

THE MANOR OF BATAILLES AND THE FAMILY OF SAUNDER IN EWELL DURING THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

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THE OWNERS OF THE MANOR OF BATAILLES TO THE END OF ITS TENURE BY THE SAUNDER FAMILY

THE Manor of Batailles, one of the three subordinate manors in Ewell, derived its name from its first owner, William de Bataille, who lived in the 12th century. At the beginning of the 15th century the manor was called Botayles and a century later Botalls. The name had become Buttall in 1577¹ and early in the 19th century had been corrupted to Botolphs.²

Although the *Victoria County History of Surrey*³ states that there is no certain history of the Manor of Bottals (*sic*) in Ewell until 1659, the year when its ownership passed from the Saunder family,⁴ yet in Manning and Bray⁵ the history of the manor is briefly sketched from the 12th to the 17th centuries. It is claimed that the manor originated in the grant of a tenement by Henry I to William de Bataille, who had estates in Essex.⁶ The Bataille family held the manor until the time of Henry III and possibly later, after which nothing is known of it until Thomas Hayton held it in the reign of Henry IV. Deedes⁷ records "a free tenement called Botayles fee, which Thomas Hayton holds" in the list of tenants of the Manor of Ewell, the date of which is 1408.

Thomas Hayton died in 1432,⁸ leaving his daughter Agnes heir to the manor. She married Thomas, younger son of Nicholas Carew

¹ *Register or Memorial of Ewell*, C. Deedes, 1913, xxxvi.

² *History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, O. Manning and W. Bray, 1804 *et seq.*, 1, 457.

³ 3, 280.

⁴ Members of this branch of the family nearly always wrote their name with a "u" and without a final "s."

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 1, 457.

⁶ Morant's *History of Essex* mentions several Essex parishes connected with the family of Batailles in mediæval times, including Stapleford Abbots (Battles Hall) and Bradwell-juxta-Mare (Battails Manor). No William Bataille living in the reign of Henry I is named by Morant. There are no remains today of the manor house of Batailles at Ewell; in Essex, however, Battles Hall at Stapleford Abbots and Battles Hall at Manuden are still standing.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 6.

⁸ See Pedigree II.

of Beddington.¹ Thomas and Agnes had three daughters, who were their father's heirs at his death in 1430. One of the daughters, Joan, married William Saunder of Charlwood in or before 1450, her mother, Agnes, at that time being the wife of Thomas Sayer.² Agnes appears to have had no other surviving children besides her three Carew daughters. In the list of tenants of Ewell Manor, Thomas Hayton appears frequently as holding lands which were subsequently held by Agnes Sayer; in several of these holdings William Saunder was her sub-tenant. Joan Saunder died in 1470; her youngest son, Henry, inherited her share in Batailles and acquired the rest of the estate by purchasing the interests of his two aunts.

Henry Saunder died between September 1518 and the following February. He called himself Henry Saunder of Ewell in his will.³ By this will he divided his estates into two parts, each with different trustees for its conveyance. One part comprised his Manor of Batailles (spelt "Botalls" throughout the will), his capital mansion in Ewell, in which he was living, together with the water mill called the Nether Mill in Ewell (held by Thomas Hayton in 1408 "with a large closed garden attached to the same")⁴ and other property in the village and in Epsom and Chessington. Henry bequeathed the capital mansion and the Nether Mill to his younger son William, while the land and tenements of this part of his estates and the use of Batailles manor house were left first to his wife Joan for life and then to Joan, the wife of his elder son, Nicholas, for her life. Subsequently Batailles, with the other Ewell, Epsom and Chessington property, was to go to William and his heirs male. In default of such heirs, the property was bequeathed to Henry's son Nicholas and his heirs male. If both sons should die without male heirs, the property was left successively to Henry, Richard and Thomas, the sons of Nicholas Saunder of Charlwood and grandsons of the testator's brother Richard. Should the male line of all these fail, Batailles was bequeathed to William Saunder, nephew of the testator and brother of Nicholas of Charlwood.⁵

William Saunder, younger son of Henry, inherited the Ewell property. He was styled William Saunder of Ewell⁶ in his will⁷ of October 1570, which was proved just over a year later. William lived at the mansion in Ewell in comfortable circumstances. The

¹ Manning and Bray, *op. cit.*, 2, pedigree opposite 523.

² *V.C.H. Surrey*, 3, 256.

³ P.C.C., 15 Ayliffe.

⁴ Deedes, *op. cit.*, xxiv.

⁵ See pedigree I.

⁶ The memorial in Northwood Berningham Church, Norfolk, to John Palgrave, who married Urith, daughter of William Saunder, describes the latter as Sir William Sander, Knight. (*Palgrave Family Memorials*, C. J. Palmer and S. Tucker, 1878, 8, plate 5.) There is no evidence that he was knighted; he was described as esquire in his will and in the will of his widow, made some years after his death.

⁷ P.C.C., 42 Holney.

name Batailles does not occur in his will, although he was called "Wm. Sanders of Buttailes in Ewel, co. Surrey" in a Harleian M.S. pedigree of the Mynne family, the family of his first wife's first husband.¹ William Saunder directed in his will that the property in Ewell and elsewhere which he had inherited from his father, Harry Saunder, should remain according to his father's will. This in effect was that Batailles Manor should next descend to Nicholas, the eldest son of William.

Nicholas Saunder in 1581 suffered a recovery of the Manor of Batailles.² It is likely that he took this step of barring the entail of the manor in order to provide for his widow Margaret. She survived her husband, who in his will³ charged his son Nicholas "upon my blessing to permit and suffer my said wife the aforesaid premises bequeathed quietly and peaceably."

Amongst the Northey MSS. is an indenture⁴ of September 1589 between Lord Lumley, Nicholas Saunder and Margaret Saunder, widow. A clause in this document asserted that Margaret should hold the Manor of Batailles during her life and subsequently that it should pass to Nicholas Saunder and his heirs. The date of Margaret's death is not known; she was alive in May 1597.⁵

Nicholas Saunder, junior, who had been knighted in 1603, died intestate in February 1648-9, whereupon administration of his property was granted to his only son Henry. Despite the assertion by Manning and Bray⁶ that the Manor of Batailles passed from the ownership of the Saunder family in 1638 when Sir Nicholas conveyed it to Thomas Thurgis, yet Henry Saunder, the son of Sir Nicholas, held the manor in 1659⁷ and sold it to Thurgis that same year.

THE PROPERTIES IN EWELL OF THE SAUNDER FAMILY

No visible part remains today of the three chief dwelling-houses of the Saunder family in Ewell: the Capital Mansion, the Manor House of Batailles or the Parsonage House. Their former positions can however be determined with fair accuracy from the Survey of the Manor of Ewell made in 1577 by Thomas Taylor.⁸

Particulars of an earlier Manorial Survey of the village are given by Deedes.⁹ This earlier Survey was made in 1408 and gives the names of tenants and their holdings. Batailles Manor House is mentioned thus: "On the west of the Rectory of Ewell lies a tene-

¹ *Hundred of Launditch and Deancry of Brisley*, G. A. Carthew, 1879, 2, 491.

² Manning and Bray, *op. cit.*, 1, 458.

³ P.C.C., 7 Rutland.

⁴ Guildford Muniment Room, 10/136.

Harl. Chart. 111, B58.

Op. cit., 1, 457.

⁷ *V.C.H.*, *op. cit.*, 3, 280.

⁸ Guildford Muniment Room, 10/158, see P. Shearman, this volume, pp. 102-23. The writer is grateful for permission to quote from Mr. Shearman's transcription.

⁹ *Op. cit.*

ment called Cristianes Atte Tye between Parsons Lane on the north and a tenement called Botayles on the south, which Thomas Hayton holds. And then next a free tenement called Botayles fee, which Thomas Hayton holds." The Rectory of 1408 was the Parsonage of the 1577 Survey¹ and lay to the west of the (old) church, the tower of which is the sole authentic building of the 1408 era which remains to this day. There is some doubt as to the exact position of Parsons Lane, though the plan of the village constructed from the Survey of 1408² suggests that the lane led westwards from the north side of the church to Middle Street—the most northerly section of the present High Street. The parish map of 1408 also shows Austynes Lane lying approximately north-west from the north side of the church to the site of the present Spring Hotel. The triangle formed by Parsons Lane, Austynes Lane and Middle Street occupied roughly the present site of the grounds of Glyn House and hence Batailles Manor House stood to the west of Glyn House.

