

THE EARLY HISTORY OF SANDON HOSPITAL

BY

C. A. F. MEEKINGS

THE surviving records of major judicial visitations held in Surrey in the thirteenth century have been generally neglected by the county's historians: despite the fact that in the 1650s Edward Fauconberge, then keeper of the record office in which they were preserved, abstracted many cases from them and supplied complete place and rough subject indexes to his abstracts. This neglect seems to be the only reason why such authorities as Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Manning and Bray, and the *Victoria County History*¹ agree in saying, without evidence, that the Augustinian hospital or priory of Sandon, in Esher, was founded at the beginning of Henry II's reign. In the plea roll of the special eyre held by the newly appointed justiciar of England, Hugh le Bigod, at Bermondsey in November 1258 there is a case, duly abstracted by Fauconberge, which gives an outline history of Sandon hospital since its foundation.² This special eyre was designed by the recent reforming provisions of Oxford and Westminster to redress grievances for which there was no ready remedy by the ordinary processes of common law.³ To this end a very informal procedure was introduced. Although many real grievances were redressed, the informality of the procedure and the disturbed state of the country led also to many cases being brought with doubtful justification. We have no hesitation in reckoning our case among the latter sort. It was a complaint brought by Robert de Watevill, grandson of the founder of the hospital, against master Geoffrey de Feringes, official of the bishop-elect of Winchester, and brother Thomas of London, canon of Newark and master of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Sandon, about the mastership of the hospital. Master Geoffrey closed a distinguished ecclesiastical career as dean of St. Paul's, 1263-1267.⁴ In 1240 we find him in one of the most famous ecclesias-

¹ *Monasticon*, vi, 675-677; *M. & B.*, ii, 749-751; *V.C.H.*, Surrey, ii, 118-119.

² Eyre, Assize, Trailbaston etc. Rolls: P.R.O. ref. J.I. 1/873, m. 10; *Index* 17103, f. 19d.

³ Cf. E. F. Jacobs, *Studies in the Period 1258-1267* (Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, VIII), chapter III, The Legislation of 1258-1259 and the Eyre of 1259-1260.

⁴ *Newcourt's Repertorium*, ed. Hennessy, note a 134. His other known preferment was: the rectory of Denham, Bucks, in 1246, *Cal. Papal Registers 1198-1304*, 221; the moiety of the rectory of Elham, Kent, in 1246, *Cal. Patent Rolls 1232-47*, 484, *Close Rolls 1242-7*, 476; the mastership of St. Cross

tical households of the age, that of archbishop Edmund Rich, along with the archbishop's chancellor, master Richard de Wych, who later became bishop of Chichester and perhaps conferred on master Geoffrey the precentorship of Chichester which he later held.¹ He had been the official in the bishopric of Winchester since March 1244 or earlier, and continued in this capacity until the summer of 1260 or later.² He thus served two very different men: William de Raleigh, who after some 25 years' service as clerk, justice and chief justice in the royal courts became a bishop in the best tradition of the age and endured a bitter quarrel with his former master Henry III; and Aymer de Lusignan, the King's young Poitevin kinsman who had been jobbed into the see without any sort of qualification and who remained unconsecrated. As their principal agent in the administration of the diocese, master Geoffrey himself appears as a man governed by the best principles of the time: in this case being concerned for the proper conduct of the smaller religious houses in the diocese. There can be little doubt that if the bishop-elect had not been among the most obnoxious of the Poitevins, whom the reformers exiled and wished to have deposed, it is unlikely that Robert de Watevill would have brought his complaint.

