

# CHAPTER 6 THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE c 1275 TO 1818

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This chapter is divided into two parts. The first is a narrative account, the sources for which are extensively discussed in the notes. The second part consists of transcriptions of a number of the major documents, though the most important source, the suppression inventory, is printed with part 1. A list of the documents transcribed on microfiche may be found in the contents list.

fig 3

Responsibility for the text is divided between the joint authors as follows: parts 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 were written by Rob Poulton and parts 1.4 and 2 prepared by Shirley Corke. We have, however, discussed all aspects of the chapter and only on rare occasions agreed to differ.

## 1 Narrative

### 1.1 FOUNDATION AND EARLY HISTORY

fig 1

The plan of medieval Guildford may well have largely originated in the 10th century, as part of a re-organisation of the defences of Wessex.<sup>1</sup> Whatever its exact date or origin the line of the North Town Ditch (now marked by North Street) is certain to have been amongst the earliest elements of the town plan. The excavated site lay, therefore, outside the town and it is not surprising that documentary sources tell us nothing of the site before the Friary was built.

The earliest reference to the Dominican Friary is in March 1275 when Edward I granted a way between Guildford and the Royal Park to be enclosed to enlarge the friars' grounds.<sup>2</sup> In October 1274, Edward's son, Prince Henry, had died at Guildford Castle while accompanied by his grandmother, Eleanor of Provence. No mention is made of Dominican friars in the fairly detailed accounts which survive of his last illness and death.<sup>3</sup> Despite this, we know firstly that the heart of Prince Henry was lodged in the Guildford Priory<sup>4</sup> and secondly that Eleanor of Provence was regarded as their 'first fundryse'.<sup>5</sup> From these facts, the argument has been advanced<sup>6</sup> and generally accepted<sup>7,8</sup> that the Friary was founded late in 1274 or early in 1275 by Queen Eleanor in remembrance of her grandson. The argument is generally a sound one<sup>9</sup> though the rapidity with which events moved, leading to enlargement of their grounds within six months, seems remarkable. One possible solution is that the area had already been laid out, perhaps in connection with the friars *de Ordine Martyrum*, known to have been in Guildford in 1260 but otherwise without record.<sup>10,11</sup>

ch 7: 1

Royal patronage was important to the Friary throughout its lifetime and especially so during its early history. Gifts of timber, firewood and money were made.<sup>12</sup> An incidental effect of the gifts of money in the early period is that it enables the number of friars in residence to be computed since they were normally made at a rate of 4d per friar per day for food. The number varies between 12 and 24 with an average of 17. Of the 43 other Dominican friaries for which figures are reliably known, only four are smaller in numbers.<sup>13</sup> As late as October 1537, Henry VIII granted an annuity of 20 marks to the Guildford Blackfriars.<sup>14</sup> In return for their generosity royalty, however, frequently made use of the Friary for short stays. We may take as examples the story of Henry IV in 1403 when he gave the friars 40s to pay for the damage caused by the royal party<sup>15</sup> and the event in 1534 when a treaty with Scotland was ratified there.<sup>16</sup> On one occasion also, royal influence nearly proved disastrous for the Friary when Edward II requested the Pope's permission to change Guildford into a convent of Dominican sisters, without success.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, despite these royal connections, it was clearly at a local level that the Priory was important. The local gentry and well-to-do supported the Friary as the Obituary Kalendar<sup>18</sup> and many wills<sup>19</sup> make clear. In return, amongst their religious activities, the friars buried the dead and prayed for their souls.<sup>20</sup>

It seems probable that the friars would have had a high standing in the community but the evidence is sufficient to give only slight indications of this. For example, they seem to have had close contacts with Guildford's Free School (later Royal Grammar School) in its earliest days, being named in the trust deed of 1512 endowing the school<sup>21</sup> and having the duty to say 'Vigils nine . . . and a Requiem Mass . . . yearly for ever' for Robert Bekyngnam, the founder of the original Free School.<sup>22</sup> Also, on at least one occasion, the Friary was used for a meeting of the Guild Merchant at which the mayor was elected.<sup>23</sup> However, of their routine work in the community, we know nothing.

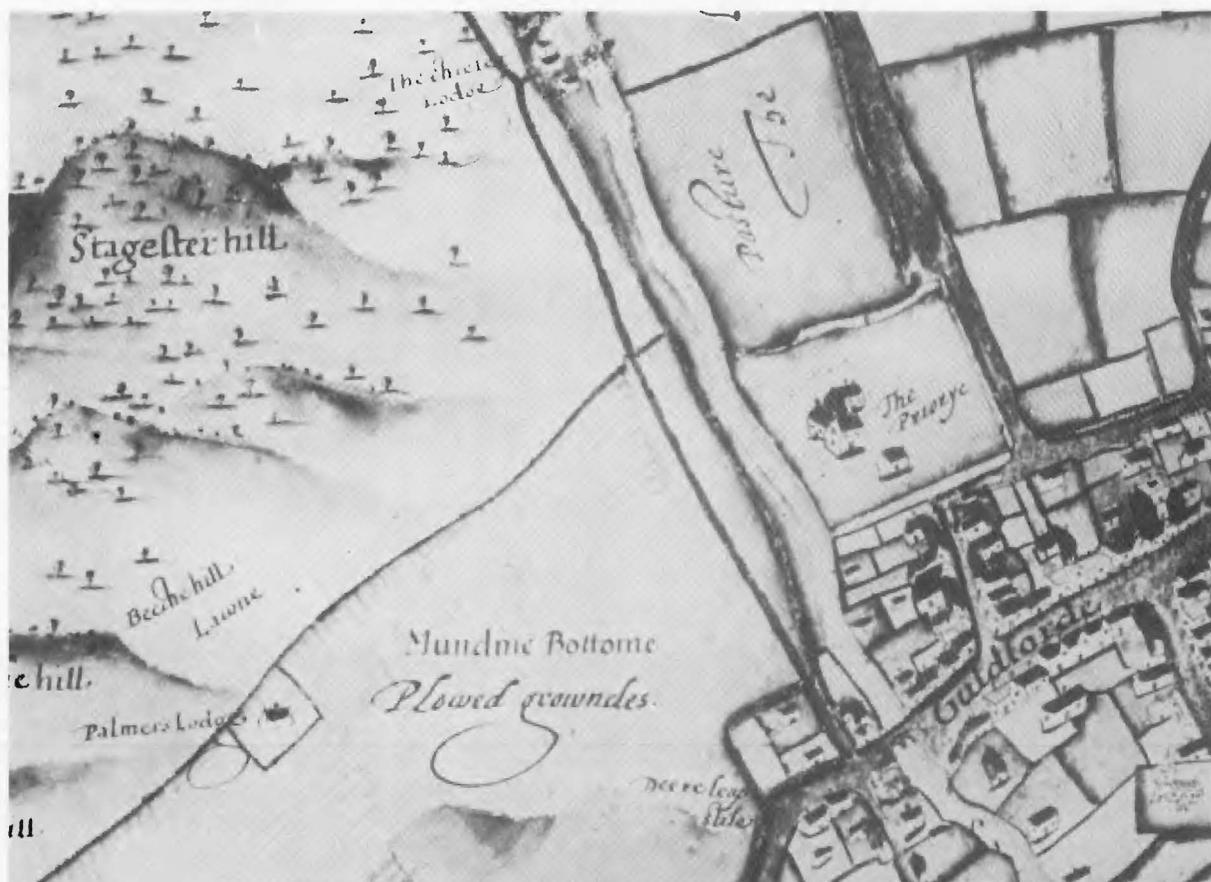


Plate 3 Part of Norden's map of Windsor Forest showing the Friary precinct and its surrounds in 1607.

