LEATHERHEAD & DISTRICT LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY



PROCEEDINGS VOL 7 Nº 7

2013

SECRETARIAL NOTES

The following Lectures and Visits were arranged during 2013

January 18th	(Lecture cancelled due to bad weather, postponed to October)
February 15th	Lecture: 'The Bookhams in World War 2' by Michael Anderson
March 15th	The Society's 65th Annual General Meeting, followed by a

Lecture: 'Surrey Milestones' by Derek Renn

April 19th Lecture 'Bygone Ashtead' by Goff Powell

May 17th Lecture: 'Dorking Museum -- Then and Now' by Kathy Atherton

September 20th Lecture: 'The Folklore of Surrey' by Matthew Alexander

October 18th Lecture: 'Our Local War Memorials' by Frank Haslam, Janice Steele and Ian Whitlock

November 15th Lecture: 'Surrey County Maps' by Carole Garrard

Number 6 of Volume 7 of the Proceedings was issued in February 2013

66th ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Held at the Letherhead Institute, 15th March 2013

The Report of the Executive Committee and the Accounts for the year 2012 were adopted. The Officers and Committee members elected to serve until the next AGM are shown below.

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR 2013-2014

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LINDA HEATH, GORDON KNOWLES

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Leatherhead and District Local History Society

PROCEEDINGS

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CONTENTS

	Page
Linda Heath 1931-2013	3
The Domesday mills on the River Mole – a review by Derek Renn	5
Baptisms at St Nicholas Church, Great Bookham 1632-1820 by William Whitman	9
The Maddox connection with Little Bookham by Vivien White	13
Illustrations	Page
St Mary at Hill, Billingsgate	14
Merchant Taylors' School, Suffolk Lane	18
Billingsgate, from a view taken in 1820	19
The portrait of Jane Lambarde (1593-1673)	21
St. Peter's Church, Boughton Monchelsea	23
Bride Hall, Hertfordshire	25
St Laurence Church, Wormley, Hertfordshire	29
Sir Benjamin Maddox's seal and signature	30
Little Bookham Church, SE View, 1823 by John Hassell	32

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LINDA HEATH 1931-2013

Linda wrote the following brief account of her life, which she wrote and gave to the Rev. Graham Osborne, the Rector of the Leatherhead Parish of St Mary & St Nicholas, who has kindly let me have it for publication.

The Editor

My Life

What would I like to have as an epitaph in just two words? Lots of things I might like to have said about me, but I think the most damning would be "Too busy". It's so easy to forget other people when we are busy with things that occupy our time. I sometimes think that life could be summed up briefly as "Too difficult". But perhaps what I would most like to have is a description of me made many years ago as a local music teacher – "Very cheerful". I always tried to be that no matter how I was feeling.

I have had such a fortunate life, and every day I give thanks for health, friends and family. I was born in 1931 and grew up in Aberdeen, where my father was professor of Natural Philosophy at the university, However, in 1942 he became Chief Scientific Advisor to the Admiralty in London so, as my parents had separated, I went to live with an aunt, who looked after me like a mother. In 1943 I went to Benenden, which had been evacuated to Newquay at that time. I was very happy there, and also in Kent when the school returned there after the war. After leaving school I studied at the Royal Academy of Music and then in 1953, I went to teach at Wycombe Abbey. However, I soon decided I wanted to see a bit of the world, so I went to Canada in 1955 and taught music for two years in Quebec province, and then in Montreal for one year.

It was on the return journey from Montreal in 1958 that the whole course of my life changed when I met David. He was returning from working as an architect for the Colonial Office in Malaya, and we were both immediately drawn to each other, though David was planning to go overseas again. However, he instead joined the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works at Chessington, where he designed buildings for the army in Hong Kong. We were married at Chelsea Old Church in 1960, and rented a house in Little Bookham. I taught music at the Howard of Effingham School and the Leatherhead School of Music, which at that time was in Devon House, Church Road.

In 1961 we went out to Hong Kong for three years, which was absolutely marvellous. We returned to England in 1964 and bought our house in St. John's Avenue in March 1965. In 1966 we were again on the move, this time to Beirut. David was transferred to the Diplomatic and Consular Service. He was responsible for the maintenance and security of all embassies and consular buildings throughout the Middle East, which was a big job and involved a great deal of travelling. We were able to travel to some places together, such as Tehran, Isfahan, Persepolis,

Cairo, Luxor, Cyprus and Athens; it was wonderful to see all these places. I gave some piano recitals in Jordan for the British Council, who then paid my expenses.

We came back to Leatherhead in 1969 and I resumed my teaching at the Leatherhead School of Music. In 1977 Sheila Hind, the Principal, retired and Mrs Wolff, who ran the Secretarial School in Bridge Street, took over the Music School. I was the Musical Director (Acting unpaid!) there for several years.

In the 1980s two very important events took place in my life. In 1986, much to my astonishment, our vicar at that time, Sandy Morris, asked me to be Churchwarden. I was amazed, but very honoured. I had Sydney Brown as my fellow churchwarden for the first two years, and then Ken Barber. In 1988 we set about a major restoration of the church, starting with the roof and going on to the inside. It cost a great deal and took an enormous amount of fund-raising, but we held lots of events to raise the money for it, which were all great fun and provided many friendships and goodwill among our members. It was completed by Easter 1989, only to have a fire break out beside the organ later that year. The whole church had to be redecorated, but fortunately, the insurance paid for it and not too many things were destroyed.

Our vicar, Sandy Morris, left in 1988, so there was also a lot more to do during the nine month interval before David Eaton arrived. The last thing I did as churchwarden in 1989 was to design the Garden of Remembrance for the burial of ashes, and this is something in which I take real pride. The reason for this was because we were no longer allowed to have plaques in the ground for burial of ashes. My idea was to have three encircling walls with plaques on them as 'arms' round the area for ashes. Though a second garden had been created before the encircling walls were built, both gardens were able to have encircling walls in due course.

The other event which gave me great satisfaction was the creation of 'A Rich Inheritance' – an enactment of historical events in Leatherhead to be performed in the church. This was first performed in 1995, then in 2000 and again in 2008. It was really exciting to see these events being brought to life, and we all formed lasting friendships in the course of rehearsals. It is my hope that this may continue to be performed in the church at regular intervals.

All these various events though are as nothing compared to everything I have received – health; love from family and friends, above all from David, who was my help and support at all times, and for the friendship of so many people. I have indeed been fortunate and I am grateful to everyone – thank you all.

Linda Heath

THE DOMESDAY MILLS ON THE RIVER MOLE – A REVIEW

By Derek Renn

Alan Pooley's detailed study of the history of Fetcham Mill and its millpond¹ has stimulated me to write a more general note on early local watermills, widening the scope of A T Ruby's paper on the Leatherhead River² and Stephen Fortescue's on Slyfield Mill at Bookham³. The Fetcham mill, unlike the others, was a 'cutt-mill' (i.e it was fed by a spring rather than by a river). Mills listed in Domesday Book (1086) were all powered by water (or possibly by animals or humans), since the earliest mention so far known of a windmill in England dates from 11374. Some estates recorded more than one mill: in Surrey, seven in Battersea belonged to St Peter's (Westminster), rendering £42.9s.8d 'or corn of the same price' [6,1]⁵ At least some of those would have been tide-mills, with an uninterrupted and inexhaustible water supply (the tidal Thames does not dry up!), and with an equally inexhaustible supply of customers. The value of the Battersea mills – an average of just over £6 per mill – is exceptionally high; most of the Surrey mills were valued at £1 or less. At the other extreme, King William's four Fetcham mills were valued at four shillings: even if this figure was per mill (unlikely: a single figure is given in every other Surrey entry for more than one mill), it is less than one-thirtieth of the average value of the Battersea mills. Was it a deliberate under-valuation, or did the scribe make a mistake (for four *pounds* or *forty* shillings)?

Mills on the Mole

Proceeding downstream from the river's source at Gatwick:

King William's manor of Reigate had two mills valued at 12 shillings less 2 pence [1,7]

Richard, a tenant of the bishop of Bayeux [Odo, the king's half-brother] held Banstead with a mill worth 20 shillings, which may have been at Leigh⁶ [5,8]

Richard fitzGilbert (also 'of Tonbridge') had a mill at Buckland and another at Betchworth, worth 6 and 10 shillings respectively [19,14; 19,47]

Richard of Tonbridge's 'mill at the hall' may (or may not) be one of the King's three mills in Dorking worth 15 shillings and 4 pence [1,13]

Despite its position, neither entry for Mickleham (one holder being Oswald, see below) mentions a mill.

Richard fitzGilbert had a mill at Thorncroft worth 20 shillings⁷ [19, 39]

Other tenants of Odo had two half-mills in Pachesham worth 12 shillings plus another half-mill worth 6 shillings [place not stated, but in same Copthorne hundred] [5,15; 5,17]

As well as King William's four mills worth 4 shillings mentioned above, bishop Odo had a one-sixth part of a mill and a one-third part of another at Fetcham worth 6½ shillings, and Oswald *thane* had 6 shillings and 6 pence from a mill there [1,10; 5,22; 36, 3]. Oswald's mill at

Wotton [36,4] worth 20 pence [sic] was probably on the Tillingbourne (flowing into the Wey) rather than on the Pippbrook (which flows into the Mole), and his other mill at Wisley [36,5] worth 10 shillings, together with a fishery worth 5 pence, would also have been on the Wey.

Chertsey abbey had a mill at [Great] Bookham worth 10 shillings [8,17]

Richard fitzGilbert had two mills at Stoke [d'Abernon] worth 7 and 6 shillings [19, 32; 19, 33]

Chertsey abbey had three mills at Cobham worth 13 shillings and 4 pence [8,6]

There is then a long topographical gap, until:

Richard fitzGilbert's mill worth 12 shillings and 6 pence at Walton, which was more likely to have been on the Thames than on the Mole[19,26]. Like those at Battersea, the mill would then have had a constant water supply.

Ownership and siting

While King William had nearly half the mills on the river Mole, the rest were shared roughly equally between his half-brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, Richard fitGilbert, a great magnate⁸, and Chertsey abbey, the major ecclesiastical landowner in Surrey. Geographically, their manors bordering the Mole alternate irregularly.

Apart from two mills (both probably on the Thames), none are recorded in Domesday manors near the Mole downstream from Cobham, a distance of about seven miles. In the next seven miles upstream, roughly as far as Dorking, at least sixteen mills (possibly twenty, depending on how the Fetcham/Pachesham fractions are treated, see below) are listed. Why so many here? Finally there are four or five mills on the upper reaches of the Mole, again of about seven miles.