Master Geoffrey had claimed and exercised a right to interfere in the presentation of the master of the hospital; Robert disputed this. In the course of his case, Robert pleaded the succession of masters since the foundation. The jury substantially confirmed his narrative, and judgement was given for him. What follows is, therefore, largely the facts as stated by Robert or the jury, with a little additional matter from other sources. The story concerns three members of the de Watevill family, grandfather, father and son, and all named Robert. A biography of the second of these will appear in a forthcoming volume of the Surrey Record Society; from it we summarize the main points about their careers. Robert the grandfather, whom we call Robert I, was a knight prominent in county affairs in John's reign who may have been hanged by prince Louis of France during the civil war of 1215-7. His son, whom we call Robert II, was also prominent in county affairs; he married Alina (de Sandford) and died a little before April 1243. His son and heir, whom we call Robert III, was then a minor, in ward to the abbot of Chertsey from whom the family held its manors of Esher and Coulsdon. He had come of age by 1253—probably several years earlier—and was the plaintiff in our case.

The hospital was founded in John's reign by Robert I de Watevill,

hospital, Winchester, before 1250, *Close Rolls 1247-51*, 326,380; the precentorship of Chichester cathedral, in 1256, *Cal. Patent Rolls 1247-58*, 515, and 1262, Eyre, Assize, Trailbaston etc. Rolls: P.R.O. ref. J.I. 1/912A, m. 12.

¹ *Cartulary of St. Gregory, Canterbury* (Camden 3rd Series, vol. 88), ed. A. M. Woodcock, no. 217.

² He has been found mentioned as the official of the bishop or bishop-elect in March 1244 (*Close Rolls 1242-7*, 238), September 1246 (*Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral*, ed. Goodman, 395), February 1250 (*Ibid.*, 215a), 1260 (*Close Rolls 1259-61*, 254, 279, 282).

who conveyed lands in his manor of Esher to RICHARD DE RIPPELE, whose name makes it possible that he was a canon of Newark. Richard built the hospital and was so successful in acquiring lands, rents and alms for the foundation that the hospital soon had eight chaplains as well as brothers and poor. Richard survived Robert I and must have died in Henry III's reign, for on his death the new master was presented by Robert II de Watevill, with the assent of the brothers of the hospital but without any need to obtain the assent of the bishop. The new master was RICHARD DE BLECHINGLEY. While the date of his predecessor's death is not known there can be little doubt that it was the second Richard who was the party to final concords made on behalf of his house in the Surrey eyres of October 1235 and June 1241.¹ From the dower litigation of Robert II's widow Alina in the Bench plea rolls of Easter and Trinity terms 1243² we learn that Robert had leased his manor of Esher at farm to John de Wilehal or Wylehal, a prominent merchant and former sheriff of London. We do not know when the lease was granted but it was probably in the late 1230s, when Robert was indebted to the Jew Abraham of Berkhamstead, and would have been obliged to get the maximum financial profit from his lands.³ The dower litigation shows the master of the hospital holding 20 acres of land and 3 acres of woodland at Esher of the Watevills, which may be lands that Robert II granted after marriage. The next two masters were both presented by John de Wilehal, as farmer of the manor of Esher. The first of them was GILES, a canon of Newark. He appears on behalf of his house in granting a canon's corrody by a final concord made in the Bench on the octave of Hilary (20 Jan.) 1250⁴ but, as discussed below, was probably in office by 1245. On his death IVES was appointed; from what follows he probably died in 1256.

On Ives's death, master Geoffrey de Feringes, in the name of the bishop-elect of Winchester, appointed brother THOMAS OF LONDON, a canon of Newark. Robert III de Watevill claimed that this was done without the assent of the brethren or of himself, and that as soon as the appointment came to his notice he ejected Thomas. But after negotiations with master Geoffrey he permitted Thomas to return and act as master for about a year. Then he again ejected him, whereupon master Geoffrey brought ecclesiastical pressure to bear, excommunicating Robert, and once again inducted Thomas as master: *constituit ipsum . . . rectorem*. Thus compelled, Robert allowed Thomas to remain; this was the state of affairs which Robert sought to remedy by his complaint under the provisions of Oxford and Westminster. He alleged that as a result of the

¹ Feet of Fines before 1509: P.R.O. ref. C.P. 25(1), 225/9, no. 9 and 226/11, no. 29.

² Rolls of the Bench and Court *Coram Rege*, Richard I—Henry III: P.R.O. ref. K.B. 26/128, m. 5; K.B. 26/130, ms. 8, 9d, 20d.

