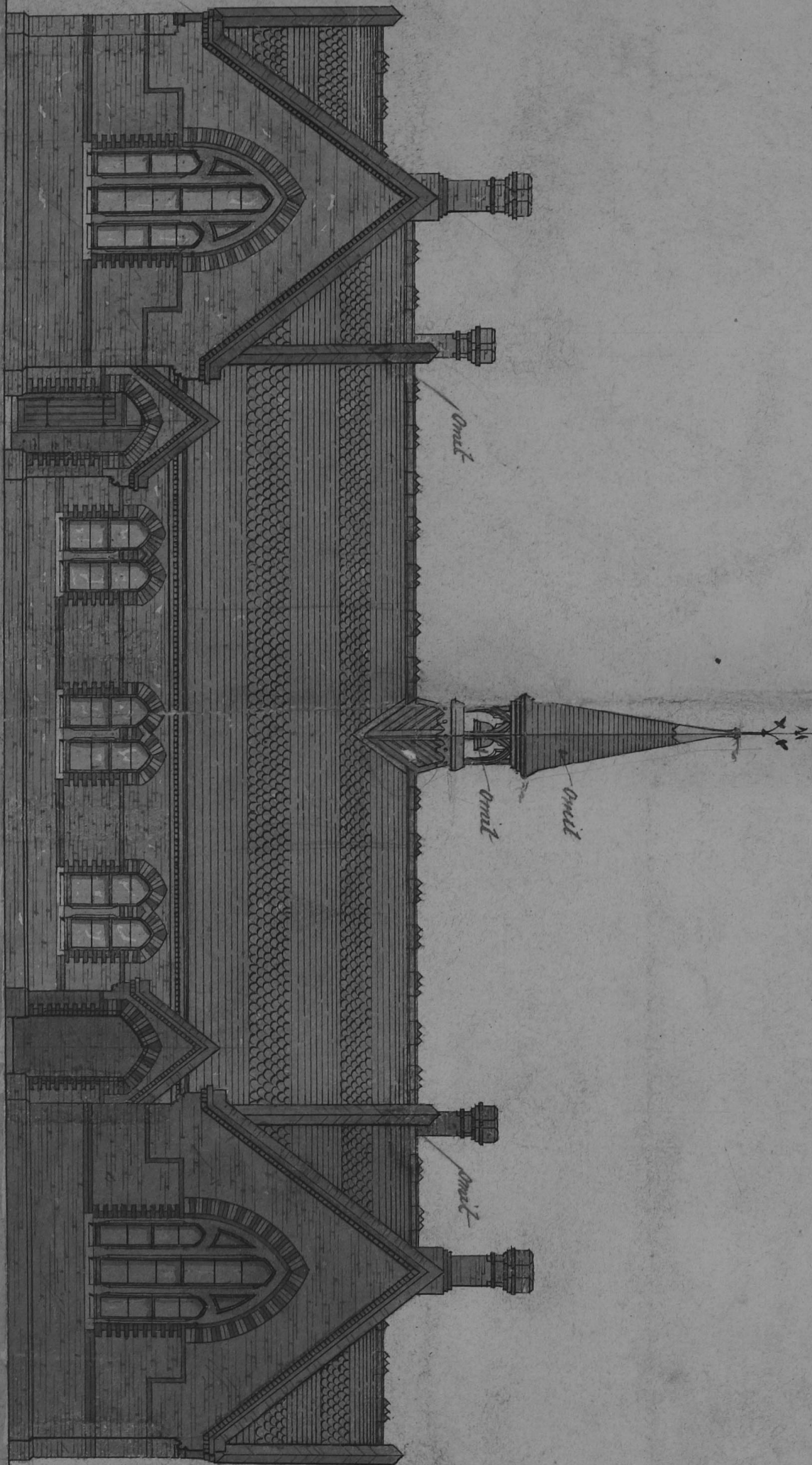
Buildings of England, published in 1954, is less than balanced.⁶ He liked domestic architecture of the later nineteenth century, such as Norman Shaw's work at Chigwell and W.E. Nesfield's at Loughton, and he appreciated good craftsmanship, such as the carving in T.H. Watson's Church of St Mary