Except in time of flood, the Mole is a slow-flowing river, but its gradient steepens somewhat below Leatherhead bridge. An improved 'fall' was achieved at 'La Hale' mill (between Slyfield and Pachesham) by cutting a 500-yard leat across a bend where the river's sinuous course changes direction from north to west.

Proportions and Fractions

Just under one-half (47%) of the entries in Domesday Book for Surrey manors mention a mill. No county recorded a mill in more than half its manors: in England as a whole, the average was 26%. How did a community manage without a mill? They may have used individual hand-mills, or sent their grain to a mill in another manor, or perhaps the mill was just unrecorded. Mills often have shared ownership in Domesday Book, but it is usually impossible to reassemble the parts. Despite the very likely explanation of under-recording, an attempt is made here to complete the 'fractional jigsaw' of the mills of Fetcham and Pachesham, using only the available 'pieces'.

The half-mill somewhere in Copthorne hundred held by Baynard from Odo of Bayeux might belong with one of the two half-mills in Pachesham (also in Copthorne) held by Hugh from Odo. The other half might go with Richard fitzGilbert's half-mill at Chessington [19,24], although that was valued at only 2 shillings and may have stood on the Hogsmill River¹⁰. Even this weak explanation would still leave an odd half-mill in Copthorne; the only other half-mill listed in Surrey, William fitzAnsculf's worth 20 shillings at Mitcham [21,2], is a very unlikely partner, being on the river Wandle, although Odo did have a holding there [5,6]. The only remaining fraction in Surrey is the vague 'part of a mill' held by Odo at [Thames] Ditton, worth 15 pence [5,27]. However, like Richard fitzGilbert's mill at Walton, this is more likely to have been on the Thames than on the Mole.

Pachesham occupies the bank of the Mole opposite to Fetcham. It is very tempting to bundle Odo's one-sixth and one-third together and so neatly solve the Pachesham missing half-mill problem, assuming a mill accessible from either bank, like Fetcham Splash. But Domesday's statement that these fractions were of separate mills appears to rule this out. Is Oswald's 6s 6d the missing half of Odo's Pachesham mill? Or is it either the missing parts of one of Odo's Fetcham mills? Or does the low value of the king's four Fetcham mills conceal the fact that they were only part values of mills shared with others? Fetcham was split into three manors, unlike Bookham, Pachesham or Thorncroft, so a minimum of three mills might be expected.

The site beside the present Fetcham millpond was almost certainly that of Adam Le Jeune's 'mill called Cutte', half of which 'with half the pond and ditches appertaining to it in Fecham [sic] parish' he granted to Sir John d'Abernon in 1293¹¹. Did Adam own the whole mill, or only the half that he sold? The two possible translations of the Latin lead to different conclusions: 'my half of the mill' or 'half my mill'. Merton Priory's lease of 'their part in the mill of Fecham' in 1167, in exchange for 5s.a year rent and free milling of the 'Court of Fecham's' corn needs¹² indicates co-ownership. Presumably this mill stood on or near the Priory lands nearby (i.e. Cannon Farm, where an 18th century plan shows an extensive moated site at Cannon Court). These latter records might have been of the same mill. Or did the Merton share fit with Odo or Oswald's fractions?

The most probable explanation for all this is that at least one mill (or part of a mill) is missing from another manor's entry, so the puzzle remains unsolved.

Notes

- 1. Pooley, A. 2012. Fetcham Mill and its millpond. Proc. L&DLHS 7, 6, 3-27.
- 2. Ruby, A.T. 1964. The Leatherhead River. Proc. L&DLHS 2, 8, 228-247.
- 3. Fortescue, S E D. 1978. People & Places Great & Little Bookham 73-87; idem 2006 Great & Little Bookham the North End 45-8.
- 4. Kealey, E. J. 1987. *Harvesting* the *Air Windmill Pioneers in Twelfth- Century England;* at Wigston Parva, Leicestershire; more certainly one at Swineshead, Lincolnshire by 1169. the earliest known in Surrey was at Warlingham.

- 5. [X,Y] is the reference system used in the Phillimore edition of Domesday Book for Surrey (ed Morris, J), Y being the serial number of the entry for landowner X.
- 6. Campbell, E M J. 1962. In Darby, H C & Campbell, E M J. *The Domesday Geography of South-East England*, 396 note 1. She does not offer an explanation: might the Banstead mill also have been spring-fed, a 'cutt-mill' like that at Fetcham?
- 7. Blair, W.J. 1977. A military holding in twelfth-century Leatherhead: Bockett Farm and the origins of Pachenesham Parva. *Proc. L&DLHS* **4**, 3 11. (see pp. 9-10 for grant of c1170 [Merton Muniment 633]).
- 8. Turner, D J. 1996. The Norman owners of Blechingley Castle: a review. Surrey Archaeological Collections 83, 40.
- 9. Darby, H C. & Campbell, E M J. [as note 6] 394-6, Darby, H C. 1977. Domesday England Appendix 14.
- 10. A direct medieval route from Pachesham manor to Chessington (and Kingston) was proposed by John H Harvey: L&DLHS Proceedings. Vol 1 No 2 1948, 8-10. Traces of the road were found subsequently: L&DLHS Proceedings. Vol 1 No 4 1950, 8; No 5 1951, 5. The manor's two watermills were valued at twenty marks (£13 6s 8d) each in 1398 (*ibid*).
- 11. [British Library Additional Charter 5573]: L&DLHS Proceedings Vol 3 No 4 1970, 104; Vol.4 No 2 1978, 33 no 4.
- 12. [British Library Additional MSS. 6167 fo.122]: A Heales 1898, *Records of Merton Priory* 24-5; L&DLHS Proceedings. Vol 3 No 4 1970,107 note 2.

BAPTISMS AT ST NICOLAS CHURCH, GREAT BOOKHAM

by William Whitman

In earlier studies^{1,2}, information from the registers of St Nicolas Church, Great Bookham, about baptisms from two separate thirty-five year periods was analysed to establish the number and size of families at these periods. The studies showed that many of the partnerships established were not registered in church. For the study reported here, all the baptisms registered from 1632 (the start of the St Nicolas registers) through to 1820 have been listed on the computer, and some analysis of this data is discussed here. The full, paper-based, alphabetical listing of the baptisms will be lodged at the Surrey History Centre in Woking, and an electronic record is being made available through the Parish Office of St Nicolas Church so that searches may be made.

Number of baptisms

Period	Number	No/year	Ratio M/F	No named father	Twins
1632-1694	751	11.9	1.15	8	11
1695-1735	421	11.7	1.04	27	5
1736-1784	651	13.5	1.16	35	11
1785-1825	568	13.8	1.16	30	4

The total of 2391 children were born into 1060 families – i.e. 2.26 children per family. In a few cases, children baptised with no named father are described as 'baseborn', but this judgement is unusual. It was possible from this data to identify twin births, but not the incidence of identical twins, nor to identify families that were more likely to give birth to twins, because the identity and maiden name of the mothers were not available. Twenty-one pairs of twins were of the same sex and eleven were of different sexes.

Size of families

No. of children	1632-1694	1695-1735	1736-1784	1785-1825
1	125	71	139	131
2	57	34	59	44
3	38	24	28	24
4	39	10	25	14
5	25	7	14	15
6	11	7	6	5
7	6	5	8	8
8	2	3	4	3
9	1	3	1	
10			1	

Over half of the children were born in families of four or more children, but over half the families consisted of two children or less. Family sizes are estimates only, especially in the

earlier periods when the names of mothers were not recorded and the spelling of surnames could vary widely. The prevalence of relatively few Christian names also adds to the problem. Partnerships within which no children were born are not included.

Surnames common in Bookham

The frequency of some surnames in the Parish varied through time. In this table some of the more common surnames [and variants in their spelling] are traced through the four periods. This table is based on occurrence in the baptism register, so that a father of ten children will be counted ten times.

Name	1632-1694	1695-1736	1736-1784	1785-1825
Ayres, Aris 8 variants	4	9	10	4
Arrow		2	10	
Arthur			15	
Bailey, Baily	6		1	10
Batt, Batts, Batte	9	1		
Berry, Berrey		3	3	16
Bixley		1	6	8
Blundell, Blundill)	27	10		
Blundle				
Boughton, Bowghton	12	28	7	
Bourne, Bourn, Bowrne	8	3	15	4
Bullen, Bullin, Bulinge	4	3		17
Chilman	1		17	
Clark, Clarke		1	13	
Cooke, Cook	18	17	17	
Davies, Davis	3			8
Denyer, Dennier	2	8		
Dennyer)				
Eliott, Elliott	8	3	23	4
Freeland, Freland Frelland	20		6	3
Gatton, Gatten	9			
Geale, Geall, Geele	15		5	
Grout, Grought, Groute	5	1	12	6
Harwood		5	9	
Hide, Hid, Hidd, Hyde	8	15	8	
Hiller, Hilder	20	2		
Horley				10
Howard	18	1	1	
Hubbard, Hubberd	13	5		
Hudson	5	10		7
Jones		2	8	

Lee	5	5	6	15
Love, Lov		1	10	1
Martyr, Martar, Marteer Marter, Martir	20	8	2	
Monk	1		10	
Mooer, More	10	5	11	
Mower, Mowr, Mowre	9			
Palmer	14	8	17	
Peeter, Peter, Peters	10	14	11	8
Phips	1	8		
Port				13
Richbell, Richbel	6	17	8	7
Rogers, Roger, Rodgers	21			
Sheering, Shering Sherring		8	2	
Stevens, Stephens, Steven	12	1	5	6
Stint	16	3		
Stridwicke, Stridick \ Stridewicke	10			
Tickner	2	15	2	
White, Whiet, Whitt, Whitt Whitte, Whyet	11	2	9	
Wilson, Willson		8	2	1
Wood	46	22	14	43

There were 18 Howard family baptisms up to 1684; after that there were only two – in 1718 and 1753. But there were regular Howard burials until 1857, in the chancel and later in their vault on the S W side of the Church.

Christian names

There was noticeably less variety of Christian names; these are listed as a percentage of the total names in the relevant period.