The Survey of 1577 is more generous in its description of the house: "Nicholas Saunder holdeth freely [*i.e.*, freehold] the Mannor howse of Buttalls with a yarde barne stable a garden an orchard thereunto adioyninge and also a southe parte of a pightell [small field] of land enclosed with pics abutt' vpon the highway leding to kingston of the west parte and extendeth in length by the said waye vnto a twisted tree of elme in the hedge there of the north parte and also abutteth vpon the parsonage landes of these parte and extend in length by the said landes vnto a grete elme in the hedge there of the north parte directly over ageinst the forsaid twisted elme." The whole area was estimated by Taylor to be three-quarters of an acre. The twisted elm tree, adjoining the road to Kingston (the present-day Spring Street), appears to have been a landmark which became known as Buttalls Elm.³

Ewell Parsonage, also held freehold by Nicholas Saunder, had a somewhat similar description, though it had a "heyhouse" in place of a garden and orchard; perhaps the heyhouse was of more use to the parson for storing his tithes? The Parsonage grounds occupied $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The house stood on the site of Glyn House.

To the west of the site of Batailles Manor House and just over the Hogsmill river is a somewhat circular piece of land which now constitutes the grounds of Bourne Hall. Most of the land is bounded by Spring Street and Chessington Road. The position of these highways has not altered since the time of the earlier Survey of Ewell (though the names of the roads have been changed) and therefore this land can readily be identified in both surveys.

In 1408 this land was divided into about a dozen properties, only a few of which belonged to the Batailles estate. At the later period about the middle of the 15th century, to which the marginal names

¹ *Ibid.*, xxiv.

² *Ibid.*, map opposite xxii.

³ *Short History of Ewell and Nonsuch*, C. S. Willis, 1948, 122.

of the 1408 Survey refer, Agnes Sayer and her son-in-law, William Saunder of Charlwood, held only one or two of these properties. But by 1577 nearly all the land now forming Bourne Hall grounds had been acquired by the Saunder family, upon which had been built a mansion described in the Survey as a fair mansion house with a gatehouse, a forecourt, hall, parlour and other edifices and buildings with two backyards, stables and barns, also a dove house, two gardens and an orchard. The whole covered 5 acres according to Taylor's estimation. The house faced west and excavations indicate that it stood to the east of Bourne Hall. Nicholas Saunder's brewhouse, with another barn and stable, lay with a tenement to the north of the mansion.

It has been shown that the mansion had not been built in the middle of the 15th century; it is most unlikely that William Saunder, the father of Henry, built this house. He lived at the family residence at Charlwood, where he was buried in 1481. Indications, though, make it apparent that Henry Saunder built the mansion, probably towards the end of the 15th century. He had two elder brothers, which made it unlikely that he would ever succeed to Charlwood. It was for this reason doubtless that his mother left him her share of the Manor of Batailles and he then acquired the remaining shares from his aunts and at the same time bought up land in Ewell in order to build a house on a site more spacious than the 3 roods of Batailles Manor House grounds; the house too was to be a larger one, more fitting for the largest local landowner than Batailles, which was retained as a dower house. The site of the new mansion was ideal for Henry's building project.

Yet a fourth Saunder house is named in the 1577 Survey of Ewell; this was a little banqueting house built about thirty years previously on half a rood of waste ground near the river adjoining the mansion. A stone wall enclosed the ground, and fish ponds had been laid out there.

According to the Survey of 1577 Nicholas Saunder owned $338\frac{3}{4}$ acres of land in Ewell out of a total of nearly 1,600 acres; the next largest landowner was Elizabeth Horde of Fitznells with 252 acres. Nicholas had 250 acres (32 of them Parsonage lands) in the Common field and 77 acres in enclosed fields. In Ewell village he held nine houses and cottages besides the Parsonage. His lands in 1577 were assessed in the Diocesan Return of Recusants as yielding annually "200 marks at the least."¹ This assessment would have included all Saunder's landed property, not only his Ewell estates.

Twenty years later his son Nicholas who had succeeded him held rather more than 250 acres in Ewell. Two years before this, in 1595, he had transferred a number of tenements, lands and crofts to Alexander Clifford and his wife Jane, who was a sister of the younger Nicholas Saunder. There are no particulars of transfers of land of Nicholas Saunder at the Court Barons of the Manor of Ewell held

¹ Catholic Rec. Soc., 1921, 22, 43.

between 1597 and 1632 recorded in "Translation, Manors of Ewell and Cuddington, 1592-1706."¹ There is unfortunately a lacuna between 1632 and 1684, which prevents this source from providing evidence of the way in which the Saunder family disposed of the Ewell estate.

Manning and Bray² declared that the Manor of Batailles was conveyed in perpetuity to Thurgis in 1638. This was not so, for the manor was sold to Thurgis in 1659 by Henry, the son of Sir Nicholas Saunder. The conveyance of 1638 would appear to refer to the sale of the mansion house with most of the land in Ewell held by Nicholas, for when Henry Saunder sold the Manor of Batailles twenty-one years later for £200 the estate only consisted of one messuage (presumably the manor house) with a garden, orchard and 40 acres of land.³ When Sir Nicholas died in 1649 his daughter Isabella recorded that his death occurred at his house in Nonsuch Park, where he had previously been living with another daughter and her husband. Sir Nicholas Saunder in his closing years was in fact living in circumstances much reduced from those he enjoyed at the time of his youth in the early years of the reign of Elizabeth I. He had been obliged to sell his mansion house to Thomas Thurgis, who in the 17th century was buying property in Ewell neighbourhood and was assuming the position which the Saunder family had held in Ewell for 150 years beforehand. Sir Nicholas Saunder probably gave up living at the mansion house in Ewell well before 1638, for his son Henry was described as son of Sir Nicholas Saunder "of Nonsuch, Surrey," when he matriculated at Christ Church in 1624.⁴ In the grant of administration of the goods of Sir Nicholas Saunder to his son Henry a month after his death, Sir Nicholas was described as of Ewell; this would apply to a resident in Nonsuch Park, for the parish of Cuddington had been suppressed and merged with that of Ewell a hundred years earlier.

It is unknown when any of these houses of the Saunder family were demolished. The mansion must have gone before 1770, the date when Bourne Hall (formerly Garbrand Hall) was built.⁵

THE SAUNDER FAMILY OF EWELL

The foregoing description of the succession of Batailles Manor has disclosed that five generations of Saunders possessed the manor and resided at Ewell for about 180 years. The family was already of importance in Surrey when Henry came to live in Ewell, and he owned several other properties in the county. His son William added to these estates and took a prominent part in local affairs during the middle of the 16th century. It seems that William was a lawyer, as were his son and grandson who succeeded him at Ewell.

¹ Guildford Muniment Room, 10/170.

² *Op. cit.*, 1, 457.

³ P.R.O., C.P. 25 (2) 602, Trin. 1659.

⁴ *Alumni Oxonienses*, J. Foster.

⁵ *Sy.A.C.*, 51, 126.

The descendants both of Henry of Ewell and of his elder brother Richard Saunder of Charlwood remained Catholics during Queen Elizabeth's reign, and after the death of William Saunder his sons had to contend with the penalties imposed on the well-to-do for adherence to Catholicism. Nicholas, the owner of Batailles during the years leading to the Spanish war, managed to retain his lands, though he suffered for his faith. He had not the religious zeal of his second cousin and contemporary of the same name, the prominent Catholic who did much from the Continent to continue the fight for the restoration of the old Faith, before his death in Ireland in 1581 after accompanying Desmond as Papal Nuncio in an attempt to stir up a rebellion there.

Sir Nicholas Saunder was head of the family in Ewell longer than any other of the Saunders. Like his father he was a recusant who later conformed to the Church of England. He was a Member of Parliament for many years and appears to have been a spendthrift, for he sold at least three estates and some Ewell property between 1591 and 1601. In later life he became involved in a scheme to supply water to London, which brought him financial disaster and probably was the cause of his selling his mansion in Ewell ten years before his death. After the disposal of Batailles Manor in 1659 by Henry Saunder, the son of Sir Nicholas, nothing more is heard of the family in Ewell.

