

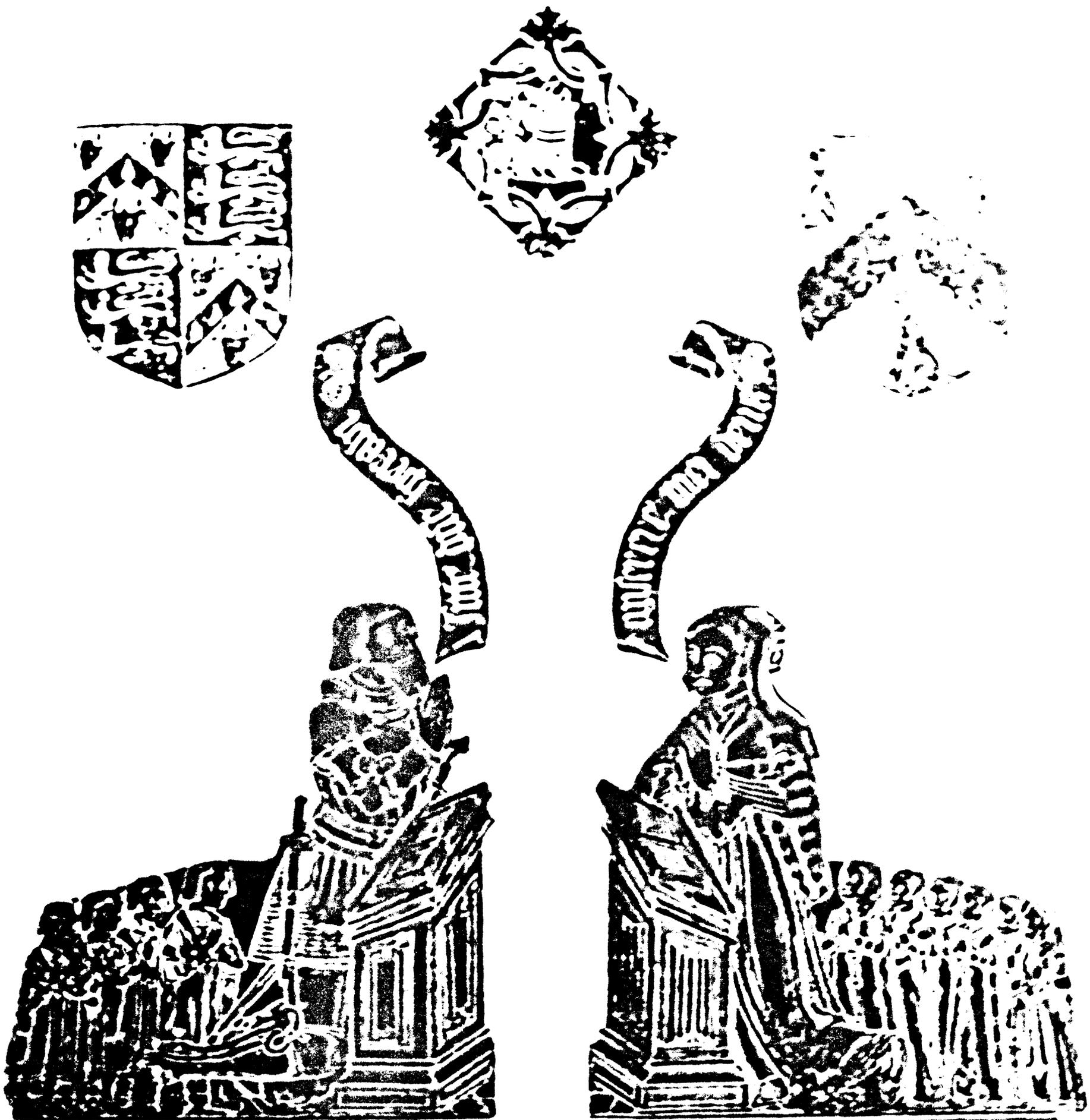
THE
SANDARS
CENTURIES

A brief history of the Sandars family
with sketches of some notable figures
from the family past

By

J. EDWARD SANDARS

with a chapter kindly contributed
by Elma Stonex



here is depicted Nicholas Semmer: Esquire and also his wife
 daughter of John Semmer of the County of Norfolk Esquire his
 father and mother to Thomas Semmer knight in large reward
 by cause of the death which Nicholas deceased the xxix day of
 August in the first year of the reign of queen Mary the first

"Our ancestors are very good kind
of folks but they are the last
people I should choose to have
a visiting acquaintance with"

R. B. SHERIDAN

The Rivals.

C O N T E N T S

| | Page |
|--|------|
| FOREWORD | (i) |
| I The First Millennium | 1 |
| II Surrey and the Sanders | 11 |
| III A Cunning Lettered Traitor | 21 |
| IV A Towne of his called Ireton | 33 |
| V The Liverpool to Manchester Railway | 43 |
| VI The New Man | 63 |
| VII Justinian and the Emperôr of Mexico | 79 |
| VIII A Harpoon in the side of Free Trade | 87 |
| IX An Edwardian Childhood | 103 |
| X A Lady Biographer | 111 |
| APPENDICES | |
| 1. A Brief Chronology | i |
| 2. Authors and their main Subjects | iii |
| 3. Bibliography | v |
| 4. A Shortened Genealogical Tree | vii |

FOREWORD

It was not difficult as a child to realise at an early age that the recorded history of the family stretches back many centuries. There was the portrait of the Cromwellian Sir Thomas Sanders in the rogues gallery in the hall at home - complete with latin inscription beneath, to instil a due sense of my schoolboy's lack of expertise in that language - and of course we lived not far from the source of it all, Charlwood. However, it was not until my visits to my uncles who lived near Wellington that I became interested to know who were the relations beyond the immediate circle of the five brothers and their sons. I then became aware that the existing family annals were more than a century out of date, but even then it was not until the rigours of learning the law were nearly over that any time could be devoted to updating them.

Once having decided to undertake the task and having been presented with such existing information as there was, I soon became totally absorbed in the past - to such an extent, I confess, that one outstanding law exam suffered a setback. Even knowing that the past had been documented in a limited way before, I was amazed by the detail that could be abstracted from innumerable leads and sources. In all, the work has taken a little over two years, but the majority of the research was completed in an onset of enthusiasm in the first six months of 1969.

Should I here start by justifying the very idea of a family history? It will surely be criticised: it is easy to deride the family historian for, perhaps, bolstering up the present with good connections or inventing influential ancestors in the past, or for bias or name-dropping. I will let

the pages which follow answer that criticism. I hope that they will bear out the opinion of the historian of the Churchill family who says that no history is more truthful than family history: individuals are the real units of history, not arguments about them. The facts of life are more subtle than people's theories about them.

A case could perhaps be made out for the insertion of some degree of fictitious addition, but it has remained my intention to present the family's past as fact. I hope the reader will find the interest of the subject-matter will overcome the stylistic imperfections with which it is presented. If, as Somerset Maugham has said, style is the art of omission, then my excuse is that I have tried to omit nothing.

- - - - -

I am most grateful for the encouragement and assistance contributed by many members of the family, and for the source materials lent or given by the following people - the late Mrs. M. E. L. Darbyshire, Lt. Col. J. F. Edwards, Mr. Eric Sanders, my four uncles and my father and Mrs. Elma Stonex.

Secondly I acknowledge my debt to two past members of the family in particular who started the record which this volume now continues - Edmund Thomas Sandars and my great-grandfather Samuel Sandars.

J.E.S.
Clarendon Road, W.

April 1971



here is buried Nicholas Semder Esquier and his wife
 daughter of John Langate of the Town of norke Esquier his
 father and mother to Thomas Semder knight in honore retained
 by grace of the cheker. which Nicholas decessed the xxix day of
 August in the first yere of the reigne of quene elenore Du. 15. 1500

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST MILLENNIUM

"Every family has its black-sheep Duke."

- The Marquis of Blandford, in 1970.

The name of this family, whether spelt Sanders, Sander, Saunders or Sandars, is recorded by most well known dictionaries of surnames as being a diminutive version of the very old name of Alexander.

But more interesting, and perhaps lesser known, is the fact that the name has a meaning according to the Oxford English Dictionary, as Middle English deriving from the Old French 'sandre', which is a variant of sandle, meaning the sandalwood tree. The name appears as Sandre at the time when men first used surnames rather than describing themselves as of such and such a place, being their place of birth or where they lived. It soon becomes plural adding an S at the end as numbers increase. As Sanders the name stays until the middle of the eighteenth century, when a will of 1750 first alters it to its present spelling with two A's.

The earliest known forebears of the Sandars family came from Sander-stead in Surrey. Whether the family took its name from the place or the place was named after the family is uncertain, but the old chronicles of the county record Watkin de Sanderstead having given the advowson of Sanderstead parish to Hide Abbey near Winchester, during the reign of Edward the Confessor. His brother Stephen is recorded in the Doomesday Book as holding Sanderstead of the Abbot of Hide.

After the Norman Conquest, the Sanders remained in the village until the reign of

Henry III when Richard sold Sanderstead to Robert de Pirle. Richard's son Roald Sander lived at Charlwood, about 15 miles away. He was the first of a long line who lived in the same village, the last of whom died in 1910. Roald is mentioned as living at Charlwood in 1243, and the family remained in the same village for two hundred years after this before William Sander very shrewdly married Joane Carew. This was an important landmark in the family's fortunes, as Joane was the heir of Thomas Carew of Beddington, who owned large tracts of the County. This is reflected in the will of the canny William.

William's son, Richard, is commemorated in the beautiful gilded oak rood screen at Charlwood Church erected in his memory and bearing his initials, RS. Richard's brother Henry moved to Ewell, there founding a separate Surrey dynasty at Battailles Manor, and his son Thomas "went into ye warres in Flanders". Although one of Thomas's brothers was killed there and another remained living abroad, this expedition was another turning point in the family history: in Flanders Thomas met Sir William Gresley of Drakelow and on his return to England instead of going back to Charlwood (he was a younger son, so there was no obvious local future for him), he accompanied Gresley to Derbyshire. For the second time there was a successful marriage - and the impoverished returning soldier died aged 80 as lord of the manor of Lullington in 1558, having bought out the Gresleys.

Six further generations lived in Derbyshire, at Caldwell, Ireton (of which more will be said) and Mackworth before the family, now Sandars, divides - part remaining in Derbyshire until the twentieth century - and part settling at Gainsborough, Lincolnshire. John Sanders had changed the

name to Sandars - perhaps a slip of the pen, but a stroke of good luck for the family historian - by his will which was proved in 1786 when he died aged 102. His grandson, Samuel Sandars, moved to Gainsborough, there founding the malting business, and from him descend the majority of the generations of Sandars now living. Four generations later, one part of the family, having returned to London, now completing the full circle, are again living mainly in Surrey, while the other part remains in Lincolnshire. Part of the Derbyshire stock remains in that part of the country, while other parts have dispersed as far as South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. The Surrey family could be traced down to 1910 when two unmarried daughters died at Charlwood, but, not having changed the name from its original spelling of Sanders, no more can be traced.

Such, in a fleeting panorama, is the movement of the Sanders and Sandars up to the present day. But a great deal can be told of particular families and particular people within this framework and it would do less than justice to our ancestors to stop at describing the lineage as a whole in these general terms.

After the marriage with the Carews the Sanders became one of the biggest land-owning families in the County of Surrey and influential members of the community. Much is known about them, the way they lived and kept in favour, their fortunes, failures and families, so a separate chapter has been devoted to this era of the history. Sanders directly descended from William Sander of Charlwood lived on at Charlwood for 450 years after William married Joane Carew, the last of whom was Mary Sanders, who died in 1909, unmarried, and making William Melanchthon Sanders of Havant her executor. Charlwood Church contains more

evidence of the family than any other church in the country, except perhaps Gainsborough Parish Church, or Great St. Mary's Cambridge.

Thomas Homer Sanders, writing on the Sander Sanders and Sandars families in 1932, explained the connections and relationships between the various branches. He not only linked up (as has been done in this volume) the Surrey, Derbyshire and Lincolnshire lines, but also remoter lineages in South Wales, Scotland and Northamptonshire. The South Wales Sanders descended from Tobias Sanders of Cilrwdyn, Carmarthenshire, and from them descended the Sanders of Alton Pancras, Dorchester (Burke's Landed Gentry, 1952). The Northampton family is documented over the past 200 years in a brief history in the British Museum, and appears to have little further connection with this history than its use of the same coat of arms of three bulls' heads - but probably without justification.

Homer Sanders carefully traced the connection with the blood royal, but suffice it here to say that this arose through the Carew connection. Nicholas Sanders of Ewell married Isabella, daughter of Sir Nicholas Carew, Lieutenant of Calais in 1521, and she was a great great great great granddaughter of Edward III! Furthermore, and even remoter, Sir James Carew was a cousin of Anne Hoc, great great granddaughter of Elizabeth I! Homer Sanders also came to the conclusion that not only Sir Thomas Sanders, Remembrancer of the Exchequer, but also Sir Nicholas Sanders, M.P. for Winchelsea, Rear Admiral Sir George Sanders, M.P., and Admiral Sir Charles Sanders, Commander of British forces at Quebec, descended from the Charlwood Family. But his book (and therefore his authority) is untraceable so that it is impossible to know on what evidence this impressive connection is based.

Although no Sanders has risen to the zenith of fame or notoriety, it has, however, been possible to trace connections with the Knightage at several different points of history. Firstly Sir William Sanders, Cofferer to Queen Mary who was sherriff of Surrey in Henry VIII's reign, was made a knight in 1564: his famous son the Jesuit Nicholas Sanders is the subject of a separate chapter. Sir William's nephew, Thomas, was Sherriff of Surrey in 1553 and Remembrancer of the Exchequer to Edward VI and Mary I between 1551 and 1554. Sir William's grandson Nicholas was knighted - after himself being cleared of suspicion of being a recusant Catholic - for services on the Surrey Commission for the detection of Jesuits. Both these two gentlemen, Sir Thomas and Sir Nicholas, were astute enough to be able to keep in favour when the religious convulsions of the Reformation shook the country and when it was impossible to keep one's lands and possessions without changing one's religion to suit the monarch. To have been Remembrancer of the Exchequer under Edward VI as a protestant required a swift change of opinion and skilful diplomacy to enable him to stay on in the same position in the catholic England of Queen Mary. Sir Nicholas, after being a strong catholic, changed his tune, very wisely, on Elizabeth I's accession, as this extract from the Commission's records shows:

"... and lykewise Sir N. Sanders, a Justice of the Peace, alsoe of the countye, that ordinarilye he cometh to the Churche, and is not suspected in anye waye to be polishe, but his wife is of a popishe disposition as we are crediblye (sic) informed."

After Sir Thomas's death in 1563, a century passed before, in the Commonwealth, Thomas Sanders of Ireton is knighted for his services to the Cromwellian cause. Nearly

three centuries later the third Sir Thomas received the knighthood from Queen Elizabeth II.

The family has been rather infrequent in representing the country in Parliament. In 1541-1542 Thomas Sanders of Charlwood "Esquyer" represented Gatton and up to 1558 was a burgess for the county. The same borough, a classic rotten borough containing two houses north of Reigate and which only ceased sending members in 1832, was represented in 1640 by Edmund Sanders. In more recent times George Sanders, son of Samuel Sanders of Gainsborough, represented the Borough of Wakefield shortly after the Reform Act gave it representation. He was returned in 1847 and 1852. Joseph Sanders, a cousin of George and son of the father of the Liverpool to Manchester Railway, was returned for Great Yarmouth in 1848.

Although the family has had no great interest in politics - except the Prime Minister's powerful Secretary at the beginning of this century - it is possible to show the predominant occupations of male members of the family. The most frequent concern of their daughters can be discerned from the fact that so many of them married clergymen!

First is surely letters. Throughout the last four centuries writing has been the most notable achievement of the Sanders. Seventeen authors have put pen to paper, writing in three languages - Latin, English and Spanish, and the British Museum Library contains over seventy publications by the family. These works cover over 400 years' span and their subjects vary from religious doctrine, to history, archaeology, verse, biography, law, natural history, bibliography, novels, dogs and German grammar: everything, in short from finance to fiction and from dogs to dogma. The most

concentrated literary family was that of "Justinian" Thomas Collett Sandars. He himself, apart from writing the textbook on Justinian's "Institutes", was a highly regarded contributor to the Saturday Review, while his brothers Edmund wrote verse, and William translated and compiled German and French primers. He had three daughters and five sons, two of whom were writers: Horace (on Spanish archaeology) and Edmund, the well-known naturalist. Also during this prolific Victorian Period Samuel Sandars was assembling his fine collection of rare books and manuscripts which he later gave to Cambridge University.

After writing, several "gentlemanly" occupations took up the time of the Sandars: the land, the army and navy and the Bar. In the nineteenth century many members of the family were called to the Bar, although few practised, using it mainly as a convenient way of avoiding Jury service; two who did, however, practice at least on the academic front, were "Justinian" Sandars, who, as well as writing, headed various commissions and enquiries, and John Satterfield Sandars who edited "Sandars on Sewers" before becoming interested in electoral law, the Constitution and finally turning his hand to politics, ultimately as private secretary to Arthur Balfour as Prime Minister. In the present century there have been four solicitors. In the nineteenth century several people took an interest in the corn trade, Joseph Sandars at Liverpool, George Sandars in Manchester and Samuel Sandars, father of Justinian, and of course Samuel and Cornelius Sandars at Gainsborough, and Owston Ferry, ten miles further along the Trent, who each founded malting businesses. Also at the same time railways interested several: Joseph Sandars at Liverpool, the subject of a separate chapter, George after his retirement from Parliament, and Justinian, who became Chairman of the

Mexican Railway.

There have also been many Sandars who have taken holy orders; not only in England but as far afield as Toronto (a brother of Justinian) and Australia. In present generations occupations have changed little; the armed forces, the civil and colonial services, law, industry and brewing remaining the main interests of the family. Only the daughters' habit of marrying into the Church has perhaps declined.

Although, in any brief history of a family such as this, it is essential to keep lists of names, dates and statistics to a minimum - and where these are relevant or of interest they have been removed to an appendix at the back of the book - the name and arms of the family are interesting.

The name Sander, whether spelt Sander or Saunder, first appears in the mid-thirteenth century with Roald Sander of Charlwood. The spelling of the name, as with any written word of this time, alternates between Sander and Saunder for nine generations before the son of Richard Saunder, commemorated in the Charlwood screen, first spells it Sanders in 1588. The name Sandars with two a's is only two centuries old. Much more ancient, however, is the coat of arms. The arms, unquartered are "sable, on a chevron, ermine, between three bulls heads cabossed argent a rose of the field"; 'Cabossed' indicates that the bulls are facing forwards with no neck showing. This probably first appears when the ambitious William Sander of Charlwood becomes a man of substance on his marriage with Joane Carew. He must have needed a good coat of arms, and certainly his son's and grandson's memorials at Charlwood Church proudly bear these arms.

An official grant of the arms, "with

augmentations" was made by Norrey King at Arms to the father of Sir Thomas Sanders of Ireton. Collingwood Sanders was a Counsellor at Law at the Inner Temple and has been educated at Balliol College Oxford. He was a man of great resolve which was perhaps responsible for his son's ambition and in turn for his being granted a knight-hood during the Commonwealth. The original grant of the College of Arms with much other family documentation relating to this period, was traced in 1869 by Samuel Sanders to the possession of Mrs. Green of Scalby Hall, near Scarborough. These documents passed out of the family together with the Caldwell estate when Sir Thomas's granddaughter, Elizabeth, married John Mortimer (who had previously been married to Richard Cromwell's daughter).

The meaning of the family motto, Non Bos in Lingua, is an allusion to the Greek didrachm, a coin impressed with the image of the bull. This subtle reference - I have no bull on my tongue - expresses the bearer's determination not to let his tongue be in the pay of others. The earlier motto of the Charlwood Sanders family was reputed to have been "While I breathe I serve" but the origin of this is not known. Perhaps the more erudite Latin motto was not adopted until an age of greater aspiration. One nineteenth century authority, Lower's "Curiosities of Heraldry", after mentioning the enigmatical mottoes of the Dukes of Bedford and Bridgwater, illustrated the puzzling motto of non bos in lingua by comparing it with the ancient proverb "per linguam nos inambulatur".

The arms and motto of the family, like the curious spelling of the name Sanders, are a great assistance to the family historian. Although the arms appear to have been usurped from time to time, even in the early eighteenth century their use

was far-flung. In Guillims Herald, published in 1724, the arms were stated to be borne by "Sanders of Charlwood and Ewell in Surrey, of Ireton in Derbyshire, of Barton in Staffordshire and of the City of London".

Several past members of the family have taken an interest in its history and in the deeds of our more or less notorious ancestors. Samuel Sandars, who took so much interest in Cambridge, was admirably suited to the task, and indeed did some research, but never collated it. An interesting family pedigree was copied some seventy years ago by Edmund Sandars. He luckily noted on the back that it was based on information copied by Samuel Sandars from two seventeenth century manuscripts which were in the possession of a descendent of the Derbyshire branch of the family, and from information afforded by John Satterfield Sandars.

The published sources used for the present volume were largely local county histories contemporary journals, genealogical histories and of course public records. Family trees appear with great regularity in Surrey and Derbyshire annals: the earliest published trees are in the official Heralds' Visitations to Surrey in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Gradually the family of Sander acquires, over the centuries, land, some wealth, and influence, many descendants and great antiquity. Geographically the stock originates in Surrey, then settles along the River Trent at various points from Staffordshire through Derbyshire and on to Gainsborough and Owston Ferry in Lincolnshire and then turns south again. The following chapters set out to describe the lives of a few of the men and women who are part of this great antiquity, and the effect they made on their various times.

CHAPTER II

SURREY AND THE SANDERS

The origin of the name Surrey is a contraction of the words "South Country". In the Middle Ages it was a densely forested area, with frequent marshes on low ground, straddled by the line of the North Downs, along the sides of which ran one of the most ancient trading routes, later the Pilgrims' Way, keeping its traffic at a high enough level to steer clear of the lower miry ground. This south country is the origin of the Sanders, the commencement of a long family line stretching over several centuries to the present time.