	1632-1694	1695-1736	1736-1784	1785-1825
Male names				
John	23	25	20	15
Thomas	15	15	16	10
William	13	14	16	17
Edward	8	6	2	3
Richard	6	7	4	4
Robert	6	3	4	1
Old testament name	5	11	10	11

George		4	5	8
Henry	4	2	3	7
Francis	3	3	1	2
James	3	2	10	14
Total no. of names	388	216	350	305
Female names				
Elizabeth	20	20	21	15
Mary	15	20	24	25
Ann	11	21	16	12
Jane	9	2	5	6
Sarah	7	17	16	12
Catherine	6	2		
Susan	5	3		3
Old testament name	4	1	5	1
Frances	4			
Hannah		4	4	2
Total no. of names	336	207	301	263

In the last period, there was a noticeable change in the choice of girls' names. There was a wider choice of names, and diminutives such as Lisa and Betty were more common: nearly a quarter of the names in this period were not in the above list, as opposed to 9% in the previous period. Names that occurred more than twice were:- Caroline [7], Charlotte [5], Eliza [4], Fruzen [4], Harriett [8], Lucy [3], Martha [3]. There were 28 different names. Fruzen, Bathia, Lidey and Mahalal could be counted unusual. Boys' names did not change in this way: although there were 13 different names chosen in addition to the ones listed these only accounted for 8% of the total; only Learey seems unusual.

Conclusions

This was quite a small community that was not growing appreciably². Inevitably, some family names would have disappeared, either because they had no children or only girl children who changed their names on marriage. The frequency of changes in surnames therefore must indicate that there was an alteration in the families living in the village, some families moving elsewhere while others move in. It is possible to get a feeling for such 'strangers' from non-local surnames, such as Smith and Jones. Only the Wood family is strongly represented in all four periods.

References

- Whitman, W. 2010. Families, Marriage and Baptisms in Great Bookham, 1695-1730. Proc. L.&D.L.H.S. 7: 4, 2.
- Whitman, W. 2011. Families, Marriage and Baptisms in Great Bookham, Continued 1785-1820. Proc.L.&D.L.H.S. 7: 5, 14.

THE MADDOX CONNECTION TO LITTLE BOOKHAM

By Vivien White

Between 1637 and 1716, a period of seventy nine years, the manor of Little Bookham and the advowson of Little Bookham Church were owned by Benjamin Maddox (a baronet from 1675), who was a man of very great wealth. In London he gave his name to Maddox Street in Mayfair, an area where he owned a large amount of land. In Little Bookham, Maddox Lane and Maddox Farm are named after him and a charity he established in his will is still administered. Through the inheritance of the manor by his daughter, the manor came into the ownership of the Pollen family, the last owner relinquishing it only in 1931. This article explores how Sir Benjamin came to own the manor, where the wealth to buy it came from and how it passed into the ownership of the Pollen family. The story has a number of interesting personalities, including three women with strong characters who were an integral part of the history of the family.

Since late medieval times, as London merchants made money, they tended to invest it in land around London. In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a step up in this process as many large landed estates and manors in the counties around London began to be bought by "new men" who did not come from the nobility or the old, established gentry class, but had their roots in the London merchant class and the guilds. Having made their wealth in the crowded City, they moved out to join the gentry in the surrounding counties. The children of the most successful and wealthy tended no longer to be merchants, but became almost indistinguishable from the old gentry, except by their backgrounds, their wealth and their close ties with similar families. The story of the Maddox family is in many ways typical of such families.

The Shropshire Connection and the Merchant Taylors

Benjamin Maddox's family originated in Shropshire from yeoman stock¹. Many yeomen, like the aristocracy and gentry, practised primogeniture, which led to the problem of how to provide for younger sons. Apprenticeship to town craftsmen, particularly joining the more expensive and remunerative mercantile guilds, was one solution. In order to reduce the pauper problem, Elizabeth I had made it more difficult for people to leave their places of birth. Additionally, entry into craft professions and trade in towns was restricted by the Statute of Apprentices of 1563, which ruled that every person had to serve an apprenticeship of seven years before he could set up trade or work as a journeyman artisan. This guaranteed craftsmen's quality, but it was also intended to prevent the poorer rural population moving into the towns and causing disorder, which was a continuing fear of the Tudors. The statute forbade anyone being withdrawn from agriculture to enter apprenticeship, whilst at the same time forbidding merchants and shopkeepers apprenticing anyone below the rank of a yeoman's son. Many provincial towns also restricted the inflow of new entrants to trades to reduce competition. London however had an unappeased appetite for new entrants to trades, not only because it was growing at a rapid rate but also because high net mortality meant that new entrants were always needed. And as in Dick Whittington, London had a reputation for making fortunes.



St Mary at Hill, Billingsgate

Robert and Isabell Maddox

Thus Robert Maddox² son of William Maddox, a Shropshire yeoman, was sent to London in 1571 as an apprentice to a relative, another William Maddox, a Merchant Taylor. The Merchant Taylors' Guild was and is one of the Great Twelve City Livery Companies, being sixth or seventh in order of precedence. (It alternates with the Skinners, as both received their charters in 1327). Merchant Taylors were at this time moving away from being solely a merchant tailoring trade body to becoming a general merchant's guild. This was during the reign of Elizabeth I when overseas trade soared, with merchants building fortunes from exporting goods especially cloth and importing goods including luxury items.

When William Maddox took on Robert as an apprentice, he had only recently earned his freedom himself, having just served seven years to another Shropshire migrant, Robert Wylshire. However, before Robert earned his freedom, William had died and he finished his apprenticeship under William's widow, a situation he would repeat³. A year after earning his freedom on 17th January 1579 Robert married Isabell Bedall at St Mary at Hill in Billingsgate⁴. This church remained important to the family for the next century and seems to have been a magnet for Shropshire migrants to the City trades. The couple settled nearby, possibly in Thames Street where Robert is known to have bought property, just half a mile from the hall of the Merchant Taylors' Guild.

Robert lived only until about the age of thirty, but in those years he built the foundation of the family fortune. His death was obviously unexpected, as he died intestate and an Act of Administration had to be obtained to sort out his affairs. Robert's wife and later widow, Isabel, proved to be a talented business woman. She took over the business after his death and continued to build it, training their son William in the trade; William obtained his freedom by patrimony (although his father was dead) in 1605. Robert and Isabell probably had five children, of whom possibly three survived childhood. Robert junior died at the age of five in 1591, followed by his sister Bridget. Marie who was born in 1585 married Arthur Crome another member of St Mary's. They had five children and she would die following childbirth in 1625 at the age of 40. Isabell remarried at St Mary at Hill in July 1596, four years after Robert's death. Her new husband was Benjamin Joseph, a clothmaker – someone of much less wealth and status than herself. In the next year they faced litigation from a Merchant Taylor who had been a former apprentice of Isabell⁵.

William and Margaret Maddox

Robert and Isabell's son, William, continued his father's trade and increased the family fortune. He married seventeen year old Margaret Chappell on 8 December 1609. They possibly had seven children, of whom only two survived to adulthood. Whilst many children died before adulthood at this time, survival rates in the City of London were particularly low and life expectancy for adults was much lower than in rural areas. Some 140,000 people were crammed inside the walls of the old City of London, which was the engine house of the country. Rich and poor lived alongside each other in narrow streets in houses with little sanitation. Plague was a frequent event; the royal court and the legal courts would move out of London until it abated; merchants often fled too but had to return to ply their trades. The two children of William and

Margaret who survived were Benjamin (the father of Sir Benjamin) and his younger brother William.

William senior died in September 1623 at the early age of 41, following the death of his son Bartholomew, possibly in an outbreak of plague. Both were buried at St Mary at Hill. Burial entries in the parish records of St Mary at Hill normally gave only the name of the person buried and their spouse's name if a wife, or the father's name if a child. William's entry unusually described him as merchant taylor and church warden, showing the status he enjoyed in the church. When William died his will⁷ mentions a "shop" with "wares and debt" and a "book of Accompts," obviously set up by his father, as William shared ownership of it with his mother. In addition he was lending money by "bonds" or "mortgages" and the will lists £2,136 10s of bonds in his name and £2,330 belonging to his mother, very large amounts of money at that time. William had twenty-three mortgages ranging between £21 and £300. His mother held sixteen mortgages with the largest being £800.

William had wisely invested his wealth in London land and property, which was to be the basis of the family's fortune, as London land and property prices soared from the late seventeenth century. His land and property portfolio was left to his widow Margaret until her death or remarriage, when it was specified to which son the land and property would pass. Unusually for the time, William did not follow the strict rules of primogeniture in his will. It was more usual to leave all land and property to the eldest son with perhaps an income to the younger. It is probable that Benjamin's share, as the eldest son, was worth more. However, the value of the properties was obviously sufficient to set both sons up for life. The will listed the land as follows:

Property	Parish	Last Owner	Left to
Houses/messuages etc	St Sepulchre without Newgate	William Jordan	Benjamin
Lands	St Giles in the Fields, Middlesex	Richard Willson	Benjamin
Boars Head, Thames Street	St Mary at Hill	Sir William Web	William
Horshoe, Thames Street	St Dunstans in the East	Sir William Webb	William
Houses/messuages etc	St Catherines Greenchurch	Thomas Luttman	William
Houses/messuages etc	St Catherine Colman	Thomas Luttman	William

His two sons also inherited £100 each when they reached the age of 21. If either of his sons tried to dispute his will, he directed that the land and property left to them should go instead to his daughters. William's personal estate which was obviously much more than the £2,136 tied up in his business, was divided in three parts between his wife, his two daughters, Bridgett and Mary, and legacies to relatives, including his brothers-in-law and godchildren, and to the poor of four parishes of St Mary at Hill, St Dunstan in the East, St Sepulchre without Newgate and Deptford in Kent. St Mary at Hill was obviously the church where William worshipped and was church warden. The other two London churches are very close by and William owned property in their parishes. The bequest to the church in Deptford, Kent demonstrates that the family had a connection with that county in William's lifetime (possibly through his wife) which would strengthen following his death. He also left his "deare and natural mother" £7 in cash and a gold ring worth £3 in remembrance, showing his closeness to her, both emotionally and in business.

It was normal at this time to leave rings in this way and they can often be seen in portraits, attached by ribbons to the clothing of people of both sexes at this time. Money for other rings was left to his executors, who were close friends or kinsmen. He also left £10 for his fellow members of the "artillerie Companie (of which I am a member)" to accompany his body to his grave. The Honourable Artillery Company was founded in 1537 and is now the oldest regiment in the British Army. After some years of inactivity, in 1611 some patriotic citizens, of whom William was one, met to practice in Billingsgate's "Artillery Garden" close to his home⁸.

Like many rich merchants, William had obviously made the decision to "gentrify" his sons before his death. Instead of apprenticing them he sent Benjamin in 1618 at the age of eight to the Merchant Taylors' School, then in Suffolk Lane near their London home. William later joined him there. The school days were long and the school had up to 250 boys with one master and assistants. His time there coincided with a difficult time for the school. In 1624 the Guild brought the schoolmaster before its court following complaints mainly of incompetence against him. It took them until 1626 to remove him and involved going to court. Then in 1626 plague again swept London and many of the pupils died.