Although descendants of two sons and at least one daughter of William Saunder are alive today the family has left no mark in Ewell. Probably three generations were buried there—Sir Nicholas was buried "with his ancestors"¹ in Ewell Church in 1649—and yet Aubrey less than seventy years later did not mention any family monument in the church.² Even in the lifetime of Sir Nicholas an inventory of the monuments in Ewell Church, taken in 1634,³ only recorded one Saunder gravestone, that of Henry, son of Henry Saunder.⁴

Henry Saunder of Ewell, who made his will in 1518, was a younger son of William Saunder of Charlwood, as mentioned earlier. The family was one of property, who had lived for many years in Charlwood and continued to dwell there down to the 19th century. An ample account of the Charlwood Saunders is given in *The Free Men of Charlwood*.⁵

Particulars in his will show that Henry was a rich man whose interests were not confined to Ewell, although they mostly lay within the county of Surrey. It has been observed that in his will

¹ *Addit. MSS.*, 34171.

² *Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, 2, 221-7.

³ *Visitation of Surrey*, Harl. Soc., 43, 51-2.

⁴ No date of the memorial is given, it was apparently to a child; Henry Saunder had no son named Henry alive when he made his will in 1518; the two other Henry Saunders of later generations of the Ewell branch had no children.

⁵ R. Sewill and E. Lane, 1951.

he divided his estates into two parts, the first of which constituted the Manor of Batailles with other estates in Ewell, Epsom and Chessington. The second portion comprised property in Blechingley, Nutfield, Southwark, Charlwood, Newdigate and Ockley—all in Surrey. These Surrey estates were left as in the case of Batailles Manor to William, the testator's younger son. In default of the latter having a male heir this property was to pass to the children of Henry's nephew, Nicholas Saunder of Charlwood, just as the provision made for the succession of the Ewell property, with the noteworthy distinction that Henry's elder son Nicholas was entirely omitted from the succession.

Henry Saunder re-settled his lands by a deed of October 1517,¹ less than a year before he made his will. He appointed ten trustees for fulfilment of this deed and the same ten were named in the will as trustees for that part of his lands which did not comprise the Ewell, Epsom and Chessington estates. Seven of these trustees² in fulfilment of his father's will granted William Saunder in 1529 lands, tenements, etc., in Charlwood, Newdigate and Ockley.³

Henry Saunder had bought property in Tolworth and Long Ditton in 1485.⁴ William, his son, bequeathed lands in Ditton and Kingston to his son Nicholas in 1570; it is likely that these lands descended to Sir Nicholas Saunder and were sold by him.

The property of Henry Saunder in Blechingley and Nutfield comprised the Manor of Pendell, which he had acquired from Thomas Uvedale in 1509.⁵ The history of Pendell Manor under the Uvedale and Saunder lordships, which lasted from the middle of the 15th to the end of the 16th century, is followed by Lambert.⁶ The manor remained in the Saunder family for four generations until December 1591, when Nicholas sold it to William Brend for £900.⁷ The conveyance for the sale mentioned a total of 340 acres of land in the estate, but Lambert suggests that this figure was too high.

The Southwark property mentioned in the will of Henry Saunder was the Three Crowns Inn in the parish of St. Margaret (" . . . in hospicio meo vocat' le threcrownes," as the trilingual text reads). St. Margaret's parish was united in 1540 with St. Mary Magdalene to become the parish of St. Saviour.⁸ William Saunder in his will of 1570 referred to the property in the parish of St. Saviour, Southwark, which he had inherited from his father. It is unknown how long the Three Crowns Inn belonged to the Saunder family, pre-

¹ *Blechingley; A Parish History*, U. Lambert, 1921, 1, 284.

² The three others had died in the intervening period: Sir Richard Carew died in 1520, Thomas Polsted in March 1528-9 (Manning and Bray, *op. cit.*, 1, 178) and Ralph Lepton in 1527 (*ibid.*, 1, 69).

³ *Sy.A.C.*, 13, 145, quoting Harl. Charter, 112F, 23.

⁴ *Sy.A.C.*, Extra Vol., "Surrey Fines," 199.

⁵ *V.C.H.*, *op. cit.*, 4, 259.

⁶ *Op. cit.*

⁷ Lambert, *op. cit.*, 1, 304.

⁸ *Southwark Story*, F. Higham, 1955, 102, reviewed in this vol., p. 152.

sumably William's son or grandson disposed of it. The Three Crowns lay just outside the city wall in a locality rich in accommodation for the traveller going to and from London. Little, however, appears to be known of this inn. *Inns of Old Southwark*¹ says nothing about it other than² that Three Crown Square on the west side of Southwark High Street marks the site of an inn and that an indenture of 1617 mentioned a tenement adjoining the south side of the great gate of the inn called the Three Crowns. "Bryan Swynbank of the iii Crownes in Southwerk" was mentioned in a will of 1520.³

Henry Saunder's property in Charlwood, Newdigate and Ockley (his son William also inherited land in Horley from him) would mostly be land inherited from his father. Unfortunately the 15th-century will of William Saunder of Charlwood does not seem to have been preserved. Nicholas, grandson of Henry, owned two farms in Charlwood at his death in 1587; he also held 100 acres of land, meadow and pasture at Charlwood in 1574, which he sold to Robert Whytefield.⁴

The testament of Henry Saunder's will⁵ disposing of his personalty or movable property, is much shorter than that part dealing with his real estate. He directed that he should be buried in the hospital called the Savoy, near London. He made a number of bequests in connection with his funeral; these included 6/8d. each to four chaplains of the Savoy to say a mass; every priest, "presbitus" at the funeral service at Ewell church and at mass on the morrow was to have 14d., and "dinner where he will," but 10d. if at the mass only (and presumably no dinner!). Every parish priest, "clericus parochialis" at the high mass was to receive 4d. The poor of Ewell attending both funeral and mass were to have 4d. each; those present at one or the other 1d. The two men who accompanied his body from Ewell to the Savoy holding two burning torches ("duas torchias ardentis in manibus suis") were to receive 4 shillings each beyond their expenses for the return journey. It was likely that these men fully earned their bequests, walking by the bier in the depths of the winter of 1518-19 the dozen or so miles along the rough road from Ewell to the Savoy, holding lighted torches.

Henry left 40 shillings to William Holgyll, Master of the Savoy, his friend who was trustee of his will, testament and settlement. Smaller bequests were made to the Prior of St. Mary Overie (Bartholomew Linsted, Prior from 1512 up to the dissolution of the Priory in 1539; he was an executor of the will of Henry Saunder's widow)⁶ and to the Priory itself, as also to St. Mary Magdalene, Southwark. Henry Saunder seems to have had strong associations

¹ W. Rendle and P. Norman, 1888.

² Pp. 416-17.

³ *Sy.A.C.*, 1, 185.

⁴ *Sy.A.C.*, 13, 147.

⁵ Some extracts from which appear in Lambert, *op. cit.*, 284-5.

⁶ *Arch. Surrey*, 133, Mathewe.

with Southwark, for he also made bequests to the priest and high altar of St. Mary Magdalene, Southwark, which was not even the parish church of the Three Crowns Inn. Perhaps the Saunders had a house in this parish?

Ewell church was bequeathed 10 marks for repairs and 40d. for tithes negligently forgotten and withheld (this was a usual type of bequest in the Middle Ages; his son William in 1570 bequeathed 12d. and his grandson Francis in 1613 left 2 shillings for the same purpose to Ewell church). Both Henry and his wife Joan left money to the canons of St. Mary Overie for prayers for their souls. Henry had a private chaplain in Ewell, Thomas Wade by name, who was granted 4 marks a year for ten years so long as he lived at the Mansion in Ewell, ministered to his widow and said masses for his soul; if he did not reside with the widow, Wade was to be provided with living accommodation elsewhere.

Family bequests made by Henry included an annuity of £10 to his sister Joan Hunsterton; £60 to his daughters Margaret and Agnes, the latter of whom was betrothed to Richard Keys of East Greenwich (and had married him before the date of her mother's will in March 1518-19). Margaret was to receive her share when she came of age. Legacies of £60 were also left to Ursula, his eldest grand-daughter and to Margaret, daughter of Nicholas Saunder of Charlwood. Joan, Henry's wife, was bequeathed all his goods and chattels, except a gold cross and two coats left to his son William.