The first Sanders mentioned in contemporary chronicles as living in Charlwood date back to 1243, and several county histories and unpublished sources agree that the earliest forebear of the Charlwood family came from Sanderstead, a few miles away, before the Norman Conquest. In those days, of course, surnames as such were not used, so that delving into family origins becomes perhaps rather more speculative than historical.

However, an account of the earliest fathers is contained elsewhere. Little is known of the deeds or personalities of such early Surrey gentry, except their names and those of their children down to the end of the fourteenth century. Then events push this family "of great antiquity" into a position of power in the locality and in the country at large, and from that time their lives become copiously documented. Wills, memorials, deeds and chronicles survive to this day, which tell us much about the lives of many of them.

Father and son had been settled for nearly two hundred years in the remote

village of Charlwood in the Surrey Weald before the marriage of William Sander and Joane Carew about 1450. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this union. The Carews were one of the biggest land-owning families in the south, and were connected with many of the great medieval families of England. Their descent needs no explanation in these pages, but through William's marriage with Joane, the heir to the Carew estates as there was no son, and two later marriages between the families, the Sanders family acquired much land in Surrey and great influence in the nation. In Feudal England, it need hardly be added, upstarts could not marry the nobility, so that William himself must have been a gentleman of property well settled in Charlwood long before his fortunate marriage.

William Sander dies in 1481, eleven years after his wife Joane. Their eldest son died in 1501 without issue at Banbury, leaving the other two sons, Richard, who became heir to his father's estates, and Henry, who moved to another village in Surrey, Ewell. William's heir, Richard, died very young, but not before leaving his wife with three sons to perpetuate the name. He is best known for his own memorial, the remarkable carved oak rood screen in Charlwood Church. It is believed that the gilded panels above the screen, which have recently been successfully restored and lighted, were originally a surround to the family pew: clearly they do not fit above the rood screen, and it is most likely that Richard's son had them carved and placed round the family pew in memory of his father. This son and heir was Nicholas Sander, whose effigy can be seen kneeling at a prayer desk with his wife, Alys, and their children, on the brass on the south wall of the chancel at Charlwood. As the brass is inset in the chancel wall, and not

on the floor of the aisle, it is entirely intact, and it forms one of the finest memorials to the family which can be seen. Nicholas was a lawyer, and was an executor of Henry VIII's will. Clearly he was a man of national importance who was accustomed to life in the capital and to traveling widely.

Nicholas' brothers, although never coming into their father's property, were also eminent. William, the younger, was Sherriff of Surrey. The elder brother, Thomas, went to war in Flanders as a young man, and on his return went with his commander to Derbyshire. There he made good, became lord of the manor of Lullington and his descendants are the ancestors of the Sanders, who lived in Derbyshire throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Although Nicholas' sons and daughters are represented on the Charlwood brass as children, they were well grown up by the time the brass was put up in their parents' memory. The eldest son, Thomas, kneeling immediately behind his father and appearing thoughtful and childish, had at the time already attained one of the most powerful positions in the country. He had been knighted three years before his father's death for his services as King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer.

Thomas Sanders was born in 1500, and received the best education. He possessed a substantial library, which not only contained books on his profession, law, but also works of literature in English, French and Latin. Thomas's following the legal profession was clearly accompanied by success and reward. In 1539 he bought the Flanchford, Hartswood and Buckland estates, near Betchworth, in Surrey. Later that year he was appointed lawyer to Anne of

Cleves, and even though his unfortunate principal quickly lost favour with Henry VIII, Thomas both retained his appointment and the ear of the King. During the same year Thomas, now an eminent citizen, married Alice, daughter of Edward Walsingham. Walsingham was also in a position of great favour with the King: he had been knighted at Flodden Field. Later he was well known as Lieutenant of the Tower of London at the time of Anne Boleyn's imprisonment, and also when Sir Thomas More and Lord Chancellor Wriothsesley were in custody.

Two years later, in 1541, Thomas Sanders was appointed Commissioner of Sewers responsible for wide areas of the country immediately south of the Thames - "from Lambyth Towne to Kingestone on Temys" This was an important task dealing with draining and reclaiming the marshy areas down by the Thames. The appointment anticipates, by about 350 years, the interest in this subject of another lawyer, the author of Sandars on Sewers, in the nineteenth century. The same year also saw Thomas's appointment as a Commissioner of the Peace for Surrey. His colleagues included the Earl of Arundel, Lord Howard of Effingham and his cousin William Sanders of Ewell. Their task was the control of weights and measures, to see that liveries and arms were not misused, and to prosecute all kinds of criminals, vagrants and vagabonds. Sir Thomas' name appears very frequently in ancient county chronicles in this connection and in 1552 he was appointed Commissioner to Provide for the safe keeping of Church goods in Surrey. However, far from being limited to functions, even though they were important ones, within Surrey, in 1541 he entered national affairs and became Member of Parliament for Gatton. He was re-elected in 1553 and 1558.

In 1550, Thomas Sanders was knighted

for his service to the King and the previous year he had been appointed King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer. This was a post of the greatest importance in days when the King was really monarch and it is not surprising that Sir Thomas was knighted for it: together with the Lords Treasurers Remembrancers and the Remembrancer of First Fruits, his job was to look after and regulate the King's financial affairs. This was no mean task, especially as it was also necessary for him to nominate sherriffs, deal with feudal dues and control the coinage of the realm. This was regulated by the Trial of the Pyx which was conducted by a Goldsmiths Company jury, whose job was to maintain minimum quantities of precious metals in coins. As well as these rigorous duties, Sir Thomas also filled the post of Commissioner of the Peace and Commissioner of Church Goods, and had his substantial property in the country to look after.

On Queen Mary's accession in 1553, Sir Thomas' name appears on the Pardon Roll and he must be credited with great astuteness to appear as Queen's Remembrancer in the new reign, under a catholic Queen. Those who were not prepared to change their religious affiliations at the beginning of the successive reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth were not pardoned and lost their posts in the Government as well as their property, if not their lives. It was a fierce choice to make, but Sir Thomas appears to have survived the storm and to have remained on as Remembrancer under three reigns before his death in 1556.

Sir Thomas' will is at Somerset House, and it is fortunate that it has been preserved as it is an informative and detailed chronicle of not only the early Sanders history but also of conditions in contemporary Surrey. In his will Sir Thomas made detailed provisions for the

administration of the land he owned, careful thought for his wife and for the burial of his body, depending on where in the country he died. The will speaks of property at Charlwood, in the Manor of Sanderstead, East Purlew, and Cruses, at Chipstead, Woodmansterne and Ewell, Reigate, Walton, Betchworth, Buckland, Flanchford and in Black Friars. In 1544 the advowson of Merstham had been granted to Sir Thomas by Cranmer. The lands at Sanderstead had been settled on him by his father on his marriage to Alice Walsingham; it is possible that the tenement in Black Friars came from the dissolution of that monastery some years earlier.

Sir Thomas was succeeded by his two sons Edmund and Thomas Wite Sanders. Edmund the elder, married into what must surely rank as one of the most permanent families in the British Isles. His wife was Philippa Gage, daughter of Edward Gage of Firle Place in Sussex, and it is amazing that 400 years later, in 1970, the same family still lives at Firle, just beneath the Sussex Downs. The younger son, Thomas Wite, rose to no great fame except as forefather of the ten generations of Sanders who remained in Charlwood until the 20th century.

The third son of William Sanders and Joane Carew, Henry, Uncle of Nicholas Sanders who appears on the brass at Charlwood, was also the founder of a substantial line of the family. This appears to have been entirely ignored in previous accounts of the family, but this branch contains several prominent figures living at the same time as Nicholas and Sir Thomas.

Henry realised at an early age that, as his father's third son, he would come into little if any of his father's property at Charlwood, so he moved to Ewell, also in

Surrey. There he became a squire of a small estate where he carried on his country interests as had his brother, Richard, at home. In fact he did inherit some property at Charlwood and Newdigate from his father, and his wife, Joan Lepton, no doubt brought him more with her dowry. By training Henry was a lawyer, but his interests centred on his land and his manor, Batailles, or Botalls, at Ewell.

By the time of his death he was clearly one of the notables of the county. As in the case of Sir Thomas, Henry's will also survives, and it gives us a valuable source of information about the way of life of the Sanders of Ewell. Henry evidently owned lands which he settled in two separate estates shortly before his death in 1518. The first estate comprised land at Ewell, Epsom and Chessington; the second at Charlwood, Newdigate, Ockley, Nutfield, Southwark and Bletchingley. The Southwark property which is somewhat surprisingly included with other lands all in the south of Surrey, comprised the Three Crowns Inn or as his trilingual will described it, "hospicio meo vocat le threcrownes". It is near St. Mary Overy Church (now Southwark Cathedral).

Henry Sanders clearly had connections not only in the parts of the county immediately South of the Thames, but also in and near London itself. His will directed that his body be buried at the Savoy Hospital, on Savoy Hill, near London. The funeral at the Savoy was no small ceremony as its detailed arrangements are set out in Henry's will, which ordered the payment of the (then) very large sum of 6/8d to each of the four chaplains officiating at both the mass at Savoy Hill and the funeral in Ewell. The priests were paid 14d and "dinner where he will", and the parish priests along with the poor of Ewell, 4d.

The funeral was held in Ewell and the body transported through the frozen depths of winter a dozen miles or so to the Savoy. The cortege was accompanied by two torchbearers - "torchias ardentis in manibus suis" - each of whom was paid 4 shillings and their expenses for the journey. Apart from gifts of his land, Henry left gifts of £60 to each of his daughters. His will shows that he was an early trustee of lands held for Corpus Christi College and appointed the Bishop of Winchester to be supervisor of his estate.

Henry naturally left his land to his sons, Nicholas and William. Of these two, William continued the family line at Ewell and also rose to the more prominent position in the nation. He was a lawyer, like his father, and during his life held several treasury appointments. In the county he was a Receiver of the Court of Augmentation, administering Church Lands, a Commissioner of Church goods and Crown escheator. He was also, of course, a Commissioner of the Peace at the same time as his cousin, Sir Thomas, and the two men must have had many occasions when their duties as well as their families brought them together.

On the accession of Queen Mary in 1553, the Court of Augmentation was abolished, but William rose to a more powerful position under the new Queen, and became Cofferer to Queen Mary. This was the zenith of his career, and it was not long before we find him knighted and appearing as Sir William. His duties were to a certain extent similar to those of his cousin, Sir Thomas, but more on a personal level than managing the national exchequer which was the task of the Queen's Remembrancer. On Queen Elizabeth's accession he obtained a pardon, reverted to the Protestant faith and was soon to serve the new monarch as Surveyor of the Queens lands.

Sir William and Sir Thomas were both involved in quelling Wyatt's abortive rising in 1553 the purpose of which was to prevent the Queen's marriage with Philip of Spain. A considerable armoury was found in the house of Sir Thomas Cawarden, who was one of William's neighbours in Surrey, so large that it was valued at £2,000, and took seventeen large wagons to remove it. This incident caused great bitterness in Cawarden, and later his widow. Eventually Lady Cawarden's executor was prohibited by the Privy Council from continuing these embittered proceedings against Sir Thomas and William. William's property was still intact at the time of his death, but his will is not so informative as that of Sir Thomas; its provisions were simple, leaving most of his property to his son Nicholas.

This Nicholas was a prosperous lawyer who married another of the Carews, Isabel. Her father had been a friend of Henry VIII, but was beheaded in 1539, only three years after receiving the Order of the Garter. Nicholas Sanders himself was imprisoned in 1577 as a recusant, but, like his father, he owned too much to be able to afford to stick to his catholic principles, and he was pardoned. However, his sympathies did not alter, and he supported many catholics and catholic causes, even if only in secret; he is also known to have given an annuity to his brother, Erasmus, who was in the Fleet Prison for the same offence.

Nicholas' brother, Erasmus, evidently was not so flexible in matters of religion as his father and cousins who sued out their Pardons on each change of monarch. He was a barrister, and on numerous occasions he was imprisoned for his religious beliefs. Eventually he moved to Tenby, where he became successively bailiff and mayor. From him is reputed to descend a long and reverend line of Sanders, several

of whom were notable clerics, whose descendants stretch down to the present day. Among them are a father and son both called Erasmus - the father a Doctor of Divinity and the son a Canon of Windsor and Vicar of St. Martins in the Fields - a note of whose life appears in the Dictionary of National Biography. His nephew, Edward, was Governor of Madras, and his son, Kenrick Francis Sanders, Prebendary of Salisbury and Lord of the Manor of North Ormsby, Lincolnshire.

Nicholas Sanders' son, also Nicholas, inherited Batailles Manor from his father on his death in 1587. He himself was knighted in 1603, when he was a Justice of the Peace for Surrey, and had been Member of Parliament for various Cornish towns, but the most interesting exploit of his life, and one which led to his downfall, was his connection with a scheme to convey water by covered aqueduct from Hoddesdon to London. It was a rival scheme to Sir Hugh Myddleton's New River Scheme, and in fact the opposition from the New River was one reason for its getting into difficulties. In eight years £25,000 was spent, but the scheme never produced a dividend and Sir Nicholas and his son Henry saw it closed with no redress to the promoters. It is sad, but not surprising, in view of the large sums lost, that Henry Sanders was forced to sell Batailles Manor in 1658, thus ending a long line of Sanders in Ewell. Their more fortunate, but now quite remote, cousins at Charlwood, continued the Surrey line of the family many generations further, but the loss of so huge a sum impoverished the descendants of the well-known Cofferer to Queen Mary too much for them to be able to keep their lands and manor in Ewell. They never returned there.

CHAPTER III

A CUNNING LETTERED TRAITOR

One member of the family in the past five hundred years who caused more controversy than any other was Dr. Nicholas Sanders. A Jesuit Doctor of Divinity as well as a papal politician, he was so unpopular in England that his History of the Reformation - although used in the original Latin as a standard work on the Continent from the time he wrote it, was not published in English until 1875 - three hundred years after it was written.

The causes of the Reformation in England cannot aptly be included in this brief biographical sketch of the life of Nicholas Sanders, but at the village level its effects were profound. For the dissolution of the monasteries not only removed the great seats of learning and art, but also took away the only source of welfare and security to the poor and needy; and it had an overbearing effect on the life of people in the villages scattered through the country. Its effect on the inhabitants of Charlwood has been explained elsewhere, and amongst the inhabitants of that village who were too high-principled to change their views to suit the religious whims of Henry VIII's three children, was Dr. Nicholas Sanders. He had been educated at Winchester and New College Oxford, and, unlike his cousin, Sir Thomas Sanders King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer to Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary Tudor, changing his religious coat deftly to suit the changes of King or Queen, Nicholas considered no compromise to save his property or position.

J. B. Black, writing of him in "The Reign of Elizabeth" points out that many recusants at this time continued (very

understandably in view of the severe penalties prescribed for non-attendance in Church), to attend Church out of duty or habit, but, he continues, "the Pope, the Council of Trent and leading English Catholics like Dr. Sanders and William Allen were unanimous in their verdict that attendance at heretical services was a heinous sin."

Nicholas Sanders was later to stand by his convictions so steadfastly that he would lose his life defending them. But now, with Queen Elizabeth on the throne less than a year, he knew he was being watched and must immediately flee the country to rejoin his mother on the continent. By this time not only Dr. Sanders and his mother were in exile on the continent, but also his sisters Margaret (who died in 1576) and Elizabeth, who were both sisters of the Bridgettines of Syon. Elizabeth had been on a visit to England in 1580 to raise alms for the Syon community - a task which was filled with danger, and she was arrested twice, but escaped both times - on the second occasion from the stronghold of Winchester Castle. After this she rejoined her community in Rouen and died in Lisbon on 1st August 1607.

His career in England had been one of outstanding success, having been sent to be educated "in the grammar learning at Wykeham School near Winchester" at the age of ten, he became a scholar there in 1540 and a scholar at New College Oxford in 1546. In 1548, shortly before his father became High Sheriff of Surrey (for which he was knighted in 1564), he became a fellow of New College. Nevertheless, for all his own personal success and the power of his father's title and position might have afforded him in England, his conscience ruled him, and in 1559 he left England, where he would never return except for one furtive visit to the

village where he was born.

Later in the same year, Sanders reached Rome, where he was created Doctor of Divinity, and as Dr. Sanders he is perhaps the most famous past member of the family. He is mentioned in every standard history of the Reformation and of Queen Elizabeth's struggle with the great catholic Empire of Spain. His career is a mixture of academic, theologian, eminent historian, papal rebel leader and emissary between the courts of the Pope in Rome and Philip II in Madrid.

Sanders's arrival in Rome in 1559 was regarded as an event of the greatest significance. Here was one of the leading English catholics defecting to the capital of the catholic world. He was offering to the Papal cause his extensive knowledge of conditions in England as well as his academic distinction and fame as leader of the exiled English catholics on the continent. Within a few weeks of his arrival he was ordained and given a doctorate of divinity. He had great ability and it was obvious to the Vatican authorities that here was a man whose worth was too great to be wasted on provincial university life. However, although they realised this now, later on his value to them was forgotten and his life wasted on one of the most foolhardy military expeditions ever undertaken by a Pope.

In 1561, Dr. Sanders attended the Council of Trent with a watching brief for the Pope, and was engaged directly in the service of the Vatican as personal attendant to Hosius, Cardinal Bishop of Ermland. During the next four years, as well as attending the Council of Trent, he escorted Cardinal Hosius to Poland, Prussia and Lithuania. In 1565 he returned to Louvain to become Regius Professor of Theology: Louvain at this time was probably the chief

centre of English catholicism on the continent, and there was an English university in that "true city of refuge to the English persecuted by the heretics." There books which in England were suppressed as subversive, treacherous and Papist, were printed freely: Louvain was close enough to England for them to be shipped and sold to those who were not afflicted with the heresy in England.

Dr. Sanders' time at Louvain was spent in academic pursuits. While he was there he wrote the first ten of his fifteen or so known published works. Although this was the most productive time of his life as a writer, it was not until he was living in Madrid, ten years later, that he wrote the great History of the Reformation for which he is now remembered. Of the books written and published at Louvain during this period, the most substantial is his six volume work on the last supper, "the supper of Our Lord set foorth in six books according to the Truth of the Gospel". All his works written at Louvain were learned treatises in doctrine and scripture.

But during this time at Louvain, Sanders was not out of touch with the Vatican. In 1566 he was appointed an apostolic delegate by the Pope with a commission to empower English priests to "absolve the heresy". Nor did Sanders get out of touch with opinion. At this time he wrote to Cardinal Morone on the causes of the English break with Rome, attributing it almost entirely to politics, and practically not at all to religious reasons. He reported to Morone:

"The English people consist of farmers, shepherds and artisans. The two former are catholics. Of the others none are schismatic except those that have sedentary occupations, as weavers

and shoemakers and some idle people about the Court. The remote parts of the kingdom are still very averse from heresy. As the cities in England are few and small and as there is no heresy in the country nor even in the remoter cities, the firm opinion of those capable of judging is that hardly one per cent of the English people is infected."

This lucid account reflects the true position more accurately than most better known contemporary histories of the Reformation. From it was compiled the most important of Sanders' works, his history of the Anglican schism, "De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani." This work, published in Cologne in 1585, was in the next few years translated into French, Italian, Spanish and German and formed the basis of all histories of the English Reformation written on the continent in the next 250 years.

When the work was published, it caused an outrage in England, earning Sanders the name of "Dr. Slanders". In England, the Reformation had been firmly established for nearly 20 years, the penalty for Papism increased ten-fold, so that it is not surprising that critics were unstinting in their condemnation of Sanders' history. One of the most outspoken was Fuller, who wrote two damning works on Sanders - "Drs. Hoskins, Sanders and Rastel accounted, three pillars and Archpatriarches of the Popish Synagogue overthrown and detected of their severall blasphemous heresies." Not satisfied with this, the next year he published his "Retentive to stay good Christians - a discoverie of the dangerous Rocks of the Popish Church commended by N. Sander." Unpopularity and adverse criticism were not new to a man in Dr. Sanders' position. Years before he had been

described by Dr. Cox, tutor to Edward VI, as a mercenary employed by certain cardinals aided by the assistance of others and decked out like Aesop's Jackdaw. Although it is not surprising that his history of the Anglican schism did not get a fair hearing at the time of its publication, it is amazing that this book, regarded by historians on the continent as both accurate and authoritative, was not translated into English until 300 years later. Part of the reason for this may be that one of the facets of the causes of the Reformation which Sanders examines in great detail is Henry VIII's alleged incest. Sanders did not, contrary to the opinion of contemporary writers in England, originate this unsavoury information, but he elaborated on it in the context of his historical study.

So it was not until more tolerant times that this History was published in English. David Lewis's translation in 1877, together with his own lengthy but not very authoritative introduction, proved that even 300 years later the same controversy could flame up again almost as heatedly. However, at last Sanders's reputation was vindicated and modern historians accept the accuracy and integrity of his factual observation. At the time of its publication a Victorian writer and critic, Thomas Collett Sanders, took Mr. Lewis to task over his introduction to "The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism."

After what may be termed his academic years at Louvain, Sanders was suddenly summoned to Rome by the Pope in 1572. At the time it was expected that he was to be "raised to the purple" and made Cardinal. Once more events turned against him, and Pius V died before the appointment was made. His successor, Gregory XIII, knew of his capability, but had different plans in store for him. Although it was Pius who issued

The Papal Bull of 1570 excommunicating the Queen and "all who continued to obey her laws and mandates," Pius had realised that politically he must recognise and live with a reformed Church in England. Not so Gregory, whose greatest ambition was to overthrow Elizabeth. To this end he enlisted the aid of Philip II of Spain, whom he knew to have a personal interest in carrying out the same task both to restore Catholicism in England and to ensure the continued subjection of his colonies in the Netherlands, and their plan was based on the idea of an invasion of England by Spanish troops under cover of a law-abiding troop movement between the Spanish Netherlands and Spain. This idea failed because of its discovery by the English in Flanders, and thereafter the Pope relied on Philip II to conduct his own scheme and supply ships and troops, in return for which Gregory agreed to finance the expedition from the Vatican treasury.