William's widow Margaret remarried in 1624, the year after his death. However, she continued to administer his estate and received the rents from the London properties to use in the education and upbringing of their children. At the age of twenty one the properties passed to her sons as directed in William's will. Margaret's second husband was Sir Henry Grimstone, Kt of Boughton Monchelsea, Kent, whose family had also been Merchant Taylors. The move to Kent took the family away from the world of merchants in the City and helped push the Maddox brothers up the social ladder. This was an established route for successful City merchants, who effectively became members of the gentry class, although distinguished from most of that class by their wealth. Once in this class these gentry families with mercantile roots often continued to intermarry forming close-knit networks. This was precisely what the Maddox family did.

Between 1624 and 1630 Sir Henry and Margaret had five children. ¹¹ Sir Henry had also had children by his first wife. In 1633 Benjamin's brother William married his stepsister Elizabeth Grimestone, having been espoused to her three years before at the age of 18, further cementing the bond between the two families. However, both Benjamin and William must have continued to live in London for most of their childhoods to attend the Merchant Taylors' School, which was a day school.

Benjamin Maddox Senior and Mary Lambarde

In 1627 Benjamin went to Emmanuel College Cambridge as a pensioner and matriculated the same year. He went on to Gray's Inn and was admitted in November 1629. Attending Oxford or Cambridge University sometimes followed by a short legal training was the normal route for sons of the gentry at this time, as it was intended to prepare them for life as a Justice of the Peace (JP). JPs were an important part of government under Elizabeth I and the Stuarts, and they had wide judicial powers in their local area. This was also a litigious age where lawsuits were very common (again to be demonstrated by the family) and the legal training (although not essential for JPs) may have both prepared them for it and perpetuated the trend. It seems that



Merchant Taylors' School, Suffolk Lane From Old & New London Vol II by Walter Thornbury 1878

Benjamin did practice at Gray's Inn, as the close friend mentioned in his will was at Gray's Inn, although for some reason his entry in the record was later erased. In 1634 when he was 24, Benjamin married Mary Lambarde who was then about 16 years old. She was the daughter of Sir Multon Lambarde of Westcombe, Kent (another gentry family with mercantile roots) whom he perhaps met though his stepfamily. Mary's mother Jane was the fourth daughter of Sir Thomas Lowe, MP for London and Mayor of London in 1604-5.

In 1635 Benjamin's grandmother Isabell, who was a widow again by this time, died. There is no known record of her birth, but she must have been at least in her mid seventies. She was obviously a very wealthy woman and left a comprehensive will. The will reveals that this remarkable woman probably could not read or write as she signed it with a mark. Additionally, in the Burial Record for St Mary at Hill she is unusually described as Mrs Joseph which, rather than using her Christian name and the name of her late husband, is an unusual sign of respect to a woman at this time. She asked to be buried in the Chancel between the bodies of her son William and her daughter Marie Crome, who had recently died. Chancel burials were only for the very rich. St Mary at Hill was partly destroyed in the Fire of London in 1666 and rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren, so that no evidence of the tombs remain. Isabell's main beneficiary was her "deare and loving" grandchild Benjamin Maddox, who was left her strangely named property, Englands Allgoods, and her shop with all its contents in Billingsgate, together with the residuary of her estate after other bequests, which was likely to be large. He was also her sole executor. 14

Benjamin's younger brother William was left Isabell's share of the sixty acre estate he had bought with her in Kent. This was occupied by a Robert Wood and it appeared that William was living with his mother and stepfather as she also left him her possessions in his stepfather's house in Kent, together with £100 bequeathed in her husband Benjamin Joseph's will to him. William, like his brother, was obviously practising at Grey's Inn as she left him "all the things he already hath at his Chamber" there. Her will showed that she had remained close to her daughter-in-law Margaret, who had married Sir Henry Grimstone, as she left £50 each to her two daughters by him to be paid at their marriage or the age of 21. She left £20 to her sister and legacies of £200 each to the children of her deceased daughter, together with payments of the £20 legacies her husband had left them. Money for a mourning ring was left to a godchild and amounts of between 40s and £5 were left to the poor of the four parishes connected with the family – St Mary at Hill, Greenwich, Deptford and St Dunstan in the East.

The most intriguing legacies in Isabell's will were to Robert and Elizabeth Davies and their children. The four children were each left legacies of £100 to be paid at the age of 21. All three daughters had been given names used by the Maddox family – Isabell, Marie and Margaret, which suggests a close relationship. According to the will Robert was occupying Isabell's shop (probably the one inherited from her husband William Maddox). He had been let it at an advantageous rate as she said she had "let over my shop and house at Billingsgate therewith my



Billingsgate, from a view taken in 1820 From Old & New London Vol II by Walter Thornbury 1878

whole trade to his very great advantage." Additionally, she had lent him £946 "at the under rate of 5 in the 100th thereby the better to enable him to develop the trade to his best profit and advantage." She was obviously unsure that he would give up the house, shop and contents to her grandson Benjamin Maddox to whom she had left it or promptly repay the debt, as she willed that if he did not do so the legacies to his children would be void. Intriguingly Robert Davis was a goldsmith who would later reach the second highest position in the Goldsmiths' Company. Billingsgate was outside the traditional area for goldsmiths, which was in Goldsmith's Row in Cheapside, but the trade was beginning to disperse at this time. More intriguingly, it suggests that Isabell's trade had been as a goldsmith, although William had been a Merchant Taylor. The rules of the guilds were strict and they could not have been actual goldsmiths but could have been trading in gold. It is possible that Robert Davis was treated so favourably by Isabell because he was related through marriage. The Goldsmith Company records show that he was the son of a Shropshire yeoman, as was Robert Maddox, and may have had connections with the family. William Maddox in his will had called him his "brother-in-law" in the same way he had called Arthur Crome the husband of his sister Marie his brother-in-law and had left him "and my sister his wife five poundes a yeare for remembrance." Robert Davies had married Elizabeth Billrodare at St Mary at Hill in 1618 and she was certainly not William's sister, but the use of the term in this way was common if her husband was a brother or brother-in-law. This suggests that Robert had married a daughter of William and Isabell Maddox, who had died, and there is a record of the burial of Margarett the wife of a Robert Davies at St Andrew Holborn on 8th May 1614. He had nevertheless managed to retain the favour and help of his wealthy in-laws.

In 1635 Benjamin and Mary had a son whom they baptised Howard. In 1637 the manor of Little Bookham appears to have been purchased in the name of Howard Maddox. 15 There does not seem to have been any family connection with Little Bookham or Surrey, but it is possible that Benjamin bought it to make it the family seat. However, tragedy struck the young couple later that year when, after Mary gave birth to another son, Benjamin, she herself died two months later and was buried on 18th July 1637. Benjamin seems to have been heartbroken by his wife's death. He decided to "travel beyond the seas" and left his sons in the care of his "dear and loving brother William" and his "kinde and loving friend Robert Woolwich of Graves Inn." Sensibly he first made a will in case of his death and asked to be buried with his "deare wife Mary." It is probable that he never set out on his travels as tragedy struck again and both Benjamin and his son Howard died and were buried on 9th October 1637 at St Alfege, Greenwich, where Mary had been buried.¹⁷ Benjamin had left the bulk of his estate to his eldest son Howard and had made provision of £4,000 for Benjamin as the younger son. Benjamin was now heir to the whole estate, which he was to inherit at the age of 21. Benjamin senior's brother William Maddox and friend Robert Woolwich were made executors of his will and trustees of his estate until Benjamin reached the age of 21. He also appointed his brother-in-law and "loving friend Thomas Lambard" and his "very loving friend" John as overseers of his will and desired them to meet each year with the executors and trustees to go through the accounts. His executors were each left £50 to buy a piece of plate and expenses for administering the estate, whilst the overseers were left ten pounds each to buy a ring. Benjamin also left his "deare and loving mother," Lady Margaret Grimstone, £20 to buy her a ring, as he did to his "very kind and loving mother-in-law



The portrait of Jane Lambarde (1593-1673), Circle of John De Critz, dated 1620 – later Lady Jane Garrard Reproduced by Kind Permission of the Drapers' Company

Benjamin Maddox the younger – later Sir Benjamin Maddox Bart.

Thus the younger Benjamin Maddox was left a very rich orphan at a few months of age. Instead of being brought up by his uncle who was his trustee, Benjamin was placed under the guardianship of his maternal grandmother¹⁸ and brought up in Hertfordshire.

His Childhood

Following the death of her husband Sir Multon Lambarde in 1634¹⁹ Benjamin's maternal grandmother Lady Jane Lambarde (née Lowe) had remarried in June 1636²⁰ to Sir John Garrard of Lamer, Hertfordshire.²¹ Sir John's family, like the Maddoxes and Lambardes, were descended from London merchants. Sir John's father had been a Haberdasher, and Alderman and Mayor of London in 1601. He had bought the Lamer estate in Hertfordshire and James I had visited it on one of his progresses in July 1608.²² Sir John died less than a year after his marriage to Jane, probably in early June 1637.²³ In July of that year Lady Jane's daughter Mary Maddox (née Lambarde) died and was buried, followed by Mary's husband and son Benjamin and Howard Maddox in October 1637. Lady Jane took on not only the guardianship of her grandchild Benjamin, but was also entrusted by her husband with bringing up his five younger daughters.²⁴ In December 1636²⁵ Sir John Garrard's eldest son John, who was 15 at the time of his father's death, had married Jane, Lady Jane's daughter by her first husband Sir Multon Lambarde. His daughter Isabella was betrothed to Thomas Lamarde, Jane's son by her previous marriage, at the time of her father's death and they later married. There were also two other surviving sons. Benjamin, therefore, although an orphan, was brought up as the youngest of a large family.

The Garrard family home was Lamer House at Wheathampstead in Hertfordshire, but Lady Jane is known to have lived at the large manor house of Bride Hall in nearby Ayot St Lawrence less than three miles away, to which she probably moved soon after her husband's death. This was probably Benjamin's childhood home. Lady Jane's close bonds with her step children and step grandchildren are shown very clearly in her will, made before her death at the age of 80²⁶ in 1674 where, apart from her daughter Jane who had married Sir John Garrard Junior, they received larger legacies than her natural children. She was enormously wealthy; in her will she left seventy personal bequests mainly of silver and plate. Most were to people she claimed as relatives, showing the intricacy of the family relationships. Benjamin was left "all my Pictures hanging in my dining Roome and my Cypress Chest standing in my Parlour And my two double Guynees to buy him a Ring."