It may seem strange that Henry Saunder made no direct provision for his elder son Nicholas in a will which was careful for the welfare of his family, even to the provision for Joan, the wife of this son Nicholas, to live at Batailles Manor House after the death of her mother-in-law. This omission of Nicholas from his father's bequests was probably because he was already provided for and he may have been living at Carshalton. The manor there had been settled in 1514 on Sir John Iwardby of Fitznells, Ewell, who was the husband of Senchia Carew,¹ with remainder to their daughter Joan, the wife of Nicholas Saunder.² Possibly Nicholas and Joan were living at Carshalton when Henry Saunder made his will in 1518; it seems unlikely that Sir John Iwardby himself went to live there, for his third wife was buried at Ewell in 1519,³ which points to his residence at that time at Fitznells. It is not known when Nicholas Saunder died.⁴

Henry Saunder appointed his nephew, Nicholas Saunder of Charlwood, executor of his will. Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, agreed to act as supervisor. Henry Saunder had participated in a minor way in the foundation by Bishop Fox of Corpus Christi

¹ Pedigree II.

² *V.C.H.*, *op. cit.*, 4, 182.

³ Manning and Bray, *op. cit.*, 1, 460.

⁴ His name does not appear in the burial register of Carshalton for the 16th century; no record of the Ewell burial register survives prior to 1608.

College, Oxford, for the bishop bought the Manor of Milton, near Egham, in the names of William Frost, Ralph Lepton and Henry Saunder. Later this property was conveyed to John Claymond, the first President of the College.¹

This Ralph Lepton, who was also a trustee of Saunder's will, was rector of St. Nicholas, Guildford, from 1504 until his death in 1527.² He was a relative—possibly even brother—of Joan, Henry Saunder's wife, who was a daughter of John Lepton of Kipwick, Yorkshire. The arms on Ralph Lepton's brass in the church of St. Nicholas³ were those of the family resident at Kipwick.

Henry Saunder's wife did not long survive her husband; she made her will⁴ March 2, 1518–19, and it was proved later in the same month. She directed that she should be buried next to her husband at the Savoy. She left her movable goods in Southwark to her son William, while son Nicholas and daughter Agnes Keys were to share her household goods at Charlwood. After a few other bequests of clothes and household material the residue was left to Margaret, her unmarried daughter.

William Saunder, who succeeded to most of the property of his father Henry, was unmarried when his parents were alive. Lambert⁵ suggested that he came of age when he was formally inducted to the Pendell property; this was in April 1529,⁶ but he must have come of age long before 1529, for he signed the Pendell rent roll in 1520.⁷ He was twice married, his first wife was Joan, the daughter of Sir William Merston of Horton Manor, near Epsom. She had first married Nicholas Mynne of Norfolk, by whom she had a family; her eldest son John Mynne was aged 20 at her death in October 1539,⁸ hence her marriage to William Saunder hardly took place before 1525. The date of birth of none of William Saunder's children is known. William's second wife was Joan, the widow of Thomas Gittons, Citizen and Vintner of the City of London.

Lambert⁹ suggested that William Saunder was a lawyer, as his signature on the Pendell rent roll has a lawyer's hieroglyphic; facsimiles of his signature appear in *Sy.A.C.*, 4, 139, 141. He held a sequence of high appointments in Surrey during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary, which demanded a legal training. Some of these were Treasury appointments, for which a knowledge of financial matters was also essential.¹⁰

¹ Manning and Bray, *op. cit.*, 3, 254.

² *Ibid.*, 1, 69.

³ *Ibid.*, 1, 65.

⁴ *Arch. Surrey*, 133, Mathewe.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 285.

⁶ Harl. Chart. 112, F23.

⁷ Lambert, *op. cit.*, 298.

⁸ Manning and Bray, *op. cit.*, 2, 612; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ed. VI, 5, 345.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, 298.

¹⁰ The Return of Members of Parliament gives William Saunder as Member for Gatton in 1529 and for the County of Surrey in 1553, 1554 and 1555, but there is no indication whether the Member was William of Ewell or his cousin who was High Sheriff of Surrey in 1556.

In about 1539 William Saunder of Ewell became a Receiver of the Court of Augmentations, which administered Church lands sequestered from the monasteries.¹ He was the Receiver for Surrey and Sussex and in this capacity was responsible for the payment of pensions to ten monks of St. Mary Overie after their eviction.² It is to be hoped that he was generous to these former friends of his parents.

William Saunder's name regularly appeared as a member of the Commission of the Peace for Surrey in the 1540's. He was appointed a member of the Chantry Commission for Surrey in February 1545-6³ and three years later he became Escheator in Surrey and Sussex.⁴ In this capacity Saunder supervised the collection of property which had lapsed to the Crown.

Saunder soon afterwards was a Commissioner for the Sale of Church Goods in East Surrey. He was busy in March 1548-9 certifying the inventories of the village churches near Ewell.⁵ Four years later, on May 7, 1553, Sir Thomas Cawarden, Nicholas Legh and William Saunder received to the king's use one chalice weight 11½ oz. from St. Mary's Church, Ewell, and delivered to the churchwardens there a chalice of 15 oz. with other church property.⁶ Similar appropriations took place from other parishes. The goods taken from churches by the Commissioners did not always find their way "to the king's use." Perhaps the golden crosses which William Saunder bequeathed to his children had been church property before 1550?

Queen Mary abolished the Court of Augmentations as soon as she acceded to the throne, but Saunder found employment in her reign as her Cofferer. He was involved in an incident in Wyatt's abortive rising in January 1553-4 to prevent the Queen's marriage with Philip of Spain. On January 25, the day fixed for the revolt, William accompanied his cousin Sir Thomas Saunder (who was at that time High Sheriff of Surrey) to Blechingley, where they seized the armoury of Sir Thomas Cawarden, whose loyalty to Queen Mary was in doubt.⁷ Cawarden's own account of the episode, recorded by Lambert,⁸ suggested that William Saunder did not go to Blechingley until a day or two later. Some of the equipment taken from

¹ *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII*, ed. J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, 14, Part I, 593.

² *Ibid.*, 13, Part II., 503.

³ *Sy.A.C.*, 25, 5.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Ed. VI, 5, 327.

⁵ *Sy.A.C.*, 21 and 23. This Commission was set up by Somerset to curtail popish practices and enforce the new religion throughout the land. William Saunder is here actively supporting the new Church; it was during the forty or so years after Queen Mary's accession that the Saunder family of Ewell adhered to the Catholic faith.

⁶ *Sy.A.C.*, 4, 171.

⁷ *V.C.H.*, *op. cit.*, 1, 377.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, 264-7.

Cawarden's house was lodged at Ewell; Cawarden later claimed that all the property removed was worth £2,000 and had been taken away in seventeen great wains.

Sir Thomas Cawarden held an eminent position and was a Justice of the Peace for Surrey. As he was a staunch Protestant it was thought that he might side with those stirring up opposition to the Queen's intended marriage; his armoury at Blechingley was therefore impounded as a precaution. Cawarden had to bide his time for any attempted restitution until after Mary's death. He then immediately went to law for the return of his confiscated possessions, when he hoped for more sympathetic treatment under a régime that was not Catholic. He petitioned the Privy Council, who decided in 1559 that he might seek redress at common law, but he had no success. He died in August of that year and his widow in the following February. Lady Cawarden's executor was directed by the Privy Council in August 1560 to drop the proceedings against Sir Thomas and William Saunder.

The continued animosity between Sir Thomas Cawarden and William Saunder after the affair of the Wyatt rising is exemplified in the eviction of Cawarden from Nonsuch, which seems to have been contrived by Saunder and Lord Lumley, the lord of the manor of Ewell. Cawarden had been appointed Steward of the royal manor of Nonsuch, which was alienated from the Crown to Lord Arundel early in Queen Mary's reign; Lord Lumley was Arundel's son-in-law. Cawarden's account (written in 1557) of the events leading up to his eviction was found amongst the Loseley Papers.¹ His graphic protest described his elimination step by step from the Stewardship thus: "Whie shold my Lorde Lumley and Mr. Saunder so colorablye, first shulder me from the kepinge of the banketing house, and then from the manc'on house,—thirdly, from the paler's lodge,—fourthly, from the garden romes,—fifthly, from the keper's lodge of the park,—sixthly from the keper's lodge of the hous,—and seventhly, to the pitt brink, with force of armes (to exclude all my sarvaunts, and after) dreyve out all the cattale from my sayed herbage that wear in by my appointment; and tooke away my paunage? ". Lumley and William Saunder remained friends for many years and Saunder appointed "my especiall good lord Lumley" an overseer of his will.