## 1.2 SETTING AND APPEARANCE OF THE FRIARY

Fig 24 attempts a reconstruction of the Friary and its precincts primarily based on documentary and cartographic evidence. The evidence from which it has been constructed is varied and the different elements shown are discussed in turn below.

The boundaries of the Friary are noted in a number of documents in terms similar to the following:

'... betwene the strete ther called the Fryar Lane and the messuage and garden of the heires of Thomas Snelling deceased on the south part and the kinges highway leding from the saide strete to the kinges highway called the North Towne dich of Guildeforde aforesaid on the south part East and another waie leding from the saide North Towne dich towards Woodbridge on the Easte parte and a parcell of land and pasture called the Lee on the North part and the river called the water of Wey on the West part' (April 1606).<sup>24</sup>

Elsewhere the Lea (or Leas) is said to be by estimation seventeen acres and two roods (1778)<sup>25</sup> while the 'circuits of the Freers is invyroned w<sup>th</sup> a wall conteyninge (as I gesse) about VII or VIII acres' (1587).<sup>26</sup>

pl 3  
pl 5  
These boundaries should be compared with our earliest surviving map, Norden's map of Windsor Forest which included Guildford Park, dated 1607.<sup>27</sup> On this, all the details of the boundaries, as written, can be clearly discerned. Furthermore, translating these to Richardson's map they are clearly in close agreement with the boundaries there. The size of the Friary precincts is about 10 acres, while the most southerly of the fields called the Leas on Norden's map would be about 17 acres. This strongly suggests a continuity of the pre-dissolution boundaries for some 300 years thereafter.

Two entrances to the Friary from Woodbridge Road are indicated on Norden's map. The more southerly of these was presumably the main entrance, and it is of some interest that it lies close to, perhaps just outside, the 'bounds of the corporation' as marked on Richardson's 1748 map. Though this is our first record of the bounds in the friary grounds, it seems to preserve a much earlier arrangement, since these bounds are unrelated either to the layout of the Friary Mansion or, by implication, the Dominican conventual site, which suggests that they were so defined before 1275.<sup>28</sup> If so, then the entrance to the Friary may have been deliberately sited to emphasise its separation from the town. No entrance from Friary Street through the south wall is indicated by Norden, and this should preclude identification of the detached building, south of

TABLE 1 – FRIARY BUILDINGS AS INDICATED BY DOCUMENTS

MODERN NAME <sup>1</sup>	1538 <sup>2</sup>	c 1573–80 <sup>3</sup>	1605 <sup>4</sup>
CHOIR	High altar with reredos; Stalls, organ loft, 2 organs; Steeple, 2 bells, loft beneath.	XXX	XXX
CHANCERY CHAPEL	PROPER CHAPEL	XXX	XXX
NAVE	THE 3 Altars. CHURCH Various seats.	XXX	XXX
VESTRY/ SACRISTY	VESTRY	XXX	XXX
GREAT KITCHEN	GREAT 2 great chimneys. KITCHEN An inner house	1 ROOF + 1 FLOOR 60 × 30 ft <sup>5</sup>	GREAT KITCHEN mostly collapsed
PASSAGEWAY (?)	ENTRY between the kitchens	XXX	ENTREIS adjoining
LITTLE KITCHEN	LITTLE KITCHEN	XXX <sup>6</sup>	PRIVIE KITCHEN
BAKEHOUSE	PASTRY	HALLPLACE ROOF + FLOOR 21 × 21 ft <sup>7</sup>	A little ruinous room on the north-west side
HALL with DORMITORY over	XXX	1 FLOOR + 1 STOREY 62 × 26 (?16) ft <sup>8</sup>	the old decayed HALL
?PARLOUR and ?VESTRY	XXX XXX	1 ROOF 62 ft <sup>9</sup> and FLOOR 30 ft × 28 ft <sup>8</sup>	A decayed room now called the hall & the inner room adjoining
CHAPTER HOUSE	XXX	1 ROOF and FLOOR 37 × 21 ft	A decayed room sometimes called the GREAT CHAMBER
HUNTING LODGE	The KING'S LODGING <sup>9</sup>	The QUEEN'S LODGINGS, 2 storeys 62 × 20 ft. Utterly Spoiled	BRICK LODGING a decayed room

1. The correlations and suggested identifications are necessarily tentative.
2. Suppression Inventory – see fig 3.
3. PRO 12/185 no 95. See ch.6:1.4 and note 61.
4. PRO E 178 4601. 4th document of 4 sewn together.
5. These closely similar dimensions suggest 3 sides of the cloister, the church having already been demolished.
6. This apparent absence of the little kitchen from the 1585 account is hard to explain.

7. It is suggested that this room is on the corner of the kitchen and the hall complexes. Consequently if it ceased to have its original function of a bakehouse it could easily become an anteroom to the hall.
8. The floor may have been shorter than the roof because the chapter-house broke the symmetry and was differently floored.
9. The text could mean either a building or an act, though the context makes the former more likely.

table 1 the main complex, as a gatehouse.<sup>29</sup> The buildings mapped do not agree with the description of 1605 and very probably show new buildings of 1606,<sup>30</sup> and not the remains of the Dominican Friary, as has previously been believed.<sup>31</sup>

The walls around the Friary, clearly marked on Norden's map, were presumably of considerable size since, in 1606, Sir George More was given permission to pull down 'the wall that do inclose the little plot of ground called the churchyard . . . [but to leave] eight fote . . . in high or more';<sup>32</sup> the boundary walls were surely equally large, or larger. While walls surrounded the friars on three sides, on the fourth the Wey was not only a boundary, but an amenity; 'A fyne River . . . full of good fish'.<sup>33</sup> Their water supply came, though, from a well.<sup>34</sup> There is no evidence to support the suggestion<sup>35</sup> that the Priory utilised the source (later used in the Friary Mansion)<sup>36</sup> in Fox and Den field; Burleigh's request (1591) 'I pray you cause ye height of a spryng to be taken . . . north-east fro' the Freary house'<sup>37</sup> suggests that it had not previously been used.