The Civil War

Benjamin's childhood encompassed the English Civil War (1642 to 1651) which ended when he was 15. His extended family, like many such families, were split in their sympathies. The Civil War tends to be seen in terms of royalists versus parliamentarians, but sympathies were more complex, with many families divided in their loyalties and some parliamentarians moving over to the royalist side as the parliamentarians became more extreme in their aims. The Garrards, like many families descended from London merchants, were parliamentarians, as London was the parliamentarian stronghold, whereas Benjamin's Lambarde relations in Kent were staunch royalists. Kent was an important area in the Civil War because of control of trade

on the River Thames. Boughton Monchelsea, the Lambarde's home, was royalist and was occupied by roundhead troops in the civil war. Many royalists, if they did not lose their lives, had their estates sequestered or confiscated. This happened to Lady Jane Garrard's son, Thomas Lambarde, who was also Benjamin's mother's brother, and an overseer of Benjamin's father's will, whose estate of Westcombe Manor was sequestered. Lambarde managed to regain it by "compounding" or paying a fine and promising not to take up arms against parliament again, but had to sell the estate because the fine was so great. Benjamin's uncle William, who was one of his trustees and had married his stepsister Elizabeth Grimestone, moved from Boughton Monchelsea to Boxley nearby, following a dispute with his brother-in-law²⁷ in 1655 over his father-in-law's will.

Hertfordshire in contrast was mainly parliamentarian and an important supply route into London. It seems that Lady Jane switched her loyalty to the parliamentarians with her marriage, as a document survives of her declaration of loyalty to King Charles II and his granting her pardon for which she paid following the Declaration of Breda in 1660.²⁸ This may explain the distance from her natural children shown in her will. However, she was known to have had friends who were royalists. Her stepson and son-in-law, Sir John Garrard, the second baronet, became a deputy lieutenant of the county in August 1642, as his father had been before him. Sir John was only 20 years of age at the time. The local MP, Sir Thomas Dacres, was a member of the newly formed Parliamentary Committee of Safety and was ensuring that the officials of his own county were all parliament sympathisers. Sir John raised and commanded a militia regiment and he was appointed parliamentary sheriff of the county from 1643 to 1645 following the removal of the previous Royalist incumbent. He was one of the five key parliamentarian commanders in Hertfordshire. Although he was on most local parliamentary committees in the 1640s, he was not a regular attendee, perhaps because of his active involvement in the war.²⁹ There is no record of him playing any part in the war or parliament after 1650, and it may be that



St. Peter's Church, Boughton Monchelsea

like many other parliamentarian sympathisers he found the politics, religion and intentions regarding the King of the new leaders too extreme. A document in the Hertfordshire Record Office purports to detail King Charles I's movements between 27th April and 5th May 1646.30 This shows him staying at Wheathampstead on the night of 27th April, which if true meant that he was likely to have stayed at Lamer or Bride Hall. His chaplain before he left the King was told "not to discover at what time he lay at Whethampsted" and this may well have been to protect the family housing him. This is possibly the reason why the Garrard family do not appear to have suffered for their parliamentarian loyalties following the Restoration. Sir John Garrard's son and heir became a MP with Tory sympathies under William III.31

Benjamin's Education and the Influence of John Evelyn

There are no records of Benjamin's early schooling. However, it is known that John Evelyn of Wotton, the diarist and writer, who had strong views about education, had an important influence on Benjamin's education and appears to have acted as a mentor to him for some years. John Evelyn was a royalist, who spent most of the years of the Civil War abroad. Despite this he was a friend of Lady Jane Garrard and remotely related to her through marriage. George Evelyn, John's older brother is mentioned in her will as a cousin. Her sister Mary was the mother of George Evelyn's second wife, Mary. She left him an "escalloped cup." John Evelyn himself is not mentioned in the will, but Mary Evelyn (presumably John Evelyn's wife) is described as Lady Jane's goddaughter and left "my great Amethyst Seale Cutt with a head and sett in Gold And my bracelets with "forty amethysts sett in gold." John Evelyn mentions visits to or by her on at least ten occasions in his diaries. In 1652 he describes attending a supper at her London house:

"Invited by my Lady Gerrard I went to London, where we had a greate supper, & all the vessels, which were innumerable, of Porcelain, which was very extraordinarie, she having the most ample and richest collection of that curiousitie in England."

This is believed to be one of the earliest references to the use of porcelain as tableware in England and is indicative of her enormous wealth as, although porcelain had begun to be imported from China, it was very expensive and because of this was generally used as ornaments.³³

Dr Jasper Needham, a physician by occupation, but also a brilliant intellectual was a close friend of John Evelyn, who he described after his death as: "..my pious, dear, and ancient learned friend...who loved me with greate affection." Needham was also involved in Benjamin's education and tutored him at Oxford. Benjamin's relationship with him was obviously close as in 1657 John Evelyn suggested to him that he should sponsor Needham for his doctoral degree quoting Seneca in the original Latin to support his appeal. Benjamin was eager to do this as "an evident but necessary assurance of my affection, friendship & whatsoever els renders him deare to me... of a person frô whom I have received the best part of my education." He sought and obtained the agreement of his grandmother for this as he was under age at the time and not therefore in control of his fortune. The fact that Evelyn asked this of him (especially when a minor) is an indication of Benjamin's great wealth and the power of his future patronage. It is clear that Lady Jane herself valued Dr Needham as in her will she left bequests to him and his



Bride Hall, Hertfordshire - the childhood home of Sir Benjamin Maddox

From: Views of Hertfordshire. A Collection of Drawings Vol III by JC Buckler (1793-1894).

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wife (two of the few non-relatives or servants to receive bequests indicating their importance to her) as follows:

"my Seale with an Onyx And my two Great paires of Gold each of them worth about three pounda a peece And my silver Drinking Cup with Two Eares and a Cover And my silver Boeif With a folton On the top of it And my Two silver Cruetts"

"my high wrought silver Cupp with a handle and lydd fixt onto it "

Between 1654 and 1655 Benjamin attended Wadham College, Oxford.³⁷ In July 1654 Evelyn visited his "excellent & deare Friend" Dr Wilkins, Warder of Wadham College, ³⁸ possibly to discuss Benjamin's admission to the college, although Benjamin had already paid his "caution money" or deposit to the college in June before Evelyn's visit. Benjamin did not graduate, but this was quite usual for a gentleman at that time. Dr Needham seems to have acted as his or his grandmother's agent as well as his tutor as there is a record of him being repaid the "caution money" owing to Benjamin.

His Travels in France

Benjamin travelled in France between 1655 and 1658, leaving England when he was eighteen years old and returning at the age of twenty one, when he came into control of his

fortune. The Grand Tour was becoming part of a gentleman's education at this time and often included visiting the classical sites that had been studied. However, such travel at this time was arduous, expensive and not without danger, which seems to be why Benjamin's travels were limited to France.

Dr Needham joined Benjamin in France in 1655³⁹ and returned to England in mid-1656.⁴⁰ On 11 June 1656 Evelyn wrote to Benjamin (possibly at the instigation of his grandmother) offering his advice and guidance during his time abroad, which led to a correspondence between them until Benjamin returned to England in 1658. Eleven letters survive, of which five are from Benjamin.⁴¹ These are his only surviving letters; they portray a serious young man travelling to improve and educate himself, rather than for pleasure. He was clearly in awe of the intellectual with whom he was in correspondence, and was consequently hesitant to make any remarks on places he was visiting which Evelyn had previously visited himself. Benjamin's letters sought approval for his plans, and Evelyn's letters offered advice and praise for his studies. It is also clear from these letters that Evelyn was in close contact with Benjamin's grandmother and sought her approval for Benjamin's travel plans.

Benjamin's reply to Evelyn's letter of June 1656 does not survive. It clearly gave details of his proposed travel itinerary and asked for Evelyn's approval, as Evelyn referred to it in his letter of September 1656.42 Evelyn approved of Benjamin spending the winter of 1656 in Tours saying: "France has not (in my opinion) a more delicious or civill place, nor better accommodated so to a studious Genius" and advised him to study the rudiments of architecture there but said he did not need to press this "where there is so excellent a designe for virtue, and solid perfection as ever I have rejoiced to detect in you." In Benjamin's reply from Tours in December he expressed his appreciation of Evelyn's "accustomed kindness & care of me, whereby you still oblige me to prosecute my ancient and profitable design of seasoning the rawness of my years & no less of my judgement with your salutary instructions" and revealed that he was learning Italian. He sought Evelyn's help in persuading his grandmother to let him take a year's travel in Italy from October 1657. He also intended to spend a further six months in Paris "where I again may improve myself with the solid documents of Monsieur Mallet." 43 Benjamin was not permitted to visit Italy. In his reply in January 1657 Evelyn recommended Italian literature to read and said he would "industriously mediate with my lady" ie Lady Jane, but pointed out the dangers of visiting Italy which is "so epidemically visited..whereof the Pestilenc (is) now raging" as to be insufficiently worth visiting to endanger his health. 44

In June 1657 Benjamin wrote to Evelyn from Lyons apologising for not having written for some time due to his journey from Tours. He was about to leave for Marseilles, then on to Toulon and Nîmes and finally to Montpellier.⁴⁵ In his next letter Evelyn was still trying to reconcile Benjamin with not travelling to Italy: "Nismes, dos so much abound with Antiquities, that the difference twixt it and Rome, is, that I thinke it has very few more worth the visiting." Evelyn said of Montpellier: "where, I suppose you will make a longer stay: because there are Schollars, and students, and many rareities about it. There is one Peter Borell a Physitian, who hath lately published Centuries Historical and Medico-Physical." He also recommended him to acquire recipes at Montpellier for perfumes, powders and pomanders as gentlemen who did not

"deprive themselves of many handsom advantages to improve their tyme." As Evelyn pointed out: "this is to you Sir, the true seede-tyme, and wherein the foundation of all noble things must be layed. Make it not the field of Repentanc: For what can be more glorious than to be ignorant of nothing but of Vice, which indeede has no solid existenc, and therefore is nothing? Seeke therefore after nature, and contemplate that greate Volume of the Creatures whilst you have no other distractions; Procure to see Experiments, furnish your selfe with receipts, models, and Things which are rare." By doing this he would on returning to England be able to enjoy the fruits of his experience "either by Serving your Country in some publique Employment (if the integrity of the Tyme invites you), or, by securing your owne felicity..in a private unenvied ..Condition..of Piety and knowledg."