William Saunder was careful to sue out a pardon at the accession of Queen Elizabeth. His name and those of his sons Nicholas and Francis were included in the Pardon Roll of January 1559-60.² The only appointment William seems to have held in the new reign was that of Surveyor of the Queen's Lands in January 1562-3.³ Probably his advancing age, rather than the new régime's distrust of his religious views, brought about his retirement from active service.

¹ *Topographical History of Surrey and Sussex*, G. L. Gomme, 1900, 108.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Eliz.*, 1, 202.

³ *Sy.A.C.*, 8, 302.

Although he inherited Batailles and other estates in Surrey from his father, William later acquired other properties outside the county. He bought the Manor of Cardens with lands in the villages of Cliff, Higham, Cöoling and Frindsbury in North Kent. This manor had belonged to the Charterhouse¹ and after the suppression of the monastery the manor was granted to Thomas Gittons,² Citizen and Vintner of London, who was at once granted a licence to alienate the manor to Sir Oliver Ledder. Thomas Gittons died in 1543; his will³ mentioned his wife Joan, five children and brother David. William Saunder's will records that Cardens and neighbouring lands were bought by William from Sir Oliver Ledder and David Gittons. William bequeathed the manor to his wife Joan for life; he had in fact married as his second wife the widow of Thomas Gittons, once owner of Cardens. William's eldest son inherited Cardens after the death of Joan. Harshing Marsh in Cliff parish was left to his other sons, Francis and Erasmus. William had bought the marsh in November 1546,⁴ which was probably about the date that he acquired the other Kent property.

William Saunder bought the Manor of Parrock, near Hartfield in Sussex, in 1547.⁵ Also known as the Manor of Parrock and Parrock Inholmes, this manor was bequeathed with the iron mill by William to his son Nicholas. The latter in 1587 left it to his wife for life and then to his son Henry. However, in 1590 Henry disposed of the estate to his brother Sir Nicholas Saunder⁶, who sold it in 1593 to William Garway.⁷

William Saunder was twice involved in litigation concerning the Parrock property. The previous owner, a certain William Warner, had had complicated financial transactions with Saunder, and Warner's son claimed possession of the manor on the grounds that the sale was not absolute. The Court of Chancery decided in Saunder's favour.⁸

Meanwhile it seems that after William Warner's death his family had leased the iron mill and 40 acres of land for ten years to Denise Bowyer, mother of Sir Henry Bowyer, later Ironmaster to Queen Elizabeth. The lawsuit between Saunder and Denise Bowyer is vividly described in the Star Chamber Proceedings.⁹ Denise contended that three years after she had taken possession of the iron mill William Saunder bought the reversion of the premises. She alleged that he then came with his men and "distrained her cattle and broke up the said pools and waters so that she could not have

¹ *History of the County of Kent*, E. Hasted, 1797, 3, 508-9.

² Hasted's text is wrong in writing the name "Gibbons."

³ P.C.C., 23 Spert.

⁴ Gairdner and Brodie, *op. cit.*, 21, Part II, 248.

⁵ *Wealden Iron*, E. Straker, 1931, 242.

⁶ *Sx. Rec. Soc.*, 20, 338.

⁷ Straker, *op. cit.*, 244.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 242.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 242-4; *Sx. Rec. Soc.*, 16, 61-4.

any recourse to the said iron mill or forge." There seems to have been a pitched battle between the followers of the two contestants, for Denise claimed that some of her servants had been assaulted while preventing the ponds from being drained.

Saunder for his part naturally denied the assault and riot alleged. He claimed that after he and his men had departed peacefully from the works and had almost reached his own house they were set upon by Denise Bowyer and her followers. He alleged that she struck the oxen drawing a wagon bearing tools and the bellows taken from the ironworks, and cried out: "Down with Greybeard, down with Greybeard" until he picked her up and carried her out of the way. He seems to have been knocked down in the scrimmage, she thereupon was said to have cried: "Slay him, slay him, shoot at Greybeard." Needless to say Denise denied all this; she could hardly be blamed for making a determined effort to recover the furnace bellows and other equipment which William had loaded into his wagon. Who won this lawsuit is unknown; Saunder was in possession of the ironworks in 1564, which would have been the case whether he had won or lost, for Denise Bowyer only had a ten-year lease on the ironworks. Not until 1577 did the Warners formally renounce claim to the manor, when Vincent Warner quitclaimed it to Nicholas Saunder.¹

William Saunder also acquired the Manor of Chessington-at-Hoke, described in his will as: "late parcel of the dissolved monastery of Merten Abbey." This manor was left to his son Nicholas, whose son Sir Nicholas conveyed it to Benedict Haynes in 1601.² William had obtained leases from the Crown of woods and coppices in Chessington in 1557,³ it seems perhaps a flight of fancy to suggest that Saunder rented these woods in order to supply fuel for his ironworks at Parrock twenty-five miles away and yet at this time there was a grave shortage of wood as a result of the felling of timber in certain areas.⁴

William Saunder showed generosity in his will to his servants, for he directed his son Nicholas "to kepe house at Ewell for my wyffe and all my servants one quarter of a yeare next after my death so that they maie gett maisters in the meane tyme." Two tenants were to be allowed to stay in their farms rent free for a year after his death. He directed that he should be buried in the chapel near his tomb⁵ in Ewell Parish Church. If he should die while away from Ewell he was to be given Christian burial where he died without any pomp. The brief and simple directions regarding his funeral are in marked contrast to the precise instructions of his father's will of half a century earlier and emphasize the changes in the ritual during that period.

¹ *Sx. Rec. Soc.*, 20, 338.

² *V.C.H.*, *op. cit.*, 3, 264.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, Phil. and Mary, 4, 156, 159.

⁴ *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution*, T. S. Ashton, 1951, 8, 9.

⁵ *i.e.*, the grave of his first wife, who died at Ewell.

Joan, the widow of William Saunder, made her will in April 1580.¹ She gave instructions in the will that she was to be buried in the church at Narborough in Norfolk. Three months later she was buried there. Although her husband had left her the use of Cardens in Kent, she went to live at Narborough, probably with William's daughter Catherine, who was then living there with her second husband, John Spelman. Three others of William Saunder's daughters and possibly one or more of his sons were living in Norfolk in the 1570's and it was natural that she preferred to live near them, possibly paying visits to them on the "black amblinge nagge" which William Saunder had bequeathed her.

It is uncertain whether Joan, William Saunder's second wife, was the mother of any of his children. The Saunder pedigree dated 1679 compiled at the College of Arms and reproduced by T. Homer-Saunders², names only William's first wife and five of his eight children. All these five are recorded as children of the first wife. Francis, the youngest son (omitted from the pedigree), was alive in 1546,³ his father could not have married his second wife until after the death in 1543 of her former husband. It seems unlikely therefore that any of the children were issue of the second marriage. William's widow only mentioned one of his children, Catherine, in her will; Catherine was there described as "my daughter Spilman" wife of "my son Spilman of Narborough." Catherine was bequeathed a gilt cup and her husband a silver goblet and a pair of sables. Small bequests were also made to Catherine's daughter, Anne Kervill.⁴ These gifts were practically the sole bequests made by Joan Saunder beyond those left to her children by Thomas Gittons and their families, and were in all probability made because Joan was living with the Spelmans at Narborough. The bulk of Joan's property was left to her two sons, Oliver and Albey Gittons, both of whom had been mentioned in the will of Thomas Gittons. Oliver Gittons lived at Ewell (his house was recorded in the Survey of 1577) and he and his wife were buried there in 1615 and 1618 respectively. William Saunder bequeathed Oliver a gown "furred with jennyetts,"⁵ my velvet jerkin and my cloke and a paiere of my hosen."

William Saunder's five daughters had ten husbands between them

¹ P.C.C., 27 Darcy.

² *The Saunders, Sanders, Sandars Family and Its Blood Connections*, 1939, opposite 30.

³ Gairdner and Brodie, *op. cit.*, 21, Part II, 248.

⁴ Anne, daughter of Catherine by her first husband, Edmund Kervill, was married in 1581 to Sir Clement Spelman, son by a former wife of Catherine's second husband, John Spelman. After Anne's death in 1602 Sir Clement married a sister of the wife of Sir Augustine Palgrave, the eldest son of Urith Saunder.