Table 1 summarises the major pieces of written evidence for the buildings of the Guildford Priory. The most important document, the suppression inventory, is reproduced in fig 48.<sup>38</sup> On the basis of that evidence, it would be possible to produce a reasonably detailed plan of the Friary. The relative position of the church and cloisters can be deduced from the likelihood that friars would place the church on the side of the cloisters nearest to the town.<sup>39</sup> The size of the complex is given by the 1585 survey which clearly indicates the three surviving sides of the cloisters (the church having already been demolished). The exact position of the convent cannot be deduced, though a reasonable surmise would associate it closely with the 17th century mansion.<sup>40</sup> Details of architectural style or the sequence of building are not indicated, though against that can be set the wealth of evidence for internal decoration and structure.

fig 3

### 1.3 DECAY AND DISSOLUTION

There are a number of indications in the early 16th century that the friars had fallen upon hard times. Only seven of them remained at the dissolution<sup>41</sup> and it had earlier been observed (in a letter to Cromwell) that 'the Freres is but a little house, and will be sore pestred at the king's being there'<sup>42</sup> though they had housed the King often enough in the past. Most famously though, their poverty is demonstrated in their own words:

[The friars] havng no londys Rents nother tenementys <sup>43</sup> for the mayntenace of theyr sayd hows and co'vent but lyvyth by charyte and almes of all true crysten people the wiche charyte



The blacke freers of Gilforde

This indenture makith mencyon of all the stuffe remainyng in the howse of the blackefreerys in gilforde receyveyd by the lorde visitor under the lorde privey seale and delyvered to iohn dabarne meyer th[er] and to daniel mugge to see and order to the kingis use with the howse and all the appertenances till the kingis plesure be further knowen

The quere

Item at the hey altar at feyer tabill of alabaster  
Item at the endis of the altar tabillys peyntid with ymagery  
Item a tabernakill over the altar with an ymage of ovr lady  
Item before the aulter a clothe hanging of clothe of baderkin with a frontlyt motly velvit  
Item an auter clothe on the altar  
Item a canapey over the sacrament  
at eche of the altar[s?] a frame for an altar  
Item ii gret candelstickis of laten  
Item a feyer egill for a lecturne laten  
Item feyer stallys well sileid with an orgeyne lofte  
Item a peyer of orgaynys  
Item ii pore letternys tymber  
Item a tumbe with a marbill stone on the north side of the quere  
Item under the stepill a feyer lofte under yt a stalle  
Item in the stepill ii bellys a gret and a small

The churche

Item a proper chapell sileid with a tabill alabaster on the altar  
Item a feyer deske with in the partclose  
Item ii setis to knele before the altar  
Item ii other auters in the chirche with in the partclose with tabillys allabaster  
before eche altar a feyer sete with in the partclose and ii setis to kaele before eche altar  
Item a tumbe of marbill and a feyer candelbeme newe with owt the partclose  
Item iii tabillys allabaster on iii frameis for aulterys ii pueis with diverse other setis

The vestrey

Item ii feyer framys for vestmentis with allmerys and a borde to laye on vestments  
Item the uppar part of the sepulcre woode  
The gret kechin  
Item a gret leade in a furnas  
Item ii gret chymneis with rackes to rost  
Item ii chopping bordis and in the enner howse a cesterne of leade to water barly  
The entre betwixe bothe kechinnes  
Item ii setis framys to sett on  
The litill kechin  
Item ii frameis of leade to water fische  
Item dressing bordis  
The pastre  
Item a gret bolting hoche  
Item a gret trowe to knede in with a borde over yt  
Item ii molding bordis an old trowe under  
Item in the ynner howse a hotche for brede  
Item a gret chopping borde  
Item an other small borde and a planke with rackes of wood to hange flesche  
In the yarde

Item a feyer well with buckitt and chenys to drawe water

Beside this because ther was gret clamor for dettis the which drewe [far ?] above £10 wherfor all the stuffe of the vestre the which was very pore was sold for vii shillings and x shillings the which was all owing abroad beside the bretherne and servants for heis payement all the stuffe of the kechin and buttrey with ii candelstickis of the quere with the pore bedding was all sold and the holl money payed excepte xvi shillings viiid the which payde the visitorys costis; and thus the visitor chargeid sir william cobden lately prior that with the kingis loging with all suche implementis as he before was \*chargeid with by the kingis officerys, and beside that they gave to the seid sir william cobden x platerys vi discheis and iiij sawcerys the which war markid with the kingis marke to depe the seide vessell with the login and appertenances till the kingis plesure be further knowen; and the seid visitor hath with him to the kingis use in plate broke and holl xx unc. and v unc. and thus he departed

by me iohn daborn mayer

by me daniell mugge

Fig. 3 The Suppression Inventory: a reproduction and transcription. PRO E36/115. *The reproduction and transcription of Crown copyright records is by permission of the controller of HM Stationery Office.*

and almys we Receave not so plantefull as we have yn tyme passyd wherthrough the sayd place hath susteyned great scarcyte and penury as well often tymes wantyng towarde their bodely sustentacyon as yn mayntena'ce of theyr Ruyno' house and buyldyng.<sup>44</sup>

The same document goes on to refer to a 'House of Honour' established by Henry VIII there, and the difficulty the friars were having in completing the gardens and associated works. This suggests that the building was relatively recent, and is, therefore, probably the same as the 'new buyldyng' for which '35 loads of tymber [were] caryed into the freyers at Guldeford',<sup>45</sup> in 1528.<sup>46</sup> This is perhaps a warning against taking the friars' complaints too literally. What decline there was at Guildford was probably no worse than the general decline in resources and numbers in religious houses at this period.

The friars' appeal was made in 1537. Though its outcome was successful,<sup>44</sup> only a short while later, on 10 October 1538, the house was surrendered to the king. An inventory was compiled of 'all the stuffe' in the Friary, which indicates that, though it may have been of pleasing appearance (the word 'fair' is frequently used about items), it was far from wealthy. Certain items noted as possessions of the Friary in the Obituary Kalendar, for example a silver cup,<sup>47</sup> do not appear in the inventory. They may already have been sold to pay debts or maintain the friars.<sup>48</sup> Of the fate of the friars after the dissolution we know nothing.<sup>49</sup>

#### 1.4 AFTER THE DISSOLUTION

Documentary evidence for the period 1538-1605 is both sparse and difficult to interpret. As no grant or lease of the site is known to have been made, the Friary remained in the hands of the crown.<sup>50</sup> When the church was demolished the components were presumably used within the precinct. This could have been in repairs to the 'House of Honour' which Henry VIII had built in the grounds before the dissolution for his 'hye pleasure', though this was possibly a relatively impermanent pavilion or banquetting house.<sup>51</sup> Alternatively, the building materials went to make a habitable dwelling out of those parts of the Dominicans' buildings that were still in comparatively good repair in 1573-80,<sup>61</sup> and in existence, though ruinous, in 1605.<sup>74</sup> In 1549, the old friary buildings were known as the 'King's Place', and were reached by the Friary Causey (or causeway), the alley later known as Friary Street.<sup>52</sup> The distinction between the smallish royal property of the Friary and Lees and the adjoining 1620 acres of Guildford Park<sup>53</sup> became blurred with the passage of time. For three-quarters of a mile they were separated only by the river Wey and, by 1605, even the Keeper of the Park was uncertain about his boundary.<sup>54</sup> Norden's map shows an otherwise unrecorded bridge uniting 'leas' on both sides of the river.

pl 3

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the Keeper of the Park was Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague, who had been appointed by Queen Mary.<sup>55</sup> In between royal visits, for which the manor house in Guildford Park had to be specially prepared for the queen (1567, 1569, 1576, 1583, 1591)<sup>56</sup> he lent 'the Queen's Majesty's house in my keeping'.<sup>57</sup> In 1575, his son was there and, in October 1582, he offered it as a refuge to Sir William More when there was sickness at Losely.<sup>58</sup> He was living there himself in 1565 and 1577.<sup>59</sup> The Friary House was apparently treated in the same manner: within his gift as long as the queen did not need it. In 1573 he made a grant of the Friary, including the precinct, 'about 7 or 8 acres within the wall' to William Coldham for his lifetime. Coldham was about to marry a cousin of Viscount Montague's.<sup>60</sup> A description of the state of the friary buildings from about this time shows that parts were almost, if not completely, habitable.<sup>61</sup> However it is unlikely that the Coldhams themselves lived in the Friary. When William More consulted Viscount Montague in 1587 about a plan he had for the Friary, there is no mention of how it would affect the Coldhams' convenience, only their 'interest'.<sup>62</sup>