the Virgin, also at Loughton. Generally speaking, he liked architects and designers whom he saw as precursors of Modernism, people like Voysey, who built a house called The Homestead at Frinton. But he had very little time for what is generally thought of as Victorian architecture, the rather fussy Gothic Revival and the wayward attempts to create a new style for the nineteenth century. For Pevsner these attempts reached their nadir in the 1860s. Stapleford Abbots church he described as 'hideous' (1862). Shenfield village school (1865) (Plate 4) he considered 'a specially revolting brick and stone building with a turret, but very typical of minor High Victorian work',⁷ and Brentwood Roman Catholic Cathedral (before its enlargement in the 1970s and rebuilding in the 80s) (Plate 5), he found to be 'of that assertive ugliness which is characteristic of much church work of the [eighteen] sixties'. What Pevsner

called William Burges's 'fabulously insensitive' remodelling of the east end of Waltham Abbey is now seen as a thoughtful solution to a difficult problem, pioneering an approach to inserting new work alongside old that became one of the main principles of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings.

Stapleford Abbots was a rebuilding of an existing church, what at the time would have been called a 'thorough' restoration. Generally, Pevsner either ignored nineteenth-century restorations, or mentioned them only to deplore them. The chancel windows at Castle Hedingham are 'sadly renewed', those at Lawford 'unfortunately renewed'. The unfavourable attitude towards nineteenth century work persists; the Friends of Essex Churches' *Guide to Essex Churches and Chapels*, published in 1996, talks of 'dogmatic and wholesale destruction of the church furnishings and décor of the preceding... centuries'. Even if one regrets the destruction of eighteenth-century furnishings in the nineteenth, just as much as one regrets the destruction of medieval furnishings at the time of the Reformation, that is no reason not to recognise the value of nineteenth-century furnishings in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and it is regrettable that so much good Victorian work is still under threat, and seen as an impediment to be removed rather than a fixture to be worked round.

This is not to say that the situation has not improved enormously in the last fifty years. It would now be unthinkable for St Nicholas's Church, Colchester, to be demolished, as it was in 1955; although St Erkenwald's in Southend was demolished as recently as 1995, in spite of strenuous efforts by the Victorian Society and others. The fate of one or two other prominent nineteenth-century buildings hangs in the balance: the Jumbo water tower in Colchester and S.S. Teulon's church at Birch are local landmarks, and it is hard



Notes

The facings to the Gables, and the string-course, and the arches in the Portals, for description see Specification. The cut tiles to Roofs to be omitted. The dark tint denotes Quaintness, see Plans.

FRONT
OR
SOUTH
ELEVATION

Plate 4. Sheffield village school. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, E/P 14/1.)

Nineteenth-Century Architecture



Plate 5. St Helen's Church, Brentwood, now the Roman Catholic Cathedral.
(Reproduced by courtesy of the Essex Record Office, I/Mb 52/1/21.)

to imagine the skyline without them, but Birch's spire will tumble down one day soon if some new use is not found for that building, and schemes for converting Jumbo to a stunning apartment come and go with the seasons. The wonderful chantry chapel at Thorndon Park, and Gaynes Park at Theydon Garnon, are among a number of nineteenth-century Essex buildings on the English Heritage 'Buildings at Risk' register.⁸ Severalls Hospital, Colchester, is the subject of a campaign by Save Britain's Heritage.

On the other hand, buildings are being converted and refurbished that once would undoubtedly have been demolished. The utterly ruinous Hillside House at Weeley by C.F. Hayward is in the process of being restored as part of a housing development. Some of the original buildings of Warley Hospital, Brentwood, have been retained as part of a large development called Clements Park. The Palace Hotel at

Southend has been brought back from the verge of collapse. The realisation that it is more environmentally sound to refurbish old buildings, rather than demolish and rebuild, may turn out to be the saviour of our nineteenth-century architectural heritage, rather than any appreciation of its artistic merits.

References

1. This is a shortened version of the Chelmsford Museum Annual Lecture given at the Cramphorn Theatre, Chelmsford, on 22nd February 2008.
2. Its replacement (as a public hall) is an utterly banal piece of commercial architecture, built in 1971-72. Chancellor must have turned in his grave when someone decided to name it after him.
3. See R. Costello, "'We could manage our parochial concerns much better by ourselves': some responses to proposed Poor Law Unions in Essex", *Essex Journal*, 44, II (2009), pp.45-51.