⁵ Civet. The variety of furs in use in the 16th century is manifest in Saunder wills. William's mother bequeathed a gown furred with shankys (fur from the legs of sheep or kids); his widow used wolverine for one of her gowns, while his cousin, Sir Thomas Saunder, in his will (P.C.C., 19 Crymes) mentioned a velvet gown furred with martens.

and all five had married at the time he made his will. The eldest daughter Mary was left a widow with a young family by the early death of her husband, Nicholas Lusher. She remained a widow for over forty years, continuing to live at her husband's Manor of Shoelands at Puttenham, Surrey. Her only son Nicholas was knighted in 1603.

The other four of William's daughters all married into Norfolk families. Urith, probably the second daughter, married John Palgrave of Berningham Northwood. A descendant through his grandmother (Anne Glemham) from Edward I, Palgrave was a Bencher and Treasurer of the Inner Temple, where two of Urith's brothers were Students. John and Urith lived together more than forty years at Northwood Berningham and the church there, which is practically all that now remains of the village, has a number of fine memorials to the family, although the veracity of some of the heraldic shields displayed on these is open to doubt.¹ Urith's eldest son Augustine was a barrister of the Inner Temple and was knighted in 1604.

Frances, the next daughter, married twice. Her first husband was Barnard Jennings of Vann, near Godalming. He died childless only two or three years after their marriage. She afterwards married Henry, son of Sir John Spelman of Narborough. They lived at Congham, seven miles north of Narborough, where a brass plate records the deaths of Frances and Henry and gives the names of their children and grandchildren. Their eldest son, Sir Henry Spelman, was the famous historian and author of many works on antiquarian subjects.

The two youngest daughters of William Saunder, Elizabeth and Catherine, were each married three times. Catherine's first husband was Edmund Kervill or Carvill, of Wiggshall. Elizabeth was first married to Roger Castell of Raveningham, whose sister married a brother of Edmund.² Edmund Kervill died in 1570; within a year Catherine married John Spelman of Narborough, a nephew of the husband of her sister Frances. Tragedy overtook the family ten years later when John Spelman and Roger Castell were buried at Narborough within a few days of one another in 1581.³ Catherine lastly married Miles Corbet of Sprowston, Norfolk, just over a year after the death of her second husband. Miles Corbet was a soldier who was knighted by Essex at Cadiz in 1596. On their alabaster tomb at Sprowston are the effigies of Catherine and the first wife of Sir Miles, kneeling side by side behind their spouse. Catherine died in 1608, the year after her husband's death.

Elizabeth married again about two years after the death of Roger Castell, her second husband being William Forthe of Hadleigh,

¹ Palmer and Tucker, *op. cit.*, 189-93.

² Vis. Norfolk, Harl. Soc., 32, 69-70, 178-9.

³ This year was not a serious plague year in East Anglia and yet the husband of a third Saunder sister in Norfolk, Henry Spelman of Congham, died a few months after John and Roger.

Suffolk. Her third husband was Thomas Garnish, also of a Suffolk family. Thomas, whom she married before 1613, was much younger than Elizabeth; his death did not take place until 1652.

Francis Saunder, the youngest son of William, made his will¹ at Congham a few days before his death in August 1613. He probably lived here with his widowed sister Frances. Francis, apparently unmarried, was called Francis Saunder of Ewell in his will and yet the only property he held there in 1577 was a cottage on the north side of Gallows Street (now West Street) plus 3 acres in the Common field.² He made his nephew Richard, son of Erasmus Saunder, his residuary legatee. At the Court Baron of Ewell held in 1615 Richard alienated the tenement with appurtenances which he held in Ewell. Francis left small bequests to about thirty of his relatives; the beneficiaries were chiefly grandchildren of Frances Spelman and the children of his brother Erasmus. Francis owned the rectory of All Saints at Congham; the church of All Saints, one of the three in the village, had fallen into disuse at that time. Francis had quarrelled with his brother Nicholas at Ewell, who in his will in 1587 made Francis a bequest "in token of a perfect reconciliation and forgetting of all matters heretofore passed betwixt him and me."

Erasmus, the second son of William Saunder, was a barrister, having been admitted a Student of the Inner Temple in 1559. His name occurred in a number of official lists of recusants during the last twenty years of the 16th century, showing him to have been an ardent Catholic, who suffered imprisonment for this cause. His wife came from Tenby in Pembrokeshire and his descendants lived in that part of Wales. An account of this branch has been written by F. Green.³ The male line is now represented by the Saunders of Alton Pancras, Dorchester,⁴ the tenth generation from Erasmus. Two descendants in this line, a father and a son both bearing the name Erasmus, were eminent divines of the 18th century, who find a place in the Dictionary of National Biography.

Jenet Barrett's marriage to Erasmus Saunder took place in or before 1570. Her father had died when she was a child and she became a ward. It seems that she was carried away by night by a certain Peter Veale, who sold her wardship to Erasmus Saunder. No doubt he married her at once and went to live in Wales, for he was bailiff of Tenby in 1572 and mayor in 1577. Shortly afterwards he was imprisoned in the Fleet Prison as a recusant and in 1581 Jenet was a convicted recusant too, when she was called the wife of

¹ P.C.C., 76 Capell.

² It was not from want of trying that Francis held no more land in Ewell; at the Court Baron of Ewell Manor in 1598 it was declared that he had enclosed the meadow Dickard Mead, which had always been common land. He was ordered to lay it open under penalty of 39 shillings.

³ *Saunders of Pentre, Tymawr and Glanrhydw*, Hist. Soc. of West Wales Trans., 1911-12, 2, 161-88.

⁴ Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1952.

Erasmus Saunder of Ewell.¹ Erasmus was in the Fleet Prison again in 1582-3,² in 1588 he appeared in the recusancy lists under Clerkenwell³ and in 1592-3⁴ he was described as having lately lived at Raveningham, Norfolk (where his sister Elizabeth lived). Finally in 1594 Erasmus was indicted as a recusant at the Great Session in Pembrokeshire.⁵ Despite this adventuresome life Erasmus and Jenet brought up eleven children. Erasmus was alive in September 1597 and died before October 1600. He owned no property in Ewell in 1577 and probably owned none there subsequently.

The other son of William Saunder was Nicholas his heir, who inherited the Ewell property. Besides inheriting the entailed property of his grandfather, Henry Saunder, Nicholas was left two estates bought by his father: Parrock in Sussex and Cardens in Kent, the latter after the life interest of his father's widow. Nicholas was a lawyer and was admitted a Student of the Inner Temple in 1556. Four years later he married Isabel Carew at Beddington, thus providing the third union between the Saunder and Carew families (Pedigree II). His wife was the youngest daughter of Sir Nicholas Carew, a close friend of Henry VIII in the earlier years of his reign. Carew was beheaded in 1539, only three years after he had received the Order of the Garter. Fuller⁶ called him a jolly Gentleman and attributed his downfall to a dispute with the king during a game of bowls, but the authenticity of this reason is considered dubious. Carew's decided Catholic tendencies probably assisted in his misfortune. Isabel's mother was a descendant of Edward III.⁷

Nicholas Saunder had thus made a good marriage and was a man of much property and yet during the seventeen years he was lord of the manor of Batailles he did not hold any official position in the county. His recusancy was undoubtedly the cause of this. His name appeared in the Diocesan Return of Recusants of 1577⁸ as having been presented for non-attendance at church. In the following year he was actually committed by the Bishop of London to the Fleet Prison on April 30.⁹ He remained in prison less than two months, for he was freed on June 23. Nicholas must have recanted, although his brother Erasmus remained steadfast and was left in the Fleet.

There is a letter in the Loseley MSS.¹⁰ written in April 1580 by Robert Cole, Vicar of Epsom, to Sir William More, in which the vicar complained that he had been molested by Nicholas Saunder

¹ *A Century of Persecution*, 1920, St. G. K. Hyland, 384.

² Cal. State Papers, 1583, 159, 102.

³ Cath. Rec. Soc., 1921, 22, 131.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1916, 18, 376.

⁵ *Cymru a'r Hen Flydd*, 1951, E. G. Jones, 37.

⁶ *History of the Worthies of England*, 96.

⁷ Homer-Saunders, *op. cit.*, pedigree opposite 30.

⁸ Cath. Rec. Soc., 22, 43.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 131.