³ *Close Rolls, 1237–42*, 111.

⁴ Feet of Fines before 1509: P.R.O. ref. C.P. 25(1), 226/14, no. 11.

disturbances the hospital's goods had been so wasted that it now supported only two chaplains, whereas in Ives's mastership it had still supported seven or eight; the rest had been ejected by Thomas. There was a minor difference between Robert and the jury about the beginning of the chain of events started by Ives's death: Robert said one year ago, the jury said two years ago. Bigod gave judgment for Robert. Master Thomas was ordered to go away and cease to act as master; Robert was to appoint a fit successor, *talem custodem ydoneum eligat et in eodem hospitali constituat quem ad hoc compelere viderit*. It is possible that he appointed RICHARD LE FRANK, who as master of Sandon hospital granted to John de la Rude a six year lease of lands at Burningfold, Farncombe and Thorncombe, to run from the morrow of St. Martin 47 Henry III (12 Nov. 1262).¹

With the early history of the foundation thus set out it is possible to see rather more clearly the way in which the benefactions of William de Percy fit into it. As is well known, William succeeded to part of his father's barony between 1212 and 1214; he died about July 1245.² His first wife was Joan Briwer, fifth daughter of William Briwer who had been his guardian, and whose successful career in the royal service between the end of Henry II's reign and the early years of Henry III had enabled him to acquire vast estates and to grant appropriate marriage-portions to his daughters. The date of Joan's death is uncertain. It was before June 1233, but may have been a few months or even a year or so earlier. She was buried in front of the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the hospital church at Sandon. Now her husband held the Sussex Honor of Petworth, but so far as is known neither she nor her husband had any Surrey interests. It is, therefore, remarkable that she should have been buried in the church of a small religious house with which neither her own nor her husband's family had any connexion. The most probable explanation for this would seem to be that she had been taken ill while travelling in the neighbourhood of Esher, and that the hospital furnished the nearest suitable accommodation for a baron's lady. Esher was on the way from Westminster to Guildford, which the family may have taken in journeying to or from Petworth. Certainly it was from the accident of Joan's death that the early prosperity of the house flowed. Three of the relative deeds are in the Percy Cartulary; one is in the Sallay Cartulary.³ William de Percy agreed to settle on the hospital an income of £23 6s. 8d., which was to support six chaplains to say masses for her soul. Since the greatest number of chaplains mentioned in 1258 was eight, this represents a very large augmentation of the hospital's revenues. It is just possible that the amount indicates Joan's age at her death, for in marks it is exactly 35, and there is no reason to believe that she was much older than that. By the most important of the deeds, William

¹ Guildford Muniment Room, deed 60/8.

² G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, x, 452-455.

³ *Percy Cartulary* (Surtees Society, vol. CXVII); *Sallay Cartulary* (Records Branch, Yorks. Arch. Soc., vol. LXXXVII).

granted the hospital the revenue from the lands which he held as Joan's marriage-portion at Foston, Leicestershire, and 20 marks due to himself in respect of a recent grant which he had made of his manor of Gisburn, Yorkshire, to the West Riding abbey of Sallay or Sawley, a Percy foundation.¹ The names of the witnesses to this deed, none of whom were Surrey men, suggest that it was made in Sussex rather than Yorkshire. The grant of Gisburn to Sallay, at 20 marks rent payable yearly by 1 July to William at Sandon, had been made to enable that abbey to support six chaplains praying for the souls of William and his second wife, Helen de Balliol (who lived until 1281).² A royal confirmation of this grant issued on 30 January 1242.³ Several writers have concluded from this that the grant itself was made in 1242, and therefore that the later grant to Sandon must have been made between then and 1245. This conclusion assumes a delay of about ten years between Joan's death and the provision for chaplains; it also assumes that the grant to Sallay was made about the same time as the royal confirmation. Both suppositions are possible but unlikely. William's son and heir by Helen came of age between February 1257 and February 1258.⁴ Helen must therefore have become his wife by 1236 at latest, and the grant to Sallay may have been made at any time between then and 1242, followed soon afterwards by the grant to Sandon. The fact that the rent for the grant to Sallay was to be payable to William at Sandon makes it plain that he was then interesting himself in the affairs of the house and needing cash to be available there. The transfer of the rent to the hospital and the conveyance of the lands at Foston were conditional on a final settlement of the promised £23 6s. 8d. being made from his estates. Such a settlement was never made; so Sallay continued to pay the rent until 1377, when it was remitted because of economic difficulties.⁵