4. I am grateful to Maureen Scollan for this insight.
5. The original Halstead police station was still in use in 2009. Great Dunmow remained in use until 2008, and Castle Hedingham closed not long before that.
6. He himself said, in the foreword to the 1965 edition, 'I would include now in a new volume more Victorian churches than I did twelve or fifteen years ago'.
7. The turret was in fact added in 1893.
8. The Historic Chapels Trust announced in December 2008 that it was taking on Thorndon Park chapel.

The Author

James Bettley is an architectural historian. His revised edition of the Pevsner Architectural Guide to Essex was published in 2007 and he is now working on the Suffolk volume. He has lived in Essex since 1991.

Book Reviews

Geoffrey Ball,
**Land, Agriculture and Industry in
North-West Essex: Spotlights on a
Land Remembered,**
SWHS Publications, 2009, pp.[xii] & 85.
ISBN 978-1-873669-02-0, £7.50.

Enquiries to jacqueline.cooper@virgin.net.

This book is a collection of individual articles that were first published in the *Saffron Walden Historical Journal*. For those of us who did not read them first time round, this self-contained publication fulfils a very useful function. It is also interesting to read about agrarian responses in this open field landscape so different from my own familiar, enclosed countryside of mid-Essex. The author, Geoffrey Ball, has had a lifetime of agricultural experience which is demonstrated in the obvious mastery of his subject (his initial experience was picking potatoes during the war, a task this reviewer's father also undertook during days off from school). There are seven chapters ranging from an introduction to the subject, *Local Farming in a Bygone Age*, to individual studies of the Home Farm at Audley End, Horham Hall in Thaxted and Mitchells Farm in Little Walden. These are followed by a discussion of the floor malting industry, a proposed canal before a concluding chapter on the wool industry of the area.

The first chapter is a handy and concise introduction to the main themes of the last five or six hundred years. This time frame may seem large but agricultural change was slow for most of the period and the effort to survive great, perhaps 80% of farmers were living at subsistence levels in the sixteenth century. Change can't have come much more quickly than the lumbering plough teams of oxen, all 40 feet of them in length!

Chapter 2, *The Victorian Home Farm at Audley End*, is a fine summary of the goings on of one year, 1851. This 400 or so acre farm produced the usual cereal crops along with potatoes, mangels, other fodder crops and what I call 'green manures', clovers and rye. The power was supplied by 18 horses and we know their names; Boxer, Picture, Smiler, Sharper, Brag and so on. Then there were the men and boys who toiled in the fields and looked after the horses and the Jersey cows and Southdown sheep. The documentary evidence only records what was measurable – £.s.d., acres, bushels: we have to imagine the hard, slogging work that kept this enterprise going.

Chapter 3, *Horham Hall Farm, Thaxted 1807*, is a good example of the use of one documentary source, in this case a valuer's notebook, to illuminate one farm in time. Mary Buttle had died recently and her farm was subject to an inventory and valuation. Geoffrey Ball teases some interesting thoughts from the evidence such as the lot of a female farmer and the state of cheese-making in Essex at the time. This was particularly fascinating and would be worth further study to see if cheese production was equally important across the whole of Essex. In this case there were 238 cheeses worth £97 18s.1d. and with a possible combined weight of over two tons! Was this typical? Is it special?

This is the sort of research that must enthuse others to look further afield.

The history of Mitchells Farm is deftly handled and covers the period from medieval farming techniques to the United States Army Airforce whilst the next chapter, on the floor malting industry, reminds us of the importance of beer in the diet. Initially most beer was brewed locally but with the expansion of towns, especially London, there were opportunities to specialise in this industry on a large scale. Centred on Ware in Hertfordshire, this region, east Hertfordshire and north-west Essex, was able to

transport malt to London via the Lee Navigation. Discussion of barley and malting follow with special reference to the Saffron Walden area.