Dr. Sanders was by now appointed Papal emissary to the Court of Philip II. Pope Gregory knew that when the time came for direct intervention in England, he would need a leader with an intimate knowledge of both the geography of England and the condition and temper of the people. For this Sanders was eminently suitable. Philip however, was not so competent a planner, and clearly did not fully appreciate the nature of the problem of overthrowing the status quo in England. He summoned Dr. Sanders to Court especially to counsel him against entertaining any idea of claiming the throne for himself. He advised Sanders to content himself with a regency in the name of Mary Queen of Scots.

After a year occupied in fruitless diplomacy between the Vatican and Madrid, Sanders became disillusioned with Philip as a champion of the cause of reconverting

England. He writes that "the King is as fearful of war as a child of fire the state of Christendom depends on the stout assailing of England." As events cooled, Sanders turned again to writing, and it was at this point that history of the Anglican Schism was written, in Madrid.

However, the die was cast and Gregory's determination on his original idea of direct intervention in England was unshaken. In 1578, he summoned Dr. Sanders to Rome once again and instructed him to undertake an armed expedition to Ireland. The moment was far from ripe - relations between Rome and Madrid were deteriorating and when the expedition departed from Civita Vecchia it consisted of only one very ill-equipped ship. The leader of the expedition was an Englishman, Philip Stukeley, a mercenary soldier and adventurer of the most spirited and fearless type, but even he realised that the expedition was doomed to failure before it set sail from Spain; he described the ship to be used by the invasion force as the most dilapidated, ill-conceived and badly-fitted ship that ever left the coast of Europe. In the event it hardly did leave Europe, getting no further than Lisbon. Stukeley's judgment was correct and he decided to join the King of Portugal's invasion of Morocco - perhaps a wise decision to leave the Pope's ship, but Stukeley himself fared no better and was killed in Morocco a few months later.

Sanders, however, was now bent on the Pope's scheme and shortly returned to Spain. He and the Papal Nuncio in Spain, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, themselves undertook to reorganise, equip and restart the expedition to Ireland, and in July 1579 they continued from Lisbon. Their mission was to raise a holy war in the Irish province of Munster, to gain the support of the Irish, who were thought to be sympathetic

to the defeat of Queen Elizabeth, and from Ireland lead an invasion of England itself. Late in 1579 the puny, ill-equipped force landed and planted the Papal colours at Smerwick.

But the diplomats and politicians in Rome and Madrid had not reckoned with the apathy and disinterest of the Irish people and their leaders. Only two Irish peers, Viscount Baltinglas and Lord Desmond, gave the expedition any support. For a short time things went their way, and in 1580 Baltinglas defeated an English force at Glenmalure, but in the autumn of 1580 the insurrection was broken up with heavy losses by Lord Grey and the Earl of Ormonde, the fort at Smerwick recaptured and the King of Spain's expeditionary force routed. Dr. Sanders' fate is in some doubt and several different accounts exist. Lord Burghley, whose opinion of Sanders was not likely to be favourable, records that "the lewde scholar" died "wandering in the mountains in Ireland without succour, raving in a phrensy." He may also have been responsible for attaching to him the label of the "cunning lettered traitor". More sympathetic accounts give a picturesque description of the Jesuit perishing after the capture of his goods and his servant "with a breviary and a Bible under his arm." It is certain, however, that he died in 1581, probably from the effects of dysentery and starvation.

The expedition had a disastrous effect on Pope Gregory's plans for reimposing catholicism in England, ruining any chances of reconciliation or constructive debate when Edmund Campion's mission set out from Rome to England the following year. Catholicism, however, was greatly strengthened in Ireland as a result of the martyrdom caused by the extensive purge ordered by Queen Elizabeth and Burghley, as a reprisal

after the rising. Ignominious though the Papal expedition to Ireland in 1579 was, one cannot but respect Sanders for his unflagging faith in the justification of what he was doing: the state of Christendom depends on the stout assailing of England. The other facets of his career prove that he was most sincere in his religion and a far-sighted, impartial judge of the events of his own lifetime. His reputation as a historian and scholar can best be illustrated by the following extract written by Thomas Collett Sandars in The Saturday Review on October 3rd, 1868, ten years before the first translation of De Origine Schismato into English. It forms a fitting conclusion and summary of the life and work of one of the most single-minded and fearless adversaries of the Reformation.

"Sanders' work on the English Schism created a considerable sensation in its day; it was translated into French and Italian and passed through six editions in the original Latin between 1585 and 1628. It is remarkable that it should have created less interest in the Country to which its author belonged, and of whose religious and political changes it treats, than in other European countries. Its reappearance in a new form as translated into French by Mancroix, Canon of Reims, in 1676 was the proximate cause of Bennets writing his more celebrated and more elaborate history of the same transactions. Englishmen have merely been content to take for granted that Bennett's view of the reformation was, on the whole, a just and adequate account of the matter, tinged, it may be, by certain prejudices on the author's part, and perhaps a little wanting here and there in historical truth. Nevertheless, in spite of Sander's prejudices in favour of Catholicism which, however, were by no means stronger than those of Bennet for Protestantism, we

would recommend any one who wishes to get a clear idea of the political and religious movements of the 16th century to read Sanders' work, *De Schismatis Anglicano*, as presenting a more discriminating account of the various disturbances in Church and State than can be found in so small a compass anywhere else. We hope some day to see it translated into English - partly on this account, partly, or perhaps principally, because of the truthfulness of the narration of fact which it contains.

"We have no doubt that we shall very much surprise many persons by this announcement. It has been customary to regard Sanders as a man who would not sample anything which should damage the Protestant or uphold the Catholic side; but recent publications tend to verify Sanders' facts even in cases where he was thought to be lying most outrageously.

"Sanders lived nearly all through the times which he described from 1527 to 1551, and he had opportunities of knowing what was going on, especially during the changes of Edward's and Mary's reigns, such as few other historians have enjoyed, being himself deeply interested in the matter. If, therefore, he can be shown to be trustworthy in his facts, his work must take rank as a first-class authority in historical matters ... as to the views which pervade the work, no doubt he may be described as a bigoted Roman Catholic.

"... Even those who cannot throw themselves into the author's (no doubt prejudiced) view of the transactions of the period, will learn more of the mode of the changes in the Establishment than ever he gathered from any other history of the Reformation."



CHAPTER IV

A TOWNE OF HIS CALLED IRETON

Richard Sanders of Charlwood, whose initials and arms appear on the beautiful rood screen at Charlwood Church, had four sons. Nicholas, his eldest son and heir to the family land at Charlwood, married Alice Hungate and inherited his father's large estates spread throughout the neighbourhood: his family is portrayed in the memorial brass in the Church.

Not so well established in life were the younger sons, one of whom, Thomas (the first to bear the illustrious name of Thomas Sanders), knew well he would remain playing second fiddle if he stayed in Charlwood. So he went into the army, and as a young man was fortunate in making an acquaintance with his Commander, Colonel Gresley. He quickly rose in rank, and during the course of his army career went into "ye warres in Flanders" with Colonel Gresley who came from Drakelow, in Derbyshire; during this campaign he came to know his superior very well, for, on his return from the Low Countries in about 1620, it is recorded that he "went into Darbieshire" and settled on the estate of the Gresleys at Lullington.

This lucky connection draw him away from the old Sanders' lands at Charlwood, starting a new Sanders strain in Derbyshire, where the family remained for several centuries. Thomas married the right person, a landowner's heir, and we find his son, another Thomas, as Lord of the Manor at Lullington, and the family estates spreading. This Thomas's son and heir, Collingwood, was father of the Roundhead, Colonel Sir Thomas Sanders. In two generations after befriending the impecunious soldier returning from Flanders, the

Gresleys must have regretted their beneficence: Collingwood Sanders bought out much of the Gresley land as well as parts of the neighbouring Holland's estate.

Collingwood married well. His wife was one of the substantial Derbyshire family of Sleigh, and heir to her father. He knew how he intended his family to live, and, apart from being father to the enigmatic Sir Thomas, Collingwood himself deserves mention. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, where his tutor later became the Bishop of Salisbury, and after Oxford he became a Counsellor at Law and was at the Inner Temple at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is uncertain how long or how keenly he pursued his law, but after his marriage it is likely he had very little need of it. Collingwood had ambitious plans for the Sanders family and in 1615 a grant was made to him by the College of Arms of the arms of the Surrey Sanders family with augmentations authorised by Norroy King-at-Arms. Having thus set his descendants on the map, Collingwood lived on as an established figure and member of the landed gentry in his native Derbyshire. He died at the age of 75 in 1653.

At the time of his father's death in 1653, Thomas Sanders was 43 and already had a substantial career in the Army behind him. At the time of the Civil War ten years earlier, his Puritan sympathies were very strong; he was one of the first to raise a force for the Parliamentary Cause in his part of the country. A contemporary but unfriendly account described Colonel Sanders as "a Derbyshire man who was a very godly, honest country gentleman, but had not many things requisite to a great souldier."

Whether this was the case or not, Thomas Sanders, as a major and later as

Colonel, made the best of bad times and obtained for himself an impressive commission from Cromwell to lead part of the Nottinghamshire Parliamentary forces. Descriptions of the events of the early part of the Civil Wars are blurred even if one takes them on the level of the whole country, but if one focuses one's attention on the events of a smaller locality they become still more confused by rivalry and back-biting. Serious disputes arose over the choice of officers, and rivalries between Parliamentary forces in different counties overbore even the animosity between the Cavalier and the Roundhead causes.

So there is a great deal of controversy surrounding Cromwell's appointment of Major Thomas Sanders as Colonel in command of the Nottinghamshire regiment. Friends of Sanders left Derbyshire to join this regiment, and the two commanders in Derbyshire, Sir John Gell and Colonel Gresley, deeply resented the appointment and the resulting weakening of their own forces. Unbiased reports on these events do not exist, and since all the Parliamentary ones were destroyed at the Restoration, the only contemporary accounts which survive are Royalists'. These are most uncomplimentary to the Colonel, but nevertheless the way in which his appointment as Commander is explained away in one account is sufficiently amusing to merit quoting in full:

"Meanwhile Cromwell, as soon as the Nottinghamshire men had imparted their desires to him, sent for Sanders and, cajoling him, told him none was so fit as himself to command the regiment; but the regiment thought not all of them so, but were designing to procure themselves another colonel, which he advised them to prevent, by sending speedily to the general

(Fairfax) to whom Cromwell also wrote to further the request, and before the messenger came back from Owthorpe procured the commission for Sanders ... But they had not only this check and disappointment by Cromwell, but all the Nottingham captains were passed over. The reasons that induced Cromwell to do this were two ... second he had besides a design, by insinuating himself with Colonel Sanders to flatter him into the sale of a towne of his called Ireton, which Cromwell earnestly desired to buy for Major-General Ireton who had married his daughter. And when at last he could not obtain it, in process of time, he took the Regiment away from him again."

Within the Parliamentary forces there thrived not only these local rivalries between the soldiery of different counties and between competing generals, but hatred and bitterness severed family and friend. On a personal as well as a political level it was a period of great bitterness and rancour. As, during the Civil War and the years following, the situation became more perplexing to the ordinary men, so violence and sudden death became more and more commonplace. In 1648, in theory at least, most of the fighting was over, but so bad were conditions that the ordinary men refused to accept the Act of Oblivion or to disband and return to their civilian livelihoods. The state of mind of these men is shown clearly in a letter written to the Parliamentary leaders at the time by the men of Colonel Sanders's regiment, which by chance has been preserved to the present day and is now in the British Museum. This "moderate and clear relation of the private souldierie of Colonel Scroops and Colonel Sanders regiments" claims that the soldiers who supported the anti-Royalist cause have not had their reward in seeing their opponents punished, nor has their own station in life improved by their own victory:

they went on to advocate the most blood-thirsty punishments.

Because of the disturbance of the times and the unfaithfulness of the reports of local events during the Civil War, not a great deal of detail about the achievements of campaigns of Thomas Sanders can be elicited until after the Restoration. The histories of the locality do, however give an insight into one or two events with which he was connected. Early in February 1644, Sir John Gell, who was at that time Colonel commanding the Derbyshire Parliamentary forces, dispatched Major Sanders to head off a detachment of Cavalier troops who were threatening the area round Derby itself. As the Major had the advantage of an excellent knowledge of the lie of the land and was known to many of the people in the neighbourhood, he succeeded without loss to himself in removing the threat, and decided to take the attack further than his orders required him to, ordering his men to pursue the enemy until they could be captured en masse. This was successfully done and the Cavalier contingent rounded up at Tissington Hall. When, the next day, the Hall was given up, Sanders had a simple task to incarcerate his prisoners in nearby Boylestone Church. This building presented an admirable stronghold, because only one of its doors could be used at the time. The prisoners were made to file through the small vestry door, as Sanders and his fellow officers stood outside it: it was too small to pass through without bowing the head - an unwitting piece of early prison psychology, perhaps. With his enemy safely locked up in the Church, Sanders continued with his men to Burton, which ultimately fell to the Roundheads. Later that year, Sanders was promoted Colonel, which reflected his superiors' approval of his success at Burton, and he remained in command of the garrison there until the end of that autumn.

In December he relinquished command of Burton and shortly afterwards went to strengthen the forces besieging Newark. This occupied his resources and indeed those of the entire Roundhead armed forces in the Midlands for many weeks.

In 1658, Oliver Cromwell's death was heralded by the announcement pinned to the doors of the Churches throughout the land, "Oliver Cromwell, the terror of England, is dead." The event was the signal for fresh outbursts of unrest. Derby was captured by Colonel White for the Royalists and its relief brought Colonel (now Sir) Thomas Sanders's name into the news once again. Mercurius Politicus for the week of August 24th to September 1st 1659 reports the events, "The matter of fact touching the late Insurrection in this county not being fully stated, be pleased to take this short review; Colonel White, flying from Nottingham, came (to Derby). His foolish Declaration in full Market caused an immediate uproare, some crying a King, others a free Parliament, some both. Mr. Siden, Minister of Langley, appeared before the Commissioners with his sword and pistol cockt, and spoke to Colonel Sanders to come down to the people quickly for blood would be spilt." Colonel Sanders and other leaders then withdrew from Derby to collect help in quashing the revolt. The report continues: "The next day being Saturday, Colonels Sanders, Michel and Barton made their retreat to Uttoxeter where my Lord Lambert took care to provide them with forces with whom on the Lords (day) they returned towards the Town of Derby at which place they met Captain Hope who brought along with him the Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire horse with eight companies of foot. The Town was then pale-faced; the Commissioners immediately met and proclaimed the leaders of the Insurrection Traitors." But the High Sherriff and the

Magistrates were also found guilty by their own proclamation - thus the revolt was put down.

1658 was late still to be supporting the Cromwellian cause. But Sir Thomas, now had a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, and peace and quiet in the town, and it appears that he was a successful arbiter in these uprisings which were common in the last days of the Commonwealth: three weeks after this incident at Derby he was in Cheshire in a similar peace keeping role.

During the intervening years, Sir Thomas Sanders had been M.P. for Derbyshire and played an important part in local politics. One of the most interesting aspects of this enigmatic figure was his ability to back two horses at once, and both successfully. During the interregnum he was strongly committed to the Parliamentary cause, yet he never fell heavily from position and rank at the Restoration. Maybe this was due to his being not merely a soldier, but a politician as well. He was clever, and never overcommitted himself to one side. In 1656 he had signed a notable Remonstrance attacking Cromwell's arbitrary ruling. So he was not unequivocally Cromwellian (if he had been, he would perhaps have acceded to the Protector's request, to let him have his estate at Ireton for his son-in-law). Nor was he a double agent, however. Probably his own good sense and wish, in the last event, to maintain peace and order regulated his actions and allegiance more than excessive loyalty to one or another political faction. But more important than considerations of the character and political sense of Sir Thomas was his refusal at any cost to sign the Regicide. As an active participant on the Parliamentary side in the Civil War he was certainly expected by both his colleagues and his leaders to follow the policy which he had

actively supported to its ultimate conclusion. But the Colonel, for reasons of his own, would have none of it, and it is known that he took no part in the trial or verdict which resulted in the execution of King Charles I.

Even so, at the Restoration, he realised his danger, having been a parliamentary Colonel and M.P., and he swiftly settled his entire estates "for his fatherly love and natural affection for his son" on his eldest son Samuel. This was done in November 1660.

At the time of the restoration, however, Sir Thomas Sanders was included in the general indemnity and allowed to return to his home in Ireton and, as has been seen, he wasted no time in arranging his personal affairs. Even so the temptation to revert to the politics of force of the previous fifteen years was great, and in 1664 Colonel Sanders was implicated in an anti-Royalist rising in Derbyshire. Again he came away unscathed and was granted bail.

In 1683, the year of the Rye House Plot, he was put under recognisances of a £2,000 personal bond and two sureties of £1,000 each. The reason for this can be seen from a witness's deposition made on July 19, 1683, that he had seen at Thomas Sanders' home at Little Ireton "three or four blunderbushes (sic) some whereof were new ones." The papers relating to this incident clearly show that even twenty years after the Restoration Sir Thomas could not keep his hands out of politics and the agitations which went with it. Men more substantial than Sir Thomas lost their heads as a result of the Plot, but once again he managed to scrape out of the incident unscathed. Perhaps this was because he had sufficient assets to put up for bail, perhaps he had the right contacts in high

places.

He lived, a grand old man, until 1695. An interesting portrait of him in military dress survives to the present day - he looks a determined man and there is undoubtedly an element of intrigue and cunning in his eye. He is an enigmatic figure who rose to the knighthood at a time of unsettled order and uncertain peace by equally uncertain means. Little is known of him now and if more had been known about his anti-Royalist sympathies in his own day he would almost certainly have lost his head - either for his part in the rule of the Commonwealth interregnum or for supporting the Rye House Plot.

Many of the documents relating to his property are preserved at the Derby County library. They were discovered during the war at a solicitor's office in Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and show the exact extent of the Sanders lands at Caldwell, Lullington and Ireton. Of much greater interest is the character of the man, and published sources mention Sanders in various contexts, but these are mainly unfair and hostile to him like the quoted passage from Colonel Hutchinson's Memoirs about his obtaining his command. Some even more unequivocal condemnations of him appear in other sources. Granger's Biographical History of England, published in 1774, gives a resume of his life and activities as soldier and Politician, describing him as "a man of great influence in the county, of which he was Custos and Member of Parliament." Sir Thomas lived on to the grand old age of eighty five, and outlived his son, Samuel who died in 1688, by seven years. Samuel himself had another son also called Samuel who wrote the History of Derbyshire, but as he had no sons, the Derbyshire estates passed out of the family to his sister in the middle of the

eighteenth century. Other members of the Sanders, and later, Sandars family remained in the neighbourhood until the present century.

CHAPTER V

THE LIVERPOOL TO MANCHESTER RAILWAY

"At the time of my cross examination by the Commons Committee I had no-one to tell my tale to but Mr. Sanders of Liverpool. He did listen and keep my spirits up."

George Stephenson remembered the frustrations of persuading Parliament to authorise the construction of the world's first public railway when he wrote these words. He was then looking back many years later from his hard-won position as one of the country's most respected engineers, but at the time Stephenson, who was unknown outside his native Northumberland and had no formal education, was nearly broken by the subtle arguments of the powerful opponents of the project and their learned Counsel. They knew nothing of the potential miracles his steam engine would ultimately perform, but were merely concerned to protect themselves and the old order.

At the end of the eighteenth century Liverpool was a town of the same size as say, present-day Dorking, with about 26,000 inhabitants and little industry. The surrounding area was still largely farming country and the city was unrepresented in Parliament, as much of it was owned, and consequently ruled, by its hereditary land-owning peers such as the Earl of Sefton and Lord Derby. The industry which the new century was to bring had not yet transformed the area and the canals could still handle the raw materials for what little industry there was.

But twenty-five years later the town and port of Liverpool as well as the whole county, were utterly transformed. Nearly

four times the tonnage of shipping was using the port, coal-mining, the cotton trade and manufacturing industries had each multiplied several times. Cotton imports rose from a few hundred to half a million bags per year, as the surrounding Lancashire towns rapidly developed into the greatest manufacturing complex in the world. Trade of all kinds made rich men of many Liverpool citizens. But by 1820 imports exceeded the capacity of the old canal systems and delays became longer and longer. Imports were swamping the town.

Goods reached Liverpool in twenty days from America, but sometimes took longer to travel the remaining thirty-five miles from there to their destination in Manchester. Although Liverpool itself processed and used part of the goods arriving by sea, the majority of goods were in transit to the inland cities, most often Manchester. To get there they had to be carried by the "water-carriers" - the canal owners: this meant transshipment into barges at Liverpool then river and canal to the wharves at Manchester. Loading and unloading were quickly effected as labour was plentiful, but the canals, run by the Old Quay Company and the Duke of Bridgewater's Trustees, were not only in the habit of drying up in the summer and freezing in the winter but were closed shop run for the profit of the owners and not the convenience of their customers. Their proprietors' shares, bought originally for £70 each, were now worth £1250 each. So an alternative method of transport had to be provided as quickly as possible. The main roads in their mediaeval state were incapable of carrying the heavy loads, and in winter often became impassable. Horses could not pull more than the lightest loads on their steep rutted surfaces.

In coal mining districts, where very

heavy loads had to be carried, it had been discovered that by laying parallel wooden tracks onto which the carts' wheels fitted, a horse could draw a load ten times the weight it could pull on ordinary roads. In Durham and Northumberland these tramways were quite widely used in transporting heavy loads of coal from the mines to the ports. So it appeared to businessmen in Liverpool and Manchester who were being inconvenienced by the inefficiency of the canal monopoly, that a tramway of this kind, but on a larger scale, could be the best way of by-passing the Water Carriers.

One of the Liverpool businessmen who realised this need, both from his business requirements, and also from the point of view of a public service in the neighbourhood, was Joseph Sandars. Joseph was the son of another Joseph Sandars, a merchant who lived in Derby, and was a nephew of Samuel Sandars who first established the family at Gainsborough in the last years of the eighteenth century. Joseph's father had moved the short distance from Mackworth to Derby and there his son was brought up. Mackworth is only just outside Derby and at this time the family was very thick on the ground in this area. The young Joseph was born in 1780, three years before his brother Samuel who later married Mary Collett of Lockers, Hemel Hempstead. Being an elder brother's son, he was nearly twenty-five years older than his cousin George the M.P.