The second deed is between Richard, master and keeper of the hospital of Sandon, and William de Percy, whereby Richard acknowledges the grant of a rent of 10 marks.⁶ For this the hospital was to give £3 yearly from its chamber to John de Chuvilli and Richard de Chuvilli for clothes and shoes, and to provide them with the same food and drink as chaplains; after their deaths the 60s. was to go to support the charity of the house. This transaction seems to mean that William was purchasing two corrodies in the hospital on behalf of members of his household. It is not clear whether the 10 marks rent is in addition to the main conveyance, just discussed, or whether it might be in substitution for the lands at Foston. The transaction must be later than the main conveyance because the master went on to bind himself to secure, when William de Percy so

¹ *Percy Chartulary*, no. 952, also in *Monasticon*, vi, 676, no. i; *Sallay Chartulary*, no. 34.

² *Percy Chartulary*, no. 450; *Sallay Chartulary*, no. 33.

³ *Cal. Charter Rolls, 1226-1257*, 265.

⁴ G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, x, 455.

⁵ *Sallay Chartulary*, p. 22.

⁶ *Percy Chartulary*, no. 947.

desired, that all the deeds between the hospital and him should be enchirographed in a royal court and that confirmation of them should be obtained from the bishop of Winchester. It is not clear whether the word enchirograph means that a final concord would be levied or that the deeds would be enrolled on the plea rolls of the Bench, court *coram rege* or eyre, which was a common practice. There are no such enrolments in the surviving rolls of any of these courts between 1234 and 1245 nor does such a final concord survive. In November 1239 William purchased the advowson of the Augustinian priory of Lynchmere or Shulbred, Sussex, and agreed to settle on it an income of £10 yearly; pending this settlement, as with Sandon, he made various grants to it which were the subject of a final concord in July 1240.¹ It is therefore likely that it was intended to make the Sandon grants the subject of a similar final concord.

It is possible that an episcopal confirmation was also never obtained. Between the death of Peter des Roches on 9 June 1238 and the return of William de Raleigh to England in the summer of 1244 no confirmation could have been secured. The last of the deeds seems to be a substitute for it, being bishop William's *inspeximus* of an agreement between prior Giles and Sir Wymund de Raleigh.² This must have been made between William de Percy's death in July 1245 and bishop William's final retirement to France in November 1249. Wymund de Raleigh was probably an executor of William de Percy's will, for he was a prominent Sussex tenant of the Percys and had witnessed three of the deeds already mentioned;³ he was also a kinsman of the bishop.⁴ William de Percy had been buried at Sallay, but from the deed we learn that his heart had been interred by Joan's body in the church at Sandon.⁵ By the agreement the prior bound himself to have a lamp and 2 lb. wax candle burning before the altar of the Blessed Virgin during all masses celebrated in the church, at whatever altar they were said; in default the bishop could compel, and the Percy heirs could distrain, the master and his successors to discharge this obligation. There is no reason why the prior and Sir Wymund should have delayed in securing the bishop's *inspeximus* of this deed, so a date nearer 1245 than 1249 is probable for it, which in turn suggests that Giles had succeeded Richard de Blechleigh in the mastership by about 1245.

The foregoing interpretation of the Percy benefactions assumes that William's gifts began very soon after Joan's death, about 1233, and were substantially completed before 1242, so that the hospital was obtaining a considerable accession of funds in this period. This seems to be confirmed by the activity of the master, Richard, in the

¹ *Sx.A.C.* XLVII, 5-6.