A concise chapter, *A Canal for Saffron Walden*, follows on nicely from that on malting. A direct water link to Ware would allow the maltsters and merchants of Saffron Walden a cheaper transport option for moving their produce to barges for onward transportation to London. As with many such schemes, and later railways, it came to nothing although it is always interesting to consider what might have been.

The final chapter, *The Wool Industry of North-west Essex*, is divided into three parts. An introduction reminds us of the importance of sheep to not only the local agrarian landscape but to the national economy whilst the second takes the story from 1349-1538, with the third part concluding in 1770. These are all fine, discussing sheep breeds, wool processing and the decline of the industry although I didn't find them as interesting as the proceeding chapters which had used much more primary, documentary research. Let that not detract, though, from the work that has obviously gone in to this section of the book. To round off there are *References*, *Bibliography* and a very useful *Index* which is much fuller than many I have seen in larger publications and is always a good indication of how well researched and presented a book is.

I have thoroughly enjoyed reading this book and congratulations to Geoffrey Ball. Throughout one is under no illusions to the hardship that faced our ancestors in an age of animal power, rather than mechanical horse power. Focussing on a region will hopefully stimulate others to undertake research into their own areas of the county. The illustrations are adequate, more so when the price of the book is considered. However it is a shame that more time and effort was not spent on producing some better-quality maps to accompany the text. A small quibble with such a worthwhile book, the first, we are told, in a series by the Saffron Walden Historical Society. I look forward to future publications from this vibrant group, they have set the standard!

Neil Wiffen

LAND, AGRICULTURE
AND INDUSTRY
IN NORTH-WEST ESSEX
Spotlights on a Land Remembered



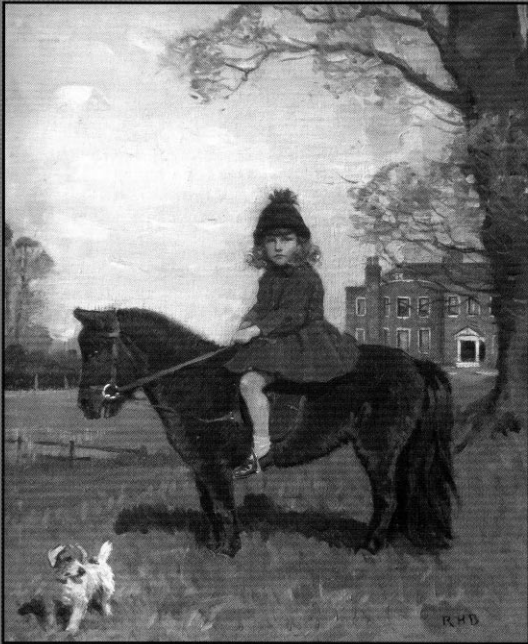
Geoffrey Ball

Book Reviews

Ariel Crittall,
My Life smilingly unravelled,
Braintree District Museum Trust Limited,
2009, pp.192, ISBN 978-0-9537936-3-1,
£12.00.

My Life

smilingly unravelled



Ariel Crittall

This book is the autobiography of Ariel Crittall, née Mercer, who was born in 1914 just 2 weeks after her father was killed in the First World War. Her late husband, John Crittall, was a Director of the family company of Crittall Windows, which became the country's largest manufacturer of metal windows and built the village of Silver End. This is not merely a history of the Crittall family and companies but of a life spanning nearly a century set in the context of national history. It combines personal memories

upon world events including politics, with a particular emphasis upon art, music, literature and journeys to many parts of the World.

Ariel is an accomplished artist in her own right and her enthusiasm for art is clearly apparent. She has recorded many anecdotes of her close association with a number of artists and of particular interest to Essex are details about her friendship with Eric and Tirzah Ravilious of Great Bardfield, Castle Hedingham and Shalford respectively, particularly surrounding the loss of Eric, a war artist, in 1942. (see *Essex Journal*, 44, I (2009), p.32.)

Readers of *Essex Journal* will undoubtedly be interested in Ariel's numerous connections with the County. Her maternal grandfather was William Tennant of Ugley Hall and she grew up at Orford House, Ugley. In 1936 Ariel Mercer married John Crittall at Thaxted Church and they had four children: Harriet, Francis, Charles and Laura who all made contributions to their mother's autobiography. The family lived happily at Pages in Shalford, Grove House in Sible Hedingham and finally at Park Hall, Great Bardfield. As already indicated, Ariel was a very talented amateur artist and it was at Sible Hedingham that she painted Hovis Mill her first successful picture. John and Ariel took active roles in education, health care, conservation and the arts.