Joseph, like many of his relations at the time, was soon taking an active interest in the corn trade, and it was a natural move for a corn merchant of ambition to set up in business in a larger centre than Derby. At the age of twenty Joseph moved to Liverpool and within a few years had entered into a profitable partnership with another Liverpool trader named Samuel Blain. The effects of the Napoleonic Wars were

expanding trade during the early years of the century and Liverpool was about to take the lion's share of the resultant expansion in imports and exports in the north west manufacturing area. The firm, Blain and Sandars, soon became known on the Liverpool Exchange and Joseph Sandars's business interests soon outstripped those of his father in Derby. By the end of the war Blain and Sandars was booming and Joseph looking for new outlets for his enterprise and new wealth. He became connected with different ventures trading with Ireland and America, and through these and the corn exchange he became a 'name' in the city. Apart from his business interests he was very much interested in political questions both local and national. He was a Whig and became a prominent speaker in the neighbourhood on all kinds of topics from Health to Slavery. He wrote pamphlets (including one against the abolition of slavery) and, through his friend Egerton-Smith, the proprietor of the Liverpool Mercury, his views and personality became widely known.

In 1821 Joseph Sandars met William James through his firm. James was a surveyor and land-agent, and had a host of other interests and ventures in hand: so many in fact that he became known as the 'speculator in ideas'. Talking to James, Sandars discovered that he had been called in as surveyor and broker for two earlier tramway schemes, at Croydon and Moreton-in-the-Marsh. The meeting was a turning point in the yet unformed plans for the Liverpool rail road, even though James's connection was not to last long.

The latter was engaged to conduct an accurate survey for a possible railroad between the towns of Liverpool and Manchester. Sandars guaranteed the cost of carrying it out. Unfortunately the surveyor's speculations were rapidly exceeding his resources

and the survey was never completed, but William James brought with him one invaluable connection without which the venture would never have succeeded: George Stephenson. The railway fraternity before 1825 was small and James inevitably came to know the remarkable self-instructed colliery engineer from Northumberland and about his schemes for adapting the static steam engine into an engine which would be strong, light and efficient enough to propel itself, on a truck, along a specially constructed 'railway'. Stephenson had more experience of the practical workings of steam engines than anyone in England at the time. It was less than four years before the successful opening of the famous Stockton to Darlington Railway.

Later in 1821 the first practical steps were taken on the project: a preliminary survey was made. Joseph Sandars, together with James and two other friends, made a personal inspection of the lie of the land between Liverpool and Manchester to ensure that before they started the task of raising support for the scheme they would be in a position to explain how and where it was intended to implement it. One of the most important factors noted by them on their various journeys into the country was the names of the landowners through whose land they would need to obtain access.

After this was done, Sandars set about the task of actually selling the idea to the influential men in the two towns and forming a committee to put it to practical effect - a substantial job, as the magnitude of the project he was proposing was unprecedented since the building of the canals. A sum of more than half a million pounds would have to be raised, innumerable opponents placated or bought out and an engineering feat for which there was little obvious skill available at that time,

carried out. Thanks to his connections and his past skill as a propagandist, Sandars was successful in securing the backing of many important citizens of both Liverpool and Manchester despite the idea involving such colossal cost and difficulty. In Liverpool he enlisted the names of his partner, Samuel Blain, the Chairman of the Liverpool Corn Exchange, William Booth, John Gladstone, Ewart, Rathbone, and Mr. Moss of Moss, Rogers & Moss's Bank: John Gladstone was shortly replaced by Robert Gladstone (father of the Prime Minister) who with William Huskisson were Liverpool's two Members of Parliament. In Manchester he interested many of the leading businessmen, one of whom was John Kennedy, whose firm manufactured Crompton's Mules.

After this had been done, it was no longer either possible or desirable to keep the nature of the proposed scheme under cover. Late in 1822 the Liverpool Mercury reported on the proposed railway, adding, ambitiously, but quite incorrectly, that "it is hardly necessary to add that the use of steam carriages is contemplated". This was far from the case and it was still years before the opening of the first public railway: besides the Liverpool Committee were still firmly in favour of horses being employed to haul the wagons along the rails since this method was already well-tried on many private mine rail-ways. Now that the railway scheme was in the open and being commented on in the Press all over the Country as well as in Lancashire, the forces of opposition took little time to gather their numbers. Among their leaders were Lord Sefton and Lord Derby, who both owned large areas of the county, the latter holding much of Liverpool itself, and whom Randolph Churchill aptly named 'King of Lancashire'. The third large landowner who had in his canal an even larger interest to protect, was the Duke of Bridgewater.

His gargantuan canal profits gave him every incentive to hinder the railway as far and as long as he could. His bailiffs were instructed to prevent the surveyors for the railway committee and their teams from entering the farms on the Bridgewater estates.

Lord Derby argued that the railway, particularly if it employed steam locomotion as the Mercury had suggested, would prevent his cows from grazing and his tenants' hens from laying eggs. He and other opponents said it would set fire to houses along the line and, even worse, would prevent the rearing of pheasants, disrupting all they considered most admirable in English country life. It was widely believed the human frame would not withstand the forces of such travel. Furthermore the morale of the populace would be shattered once and for all.

At the time when the initial survey of the land was being carried out, the opposition created amongst the tenantry of these landed peers almost frustrated the scheme altogether, and Sandars called meetings of the promoters on several occasions, but was determined to keep his supporters behind him. James, doing the actual surveying, encountered such fierce opposition that he was obliged to hire a "noted bruiser" to protect the theodolite carrier from the incensed tenants. (Even so it was broken several times). Ultimately many parts of the route had to be surveyed either at night or during lunch when the landowners could safely be assumed to be in no fit condition to offer resistance. After long delays and some recriminations the survey was completed but not before the speculations and fortunes of Mr. William James were very much on the wane. He had undertaken projects all over the country, at a time when little was known of the cost or long-term effects of large

scale engineering operations. Unluckily these declining interests started to take up so much of his time that the survey was not completed until 1825. As a result the Bill to authorise the new Rail Road was too late for the 1824 session of Parliament and Sandars was obliged to dismiss James. The latter never forgave him this as his descendants revived the controversy long after his death by publishing a book with the object of justifying James's claim to be the originator of the first plan for a Public Railway.

At the time the survey was being carried out, Sandars himself had been engaged in setting up the preparations to obtain legal authorisation for the whole operation. This had to be done by tactful and diplomatic persuasion of the Liverpool Common Council, and then, more important, by procuring a Private Act of Parliament, which was to be a formidable task. Joseph Sandars was no novice at pamphleteering to gain support for causes in which he was interested, and now, in 1824, he published an open letter addressed to members of both Houses of Parliament and to the merchants, manufacturers and others interested in the conveyance of goods between Liverpool and Manchester. He entitled the letter, which is in fact a short booklet, "Letter on the Subject of the proposed Rail Road between Liverpool and Manchester, pointing out the necessity for its adoption and the manifest Advantages it offers to the Public, with an Exposure of the exorbitant and unjust charges of the Water-Carriers". It is a lengthy, detailed but discreet letter of persuasion. Two thirds of its length is devoted to an explanation of the inefficiency and overcharging of the canal proprietors. The letter continues by listing the many advantages to be gained from a railway: its speed and efficiency, safety, convenience to coal owners along its route, and cheapness. Goods would not only be able to travel twice

as cheaply but at ten or twelve miles per hour, taking three hours instead of between three days and three weeks by the water-carriers. Furthermore, it would expedite the trade with America on whose raw materials the country and its trade were about to become more and more dependent. Continuing in a vein which at the present time strikes a surprisingly contemporary note, Sandars writes, "... the country requires the aid of this and every improvement which can be suggested: ... it is loaded with an immense debt and is heavily taxed". It was only nine years after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

Shortly after the publication of this pamphlet, later editions of which were signed by "150 of the most respectable gentlemen of the town", Sandars and his committee members went to inspect George Stephenson's Killingworth Colliery railway. At this time this afforded the best example of the practical use and power of the steam engine system devised by Stephenson. The Stockton to Darlington Railway had not yet opened. In spite of its many advantages, the Promoters were not easily persuaded. Several visits had to be made to Killingworth by Sandars before they were won over to the idea even of constructing the railway, let alone of using steam locomotives on it, rather than horses. The point was not decided in favour of steam until the railway itself was nearly constructed - only one year before the Duke of Wellington attended the opening Ceremony in September 1830.

In 1824, however, there still continued the difficult task of winning support for the scheme from the general public, from the landowners and from the canal proprietors themselves. On October 29th, the first prospectus was published. Joseph Sandars was named one of the three Deputy Chairmen.

This prospectus, which later became a precedent on which many later railway companies' promotion documents were based, consisted largely of Joseph Sandars's Letter to Parliament, and in itself constitutes a considerable contribution to the success of the early stages of the project. It is very different from any modern prospectus as it neither offers a high rate of interest nor capital appreciation. The canal proprietors were not impressed, as indeed they would have been unlikely to be beside the £1250 which their £70 shares were now worth. Only The Times received the idea with enthusiasm.

It was not until 1825 that the survey was completed and arrangements could be made to present the Bill to Parliament. Without this nothing could be done. A permanent committee was formed, with the Mayor of Liverpool in the chair, and their first task was to apply for the necessary Parliamentary authority. In February 1825 their deputation went to London to attend the hearings in the House of Commons, based on the first survey and building plan. On 8th February the petition was presented and four weeks later the Bill received an unopposed second reading, completing the preliminaries. On March 21st the committee stage began and Counsel for Sandars and the committee summed up their case six weeks later. Four further weeks were taken up by Lord Derby's counsel opposing the scheme, who closed his evidence on May 30th with the rather patronising assertion that "from considerations of kindness to the Proprietors of so wild and impracticable a scheme, the Bill ought to be rejected by the Honourable Legislature". The pre-ambule of the Bill was passed but the next day both the clauses enabling the Company to commence the work and to buy the land compulsorily were defeated.

Undaunted by this defeat, Sandars and his committee at once set about the task of preparing the Bill for re-submission to Parliament in the next year's session: only three days after the Bill was turned down, the Committee met at the Royal Hotel in St. James Street. At that meeting twenty-one Members of Parliament including General Gascoyne, Mr. Huskisson, Lord Forbes, Marcus Beresford and Thomas Spring-Rice, passed a resolution "that an improved means of conveyance between Liverpool and Manchester is expedient".

Before the Bill was submitted to Parliament the second year some early errors were eliminated from the survey, the route altered to avoid crossing Lord Derby's and Lord Sefton's land, Sir John Rennie appointed Engineer (unlike Stephenson he was an accepted establishment figure, which was essential for the Parliamentary Hearings), and the Duke of Bridgewater persuaded to become a proprietor. On the second application the Bill was passed by 30 votes to 2 - Lord Derby and the Earl of Wilton against. The total cost of obtaining the Bill was over £27,000, but at this enormous cost it became a precedent for railway Bills covering thousands of miles over the next decades.

Stephenson was now once again Chief Engineer, (Sir John Rennie having found himself unable to devote the amount of time to the construction that the Committee considered necessary), as well as surveyor, builder and administrator. The way in which the railway track was built is a tribute to a man whose skill with steam engines, let alone the construction of the longest tramway in the world, was acquired largely by trial and error. The works involved two miles of tunnels, sixty three bridges, and the filling in of an apparently bottomless tract of bogland at Chat Moss. One part of the Moss was so soft that

ballast was poured into it for weeks on end and still the track showed no firmness. A Board meeting was held on the site to decide whether to abandon the Chat Moss route altogether but eventually the Board stuck to their original plan; in the end it turned out to be the cheapest part of the whole route, since no compensation had to be paid to any landowners.

By 1829 the original estimated cost of £460,000 had been spent and it was necessary for Sandars to prepare to obtain further Acts to shorten and improve the route and authorise raising a further £240,000 capital and £100,000 Exchequer loan. Although the very method of locomotion was still undecided, Stephenson from the beginning had regarded the project as his greatest chance to put his locomotive to the proof. The directors were not committed to steam and were in favour of constructing fixed engines at intervals along the track, to haul the wagons along by means of ropes. But Stephenson and Sandars were against this because a single faulty engine would halt the whole system, and as a result a "trial" was arranged to prove whether the various leading locomotives of the time were commercially or technically viable. Engines of six tons and costing not more than £550 were to pull loads of twenty tons at, if possible, ten miles per hour, at not more than a stated boiler pressure. At the Rainhill trial Stephenson's Rocket - which had to be transported by road from Newcastle to Bowness and from there by canal to Liverpool - competed against Ericsson's Novelty, Burstall's Perseverance and an ingenious machine powered by a horse on a treadmill - Brandreth's Cycloped. The Rocket was the only engine to come out of the trials undamaged by its own exertions and achieved an average of fifteen miles per hour over seventy miles, and a top speed of twenty-nine miles per hour. The

directors needed no further proof to decide on steam locomotive power. The effects of their decision were momentous.

The railway was opened in September 1830. The occasion was the climax of nearly nine years of propaganda, public relations, argument, persuasion and engineering difficulties of the greatest magnitude. The Liverpool Mercury says that the Directors (including Joseph Sandars, and, curiously, one of his fellow-Directors, Charles Tayleur, one of whose relatives was later to marry his son) "were determined to give eclat to the occasion and that the elite of the Kingdom should be present at the opening". The Liverpool Mercury's report on 17th September 1830 reflects this clearly:

"From such arrangements we cannot wonder, therefore, that Wednesday morning witnessed the tide of population progressing towards those suburbs through which the procession would pass. At 9 o'clock the Co's yard in Crown St. began to fill. On entering it, attention was arrested by a range of splendid equipage filled with many brilliant parties, among whom we recognised the families of the neighbouring nobility and gentry and some illustrious strangers. At half past 9 the gorgeous car for the reception of the Duke of Wellington and the other noble visitors appeared issuing from the small tunnel, and on its coming into the yard called forth the most marked approbation.

"This carriage was truly magnificent, the sides being beautifully ornamented with superb Grecian scrolls and balustrades, including guilt (sic) supporting a massy handrail all round the carriage, along the whole centre

of which was an Ottoman seat for the company. A grand canopy was placed aloft upon gilded pillars, so contrived as to be lowered when passing through the tunnel. The drapery was of rich crimson cloth and the whole surmounted by the ducal coronet. The floor, 32' long was supported by eight large iron wheels ...

"The engines proceeded at a moderate speed to Wavertree Lane when increased power having been added, they went forward with an arrow-like swiftness and thousands fell back, whom all the previous efforts of a formidable police could not move from the road. Booths were erected at every commanding spot and were most fashionably and respectably attended. Twenty-four miles per hour became the maximum of the speed.

"A grandstand was erected at Sankey embankment, which was crowded in every part and from which the most flattering demonstration of applause proceeded. The viaduct and embankment particularly obtained the Duke's attention and "marvellous" "Stupendous" were frequently heard to pass his lips." He even kissed a baby.

The scene was magnificent, but was unfortunately the tragic scene of Mr. Huskisson's death. He "was singled out by an inscrutable Providence from the midst of the distinguished multitude that surrounded him", so one reads on the tablet erected on the spot where the accident occurred. He was crossing the line to greet the Duke of Wellington, wishing to effect a reconciliation perhaps after Cabinet differences with his Prime Minister, and was knocked down by an oncoming engine, (the party of dignitaries having descended while the engines

refilled with water). The civic authorities rather irrationally feared a disturbance in the town when this became known, and so the inaugural party returned to Liverpool without setting foot in Manchester.

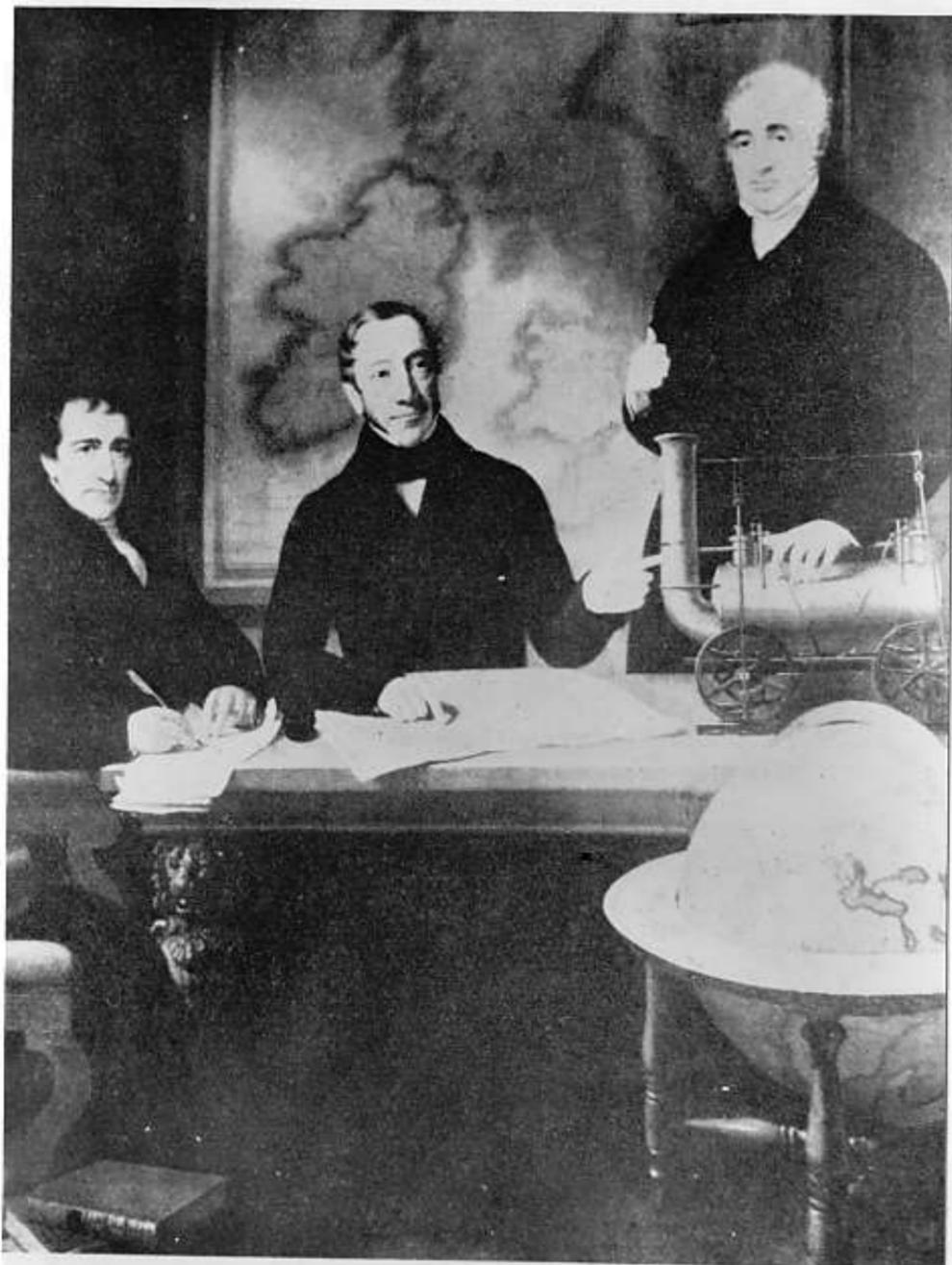
This novel form of transport quickly gained favour, setting on foot far greater repercussions than the originators would ever have considered possible. Soon after, it gained its most stubborn opponents as those who insisted that railways were even essential, to the common good: Lord Derby insisted on having railways and stations on his estates when the Birmingham to London line was built less than ten years later. The railways attracted ten times as many passengers as had originally been estimated and the whole emphasis of the enterprise as primarily a goods-carrying concern was called into question. The benefits to business communities in Liverpool and Manchester were however its greatest effect - for instance the freight rates fell to 2/6d per ton (even though before the line was opened the Company had received a letter from a Mr. Isaac Crewdson of Manchester advocating higher charges than the canal proprietors', since a much better service would be available). The Bridgewater Trustees and Old Quay Company had no option but to reduce their tariffs back to the levels authorised by their original Statutes.

Joseph Sandars had justified his original thinking on pure commercial lines, considering that passenger revenue would be very slight compared with goods dues. He had thought that passengers would have to be tolerated only to convince business customers of the uses of the railway for transporting their goods. Soon passengers had become the biggest source of revenue: later still Her Imperial Majesty used this new form of transport, of which it had

earlier been thought it would be impossible for the human frame to withstand. Queen Victoria's use made railways permissible for Society. In the early days the well-to-do were licensed to use their own locomotives on the railway tracks of the Company, but this had to be discontinued before long.

The effect of railways on the development of the country in the industrial age is not appropriate for inclusion in this essay, but the success of railways was the success of Joseph Sandars' venture - misguided as people had at first thought it to be. He has been variously described "the father of railways" and "the father of the Liverpool and Manchester railway" by contemporary biographers and historians, but almost certainly the latter is right. The inventor of the locomotive itself, which first proved itself by racing against a stage coach and within a few years was so developed as to be capable of attaining a speed of sixty miles per hour, must after all be acclaimed the father of railways. Neither without the other would have succeeded in the venture, and the scheme would have been delayed for many years had it not been for the fortunate introduction of George Stephenson to Sandars by the canny Mr. James.

Joseph Sandars remained in touch with railways, with Liverpool and with Stephenson for the rest of his life. In 1848 he was connected with a colliery venture of Stephenson's at Clay Croft in Derbyshire, and correspondence between the two men took place on many topics. Until its destruction by bombing in 1940 there was a group portrait in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool which showed Joseph Sandars sitting at a heavy mahogany table on which stood a model of the Rocket, maps and papers on his left, standing, was Stephenson,



SYLVESTER

SANDARS

STEPHENSON

evidently explaining the marvellous machine, and on his right the Company secretary, Mr. Sylvester, taking notes. The artist, Gambadella, painted the group to tell the story of this particular piece of history in the style of the time, and although not great art, it is unfortunate that it no longer exists.