Burial entries in the register of St Mary's, Guildford, provide the names of some of the people who were living there, presumably as tenants of William Coldham. 'Henry Adames, minister of the word of God dwelling at the Freyers' was buried on 11 December 1580, and on 23 December 1581, John King, sherman. Ten years later on 23 May 1591, the burial of Constance, wife of John Whitmore 'out of the Queen's Place' is recorded.<sup>63</sup> John Whitmore was still there in 1596 when he paid £6 13s 4d as arrears of rent due for the Friary; in future he was to answer for 40s. per annum.<sup>64</sup> It seems likely that John and Constance Whitmore were living in the Friary from at least 1583, when their son John was christened in St Mary's (30 June). A second son, Rice, was christened in 1587 (18 June). They must certainly have been in occupation in August 1591 when Lord Burghley, passing with the queen, showed interest in the possibility of a new building, to the extent that he himself sketched a 'rude trick'.<sup>65</sup>

A rapid deterioration of the buildings in the years between 1596 and 1605 would not be surprising. The deaths of Lord Montague in 1592 and Sir William More in 1600 removed any close supervision, and Sir Thomas Gorges, who succeeded Viscount Montague as Keeper, was

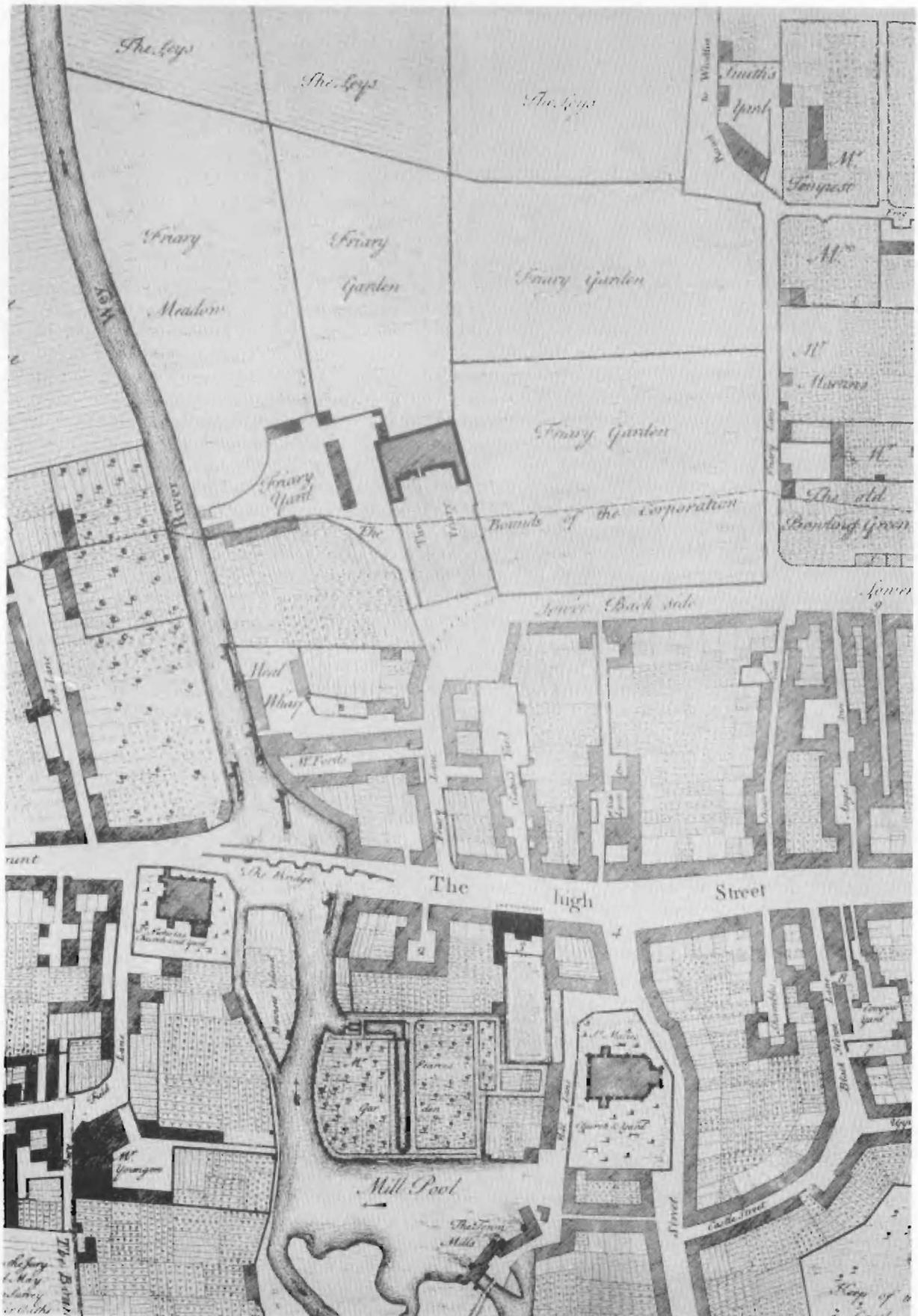
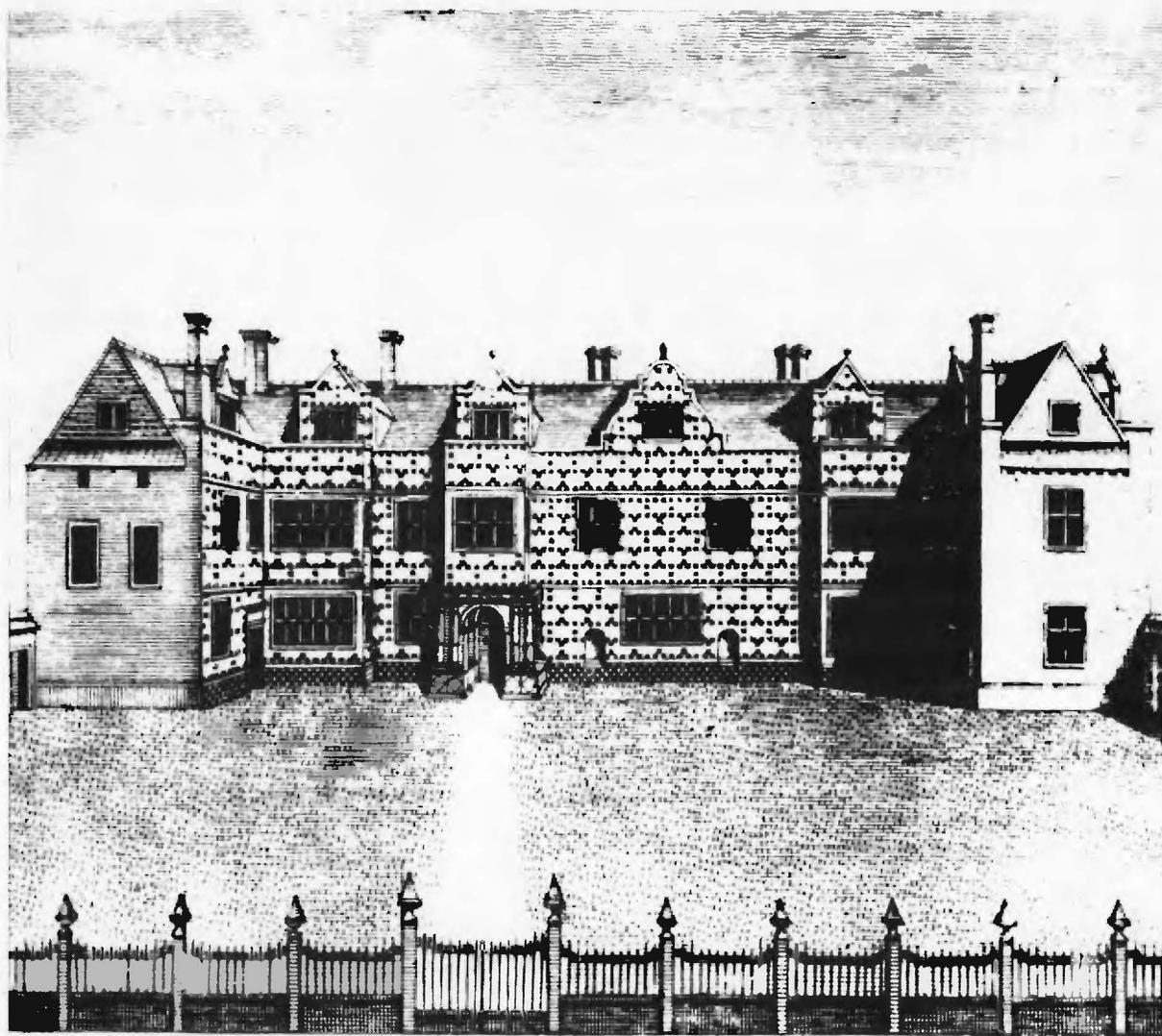