Ariel was a Governor of Braintree High School later the Tabor High School (following its amalgamation with the Margaret Tabor Secondary School) for over 40 years and became Chairman. John was actively involved with Essex University for many years.

There is an interesting chapter upon John Crittall's war service as a Major in the Royal Engineers when he spent some time in Cairo and met, inter alia, Jim Richards (later Sir James Richards, editor of *The Architectural Review*) who became godfather to Charles Crittall. John Crittall later became a Deputy Lieutenant for Essex and made a CBE. He sadly died in 1980 leaving Ariel a widow for 30 years who continued her very active life. This has included travelling, painting and her friendship with Orlando Gearing.

Ariel frequently includes some very personal memories, which makes this a very human account. To quote her she has, 'smilingly unravelled the Gordian Knot of life', these words being included in a maxim instilled in her childhood. She later spent a year at an Art School in Munich and perhaps one of her most memorable moments was in 1933 at 18 years of age when she met Hitler and shook hands with him. In her words 'It was before one realised what an evil influence he would be'.

She was also acquainted with a number of other people of importance including the Mitford family, Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, Daisy Countess of Warwick and John Strachey. The Mitford family, particularly Lady Redesdale and two of her daughters, Diana and Unity, were introduced by her cousin Derek following which Ariel and Unity became tenuous friends. Ariel met, who was later to become Prince, Bernhard of the Netherlands at a Dance and they later went out for a drive together. On one occasion she was invited to a party at Easton Lodge by Daisy, Countess of Warwick. The Crittalls were friends with John and Celia Strachey, who also lived at Shalford, when John was Minister of Food in the Wartime Government. These are just a few of the many interesting friends and acquaintances made by Ariel during her long life.

On a personal note Ariel Crittall served with me as a Trustee of Braintree District Museum for many years. One evening she told me about her meeting with Hitler in 1933. There can be very few English women still alive today who actually shook hands with this tyrant. In 2004 Ariel was contemplating writing her autobiography and I urged her to do so. I realise that her meeting with Hitler was only a small part and a brief moment in her very long and interesting life. I am pleased that I and others encouraged her to write this amazing and informative autobiography of a full life and her association with many well known personalities. It is one of the most fascinating, readable and particularly well illustrated autobiographies of an Essex lady that has been published in recent years.

Although in my view the book would have benefited from the inclusion of family trees of the Tennant, Mercer and Crittall families, to assist the reader, this small omission does not really detract from this excellent volume, which I thoroughly commend to you.

Adrian Corder-Birch

Book Reviews

Ken Hoy,
A History of the Friends of Epping Forest 1969–2009,
Friends of Epping Forest, £4.95.

Available from Peg Bitten, 9 Frederica Road, E4 7AL,
T: 020 85298594
E: peganarri@talktalk.net

Epping Forest is one of the treasures of Essex, though it would not exist today but for the great struggle to save it from would-be enclosers in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The culmination of that struggle was the passage of the 1878 Epping Forest Act, which vested the care of the area in the hands of the Corporation of the City of London to keep it 'unenclosed and unbuilt on as an open space for the recreation and enjoyment of the public'.

At that time, the Forest was very run down and dilapidated, and it is greatly to the credit of the Corporation that it was so well restored and thereafter maintained. However, as time passed, many local people felt that they were denied any say in the policies pursued. In 1969, a number of them came together to form the Friends of Epping Forest, to generate their own input. Ever since, the organisation has reflected, mobilised and projected the concerns, ideas and hopes of Forest lovers and local organisations on Forest issues.

Ken Hoy, who helped to form the group and served as one of its principal officers for forty years, has now set out the record of its work and its many positive achievements in this excellent little book.

The Forest has been continually threatened by proposals for road improvements. The M11, the M25, the A406 (North Circular) would have been the cause of irreparable damage if developed as originally planned. Excessive horse riding, the extension of golf courses, the expansion of cattle grazing and continual planning applications are among the many problems which have worried the local population.