Joseph Sandars died in 1857, after returning to his native Midlands, and he was probably the only member of the family to be connected with Liverpool apart from his cousin George Sandars and the latter's grandson, George Russell Sandars, who went to a parish in the area at the end of the century. Joseph's son, another Joseph, became Member of Parliament in 1848, for Great Yarmouth, but remained in the House only up to 1852. He married Lady Virginia Tayleur, daughter of the Marquess of Headfort, and lived at Bosworth Hall, Leicestershire, where he died in 1893 - his wife living on in Chelsea until 1923. She wrote several very long but now forgotten novels - perhaps epics - for one was in three volumes!

Joseph Sandars' son had no successors, but nevertheless other members of the family shared his father's interest in railways. His cousin in Manchester, George Sandars, after retiring from Parliament, in 1857, was a director of various railway companies in this country, and Thomas Collett Sandars combined being a fellow of Oriel College and his work on Justinian's Institutes with the chairmanship for many years of the Mexican Railway. Once again, the latter's son, Horace Sandars, whose business interests took him to Spain and Rumania, was also a director of various railway companies.

The early nineteenth century was the age of the most dynamic expansion in this country's history. The same period marked

the change in the Sandars annals from small Derbyshire landowners to wealthy businessmen. Simultaneously with the growth of Joseph Sandars' business in Liverpool, George Sandars' cornfactor's and shipping business in Manchester and Samuel Sandars' malting business in Gainsborough were thriving and the family spreading throughout the country.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW MAN

"I am dead against any 'inspiration' being sent to the Press. It is done in no country - probably not even in America. The King's Speech is drawn up by his Ministers but if the Press gets hold of it before it is made from the Throne it becomes a perfect farce. Sandars evidently belongs to a new regime - one has heard of the New Woman but he is evidently the New Man": King Edward VII to Lord Knollys
14th February 1903.

When King Edward VII ascended the throne in 1901, he made every effort to assume the most active part in directing the affairs of state. Queen Victoria had, on many issues in her later years, merely concurred with the wishes of the Prime Minister and Parliament, due to her aloofness, and, in the last years of her reign, diminishing energy. When Edward VII became King he made no secret of the fact that he intended to be personally in charge of affairs. He even refused to allow another member of the royal family to hold Council for him when he was abroad, even though he was away very often at Biarritz or Baden.

During the second year of his reign, Lord Salisbury resigned as Prime Minister, as he had said he would at the end of the Boer War, and was succeeded by his nephew Arthur Balfour. This further increased the likelihood of a serious constitutional clash between the King and the Prime Minister. Under the old era, it had become the habit to "leak" to the Press the important contents of the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament, before the Speech was actually made. Queen Victoria had made no objection

to this practice, but far from allowing it, Edward VII wanted the speech submitted to him for personal correction and alteration.

Mr. Balfour's Private Secretary, since his days as First Lord of the Treasury, had been John Satterfield Sandars: he continued in this capacity throughout Balfour's Premiership. Sandars controlled not only the flow of information from 10 Downing Street to the Press, but also to a degree unknown in the case of any other Prime Minister's Private Secretary, the very decisions and steps of his chief. So it is not surprising to find Edward VII writing these words so scathingly about the habit of allowing the Press advance information on the contents of the King's Speech before it was even made by him.

Jack Sandars was the only son of Charles Sandars of Mackworth, Derbyshire. He was born in January 1853, was educated at Repton and from there went up to Oxford. He gained admission as a commoner to Magdalen on the strength, according to his obituary in The Times, of his extensive and most unusual knowledge of Cicero's 'Pro Cluentio'. This may well have been true - and the story emanates from Sandars himself - in view of the fact that he took a Third class in Law in 1874. In 1877 he was called, and for the next seven years he was variously occupied at the Bar, until he published, in 1884 his textbook on the law of land drainage. The year after "Sandars on Sewers" was published, he took the unusual step of bettering his Third Class in Law with a D.C.L. which he was awarded for his thesis on the Roman Doctrine of Culpa. (later published). It is easy to see from the list of Sandars's publications the stages in which his interest moved from Sewer Law to Coal Mines (his father was a colliery agent) to Electoral Law in 1890, and political events and personalities later.

Sandars's real career was not in law, however, but politics. His first appointment was as private secretary to the Home Secretary in 1885, Lord Llandaff. This appointment continued until 1892 when Sandars decided to contest a constituency and enter the political arena in his own right. However this ambition was not realised, and his opponent was elected for mid-Derbyshire. In retrospect it can confidently be said that had Jack Sandars entered and remained in Parliament himself, he would never have wielded the influence over events which later became his lot as a private secretary. In the same year as his unsuccessful attempt to enter the House of Commons he married Harriet, daughter of Sir William Don, Bt - as The Times has it: "he made a most happy alliance with a lady of singular attraction and artistic accomplishment". Her description as artistic is borne out perhaps by the fact that she was closely related to Sir J. E. Millais, a President of the Royal Academy, and her will, when she died in 1947, refers to various paintings by members of her family, as well as two Rubens.

While at Magdalen, one of Jack Sandars's immediate contemporaries had been Cecil Balfour. Twenty years later he became a private secretary for the second time - this time to Cecil Balfour's brother, Arthur, who was already well known to him from the latter's days under Lord Llandaff. In 1895 Arthur Balfour was First Lord of the Treasury and in 1902 became Prime Minister on his uncle's resignation. Sandars worked for Balfour throughout this period until Balfour's defeat as P.M. in 1905 then continuing until 1915 when Balfour became First Lord of the Admiralty much against Sandars's wishes and advice.

Jack Sandars had as great influence in the political events of these twenty years

as a Cabinet Minister, even apart from the period when his chief was Prime Minister. During Balfour's time as First Lord of the Treasury he was responsible for ecclesiastical patronage, also advising on the distribution of honours and the selection of candidates for the Conservative Party. He sounded out opinion at the Carlton Club for his chief (who never cared for that side of politics and seldom went there), smoothed over differences between him and Joseph Chamberlain and looked after his private life and affairs in a way which made his services indispensable to Mr. Balfour. So when Lord Salisbury resigned on July 10 1902 and Mr. Balfour became Prime Minister, Sandars's career reached its zenith. Even before this appointment Balfour was heavily dependent on his private secretary, but now the burden of his responsibilities made him even more so. Sandars himself, writing many years later of the special character of the job, says, "nothing is more difficult to trace than this invisible influence (of the private secretary) where it is permitted to have play."

Arthur Balfour has been described as the laziest British Prime Minister of the twentieth century. He suffered from poor health and was easily frustrated by his colleagues if they did not understand and fit in with his superior attitude. He quickly became bored of the routine matters which his office required of him: Sandars realised this and knew that only by making his letters to his chief lively and readable could he hold his attention. Balfour was frequently in ill health, and even more frequently in Scotland. His prolonged absences from Downing Street allowed his private secretary to exercise more control over the everyday events of government than did the Prime Minister himself. On one occasion for instance he convened Parliament a week earlier than usual without consulting

either the Prime Minister or the King. He was held in awe by Balfour's Cabinet colleagues: we find Walter Long, who was Chief Secretary for Ireland at this time, and who was not a man to fawn on his colleagues, let alone on their deputies, writing, shortly after his appointment, in a rather subservient manner to Sandars: ".... I shall be at the office at eleven and should be glad if I can have half an hour with you to discuss one or two points." Letters of this kind among the Balfour Papers bear out the historians of the Edwardian political scene: in many respects the Secretary was more important than the Principal. And this position was in no way altered by the Tory party's disappearance into opposition in 1905. Sandars continued to communicate the views of the Opposition to the King - on 12th February 1910 Edward VII is writing to his own private secretary, Lord Knollys: "I should be glad if you would ask Sandars to come and see you on Monday at 1 o'clock and then I shall ask him to come up to my room for a few minutes afterwards."

The letters which passed between the Prime Minister and his man of action behind the scenes throw much light on their personal relations. Balfour writing, in an illegible hand, from varying Halls and Castles in Scotland and the North, "Dear Sandars", and the other replies in a neat succinct style from 10 Downing Street, "My dear Chief" Some of the later letters are typewritten - it is amusing to notice in such cases that where mention is made of the King, the word is left blank by the typist and carefully penned in when the letter is signed so as not to debase His Majesty with modernity.

Where the public were concerned, his attitude was autocratic. In advising Mr. Balfour in September 1903 about the correct formalities to be observed on appointing new

cabinet ministers, his letter of advice ends off, characteristically, after carefully setting out the correct constitutional steps with his advice man to man to his chief: "the public are very ignorant on the niceties of practice and we ought to keep them in that condition." Apart from expressions of opinion of this kind, Sandars as a lawyer, was well qualified to smooth out the difficulties of constitutional rights and wrongs - in February 1903 he writes to Balfour, "The King is wrong in his views of the order of precedence of the Bishops" and goes on to cite a Henry VIII Statute.

What Sandars himself described as the 'invisible influence' of the Private Secretary was however by no means invisible to Balfour's Cabinet colleagues, as the following memorandum from Walter Long to Mr. Balfour in 1909 shows: "Will you allow me to lay before you briefly, I hope clearly and without undue presumption, my views as to the control of business inside the House of Commons. In this respect there has been a radical and, as I at all events think, deplorable departure from the practice which obtained when you led us in opposition from '92 to '95. Then you decided everything, taking counsel whenever you thought fit (which happily for us was very frequently, often two or three times a week) with your chief colleagues.

"Since 1906 all this has changed, and the business of the House of Commons, including, very often, the selection of topics for debate, when the duty falls to us, and even of speakers from Front and Back benches, has been entirely in the hands of Alick Hood and Jack Sandars. I could give a number of instances of this, some of which greatly strained the allegiance of some of the most loyal and devoted of your colleagues, but I do not think it right to

take up your time by doing so. You are entitled to expect, and I think you have received, as loyal support from your colleagues as has even been accorded to any leader, but is it quite fair to ask men who have held high office under you and who have served in several cabinets, to subordinate their judgment, not to yours, but to those of men who have never been in Cabinets, and who have no claim of any kind to the position in which they have found themselves by some strange accident? I am not blaming either Hood or Sandars: I fully believe that in very difficult circumstances they did their best honestly and well according to their own lights".

His control over the Prime Minister's actions was firm and definite, when handlong his personal affairs and his political decisions: early in 1904 the Prime Minister was the subject of criticism in the Times; Balfour sent a suggested rejoinder to his secretary in London to read before forwarding it to the Editor. It never reached the Times offices - fortunately for its impulsive writer. On the frequent occasions when Mr. Balfour was in Scotland - either for reasons of recuperation or sport - Sandars was in the habit of calling cabinet meetings on his own initiative, presiding over them and then reporting the proceedings to Scotland - as usual with his own strong recommendations as to what steps should be taken.

On matters of much broader policy and political diplomacy he was equally adept, as this extract from a contemporary account shows: "These differences (of opinion as to whether the royal prerogative extended to ceding territories or whether Parliamentary consent was necessary) were not allowed to affect the personal relations between the King and Sandars - they were both too much men-of-the-world for that - and Sandars,

after an audience with the Sovereign, wrote to Balfour who was (once again) in Scotland "The King was extremely gracious, and proposed that I should go down to Newmarket with him and see his horses after racing".

Balfour's Administration by 1905 was running into difficulties which could not be tackled by the unfit and unwilling Prime Minister. Problems over the Irish Land Act, the reorganization of the Army and in particular tariff reform were not only overcoming the Prime Minister's strength but were splitting the Cabinet itself. Joseph Chamberlain's proposals on free trade and Balfour's could never meet and only the most skilful diplomacy prevented the breach from becoming openly seen by the public. Finally, on July 20 1905, Balfour's government was defeated in the Commons. But Balfour would not resign, despite all advice and normal practice, mainly because he would not trust the Liberals to carry out the recommendations of his Committee on Imperial Defence. The Tories and the Prime Minister in particular never trusted their opposition in matters of Army or Defence, and the events of ten years later proved far too clearly the justification for their fears. At this stage Balfour had three alternative courses of action - either to resign, dissolve Parliament, or carry on until the next compulsory election date - 1907. Jack Sandars, typically far-seeing, favoured dissolving Parliament: then, if defeated, a period of opposition would close the ranks within the Tory Party. Later that year however the government did resign and the Liberals were in. Balfour remained as Leader of the Opposition until 1911 and the influence of his private secretary continued to increase. He played a considerable part in trying to influence Balfour to prevent Bonar law succeeding him as leader of the party.

One of the most inexplicable facets of this very able man's character was his attitude to Winston Churchill. Mr. Churchill, at the time, had ended his army career and was at this time engaged in writing a biography of his father Lord Randolph Churchill. Jack Sandars, not realising the latent power and personality of his young opponent, was convinced that Churchill's motive for writing this biography was to show how his father had been, infamously treated by Balfour and by Lord Salisbury. In 1906 Churchill was returned as Member for Oldham and Sandars's dislike of him increased accordingly.

Ultimately this curious aversion to Mr. Churchill led to his parting from his chief once and for all, on quite unaccountably bad terms. The occasion was the reshaping of the War Cabinet in 1915. Balfour succeeded Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty, and he asked his friend to come with him as his private secretary. Sandars agreed. The two men lunched together at Balfour's house in Carlton Gardens and were walking across to Downing Street, where Balfour had an appointment with Asquith, when Sandars said, at the top of the Duke of York's steps, that he presumed Mr. Balfour would live in Admiralty House. The new First Lord said he did not propose to do so - he had told his predecessor, Winston Churchill, who had a growing family while he himself was a bachelor, that he could stay on there if he liked. Sandars at once said he entirely disagreed with the decision as it was calculated to give the impression that Churchill was still in control of naval policy. Balfour denied this, but Sandars continued to argue the point and when the two men reached No. 10 he asked his chief if that was his final decision. Balfour replied that it was. Sandars declared that in that case he could not work for him,

turned his back on him and refused ever to communicate with him again. So sudden and decisive a break was this that later, when Balfour's biographer asked him if he would supply some information, he would have no part of it. This accounts for the fact that none of the Balfour biographers mention him more than cursorarily despite his very close connection with the events of the twenty most important years of Balfour's life.

The break was as sudden as it was inexplicable. For the 'Chief' and his aide to have remained in such successful partnership for twenty years, they must have been in complete agreement. This is borne out by the informative and even cordial nature of Sandars's letters to Mr. Balfour. He knew what his Chief wanted to know and he knew better than the aloof and intellectual Mr. Balfour how to preserve him from the critical scrutiny of the press and the public. Sandars's letters to the Prime Minister, written almost daily, and although maintaining the outward appearance of strict formality and protocol, occasionally show the closeness of the relationship between the two men. On 20th December 1903 he is reporting the results of a local by-election to Mr. Balfour, laid up at Knowsley with his recurrent illness and across the letter-heading of 10 Downing Street he has scrawled a friendly, personal note that there is fog in London, but that the roses and geraniums are still out in the garden.

Having achieved so much, it is clear that here was a man who was determined, able and persuasive. From time to time he put his views and thoughts on paper, and fortunately these anonymous writings have been preserved in published form ("Studies of Yesterday by a Privy Counsellor"), in which can be read his views on the Cabinet, the Lords, The War and the Monarchy. In one of

these he dissects the members of the Cabinet - in such harsh terms that it appears he would only have retained about four of its members. He does not mince his words: but even though he had a low opinion of many of the politicians of the day and despite his disagreement with Edward VII mentioned earlier, he was a great admirer of the sovereign and upheld his right to participate actively in politics:

"In the department of foreign affairs the King's interest was keen and active, and with great advantage Ministers learnt to take account of his views. It is true that domestic politics did not particularly attract him. At the outset of his reign he displayed a lively sympathy with measures for the advancement of social reform and he desired through the means of the King's Speech to advertise his participation in their promotion and presentation but his Ministers remonstrated. In 1909 when the Lords rejected the Budget, his Majesty was so persuaded that a tactical error had been committed that he let the nation know that he had addressed himself to the leaders of both parties in order to avert a catastrophe. It had been well for the nation had he prevailed. His foresight was superior to that of his servants, his acumen to that of the Party Press":

Sandars's incisive style can again be seen in the following passage about political honours: "When the dates came round for gratifying with honours the appetites of his supporters, he professed surprise that they had to be fed regularly with this special nourishment." So much the greater was his disappointment, therefore, when the ex Prime Minister accepted a knighthood and later a peerage: "Until a few weeks ago he was Mr. Balfour," writes Sandars, "with the august unadornment of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Canning

and Mr. Gladstone. The new prefix of Sir Arthur lamentably suggested the promotion desired by a mayor or demanded by a lobby suitor."

In 1905, when Balfour's Conservative government had been forced to resign, the services of the outgoing Prime Minister's aide had been recognised. He was made a Privy Councillor and awarded the C.V.O. Now, ten years later, he finally turned his back on politics and, at the age of 62, addressed himself to his own interests in retirement. His keenest interest throughout his life was racing and, curiously, as an antidote perhaps, classical literature. During the period after the Great War, he devoted much of his energy to his old University. This period of his life, showing as it does Jack Sandars as a man rather than an influence on great events would better be described by one who knew him personally:-

"Sandars was nothing if he was not conservative and constitutionalist, intelligent and informed, it is true, but old-fashioned and Tory to a fault, even something of a "die-hard". He preferred always to stand and rely on the trusted precedents of the past.

"His hero and model in literature, as in politics, was Disraeli, whose style he often amusingly echoes. For he himself was a devotee of the turf, and would have said like Bismarck, that while the love of it prevailed England need never fear a revolution. Of racing annals, the pedigree and performance of men and horses, and the fortunes of owners, his knowledge was exact and exhaustive. He was also a scholar and man of letters, who could quote aptly not only his Terence and Ovid, his Horace and Juvenal, but his Petronius and Lucian, with occasional recourse too to the Vulgate and

the masterpieces of English and French literature. He loved nothing so much as to describe a classic race in classic style. While engaged in public affairs he lived in London, but enjoyed too, an agreeable "Tusculum" at Torquay. Latterly he realised Andrew Lang's desire for "a house full of books and a garden of flowers" at Eastley End, Chertsey, where his well-stocked and various library and sunny walks enabled him to "verify" as he carefully did "his references," and to meditate his abundant memories.

"Here "Jack" Sandars, as they called him, kept up with not a few congenial friends. He was constant in his loyalty to Oxford, and one of his keenest interests in later life was to be found in promoting the election of Chancellors and Burgesses who, in his view, would represent adequately the historic tradition, duty, and value, as he viewed it, of his old University in Church and State. A famous French writer expressed his surprise some years ago at the anonymity, today less prevailing, of English journalism. He could not understand, he said, how his British confreres could forego the delicious satisfaction of acknowledged authorship. Sandars, unlike the Frenchman, cherished and jealously guarded the secret of his anonymity. He wished and believed it to be known only to one or two of the very highest personages and a very few favoured and "safe" friends. It was well kept in his tribute to "The Squires of Blankney." Internal evidence revealed it to a wider circle in the volume entitled "Studies of Yesterday", published in 1928."

Jack Sandars's wish to remain anonymous so closely resembles the sentiments of Tom Sandars, who never wrote in the Saturday Review under his own name, that one could almost hear him using his cousin's words: "Why should I give the public my name, to be

kicked around like a football?" He lived at Eastley End until his death in March 1934 and was succeeded by his widow who also died there in 1947: since there were no children this brought to an end not only this line of the Sandars family but also the Don baronetcy, as Harriet Sandars's father, Sir William Don, although twice married, had only one daughter by each marriage.

The puzzle of this otherwise forthright and ambitious man's character, and one which other commentators can give no satisfactory answer to, is why he left his Chief in such curious circumstances in 1915. Sir Charles Petrie has confirmed that the details of the incident at the Duke of York's steps were told him by Blanche Dugdale, Balfour's sister and main biographer. It is therefore admittedly hearsay. After twenty years of the closest association it is impossible to believe it was mere impulsive whim, or that it was really connected with the danger, as he saw it, of Mr. Churchill. The break was both sudden and final. On the day after the 1918 Armistice Balfour, foreseeing a change of administration, wrote and asked him to come and at least have lunch with him, saying regretfully that he knew he was living in London. Perhaps his own words give the best clue. Although he spent much of his life working in the rather secretive atmosphere of back-stage politics, he was highly critical of the Cabinet and of the conduct of politics in general; writing in 1917 about the political conduct of the Great War, he said: "The real title to popular favour of the present government at the outset of its career was that it would bend its energies and strain all its resources to the prosecution of the war. Not so, however. Playing the game of their disaffected and distracted opponents, the Government have been persuaded to engage in

the familiar party struggle. They resemble the Paris entomologist who collected butterflies during the Reign of Terror. Ministers complain of overwork, but their fatigue is largely due to the claims of the wire-puller and the clamour of the election agent. The necessities of the fighting forces, the insistent needs of a population in sight of hunger, are postponed to the detailed demands of the party organisation."

Disillusionment, whether with politics itself, or with war, is undoubtedly the key to the man. But it is nevertheless a remarkable conclusion, when summing up a man whose active life had been devoted to politics, and who had had such a profound effect on their conduct.

CHAPTER VII

JUSTINIAN AND THE EMPEROR OF MEXICO

John Sandars who was born in 1729 had a large family from whose sons all the modern branches of this family descend. He was also the first of the family to use the present spelling of the name Sandars. His handwritten notebook, which is still in the family's possession, contains notes of many of his cash transactions between 1748 and 1750 and as an afterthought he also added into it the names and birthdates of all his children. From his eldest son, John, born on July 9th 1751, descended two branches - both living in Derbyshire until recently - one of which came to an end with the death of John Satterfield Sandars, Mr. Balfour's Private Secretary, who died without children. From his second son, Joseph, descend two further branches of the family which have also died out completely. The first consisted on Joseph Sandars of Liverpool, the railway pioneer, and died out on his son's death (another Joseph) in 1893; the other branch descended from Joseph of Liverpool's brother, through Thomas Collett Sandars, the editor of Justinian's Institutes and down to his nine children. Of "Justinian" Sandars's children none except Horace Sandars had issue, and Horace only had two daughters; his last child was Edmund Sandars the naturalist, whose widow died in 1969 in Massachusetts without issue.