Plate 4 Part of Richardson's *Ichnography of Guildford* showing the Friary Mansion and its surrounds in 1748.

not a local man.<sup>66</sup> In 1605, no one knew to whom the rent of the Lees should be paid, nor who had carried away timber and tile from the buildings.

The accession of James I in 1603 brought a new generation of courtiers looking for land and houses within reach of Westminster and, in 1605, a flurry of activity occurred. An inquiry ordered by the Exchequer (February 1605)<sup>67</sup> as to what usurped crown lands existed near Guildford found (April 1605)<sup>68</sup> that the 50 acres of the Lees were occupied by Richard Burchall, a prominent citizen of Guildford. On 6 June, through the good offices of the Keeper of the Privy Seal, Robert Cecil, recently created Lord Salisbury, a sixty year lease of the Friary was granted to Henry Atkins, doctor of medicine.<sup>69</sup> In August, Atkins complained to Salisbury that, because of a dispute about which of them had the use of the Lees, Sir Thomas Gorges was trying to get his patent cancelled;<sup>70</sup> he asked for the reversion of the Keepership of Guildford Park after Sir Thomas. When, on 17 September,<sup>71</sup> this went to John Murray, he evidently lost interest. It was probably because of the imminent assignment of his lease that the crown ordered an inquiry into the present state and value of the friary buildings on 5 December.<sup>72</sup> The lease passed to Sir George More on 9 December,<sup>73</sup> for an unknown sum. The certificate recording the results of the inquisition into the value of the buildings was signed on 21 December.<sup>74</sup> It looks very much as if this investigation was made because of a known intention to demolish at least part of the now ruinous friary and rebuild on the site.

Sir George More, having re-assigned the lease to George Austen on 2 April 1606,<sup>75</sup> then obtained from George Austen an agreement (23 May) whereby he could carry away within one year building materials, particularly from the old Great Kitchen and 'Great Room or House now used as a barn'. George Austen had evidently already made his plans for building on the site, for it is stated that Sir George is to leave 'the wall that do inclose the court adjoining to where the new buildings of the hall and parlour is appointed to be'.<sup>76</sup> Austen's short-lived house may very



*Friary*

well have been where the western range of conventual buildings stood and, if the works went ahead promptly, would be the structures shown on Norden's map of 1607.

In October 1607, John Murray bought out Sir Thomas Gorges for £250 and took over the Keepership of Guildford Park.<sup>77</sup> Murray was a groom of the royal bedchamber, a trusted servant of James I,<sup>78</sup> whose star was now in the ascendant. In February 1609, the king paid George Austen £750 for the remainder of the 60 year lease of the Friary, and gave it to Murray.<sup>79</sup> In 1620, when the leasehold was converted into a tenure in free socage, the Friary was designated as the principal house and lodge for the Park from henceforth.<sup>80</sup> Murray was created Viscount Annandale in 1622 and Earl in 1624. In 1630, Charles I regranted Friary and Park to him as freeholds with the right to dispark,<sup>81</sup> a right which he proceeded to exercise.<sup>82</sup>

Annandale built a house of some size (23 firehearths) out of chalk and flint in what was later considered the style of Inigo Jones.<sup>83</sup> The date at which he built it is uncertain. Manning & Bray are almost certainly wrong to say after 1630. Murray was never close to Charles I<sup>84</sup> and, after the death of James on 27 March 1625, spent much of his time in Scotland.<sup>85</sup> It is much more likely that he rebuilt the house soon after he first acquired the Friary. In July 1609, the king granted him '£100 toward repairs of an old Priory near Guildford Park'<sup>86</sup> and in March 1608 he had been permitted to detain building materials from the manor house in Guildford Park, 'now pulled down'.<sup>87</sup> Prince Charles spent the night of 5 October 1620 with him at the Friary on the way home from Spain,<sup>88</sup> an occasion remembered with hopeful nostalgia by Murray in July 1625.<sup>89</sup>

Murray's duties as a courtier may have prevented him from spending much time in Guildford himself, but members of his household were there from at least 1610, when his footman 'one William, an Irishman' was buried at St Mary's on 25 August.<sup>63</sup> Francis Carter, his Under-Keeper of the Park, who obtained a grant of the Castle in 1611, was living at 'the Place' from 1610–16.<sup>90</sup> The Borough of Guildford included John Murray and his wife among those whose valuable influence in high places warranted expensive presents of wine, sugar loaves and a boar at Christmas.<sup>91</sup> Towards the end of his life (he died in 1641) Annandale was in debt.<sup>92</sup> In 1646, the Friary and Guildford Park were confirmed to another groom of the bedchamber, his sister's son, James Maxwell, Earl of Dirleton.<sup>93</sup> The Countess of Dirleton, then a widow, was living in the Friary house in 1654 when the undertakers of the Wey Navigation took some of her land to make a wharf, and she complained to the Council of State that their gunpowder store was much too close to her house for safety. The undertakers countered by saying that she had pulled down in the night the storehouse of the state's gunpowder and saltpetre.<sup>94</sup> A lease of what became Dapdune wharf was arranged soon after this.<sup>95</sup> When a new Act of Parliament was made for the Navigation in 1671 the owner of the Friary, by this time Thomas Dalmahoy, who had married Lord and Lady Dirleton's daughter the Duchess of Hamilton, was given the right to a toll of 4d for every ton carried in a barge past his land, in perpetuity.<sup>96</sup> Charles II stayed at the Friary in 1671.<sup>97</sup> In 1681, the whole estate was sold to Mrs Elizabeth Colwall,<sup>98</sup> and from her heirs was eventually purchased by Arthur Onslow, who owned it in 1741.<sup>99</sup> During the eighteenth century a 'long room' at the Friary was used for public events such as assemblies and public breakfasts,<sup>100</sup> just as, when it contained the largest room in the town, the friars' house had been used for the election of the Mayor of Guildford.<sup>23</sup> In 1794 the Friary was bought by the Government and the house was converted into officers' quarters, barracks being built in the grounds. The house was pulled down in 1818.<sup>101</sup>

## 2 Sources

This section is in Microfiche, see the list of contents at the beginning of the volume.