² *Percy Chartulary*, no. 964, also in *Monasticon*, vi, 676, no. ii.

³ *Sallay Chartulary*, no. 34; *Percy Chartulary*, nos. 450, 952.

⁴ There are many references to Wymund's staying at the larger episcopal manors, in the foreign expenses of the manorial accounts of Raleigh's episcopate.

⁵ On heart burial in the early thirteenth century see J. H. Round, *Essex Arch. Soc.*, new series, XVI, The Heart of St. Roger.

Surrey eyres of 1235 and 1241, when he was party to three final concords. Although the narration of Robert III de Watevill and the jurors in 1258 would seem to give to the first master the credit of bringing the hospital to the strength of eight chaplains, there seems little doubt that it was the second master who was in office throughout the period of the Percy benefactions. Certainly it was he who was in office in 1241, for in that eyre Ralph de Imworth brought an action of nuisance against the master of St. Mary Magdalene's hospital, Sandon, for raising a bank or ditch at Imber to his damage;¹ the jury found for the master, saying that the nuisance had been done by his predecessor. This proves that the Richard of 1241 was the second master, and since the activity of 1235-41 is of a piece it seems that we have in it a master of the hospital who was a sufficiently shrewd administrator to make the most of the accession of wealth brought about by the accident of Joan's death. In the Surrey eyre of 1235 he secured a large estate in the Bramley district.² Fuller details of the transaction will be given in a forthcoming edition of the eyre roll by the Surrey Record Society.³ In brief, John de Fay, a courtier who held Bramley and Puttenham in chief, was heavily indebted to the Jews. In 1229 he conveyed an estate to one of his leading tenants, Roger de Bydon. In 1235, by an enrolled concord and chirographs, whose terms differ somewhat, the prior bought the estate from Roger at a rent of 10 marks yearly so long as Roger lived, and thereafter at the almost nominal rent of 18d. It was a good bargain, for Roger died, in violent circumstances, before 1241. The estate consisted of 200 acres of wood in Burningfold and Witherfold, in Dunsfold; one mark of rent at Cugate, which later litigation shows to have been in Bramley and is perhaps to be identified with Cowgates there; £2 rent at Utworth, in Cranleigh, and Chilworth. The master thereupon leased the Cugate estate to John de Gatesden, a man from a knightly Hertfordshire family who, from small beginnings as a Surrey sheriff's clerk, was rising to be a prominent member of the royal household, and amassing vast estates in Surrey and Sussex. The estate there consisted of the lands and services of four privileged villeins of the ancient demesne manor of Bramley, and by June 1239 Gatesden was involved in a successful dispute with John de Fay about the villeins' services, in the course of which he described the series of conveyances. He was then paying the hospital a rent of 36s. 8d. He still held the estate at his death in April 1262; in 1269 it was said to consist of unspecified assize rents in Bramley, worth 39s. 10½d.⁴ Two of the villein tenants of 1229-1239 had been Eylwin de Billingham and Geoffrey de Thorncombe; two of the inquisition *post mortem* jurors of 1269 may have been

¹ Eyre, Assize, Traillbaston etc. Rolls: P.R.O. ref. J.I. 1/867, m. 4.

² *Ibid.*, roll 864, ms. 1, 3, 7; Feet of Fines before 1509: P.R.O. ref. C.P. 25(1), 225/9, no. 9.

³ 1235 Surrey Eyre, note 195. A partial account of the transaction in Sy. A.C. XXIII, 62-3, correcting M. & B. II, 750, itself requires correction and addition.