On all these issues and many others, the Friends have projected their views to the Corporation. In a considerable number of instances they have backed and supported Corporation policies, but in others they have sought to modify or change them.

Everyone who cares about the Forest should read this book. It details the defence and support of part of our Essex heritage. A consciousness of what we owe to the endeavours of previous generations may awaken us to our present responsibilities if those who come after us are to continue to enjoy what we have inherited.

Stan Newens



George & Brenda Jago,
Working towards Foulness: the life and work of an Essex family of farmworkers over three centuries, published by the authors, 2009, pp.iii & 199,
ISBN 978-0-9538593-4-4, £15.00.

The authors traced the history of eight generations of the Webb family, from whom one of them is descended. Once they had established the basic family tree, they faced a problem all too familiar to genealogists whose ancestors came from humble origins and who – apart from their main life events – left little or no trace on archive records. They have tackled this problem in an impressive and commendable fashion, not only by making the maximum possible use of a wide range of available archives, but also by looking into the general historical background of Essex agricultural life for each of the eight generations of Webbs.

The book is very well referenced and will be most helpful to anyone else struggling to overcome the paucity of information about their ancestors. For the more general historian, it provides a useful insight into how the life and work of an agricultural labourer evolved over three centuries, and a reminder of the sheer relentless physical labour that was required to keep the nation fed before the advent of mechanisation. The sections on Foulness are particularly interesting, and it is easy to forget the remoteness of this island until the construction of the Havengore Bridge by the War Office in 1922. One example will suffice; in 1908 Fred Webb lost his forearm in a chaff cutter, and had to wait many hours for

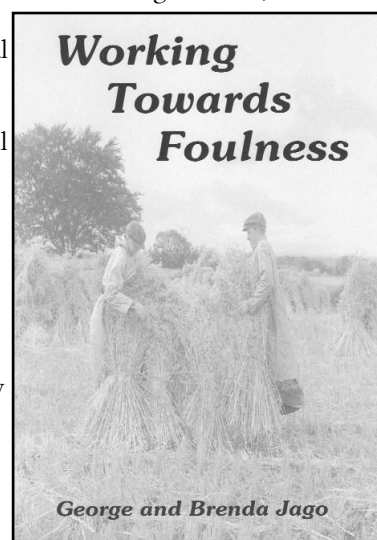
the tide to go out before he could be taken along the off-shore Broomway to the mainland to be seen by a surgeon.

Agricultural produce had to be transported by wherry, but taking horses off the island was more complicated. These animals had to be persuaded to swim across to Wallasea Island (following an experienced 'lead' horse) and then carried on the Creaksea horse ferry, a large boat rowed by two or three men. The experience must have been equally alarming for man and beast. Agriculture, horse breeding and manning the wherries were the principal occupations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and this book provides a useful record (some gleaned from elderly residents interviewed by the Jagos) of forgotten skills, such as how to lay out a field before ploughing by horse.

The book is very well illustrated. Though the quality of some of the photographs is poor (a fact acknowledged by the authors) they enhance the text and provide a very atmospheric accompaniment.

The authors are to be highly commended for the considerable amount of research that they have undertaken, for presenting it in such a lively and readable form, and for their generosity in donating the profits from sales to the Foulness Heritage Centre.

Michael Leach



Christine Carpenter, general editor,
**Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
(New Series),**
Volume XXV 1437-1442, Claire Noble ed.,
pp.802, ISBN 978-1-84383-481-6,
and
Volume XXVI 1442-1447, M L Holford ed.,
pp.614, ISBN 978-1-84383-479-3,
Boydell & Brewer, 2009, £175.00 per volume.

Jointly sponsored by the University of Cambridge and The National Archives, these latest two volumes in the New Series are the enlightened continuation of a publication programme which began in 1904. The published calendars of *Inquisitions Post Mortem* (for the whole of England), so far cover the period 1236-1447 and will possibly run to 1660 (the year that feudal tenures were abolished). Funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, and under the general editorship of Professor Christine Carpenter, volumes XXV and XXVI are remarkable for the quantity of information they contain and for their ease of use. They are a triumph of accuracy, concision and clarity; the individual editors are to be congratulated on their immaculate scholarship. Like the *Victoria County History* for Essex, the 26 volumes of inquisitions post mortem have, in the course of a century of publication, provided a rich source of information for local and family historians.