## NOTES

The following abbreviations are used in the Notes:

BL Add MSS	British Library Additional Manuscripts
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
GMR	Guildford Muniment Room
LM Corr	Loseley Manuscripts, Correspondence. Fifteen bound volumes are still at Loseley Park; unbound letters have been deposited in Guildford Muniment Room
<i>L &amp; P H VIII</i>	<i>Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII</i>
PRO	Public Record Office

1 O'Connell 1977, 29 & 32; O'Connell & Poulton forthcoming.

2 Charter Roll, 3 Edw I.

3 A full account is given in Palmer 1887.

- 4 Obituary Kalendar, 12 Kal Nov (Purvis 1934, 97).
- 5 *L & P H VIII*, 10, 146-7; PRO SP/1/113.
- 6 Palmer 1887, 8.
- 7 Hinnebusch 1952.
- 8 Poulton & Alexander 1979, 4.
- 9 *L & P H VIII*, 10, 146-7 contains the statement that the priory 'hathe contynued from the 3rd and [missing] yers of Queene Elynore . . .' This should give a date ending with 9 assuming that the computation is from Eleanor's marriage to Henry III in 1236. But this is not contemporary evidence and the calculation could be wrong or misleading from many causes.
- 10 Knowles & Hadcock 1953, 208. A number of minor orders of friars, including those *de Ordine Martyrum*, were abolished by the Council of Lyons in 1274 (Knowles 1948, 206) which seems significant.
- 11 Williamson's (1904, 67) statement that the Friary was in existence by 1258 is based on a quotation in Russell (1801, 140) 'John Fitz Geoffrey . . . happened to die near Guildford, which, when the King, who was then at St Albans, heard, he caused Mass to be celebrated by the whole convent there.' The words 'of Dominicans at Guildford' were substituted by Williamson for 'there' and the original quotation, from Camden's *Magna Britannia*, clearly refers to the Benedictine foundation at St Albans.
- 12 Palmer 1887, 9ff gives full details.
- 13 Hinnebusch 1941, 493-7.
- 14 *L & P H VIII*, 12, pt 2, 33.
- 15 Palmer 1887, 10, who also notes other visits.
- 16 *L & P H VIII*, 7, 1031-2.
- 17 Palmer 1887, 9.
- 18 Obituary Kalendar 8 Kal Mart, 4 Non Apr, 16 Kal Jun, 5 Kal Jul, 5 Id Aug, 4 Id Aug, 4 Non Sept, 6 Id Oct are the main entries (Purvis 1934, *passim*). The gift of land by John Fayrchild in 1279 should be noted (PRO Just 1, 877, Surrey, membrane 3). Palmer (1887, 9) suggests that this actually represents Queen Eleanor's purchase of land, since Fayrchild does not appear in the Obituary Kalendar. There seems no good reason to follow this, especially as his name may have appeared in one of the now illegible portions of the Kalendar. If his absence is real, then one might surmise that his original grant was actually to the friars *de Ordine Martyrum* (see above) and hence the Friars Preachers felt no particular gratitude to him (see part 2.1.2).
- 19 Palmer 1887, 11 notes some; also SyRS 1922, 38-9 (William Utteworth), 46 (Adam Ryley), 60 (William Combys), 86 (William Palmer) and Hooper 1949, nos 1416, 1431, 1503 (2 wills), 1516, 1529, among easily accessible wills.
- 20 In addition to the Obituary Kalendar the 'Proper Chapel' (Chantry) mentioned in the Suppression Inventory (fig 3) should be noted.
- 21 GMR RB 579.
- 22 Obituary Kalendar, 3 Non Nov (Purvis 1934, 98).
- 23 Dance (ed) 1958, 14. I am grateful to Mark Sturley for drawing my attention to this reference and also reference 21.
- 24 GMR LM 349/21 (1606).
- 25 GMR RB 670 Box A. Lease made 5 February 1778 of the friary lands. The tithe map gives it an area of 17 acres and 3 roods.
- 26 LM Corr 10, 106.
- 27 The scale given on Norden's map is seriously in error for this area, though the relative position and size of feature is reasonably good.
- 28 It might be objected that this is laying too much emphasis on what might, after all, be only a cartographer's whim. This is not the case. Firstly, exactly the same course for the bounds (including the northward 'jink') is marked on the tithe map and on Wetherby's 1839 map, which are very unlikely to have simply copied Richardson. Secondly, if Richardson had simply extended the well known boundary to the east through the Friary precincts where it had been undefined previously, he could have had no possible reason for the northward 'jink' in an area devoid of surface features.
- 29 *L & P H VIII*, 11, 1439 indicates that Henry VIII built a lodge 'within the precincts' which *may* be the detached building. See also table 1.
- 30 See below 1.4.
- 31 Eg Poulton & Alexander 1979.
- 32 LM Corr 3, no 17. See microfiche, part 2.1.12.
- 33 So described in an undated (probably mid 17th century) rental, GMR 3/1/48.
- 34 Suppression Inventory, fig 3.
- 35 Palmer 1887, 9.
- 36 Russell 1801, 145.
- 37 Kempe 1836, 304-5. Foxenden field is north-east of the Friary so this is likely to be the same spring.
- 38 The other documents may be found in part 2.1 (microfiche).
- 39 Hinnebusch 1951.
- 40 Exactly such a surmise led to the positioning of Felix Holling's initial trial trench (see ch 1:1).
- 41 Suppression Inventory, fig 3.
- 42 *L & P H VIII*, 12, pt 2, 415.
- 43 This is either deliberate exaggeration or the friars had been forced to sell since we know from various sources that they owned a number of lands. Cf Palmer 1887, 9, and note 50 below.
- 44 *L & P H VIII*, 11, 1439.
- 45 PRO Exchequer King's Remembrances 518/46. See also table 1 for later references and the possible dimensions of the building.
- 46 Palmer (1887, 11) suggests that a grant to the friars of £5 by Henry VIII 'in reward' is for laying out gardens associated with the lodge.
- 47 Obituary Kalendar 5 Kal Jul, see also 8 Kal Mart, 6 Id Oct (Purvis 1934).
- 48 However, it may be unwise to make deductions of this sort since the inventory is clearly incomplete, making mention only of the church buildings and the kitchens (table 1).
- 49 Baskerville 1941, 26.
- 50 Leases or grants of the other properties belonging to the Friary exist. The Hermitage at Brookwood, for example, was granted to Michael Stanhope in 1548; see Palmer 1887, 19-20. See also LM 672, where the rents of some in 1596 are mentioned. Had any lease of the Friary itself between 1538 and 1605 been known it would surely have been mentioned during the enquiries in the latter year.
- 51 See Palmer 1887, 19, for a building he states was erected after the dissolution. His reference in note 38 has not been found in the Ministers' Accounts, an enormous class. Henry VIII was a not infrequent visitor to Guildford but apparently usually stayed, like his daughter after him, at the manor house in the Park.
- 52 Guildford Borough Court Book, View of Frankpledge 28 April 1549 'They present the causey at Richard Davys corner going to the King's place [in decay]'; 'They present the causey by the King's wall to be in lyke dekeye' (GMR BR /OC/1/5, 99); Court Leet

27 January 1550:-

The Fryars Causey.