¹⁰ Hyland, *op. cit.*, 327-8.

because he had caused Saunder to be presented at the sessions for not receiving Holy Communion. Nicholas Saunder had been ordered to appear before Dr. Lewen, which he failed to do and thereupon "he stode excommunicate." Cole claimed that as a result of this, Saunder molested him by all means he could devise. Nicholas Saunder accused Cole of being a barrator¹ and a troublesome person. Cole, it seems, was probably the cause of Saunder's imprisonment in 1578.

The Vicar of Epsom presumably had the right to arraign Nicholas Saunder for non-attendance at church because Saunder held lands in Epsom.² The benefice of Ewell might well have been vacant when the Vicar of Epsom caused Saunder to be presented at the sessions. William Thomas was appointed Vicar of Ewell in 1573, but perhaps he had sought a livelihood elsewhere as a means of avoiding destitution similar to that later suffered by his successor, Richard Williamson, Vicar from 1584 to 1589, who had to beg for his living³ because Nicholas Saunder (both father and son) kept the revenues from the parsonage lands. No doubt the Saunders considered this only just, in view of what they suffered from the Established Church.

Although the elder Nicholas Saunder failed to appear before Dr. Lewen, he attended the sessions in the summer of 1580—there is a warrant for his appearance at Kingston in August—and a letter of his, dated January 3, 1580-1, is preserved in the Loseley MSS.⁴ in which he courteously replied to a summons from Sir William More and Sir Thomas Browne, Commissioners, to appear before them at Kingston. He wrote that he had appeared before the Council the previous autumn and was dismissed from the Council "in favourable terms . . . since which time my behaviour therein hath been such as I can and will be ready to yield you the reasonable account thereof." According to an endorsement on the letter "divers men of good credit" certified that Nicholas Saunder had from time to time attended divine service. Nicholas obviously had no wish to go to prison again and perhaps he was aware that the mood of those in power was hardening against the Catholics. Later in the year in which he wrote his letter an Act of Parliament made abstention from church liable to a fine of £20 a month, much greater than the penalty of a shilling a Sunday which had hitherto been imposed. The Act of 1581 also made those hearing mass liable to a large fine and a year's imprisonment. Nicholas Saunder would seem to have remained a Catholic at heart to the end of his days, for he bequeathed his brother Erasmus an annuity of £6-13-4 "so long as he shall

¹ One who buys or sells ecclesiastical preferment, O.E.D.

² His son Nicholas had one of the two largest assessments in Epsom in 1593 (*Sy.A.C.*, 18, 208).

³ *V.C.H.*, *op. cit.*, 2, 28; Willis, *op. cit.*, 19.

⁴ Hyland, *op. cit.*, 324-5.

nede and untill he be restored unto some better livinge," demonstrating his approval of the fight made by Erasmus for the retention of the old religion. It appears pertinent that Nicholas omitted from his will any bequest to the church at Ewell or its vicar.

Nicholas was a sick man when he made his will in 1587. Nearly thirty small bequests were made to servants and others outside the family. The poor of Ewell and Epsom were left a hundred quarters of corn to be distributed in rye and barley during the five years after his death. He owned two farms at Charlwood, one of which was granted to his servant at the expiration of the lease then running.

The surprise of the will was the appointment of Sir William Cecil, Lord High Treasurer of England, as a supervisor, for it seems hard to understand how Saunder came to be on terms of such familiarity with Lord Burghley, when he had held no office of importance, but had in Elizabeth's reign been a thorn in the flesh of the official Church. The other supervisor was Sir Francis Carew, brother of Nicholas' first wife. For their trouble the supervisors were left rings set with emeralds; Burghley was bequeathed the one with the best emerald.

The three daughters of Nicholas Saunder were bequeathed generous portions under their father's will when they married—500 marks for one and 400 each for the other two. If Anne should marry John Abrahall her provision was to be increased to £300; she did not get her £300 dowry, for when she married Henry Whitney three years later she was a spinster. Her sister Mary's husband was named Bevill or Beavell. The third daughter Jane was married to Luke Ward in March 1589-90, but she was soon widowed, for she became the wife of Alexander Clifford of Bobbing, Kent, in June 1593. Her brother Nicholas in 1595 made over property in Ewell to her and her husband. Alexander Clifford was knighted at Cadiz in 1596, at the same time that Miles Corbet, the husband of Jane's aunt Catherine, was similarly honoured by the Earl of Essex (and much to Queen Elizabeth's annoyance).

Henry, the younger surviving son of Nicholas Saunder, matriculated at Balliol College in August 1583, when he was 14; he was admitted a Student of the Inner Temple seven years later. His father left him "a whole furniture of a chamber and bedding" and granted him an annuity of £20 during the life of Margaret, his step-mother; after her death he was to succeed to the Manor of Parrock, which he sold to his brother in 1590. Henry's name does not occur in any connection with Ewell and he may have gone abroad; he was probably unmarried.

The eldest son of Nicholas Saunder and his wife Isabel was named Nicholas. He matriculated at Balliol College at the age of 18 in 1581, two years before his younger brother Henry and likewise, according to Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, preceded Henry to the Inner Temple, both sons thus followed the profession of their father. In the summer of 1585 the list of certified recusants of Ewell in-

cluded "Mr. Nicholas Saunder gent. the younger and his wife."¹ Nicholas was then only 22 and had already married Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard Blunt, who had owned property in Lambeth.

Nicholas was mentioned as a recusant "now to be death with"² in 1586, but not subsequently. He succeeded to his father's property at the end of the following year (except that which was left for life to Margaret, his stepmother, who was granted the Manor of Batailles) and at once embarked upon a parliamentary career for which he had to conform to the Established Church and submit to the Oath of Supremacy. The sentence in his father's will that to Lord Burghley's "honorable favour, direction and protection I doe comend and comitt my said sonne Nicholas" may have influenced this change of face of Nicholas Saunder junior. The change was complete by January 1591-2, when Lord William Howard, Sir William More and Sir Francis Carew (uncle of Nicholas) informed the Privy Council that Nicholas Saunder was a member of the Surrey Commission for the detection and suppression of the Jesuits. Howard, More and Carew declared that all the ten members of the Surrey Commission were sound and well affected in religion to God and devoted in all duty to the service of Her Majesty.³ The report to the Privy Council had to disclose whether any of the Commissioners' wives were recusants; no comment was made on any of this report. It is therefore surprising to read in a Declaration of the Knights and Burgesses of Surrey:⁴ "And lykewise Sir Nicholas Saunders a Justice of the peace alsoe of the Countye, that ordinarilye he Comethe to the churche and is not suspected anye waye to be popishe, but his wife is of a popishe disposition as we are crediblye ynformed." This document is undated, but must have been written after Nicholas was knighted in 1603.⁵ It was easier for Elizabeth Saunder to adhere to the Catholic religion than for her husband, since women papists were not liable to imprisonment and did not suffer the heavy penalties and loss of property to which their husbands were exposed.

Nicholas Saunder was Member for Penrhyn, Cornwall, in the Parliament of 1588-9. Subsequently he is recorded as representing the Cornish boroughs of St. Ives in 1593, Helston in 1597-8 and Lostwithiel in 1601. He was also credited with representing Haslemere in the Parliament of 1593. This Parliament lasted less than

¹ *Ibid.*, 392.

² *Ibid.*, 393.

³ *Ibid.*, 202-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 231.

⁵ *The Knights of England*, W. A. Shaw, 1906, 2, 107, includes with those knighted at the Charterhouse on May 11, 1603, "Richard (Nicholas) Saunders (Sanders), of Co. Lincoln" which would seem to refer to Nicholas Saunder of Ewell. The mistake of the Christian name is understandable, but Nicholas Saunder had no connection with Lincolnshire. In the Translation of the Manors of Ewell and Cuddington (Northey 10/170) Nicholas is called Sir Nicholas Saunder for the first time in the Court Baron held June 5, 1603.

three months, and it may be that he sat for either St. Ives or Haslemere and that in the other constituency a writ was issued for a by-election, which was never held on account of the short duration of that Parliament. Subsequently he represented Gatton from 1604 to 1611 and finally Winchelsea in 1626.