‘William Colyn, aged 60, was in the church at the time of the baptism, and brought water from a spring in a small bucket, for the godfathers to wash their hands before leaving the church’

IPM, 26, p.204.

Inquisitions post mortems (IPMs) are the records of inquiries conducted by escheators, in whose counties the estates of deceased tenants-in-chief who held land directly from the Crown were located. Following the tenant's death, the land reverted to the Crown whilst the claims of the heir or heirs were investigated. The escheator's inquest took the form of a locally convened panel of jurors who determined the date of death, details of the heir(s), and a description or survey of the land held from the Crown by the deceased. If the heir was a minor at the date of death, a proof of age inquest was held at a later date in order that the heir could prove that he or she had reached the age of majority and could thus take possession of the estate.

For everyone interested in Essex local history these volumes will undoubtedly prove worth consulting. For example, descriptions of manorial estates are sometimes given in considerable detail, occasionally as full surveys and valuations. In the case of the Markesale family of Markshall and the Boxsted family of Boxted, the descent of their estates can be followed from the late twelfth

to the mid fifteenth centuries. In parallel with details of estates there is much genealogical information contained in the IPMs which will be of interest to family historians who wish to progress from parish registers to medieval records. Take a look at the entry for John Teye, esquire, of Marks Tey (died 10 November 1440) as an example of the data available in the IPMs.

Entry 447 in volume XXV (pp394-398) is very specific. Taken at Colchester on 9th May 1441 it describes the lands and estates that John Teye held; including the manors of Marks Tey, Birch Holt, Mose Hall and Ardleigh Hall. The entry for latter is especially detailed listing, for example, 200 acres of land (each acre worth 2d. yearly); 8 acres meadow (worth 16d. an acre); 50 acres coppice-wood (5 acres of which may be cut seasonably each year, each acre of the 5 acres then worth 6s. 8d. yearly) and so on. The possibilities for research are endless.

From this reviewer's point of view, the proof of age inquest relating to John, son of Thomas Torell, is of particular interest. Not only does it shed light on medieval baptismal practices, but it also provides useful genealogical information about the Torell and Tyrell families as well as incidental information about Heron Hall and All Saints Church in East Horndon where the heir to the Torell estates was baptised on the day of his birth, 15th October 1423 (entry 351 in volume 26, pp.203-204).

It is the illuminating and personal minutiae of such entries that probably bring us as close to our medieval ancestors as we can ever get. We discover that the jurors swore that John Torrell was aged 21 and more on the day of the inquisition because they attended or knew of his baptism. John Elkyn, aged 50, was in the church during the baptism and provided water from a silver basin and ewer for John Tirell, godfather, to wash his hands. Meanwhile John Clement, aged 60, was commanded to carry cloths of linen and silk to Heron to wrap the child in whilst John Elyot, 63, gave the lady Katherine, the mother, six pheasants to congratulate her on the day of the baptism. Such is the richness of detail awaiting discovery in these two volumes.

The indexes to these volumes are invaluable; there are separate indexes of jurors, personal names, places and subjects. Dates have been converted to present-day form and place-names modernized. The publication of the IPMs as expensive printed calendars raises an interesting question: are they really necessary when the information they contain could simply be accessed digitally? The answer will be apparent to anyone who uses these volumes, whether on a frequent or occasional basis and fortunately for us that wonderful resource for historians, the Essex Record Office, has purchased them for all to access for free in the Searchroom at Wharf Road.

Christopher Starr

Your Book Reviewers are:

Dr Michael Leach, a retired GP with a lifelong interest in regional and local history is Honorary Secretary of the Essex Society for Archaeology and History.

Dr Christopher Starr, is Project Officer for the Manorial Documents Register for Essex and Honorary Editor of *Essex Archaeology and History*. He is the author of *Medieval Mercenary*, published by the ERO.