At this day came in Richard Davie & agreid with Mr Mayor & his bretheren for 5 platters which were distreyned upon dafalte of the causey in the Friers Lane and confeseth that he hath kept the same causey by the space of 20 years pas and hath taken daye to amend the same by the second weke in Lent next. (*Ibid.*, 118).

- 53 Description attached to Table 11, Guldeford Park. ' . . . It containeth in quantitie 1620 acres, the most reasonable good ground'.
- 54 *CSPD* 1603-10, 231, PRO SP 14/15 no 52, transcribed in part 2.1 no 8. Atkins evidently believed the Lees were included in his patent as part of the 'appurtenances' of the Friary, though it is difficult to see how he can have thought so, since 'the Lea' formed the northern boundary of what he was leasing. In fact, the Lees were not part of the Park either (and he states that they have been separately granted in fee farm); after 1620, when the Friary became the Keeper's residence, they were accounted the property of the owner of the Friary, who leased them out. An undated, probably mid-17th century, rental names 4 tenants paying £72 10s in all (GMR 3/1/48). During the 18th century, the northern part was sold and later belonged to the Mangles of Woodbridge House.
- 55 *VCH*, 3, 3 & 342; see also 1, 368-9 & 371, & elsewhere. A Catholic, he was a man of many enterprises and offices. His own property included the manor of Ripley and Send and an iron works in Chiddingfold. In 1566, he had built a lock at Weybridge in order that he could use barges to bring timber from his land to London. See DNB, and LM Corr, 10, *passim*.
- 56 We are indebted to Marion Calthorp, who is writing on the progresses of Elizabeth, for this information. The queen never stayed at the Friary.
- 57 This phrase comes from a letter of 27 September 1575 to William More; LM Corr, 10, item 57.
- 58 LM Corr, 10, item 86, 8 October 1582. William More, as a deputy ranger and as verderer of Windsor Forest, or as a conveniently local official, was entrusted by Viscount Montague with much of the administration of Guildford Park.
- 59 Letter dated from Guildford Manor, 19 November 1565, LM Corr, 10, item 18; 'four years past living there', letter of 15 March 1581, *ibid* item 81. Many of the people he installed in dwellings in his gift were recusants, for example, William Ridall alias Rider and his wife sometimes abiding in the queen's manor house in the Park and sometimes at Send were stated in 1592 to be recusants. (LM 1380/9/15). See also *VCH*, 3, 342.
- 60 This information comes from two letters to William More, fully transcribed in part 2.1 nos 3 & 5; LM Corr, 10, items 49 & 106. The precise nature of Sir William More's 'intent and purpose' is regrettably nowhere stated.
- 61 PRO SP/12/185 no 95, transcribed in part 2.1 no 4. This document, which has no date, is tentatively placed in 1585 by the compilers of the *CSPD* 1581-90, 298. Its statement that there is sufficient with some reparations to build a house for him that farms the ground, implies there was no-one living there at the time. Since the Friary was apparently occupied 1580-96 (see above), it is likely to be before or after this date and, if compared with the description of 1605, the degree of dilapidation by this latter date seems too great to have occurred in less than ten years; the handwriting of the document also suggests an earlier rather than a later date. It seems best to date it between 1573 and 1580.
- 62 On 2 April 1590, Viscount Montague was given a licence to alienate to William Coldham two houses, two mills, two gardens, two orchards etc in Stedham, Sussex, (*CPR* 31-37 Eliz.; PRO C66/1350). In 1625, the tithingman of Stedham noted that William Coldham (perhaps the son of ours) had not received the sacrament for five years (Fletcher 1975, 95). The Coldhams appear to have been a recusant family.
- 63 GMR PSH/GU/M/1/1. The full list from 1540 up to 1638 is as follows:  
11 December 1580, buried Henry Adames minister of the word of God dwelling at the Fryers; 23 December 1581, buried John King Shereman dwelling in the Queen's Place; 23 May 1591, buried Constance, wife of John Whitmore, out of the Queen's Place; 25 August 1610, buried from the Place, one William, Irishman, footman to Mr. Murrey; 7 September 1610, baptised, from the Place, Charles, son of Mr Francis Carter and of Mrs - his wife; 16 December 1611, buried, a child of one Thorne, a stranger, at the Place, unbaptised; 2 June 1612, baptised Ambrose, son of Mr Francis Carter, at the Place; 28 November 1614, baptised, from the Place, William, son of Mr Francis Carter; 15 February 1615, buried from the place, William, son of Francis Carter; 8 August 1616, baptised George, son of Mr Francis Carter from the Place; 9 December 1617, baptised, from the Place, Charles, son of Mr John Phillipson; 29 November 1622, buried Phillip Puttocke servant to the L. Lockwood and Viscount Annant; 25 May 1624, baptised, from the Place, Dinah, d of John Moir junior and of Bridget, his wife; 8 March 1626, buried, from the Place, John Moir; 22 December 1629, buried Mr John Pond, gardener at the King's Place; 11 August 1635, baptised Anne, d of Joseph Higgs from the Place and of Catharin, his wife; 16 July 1636, baptised Rebeccha, d of William Murrey and Maria, his wife; 17 July 1636, buried Rebeccha, d of William Murrey and Marye, his wife, both servants to the Countess of Anandall; 20 February 1638 buried Mrs Jonat, wife of Mr James Shaw at the Place. The Friary precinct continued as an extra-parochial area until created a civil parish in 1858, but St Mary's church was the closest to the Friary house, and the parish adjoined the garden across what is now North Street.
- 64 GMR LM 672. John Chapman's receipt. This money was presumably collected by Sir William More on behalf of the Keeper of the Park (or William Coldham?), hence the receipt's place among the Losely MSS. The sum paid for the Friary seems likely to represent at least three years' rent. He may be the Mr Whitmore, late citizen of London, who contributed 40s towards buildings at the Royal Grammar School in 1586 (GMR BR/OC/7, 50).
- 65 Letter from Lord Burghley at Cowdrey to Sir William More. 17 August 1591, in LM Corr, 2014, item 65. It is printed in full by Kempe, 1836, 304-5. The queen intended to defray some of the cost.
- 66 See *VCH*, 3, 3. He owned land in other parts of Surrey, *VCH*, 3, 530, 538, 543. See also Manning & Bray 1804, 25, 411 & 422.
- 67 PRO E 178/4601, document two, Commission (Letters Patent) of 12 February 1605. Transcribed in part 2.1 no 6.
- 68 PRO E 178/4601, document one, Inquisition of 20 April 1605. Richard Burchall was stated to be in possession 'of the parcel of land called Les Lees' containing by estimation 50 acres and worth 20s per annum; the seventeen jurors said that they did not know to whom the rent was paid nor at what date this usurpation of crown lands had taken place. Richard Burchall was four times mayor of Guildford and died in 1629. A clothier, he rebuilt what was later the Lion Hotel. Transcription is part 2.1 no 7.
- 69 Letters Patent of 6 June, whereby he was to hold it for a payment of 40s per annum, and 20s to 30s (the price of one quarter of wheat yearly) towards the provision of the king's house. The boundary on the north was 'parcel of land and pasture called the Lee'; the grant was of the 'scite circuite and precinct . . .' Enrolment, on PRO Patent Roll, C 66/1664, is referred to in GMR LM 349/21, and also in PRO Close Roll C 54/1961.
- 70 *CSPD* 1603-10, 231 (SP 14/15 no 52, transcribed in part 2.1 no 8).
- 71 *CSPD* 1603-10, 233. Grant in reversion to Jo'n Murray of office of keeping Guildford Park, for life.
- 72 PRO E 178/4601, document three, Commission (Letters Patent) of 5 Dec 1605. Transcribed in part 2.1 no 9.
- 73 Referred to in GMR LM 349/21, and also on PRO Close Roll C 54/1961: Bargain and Sale of 9 December 1605, whereby the remainder of the term of 60 years was assigned to Sir George More. The document itself is lost.
- 74 PRO E 178/4601, document four, Certificate of 21 December 1605. Two carpenters and a mason, and fourteen other men, gave evidence as to the state of the friary buildings, and the value of the materials. Transcribed in part 2.1 no 10.
- 75 GMR LM 349/21. Transcribed in part 2.1 no 11.
- 76 LM Corr, 3, item 17. Transcribed in part 2.1 no 12. It is difficult to relate the walls referred to in this document to the buildings