Evelyn at this time was building his famous garden at Sayes Court and asked Benjamin to source seeds for him. In his letter from Montpellier⁴⁷ Benjamin reported on his progress in obtaining the seeds Evelyn had requested. He also detailed his findings about the Aloe plant which Evelyn had mentioned to him, recounting a marvellous tale he had been told: "Concerning the Aloës plant you mentioned I have since informed my self, & can assure you there is such an one, & saw it in the King's garden here; it is a hundred years in growing, & at the hundred years end from being a plant becomes in 8 or 10 dayes a very high tree, but with so great a violence & celerity, y^t it rends the earth and makes very great ravage, & so great a noyse y^t I heard say from a credible marchant in this town, who ha's heard it, y^t it may very well equal the report of a Cannon, & not only so, but ha's likewise, as he affirmed to me, apparently seen it rise in the celerity of those few dayes growth." Evelyn seems also to have been equally credulous as he included this account in his book '*Elysium Britannicum*.'⁴⁸

From Montpellier Benjamin returned to Paris in Lent of 1658 where he intended to "furnish my self with som books & Prints, before I go home... as I am advised by my Lady Grandmother."49 Evelyn had advised him when he returned to Paris to: "refresh your Gymnastique Exercises, to frequent the Court, the Barr, and the Schooles sometymes; But above all, procure acquaintanc and settle a Correspondenc with learned Men, by whom there is so many advantages to be made and experiments gotten." In Paris Benjamin visited Sir Richard Browne, Evelyn's father-in-law and English Ambassador who mentioned Benjamin in his letters to Evelyn. Sir Richard had been exiled by the Civil War and was in serious financial straits. He wrote to Evelyn of Benjamin's "integrity and worth, butt also for his respects and civility to me; whom he hath much obliged" and his intention to take walks with him in and outside Paris.⁵⁰ He was probably the gentleman of whom Benjamin wrote to Evelyn: "I have lately had the honor to kiss the noble Gentlemans hands, whose address you signify'd, & he has pleased to assure me yt he will most cheerfully assist me upon the advice you gave him, neither will your directions be less proficuous to me in the choice of Prints."51 Evelyn replied lightly reproving him for the excess of compliments paid to him and: "that you treate me not like a Friend but pursue me immodestly" and urging him to return to England.

"It were to be wished that you would now resolve to come-over, and enjoy the many Curiosities that are amassed for you to invite you, and that none might make advantage of your Absence to your prejudice."

Lady Jane had bought a print cabinet of one of the foremost artists of the day, Francis Cleyn on Evelyn's recommendation.⁵² By October Benjamin had returned to England, as Evelyn recorded in his diary that he visited him on 4 October noting that he was "now come newly out of France."⁵³ Although there are no further letters or references to Benjamin in Evelyn's diary, it is quite likely that they still met as Evelyn was selective in his diary and the letters he recorded.

Marriage to Dorothy Glascock and his Adult Life

It is unclear what Benjamin did after he returned to England in 1658. It is likely however that he spent some time at the inns of law as recommended by John Evelyn: "and so will you have nothing to add to your accomplishment when you come home, but to looke over the Municipal Lawes of your owne Country, which your interest and your necessities will prompt you to," which would prepare him for life as a JP. Perhaps he did manage to visit Italy at a later date.

In 1664 at the age of 27 Benjamin married nineteen year old Dorothy Glascock.⁵⁵ She was the daughter of Sir William Glascock of Wormley, Hertfordshire, who was one of the Masters in Ordinary of his Majesty's High Court of Chancery. The marriage settlement reveals Benjamin's great wealth.⁵⁶ Sir William, who was not a wealthy man on the scale of his new son-in-law, gave a dowry of £2,200, which was a huge sum in those days. In return Benjamin agreed a jointure of £493 a year to be paid to his wife after his death from the rents from his lands. In addition, Sir William Glascock's two younger sons (for whom, after giving the dowry, he might have found it difficult to provide) received £186 a year from the rent of some of Benjamin's lands during his lifetime. Benjamin married someone from his extended family, as his grandmother Dame Jane Garrard referred to Dorothy as her niece in her will,⁵⁷ but as she was not the daughter of one of Dame Jane's siblings this seems to have been a more remote relationship through marriage. The couple settled in Dorothy's home village of bride and at first seem to have lived with her father at his house Fernbeds there. After his death in 1683 Benjamin Maddox bought the house, probably from his brother-in-law who was the heir of his father's will.⁵⁸ In 1700 Sir Henry Chauncy wrote:⁵⁹

"In this Parish there is a small Seat heretofore erected by Mr. Tooke, called Farnebeds, which was since sold to Sir Benjamin Maddox, who by Letters Patents dated the 11th of March, 1675, 28 Car. II. was created Baronet, and has been a Justice of the Peace divers Years for this County."

As the extract indicates, Fernbeds was not a large mansion and indeed was not the largest in Wormley, where the largest mansion was Wormley Bury House, owned by the Tooks who were also lords of the manor. With his great fortune, Sir Benjamin could have afforded a much larger country seat or indeed moved to Little Bookham, where he was lord of the manor, and built a large mansion there. The question remains why he did not. He certainly had a large house in Grosvenor Street in London. Perhaps the answer was that, as John Evelyn said, he was a modest man. Perhaps he felt secure living only 15 miles away from where he grew up, and perhaps it was his wife's choice to stay in her home village. His father-in-law's will in 1683⁶⁰ showed a strong relationship and respect of Sir Benjamin by Sir William who termed him his: "good and honoured sonne in law ." Dorothy was left "£20 to be laid out in such fashioned Plate as she pleaseth."



St Laurence Church, Wormley, Hertfordshire

His Religious and Political Views

Benjamin was a deeply religious man. He was a staunch supporter of the established church. Following the Restoration and the reintroduction of the Book of Common Prayer in 1662, Benjamin bought the rector of Worsley a copy of the Book. In 1700 Dorothy, Benjamin's wife presented a large silver paten to the church. He was a devout member of the Church of England, but in his role of JP was known to be particularly active against all forms of nonconformity, especially the Quakers. Following the Restoration in 1660, maintaining social and political order was regarded as paramount, and the Quakers with their emphasis on personal choice and their refusals to swear oaths were seen as a serious threat to it. Only with the act of Toleration in 1689 was such persecution stopped. The religious books his father-in-law left him and his wife were typical of devout Anglicans at this time: "...my two large Bookes of Martyrs and my five volumes of Poole's Synopsis (*Criticorum*). And to his wife Lady Maddox my only and dearly loved daughter I give Bishop Taylor's Booke the grand exemplar Doctor Dimbrocke of Sermons Doctor Tillotson (the Deane of Canterbury) and Doctor Barrowe's Bookes of Sermons."

The two 'Bookes of Martyrs' were in fact John Foxe's 'Actes and Monuments' which had become popularly known as the Book of Martyrs. It was written as a history of the sufferings primarily of the English and Scottish people inflicted by the Roman Catholic Church, and a defence of their right to read and hear the Bible in their own language without being mediated by a priesthood. As such it was regarded as much by Puritans as by Church of England moderates. Matthew Poole was a nonconformist Presbyterian and his 'Synopsis Criticorum' was a highly thought of compilation of Latin biblical commentaries. Of the books of sermons Bishop Taylor is particularly interesting. He was an Episcopalian who had suffered for the Royalist and

Anglican causes in the Civil War. He was also a close friend of John Evelyn who saw him as his spiritual guide and called him his "ghostly father." 62

In politics, it seems that Benjamin took after his Lambarde ancestors as his sympathies were with the crown. Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660 and Benjamin Maddox became a baronet in 1675 paying £1,095 as a fee,⁶³ which was the going rate. "Cash for honours" is not a new phenomenon as Charles II like his father was kept short of money by Parliament and found ways of raising revenue.⁶⁴ Benjamin however, despite being a very active JP, never seems to have attempted to have become a member of parliament. Besides their house in Wormley, the couple had a house in Great Marlborough Street, a very fashionable and wealthy part of London at the time. There is no evidence that they ever lived or even visited Little Bookham, although it is likely that Benjamin did visit it.

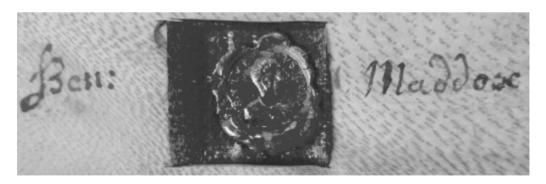
His Daughters

The couple had two daughters, Dorothy and Mary, but their only son died before the age of three. 65 There are no known surviving baptism records for Dorothy and Mary but Burke 66 said that Dorothy was the eldest daughter. She married Benjamin Rudyerd on 5 October 1685 and died in 1690 67 having had three sons and two daughters. 68 The Rudyerd family was a distinguished family which traced its lineage back to before the Norman Conquest. Benjamin Rudyerd's grandfather had begun the Civil War as a Parliamentarian, but had made a famous speech in the House of Commons as he began to have doubts about the direction the Parliamentarians were heading. 69

The younger daughter Mary (who would later inherit the Little Bookham Manor), was also a goddaughter of her grandmother Dame Jane Garrard and was to inherit a diamond brooch from her after her mother's death. The description indicates its value:

"a Dyamond Knott with a great Table Dyamond in the middest of it and Eighty five smaller ones sett about it."

The two daughters each inherited a "silver wyne Glasse Cupp."



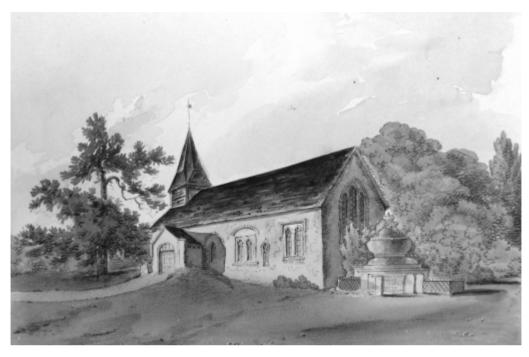
Sir Benjamin Maddox's seal and signature
By kind permission of Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies DE/P/T4192g

Mary married Edward Pollen in 1704. The document says that she was "about 35" making her birth year about 1669, but her burial record indicates that she was about 44.70 Whichever age is correct, she was older than Edward when she married him, as he was then 30. As she was co-heiress to her father's vast fortune and, as marriages in her social class were often made by the families rather than being individuals' choices, the fact that she was unmarried by 30 was unusual. Perhaps Edward Pollen was her last chance of marriage. It is possible that she married him against the wishes of her parents, as the couple were married in the Guildhall Chapel in London by a licence.⁷¹ Later events also indicated problems. Marriages in these classes were not just about personal choice, as has already been demonstrated by the family's history, but were also a means of forming and maintaining broader family alliances.