There survives a letter written by Nicholas Saunder on the last day of the Parliament which ended in April 1593.¹ This letter was addressed to Sir William More at Loseley and recounted recent proceedings in the House. Saunder related that on one occasion they passed away the time reasonably pleasantly in arguing to a merry bill of the Brewers, though "the cheefeest matter of pleasure to ye house was through ye Bill of Cranbrooke, wch. I procured to be red." Later they sat until after 3 o'clock in order to pass a bill (he was glad that More was free from the wearisome attendance). "We were content to yield to anything so wee might rise . . . many of us cought such a faintnes there, so long fasting, having neyther meate in our bellies nor witt in our heddes yt wee shall not (I doubt me) be able to make a wyse speeche there while wee live." In this letter Saunder alluded to George More, Sir William's son, as "my brother George," and he concluded the letter "Your dutifull Sonne." George More's daughter Mary married Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, a nephew of Nicholas Saunder's mother, nearly five years after this letter was written, but no connection between the More and Saunder families before 1598 is apparent. Saunder probably addressed the Mores in this manner as a result of an intimate friendship which existed between Nicholas and George More, who as well as Sir William, represented a Surrey constituency in 1593. This familiarity between Nicholas Saunder and the Mores contrasts strongly with the formal letter (already considered) written thirteen years beforehand by his father to Sir William More.

Nicholas Saunder's name appears once or twice as a member of a Parliamentary Committee, such as that appointed in March 1592-3 for the relief of wounded soldiers and sailors.² He looked after affairs near home, for he presented a petition from the local inhabitants for the repair of Talworth (*sic*) Lane, Surrey, in 1604³ and he served as a Commissioner of the River Wandle in 1610.³

His experience as a member of the Wandle Commission may have influenced Sir Nicholas to join an undertaking for supplying London with water. C. H. Dudley Ward⁵ credits Sir Nicholas with having been one of the principal partners in Sir Hugh Myddleton's New River Scheme for bringing water from springs near Ware in Hertfordshire to Islington. Dudley Ward states that Saunder was embarrassed financially in 1633 owing to the failure of the scheme, and in the end was ruined by his adventure. The New River Scheme,

¹ Hyland, *op. cit.*, 229-31; *The Times*, December 12, 1929.

² *Hatfield MSS.*, Part IV, 295.

³ *Ibid.*, Part XVI, 68.

⁴ *Sy.A.C.*, 21, 176.

⁵ *Family of Twysden and Twisden*, 1939, 141.

although it encountered difficulties during the digging of the canal in 1609–13 and was not an economic proposition until twenty years afterwards, paid a maiden dividend in 1633 and became even more prosperous after 1640. If therefore Sir Nicholas had had a share in the scheme he would have had some return during the last fifteen years of his life. There is no mention of Saunder in any record of the New River Scheme.

The venture with which Sir Nicholas was connected was not promoted until 1628 when a grant¹ was made to him, his son Henry and Michael Parker for the conveyance of water by a covered aqueduct from springs near Hoddesdon, Herts., to London, in return for the payment to the Crown of a yearly rent of £4,000. Money for the scheme was to be raised by a lottery. Neither Sir Nicholas Saunder nor his son Henry is mentioned again in connection with the scheme, which met with opposition both from the New River already constructed and from a proposal to draw water from Rickmansworth.²

The Hoddesdon scheme proposed to convey the water in a covered aqueduct, as distinct from Myddleton's open canal, which gave muddy water "found by experience not to be fit for many uses, and to fail many times for a whole week or fortnight together." Eight years after Saunder's grant the Hoddesdon supply had not been begun and its cost was assessed at £25,000. The last heard of the venture is the indenture of September 1639, between Sir Edward Stradling and others, who undertook to bring water from Hoddesdon to London within five years. £7,000 raised by lottery had been paid to the undertakers and £5,000 more was available. The rest of the £25,000 was to be paid "as it shall be raised by the lottery."³ Whether the other half of the necessary sum was forthcoming from lotteries is unknown, but the Hoddesdon water supply was never completed. The ruination of Nicholas Saunder by this failure is evident. In 1633 there was some hope of the venture being successfully concluded; the establishment of the New River water supply on a sure basis a few years later meant the abandonment of the Hoddesdon scheme, probably with no redress to its promoters. It is pertinent to recall that Saunder sold his mansion at Ewell in 1638, presumably to recoup losses from the water scheme.

Isabella Twysden provides the epilogue to her father's long life, which began early in Elizabeth's reign and ended ten days after Charles I was executed. Isabella's diary⁴ describes how in the wintry weather of February 1649, the old man died at his house in Nonsuch Park. She says that he was buried "by torch lights" at Ewell by the side of his wife. Sir Nicholas Saunder made no will; Dudley Ward⁵ said that Sir Nicholas was ultimately ruined and

¹ *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1627–8, 114–15.

² *Sir Walter Roberts his Answer to Mr. Ford's Book . . .*, 1641.

³ *Cal. State Papers*, Dom., 1639, 481.

⁴ *Addit. MSS.*, 34171.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 142.

that his children inherited his heraldic distinctions but nothing else. This was an exaggeration, for his son sold Batailles Manor and 40 acres in 1659. If this were the only inheritance which Henry received from his father it was a pittance by comparison with the property that Sir Nicholas had inherited in 1587.

Sir Nicholas Saunder seems to have had two sons: Carew, who died in infancy, and Henry, born in November 1604 and hailed as heir to Sir Nicholas in the register of baptisms at Ewell. Henry matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in April 1624, his age being given as 17.¹ Little is known of Henry Saunder, except that he participated in the Hoddesdon water scheme with his father and was present at his father's death. Dudley Ward² says that Henry died unmarried, while the College of Arms pedigree of 1679 states that he died without issue. It appears that he married Frances Watson at All Hallows, Barking, on November 28, 1636. The marriage licence describes the bridegroom as a bachelor aged 30 of Ewell, while the bride was a widow aged 30 of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. Nothing is known of Henry Saunder after his sale of Batailles in 1659, except that he must have died before the College of Arms pedigree was compiled in 1679, and that he had no children.

Frances, the eldest of the three daughters of Sir Nicholas Saunder, married Edward Warham of Osmington in Dorset. Frances and Edward lived at Nonsuch with her father, and continued to live there after his death. Frances was a widow in 1659 when she and Thomas Twysden sold their third part of Ruxley Manor to Thomas Thurgis.³ Elizabeth, the second daughter, married John Napier of Puncknoll, Dorset, whose family was connected with the Warhams. The youngest daughter of Sir Nicholas was Isabella, who became the wife of Sir Roger Twysden of East Peckham, the distinguished historiographer. According to Dudley Ward⁴ Isabella Saunder had gone to live with the Twysdens in 1633 as a lady-in-waiting upon Roger's mother. The diminishing fortunes of her father made it essential for Isabella to marry soon; this she accomplished at the beginning of 1635 and lived another twenty-two years, bearing her husband six children, all of whom survived their parents.

¹ *Alumni Oxonienses*.

² *Op. cit.*, 141.

³ Manning and Bray, *op. cit.*, I, 461.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 140.

PEDIGREE II

THE SAUNDER-CAREW CONNECTIONS AND THE OWNERS (IN CAPITALS) OF THE MANOR OF BATAILLES, EWELL

Nicholas Carew = Mercy (? Mary) Delamere
d. 1432.

THOMAS HAYTON = Beatrice
d. 1432.

Nicholas Carew = Margaret Fiennes
d. 1458.

Thomas Carew = AGNES HAYTON = Thomas Sayer
d. 1430. Living in 1450. 3rd husband.
 1st husband.

Sir James Carew = Eleanor
d. 1493. Hoo

Nicholas Carew = Margaret
d. 1466. Langford

William Saunder = JOAN CAREW
d. 1481.

Richard = MERCY CAREW
 Forde

ISABEL CAREW

Sir Richard Carew = Malyn
d. 1520. Oxenbridge
d. 1544.

Senchia Carew = Sir John Iwardby
d. 1525.

HENRY SAUNDER = Joan Lepton
d. 1518-19.

Sir John St. John = Joan Iwardby = Nicholas Saunder
d. 1512. Living in 1549.
 1st husband.

Nicholas Saunder
 2nd husband.

WILLIAM SAUNDER = Joan Merston
d. 1571. 1st wife.

Sir Nicholas Carew = Elizabeth Bryan
d. 1539.

Margaret Carew = John St. John
d. 1576.

Isabel Carew = NICHOLAS SAUNDER = MARGARET BOSTOCK
 1st wife. *d.* 1587. Living in 1597.
 2nd wife.

SIR NICHOLAS SAUNDER = Elizabeth Blunt
d. 1648-49.

HENRY SAUNDER
 Sold the Manor of Batailles in 1659.