- described in 1573–80 and 1605. They appear to be in the northern and eastern ranges, which makes it look as though Austen's house was going to be in the western range of conventual buildings (where very little excavation has taken place). This suggestion makes sense of at least some of the buildings shown by Norden (see note 53).
- 77 *CSPD* Addenda 1580–1625, 500. 11 October 1607.
- 78 *DNB*.
- 79 PRO Close Roll C 54/1961, 26 February 1609. The money had been paid by a Privy Seal warrant of 16 February.
- 80 PRO Patent Roll C 66/2221; the date is 22 November 1620.
- 81 PRO Patent Roll C 66/2540, Letters Patent of 31 March 1630.
- 82 GMR 97/13/166 & 167 of 1638 & 1641.
- 83 Hearth Tax, 1664. See Meekings (ed) 1940, 45; Manning & Bray, 1804, 21. John Harris, the modern authority on Inigo Jones, sees nothing to indicate that the house was designed by him (pers comm).
- 84 He complains of non-payment of his pension in March and June 1627. (*CSPD* 1627–8, 26 & 87). See also his letter of July 1625, note 89 below.
- 85 *Registers of the Privy Council of Scotland* 1622–5, 547, he was in attendance on the king at Holyroodhouse; 1625–7, 33, he was present at the funeral of James in London, 154, 358, 362, he was in Scotland November 1625 and July 1626; 1627–8 he was granted Lochmaben Castle; 1629–30 he was building at Lochmaben; 1630–2 he was in Scotland, August 1630, November 1631, June, October, November and December 1632.
- 86 *CSPD* 1603–11, 530, 18 July 1609.
- 87 *CSPD* 1603–11, 414, 18 March 1608. There are several grants of money to him about this time.
- 88 *CSPD* 1623–5, 93.
- 89 *CSPD* 1625–6, 58. Letter of 10 July 1625 from Annandale 'at the freares of Guildford' to Secretary Conway.
- 90 Letters Patent of 26 April 1611. A copy is in GMR 85/2/8(\*). Francis Carter 'de la Pryore' was admitted Freeman of Guildford in 1614. GMR BR/IC/1/2, F 81v. This Francis Carter is presumably a different man from the contemporary Clerk of the Royal Works. The coincidence of name is, however, curious.
- 91 Guildford Borough Hallwardens' accounts 1618–28, GMR BR/OC/6/1. The entries relating to Marray are as follows: Account taken [June] 1619, 'paid for wine sent to Mr Murrey 4 several times, 13s 4d'; June 1620, 'laid out for sugar for Mr Murrey, 1s 4d'; December 1621, the Mayor was repaid for money spent on (among other things) 'wine for Mr Murrey'; December 1623, '3 boars given to the Lord Grace of Cant, Earl of Nottingham and Ld of Annand, £6 10s, dressing them 7s 6d, carrying of them to London, 6s'; 'Laid out by Mr Champion [the Town Clerk] this summer at the lord of Annand's 5s'; December 1624, 'paid to Edward Goodwyn for a sugar loaf given to Lady Annan, 11s 8d'; December 1624, 'the charges of three boars to the Lord of Cant and Lord of Annandale and Mr Sheriff Parkhurst, £8 4s 10d'; December 1627, 'the boar to my Lord of Annandale bought to Mr Cole and charges in sending the same £2 16s 6d'.
- 92 GMR 97/166–210 are deeds of the Friary and Guildford Park (and other property) 1638–1753, including many mortgages.
- 93 *DNB*. He had been granted the reversion of the keepership of Guildford Park on 26 September 1611, *CSPD* 1611–18, 76.
- 94 *CSPD* 1654, 49, 51–2. The fee farm rents of the Friary (50s per annum) and Guildford Park (£10) had been sold to James Pitson, one of the undertakers of the Wey Navigation, for £107 on 21 January 1650, GMR 5/3/91. He mortgaged them in 1654, GMR 5/2/42.
- 95 *CSPD* 1654, 49, 51–2 and 75. See also GMR 129/148/1, and PRO E 177/1 (Wey Navigation Claims 1671) no 48, Thomas Dalmahoy, of which there is a printed summary in *SyAC*, 62 (1965), 102.
- 96 Act of Parliament, of which copies are in GMR.
- 97 *CSPD* 1671, 420. The night of 8 August.
- 98 GMR 97/13/194. This conveyance of 28 and 29 November 1681 (for £3,334) does not mention the Friary, which perhaps passed by another conveyance, now lost. Dapdune Wharf and the 4d per load were conveyed by Dalmahoy to Elizabeth Colwall on 8 June 1681 for £1,000, GMR 97/13/139. See also the Symmes MS, BL Add MSS 6167, 185–6. Richard Symmes died in 1688.
- 99 A note in Symmes' MS, apparently made by Arthur Onslow, runs as follows (p 186): ' . . . he sold it to Mrs Elizabeth Colwall from whom it came to her grandson Daniel Colwall Esq and he devised it with the lands called Guildford Park to his half brothers Arthur and Richard Onslow, who sold it to Richard the 1st Lord Onslow, from whom it came to his son Thomas Lord Onslow, who sold it to John Russell and – Mabanke of Guildford, and of the representatives of the last it was purchased by the aforementioned Arthur Onslow who now (1741) enjoys the same.' This account is the basis of Manning & Bray 1804, 25, and of Russell 1801, 143\*–4\*. Symmes' MS was in the possession of William Bray in 1813, see inscription on the first page.
- 100 Russell 1801, 143\*. This statement is presumably based on first hand knowledge. See also Green, 1953, 1–2.
- 101 *VCH*, 3, 554.