Rather more successful at perpetuating the name were the descendants of John Sandars's sixth and youngest son, Samuel. Samuel was the first member of the family to go to Gainsborough and from him descend the existing Lincolnshire and Surrey branches of the family.

It is strange to note that the Sandars

family was more numerous in the mid-nineteenth century than it is now. Three dominant figures stood out at that time in two different branches of the family: Joseph Sandars of Liverpool, to whom a separate chapter has been devoted, Thomas Collett Sandars, Joseph's nephew, and George Sandars, son of Samuel of Gainsborough. George and Tom Sandars and their families thus form the subject of the next two short chapters. Both were remarkable men, the one as a businessman and politician the other as an intellectual, writer and tutor of the Governor General of India.

Thomas Collett Sandars was born in 1825, the son of Samuel Sandars and Mary Collett, whose father was a Member of Parliament and businessman. Through his wife, who was sole heir to her father, Samuel inherited his family house, Lockers, at Hemel Hempstead. It is not a large house, and still stands today, used as a domestic science college, but was sufficiently convenient and comfortable to induce this branch of the family to leave Derbyshire for the south and convenient closeness to London.

Samuel Sandars was born in 1787, and led an agreeable gentleman's life, taking an interest in sports and in theoretical finance, but never needing to soil his hands with the practice of it. An athletic man, he was a keen shot and an experienced fly fisherman as well as showing marked skill at ice-skating; he remained fit and active to old age and enjoyed a relaxed and luxurious country life in nineteenth century England. Before his marriage, Samuel had been engaged in business connected with agricultural produce in Lincolnshire, but his connection with the Colletts removed the necessity for continuing it. Ebenezer Collett, his father-in-law was a successful merchant, even though a man of

eccentric opinions: his tomb was in the shrubberies at Lockers as he did not recognise the value of consecrated ground.

Samuel and Mary had four sons and five daughters. Each of their sons went to Rugby and from the school's records a little is known of their careers. Edmund, their second son, born in 1834, was for some time a Civil Servant, later a tutor at Bournemouth: he published a volume of verse, entitled "By The Sea", in 1860. Upon inspection in the British Museum in 1970 it was discovered that the pages of this volume still remained uncut. The next son, Richard, also at Rugby, was a businessman in New York for some years; later in life he became ordained to the ministry in Toronto diocese and was thereafter curate at St. Saviours Church, Hoxton. The youngest son, William Collett Sandars was invalided out of the army, took an exhibition in Modern Languages and dedicated his days to the translation of several works, including Rosengarten's Handbook of Architectural Styles, from German. He also wrote a German primer and books on syntax before dying at the early age of 39. Although nothing more is known of these three sons, there does exist however a very full and detailed biography of their eldest son, Tom, written by a lifelong friend of his, John Sherer. The work was never published, but its pages evoke the atmosphere and spirit of Tom's life right through from his days at Rugby to his time at the Bar and later as chairman of the Mexican Railway. Mr. Sherer first met Tom at Rugby, where he described him as a strong boy with intelligent eyes, rather a long face and usually wearing a serious look. Gradually the two boys became close friends and the description of Matthew Arnold's Rugby strikes the reader now as surprisingly civilised and sophisticated - not at all like Tom Brown's Schooldays. Sherer's delightful account

of Rugby relates how one of their contemporaries at their house "was a boy named Stanley, afterwards Lord Stanley and finally fifth Earl of Derby. It was no great compliment to Rugby having him as it was understood he had been removed from Eton for stealing. Indeed the boy's kleptomania was a disease and it is related there when the Duchess of Kent, in her old age, was at Knowsley on a visit, she lost a favourite set of amethysts.

"Lord Derby sent at once for a detective sergeant from London who began enquiries. He waited on Lord Derby in his study. "Well, Sergeant, have you discovered any clues?" "Only one thing is certain, my Lord. It was someone in the house." "That is enough, Sergeant, you can leave me". Lord Stanley was sent for. "Edward, for God's sake and to prevent a scandal, say where are the amethysts?" They were behind the skirting in Edward's room."

Tom Sandars excelled at Rugby, became Head of School and obtained a scholarship to Balliol. There he took a bachelor's degree with first class honours and was soon elected a fellow of Oriel. After Oxford Tom was called to Lincoln's Inn in 1851 and afterwards held the Professorship of constitutional law and legal history. As his obituary in The Times (August 1894) states, however, he is best remembered for his work as editor of The Institutes of Justinian which has passed through over twenty editions and is still the leading authority at the present day.

Apart from his work as a legal editor and tutor, Tom Sandars devoted a great deal of his time to his connection with the Saturday Review. Once again, Mr. Sherer's excellent account puts this part of Tom's life in perspective. "Things had changed since I visited Tom as an undergraduate. He

was now an old Balliol man of distinction; fellow, too, of Oriel, and pointed to as one of the best writers in Saturday Review, then in all its glory and power. He was very busy with his pen in ephemereral writings and in the preparation of his Justinian and studying railway law.

"The Saturday Review was then very brilliant and influential. There were two or three columns of articles on the topics of the day, but treated with more freedom than prevailed at The Times's office, whose leading articles belonged rather to the age of Addison than to the days of conflict and competition, which had been upon us since the middle of the century. It contained what were known as the "Middle Articles" which were originally intended to represent the lighter aspects of the old essayists. But Tom, from the first, had a finger in the pie and gradually worked this part round to kindly but pungent satires on society and whimsical representations of current fads.

"At this time we very much enjoyed going together to the weekly receptions of Admiral Henry Murray at the Albany. There was no invitation; any friend might come. The soiree did not begin until 10; the only refreshments were brandy and mineral waters and smoking was of course universal. But all sorts of notorieties looked in, and the Admiral himself was a most amusing man. At these evenings were met Millais, Burton, the great traveller, Sir David Baird, Sir Philip Egerton, the fossil fisherman, and General Kineby, and many others."

Tom Sandars was characteristically modest about his contributions to the Saturday Review. His articles appeared anonymously, or under pseudonyms, and as he himself used to say, "my friends know I write them. Why should I give the public

my name, to be kicked around like a football?"

"This reticence was certainly not due to dislike of work or want of energy. During his father's lifetime and when he was first married, he was hard-working and industrious. He deliberately decided to produce a work which should stamp him as a student of acumen and having fixed upon the Institutes of Justinian, never ceased to work steadily at his subject till the work was completed. That at once became a standard authority.

"But when his father's death altered Tom's circumstances, he was not beguiled into lassitude by an easy competence, but thought out carefully what would suit him best; and so (with the exception of business emergencies) relaxed into a very observant and enlightened bystander, only occasionally using his pen in advocacy of any cause he thought deserving of his support.

"Others, who were not more than his equals, pushed on to rank and notoriety but he chose what he considered the better part ...the esteem of those he himself esteemed."

Tom Sandars had always been an able brain. His father, who was of more of an open-air disposition, looked up to his son's intellect and academic prowess from an early age. Just as Tom's ability was great, so were his interests wide ranging; he made several extensive tours in Europe, widening his friendships and enjoying strange places; his law lectureships and tutorships kept him fully occupied, but even so his reputation brought him in contact with the City and various business ventures. He went to Mexico in the 1880's to try and effect a convention for the Mexican Railway with Emperor Maximilian and

to obtain authority for a railway between Vera Cruz and Mexico City. The Emperor convinced Mr. Sandars that the country was stable and that there were fine opportunities for English capitalists. Unfortunately Maximilian was shot and Mexico developed very erratically, much to the distress of the English capitalists. Sandars, however, despite this setback later became chairman of the Mexican Railway.

During his busy life, Tom Sandars undertook several other public posts, including the commission examining the Khedival estates in Egypt. He was offered, but declined for personal reasons, the opportunity of going to Calcutta as Chief Justice of the High Court. For some time he was private tutor of Lord Lytton, who was later Governor General of India and British Ambassador in Paris. Furthermore, he was a man of widely varied interests. His biographer points out that now and then he took up some science or interest to occupy his leisure - he was much interested in later life in Botany and Mr. Sherer recollects a weekend when he and Tom arranged to "go botanizing" in the country. They set off by train from London Bridge and a while later arrived at West Humbles. From the station it was only a short journey to the foot of Box Hill, where they put up at the pleasant inn for their days' studying natural history.

By this time Tom was married to his second wife, Marian Murray. Their only son by this marriage was Edmund, who later became a well-known writer on natural history. Perhaps it was due to his father's interest in "botanizing" that brought out Edmund's great talent as a writer and illustrator on birds beasts and butterflies.

By his first wife, Margaret Hanmer, Tom

had a large family, four sons and three daughters. Each of his sons lived abroad for most of his life, variously in Spain, Egypt, Venezuela and Roumania. Horace Sandars owned a lead mine in Jaen, Spain, and his business interests also took him frequently to Roumania. He became an expert on Iberian archaeology, and published several learned papers on the subject through the Society of Antiquaries of which he was a Fellow. Charles Lionel Sandars, Tom's second son, was a barrister, became a judge of the Mixed Courts in 1888 and President of the Court of Appeal in Egypt in 1914. He died in 1916 in Alexandria. Still more puzzling was the career of his third son Frederick Eustace, who was called to the Bar after leaving Rugby and died at Caracas, Venezuela, in 1891, aged only 29. Tom's only daughter, who lived to majority, Mary Christina, married a clergyman, and so did her daughter and grand-daughter.

Tom Sandars himself only lived to the age of 70, when he died at his flat at Queen Anne's Mansions, Westminster. He had long before sold Lockers, and he preferred most of his life to reside in the capital. His family, apart from their preference for life abroad (his wife died in Paris), excelled in literary works. Tom and two of his brothers were writers, as well as two of his sons, Horace and Edmund. In his will, proved by Horace in 1894, Thomas Collett Sandars appointed as his executor a solicitor named William Worship Paine, whose firm was later to become well known as Linklaters & Paines.

An adequate note of his life appears in the Dictionary of National Biography, and the following inscription appears on his brass in Balliol Chapel:

"Thomas Collett Sandars Huiusce collegii
scholaris deinde Coll. Oriel Socius
mortem obiit Anno Salutis MDCCCXCIV
aetatis suae LXX"

■

■

■

■

■

■

■

■

■

■

CHAPTER VIII

A HARPOON IN THE SIDE OF FREE TRADE

Tom Sandars's father-in-law, Ebenezer Collett, and two uncles were Members of Parliament and as well as this political connection, Tom's cousin George Sandars, was also an M.P. At the time when George was standing for election for a borough in the North (which had only recently been awarded a seat by the Reform Act) Tom was staying at an hotel with him. After breakfast the candidate invited Tom to come upstairs and see some of his supporters. They went upstairs where they found beds in all the attics, in rows, after the fashion of a hospital, each one occupied by a voter; and these "voters" were, they found, hopelessly drunk. Tom asked his cousin what could be the use of such persons as none of them could speak to which the candidate calmly replied, "We keep them like this today, and tomorrow morning ease off the liquor a bit and then, I think, if ice is applied to their heads, they will be able to remember my name at the hustings".

This story, amusing though it is, can hardly have been fact, even in the days shortly after the passing of the Reform Act. But of one thing there can be no doubt - that George Sandars, M.P. was a singularly determined business magnate and politician. A portrait of him painted in 1832 by William Scott shows him, aged 27, determined and defiant, self confident and poised. By this time he had already been in business, independent of his father and family for nearly ten years.

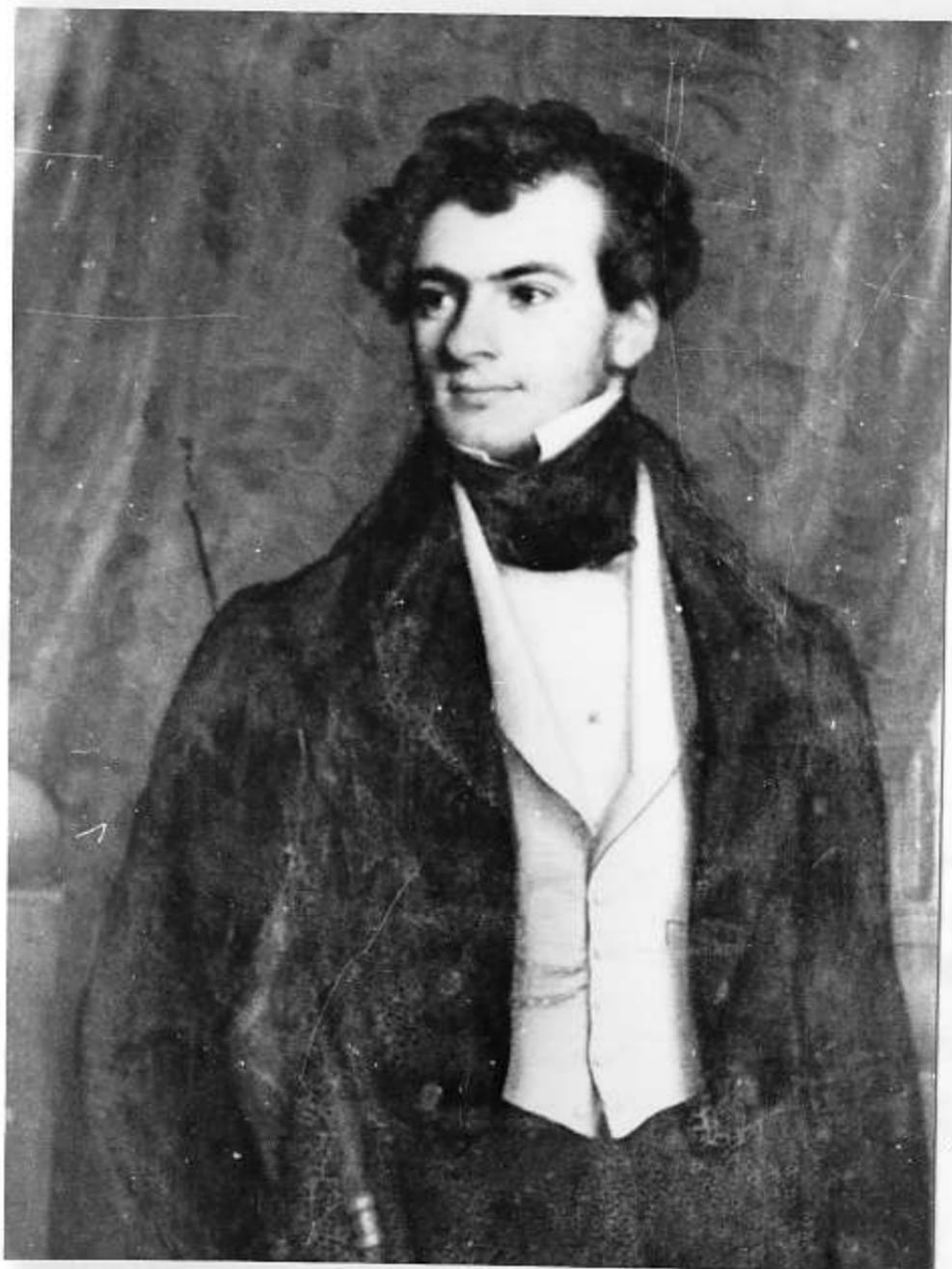
George Sandars was the youngest son of Samuel Sandars of Gainsborough, who had founded the Gainsborough dynasty of Sandars and the family malting business. Both his house on the bank of the Trent and his

business remains there to this day. Bridge House bears on its southern wall a sundial commemorating this tycoon, who had been one of the largest corn factors in the country, of whom it is said that during the Peninsular War he at one time had 50 vessels on the high seas, engaged in government shipping contracts, no doubt very profitably.

Samuel's eldest son, Edward, lived in Cheltenham, married Anne Gray of Calceby in Lincolnshire; and from him are descended the present Lincolnshire branch of the Family. His second and third sons died young and the youngest son, George, went to Manchester at an early age, and entered the corn business. Here he came to know and met frequently his cousin, Joseph, who, as has been seen, was a substantial Liverpool businessman. With him to Manchester went his elder sister Jane, to keep house for him.

In 1829 he married Mary Neden, daughter of George Neden of Ardwick near Manchester, and they spent their honeymoon in Wales and Ireland. Not surprisingly, a letter of his written during the trip asks Anne to tell their mother that he thinks the married life is very comfortable and happy; but he also spares a thought for his devoted sister Jane, hoping she would not be too lonely in Manchester now that he had left there for a while. The couple's first child was born in 1830 at Manchester and their eldest son, Samuel, at Southport in 1837.

By this time George Sandars had already made a considerable name for himself, as well as a substantial amount of capital, from his corn factor's business. In 1834, the year before his father died, he had converted his business into a partnership for his surviving sons. During the next ten years the combination of his own business and his share in his late father's



business made George Sandars into a man of much greater substance than either his brother was or his father had previously been. By 1847 he had ceased living permanently in Manchester and was living in Yorkshire, at Alverthorpe Hall, Near Wakefield. The house has since been demolished but from records of it which exist it can be told that it was a large place, fitting for an ambitious and hard-working businessman of the early Victorian period. Apart from his corn-business, he also shared, as did his cousin Tom, Joseph Sandars's interest in railways and was a director of both the Trent Valley Railway and the Manchester and Birmingham - one of the next Major railways to be built after the Liverpool to Manchester railway.

He was later Deputy Lieutenant for the West Riding and in 1847 stood for Parliament for the new borough of Wakefield. His statement of his political views, used as a poster for the election, declares: "For Progress I have contended and do contend - Progress in civil privileges, keeping pace with progress in intelligence. I am an advocate for extending the franchise to all my fellow subjects, as they shall be prepared by education for its safe and proper exercise A churchman and a Protestant from conviction, I am a decided friend to the fullest religious liberty of all denominations ... a staunch supporter of the best interests of the people ... an unflinching friend of the diminution of the hours of labour." Having introduced his declaration with a categorical denial of being a Tory, he finished it with these words: "These are my principles, and whether I am called Tory or Whig, Conservative or Radical, I must beg to disclaim the opinions ascribed to me by parties, who must have other objects in view besides forming a political creed for so humble an individual as, gentlemen, your obedient servant, George Sandars."

What an admirable idealistic intention! To advocate progress, the education of the Million, civil privileges, without the cumbrous need to be dogged by a political label or to struggle under the weight of a party policy. The candidate was successfully elected and served in the House for ten years. He meticulously kept the newspaper cuttings of his speeches and from these it appears that he kept to his principles of remaining unattached so far as possible, to any Party dogma or inflexible principles. As a businessman of greater experience than most Members, he concentrated his attention on economic and business questions, on trade agreements, the corn laws and tariffs.

George Sandars entered Parliament as a free-trader. In March 1850, on Budget night he made a speech in the House that created a sensation among traders and especially those dealing in corn. Though an advocate of Free Trade he agreed to the wisdom of a small fixed tax on foreign imported corn and pointed out in his speech that prices are always reduced when the market is greatly extended. The Times held up his arguments to ridicule, arguing apparently without fully understanding the matter in discussion. George Sandars was able by the statement of plain facts taken from his own practical experience set the House right upon important points of this controversial question. The "Circular to Bankers" of March 29th 1850 comments: "Mr. Sandars has become a person of political as well as commercial importance; out of 656 members of the House of Commons, he is the only one at once able and willing to expound the truth on the great question of the Corn-trade."

In the speech, after demonstrating the truth of his argument, he said "upon the debate which ensued on the Budget last year, I expressed an opinion which has since been

confirmed and strengthened by the opinions of others at home and abroad, connected with the corn trade, that a moderate fixed duty on the import of corn, though it would bring a large sum into the Exchequer, would not in usual seasons enhance the price to the consumer --- and (would) enable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to repeal taxes which press on the poorer classes, viz. those on soap, tea, sugar and beer." He continued "I shall give as I before said the great experiment of Free Trade a full fair trial, but should the fitting time come to impose that duty, should the Chancellor of the Exchequer ever impose that duty it will have, if I have the honour of a seat in this House, my most cordial support."

Mr. Sandars's argument that prices are always reduced when the market is greatly extended caused astonishment to his hearers. The Morning Herald was dramatic: "Mr. Sandars' speech still sticks like a harpoon in the side of Free Trade and the plunges and flounderings of the Times sufficiently prove that a vital part has been touched."

During his time in Parliament George Sandars had made a remarkable name for himself, entering as an unwilling outsider, soon his expertise in business matters pushed him to the fore. In May 1850 the Wakefield Journal published a detailed resume of the hon. member's political career.

"Wakefield has now been a parliamentary borough since 1832. It has been represented by four members, the first a kind-hearted and estimable man, the second the son of a worthy sire, honest and straightforward in his conduct, the third, an excellent landlord a practical man of business - in a word a fine specimen of a real English gentleman.

"Now after having three such representatives, it required some moral courage to presume to represent Wakefield. Mr. Sandars was asked at the last election to come forward as a candidate - he declined over and over again, and it was only when he found that Mr. Gaskell declined and that every resident gentleman declined that he could be induced to offer himself. Though his opponent was a man of well-known benevolent views, he was returned to parliament by a large majority. At that time as a politician he was unknown - some were well aware of his great business interests and of his powerful mind; still the great majority were ignorant of George Sandars except as a corn merchant and railway director. His first address paralysed his opponents and staggered his friends - neither one nor the other imagined he was so liberal; and when after that printed address he accepted to become the candidate, he was looked upon with fear by one party and suspicion by the other. But Mr. Sandars has proved himself what he professed to be - a man of business habits, moderate in his politics, cautious in his movements and slow and deliberate in his resolves - let every speech he made before his election be carefully scanned and it will be found that no pledge he ever made has been broken. The gorgeous pageantry of court, the allurements of society, nor manoeuvre of party have had any effect upon him.

"Mr. Sandars is always at the call of his townsmen, without reference to party or religion. We might have a man supercilious in his manner, difficult in his approach and haughty and austere in his demeanour. In our present member these are not to be found. We find many men very agreeable, very affable and very friendly before an election, who scarcely deign to give a distant nod after.