Adrian Corder-Birch, Stan Newens and Neil Wiffen are members of the *Essex Journal* Editorial Board

EJ 20 Questions? Noel Beer

Noel Beer, was born in Barnstaple, Devon, in 1933. After three years National Service in the army, and having undertaken a first degree at Manchester, he moved to the midlands before arriving in Essex in 1963, moving to Rayleigh in 1972. Noel worked in further and higher education at Danbury Park, 1970-83, after which he became a self-employed management consultant. He gained a PGCE at London, an MA at Leeds and the Certificate in Local History at Essex University. Upon retirement in 1999 he wrote the first in series of pamphlets on various aspects of Rayleigh history. He has always enjoyed sport and played county rugby for both Devon and Staffordshire. He married in 1961 and has two daughters.

1. What is your favourite historical period?

Late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but Tudor England is growing on me.

2. Tell us what Essex means to you?

It is a welcoming county, which is full of energy and enterprise. South east Essex is blessed with sunshine.

3. What historical mystery would you most like to know?

A very parochial one. What was the location of the Rayleigh vineyard mentioned in Domesday?

4. My favourite history book is...

Anything by Sir Arthur Bryant. Perhaps not vet analytical, but deceptively powerful.

5. What is your favourite place in Essex?

The cliff tops at Westcliff. With a mixture of cloud and sunshine the estuary views change by the minute.

6. How do you relax? I paint in watercolours, indoors and at a leisurely pace. I also relax by theatre-going, reading poetry and visiting art galleries.

watching timber being
unloaded from sailing ships

7. What are you researching at the moment?

Rayleigh in Tudor times.

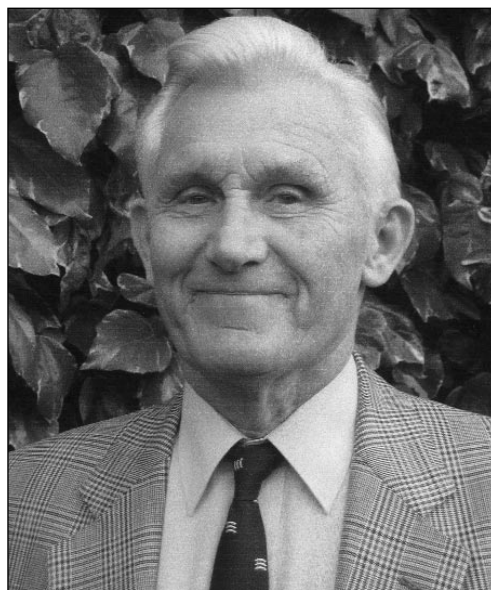
8. My earliest memory is... With my grandfather, watching timber being unloaded from sailing ships at Barnstaple quayside.

9. What is your favourite song/piece of music and why?

My taste is eclectic, ranging from classical to Gilbert and Sullivan to trad jazz. If pushed to name one piece it has to be Elgar's *Land of Hope and Glory*.

10. If you could travel back in time which event would you change?

Too many to mention. Hindsight is a wonderful thing.



(Photograph courtesy of J. Beer.)

11. Which four people from the past would you invite to dinner?

A Holy Trinity, Rayleigh, churchwarden from each of 1550, 1650, 1750 and 1850 and just let them chat and compare their roles and their lives in the town.

12. What is your favourite food? I'm vegetarian, so anything with fresh salad and fresh fruit.

13. The history book I am currently reading is...

Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* and Anna Whitelock, *Mary Tudor: England's First Queen*.

14. What is your favourite quote from history?

Most of Winston Churchill's Second World War utterances, which were inspirational at the time, especially his recognition of 'The Few'.

15. Favourite historical film? *Henry V*. The Olivier version.

16. What is your favourite building in Essex?

Southend pier. It is not very picturesque these days, but it has a fascinating history. The views from the pier head (in all directions) are amazing on a clear morning.

17. What past event would you like to have seen?

The Armada victory, looking over Drake's shoulder on the deck of the *Revenge*.

18. How would you like to be remembered?

As a caring husband and father.

19. Who inspires you to read or write or research history?

Curiosity is the inspiration to read. These days the inspiration to write comes from those lovely, local people who want to know when my next pamphlet will be available.

20. Most memorable historical date?

6th June 1944 - D-Day.



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