⁴ *Cal. Inquisitions post mortem, Henry III*, no. 706.

their descendants, being Robert de Billingham and Robert de Thorncombe. When John de Fay's sisters and heirs were litigating about their rights with John's widow in 1243, the prior of Sandon appeared as holding 5 marks worth of rent and 104 acres in Bramley;¹ but we have no details of this holding, and it must have covered more of the estate conveyed in 1235 than the mark's worth of rent in Cugate. Nothing is known of any further action by the master about the woodlands in Burningfold and Witherfold. The lease of 1262, already mentioned, must have concerned part of them; from it, it seems that the masters leased out the woodlands in parcels for short terms. The £2 rent in Utworth and Chilworth arose from tenements held by Sir Walter de Utworth, a leading knight of the county who served as steward to the de Clere family (who were honorial barons of the earls of Warenne), as coroner from before 1241 to 1254 and as deputy sheriff in 1242-1244. In the 1241 Surrey eyre, after a year and a half's instalment had been unpaid, he acknowledged his obligation to the hospital for the rent by a final concord with the master, Richard.²

In the conveyancing of 1235 the master was represented by Gilbert the chaplain of Sandon, whom one assumes to have been one of the chaplains of the hospital. Other litigation in the 1241 Surrey eyre shows that a little before that year Gilbert had secured from John de Fay a sixteen-year lease of the considerable estate of a carucate at Shoelands, in Puttenham, on condition that Gilbert payed off a debt of 60 marks owed by John to a Jew.³ It is possible that Gilbert was acting in this on the hospital's behalf, but as a result of the litigation the contract was abandoned. In the preliminaries of the 1235 conveyance the master was essoined by John de Marwick, in Hascombe, which makes it possible that the hospital already had interests in the district, since essoiners were commonly tenurial connexions of their principals. But this conveyance of 1235 was the first that is known by a master in a royal court: coming so soon after Joan de Percy's death it tempts one to believe that it represented the investment of money from gifts made by, or shortly to be expected from, William de Percy. By letters close dated 14 Dec. 1233, Sandon had obtained exemption from the fortieth levied that year, on the ground that the house was so poor that it depended for its sustenance upon the begging of alms.⁴ Too much importance must not be attached to this. The exemption was obtained by the bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, who was a considerable patron of the religious houses of his diocese. It covered all four Augustinian hospitals in Surrey; while Reigate and Tandridge may have been no richer than Sandon, St. Thomas's, Southwark, was well endowed. Nevertheless it seems that the effect of the Percy benefactions was to increase the number of chaplains from two to eight, and the activity of master

¹ Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry III: P.R.O. ref. C. 132/36, no. 19.

² Feet of Fines before 1509: P.R.O. ref. C.P. 25(1), 226/11, no. 29.

³ Eyre, Assize, Trailbaston etc. Rolls: P.R.O. ref. J.I. 1/864, m. 11d.

⁴ *Close Rolls, 1231-4*, 290.

Richard in 1235–1241 strongly suggests a remarkable increase in the hospital's revenue.

The third final concord in which master Richard was concerned brings us back to the Watevills.¹ By it, William son of William Pycot, a freeholder of prominence in the Kingston district, paid the master 55 marks for the grant of a carucate at Chessington and Tolworth, to be held at a rent of 44s. and service to the superior lord. The conveyance was grounded on the then novel device of a writ of covenant, which suggests that Pycot's was a newly created tenancy. Chessington was held by the main branch of the Watevills, whose principal seat was in Essex and whose head at this time was William de Watevill, the friend of Walter de Merton. We do not know what mesne tenancies there may have been, but the fact that the estate was on a Watevill fee suggests that it was an early endowment from that family. Not long afterwards master Richard, by an undated deed, reduced the rent to 17s. 4d. in consideration of Pycot's services, and of 20 marks which he had paid "towards the arduous business of our house."²

The Watevill connexion is further shown by an entry in the *coram rege* plea roll of 1243 Michaelmas term, under the quinzaine of Michaelmas, whereby the house of Sandon was acquitted of the custody of charters which had been deposited with it by Robert II de Watevill, who had died earlier that year.³ They had been handed over to the leading courtier and administrator Philip Basset, whose elder brother had extensive interests in the Woking district: those concerning the infant Robert III for delivery to his uncles, Gilbert and Nicholas de Sandford who were themselves related to the Bassets; those concerning Peter de Watevill, a younger brother of Robert II who had estates in Sussex and Herefordshire, for delivery to him. The transaction is a reminder that the family which held the patronage of a religious house could always use it as a safe deposit.