"Apart, however, from these matters, we come now to Mr. Sandars's public professions as a statesman and politician. Before his election he told electors he would give free trade a fair deal. And has he not done so? Though he has propounded a scheme in the Commons by which a revenue of some millions per annum could be raised from a small fixed duty on grain he has never urged it on the House, always saying that free trade had not had a sufficient trial until the country had more experience. In this course we think all unbiased men must concur. No doubt Mr. Cobden has been annoyed at the hon. member for Wakefield's conduct; but Mr. Sandars went to Parliament as a free and independent man, and as well capable of forming his own opinion as Mr. Cobden or any other man in that house.

"On many questions affecting the ministry he has voted with them; but on others he has been opposed to them - and on one occasion we were sorry to see his vote against Lord Palmerston's foreign policy. As a foreign secretary we think the country will never see his equal, but Sandars on that occasion exercised an independence which we respect him for, though the result of his vote might have deprived his country for a time, of the services of a great man.

"Whenever he has spoken in the House, it has always been upon some question with which he was fully acquainted, and consequently was listened to and his views and opinions respected."

In the event there was no general election that year, but Mr. Sandars did stand again, and was re-elected in 1852. He retired from politics in 1857, removed to the south and resorted to a domestic, but not very comfortable retirement living with Arabella Walker, his second wife, in London

and at Tunbridge Wells. His granddaughters account of his life, written some years later describes him as a generous and popular grandfather.

"In 1852 George Sandars had bought Little Chesterford Park in Essex about 12 miles from Cambridge, a large, rather ugly house with good shooting. From then on he divided his time between Chesterford and his house 27 Sussex Square, entertaining in both places. In 1858 he added to the property the adjoining Little Walden Park. There was a beautiful old farm-house, easily adaptable to modern requirements and George wanted his son, when married, to live there. But his wife was so completely a Londoner, that she would not hear of life in the country and the idea was regretfully abandoned. Later on Arabella considered that the air of Essex was bad for her and she gave her husband no peace until in 1868 he sold all the property and bought a house instead at Tunbridge Wells - an overgrown villa type rather disappointing after Little Chesterford Park. The ornate house had only a few acres surrounding it and to the delight of my brothers, a 20 acre wood! Arabella saw to it that the house was very comfortable not to say luxurious, and provided she was satisfied all was well, George was spared from nagging complaints.

"He was always generous, and lent money to his less fortunate relations (who were not always grateful). Towards the end of his life he was not wise over his investments, and one company with unlimited liability, which threatened bankruptcy gave him much anxiety; indeed his fears became so acute that he sent for his son Samuel to come to Beechwood, Tunbridge Wells, in a hurry and made over to him most of the rest of his estate, so that in case of the worst happening a substantial amount of his capital would be safe. I remember him at

17 Queensborough Terrace delighting us children with "yellow boys" as he called the transparent lozenges resembling golden sovereigns that seemed to be always in his pockets. And after his death, his daughter unpacking and folding away his Court suit (he had been deputy Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire) found two or three of them in the embroidered waistcoat pockets."

Continuing the description of George, his granddaughter writes about a visit to what she calls the overgrown villa at Tunbridge Wells:-

"I only once stayed at Beechwood as I was one of the younger ones of the family, but my three brothers went there constantly and at tea three large plates of very thin bread and butter, one plate for each boy, provided a very different meal to what they got at home. It was a point of honour between the boys to make sure if possible all the tea cakes and bread were finished before the end of the meal. My sister May on her last visit to Beechwood was so ill-advised as to develop Scarlet Fever, and as she was a delicate girl, every care had to be taken. She was isolated at one end of the house and kept there with a nurse until she was well enough to go to the seaside.

Arabella visited on her all her ill-temper and spleen, and treated her as though she had planned the whole thing and grumbled loudly over every requirement of the sickroom.

"The following year (1879) George Sandars died. Arabella Sandars, his widow, lived a few years longer than her husband and I remember being taken one day to see her by my Father in Cleveland Square. The room was very hot, but in spite of it she wore over her widow's cap of white crape

with two long tails of crape hanging down her back, a white woollen shawl that she held together below her chin, and yet another shawl over her shoulders. It was a strange fate that this old woman, after living for many years in terror of fresh air, was taken to Menton by her brother's widow when quite old; serious earthquakes drove everyone to live in tents for a while until they could escape, and she, for several days, had to live practically out of doors. It did her no harm and being childish she probably never realised the enormity of what she was suffering."

Thanks to the account of his granddaughter Norah, George Sandars's personality and family life are fairly recorded for us. Undoubtedly the greatest tragedy to mar the life of this successful and ambitious man was the death of his first wife Mary at the very moment he began his career in Parliament. Although he married again shortly afterwards, his second wife, Arabella Walker, was not an easy companion, and was not popular with his family. She was responsible for causing her husband to sell his delightful house and estate at Little Chesterford, and perhaps she was also behind his decision to retire from an eminent career in the Commons. Maybe, however, it was not this but his innate dislike for the increasingly authoritarian system in the House which decided him to leave Parliament and return to business. There is still in the family a fine silver inkstand presented to the M.P. by the Maltsters of Newark on Trent in recognition perhaps for securing the passing by the Commons of measures which he alone as a corn merchant could understand.

Apart from this tribute, a tablet in the Parish Church at Gainsborough records his life, and his portrait is still in existence. His two houses also remain, the

first now being used as a fertiliser research station and the Tunbridge Wells house as a convent, which gives some idea of its size.

George's only son Samuel, went to schools at Hemel Hempstead, at the time of his mother's untimely death, then at Cheam and Harrow. From there he went to Trinity Cambridge, where he became greatly interested in the buildings of the university and town. During two of his vacations he wrote and later published, in 1869, his Historical and Architectural Notes on Great St. Marys. Samuel's great wish and ambition was to become an architect; but his father had ideas of a more gentlemanly career for his only son, so it was that he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1863. However he was not greatly suited to the competition or life of the Bar. He practised briefly on the Eastern Circuit, and his one and only brief was said to have been to prosecute a lad for arson of a hayrick.

Samuel was a great deal more interested in art and architecture than law. At Cambridge he had become keen on architecture while preparing his study of Great St. Marys, and as he was not far from home at Chesterford Park he also prepared grand designs for extensive alterations of the house there.

Although George would not give way to his son's wish to become an architect, preferring the more respectable career at the Bar, he did give way to his son's wishes for marriage, even though several of his influential friends in Cambridgeshire had marked the shy but eligible Samuel down as a suitable match for their daughters. At first his father was adamant, but later realised that a marriage with their London neighbours, the Russells, would after all be

desirable. Samuel had long since been attracted to the Russell's eldest daughter, Lizzie. Mr. Russell was also an M.P., an Irishman and a great horse lover; he and George Sandars had a wager (which was carried through) to drive through the archway at the top of Constitution Hill normally reserved for Royalty. Gradually the two families became more and more friendly and eventually Samuel did marry Miss Russell. Since then the name Russell has been given to several Sandars' sons.

Not practising at the Bar, Samuel had plenty of time for his own interests in particular his books, manuscripts and paintings. He collected rare books and prints and also inherited a fine collection of paintings from his mother's sister, Mrs. Faulkner. His gifts and bequests to Cambridge University, Trinity College and the Fitzwilliam Museum are legion. There is a Sandars Bequest at the National Gallery and his portrait is to be found in Trinity College Library to which he gave the first Caxton books it had acquired for nearly 180 years. He also presented several new windows to Great St. Marys Church. Apart from his great productivity as a benefactor, he also raised a large family.

After his father's sale of Chesterford Park and Little Walden Park Samuel bought Chalfont Grove in Buckinghamshire, which was set in a small park with three or four farms attached. It was a suitable family house at the time, but it is now too large and is used as offices and studios of a film corporation.

Samuel's daughter, Norah, continuing her account of her grandfather's life, described how Samuel became the object of great amusement to their neighbour at Chalfont Grove, Colonel Phipps, when he moved fully grown trees around the park.

This work was carried out on several occasions by Baron, a contractor who specialised in this, and caused great excitement to his children by heaving up huge pines with his horse powered tractors and depositing the tree somewhere more suitable in the grounds.

Samuel Sandars became High Sherriff of Buckingham, but died at an early age, only 15 years after his father, in 1894. His three sons became respectively a clergyman, a solicitor and a soldier, and his eldest daughter May, became well known as a biographer, particularly of Balzac. Samuel had three sons, four daughters, ten grandchildren and eighteen great grandchildren, this accounting for nine tenths of the modern Sandars family.

CHAPTER IX

AN EDWARDIAN CHILDHOOD

Although Samuel was born 135 years ago, generations are deceptive and his eldest son lived until twenty years ago when he died aged 85. Many of the family have been long-lived, and Samuel's wife, the Lizzie Russell to whom he was married in July 1863, survived her husband by thirty years. She died on 16th October, 1923, aged 84.

One of her seven children, however, Frank, had died in 1911, less than nine years after marrying and within two years of his wife's untimely death in August 1909. Their two children thus became the proteges of their grandmother, the forceful Elizabeth Maria Russell, and of Samuel's eldest son and third daughter. Although, in terms of time these events are quite recent, the speed and style of life was that of a different age, an age which might be separated from the present by a century. The following account of it has been kindly written by Frank's daughter Elma.

When my brother Jack and I were respectively eight and two years old both our parents had lately died. While Jack was sent as a boarder to a prep. school I stayed in my parents house at Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks, in the charge of a succession of governesses, except for occasional weekend visits by one of our three unmarried aunts whose home was in London with our widowed grandmother. However this rather odd method of upbringing (deeply criticised by my mother's family) included holidays with our always kind but somewhat matriarchal grandmother and the 'Aunts'. At Christmas we had a month in London, and in the summer nearly two months, a marvellous time, in large country houses which our grandmother

rented to entertain her two remaining sons and their families, our first cousins, as well as a number of other relations.

The London house was 7 De Vere Gardens, Kensington. From its imposing pillared portico one could look a hundred yards up the street to the tempting green of Kensington Gardens, but indoors its four storeys and basement were darkened by equally tall houses opposite, and at the back there was a dreary outlook of grimy brick. I remember most about this house when I was from about five to twelve years old.

Our eldest aunt, the eldest of our grandparents' family of seven, was Aunt May. While keeping a firm hand on the reins of all aspects of running the house, she had a very busy life of her own. At home her steady output of biographies took up much time, as did the rehearsing of speeches, (I remember hearing one of these being loudly declaimed from the bathroom of sea-side lodgings). She was in demand as a speaker, first on food rationing during the 1914-18 War, and later in support of various Conservative parliamentary candidates, and travelled all over the country. She was perhaps a rather overwhelming personality, but could be very patient with the aggravating young. Eight years younger, the next to youngest sister Aunt Alys was one of our two official guardians and always exceptionally kind and good to me. She was extremely pretty and charming and had had innumerable proposals of marriage but when quite young had got privately engaged to her first cousin, a faux-pas which when discovered was immediately sat upon by all who could. Very much later I think she thought of marrying a dashing distant cousin, but nothing came of it. The youngest of the family Aunt Dorothy had been born with a slightly paralysed hand and foot. She had never been able to dance, or play games to any extent. Although shy,

she was a much stronger character than Aunt Alys, and held a good voluntary job with the S.S.H.S. both during and after the 1914-18 war. Her disabilities made her a very sympathetic person, but also sometimes led to a bit of a 'chip-on-the-shoulder' attitude, and, (I was afterwards told) she resented Aunt May's easy social success and monopoly of visitors over her shyer sisters. This, and other difficulties, led to a good deal of bickering and bitterness between them, with Aunt Alys the unwilling buffer.

The family was attended by nine servants. A cook, kitchen-maid, butler, footman (whose tailed coat sported a double row of Sandars crested silver buttons), head housemaid, under-housemaid, two ladies maids, and an odd-job man. I think the last named carried up coal and cleaned shoes, he wore a green baize apron and was hardly ever seen. In a nearby mews there was also Rodway the coachman, and his son Henry the groom, who looked after three carriage horses. The number indoors was hardly excessive as there were seven long wide flights of stairs from basement to maids rooms (even my heart used to thump madly after trotting up four of them in my favourite occupation - pretending to be a horse) and there was nothing to save labour in those days. One flight below our grandmother's bedroom and the spare-room, and two below the Aunt's rooms, was a small furniture-filled bathroom with a terrifying three-foot square scenic engraving of the Crucifixion - immediately opposite the bath. All washing water had to be carried from here, and, apart from visitors who were sufficiently mobile, only Aunts Alys and Dorothy descended to the bathroom. Enormous brown cans of hot water had to be carried up from it by house-maids for hip-baths in the other rooms. The stairs were brushed by the housemaids, who first sprinkled wet tea leaves on the carpet to help collect dust.

There was a service lift from the basement to the back of the hall for bringing meals to the ground-floor dining room, but afternoon tea - a considerable weight of silver and food - had to be carried up two flights by the footman, who also replenished the drawing-room first when necessary.

The drawing-room, and curtained back-drawing-room, were not lightened by a dark red wall-paper, this being considered the correct background for our grandfather's quite notable collection of paintings. In the drawing-room these more or less covered the high walls, including the huge Murillo for which it was said Rothschild had offered our grandfather a blank cheque. It took its turn with other pictures in being lent by request for exhibitions. It was unfortunate that he refused the offer, as fifty years later when it came to be sold experts considered parts of it had been done by Murillo's pupils, and it only fetched £100. Among other famous painters represented were Rubens, Cuyp, Watteau, Morland and Van der Veldt. There were also many valuable leather-bound books, and a great number of bronze groups, figures and animals - more than twenty of these were set out on a wide table. Large pieces of china ornamented the mirrored overmantel over the marble fireplace, and one shudders to think of the dusting involved.

A typical day in this house as I remember it would begin with prayers at 8.45 a.m. in the electric-lighted dining-room, conducted by Aunt May. The servants filed in and sat down opposite us in order of precedence and sex, cook, lady's maids, head housemaid, under-housemaid, kitchen-maid, and finally butler and footman. A Lesson was read, everyone knelt down facing the wall (except Aunt May and me) while prayers were said, and then in silence all filed out again. I wonder now whether rank was reformed in the

hall. Breakfast followed, with several silver containers of hot food to choose from, and then Aunt May would see the butler, Aunt Alys the head housemaid, and Aunt Dorothy the cook, who were their special charges. I would pay a brief visit to our grandmother, who breakfasted in bed. The Aunts then wrote letters in the small ground-floor library, before perhaps taking Jack and me to the Round Pond in Kensington Gardens where he joined many boys sailing model boats, or to feed the water fowl on the Serpentine with bits of bread.

At lunch dishes were handed in turn to everyone by the butler and footman, who then stood by the side-board throughout the meal. If those present wished to say anything these two should not hear they spoke in French. Later when I had learnt a smattering of French and I was to be excluded too they would say a sentence or two in German. After lunch our grandmother went up one flight of stairs to her gloomy little 'boudoir' for a rest, and to change her dress. About three o'clock she emerged dressed in a black lace bonnet which usually had a mauve or red rose at one side, and a shoe length black silk coat and, accompanied by one of the Aunts and followed by me, descended to the hall. The butler held the front door open, and there was the carriage (very soon replaced by a Daimler car) with a pair of beautifully turned-out horses (strung up with bearing-reins - anathema to those who knew their 'Black Beauty'!) - Rodway in top hat on the box, Henry (more silver buttons) at the horses heads. The footman, rug in hand, held the carriage door open and we climbed in. Elders sitting on the back seat and I facing them and having to screw round for a glimpse of the horses heads and ears. Besides the rug tucked in by the footman we could all put our feet on an outside hot water-filled foot-warmer. Our grandmother was going to

"pay calls". At two or three houses she and whichever Aunt it was got out and disappeared to talk and "leave cards". Presumably, though I don't remember it, someone else stayed in the carriage to keep me in order.

Sometimes after tea the Aunts would work hard to amuse us with games like back-gammon, bezique, chess or even 'coon-can', or, with grandmotherly adjurations to "Sit up straight Elma and let the lamp shine on your book." I would read till bedtime, with one ear open, while they knitted and gossiped.

At 7.15 p.m. a great booming ascended from the hall below, the "dressing-gong", and grandmother, Aunts and visitors if any, hurried upstairs to change. There would be a few minutes of complete silence, then doors opened and the most extraordinary noises began. These were the summoning of the lady's maids from their light airy living/sewing/bedroom where the beds shut up into the wall by day. Our grandmother sounded a strange note from a brown china quail, Aunt May blew a shrill cab-whistle, Aunt Alys rang a brass bell twice, Aunt Dorothy a tinkly one, once. How the rival claims for fastening dresses and doing hair ever got sorted out in half-an-hour goodness knows, but at 7.45 p.m. there was again the gong's crescendo - dinner was ready and those who hadn't already made it hurried down the first stage to the drawing room, for they were late. One night when Uncle George (our other guardian) was staying in the house the gong went unheeded, for after all persuasion and threats from Aunts had failed to make me swallow a horrid little black pill, he was called in as the ultimate reinforcement. It is really shaming to have to say that he had no more luck than his sisters. It would have been a terrible thing for dinner to be late, and everyone

must have been justly cross.

At Christmas when there was a large family dinner - party I was able, I think by courtesy of the ladies maids, to crane over the banisters in my dressing-gown and look down two flights to see the full evening-dressed relations coming out of the drawing-room in pairs arm-in-arm, and going down to the dining room. Then it was bed in the spare-room fourposter. An engraving of 'Francis Russell, Sheriff of Limerick 1777' on my right, another of Queen Victoria as a girl, in Grecian draperies, on the left and a small photograph of Kings Edward VII and George V in morning coats, straight opposite the bed. These were the only pictures to cheer a darkish room which looked out on to the high, drab backs of other houses.

CHAPTER X

A LADY BIOGRAPHER

A little over a century after the miserable failure of Dr. Nicholas Sanders's expedition to Ireland, Irish troubles still daunted the rulers of England. Whereas in 1580 Ireland was to be stirred to revolt by emissaries of the Vatican and the court of King Philip of Spain, in 1690 (although it was still the Catholic powers who were intent on attacking England from its Irish backdoor), the initiative had become Louis XIV's.

Though Antonin Nompar de Caumont was born of poor Gascon parents, at an early age he became a wily and successful courtier and while yet in his early twenties became a favourite of King Louis XIV. His conquests both of his political rivals and his position of favour with the great heiresses of France knew no bounds; at times he had more influence with the Roi Soleil himself than any man at the court of Versailles. But such men make enemies as fast as they rise to success and de Caumont only approached the throne to fall into a long and harsh imprisonment. He was in prison for ten years. But not long after his release from servitude this remarkable adventurer was back in favour and had pulled off his most remarkable feats in contemporary politics. The throne of England was creaking under the uncertain rule of James II. In France it was known the monarch's days were numbered and his fall would mean a further weakening of the Catholic cause and greater power to the perfidious alliance of Holland and England. One of de Caumont's most audacious achievements, and one which reinstated him in Louis's favour, was in effecting the escape from England of James II's wife, Mary of Modena, and their son the Prince of Wales, who later became known

to History as the Old Pretender. For his part in this exploit de Caumont became probably the only man ever to be invested with the highest order of chivalry of England, the Order of the Garter, in the most famous cathedral of France, Notre Dame de Paris.

Later in 1688 James II himself, remembering his father's execution forty years earlier, sought refuge in France. The protestant alliance was a fait accompli, so it was in the interest of France to reinstate James on the throne of England. Louis XIV's motives fell from no love of James, but from his own anxiety to relieve the pressure of William's English and Dutch navies on the French coasts. De Caumont, who had now been created Duc De Lauzun, was the ideal man to lead the expedition to help James II regain the throne - he knew better than anyone the vacillating character of the exiled King, and his rivals at Court were glad to see him sent on a risky and probably hopeless task, which would keep him away from Versailles for months if not years. So in March that year Louis's armed expedition of 7,000 men under Lauzun left Brest with supplies and arms for 40,000 men: equipped with everything, that is, except a General. Lauzun's instructions were to proclaim the young Prince of Wales King if James was killed. Louis dared not have himself named king, which would have amounted to open annexation.

The total lack of co-operation between Lauzun's army which landed at Cork and the Jacobites under James in the north of the island, culminating in the disaster to James's cause at the Battle of the Boyne needs no explanation here: it is all too clearly debated on the other side of St. George's Channel today. James fled without even waiting to see the outcome and he and Lauzun returned to France to jeers and

disgrace.

Very different are these vivid facts of the life of the audacious adventurer - of whom few in England would even have heard the name - from my impression as a child looking at the spines of two heavy dark brown volumes entitled "Lauzun : Courtier and Adventurer. By Mary F. Sandars". How was it that Mary F. Sandars Aunt May as she was known, being brought up in the staid Victorian atmosphere of nineteenth century Kensington, with its round of visiting, society engagements, "being seen in the Park", and its great material comforts, became so interested in this period, in France and in French literature? How was she regarded by her contemporaries and by her own brothers and sisters, all of whom lived with entirely different pursuits and none of whom seemed to have remotely similar interests? Her productivity as a writer was not prodigious, but her works were compiled with scholarly care, and with varying degrees of success threw new light of the subjects she treated. Her Balzac was highly regarded in its time.

Mary Frances Sandars was the eldest of the seven children of Samuel Sandars, the bibliophile, and his wife Elizabeth Maria Russell. Born in 1864, she was brought up at her father's houses at de Vere Gardens Kensington and Chalfont Grove, near Chalfont St. Giles. Her three younger brothers and sisters were close to her in age. Her father, the shy and retiring Samuel, passed on to his children his great love of the graphic arts and his fine and rare collection of manuscripts. He was a sensitive and kindly man, but his health was not robust and he died suddenly at the age of fifty-seven when his eldest daughter was not yet thirty. After her father's death the social responsibilities of May, as eldest daughter of the family, took up an

increasing amount of her time and it is the more surprising that she found the time and energy to immerse herself in the intrigues of the seventeenth century French political scene. Her mother, who lived to a great age, only dying ten years before May, was a lady to whom the niceties of a correct and rather stylised London Society meant a great deal. She was neither retiring, like her late husband, nor intellectual like her daughter. But family links were very strong and May lived at home, and took her part in the household management and social life, helping to look after her late brother's two young children, so leading a life apart from her literary pursuits. She was disappointed not to be made guardian of her young nephew and niece, however. Her brother George was ordained and undertaking the tasks of a curacy, and later of a parish, in Cheshire. Her two younger brothers were in the Army and the law, and living respectively at Little Tew and Chalfont St. Peter. Each of the three married in the early 1900's. Her sisters Dorothy and Alys, and Norah until her marriage, lived with their mother at Chalfont Grove and in London.