Superficially Edward seemed to be very suitable. He was the eldest son of John Pollen, MP for Andover who, like the Maddoxes, was descended from a London merchant and who like Sir Benjamin was a Tory. After the Civil War the enmity between the two main political groupings, (who would become commonly known as Whigs and Tories by the end of the century), was much greater than it is today, and people of this class did not generally marry a member of a different political persuasion. Edward's mother Frances who had died in 1673, was the daughter and heiress of Edward Exton, a Southampton merchant.⁷² Edward had been educated at New Inn Hall, Oxford and then went on to train at Lincoln's Inn.73 However, whilst Edward had a small manor in Hampshire, he was not in the same league wealth-wise as the Maddox family. His first wife, whom he had married when she was 18, had died two years before and, as Mary was older than him, the family might have been concerned about her future happiness in the marriage. Edward's previous marriage in 1695 was to Jane Huband the daughter of Sir John Huband.⁷⁴ They had four children; she died in 1702 after the birth of her last child and was buried in Lincoln Cathedral. 75 Thus Mary took on four stepchildren between the ages of three and seven. Within two years in 1706 she had a son, Benjamin, born on 17th July⁷⁶ at Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire, close to her parents' home at Wormley, which together with the choice of name suggests a rapprochement between the young couple and her parents. It is possible that her parents had rented out their house Fernbeds by this time and were living in Hoddesdon as Bushby & Hardy⁷⁷ assert that Fernbeds was in the tenancy of John Tavernor in 1705 and later of John Tarry, but do not give a source.

Sir Benjamin's Death and his Will

In 1716 Sir Benjamin died. His will, which was probated in February 1717, split up his great fortune. The Benjamin had added to the portfolio of land he had inherited with further land he had acquired in Great Marlborough Street and Westminster and land in Wormley and Broxbourne in Hertfordshire and in Essex. He appears in his will to have divided this three ways between his daughter Mary, the children of his deceased daughter Dorothy and to charitable trusts. His personal effects and the residue of his estate were left to his wife Dorothy. As this would have included all his cash, bonds and other monetary investments it was likely to have been considerable. In addition she received the jointure agreed in her marriage settlement totalling £431 a year which was payable out of the rent from the properties left in his will.



Little Bookham Church, SE View, 1823 by John Hassell By kind permission of the Surrey History Centre Ref 4348/738

Four charitable trusts were established. The largest which included most of Benjamin's land in Allhallowes, was to benefit the rector, the poor, provision of a clerk and to help upkeep the highways of Little Bookham. Whilst most of the assets of this charity were taken over by the Church Commissioners, a minor part survives as a small payment to the poor of the parish each year. The charity is conditional on the terms of Sir Benjamin's will that the relevant part of his will should be read out each year between All Hallows Tide and Christmas. Fernbeds and the land at Wormley and Broxbourne were left to the poor of St Giles Cripplegate, although Dorothy was allowed to live there until her death by paying rent of £22 a year. Land he owned in the parish of Steeple in Essex was to be used for the upkeep of the vicar or curate of Steeple. The fourth charity, which still survives in a slightly different form, left his lands in Ramsey, near Norwich to provide a scholarship for a poor scholar at Wadham College, Oxford which he had attended over 60 years previously. In 1710 Sir Benjamin had set up a charity for the poor of Wormley, giving £320 to buy land which provided a rent of £16 a year of which £6 was for the augmentation of the rectory and £10 distributed among the poor of the parish in money and clothing.⁷⁹

Robert, Thomas and Mary Rudyerd each received some land in London. Robert also received land in Kent worth about £70 a year in rent and Mary received copyhold land in Wormley. The remaining daughter had only a share of farmland in Essex with her sister Mary.

Benjamin's daughter Mary inherited a large fortune. She and her husband inherited the manor and advowson of Little Bookham together with the associated lands in Little Bookham, Great Bookham and Effingham. Benjamin clearly did not trust his son-in-law as he left the valuable 32 acres of land in Saint James in Westminster and the land in Boughton Monchelsea and Churt in Kent worth £100 a year, in trust for his daughter Mary. He specified that they were "for the sole proper peculiar and separate use of my said daughter Mary Pollen apart from her husband and her receipt alone" and that "my said Trustee shall not permitt or suffer my said son in law Edward Pollen to intermeddle with any of the Rents and profitts of the said premisses." They were to pass to her son Benjamin after her death and if he had no issue they would revert back to his Rudverd offspring. After making his will on 25th of February 1714 Sir Benjamin became "apprehensive that my Son in Law Edward Pollen Esquire and Mary his Wife or their Son Benjamin Pollen some or one of them may dispute my Will and not content themselves with the within mentioned Devise of my Estate at Little Bookham upon the Termes and conditions and in manor as the same is therein given devided or lymitted to them respectively." He therefore wrote a codicil on 23rd April 1716 that if Edward, Mary or Benjamin disputed the will then the bequests to them would be void and the Kent land left to Mary given to his grandson Robert Rudyerd. The little Bookham estate would also be sold. He made a similar condition relating to his son-in-law Benjamin Rudyerd. The codicil seems to have been provoked by a fear that his sons-in-law and Edward in particular might try to claim the portion for any daughters agreed in his Marriage Settlement, which was agreed when it was envisaged that his land and fortune would be left to a son as his heir. He states that also "before the marriage of my said daughter Pollen I purchased severall annuities in the Exchequer for the life of my said daughter which cost me about seven hundred pounds and gave the same to the proper use of the said Mary as an advancement and in part of her portion." This concern may have been aroused by an action started by Edward Pollen against the heir of his late father-in-law Sir John Huband relating to his first wife's marriage settlement, or by his behaviour during an indenture signed relating to his Millfield land in 1715 which his surviving daughter and her husband had also to sign because of the terms of his marriage settlement.81

Although Sir Benjamin may have forestalled his family disputing his will, it did not stop them disputing that of his widow Dorothy after she died in 1723. The main beneficiaries of her will⁸² were her grandson Robert Rudyerd and her granddaughter Mary Fitzgerald. Her other granddaughter Dorothy received an annuity of £20. Mary Fitzgerald (née Rudyerd) had obviously married a man who was unlikely to be able to support her and who was in debt. They had a child called Maddox Fitzgerald and Mary, and presumably her husband and son, had moved in with her grandmother in 1720.⁸³ The lawsuits related to property and in particular deeds of properties of six houses in St James, which were claimed by the Pollens.

There was a postscript to the story in 1737 when Captain Benjamin Rudyerd of the Coldstream Guards (grandson of Sir Benjamin Maddox), Edward Fitzgerald (son-on-law of Sir Benjamin) and Maddox Fitzgerald (his grandson), all stated as of Wormley, esquires, were arrested for riotously assaulting Richard Taverner of Hoddesdon. Richard Taverner had supposedly rented Sir Benjamin's house, Fernbeds, and the incident may have been in

connection with this.⁸⁴ The house which was described as an "attractive Tudor house" was destroyed by fire in 1829.⁸⁵

Edward and Mary Pollen inherited Little Bookham manor, estate and advowson following Sir Benjamin's death in 1716, but had to pay £100 out of its £150 rent to his widow Dorothy until her death in 1723. Like Sir Benjamin, it is doubtful that they ever lived there. Following Edward Pollen's death in 1731, Mary Pollen and her son Benjamin appear to have moved to Richmond where they were described as living at Marsh Gate. However, his successors began to live at Little Bookham, so that in the first time for hundreds of years it had a resident lord of the manor. There were Pollen lords of the manor of Little Bookham until 1931, but only one more of them would be a descendant of Sir Benjamin Maddox. Mary died in 1744 at Richmond. She was buried in a vault built under the floor of the chancel of Little Bookham Church. The hatchment of her death and that of her husband, Edward Pollen, still survive and hang on the west wall of the church. Sir Benjamin had asked in his will to be buried in the graveyard of Little Bookham Church close to the chancel, but his wife as his executor had him buried in the graveyard of the church at Wormley where she was also later buried. Sir Benjamin is remembered in Little Bookham each year when, as a condition of his will, the parts of it relating to the establishment of the charity for Little Bookham are read out.

LAND OWNED BY SIR BENJAMIN MADDOX

(from his will)

TO WHOM LEFT IN HIS WILL

London & Middlesex

Allhallowes Lane, parish of Great Allhallowes

Charitable Trust for rector's upkeep, upkeep of church and highways etc, relief of poor, provision of clerk at Little Bookham

10 acres leased to the Burlington Estate in St Martin in the Fields.

In Trust for Mary Pollen, daughter After her death to grandson Benjamin

35 acres in Saint James in Westminster bought by William Maddox & Isabell Jesop (Joseph) his mother in 1622.⁸⁷ Remaining land mainly in Saville Row owned by the Pollen Trust

Brewhouse and wharf and land in Cosein Land in Great Allhallows

Robert Rudyerd, grandson

3 acres of land leased out to build on at Poland Street, Great Marlborough Street and Little Gelding's Close

Mary Rudyerd, granddaughter & £20 a year from rents to Benjamin Rudyerd, grandson

Broadstreet in Parish of St James Westminster (purchased 1679 for £400)⁸⁸

Tenements & land in Holborne Conduit in parish of Saint Sepulchre

Thomas Rudyerd

Essex

Tithes of three farms and others in Parish of Steeple in hundred of Deny in County of Essex called Steeple Grange, Bishopps and Batts Farm In Trust charity for vicar or curate of parish of Steeple

Farm and lands in Ramsey near Norwich

In Trust for poor scholar of Wadham College, Oxford

Farm called Langridge and Waterford Hall and freehold and copyhold land and property in Naizeing and Waltham Holly Crosse in Essex

Dorothy and Mary Rudyerd, granddaughters

Hertfordshire

Wormlev:

House and land called Fernbeds, 1.5 acres of arable land in Common Field at Broomfield, enclosed land of 4 acres called Spryers Croft with cowhouse and carthouse, 2 acres called Hallow Cross Meadow , 1.5 acres of common meadow in Chamberlaines Holme, The Grene adjoining the gardens , 20 acres of elm and ash trees next to gardens Broxbourne, near Wormley:

Close called Thrift fields or Thrift Cross of 7 acres Close of pasture of 7 acres adjoining called Stocked Grove or the Further Thrift Field