Sandon, like other Augustinian hospitals, was sometimes referred to as a priory. In the evidences cited it is so styled in the final concords of 1235 and 1250 and in one Percy deed (no. 964), and in the Fay litigation of 1243; in all the rest the head of the house is called master. The evidences also shed some light on the dedication of the hospital. In the *Victoria County History* it was assumed that the original dedication was to the Holy Ghost, and that St. Mary Magdalene was a subsidiary dedication, perhaps of the church only. In the Pycot final concord of 1241 and in the litigation in 1241 (about Imber) and 1258, in which masters were defendants, they are said to be masters of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene.⁴ In the Utworth final concord of 1241, in which the master was plaintiff, and in two

¹ Feet of Fines before 1509: P.R.O. ref. C.P. 25(1), 226/11, no. 13.

² Merton College, deed no. 1088.

³ Rolls of the Bench and Court *Coram Rege*, Richard I—Henry III: P.R.O. ref. K.B. 26/131, m. 3.

⁴ Feet of Fines before 1509: P.R.O. ref. C.P. 25(1), 226/11, no. 13; Eyre, Assize, Trailbaston etc. Rolls: P.R.O. ref. J.I. 1/867, m. 4; *Ibid.*, J.I. 1/873, m. 10.

deeds that are grants by a master, the style is of the Holy Ghost.¹ This style was also used in litigation in the 1241 eyre when the master successfully brought an action of novel disseisin against Geoffrey de Cruce and a number of his tenants about 40 acres of heath at Burwood, in Walton on Thames.² In all four cases it is Richard de Blechingley who is using this style, and in one of the deeds he uses it though in the preceding final concord Pycot, in bringing his writ of covenant, had used the style St. Mary Magdalene. In short, when Richard describes himself and mentions a dedication, either as a plaintiff or in deeds, it is the Holy Ghost. But where others describe a master in bringing writs against him the dedication which they mention is St. Mary Magdalene. Two of these others were neighbours: William Pycot, a man of affairs who was to be for many years steward of Chertsey abbey, and Ralph de Imworth, who was to die fighting on the baronial side at Lewes. The third was Robert III de Watevill, the founder's grandson. The conclusion seems inescapable: the original dedication was to St. Mary Magdalene, but during the mastership of Richard de Blechingley the Holy Ghost was added, no doubt because of a particular devotion either by the master or by William de Percy or someone connected with him. The new dedication was favoured by the religious in the house; the earliest use of it which we have found by a master other than Richard was in the 1271 Surrey eyre when the then (unnamed) master made arrangements for repaying a debt to the prioress of Rusper, Sussex.³ Its earliest use so far discovered by a known master other than Richard is in a deed of 8 September 1278 whereby brother Geoffrey keeper of the hospital of the Holy Ghost of Sandun' and the brothers of the place made a release of rent at Broomhall in Windlesham to Agnes prioress of Broomhall.⁴

It may be convenient to summarize the information given about the first seven known masters. In addition, among the heads of a number of Augustinian houses who witnessed an undated deed in the Cartulary of St. Thomas's hospital, Southwark, was William the master of the hospital of Sandon;⁵ the deed seems to date from some time between 1255 and 1270.

1199/1216—after 1216	Richard de Ripley
after 1216—after 1241	Richard de Blechingley
? c. 1245—after 1250	Giles, canon of Newark
after 1250—c. 1256	Ives
c. 1256—1258	Thomas of London, canon of Newark
in 1262	Richard le Frank
in 1278	Geoffrey

¹ Feet of Fines before 1509: P.R.O. ref. C.P. 25(1), 226/11, no. 29; *Percy Cartulary*, no. 952; Merton Coll., deed no. 1088.

² Eyre, Assize, Trailbaston etc. Rolls: P.R.O. ref. J.I. 1/867, m. 13d.

³ *Ibid.*, J.I. 1/875, m. 14d.

⁴ St. John's College, Cambridge, deed 14/9.

⁵ *St. Thomas Cartulary*, no. 446.