Mary F. Sandars's literary career, although at first sight it appears random in its subjects and with no connecting links except a preponderance of French subjects, divides itself into three periods in which it is possible to see how an interest in one topic led to a study of the next. The only exception to this is her *Life of Christina Rossetti*, a commissioned work which unfortunately had very little success as it was overshadowed by the publication at the same time - the centenary of Christina Rossetti's birth - of another *Life* which received more critical approval. Her first and undoubtedly best known - but not, I think the most interesting - biography, was that of Honore de Balzac.

Published in 1904, it was inspired, and the authoress was encouraged to set pen to paper on the topic by that controversial literary figure of the 1890's and early 1900's, Dr. Emil Reich. Although he was considered by some to be a blatant fraud, by others an undisguised humbug, but by Lord Acton to be "the universal specialist" it is known that he was in fact a notable expert in his own field, Hungarian literature and history. His published works are undoubtedly universal, but probably not specialist. Reich was born in Hungary in 1854 and after education at the universities of Budapest, Prague and Vienna and five years working as a compiler of Appleton's Encyclopaedia in Cincinnati, he arrived in England in 1893 and proceeded to pour forth lectures and publications on philosophy, evolution, religion, geography and history. He lectured to what were described as learned and popular audiences, and in 1906 a course of lectures to the leading ladies of London delivered at Claridges Hotel brought him notoriety and the controversy on which he thrived.

Emil Reich was, for all this, an authority on the literature of his native Hungary. The new approach to Balzac which the Sandars biography opens for the first time, for his life had by this time become a well-explored field, having been covered by established authors such as Theophile Gautier, Taine and Le Breton, is the new emphasis on the effect on the author's work of his life long affair with Madame Hanska. This lady, Polish by birth, had a greater effect on Balzac, in his impoverished privations in France, than had been previously explained, and it was due to Reich that May first became interested in this new approach to Balzac's work. This she acknowledged herself in her informative introduction to the book. May carried out much of the research work in France, and also at Brussels, where

she worked with the great collector and authority on Balzac, who stands in relation to Balzac as, say, Mrs. Gaskell does to Charlotte Bronte, le Vicomte de Spoerlberch de Louvenjoul. From the Viscount and his extensive library at Brussels May received much of the hitherto unpublished source material used in her Balzac. His library now forms the nucleus of the Balzac archives at Chantilly, and from his Roman d'Amour (1896) and other sources came some of the letters and information used in the new Biography, which eventually undoubtedly became her best known work, as well as her first. "Her talents were in the direction of analysis as well as description: her choice of quotations was judicious and exhibited a more trustworthy sense of the value of her sources than is common in popular biographies", such was the tribute paid to her work at the time of her death by The Times.

Following on her life of Balzac, but not next in time, was her study of George Sand, Balzac's contemporary, another tricky subject with many pitfalls for the unwary biographer. Also in the field of French literature was her Life of the Duc de Saint-Simon, which she was engaged on at the time of her death in 1934, but which was never completed.

Another life, contemporary with her intriguing story of the Duke of Lauzun, but published five years later in 1913, is May's biography of William of Orange's wife "Princess and Queen of England, the Life of Mary II". Historical treatment of the reign of William and Mary, succeeding on the fall of James II, is normally concentrated on King William, both because of his being a foreigner on the throne of England and because of his military campaigns, leaving the Queen a neglected figure. Once again May found and aired a source which

had been neglected in previous biographies: James II's determined attempts to separate his daughter from her husband. This had apparently been common knowledge in contemporary Dutch sources, but was largely unknown in England. This study took May months of work at The Hague and at Welbeck Abbey as well as on visits to new sources such as the archives of Lord Bathurst, whose ancestress had been a confidante of Queen Mary. Collecting the sources for these biographies and histories took May to many different places in Europe and brought her in contact with numerous different literary figures of the times. Due to her close friendship with the Rossetti family, whom she visited frequently and came to know intimately, she reaped much enjoyment from writing her life of Christina Rossetti, although its reception was a bitter blow to her. While engaged in writing itself she showed a streak of physical endurance not unusual in the Sandars - writing for long periods at a stretch, sometimes doing so out of doors in the coldest winter weather, swathed in rugs from head to foot.

The third and last group of subjects which May chose consists of two studies which were historically contemporary, and again two personalities who can hardly be considered popular heroes: Louis XVIII and Queen Adelaide. An exiled French King who spent much of his life on the road between one European capital and another and the unprepossessing wife of the debauched and despised "Sailor King" William IV seem to form strange subjects for popular biography. On the latter May worked closely with her brother in law, Colonel R. W. Phipps, who had edited several French historical sources such as the Life of Marie Antoinette and the Memoirs of Napoleon, as well as writing a history of the armies of the first French Republic jointly with his niece Betty Sandars. She received assistance on Queen

Adelaide's life from Prince Radolin, (or, as the Almanach de Gotha styles him, Alfred Bernard Jean Howard Leszczyc Graf von Radolin), whose family owned considerable archives on this period and on the Saxe-Meiningen royal family. One aspect of this study, which was published in 1915, unfortunately fell victim to the hostilities of the Great War: May had carefully arranged with the court photographer at Saxe-Meiningen castle to have him photograph the portraits of Queen Adelaide and her parents. But that gentleman was unfortunately too slow and painstaking over the task and found himself drafted into the Kaiser's army before the work was done. Nevertheless the book was published in lavish style, despite the shortages and privations of 1915.

However May was no detached intellectual living through the Great War ignorant of wartime hardship and hunger by retreating into the intellectual stimulus of nineteenth century French Affairs. She was active in the political field, as a public speaker, which was remarkable considering the status of women in politics at that time. She campaigned for measures of food economy and on questions of health and education, in each of whose causes she turned a forthright and uncompromising style to good account. She advocated the introduction of cheap bread made from maize and other measures of commonsense economy in her speeches, at meetings and in the time-honoured platform of letters to The Times. After the War she became chairman of the South Kensington Conservative and Unionist Association. As a public speaker May was straightforward and persuasive, even though the disabilities of the days before women's suffrage cannot have aided her. She was also interested in the well-being of early social work, and was on the committee of Cambridge House Settlement in Camberwell,

and she also devoted time to regular visits to Chelsea Infirmary for many years.

Mary Frances Sandars died on June 20th 1934, aged seventy, and the writer of her Obituary strikes a neat balance in summing up her character and the contribution of her work in the final words of his tribute to this remarkable lady biographer: "the lively sense of social responsibility implied by her political activities and participation in charitable works was discernible also in her writings as a sense of proportion, and her work bore the stamp of that culture which is the fruit of strenuously cultivated leisure".

* * * *

An epilogue to the centuries of the Sandars, many of whom have excelled, but quietly, in their particular chosen milieu while keeping away from publicity and shunning the recognition of those outside their own circle, might well include those same words. Tom Sandars's fear of having his name used as a football by the readers of The Saturday Review, his son Edmund's devoting his life to explaining the beauty of English wildlife to those less familiar with it than himself, in preference to his training and many years work at the Bar, and Jack Sandars's unsung service to Magdalen College, are but a few examples of this strenuously cultivated leisure, to say nothing of years' service by other members of the family as Justices, Sheriffs and on committees and Councils.

It is as though many of them were in sympathy with Jack Sandars, when, years after his withdrawal from the hub of politics, he wrote in his book, Chapters from Turf History, that "when fashion compels the flattery of conspicuous men and the heaping up of superlatives upon their passing deeds,

it is as well that they should realise that their achievements are merely the events which accidentally surround them."

APPENDIX 1

BRIEF CHRONOLOGY

- 1172 - Richard Sanders sold the advowson of Sanderstead
- 1243 - By this date Charlwood Place was inhabited by Ralph Sanders
- 1450 - Marriage of William Sanders and Joane Carew
- 1526 - Thomas Sanders went to Derbyshire
- 1551 - Sir Thomas Sanders appointed King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer
- 1576 - Dr. N. Sanders's "History of the English Schism" published in Cologne.
- 1580 - Death in Ireland of Dr. Nicholas Sanders
- 1611 - Collingwood Sanders purchased Ireton, Derbs.
- 1661 - Death of Edmund Sanders and sale of Charlwood Place
- 1747 - On the death of Elizabeth Sanders the Sanders Lands in Derbyshire passed to her aunt, grandmother of Admiral Lord Howe
- 1786 - Death of John Sandars
- 1790 - (app) Samuel Sandars first settled at Gainsborough
- 1824 - Joseph Sandars' letter on railways published
- 1830 - Opening of the Liverpool - Manchester railway

- 1847 - George Sandars elected M.P. for Wakefield
- 1859 - First edition of T. C. Sandars's "Justinian"
- 1892 - J. S. Sandars appointed Private Secretary to Arthur Balfour
- 1904 - "Honore de Balzac" published by Mary F. Sandars
- 1905 - J. S. Sandars a Privy Councillor
- 1927 - Rev. G. R. Sandars appointed Rural Dean of Middlewich
- 1928 - "Studies of Yesterday" published
- 1948 - G. E. R. Sandars appointed Governor, Blue Nile Province
- 1961 - Vice Admiral R. T. Sandars invested Knight of the British Empire

APPENDIX 2

AUTHORS AND THEIR MAIN SUBJECTS

- Edmund Sandars (b.1830) 'By the Sea' (poems)
- Edmund Thomas Sandars (1877-1942) 'A Bird Book for the Pocket' and six books on natural history; one on military training
- Betty Sandars (b.1904) with R.W. Phipps 'The Armies of the First French Republic'
- G.E.R. Sandars (b.1901) Pamphlet on the Bisharin
- Horace William Sandars (1852-1922) 'The Weapons of the Iberians' and five books on archaeology
- John Satterfield Sandars (1853-1934) 'Studies of Yesterday by a Privy Councillor' and five law books, one biography and one on racing
- Joseph Sandars (d.1857) Pamphlet on Liverpool - Manchester Railway and two other topics
- John Drysdale Sandars (1860-1922) Pamphlet on economics
- Mary Frances Sandars (1864-1934) 'Honore de Balzac' and seven other biographies
- Nancy Katherine Sandars (b.1914) 'Prehistoric Art in Europe' and four other works on archaeology
- Nicholas Sanders (d.1581) 'History of the English Schism' and 15 other religious works

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Samuel Sanders (1641-1688) | Derbyshire History |
| Samuel Sandars (1787-1862) | 3 pamphlets on economics |
| Samuel Sandars (1837-1894) | Two works on Cambridge |
| Thomas Collett Sandars (1825-94) | 'The Institutes of Justinian' and one volume on law, one on philosophy |
| William Collett Sandars (b.1831) | 'A Handbook of Architectural Styles' and four other works on grammar and syntax |
| Virginia Sandars (d.1923) | 3 novels (7 volumes) |
| Elma Stonex (nee Sandars) | One volume on Retrievers |

APPENDIX 3

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Chapters 1 and 2: Heralds Visitations of the County of Surrey; "The Reliquary" Vol XI (1890); Walford: "County Families"; Surrey Archaeological Society Publications; Victoria County History of Surrey; Manning and Bray: "History of Surrey"; R. Sewill and E. Lane: "The Free Men of Charlwood"; M. L. Walker: "Batailles Manor, Ewell" in Vol 54 of Surrey Archaeological Collections; Burke's Landed Gentry.
- Chapter 3: Dictionary of National Biography Saturday Review 3 Oct. 1868 and 29 Sept. 1877; David Lewis - introduction to History of the English Schism; Thomas Fuller: "Histories of the Worthies of England"; J.B. Black: "The Reign of Elizabeth" and J.H. Pollen: "The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth".
- Chapter 4: Derby Archaeological Collections, 1948; W. A. Richardson: "Citizens Derby" (1949); Granger's Biographical History of England; Mrs. Hutchinson: "Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson"; J.C. Cox: "Memorials of old Derbyshire" and "Three Centuries of Derbyshire Annals".
- Chapter 5: Samuel Smiles: "Life of George Stephenson" (1857); E. M. S. Paine: "Two James's and Two Stephensons"; G.S. Veitch "The Struggle for the Liverpool to Manchester Railway"; Joseph Sandars letter to Parliament (1824); The Times Nov. 1824; Henry Booth: "History of the Liverpool Manchester Railway".
- Chapter 6: The Times 31 March 1934; Sir C. Petrie: "The Powers Behind the Prime Minister" (1959); J.S. Sandars: "Studies of Yesterday"; Kenneth Young: "A. J. Balfour" (1963).

Chapter 7: J. W. Sherer: "Story of a Friendship" (not published); Rugby School Register; Dictionary of National Biography; The Times 9 Aug 1894.

Chapter 8: Burke's Landed Gentry and Peerage; Moor: "History of Gainsborough"; Stonehouse: "A Stow Visitation".

Chapter 10: Mary F. Sandars published works; The Times; Dictionary of National Biography.

APPENDIX 4

A SHORTENED GENEALOGICAL TREE

This tree is restricted to those lines of the family which had living survivors of the name in 1970. To increase intelligibility it has been condensed to this length from the full tree which contains nearly five hundred names and covers twenty foolscap pages.

Eight generations after Watkin de Sanderstead, who made the gift of advowson of Sanderstead to the Abbey of Hyde, Winchester, generations of which little is known except the names of father and son, Ralph Sanders was living at Charlwood, Surrey in 1243:

RALPH SANDERS - b. about 1220, m. Sir Roger Salaman's daughter. His son Hugh m. Alfra Collenden and had issue two sons William and

JAMES, mentioned in the 1823 Heraldic Visitation of the County of Surrey - now preserved in the Bodleian Library. James had issue, inter alia a son Matthew, whose son Steven had a son,

THOMAS m. Joan Oddeworth, dau. of John Oddeworth of Ewell Surrey, and had issue a son

WILLIAM SANDERS - b. about 1420, m. Joane Carew dau. and co-heir of Thomas Carew of Beddington Surrey who d. 1470. He d. 1481 leaving issue inter alia:

NICHOLAS m. Alys Hungate from whom are descended the Charlwood Sanders and

THOMAS SANDERS (brother of Nicholas Sanders commemorated in the Charlwood Brass).

Returned from Flanders to settle in Derbyshire: Became Lord of the Manor of Lullington. M. 1st Margery Collingwood and had issue one son,

THOMAS - b. 1548, educated at Oxford 1566, Lyons 1568 and at the Inner Temple in 1570. Present at the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587. D. 1629 with issue 8 sons and 4 daus,

COLLINGWOOD SANDERS, eldest son and heir. A Counsellor at Law. B. 1578 m. Elizabeth Sleigh, heir to her father's lands at Derby and Ireton Parva, and d. 6 May 1653 with issue ten sons and two daus,

SIR THOMAS SANDERS - b. 11 August 1610, the Ironside. He m. Elizabeth Goring and d. 1695 (See Chapter 4) with issue two sons and one dau,

SAMUEL 2nd son, who m., 3rdly, Margaret dau. and co-heir of Sir William Armyne and had issue 3 sons and 4 daus,

JOHN, 2nd son, b. 1684, lived at Mackworth. D. 1786 aged 101. He changed the spelling of the name to Sandars by his will dated 1750. He m. and had issue four sons and one dau,

JOHN, eldest son, b. 1729, lived at Mackworth d. 1800 with issue,

A. JOHN, b. 1751 and d. 1817 with issue two sons and two daus,

1. JOHN, an Alderman of Derby, m. Anne Swindells and had issue,

a. JOHN, Clerk in Holy Orders

2. FRANCIS who had issue one son and four daus,

- a. CHARLES who had issue one son and four daus,
 - i. JOHN SATTERFIELD SANDARS, b. 1852, P.C. 1906. See Chapter 6. D. without issue, 1934.
- B. JOSEPH of Derby B. 1752, m. Elizabeth Blakeman, and died with issue one son and two daus,
- 1. JOSEPH, of Liverpool, B. 1786. See Chapter 5, D. 1861 with issue, two sons and one daughter,
 - a. JOSEPH educ Downing Cambridge, M. yngst dau of the Marquis of Headfort 1850 and d. at Bosworth Hall, Leics. 1893, without issue.
- F. SAMUEL, 6th son, of Gainsborough, Lincs, b. 16 Aug 1763 the first member of the family to settle in Gainsborough. M. Jane Marshall of East Stockwith. D. 1835 with issue four sons and six daus,
- 1. EDWARD, eldest son b. 1794. Lived at Ireton House Cheltenham. M. Anne Grey of Calceby and d. 14 Sept 1852 with issue two sons and one dau,
 - a. JOHN EDWARD of Gainsborough. M. Eliza Anna, widow of W. Dunn and d. with issue two sons,
 - i. JOHN DRYSDALE of Gate Burton, Lincs, b. 1860, m. Maud Evelyn, dau of 5th Baron Graves and d. 1922 with issue one son and one dau,
 - 1a. JOHN ERIC WILLIAM GRAVES, b. 1906 of Gate Burton, Lincs, M. Margaret Mary Katherine Clare Elwes and has issue one dau, Clare Rosemary, b. 1934, m. Sir James Napier Finnie McEwen, Bt.

- ii. GEORGE EDWARD b. 1862, m. Gertrude Marian Wingate and d. 1952 with issue two sons and one dau,
 - iia. SAMUEL EDGAR b. 1888. Lt.-Col. Royal Fusiliers. D. 1967 without issue.
 - iib. GEORGE EUSTACE DRYSDALE living in Australia.
 - iic. PHYLLIS GERTRUDE m. Walter Pitts Hendy Hill, Maj-Gen.
2. SAMUEL b. 1798 d. 1836 without issue.
3. JOHN b. 1802, d. 1822 without issue.
4. GEORGE, 4th son, M.P. for Wakefield, of Alverthorpe Hall, Yorks, Chesterford Park, Cambs and Beechwood, Tunbridge Wells, Kent. B. 1805 and d. 1879 with issue by his first wife Mary Anne Neden one son and two daus,
- a. SAMUEL, b. 1837 of Chalfont Grove, Bucks, m. Elizabeth Maria Russell who d. 1923, he d. 1894 with issue three sons and four daus,
- A. GEORGE RUSSELL, b. 1865, Rector of Davenham, Cheshire, 1904 - 1939, m. 1901 Henrietta Mary Lambart Wyld and had issue five sons,
- 1. GEORGE EDWARD RUSSELL, b. 1901, m. Vera Margaret Molyneux-Seel
 - 2. FRANCIS WYLD, b. 1903, m. secondly, Lavinia Margaret Green, dau of Lord Zetland, but m. firstly, Primrose Anne Pattinson and had issue two sons,
 - a. HUGH MICHAEL, b. 1939, m. Susan Edwardes grand-dau of Lord Kensington, and has issue (*)
 - i. ANDREW, b. 22.10.1969

- b. ANDREW PHILIP, b. 1943, Solicitor, m. Pauline Anne Freer and has issue (*),
 - i. DANIEL LESLIE, b. 1967
 - ii. ANTONIA LUCY, b. 1969
 - iii. BENEDICT THOMAS WYLD, b. 1970
- 3. SIR REGINALD THOMAS, b. 1904, Chief Naval Engineer Officer, Vice-Admiral, K.B.E. 1962, m. Elizabeth Audrey Crewdson and has issue, three sons,
 - a. JOHN RUSSELL, b. 1937, R.N.
 - b. CHRISTOPHER THOMAS, b. 1942, m. Elizabeth Anne Yelder and has issue (*)
 - i. DAVID THOMAS, b. 21.1.1971
 - c. RICHARD IAN, b. 1945. M. Peta June Gurney
- 4. PATRICK ROBERT, b. 1907, m. Alice Katherine Pelham, dau of Sir Edward Pelham, and has issue, two sons,
 - a. PATRICK GEORGE HENRY, b. 1935, Fellow of Balliol, m. 1939, Patricia Hall and has issue (*),
 - i. PATRICK JOHN, b. 1963
 - ii. ANDREW NICHOLAS, b. 1965
 - b. ANTHONY THOMAS, b. 1937, m. 1969, Beatrice Valerie Kirk
- 5. WILFRID JAMES, b. 1909, Solicitor, m. 1939, Vera Margaret Schooling and has issue, two sons and three daus,
 - a. ELIZABETH ANN, b. 1940, m. 1965, Christopher John Brumfit.

- b. JAMES EDWARD, b. 1943, Solicitor.
 - c. ANGELA MARY, b. 1947, S.R.N.
 - d. DOROTHY JEAN, b. 1950, d. 1952.
 - e. GEORGE RUSSELL, b. 1954.
- B. FRANCIS HERVEY, b. 1867, Solicitor, m. 1902, Mona Lillian Dunn, d. 1911 with issue one son and one dau,
- 1. JOHN FRANCIS, b. 1903, m., firstly Phyllis Gattey and had issue, one son and one dau,
 - a. PETER JOHN (HERBERT), b. 1927, living in South Africa,
 - b. CARYLL ALYS, b. 1932.
and married secondly, CECILY BARGRAVE DEANE
and married thirdly, BRENDA JELLY and has issue,
 - c. RICHARD HERVEY, b. 1955
 - d. CHERILL BRENDA, b. 1957.
 - 2. ELMA MARY, m. John Tilney Stonex.
- C. EDWARD CAREW, b. 1869, in H.M. Army, m. Gertrude Annie Phipps and d. 1944 with issue one son and two daus,
- 1. HUGH RAMSEY CAREW, b. 1907, d. 1915.
 - 2. ELIZABETH ALYS, b. 1907.
 - 3. NANCY KATHERINE, b. 1914, Archaeologist and Author.
- D. MARY FRANCES, b. 1864, Author and Biographer, d. 1934.

E. ELEANOR (NORAH) STOKES, m. Edward
Thornton Lawes, Barrister.

F. ALYS GEORGINA, d. 1950.

G. KATHERINE DOROTHY, d. 1951.

(*) NOTE: To 1971 only.