In Trust charity for poor of St Giles Cripplegate

Copyhold lands and tenements in Wormley

Mary Rudverd, granddaughter

Kont

Farm and lands in Boughton Sutton and Chart

In Trust for Mary Pollen, daughter After her death to son Benjamin

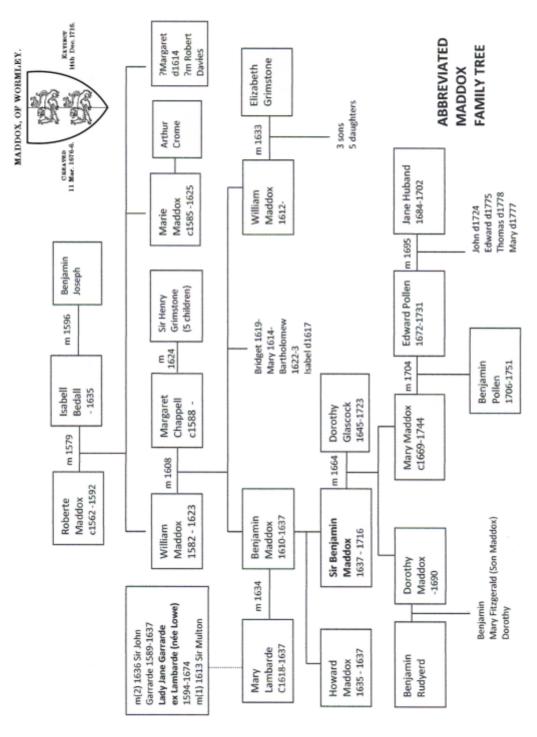
Farm and lands in Linton Loddington Maidstone and Mardon

Robert Rudyerd, grandson

Surrey

Manor and Advowson of Little Bookham, messuages and lands in Little Bookham

Edward and Mary Pollen, son-in-law and daughter



Notes

- 1. Bysshe, E. 1906. The Visitation of Kent 1663 to 1668. London: Mitchell, Hughes, & Clarke. p101
- Also referred to as Maddoks, Maddocke, Madox, Madoxe or Maddockes. Sir Benjamin Maddox signed his name as Maddoks as a young man, but was made a baronet in the name of Maddox. Maddox is used throughout to avoid confusion.
- 3. The Merchant Taylors' Company's Membership index 1530-1928, Guildhall Library Ms 34037/1-4
- 4. Parish Records of St Mary at Hill, London & Metropolitan Archives used as source for all births, marriages and deaths there
- 5. C2/Eliz/D1/59, National Archives
- 6. Shwartz, L. London Apprentices in the Seventeenth Century: Some Problems. Department of Economic and Social History, University of Birmingham.
- 7. Will of William Maddox 18th July 1622, PROB/11/142/36
- 8. http://www.hac.org.uk/home/about-the-hac/history
- Robinson, Rev Charles J. 1982. Register of the Scholars admitted into Merchant Taylors' School from AD 1562 to 1874. Lewis: Farncombe & Co
- 10. Wilson, H.B. 1812. The History of the Merchant Taylors' School & co., London. F.C. & J. Rivington
- 11. Parish Registers of Boughton Monchelsea
- 12. Venn, J. A., (comp) 1922-1954. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. London: Cambridge University Press. [On-line:Cambridge University Alumni 1261-1900]
- 13. St Alfege, Greenwich Parish Records, London and Metropolitan Archives
- 14. Will of Isabell Joseph 29th April 1635 PROB/11/167/495
- 15. DE/Gd/27303 Hertfordshire Archives & Local Studies
- 16. Will of Benjamin Madoxe 10 October 1637 PROB/11/175/134
- 17. St Alfege Greenwich Parish Records, London & Metropolitan Archives
- Little Bookham Manor Court held in her name as guardian of Benjamin Maddox in 1655, 181/13/1 Surrey History Centre
- 19. England & Wales, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills, 1384-1858
- 20. Cokayne, George E. 1900. Complete baronetage. Vol. I: Exeter: William Pollard & Co. page 188
- 21. This appears to be the source of the mistaken attribution in Manning & Brays History of Surrey of the manor of Little Bookham to Sir John Garret from whom it supposedly passed to his daughter who supposedly married the senior Benjamin Maddox. This has unfortunately been repeated by later writers including SED Fortescue in People and Places: Great and Little Bookham p5. The names Garrard and Garret were often used interchangeably.

- Thomson, Dr A. 2004. Progress Retreat and Pursuit: James I in Hertfordshire. In Jones-Baker, D. (ed.) Hertfordshire in History Papers Presented to Lionel Munby. Hertfordshire: Hertfordshire Local History Council. p95
- 23. His Will was dated 8 April and 20 May 1737 and probate obtained 21 June 1637 (Cockayne as above)
- 24. Will of Sir John Garrard 21 June 1637 PROB/11/174/377
- 25. Parish Register of Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire & Bishops Transcripts 20 December 1636
- 26. Will of Dame Jane Garrard, 2nd February 1673 Prob/11/341/290
- 27. C6/130/78, National Archives
- 28. DE/Gd/27340 12 Chas II 1660 June 8, Hertfordshire Archives & Local Studies
- Thomson, Dr. A. 2007. The Impact of the First Civil War on Hertfordshire 1642-47 In The Economic History Review. 62:4. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons (published online: 12/10/2009)
- 30. DE/Gd/27339 Hertfordshire Archives & Local Studies
- 31. History of Parliament Trust
- 32. Mary was the daughter of Dr Robert Offley and his wife Mary (nee Lowe) who he married in 1601 at St Peter-le-Poor, Middlesex
- 33. de Beer, E.S. (ed) 1955. The Diary of John Evelyn Vol II. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p60
- 34. Bray, W. (ed) 1819. Memoirs Illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn, comprising his Diary from 1641 to 1705/6 and a Selection of Familiar Letters... &co. London: Henry Colburn. p512
- 35. See 41 below. Letter 111 f77-78 Epistle CVIII
- 36. See 41 below. British Library Add 78316: f 113 (8.6.n.d.)
- 37. Gardner, R.B. 1887. Register of Wadham College, 1613-1719,
- 38. de Beer, E.S. (ed) 1955. The Diary of John Evelyn Vol III p104
- 39. de Beer, E.S. (ed) 1955. The Diary of John Evelyn Vol III p175. Footnote: he had obtained pass to travel beyond the seas on July 24 1655 Cal. Dom 1655 p593
- 40. de Beer, E.S. (ed) 1955. The Diary of John Evelyn Vol III p175
- 41. The six letters written John Evelyn are taken from a new edition of the Letterbooks of John Evelyn (British Library Add MS 78298-9) edited by Douglas Chambers and David Galbraith to be published in September 2014. Evelyn's Letterbooks were put together by him probably from the 1660s based on copies and rough drafts of letters he had previously written and were intended for his family's reading. They therefore do not record all the letters he sent, some letters may not be recorded in the form as sent and some of the letters may not actually have been sent. The four letters written by Benjamin Maddox to John Evelyn are from Evelyn's Papers at the British Library Add MS 78316 Vol CXLIX (ff.180) 1650-59. Some of the dates of the letters ascribed by Evelyn to them are clearly incorrect and they have been re-ordered for this article.

- 42. Add MS 78298-9 Letter 101 September 21, 1656 f71 r-v Epistle XCVIII (ed) Douglas Chambers and David Galbraith
- 43. Add MS 78316 Vol CXLIX (ff.180) 1650-59 letter 122
- 44. Add MS 78298-9 Letter 89 January 17, 1657 f67r-v Epistle LXXXVI (ed) Douglas Chambers and David Galbraith
- 45. Add MS 78316 Vol CXLIX (ff.180) 1650-59 letter 113 Lyons 8thof June (no year)
- 46. Add MS 78298-9 Letter 129 January 10, 1657 f83-4 Epistle CXXVI (ed) Douglas Chambers and David Galbraith
- 47. Add MS 78316 Vol CXLIX (ff.180) 1650-59 letter 118/9 Montpellier 25th of September (no year)
- 48. Evelyn, J. Elysium Britannicum (ed) Ingram p412
- 49. Add MS 78316 Vol CXLIX (ff.180) 1650-59 letter 118/9 Montpellier 25th of September (no year)
- 50. Add MS 340702 British Library
- 51. Add MS 78316 Vol CXLIX (ff.180) 1650-59 letter 140 Paris 13th July 1658
- Add MS 78298-9 Letter 140 July 13, 1658 f87 Epistle CXXXVII (ed) Douglas Chambers and David Galbraith
- 53. de Beer, E.S. (ed) 1955. The Diary of John Evelyn, 1959 Vol III p222
- 54. As 46
- 55. Baptism record 28th February 1645 St Clement Dames, Westminster City Archives
- Copy of Marriage Settlement of Benjamin Maddox and Dorothy Glascock, DE/P/T4192D Hertfordshire Archives & Local Studies
- 57. Will of Dame Jane Garrard, 2nd February 1673 Prob/11/341/290
- 58. Will of Sir William Glascocke 17th November 1683 PROB/11/374/391. Bushby D. & Le Hardy W. 1954. Wormley in Hertfordshire. London: Staples Press Ltd p54 incorrectly says that Dorothy was her father's heir
- 59. Chauncy, H. 1700. The Historical Antiques of Hertfordshire... &co. London: B. Griffin, S. Keble
- 60. Will of Sir William Glascocke17th November 1683 PROB/11/374/391
- 61. Wormley In Hertfordshire (as 45 above) p51, 55 and p118
- 62. Oxford DNB
- 63. King's Warrant Book V pp95-6 Docquet Book p.37 Calendar of Treasury Books, Volume 5: 1676 1679
- 64. Croft, P. 2003. King James, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, p. 81
- 65. Copy of Marriage Settlement of Benjamin Maddox and Dorothy Glascock, DE/P/T4192g

Hertfordshire Archives & Local Studies

- 66. Burke, John & Burke, Sir Bernard. 1844. A genealogical and heraldic history of the extinct and dormant baronetcies of England, Ireland & Scotland, London: JR Smith. p333
- 67. C11/2417/6 National Archives
- 68. Will of Sir Benjamin Maddox 1716 prob/11/556
- 69. Miller, J. 2009. A Brief History of The English Civil Wars, Constable & Robinson Ltd, pp90-1
- 70. London and Surrey, England, Marriage Bonds and Allegations, 1597-1921 January 20 1704 and Little Bookham Church Parish Records . Burials June 26th 1744
- 71. London and Surrey, England, Marriage Bonds and Allegations, 1597 to 1921 January 2 1704
- 72. History of Parliament
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